

Edited by:
Sevba Abdula



THE BALKANS

POLITICS, HISTORY AND SOCIETY

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THE BALKANS:
POLITICS, HISTORY AND SOCIETY

Edited by

Sevba Abdula

Sevba Abdula, graduated in economics from the University of Ankara. He completed his graduate studies at Istanbul University in the Department of Political Sciences and International Relations, focusing on the topic 'Religion and Nationalism: The Case of the Serbian Orthodox Church and Serbian Nationalism.' He also completed his doctoral studies in the Department of Political Sciences and International Relations at the University of Marmara, researching 'Power, History, and Identity: Narrative of Ottoman and Habsburg Empires in Serbian Historiography and History Textbooks.' His research focuses on the Balkans, nationalism, religion-state relations, history textbooks, and Serbian nationalism.

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INTRODUCTION

Dr. Sevba Abdula

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The world is clearly facing significant crises. Issues such as global security, climate, trade, democratisation, law, epidemics, failed states, terrorism, are likely to negatively affect humanity and civilisation. In other words, it is obvious that we are on the eve of a period that will narrow welfare and development. Historically the Balkans have been affected and shaped according to the material and spiritual prosperity periods of humanity throughout history. It does not seem possible to separate the major crises in the region from world politics, history, and transformation. It is evident that the great expectations and positive atmosphere created by the millennium have led to a partial expansion, cooperation and progress in institutional culture in the Balkans in the last quarter of a century. Since the long 19th and 20th century produced a period of divergence in the Balkan countries, peoples or the region as a whole, convergence with the current world culture and institutions will take time. It is clear that research and knowledge production on the history, sociology, economy and politics of the region will increase the momentum of this convergence and make a great contribution to the future of the region in this sense.

The study of Balkan history generally includes the region's rich and complex history, its ethnic and religious diversity, in order to understand the complexity created by the nation-state building processes of the last two centuries and the dissolution of empires. In the last 20 years, these nationalist and state-centred studies have been joined by a growing body of research on culture, women, micro-history, migrations, biographies, social groups and economic structures. What the region needs is the institutionalisation of a rich research culture and the construction of a society that will open the door to all forms of production and surplus value.



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This unique work consists of revised versions of the texts presented by young and qualified researchers from various countries of the Balkans at the 4th Balkan Studies Congress held in Sarajevo on 06-07 September 2024. The work aims to both contribute to the field of Balkan studies and to encourage future research. *The Balkans: Politics, History and Society* is a collection of recent studies on topics ranging from politics, literature, Ottoman studies, women's issues, periodicals and biographies to religion in society.

The first section is entitled "Balkan Politics and Society" and includes of articles by Adnan Mestan, Anna Korneeva, Fahriye Begüm Yıldızeli and Saadet Demiroğlu. In his article *Bulgarian-Russian Relations after the Accession of Bulgaria to NATO in the Period from 2004 to 2024*, Adnan Mestan analyses the relations between Bulgaria and Russia after Bulgaria's accession to NATO in 2004. According to him, Bulgaria's strategic location, NATO and EU memberships have complicated the country's relations with Russia. While Bulgaria became dependent on NATO in the field of security with its accession to NATO, Russia perceived this situation as a threat to itself and developed various strategies to maintain its influence in the region. Mestan argues that Russia has increased its influence in Bulgaria in areas such as energy, economy, media and politics, and has tried to create dependency on Bulgaria, especially through the energy sector. Russia's attempts to establish economic and political influence in Bulgaria have had negative effects on democratic institutions and threatened the sovereignty of the country. Especially through the media, pro-Russian views have been promoted in the public opinion and pro-Russian political parties have emerged in the political spectrum.

Anna Korneeva in her article *Modern Monuments of North Macedonia after the Prespa Agreement* focuses on the issue of North Macedonia's famous identity and sculptures. She analyses how modern monuments in North Macedonia were used in the construction of national identity after the Prespa Agreement. Korneeva reveals that with North Macedonia's secession from the former Yugoslavia and subsequent independence, name and identity disputes deepened, especially with neighbouring Greece. In this context, the "Skopje 2014" project, launched in 2014, aimed to respond to external and internal conflicts by symbolising North Macedonia's history and national identity through monuments. Korneeva states that this project caused fierce debates both in the country and in neighbouring countries, and that the Prespa Agreement led to steps such as the removal of symbols of Greek cultural heritage from public spaces, in particular the symbol of the "Vergina Sun". On the other hand, it was emphasised that the Prespa Agreement caused strong reactions among the local population and continues to be a sensitive issue on the perception of identity. Korneeva also recommends

the relocation of monuments to museum sites and the promotion of educational programmes for the sustainable management of cultural heritage and the reduction of social tensions in North Macedonia.

In her article titled *Reconsidering the Dynamics of British Imperialism through the Balkans*, Fahriye Begüm Yıldızeli analyses the strategic interests of the British Empire in the Balkans and its imperialist approaches in this region from the late 19th century until the First World War. Yıldızeli reveals that although Britain had a long diplomatic history with the Ottoman Empire, from the 1830s onwards it pursued a more active policy in the Balkans to balance Russia's influence and protect Ottoman territorial integrity, which was shaped by its efforts to protect Christian minorities in Ottoman territories and intervene in Ottoman internal affairs. Yıldızeli states that Britain's support for nationalist movements in the Balkans within the framework of liberal interventionism and humanitarian aid policies in the region during and after the Bulgarian Revolt of 1876, led to political debates between the British liberal and conservative parties. Britain's influence on the Balkans was further enhanced by the activities of organisations such as the Balkan Committee, which supported anti-Ottoman movements and encouraged the demands for independence of different nations in the region. In sum, Yıldızeli argues that Britain's imperial policies in the Balkans overlapped with its liberal humanitarian policies towards the Ottoman Empire, which increased Britain's cultural and political influence in the region prior to the Balkan Wars.

The last article of this section is by Saadet Demiroğlu titled *Deviance of Sufi Orders in Bosnia Through The Lens of State Power*. Demiroğlu analyses the relations of Sufi orders with state authority in Ottoman Bosnia. Particularly through figures such as Hamza Bali and İlhami Baba, she analyses the sects' stance towards the Ottoman administration, their teachings perceived as religious heresy and the suppression of these teachings by the state. In the 16th century, the Hamzaviyya sect founded by Hamza Bali was perceived as a threat by the state due to its teachings close to Shiite and Hurufi doctrines, and Bali was declared a heretic and executed. On the other hand, in the 19th century, İlhami Baba, a member of the Naqshbandi order, was executed for his poetry critical of the local authorities, although he chose a line more in line with the Ottoman administration. Through the experiences of these two figures, Demiroğlu reveals how the perception of religious heresy and the approach to Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire evolved over time.

The second part of the book consists of three valuable articles under the title "Balkan History and Religion". Bedriye Uzun, Brandon Johnson and Esra Kızıl contribute to the topic of religion and history, which has always been a prominent

topic in Balkan studies. In *The Relocation and Resettlement of Bosnian Muhajirs after the Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in Ottoman Archival Documents (1908-1910)*, Uzuner analyses the resettlement process of Bosniak refugees who migrated to Ottoman lands after Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 through Ottoman archival documents. She reveals that Bosnian Muslims started to migrate to Ottoman lands due to religious, linguistic and cultural incompatibilities and oppression under Austrian rule, and that the Ottoman Empire made a comprehensive planning for the resettlement of the migrants and organised the resettlement processes in Rumelia, Anatolia and Arab provinces. Uzuner reveals that during the migration process, the Ottoman Empire established Muhajir Commissions in order to meet the housing, food and security needs of Bosniak refugees, and provided agricultural lands, equipment and cash aid to the migrants. It argues that the migrants were encouraged to work in agriculture and crafts and were aimed to contribute to the Ottoman economy. The study also elaborates on the effects of this migration process on the late Ottoman migration policies and the change in the demographic structure of Bosnia in the light of archival documents.

Brandon Johnson *Who Exposed the Ottomans: The American Missionaries and the Earliest Reports of the Bulgarian Atrocities* discusses the role of American missionaries in the spread of the events known as the “Bulgarian Atrocities” in the West after the Bulgarian Revolt of 1876. At the time, the British ambassador Sir Henry Elliot, claimed that American missionaries provided information to the Daily News, but the article argues that this claim is false and that the missionaries presented a different narrative to explain the facts. The missionaries produced a report, “The Suffering in Bulgaria”, in which they attempted to provide a more historical background to the revolt and the harsh Ottoman response, and exaggerated the reports of events in the Daily News. Johnson argues that the report contradicts the exaggerated figures of 18,000 to 30,000 in the Daily News and other sources, which put the death toll at 3,800, but because the report was not published, it failed to influence public opinion and Elliot’s misinformation is widely accepted to this day. The article emphasises that the role of American missionaries should be re-evaluated and the historical accuracy of the events known as the “Bulgarian Atrocities” should be examined.

The last article in this section is by Esra Kızıllı and is entitled *Intellectual Catalysts: The Cultural Influence of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania on the Road to Romanian Independence*. Kızıllı analyses the cultural and intellectual role of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania in the Romanian independence process. She shows that after Transylvania, an autonomous principality under the rule of the Ottoman

Empire, fell under Habsburg rule, religious and ethnic discrimination became widespread in Romanian society and that in this environment, the Transylvanian Unitarian Church contributed to the formation of Romanian national identity by promoting religious tolerance and educational reforms. In the 18th and 19th centuries, through the efforts of the Transylvanian School, Romanian language and culture were studied, intellectuals were trained through educational institutions, and a Latin-based narrative of national history was developed. According to Kızıl, the church also played an important role in advocating for civil rights and national sovereignty during the European Revolutions of 1848, adhering to the principles of freedom and equality. These efforts contributed to the development of a sense of unity in Romanian society and the strengthening of the idea of political independence during the Romanian independence movement.

The third part of the work is devoted to the topic “Balkan and Women”. Emina Mostić, Levinia Marcu and Florinda Jolla have contributed to this main theme of Balkan studies, which is getting richer and deeper every day. In her article *Women in the 1528-1530 Detailed Survey of the Sanjak of Bosnia*, Emina Mostić analyses how women were recorded in the 1530 Detailed Tahrir Book of the Sanjak of Bosnia and draws conclusions about their social roles from these records. Although men were seen as the heads of households in Ottoman society, some women, especially widows, are listed in the book as beneficiaries of properties such as *baştine* (farms). It is recorded that women inherited these properties from their husbands, sons or fathers, while others had full authority over their own properties. The study also provides examples of how some women became wealthy and were able to free their slaves. The records in the ledger also reflect the dynamics of conversions to Islam and the religious diversity in the Sanjak of Bosnia. The presence of women in these tax records contributes to a deeper understanding of the economic and social role of women in the Ottoman period.

Levinia Marcu’s *Sexual Violence During War: Foča Case*, analyses the incidents of sexual violence in Foča, Bosnia-Herzegovina, during the war that started in 1992. According to Marcu, in Foča, in line with ethnic cleansing policies, Serbian forces practised systematic rape and sexual slavery against Muslim women. Serbian forces detained women and girls in concentration centres, subjected them to repeated sexual assaults and used some of them as slaves. These events attracted the attention of the international community and it is revealed that these centres, called “rape camps”, left deep traces in the collective memory. The Foča case, which started in 1996, reveals that the International Criminal Court defined rape and sexual slavery as war crimes and crimes against humanity for the first time; however, despite the trials held by the court and the punishment of

the criminals, nationalist and denialist discourses in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia make it difficult for the victims to seek justice. It is argued that denialist attitudes constitute serious obstacles to transitional justice and social peace, and that no memorial or memory work has been carried out in memory of the victims in Foča. The article argues that under these circumstances, Bosnian society still has a long way to go in coming to terms with its past and achieving peace.

A Call For Freedom: The Situation of Albanian Muslim Women During the Interwar Period (1925-1945), Florinda Jolla analyses the situation of Muslim women in Albania between 1925 and 1945 and their quest for social rights. The Albanian Muslim Community (AMC), founded in 1923, provided a platform for discussing the rights of Muslim women and published the magazines “Zani i Naltë” (The Great Voice) and “Kultura Islame” (Islamic Culture). While the magazine “Zani i Naltë” published articles discussing the issue of women’s veiling and their role in the home, the debate on the abolition of the veil in the 1930s ended with the AMC’s fatwa. In the magazine “Kultura Islame”, published after the Italian occupation of Albania, women’s education and social role were discussed more, and some women writers participated in these discussions. Postribësja, a young girl from Shkodra, wrote in defence of women’s religious and social rights and called for education and freedom of labour. According to Jolla, these two magazines of the AMC contributed to the development of women’s rights in the Albanian Muslim community and shed light on efforts to improve the status of women in the family and society.

The fourth part of the work is entitled “Balkans, Periodicals and Memories”. Ergün Hasanoğlu, Maroš Melicharek, Madzida Mašić, Yunus Emre Aydın and Uğur Altın have published studies on periodicals and memories in this section. Ergün Hasanoğlu *Tribune of the Bulgarian Exarchate: Novini (1890-1898)*, which was the official organ of the Bulgarian Exarchate and published between 1890-1898, examines the establishment process, the content and the effects of the newspaper Novini on the Bulgarian society. Published under the auspices of the Bulgarian Exarchate in Istanbul, Novini served as a platform to address the political, religious, social and cultural needs of the Bulgarian community. The newspaper offered a wide range of content covering educational, literary, economic, religious and political issues, with particular emphasis on the status of Bulgarian schools, educational legislation and the preservation of Bulgarian culture. According to Haanoğlu, the Novini newspaper raised various nationalist issues in order to defend Bulgarian rights in the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Bulgarian Principality. Its efforts to strengthen the Bulgarian presence in Macedonia, and its stance against Serbian, Greek and Romanian nationalism reveal

the contributions of this newspaper to the political agenda of the Bulgarian Exarchate. In 1898, the newspaper's publication life came to an end due to a dispute between Exarch Joseph I and Dimitar Pandurov, the owner of the newspaper, and a new newspaper called *Vesti* started to be published instead.

Maroš Melicharek in his study entitled *A Visual Fight for Bosnia and Hercegovina - Narrative Analyses of Caricatures in Врaч Погађач : Шaлa И Подсмјевкa Magazine on the Annexation Crisis*, Melicharek analyses the Serbian perspective of the 1908 Bosnia and Hercegovina annexation crisis through caricatures from this period. Melicharek analyses the visual criticism used against Austria-Hungary in the Serbian and Montenegrin press of the period and investigates how these cartoons reflected the Serbian public's stance against annexation. In the study *Врaч погађач: шaлa и подсмјевкa*, the political and ideological messages of these cartoons are decoded through narrative analysis methods. The author states that in the analysed cartoons, Austria-Hungary is shown as an occupying power, while Serbian and Balkan peoples represent the quest for freedom. While the cartoons portray the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a traditionalist and oppressive power, they position Serbia as a symbol of national unity and independence. This analysis reveals that the cartoons reflect the political crisis of the time and the strong anti-Austrian sentiments in Serbian public opinion.

In *Bosnian Franciscans as Guardians of the Written Heritage in Oriental Languages*, Madžida Mašić analyses the manuscripts in oriental languages preserved in Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia-Herzegovina and their cultural significance in Bosnian history. During the Ottoman period, Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia housed manuscripts, especially in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, which were used in the educational process in the monasteries. The study deals specifically with the collections in various monasteries, such as Fojnica, Petrićevac, Gorica and Visoko, and emphasises the content and thematic diversity of these collections. Franciscan monasteries ensured the survival of the written heritage in Bosnia by preserving the works of local authors in oriental languages. The study argues that these collections of more than 400 manuscripts are of great value for local history and cultural identity. At the same time, Mašić argues that the efforts of the Franciscan friars to collect, preserve and transmit these artefacts to future generations played an important role in the intellectual and cultural development of Bosnia during the Ottoman period.

In *Memories of a Russian Officer on the Ottoman-Russian War (1828-1829)*, Yunus Emre Aydın analyses the memoirs of Russian officer Fedor Feodorovich Tornau on the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828-1829. Tornau took part in this war as a young lieutenant at the age of 18, quickly rose to higher ranks thanks to his

successes, and in his memoirs written in 1867, years after the war, he detailed the clashes of Russian troops with Ottoman forces in the Balkans and the Danube, the difficulties at the front, and the events he encountered during his service. Tornau also touches upon the difficulties of the period, such as his interactions with the Ottoman soldiers as well as the local population, epidemics, especially the plague epidemic. Aydın considers Tornau's memoirs as a historical source and states that these memoirs shed light on the military, cultural and social structure of the period.

Uğur Altın in his article *Balkan View of a Japanese Scientist: Travelogue of Nakanome Akira*, he discusses the travelogue of Japanese scientist Akira Nakanome describing his 1906 trip to the Balkans. Nakanome travelled along the Danube River and observed the Balkan countries and recorded his experiences in detail in his diary. He was particularly fascinated by the historical and mystical aspects of the Danube, emphasising the Asian influences in Europe and the similarities in traditional Balkan dress. Starting from Budapest, Nakanome visited Belgrade, Smederevo and Sofia and made observations on Asian traces in Balkan culture. Nakanome, who compared the architecture of cities such as Bucharest and Sofia to Tokyo, stated that the rural areas in the region were less developed. Altogether, Nakanome's Balkan impressions provide Japanese readers with a comprehensive Japanese perspective on the history, culture and socio-economic structure of the region.

Faizulla Toltay, Büşra Koçer, Gülsüm Esra Tatlı and Hasan Hüseyin Çağan make important contributions to the fifth chapter titled "Balkan Literature and Politics". In *Deconstructing "The Bridge on the Drina" in the Context of Postcolonial Criticism*, Faizulla Toltay analyses Ivo Andrić's novel *The Bridge on the Drina* from the perspective of postcolonial criticism. The study deals with the historical positioning of the Balkans as the "other of Europe" and the transformation of this region into an object of the modernisation initiatives of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. According to Toltay, the novel *Drina Bridge* depicts the impact of the West on Balkan societies through the Drina Bridge built in the town of Vişegrad, the novel shows how traditional social structures in the region were transformed and even destroyed by the process of capitalist expansion of the West. While the bridge symbolically unites east and west, it also expresses how the colonising forces affected the identities in the region. Toltay criticises the West's pressure to "uniformise" the Balkans and states that the novel also reflects the resistance of the Balkan peoples against this pressure. Moreover, the destruction of the cultural values of the local people and the construction of new structures under Austro-Hungarian influence in their place reveals the effects of colonisation on

social and individual identities. According to Toltay, Andrić's novel reveals that the Balkans were seen as a "marginalised" and "semi-colonised" region by the West, while also bearing traces of the anti-colonial struggle and socialist ideals in the region.

Büşra Koçer examines the role of the Sultan Murad Mosque and Complex in the Formation of Skopje City Identity in Skopje. Koçer states that the mosque, built by Sultan Murad II in 1436-37, is an important example of early Ottoman period architecture that reinforced Skopje's Turkish-Islamic identity. The complex built around the mosque was expanded with structures such as madrasah, imaret, clock tower and mausoleums, encouraging the formation of a new Muslim settlement in Skopje. Over time, the mosque became both a religious and social center and played a central role in the physical and cultural transformation of Skopje. Koçer argues that the complex has survived through restoration works, is considered as one of the early examples of the Ottoman architectural tradition in the Balkans, and maintains its importance as a building complex that keeps the Turkish cultural heritage alive. The study details how the complex shaped the Muslim identity of the city and its contribution to the urbanization process throughout the Ottoman period.

In *Reflections of Modernization in Daily Life in Sarajevo: A Study Based on Svrzo's House and Despić House*, Gülsüm Esra Tatlı examines the effects of modernization on the daily life of Sarajevo in the 19th century through Svrzo House and Despic House. Modernization, which began with the Ottoman Tanzimat period, introduced new administrative systems, institutions, and services in the city, but its impact on daily life and the physical structures of houses remained limited. Tatlı argues that the second period of modernization under Austro-Hungarian rule allowed Western culture and European experiences of modernization to become more prominent in Sarajevo, and that the process affected Muslim and Christian communities in different ways. The article shows that the Svrzo House reflects a Muslim family's effort to preserve the traditional Ottoman lifestyle, while the Despic House is more influenced by modernization with Western-style furnishings and decoration. These two houses reveal that modernization in Sarajevo was accepted differently by Muslim and Christian communities.

The last study of the fifth section is written by Hasan Hüseyin Çağan. The article *Metaphysical Foundations of God-Human Relationship in Usûlî's Poems* deals with the God-human relationship in the poems of Usûlî, one of the classical divan poets of the Ottoman period, from a metaphysical perspective. It is revealed that Usûlî, under the influence of the Gülşenî sect, deals with the relationship between God, the universe and human beings in his poems, especially in the

axis of the theories of *wahdat al-wujūd* and *fenā*. Çağan states that Usûlî, who was influenced by Ibrahim Gülşeni's ideas, centers the unity of existence and the human journey to reach God in his poems. The article states that Usûlî presents God in his poems as the proof of his own existence and depicts man as a bridge between God and the universe. Çağan argues that the poet's understanding of the human being is based on the concepts of the human being, the perfect human being, and annihilation, and that Usûlî presents the love of God and the ways of reaching God in a poetic framework, and that he deals with the basic elements of Islamic thought in a literary style.

The last chapter of the work is titled "Balkans and Ottoman Empire". Rıdvan Kaşıkçı, Yunus Güler, Özge Kabak, Zarife Albayrak and Elif Charlotte Nelson are the new contributors to the Balkans and Ottoman literature. In *The Ottoman State's Military Governorship of Romania and its Activities during the First World War*, Rıdvan Kaşıkçı discusses the Ottoman Empire's military governorship administration and activities in Romania during the First World War. It is stated that with the appointment of Osman Nizami Pasha as the Military Governor of Bucharest, the Ottoman administration undertook the task of meeting the needs of the Muslim population in the region, providing military logistical support and providing social services to the Romanian people. According to the study, the Governorate established various institutions to meet the basic needs of the Muslim population in the region, such as housing, food and health, and played an active role in the transportation of war booty to Istanbul, which was the share of the allied forces, including Germany and Bulgaria. The study also shows that Osman Nizami Pasha defended the interests of the Ottoman Empire in the negotiations for the Bucharest Peace Treaty after Romania's withdrawal from the war, raising claims to strategic regions such as Dobrudja and Western Thrace. Kaşıkçı details the activities of the Ottoman Military Governorate in Romania during the war and its diplomatic influence on the region.

In his study *Albanians and Tafil Boletini Tribal School*, Yunus Güler focuses on the roles of the Tribal School established during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, especially the Albanian students and Tafil Boletini's education and afterwards. Established in line with the Pan-Islamism policies of Abdul Hamid II, the Tribal School aimed to increase the loyalty of Arab, Kurdish and Albanian tribal leaders to the state by educating their children. The school was used to prepare students for the Ottoman bureaucracy and to strengthen the centralized state authority. Güler states that one of the Albanian students, Tafil Boletini, took a position in the Ottoman bureaucracy after graduating from the school, but later joined the Albanian nationalist movement and became an important figure.

While maintaining ties with the Ottoman Empire, Tafil also played an active role in the struggle for an independent Albania. The article examines the importance of the Ashiret School in Ottoman educational policy and the ties of its graduates to the Ottoman Empire, as well as their participation in nationalist movements.

In *The Lands Everyone Wants to Know but No One Knows Exactly: Cartography Race in the Balkans*, Özge Kabak examines the cartographic competition over the Balkans in the 19th century and its effects on Ottoman cartography. According to her, the border and ethnic maps produced by Austria and Russia in line with their geopolitical objectives in the Balkans shaped the political and ethnic structure of the region. While Austria sought to increase its military and administrative influence in the Balkans through border maps, Russian-backed Pan Slavist maps strengthened Slavic peoples' demands for independence. Austria's cartographic activities accelerated especially after the Crimean War and aimed to map the Balkan geography in detail. Kabak argues that Russia aimed to increase its Pan Slavist influence in the region by emphasizing the Slavic population in the Balkans through ethnic maps. She reveals that this cartographic rivalry influenced the cartographic studies of the Ottoman Empire and that Ottoman cartography was supported by data from Austria and Russia. The article emphasizes that map production in the Balkans contributed to the formation of national identity and played an important role in the process of sanctification of borders.

The Administrative and Demographic Structure of Bihor District in the 19th Century, written by Zarife Albayrak, examines the administrative and demographic structure of Bihor district in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Based on the 1833 and 1851 censuses conducted by the Ottoman Empire to determine the population structure of the region, the distribution of the Muslim and non-Muslim population, age groups, and tax obligations are analyzed. These censuses provide detailed data on administrative changes, border reorganization and social structure in the region. Albayrak reveals that the Muslim population in Bihor kaza outnumbered the non-Muslim population and that the region had a young, productive population. She also discusses the differences between the Muslim and non-Muslim populations in terms of economic obligations such as the jizya tax and tax categories. In sum, the article assesses the impact of Ottoman administrative and demographic policies in the region on the socio-economic structure of Bihor.

The last article of our work is by Elif Charlotte Nelson. Her article, *The Transformation of the Ottoman Millet System and the Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans: A Case Study of Church Disputes in Florina*, analyses the transformation of the Ottoman millet system in the 19th century and the rise of nationalism in the Balkans

by examining church disputes in the Florina region of the Ottoman Empire. The millet system allowed the Ottomans to organize non-Muslim communities on religious grounds, with the Greek, Armenian and Jewish nations gaining autonomy. However, the rise of nationalism and the post-Tanzimat reforms led to the weakening of the millet system and communities began to struggle for independence in order to clarify their own identities. Nelson, in the case of Florina, the struggle for churches and schools between Bulgarians and Greeks reveals the efforts of communities to preserve their religious and national identities. According to Ottoman archival records, Bulgarians wanted to build a church in Florina, but faced obstacles due to the interference of Greeks and local Muslims. The claims of various religious groups were addressed by the Ottoman administration, and disputes in Florina were often brought to the central authority for resolution. The article explains how these local conflicts in Florina affected Ottoman strategies of governing multi-religious communities and how the struggle for national identity manifested in everyday life.

CHAPTER I

BALKAN POLITICS AND SOCIETY

BULGARIAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS AFTER THE ACCESSION OF BULGARIA TO NATO IN THE PERIOD FROM 2004 TO 2024

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Introduction

Bulgaria is situated in the heart of the Balkan Peninsula and south-eastern Europe, covering a territory of 111,000 km². It shares borders with the Black Sea region to the east and is in close proximity to the Turkish straits. Bulgaria's location at the crossroads of Europe and Asia gives it significant geostrategic importance. The map below illustrates Bulgaria's geostrategic position in the Balkan region.

The Ottoman-Russian War in 1877-1878 resulted in the establishment of a new Bulgarian state after gaining independence from the Ottoman Empire. During both World War I and II, Bulgaria was allied with Germany. After the conclusion of World War II in 1946, Bulgaria became a one-party socialist state and part of the Eastern Communist bloc. In 1990, Bulgaria transitioned from a communist regime to a democracy, marking the beginning of the country's shift towards a democratic system and a new liberal market economy. This was achieved through the first multi-party election in the country, which was allowed by the communist party. The new democratic system opened the gate for other parties and organizations to compete. Bulgaria changed its political structure, based on the 1991 democratic Constitution (Curtis, 1993).



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Map 1: The geostrategic position of Bulgaria in the Balkan region (Haines, 2016, p. 1)

Thanks to the establishment of a new liberal government in 2001, Bulgaria achieved its first goal and became a member of NATO in 2004. Subsequently, in 2007, Bulgaria became a full member of the EU.

Russia, amidst political and economic crises in the 1990s, remained silent regarding the NATO membership of post-communist central and eastern European countries, taking it for granted. For a brief period, many post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe joined NATO, extending its geopolitical borders to the edge of the Russian Federation. However, this enlargement policy also led to Russia adopting aggressive policies, such as the Georgian war, annexation of Crimea, and invasion of Ukraine.

The Georgian War, the annexation of Crimea and the invasion of eastern Ukraine by Russia constituted pivotal moments in this conflict. As Zbigniew Brzezinski¹ (1997: 112-114) observed in his book *The Grand Chessboard*, if Russia were to extend an invitation to Ukraine, it would signify the reawakening of the soil of the former Soviet Union and the necessity for the United States and the NATO to implement new measures to prevent the further spread of Russian influence over the legacy of the USSR. These events will prompt the world to reflect more deeply on the concept of balance of power and security.

1 Zbigniew Brzezinski (born 28 March 1928) is a Polish-American diplomat.

The primary objective of the study is to examine the relationship between Bulgaria and Russia following Bulgaria's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 2004. In order to achieve this, the following research questions are considered:

1. What are the advantages for Bulgaria of being in alliances with the West?
2. Has Bulgaria's relationship with Russia changed since its integration into NATO?
3. Why does Russia consider Bulgaria's membership of NATO to be a strategic threat?

A number of articles and books have been written and researched on the issues related to the Bulgaria-Russian relations in general. The study, however, focuses on the specific relations between Bulgaria and Russia, particularly in the context of Bulgaria's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Another contribution of this study is the representation of Bulgaria as an important strategic Balkan country for both the NATO and the Russian Federation. The books and journals as well as newspapers had its contribution to the work. The temporal scope of this research project encompasses the period between the admission of Bulgaria to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 2004 and the outbreak of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022.

Literature review

In her 2015 book, "Bulgarian-Russian Relations in the Context of Global Powers' Geopolitical Strategies in the Balkans", Penka Peeva examines the Bulgarian-Russian relationship in the context of the European Union's diminished influence in the Balkan Peninsula and the geopolitical advancement of the Russian Federation in the region. The author posits that the current crisis EU affords Russia greater scope to shape its foreign policy towards Bulgaria and other countries in the South-East region of Europe. Peeva asserts that Russia is capitalizing on the opportunities and advantages presented by the EU crisis to enhance its influence in the region. As a historian, she asserts that Bulgaria occupies a pivotal position in Russian geopolitical and geographical considerations, as well as in historical relations between the two countries. Concurrently, she posits that Bulgaria's integration into NATO and EU has exacerbated its relationship with Russia. The reasons for the freezing of relations in the 1990s were twofold. Firstly, Bulgaria had turned away from Russia, which had previously been a relatively weak power, and sought a new alternative in Western countries. Secondly, the dissolution of the Soviet Union had created a power vacuum in the region, which Bulgaria was

keen to fill. The accession of Bulgaria NATO represented a significant turning point in the country's foreign policy. Russia has sought to identify alternative avenues to impede the activities of NATO and extend its influence within the region (Peeva, 2016).

Additionally, a study was conducted by Heather E. Colney, James Mina, Ruslan Stefanov and Martin Vladimirov, entitled "The Kremlin Playbook: Understanding Russian Influence in Central and Eastern Europe" (2016). The objective of the study was to examine the economic impact and influence of Russia in Central and Eastern Europe, with a focus on five countries: Bulgaria, Hungary, Serbia, Slovakia, and Latvia. Russia established a network of patronage in the region, which it then leverages to influence and direct decision-making processes. The authors provide illustrative examples of how Russia employs leaders to establish pro-Russian parties in each state and undermines democratic institutions, utilizing corruption as a primary instrument, and exploits the inherent weaknesses of capitalism through economic influence. The book uncovers the methods through which Russian influence is infiltrating the state system. Finally, the authors present a list of potential solutions to halt the expansion of Russian influence in Bulgaria.

There is another similar study represented by David Clark and Dr Andrew Foxall whose research is about *Russia's Role in the Balkans –Cause for Concern?* (2014). The authors posit that the Russian foreign policy has become more assertive and influential under the leadership of President Putin. The authors posit that EU policymakers must have a clear understanding of Russia's strategic intentions in the Balkans and the absence of preventive measures by EU, the situation may become irremediable.

Vincent Pouliot is an author who analyzes the relationship between two former rivals NATO and the Russian Federation in his book *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy* (2010). The author employs historical and qualitative analysis based on interweaves to demonstrate that the establishment of a security community between NATO and the Russian Federation is constrained by the enduring animosity between the two entities and Russia's perception of NATO's continued expansion as a threat. The author concurs that NATO plays a dominant role and frequently assumes a superior position towards Russia, which Russia perceives as a highly significant factor in its elevated position within the international security hierarchy. Consequently, the contemporary Russian-Atlantic relationship is primarily characterized by intense symbolic power struggles that impede the development of the security community (Pouliot, 2010). This book is of significant value to this study because an understanding

of the relationship between NATO and the Russian Federation allows us to determine the nature of Russia's relations with Bulgaria, which is a member state of NATO.

Also, there is report written by Dimitar Bechev, *Russia's influence in Bulgaria* (2016). The author identifies intricate interconnections between Russia and Bulgaria, discernible in the realms of politics, economics, and religious and cultural activities. Bechev highlights that throughout history and in the present day, this ongoing conflict between the West and the East persists. The prevalence of personal interests and corruption in Bulgarian policy has the effect of undermining national sovereignty. By accepting Bulgaria as a member of the NATO and EU, this country has a significant opportunity to pursue comprehensive political reforms that will facilitate economic growth and social advancement. Nevertheless, Russia has sought to expand its influence in Bulgaria through the implementation of ambitious energy and economic initiatives, such as the South Stream project. This has resulted in notable economic and political challenges for the country. The author delineates the Russian sphere of influence in Bulgaria, which is manifest in the energy and banking, economic and tertiary sectors, as well as the media and press. Ultimately, Bechev proposes recommendations for counteracting Russian influence in order to safeguard Bulgaria's reputation and national interests.

Alejandro Sanchez Cornejo Nieto is author of article *A Drop in the Ocean: Bulgaria's NATO Membership and Black Sea Geopolitics* (2008). In the article, Nieto addresses the issue of Bulgaria's accession to NATO and the country's military activities within the Alliance. At the outset of the article, the author delineates the process of preparation and negotiation surrounding Bulgaria's entry into NATO. What benefits does NATO derive from Bulgaria? This question constitutes the principal focus of this article. Nieto posits that Bulgaria offers more benefits to the NATO than the reverse, yet the inefficiency of Bulgaria's military structures in implementing military reforms has resulted in the country's loss of legitimacy and reputation among other NATO members. The reason for this situation is undoubtedly the invisible link between Bulgaria and Russia in the military sphere, particularly in the area of military equipment.

NATO-Russia Relations

During the Cold War, the world was divided into two opposing ideological blocs, forming a bipolar international system. The Western bloc, led by the United States, was capitalist in nature, while the Eastern bloc, led by the Soviet Union,

was communist. Since WW2, the relationship between these two blocs has been characterized by mutual hostility. In response, NATO was established with the objective of preventing the subsequent expansion of the Soviet Union, initially in Europe and subsequently in other regions of the globe. Conversely, the Warsaw Pact was established with the objective of safeguarding the interests of the communist bloc and defending it against perceived threats of capitalist expansion. “The NATO was created to counter both Soviet expansion and the possibility of a resurgence of militant nationalism” (The NATO, 2017). The year 1990 marked the beginning of a new era in relations between NATO and Russia, which was experiencing significant challenges on both the domestic and external fronts, including economic and political difficulties following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. It was incumbent upon NATO to exploit all opportunities to advance towards its future goals and to consolidate its position to the greatest extent possible beyond the sphere of Russian interest. The enlargement strategy led to the integration of numerous post-communist states into the NATO.

In 1999, Vladimir Putin assumed the role of prime minister, marking a pivotal moment in the construction of a new Russia and symbolizing the struggle to reclaim Soviet-era assets. In 2013, Russia allocated a greater proportion of its gross domestic product (GDP) to defense than the United States for the first time in a decade. Russia, under the leadership of Putin, has taken a series of actions that can be perceived as a contra-step toward USA and the NATO expansion. The Georgian War, the annexation of Crimea and the invasion of eastern Ukraine occurred subsequent to the intention of the NATO to integrate these countries into the organization and to establish a military presence there (Tisdall, 2014). This could result in significant alterations to the international system and compel small and weak states to reconsider their allegiances if there is only one viable option.

A Historical Overview of the Relationship between Russia and Bulgaria

The populations of Bulgaria and Russia share numerous similarities and interactions, which are shaped by their historical heritage (Peeva, 2015). Historically, Bulgaria and Russia shared mutual interests. Bulgaria’s geopolitical and geostrategic position on the Balkan Peninsula made it a crucial partner to Russia. Conversely, Russia was also Bulgaria’s indispensable ally due to its reliance upon the latter’s economic and energy resources.

Following the Second World War, Bulgaria was situated within the geopolitical sphere of the Soviet Union and became a member of the communist military

bloc, the Warsaw Pact, for mutual defense. Bulgaria possessed a formidable military apparatus and was consistently prepared to defend the interests of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the eastern part of Europe. However, the 1980s marked the beginning of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the transition period for Bulgaria. The eastern communist regime was undergoing a transformation towards a more Western-oriented democracy, and the country was transferred to the geopolitical sphere of the United States.

In the final decade of the 20th century, Bulgaria experienced a profound yet peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy. Following the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the transformation of the international political landscape in 1989, Bulgaria initiated a new era of foreign policy. This coincided with a shift in the country's foreign relations, away from Russia and towards NATO and the European Union (Tashev, 2004).

During the period of transition, Bulgaria lacked the capacity to develop a robust foreign policy. The initial step taken by the country was to repair relations with Greece and Turkey, both of which are members of NATO. Another action was to take care of regional stability by recognizing the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia.

Internal political differences² over Bulgaria's approach to reorienting its alliances towards the West and the NATO led to internal party conflict. Following the Union of Democratic Forces' victory in 1997, a new phase of Bulgarian foreign policy began, characterized by efforts to integrate the country into the NATO alliance. The most significant rationale for this revised foreign policy agenda was to ensure the security and stability of Bulgaria (Boneva, 2012).

The inaugural democratically elected president of post-communist Bulgaria, Zheliu Zhelev³, from UDF, espoused a distinctly pro-Western stance, advocating for Bulgaria's integration into EU and NATO, with the expectation of fostering harmonious relations with neighboring countries.

Bulgaria seized the opportunity to pursue a new security strategy and economic development through an alliance with NATO. The action had negative

2 Following Bulgaria's transition to a democratic system, the government changed hands between the communist and democratic opposition parties for many years. This resulted in a delay in NATO and EU membership. When the communists formed a government, they generally followed an anti-NATO policy and looked favourably on relations with Russia. Consequently, this affected Bulgaria's foreign policy.

3 Zheliu Mitev Zhelev (March 3, 1935- January 30, 2015, Sofia), Bulgarian politician who served as president of Bulgaria from 1990 to 1997.

consequences for the relationship between Bulgaria and Russia. This unavoidable decision on the part of Bulgaria effectively defined its position in the international arena. This resulted in Bulgaria assuming new responsibilities in matters of security and defense, while precipitating a crisis in its relations with Russia.

The reduction in the size of the Bulgarian army was a consequence of both Bulgaria's accession to NATO and the fact that the country's national security was dependent on the organization. The Bulgarian army was required to participate in NATO operations, for example in Afghanistan and Iraq, and to grant permission for the construction of United States and NATO military bases on Bulgarian territory. In addition, Bulgaria was confronted with an energy crisis with Russia (Novakova, 2009).

Model of Russian influence

Conley in the Kremlin Playbook describes Russia's inflows as a slow-moving virus:

“...in the 2004-2008 study time as a period as Russian influence slowly infected different sectors of economy (energy, financial, media, and infrastructure sectors) and regions...Russian-linked entities work to support select state actors who in turn work on their behalf. This support can include investing in rising politicians, cultivating relationships with prominent businessmen, or helping to ensure that its business affiliates become well positioned in government. From a position of authority and power, these local affiliates can work to expand a system of Russia patronage by ensuring that lucrative contracts and rewards are doled out to Russia's preferred partners, who then are beholden to the Kremlin's network and become instruments of its influence” (Conley and Stefanov, 2016: XIII, XIV).

The Russian network model of influence is described as a *univirtuous circle* and its goal is to reduce the credibility of democracy and governments in the countries of the region and through the economy and politics lead the countries to *state capture*⁴ (Conley and Stefanov, 2016). The state capture is followed by economic capture and political capture. The term “economic capture” is used to describe the manipulation of economic sectors that are of vital importance for the

4 The actions of small number of firms, groups (military, ethics), kleptocratic politicians to shape rules of the game to their advantage through nontransparent provision of private gains to public officials (Conley & Stefanov, 2016, p. 1).

country. “Political capture,” on the other hand, refers to the creation of groups of nationalists and Russian sympathizers, with the goal of providing a stable foundation for the policy agenda promoted by Russia.

Russia exploits the vulnerabilities of the Bulgarian government and state apparatus to gain access to state institutions through economic and political initiatives. In this manner, it gained the capacity and sway to influence all significant resolutions pertaining to the national interest in Bulgaria. Russia often used corruption-illegal ways of achieving its interests and establishing a network of links in the private and state sectors (Conley and Stefanov, 2016). Corruption is employed in economic and political transactions. Russia also engaged in the creation of political power (parties and politicians) and provides financial support to the formation of new entities that espouse euroscepticism, populism, nationalism, and pro-Russian sentiments. This model has a number of additional objectives. Russia was seeking to gain economic and political benefits, which were reflected in the reduction of Western influence in Bulgaria. This would have the effect of weakening NATO and the European Union influence, while strengthening Russian domination in the region.

The second objective was to enhance and actualize financial benefits through investment projects. Russia employed a range of political influence tactics, tailored to the specific regional context and interests at stake. In the case of countries that do not enjoy privileged status within the Russian Federation or that are situated in close proximity to it, Russia has opted to employ a hard power approach. In regions that are relatively distant from Russia, such as the Balkan countries including Bulgaria, soft power is employed primarily through energy and economic investment projects.

The Russian strategy for business projects has the following guidelines:

- Russia uses nature of national and local operating environment; weak regulations and oversights.
- The projects are designed to create dominance over local companies.
- Privatization of state companies.
- Creating a good friendly relationship between a different companies rather than competition relation (Conley and Stefanov, 2016).

Russia employed a multifaceted strategy to expand its influence, encompassing a complex network of businesses, companies, political networks, and contacts. Furthermore, Russia is attempting to diminish the enthusiasm of countries in the region for engagement with the West and, in particular, the European Union,

in order to prevent the integration of the region into the EU structure. Finally, Russia's aspiration is to demonstrate its model of governance and open economy as a superior alternative to EU and USA.

Energetic Influence of Russia over Bulgaria

Bulgaria's lack of natural resources, particularly gas and oil, has been a significant challenge for the country. Bulgaria has historically relied on Russia for these resources, which have been crucial for its economic development. In fact, the gas and oil have become one of the most significant instruments at Russia's disposal for exerting influence over the Balkan region and Bulgaria.

Over the last decades, the impact of Russian foreign policy in the Balkans has become increasingly evident. The ascendant power of Russia, under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, is manifesting in a series of ambitious investment initiatives. Russia was the preeminent energy supplier in the Balkans.

Two major Russian energy companies, Gazprom and Lukoil, have a significant influence on the trade relations between Moscow and Sofia (Bechev, 2016). In 2012, the South Stream tender was awarded to Russian companies Stroytransgaz and the Bulgarian company Gasproekat. However, two years later, the Russian gas company Gazprom assumed control of the pipeline. In 2014, the Bulgarian government, under pressure from Washington and Brussels, suspended construction of the South Stream pipeline, which was to pass through Bulgaria (Clark and Foxall, 2014).

In 2017, Bulgaria participated in the construction of the Turkish Stream pipeline through Russia's Gazprom, although it did not benefit from the project in any way. This fact illustrates the strong Russian influence in the Bulgarian energy sector. In 2022, after 12 years, the Greece-Bulgaria Interconnector was completed as an alternative to the Turkish Stream pipeline (Tcherneva, 2023).

In response to the closure of the four nuclear reactors at Kozloduy by the EU in 2004, Bulgaria has reinvigorated the project for the construction of a nuclear station at Belene. Russia has emerged as a highly successful investor. The Energy Minister stated that the construction of Belene would be unfeasible without Russian involvement (Bechev, 2016). Following the unsuccessful conclusion of the Belene construction project, Bulgaria was obliged to pay 620\$ million in compensation to a Russian state-owned enterprise that had invested in the venture (Pienkowski, 2016).

Economic Influence of Russia over Bulgaria

As a former member of the Soviet Union, Russia was able to gain rapid access to the Bulgarian economic and trade market. However, Russia's primary focus remains on the economic sectors, particularly energy and trading. According to German reports, one-third of Bulgaria's economic output is either directly or indirectly controlled by Moscow (Traufetter, 2014). However, there has been a notable decline in this trade, with a 33% reduction from €5.35 billion in 2013 to €3.55 billion in 2015.

Russia exerts considerable influence over the banking sector in the Balkans, particularly in Bulgaria. The most significant and largest bank is VTB Bank, which is majority-owned by Russian interests. In 2011, Vneshtorgbank (VTB) undertook a series of acquisitions of major Bulgarian companies, including Bulgartabac (a tobacco processing company of significance to minority populations in the southern regions of Bulgaria) and the largest Bulgarian corporate bank, Commercial Bank (Corpbank or KTB). The latter entity proceeded to purchase the largest telecommunications company in Bulgaria, BTK (the Vivacom mobile operator). One of the country's most influential business magnates is Tzvetan Vassilev, a prominent banker. His KTB bank handles a significant portion of the capital inflow from Moscow into state-controlled Bulgarian industry, particularly the energy sector (Traufetter, 2014). Additionally, Vassilev's New Media Group holds a monopoly over press distribution.

The second area, in which Russia exerts influence in Bulgaria, is in the field of tourism. Among foreign nationals in Bulgaria, Russians own the largest number of properties in this country. The majority of these are located in towns on the Black Sea coast. However, the demand for and sale of property in Bulgaria reached its peak in 2012, followed by a decline in the value of the Russian ruble due to sanctions imposed by EU and the USA.

Furthermore, the influence of Russia is discernible in the media landscape, encompassing radio, television, news agencies, and print media. Prominent examples include Bulgarian National Radio (BNR), Bulgarian National Television (BNT), BGNews Agency, and the Duma and Scat TV newsletter, which is managed by the Ataka party, a pro-Russian political entity in Bulgaria. These media outlets have been observed to express overt support for Russia, a phenomenon that was particularly evident during the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. In 2014, the Bulgarian President Rosen Plevneliev asserted that "90% of the media in Bulgaria are under the influence of Russian interests" (Bechev, 2016).

Political and Diplomatic Influence of Russia over Bulgaria

Russia's influence on Balkan politics is predicated on its long-standing religious and cultural ties with the region, particularly with Bulgaria. Russia is attempting to encourage pro-Russian politicians to assume prominent roles within the government. The influence was based on the strengthening of right-wing nationalist parties that espouse Russian political ideology. The most prominent parties were ATAKA and the Bulgarian Socialist Party, which were opposed to Bulgarian membership in NATO.

Table 1: Political Parties in Bulgaria

	Political Parties
Pro-Russia	Ataka Patriotic Front Bulgaria Communist Party Bulgarian Socialist Party BSP Alternative for Bulgarian Revival National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria NFSB Bulgarian National Movement BNM National Movement of Russophiles NMR Movement for Rights and Freedom DPS
Anti-Russia	Reformist Bloc People's Party for Freedom and Dignity Union of Democratic Force SDS Bulgaria without Censorship BBT
Neutral	Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria CEDB (GERB)

Source: (Haines, 2016, p. 3)

In 2014, BSP was in coalition with the Movement for Rights and Freedom (DPS), which represents the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Socialist Party and DPS constitute the governing coalition in Bulgaria. Additionally, BSP has established close relations with Moscow, as well as with other social democratic parties across the European Union (Traufetter, 2014).

Russia's diplomatic strategy was to form a "strategic partnership" with the Balkan countries (Clark and Foxall, 2014). Russia expressed a high level of dissatisfaction when Bulgaria entered into NATO in 2004 and into EU in 2007, through the suspension of diplomatic relations. Diplomatic relations between these two countries were restored in 2013, following the change of government to BSP. Russia, however, leveraged this diplomatic initiative with Bulgaria to mitigate economic sanctions imposed by EU and USA on Russia in response to concerns about Crimea. In a statement released from Brussels, the leader of the Socialist Party, Stanishev, asserted that "There is no justification for the imposition of economic sanctions against Russia" (Clark and Foxall, 2014).

Since 2022, Bulgarians' attitude towards Russia has changed: Moscow's image has been affected by its invasion of Ukraine so the opposition has returned to domestic policy decisions (Mateeva-Kazakova, 2024).

Military Influence of Russia over Bulgaria

There are several reasons for Bulgaria's accession to NATO. One such reason is NATO's ability to exit to the Black Sea, which is a geostrategic important position (Nieto, 2009). The second and rationale for Bulgaria's accession to NATO is the potential for Bulgaria to become subject to the influence of the Russian Federation. However, since 2004, there has been a notable decline in enthusiasm surrounding Bulgaria's prospective membership in the NATO alliance. This shift in sentiment has created an opening for Russian influence on the military forces of Bulgaria. Bulgaria continues to utilize antiquated land and air artillery systems inherited from the Soviet Union, despite the NATO's emphasis on the modernization of Bulgaria's military capabilities. The maintenance and repair of such outdated military equipment is costly and can only be carried out in Russia. Additionally, there have been disputes between Russia and Bulgaria regarding military patents that were originally owned by Bulgaria but were subsequently acquired by Russia during the Soviet era. This issue was resolved when Bulgaria forgave 30 USD million in Russian debt (Bechev, 2016).

Conclusion

The paper aimed to analyze Bulgarian- Russian relations after the Bulgarian integration into NATO. Following a decade of negotiations, Bulgaria became a full member state of NATO in 2004. Following Bulgaria's accession to NATO, relations between Russia and Bulgaria were suspended. However, the Russian Federation, under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, has been actively pursuing the

expansion of its influence and domination in the Balkans and Europe through the implementation of new strategic plans.

Bulgaria is one of the poorest countries in Europe, which provides an ideal environment for the spread of Russian influence in this region. Indeed, the majority of businessmen in Bulgaria occupy a significant position within the political landscape, with the assistance of Russian financial resources. They have a role in strengthening Russian influences and ideas, and in reducing the influence of the NATO and the European Union in Bulgaria.

Russia's investment in projects in the energy and economic sectors is perceived as a significant economic presence in the region. However, a closer examination of the investments and projects sponsored by the Russian Federation, such as the construction of the South Stream gas pipeline in Bulgaria and the region, or the reconstruction of the Belene nuclear power station in Kozloduy, reveals that they have not been fully realized due to prolonged negotiations surrounding long-term financing or construction bans.

Furthermore, Russia has a controlling interest in the largest Bulgarian bank, KTB – Corporation Commercial Bank, as well as significant holdings in telecommunications, mobile operations, media and press, and oil and gas distribution (Lukoil and Gazprom).

Russia has been able to exert influence over Bulgaria's national affairs and interests by infiltrating various sectors, including energy, the economy, banking, the media and political parties. This has enabled Russia to advance its economic and political goals and to consolidate its presence in the Balkans. These developments have a detrimental impact on Bulgaria's national sovereignty and the well-being of its citizens, who are facing severe economic challenges and a lack of opportunities.

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MODERN MONUMENTS OF NORTH MACEDONIA AFTER THE PRESPA AGREEMENT

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Introduction

The break-up of Yugoslavia in 1991 was marked by a rapid rise of nationalism in the context of an ongoing process of building a new national consciousness and identity. However, it is worth noting that the effort to build a Macedonian identity had already begun at the beginning of the 20th century with the creator of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito. The creation of Macedonian national consciousness is inspired by the following paradox: the state created the nation through the policies adopted by the political leadership. The main purpose of this indirect imposition was to serve Yugoslavia on a geostrategic level. Greece's attitude toward the domestic and foreign policy pursued by its neighboring country was characterized by relative inertia, which directly contributed to the strengthening of national feeling among the Slavic population of the region (Κουρβετάρης Γεώργιος, Ρουδομέδωφ Βίκτωρ-Κουτσουκης Κλεομένης, Κουρβετάρης Ανδρέας, Σιουσιουρας Πετρος (eds), 2009: 19-33).

Therefore, when the dissolution of the Federal Republic occurred, the Republic of Macedonia managed, unlike other states, to secure a 'velvet divorce' from Yugoslavia through the referendum held on 8 September 1991. On 17 November, the secession from Yugoslavia was officially completed. However, independence marked the beginning of a long period during which the newly established state had to assert its identity and self-determination, at the global and regional levels (Κουρβετάρης Γεώργιος, Ρουδομέδωφ Βίκτωρ-Κουτσουκης Κλεομένης, Κουρβετάρης Ανδρέας, Σιουσιουρας Πετρος (eds), 2009: 174-176).



The dispute with Greece over the name of the newly created state turned out to be much more complex than a simple inter-state confrontation. The conflict in question was, in fact, about conflicting nationalisms and, by extension, the clash of national identities. This led the two neighboring states into a deep political and particularly social crisis. The signing of the New York Interim Agreement between Greece and FYROM superficially settled the inter-state problems, providing a basis for further negotiations. It is worth noting that the Interim Agreement regulated a wide range of transnational issues, including cultural heritage (Φλούδας, 2009).

As well as the challenges posed by neighbouring states Greece, Bulgaria, and to a lesser extent Serbia, the country had to contend with internal disputes, including armed conflicts between the Slavic and Albanian populations. These factors created a need to protect Macedonian identity and language, which became an issue of major importance for the country's internal affairs (Αρμακόλας Ιωάννης, Ντόκος Θάνος (Eds), 2010: 116).

These tendencies were confirmed by the rise to power of the right-wing VMRO-DPMNE party in 2006. Through the capital's redevelopment program, named 'Skopje 2014,' its creator and head of state Nikola Gruevski aimed to create a historical link with the modern Macedonian state through a wave of archaization, thereby legitimizing it. Although the Prespa Agreement was intended to resolve the name issue between the two states, questions remain as to whether an inter-state agreement can address the core of the problem and whether the measures taken under it were the most effective solutions, ultimately putting an end to the conflicts between the two states.

Monuments as a Tool for Building National Identity

From a legal point of view, monuments are defined as "cultural goods that constitute material evidence, belong to the cultural heritage of the country, and require special attention and protection." Monuments are divided into ancient, modern, movable, and immovable property (Legal Advisory Service for Intellectual Property Matters, Heallegal). The purpose of monumental imaging is to record historical evidence that traces back to the ancestral past and aligns with the political agenda of the present (Gibson, 2009: 5-25). The practice of "monumentalizing" history has been known since the Neolithic era, when the construction of monuments was an integral element in building unchanging social structures and collective identity, thereby creating the cultural memory of the population concerned (Martin Furholt, Friedrich Lüth, Johannes Müller (Eds), 2011: 16-17).

Memory, preserved through monuments, is the backbone of the formation and preservation of national identity. It is how society and its individuals perceive their existence, their place in the world, their history, and their subsequent evolutionary course. However, the factor of forgetting also plays an important role in the formation of memory, particularly through the silencing of traumatic experiences of individuals or society (Tsiara, 2000: 9-18).

The formation of collective memory within a social group necessitates that each individual revises certain personal memories, replacing them with those shared by the group. This makes it possible to form a collective view of events. For in states and advanced societies, specific socio-cultural mechanisms are utilized to foster or enhance collective memories shared among their populace (Tsiara, 2000: 9-18). Similarly, according to Jan Assmann, cultural memory refers to traditions and theories that are transmitted either orally or materially to the members of a given society. In this way, collective memory is strengthened (Martin Furuholt, Friedrich Lüth, Johannes Müller (Eds), 2011: 16-17).

Consequently, through public spaces, statues, and monuments, concepts are reproduced and ideologies of a particular region are expressed and perpetuated. They also contribute to the formation of hierarchical relations. Simultaneously, they constitute a 'text' of stone intended to act as a stabilizing factor in society, countering upcoming changes (Knapp, 2009: 48-49). In other words, monuments aim to serve as a continuous visual stimulus that activates memory. This process targets not only the permanent residents of the area but also visitors, thereby legitimizing specific beliefs both locally and abroad (Tsiara, 2000: 2-13).

Monuments as a Soft Power Policy

The sites of cultural heritage and monuments selectively narrate history with the aim of both concealing and highlighting events. Therefore, it is a common phenomenon that the social process of forming collective memory is based on the deliberate omission or suppression of certain events, as mentioned above. Notably, the size, materials, and style used in their construction are not arbitrary. For instance, the scale and grandeur of a monument directly signify the importance of the person or figure depicted. Thus, the various ways in which monuments are conceived, interpreted, and utilized within society fall decidedly within the politicized realm of public and collective memory (Alderman & Dwyer, 2009: 42-53).

Representations of historical events are both the imprint of social power and a necessary element for its achievement. Moreover, the transmission of widely

held beliefs is a fundamental pillar for the legitimation of political goals. Likewise, any changes in the field of cultural heritage often imply strong shifts in political ideologies at the level of government, which frequently uses public symbols to legitimize certain ethnic and political attributions throughout history. A typical example is the Soviet Union, where the erection of images of great political leaders was an integral part of the politicization of the people (Alderman & Dwyer, 2009: 239). This example also applies to the Balkan countries, which, following the model of Soviet Russia, sought to consolidate the communist political regime by creating monumental depictions of leading communists of the time.

The importance of this practice lies in its contribution to the empowerment of historical events through monuments and cultural landscapes, as they are exposed to public view, thereby giving legitimacy to the historical narrative. The practice of politics through monumental representations, symbols, or cultural sites can often strengthen the sense of belonging within society by constantly projecting and reminding people of a common history and origin. On the other hand, it can also prelude tensions between competing nationalisms and identity concepts. Thus, the issue of monuments can be a point of contention. When there are conflicting collective perceptions regarding monuments, they are likely to be seen as encroaching on the space of others' symbols (Alderman & Dwyer, 2009: 239).

It is worth noting that on the global political stage, the concept of political and national identity, and its construction under various socio-political conditions, often encounters significant challenges in being comprehended by political leaders, particularly in the Balkan region. It should be emphasized that the newly established Balkan democracies used the tactic of ethnic and cultural discrimination to construct national identity, with cultural elements being instrumentalized to achieve self-determination. Moreover, creation myths played an important role in mobilizing national consciousness, providing historical and lawful continuity to the nation (Mazgalieva, 2016: 4-6).

An example of this conflict is the monuments erected under the Skopje 2014 project by the then-ruling VMRO-DPMNE party and political leader Nikola Gruevski. As discussed below, the program had a twofold objective: firstly, to rebuild the city of Skopje, and secondly, to establish the concept of Macedonians as descendants of Alexander the Great and his historical legacy. These objectives attempted to establish a national identity in the contemporary world as a counterweight to the political changes that emerged in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

The 'Skopje 2014' Program: The Idea, the Announcement, and the Initial Projects of Skopje 2014.

During the period when North Macedonia was a federal state of Yugoslavia, cultural policy was strictly centralized, with the central government playing a catalytic role in shaping the cultural policy of each federal state. From the 1970s onwards, the federated entities entered a period of self-management, accompanied by the establishment of cultural institutions at the municipal level. Whereas, the policies of decentralization and self-management failed in the long run due to the rigid bureaucracy that plagued the federation. In the 1990s, with the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the cultural policy of the then FYROM became administratively centralized again, resulting in individual municipalities losing the competencies they had acquired in the cultural sector during the previous period. At the same time, there was no formal provision for a national cultural strategy or specific intentions regarding cultural development (Mazgalieva, 2016: 25-26).

The electoral victory of the right-wing party VMRO-DPMNE and Nikola Gruevski in the July 2006 elections was largely based on a highly ambitious political programme, with particular emphasis on the economy, but as it turned out in retrospect, it aimed to substantially reshape society. Gruevski, through his rhetoric, primarily aimed to create a national identity with historical origins, strengthen the Macedonian national sentiment as a counterweight to conflicting nationalisms at home and abroad, and establish continuity over time. To achieve these goals, exorbitant sums were spent from the state budget, and various programs and campaigns were carried out. One of the most well-known initiatives for achieving these objectives was the 'Skopje 2014' program, which aimed to completely reconstruct the city of Skopje and, by extension, transform the entire country. The 'Skopje 2014' project was part of a broader policy called 'Macedonian Revival,' which had been on the party's election agenda as early as 2006. In fact, during the election period, VMRO-DPMNE stated that cultural heritage issues would be a priority for the party. The announcement of the program 'Skopje 2014' took place on February 4, 2010. In practice, 'Skopje 2014' was an urban renewal project funded by the VMRO-DPMNE government. Initially planned to include nine new structures, the program expanded significantly, encompassing 136 new structures by 2015 (Skoulariki, 2017: 32-14).

The official goal of completing the project was to restore the architecture of buildings from the 1920s and 1930s that had been destroyed by the 1963 earthquake. Besides, high on the agenda was the creation of new sites, such as a new national theatre, new government buildings, bridges, and numerous bronze and marble statues depicting elements of national heritage and history. Between 2007 and 2013, nine changes to the urban plan of the city of Skopje were carried out (Mazgalieva, 2016: 55-57).

It was decided that the new buildings would be constructed in Baroque and Neoclassical styles. This decision aimed to silence both the socialist past and the period of Ottoman rule. According to official government statements, the move was intended to create a modern capital city that would correspond to the European model, attract tourists and potential economic partners, and generate a sense of national pride among its citizens (Graan, 2013: 136-161). Gruevski stated in 2010 in support of the project that it would help ease the state budget, as each institution and public service would have its own space, thus eliminating or at least minimizing the cost of renting buildings. He also claimed that *“Skopje will become more beautiful through this project”* (Blazhevski, 2016: 3-5).

The focal point of urban regeneration was the city centre, where numerous monuments and buildings were constructed. The reconstruction of old buildings, alongside the entire ‘Skopje 2014’ project, frequently ignited tensions among the government, architects, historians, and heritage protection bodies. Critics argued that certain elements of the program blatantly contravened existing legislation designed to safeguard cultural heritage. Multiple violations were reported during its implementation (Blazhevski, 2016: 3-4).

One notable example is the renovation of the building housing the Parliament. Experienced architects and historians strongly opposed the decision, arguing unanimously that the Parliament building is a first-class monument protected by the country’s National Heritage Protection Office, and therefore any architectural intervention is considered illegal. Despite strong opposition, the reconstruction of the building began in 2010. Upon completion of the Programme, the total cost of the project was estimated to be €500 million. However, the exact amount spent on the ongoing unfinished project remains undisclosed (Blazhevski, 2016: 3-4).

The Historical Periods Behind “Skopje 2014”

The monumental depictions in the Skopje 2014 program can be categorized into four main chronological periods, through which the government aimed to historically link the nation and create an undeniable continuity and connection through time (Pompeani, 2017: 200-201). The four chronological periods can be briefly described as follows:

- First historical period: Ancient heroes dating back to the 4th century BC.
- Second period: Figures from early Christianity and the era preceding Ottoman occupation (2nd-14th century AD).

- Third period: Heroic figures of the birth of the Macedonian language and ethnicity (19th-20th century).
- Fourth period: Heroes linked to Macedonian independence. This temporal category can be seen as two subcategories:

A. Leading revolutionary heroes of the 19th and early 20th century, with particular emphasis on the Iliden Uprising (1903) and the Balkan Wars (1912-1913).

B. Leading revolutionaries and historical figures of the communist period, as well as persons connected with the creation of an independent statehood of North Macedonia, in the late 20th century (Pompeani, 2017: 200-201).

The first category includes the statues of Alexander the Great and his father, Philip II. The statue of Alexander the Great, officially named 'Warrior on a Horse,' adorns the centre of Skopje. In the same category are smaller statues and monuments, such as the monument to 'The Fallen Heroes of Macedonia. The second historical period depicted by Skopje 2014 refers to the era of early Christianity and the territorial strengthening and consolidation before the Ottoman conquest in the 14th century. The program prominently features Saints Cyril and Methodius and their disciples, Clement and Naum. One of the statues erected to support this narrative is the statue of Bulgarian Emperor Samuel (Pompeani, 2017: 200-201).

The monumental representations in this subcategory are considered particularly important because they aim to establish a link between the modern state and the spread of Christianity in Southeastern Europe. In addition, these representations attempt to demonstrate the existence of a distinct Macedonian language long before its official recognition and adoption as a national language in 1944. Also, they provide a basis and legitimacy for the Independent Macedonian Church, which broke away from the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1967 (Tsiobanis, 2007: 60).

The third period is associated with the national awakening of the people in the 19th century, when the first attempt to establish an independent Macedonian identity and nation is believed to have occurred. This era saw the early creation of Macedonian cultural heritage, marked by the publication of the first dictionary and newspapers in Macedonian, for example Georgi Pulevski's Dictionary of Three Languages, published in 1861. Here, the statues erected by the Skopje 2014 project mostly represent historians, lexicographers, and writers. These statues, predominantly made of bronze, are primarily located on the Bridge of Art (Pompeani, 2017: 207).

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the fourth and final category included in the Skopje 2014 programme can be divided into two subcategories based on the time periods they refer to. More specifically, the first subcategory includes statues and monuments that illustrate the events of the Ilinden Uprising (1903), the Balkan Wars, the Second World War, and the early communist period. This category predominantly honors leaders and prominent members of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (IMRO), as well as individuals who actively participated in the Ilinden Uprising and either died on the battlefield or were later executed. Notable commemorations are Dame Gruev, Goce Delčev, Nikola Karev, and others (Pompeani, 2017: 208).

The revolutionaries depicted from the mid-20th century are presented as intellectuals, including members of the Anti-Fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM), such as Metodija Andonov Čento, Pavel Šatev, and Nexhat. The Skopje 2014 project extended beyond the city of Skopje to include other cities in North Macedonia, albeit on a much smaller scale. Notable among these are the cities of Bitola and Prilep. It is worthy of note that the Skopje 2014 programme rarely includes female personalities. The only female representations erected under the programme are the aforementioned Muses and the statue of the Winged Victory (Pompeani, 2017: 208).

At this point, it is worth emphasizing that the locations chosen for each monument in the project were not at all random. For example, the fountain in honor of the Mothers of Macedonia is situated in close proximity to the old town, connected by a bridge and inhabited mainly by the Muslim minority. The aim of constructing the fountain is to provide a visual stimulus that reminds Macedonians of their ancestry and to counterbalance the high birth rate of the Muslim minority (Pompeani, 2017: 202).

Therefore, the placement and size of monuments and statues underscore their significance within the historical narrative. The more centrally positioned a monument is, the greater its importance and its impact on society. Specifically, when a monumental representation is centrally located within a town, village, or community, it becomes a focal point for more people, serving as a permanent reminder. Similarly, the size of the monument plays a crucial role by symbolizing the grandeur or importance of the person or event depicted, ensuring its visibility and influence on residents and visitors in the area.

Finally, it is important to note that the Skopje 2014 program faced significant opposition, both domestically and internationally. Historians, architects—both local and foreign—and international organizations voiced objections during

the planning and implementation of the program. Therefore, it can be argued that Skopje 2014, along with other policies of the ruling party VMRO-DPMNE, plunged the country not only into a profound cultural crisis but also into an even deeper political one. Internally, Gruevski's program was fiercely criticized by the Social Democratic Opposition (SDSM) and other smaller parties (Skoulariki, 2017: 36-38).

The Prespa Agreement and Modern Monuments: A Critical Assessment

The Agreement, a bilateral international treaty, concluded the protracted negotiations between the two parties. It was ratified by the Parliament of North Macedonia in June 2018. However, the Greek side ratified it later, in January 2019. Subsequently, the Agreement became law in Greece through Law No. 4588/2019, published in the Government Gazette on January 25, 2019. Among other provisions, the Prespa Agreement also addressed issues related to cultural heritage, particularly focusing on the modern monuments of North Macedonia, including those associated with the Skopje 2014 project. This was outlined in Article 8(1) of the Prespa Agreement.¹

The provision primarily addresses representations of symbols that are part of Greek history and cultural heritage. According to the Prespa Agreement, specifically outlined in Article 8(1), North Macedonia was required to remove all depictions of the Vergina Sun from public display throughout its territory by 12 August 2019. The Vergina Sun symbol was prevalent in various forms across the country, including monuments, wells, sports facilities, playgrounds, and coats of arms. The government was mandated to compile a list within 14 days, specifying the locations and objects where these symbols were present and needed to be removed, respecting their significance in Greek heritage (Fakalis, 2020).

Indeed, following the signing of the Prespa Agreement, North Macedonia undertook measures to comply with the requirement to remove public depictions of the Vergina Sun, a symbol significant in Greek cultural heritage. This symbol was widely displayed across various public spaces in North Macedonia, including monuments, water wells, sports halls, playgrounds, and official emblems. However, the agreement does not explicitly address the use of such symbols on private buildings or in private contexts. Paragraph 8, paragraph 3 of the Prespa

1 For more information, cf Prespa Agreement. (2019) <https://www.mfa.gr/images/docs/eidikathe-mata/agreement.pdf>

Agreement does not include provisions regarding symbols in private spaces. This aspect of the agreement focuses specifically on public displays and official representations.²

Therefore, while North Macedonia took steps to remove the Vergina Sun from public spaces in compliance with the agreement, the issue of symbols on private buildings remains outside the scope of the agreement's provisions. This has led to questions and discussions regarding the complete implementation of the agreement, particularly concerning the ongoing use of symbols in private settings that may still evoke sensitivities related to Greek cultural heritage. It is worth noting that Articles 6(2) and (3) refer to private entities that in any way contribute to or promote irredentist ideas and/or chauvinism. There are no further clarifying instructions, and the article specifically addresses purely irredentist acts. However, the part concerning the depiction of symbols in the private sector remains practically obscure. As a result, private businesses, buildings, and catering establishments continue to display the Vergina Sun.

It is of importance that the first verse of the national anthem of the country reads, 'The New Sun of Freedom.' It declares, "Today over Macedonia a new sun of freedom is born" (Денес над Македонија се раѓа, ново сонце на слободата!). Despite the signing of the agreement, however, the national anthem has remained unchanged.³

Regarding the monuments, signs have been placed stating, for instance, that the statue of Alexander the Great in the center of the capital is "In honor of the Great Alexander, a historical figure from ancient Greek history and culture, and part of world cultural and historical heritage, depicted here as a warrior on horseback." These signs are written in English, Albanian, and Macedonian. However, it has been observed that such inscriptions are continuously removed by unknown perpetrators, underscoring the Macedonian people's perceived lack of legitimacy of the Agreement. It is worth noting that the replacement of signs did not occur until the end of 2019. The delay in repositioning the signs by competent authorities was attributed to the country's rigid bureaucracy and was accompanied by repeated vandalism (Kornegieva, 2020).

Despite the provisions of Article 6(1), the Museum of the Macedonian Struggle in Skopje, established in 2008 as part of the Skopje 2014 program, continued to

2 For more information cf Prespa Agreement. (2019) <https://www.mfa.gr/images/docs/eidikathemata/agreement.pdf>

3 For more information s, cf Prespa Agreement. (2019) <https://www.mfa.gr/images/docs/eidikathemata/agreement.pdf>

operate without having completed all the planned changes mandated by Article 6(1) until 2022. They haven't removed any works with propaganda content. An example is the painting by Ukrainian-born artist Larisa Bonadenko, depicting the "victorious" entry of Yane Sandanski and his IMRO troops into Thessaloniki in 1912. However, it appears that the old page has been deleted and a new one has been created with modified content.⁴

To sum up, the Prespa Agreement resolves the long-standing name issue between the two parties. However, its provisions on cultural heritage, especially concerning modern monuments and symbols, can be seen as incomplete from various perspectives. Specifically, Article 8(1) addresses symbols that are part of Greek cultural heritage but lack subsidiary provisions or clarifications for cases similar to that of the Arch of Macedonia.

Furthermore, according to Article 8(2) of the Prespa Agreement, the issue of monuments, public buildings, and infrastructure must be reviewed, and necessary steps taken to clarify that representations of these refer to the cultural heritage and history of the Greek state. It is worth noting that no special committee was set up for the comprehensive settlement of this issue. The placement of signs with relevant references to Greek culture, as it turned out, was a temporary solution without providing a substantial resolution to the issue of monuments. This is evidenced by the frequent vandalisms of these signs, which not only confirms their lack of legitimacy among the population but also indirectly violates the very article meant to address them.

The Agreement, in many cases, instead of bridging differences and promoting peaceful coexistence between the citizens of the two states, has become a source of discord, particularly concerning questions of cultural heritage, which are directly related to the sense of "belonging" and identity. In this context, there is an indirect violation of Article 6(2) and (3), which addresses the elimination and prevention of irredentism and hate speech. This is evidenced by the approach taken by the Government of North Macedonia, complying with Article 8(2) through the placement of signs, which has sparked strong reactions among the Macedonian people, resulting in nationalist actions. Conversely, these nationalist actions have provoked equally strong reactions from the Greek side.⁵

4 For more information, cf Museum of Macedonian Struggle for Independence. *Educational programs and workshops*. <https://mmb.org.mk/en/educational-programs-and-workshops/>

5 For more information, cf Prespa Agreement. (2019) <https://www.mfa.gr/images/docs/eidikathe-mata/agreement.pdf>

Proposals for the development of the modern monuments of North Macedonia after the Prespa Agreement

The issue of cultural heritage is a crucial element of identity for the population, and therefore, its inclusion in the bilateral Agreement was inevitable. However, the limited time dedicated to addressing the relevant articles, coupled with the desire to resolve longstanding disputes swiftly, may have inadvertently created more problems at the societal level than they actually solved. As mentioned earlier, the solutions eventually implemented often led to tensions among the citizens of both states, thereby hindering the desired outcomes in some cases.

Based on the above and with the aim of creating bonds of friendship, peaceful cooperation, and acceptance of both the different “Other” and “Self,” at least regarding culture and cultural heritage, it is proposed to permanently remove from public spaces in North Macedonia any elements that do not pertain to its history and culture, similar to the approach taken by Bulgaria (Luleva, 2010: 10-12). These elements should be placed in a specially landscaped and equipped area designed as an outdoor museum. In more detail, this space can not only include a comprehensive and modern exhibition but also multiple activities and educational programs for children and adults.

The aim of the museum will be to recount the history of the modern state of North Macedonia as well as the various aspects of the Prespa Agreement. Thorough tours and guided visits to the museum premises, visitors will be able to understand the complexities that characterize the Macedonian identity and language, exactly as they have been created and shaped over the years.

However, in this proposal, the spatial limitations must be considered, as well as the almost expected reactions that may arise from such a decision. Therefore, to avoid strong protests from the public, the process should be carried out gradually and methodically. This implies parallel efforts in education and the implementation of open-ended actions for the country’s population. Regarding the spatial issue, it is recommended that only the most significant statues from the Skopje 2014 program be placed in the statue museum. The remaining statues could undergo reconstruction, with their materials recycled to create new artworks or infrastructure that serve the community. These new projects could be installed in public spaces or parks, providing new experiences and aesthetics to the community. Additionally, the recycled materials could be used to build or enhance infrastructure in the city, such as sidewalks, parks, or green spaces. This approach would offer practical benefits while also improving the environment and aesthetics of public spaces.

Educational Planned Activities: The process of recycling and creating new projects can be accompanied by educational activities aimed at raising public awareness about art and environmental sustainability. Workshops, seminars, and interactive sessions can engage the community, teaching them about the importance of recycling and how art can contribute to sustainable development.

These proposals can help find a sustainable solution for managing the statues of the Skopje 2014 program, respecting both the history and modern needs of the community. By integrating educational initiatives, the community can be involved in and informed about the transformation process, fostering a greater appreciation for both their cultural heritage and the importance of sustainability. Recycling and reconstruction practices are well-established in European countries like France, Italy, and Germany.⁶ Therefore, these practices are familiar in the field of art and cultural management.

As North Macedonia is an acceding state, the above effort could be financially supported by various international and domestic bodies. For instance: UNESCO: As a leading organization in the preservation of cultural heritage, UNESCO could provide funding and expertise for the sustainable management of monuments.⁷ Also European Union: Through programs like Creative Europe and Horizon 2020, the EU funds projects related to cultural heritage, environmental sustainability, and public engagement.⁸ World Bank: With its focus on sustainable development, the World Bank could support projects aimed at recycling materials and creating environmentally friendly public spaces.⁹ National Government and Ministries: North Macedonia's Ministry of Culture and other relevant government bodies could allocate funds for the reconstruction and recycling initiative as part of their cultural heritage preservation programs.¹⁰ Private Foundations and NGOs: Organizations such as the Getty Foundation or the Aga Khan Trust for Culture often fund projects related to art, culture, and heritage conservation. Crowdfunding and Public-Private Partnerships: Engaging the public and private

6 For more information cf Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) *National recycling strategies: France, Italy, Germany*. <https://www.oecd.org/environment/waste/national-recycling-strategies-france-italy-germany.htm>

7 For more information, see UNESCO. *UNESCO*. <https://www.unesco.org/>

8 For more information, cf European Union *Creative Europe*. <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/>

9 For more information cf World Bank. *World Bank Initiatives in Sustainable Development and Heritage Conservation*. <https://www.worldbank.org/>

10 For more information, cf [a]Getty Foundation *NGO contributions to cultural heritage preservation: Case studies from Getty Foundation and Aga Khan Trust* <https://www.getty.edu/foundation/>

sectors in financing through crowdfunding campaigns and partnerships can also be a viable strategy to gather the necessary resources.

The appropriate cultural management of monuments that do not align with the history and culture of North Macedonia will create opportunities for new constructions serving as national symbols, emphasizing the country's distinctive history and multi-ethnic character. These monuments will act as focal points to attract both domestic and international visitors. Moreover, promoting a climate of reconciliation at political and social levels will encourage acceptance of local and foreign identities, thereby bridging divides and fostering cooperation on a transnational level.

Conclusion

Issues of cultural heritage are of paramount importance, especially in matters concerning how a people perceive their existence in the global context. Monuments, statues, and cultural spaces in general often function as connecting links between the finite past, the present, and the unknown future. They decode the deeper structures and perceptions of each society. The dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991 marked the beginning of nationalist conflicts, bringing to the surface both similarities and substantial differences among the nations. The dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991 marked the beginning of nationalist conflicts, bringing to the surface both similarities and substantial differences among the nations involved.

It is deserving of attention that in the case of North Macedonia, the sense of national identity was imposed from above within the framework of Tito's policies, primarily to serve the geostrategic interests of the Federation. Hence, it emerges that in the country's case, the state created the nation and not vice versa. The policies pursued by the leader of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Tito, included a wide spectrum of both politicization and nationalization of the people living within the boundaries of the nascent state. Naturally, cultural policy was one of the fundamental components of this process. However, within the framework of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the cultural policy of today's North Macedonia was subsumed under a broader federal democratic regime.

The rise to power of the nationalist Nikola Gruevski likely confirms the trends of the era and the need for substantial legitimization of the nascent state. This process concerned both domestic affairs, especially considering the internal conflicts of the multinational state, and external affairs due to multiple disputes

with neighboring countries. The implementation of the Skopje 2014 program was essentially an effort by the VMRO-DPMNE government to establish cultural unity internally, emphasizing the Slavic part of the population, and promoting a branding name externally in response to challenges and disputes from neighboring states.

The intricate years following the global economic crisis of 2008 led the then country towards greater introspection, further opening the field for nationalist rhetoric. Conversely, the economic and political instability that characterized the Greek state likely shifted the focus of both citizens and political leadership toward resolving domestic issues, leaving the conflict with the neighboring country on the sidelines.

The Prespa Agreement was signed with the aim of resolving the longstanding name dispute between North Macedonia and Greece and allowing the latter to commence negotiations for entry into international organizations and the European Union, as the naming issue with Greece had been a hindrance to further international integration of the state. Among other provisions, the Agreement also included clauses for resolving issues of cultural heritage.

Nevertheless, the solutions provided, particularly in the management of the contemporary monuments under the Skopje 2014 urban renewal project, can be deemed inadequate. This conclusion arises from the fact that while the installation of relevant signs appeared to superficially resolve the complex issue, it nonetheless provoked strong societal reactions. The intense public backlash, sometimes taking extreme forms, serves as tangible evidence of the Agreement's lack of legitimacy and also delays the process of acceptance and reconciliation of relations.

The current study aims to achieve better cultural management of the monuments erected under the Skopje 2014 program. The removal of many of these monuments and their relocation to a specially designed area, along with parallel educational activities, will help reduce social tensions. Furthermore, the use of sustainable practices will contribute to environmental sustainability and the creation of a modern European capital city.

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RECONSIDERING THE DYNAMICS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM THROUGH THE BALKANS

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Introduction

From the late 1800s until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the age of imperialism emerged as a period based on the economic, political and human transformations that gave rise to European Powers to control over other lands and nations. By drawing parallels between colonial policies, Edward Said states that modern European imperialism is “an overseas domination that differs radically and fundamentally from all previous forms.” (Said, 1998: 333) There is little doubt that Britain was the strongest, disputed and ambitious empire desired to rule overseas territories. During the reign of Queen Victoria, it was not only industrialization accelerated a global expansion but also an imperial rivalry had created a pressing need to dominate new regions for the welfare of British merchants and expanding economy. Indeed, the grand strategy of British imperial power was tied with naval supremacy and to extend political, social and cultural impact.

Although Britain has a long diplomatic history with the Ottoman Empire since the 16th century, it is clear that Anglo-Turkish encounters have gained a stronger momentum in the 1830s. This was a part of British imperialism in order to further economic interests in the Middle East and the Balkans. It is also fair to state that an alliance concluded as a means of the advantages of British trade in the Ottoman lands, protection of Ottoman territorial integrity against Pan-Slavism and intervening with Ottoman domestic affairs on behalf of Christian minorities. British politics of liberal interventionism in the Balkans was also the mainstream of imperial considerations. This paper explores the expansion of strategic interests and the place of the Balkans in British imperialism from the



1830s through the 1910s. It further argues that British political engagement with the Balkans and supporting uprisings against the Ottoman rule was one of the strong components for maintaining hegemony.

British Imperialism until the Bulgarian Uprising of 1876

“I believe that England is intimately identified with that progressive perfection and that on the permanent maintenance of her power is essentially dependent the welfare of mankind ...that Britain will be the nucleus around which all the nations of the earth will ... form themselves in concentric circles in proportion to their advancement in the scale of social bliss.”

Richard Milton Martin, 1837

During the 1830s, there was a rapid colonial expansion particularly around the Ottoman Empire. This was also a consolidation process of British imperialism. British influence extended beyond the boundaries of the formal empire and the idea of intervening in Ottoman affairs becomes a part of the project of an informal empire. The Greek revolt, spanning from 1821 to 1832 was the first example of British involvement in the Balkans. Greece had gained independence from Ottoman authority as a result of the Balkan War of 1827-9. Nonetheless, this took five years from the Treaty of London of 1827 in which the British Prime Minister, George Canning, urged a peace between the Ottoman Empire and Greece within the frame work of the Concert of Europe. In that respect, Enderf argues that Canning’s policy ‘helped to end the short-term crisis over Greece and reconfigure the Quintuple Alliance in Britain’s favour, but did not manage to resolve the deeper issues surrounding the Eastern Question’ (Enderf, 2004: 67). Clark puts forward a disputable argument that, in order to guarantee British aid, “the Ottoman Empire had to convince Lord Strangford, the British ambassador to the Porte that Russia had incited the Greek rebellion.” (Clark, 2013: 17). Indeed, Russian Pan-Slavism was the most compelling threat for the Britain to care about their Greek counterparts. This imperial rivalry in the shadow of the Eastern Question threatened British interests which clearly furnished one of the most famous struggles in Mediterranean. Canning principally adhered to the policy of the Concert of Europe who was criticized for “subordinating Britain’s worldwide imperial interests to her European interests in trying persistently to get rid of her connection with Persia, which she had entered into in 1809 to prevent French invasion of India, but had come to strain her relations with Russia after 1815.” (Yapp, 1980: 100-4; Ingram, 1984: 212-3; Yamada, 2004: 307). Nonetheless,

the scholarship seems to show a consensus that George Canning's cousin Stratford Canning's ambassadorship at Constantinople reinforced the Anglo-Ottoman alliance, particularly during the Crimean War. Besides, Stratford Canning was connected to Ottoman affairs substantially and even put forward a 'British mediatorship' between Greece and the Ottoman Empire which was rejected by Lord Strangford on 27 April 1826 (Bagot, 1909: 348). Ultimately, however, it would be fair to state that Canning was substantially engaged with the Ottoman Empire and became an authority not only in terms of diplomacy but also on Ottoman internal affairs. Richmond asserts that he was not the 'Reformer of Turkey' as reported in the newspapers but 'the voice of England in the East', and 'words that still adorn his statue in Westminster Abbey.' (Richmond, 2014: 3).

Following British rapport with the Turkish government, the policy of keeping the Ottoman territorial integrity and maintaining her political independence with constructive reforms became a part of imperial strategy. While the Crimean War can be considered as the peak-period of friendly relations, Lord Palmerston's tradition was pursued by Whig and Tory policymakers until the Bulgarian Uprising of 1876. During his premierships, Benjamin Disraeli was considered as one of the strong supporter of this policy so as imperialism. The Balkans was a priority for Disraeli not only from the political, economical and geographical perspectives, but also due to his life experiences and interests. As Ković notes, "Disraeli was born in the year in which the Serbian Revolution began; his first novel *Vivian Grey* in 1826 was published at the time of the Greek Revolution; he travelled through the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire a year after the Peace of Adrianople; at the time of the Crimean War, he was the leader of the House of Commons; and he finished his career as British representative at the Congress of Berlin." (Kovic, 2011: 307). Disraeli's focus was also an imperial expansion in the Middle East and Mediterranean. In 1869, his Suez Canal share purchase was defined as "the greatest romance of Mr. Disraeli's romantic career" which was a cutting edge for British imperialist policies against Russia (Baer, 1956: 379).

However, the period in which Disraeli was most criticized for her Balkan policies was the Near Eastern Crisis of 1875 to 1878. As the height of the crisis in Bulgaria approached, Serb insurrections in Herzegovina and Bosnia in 1875 "had already aroused sympathetic interest in England within the general question of the position of Christians under Turkish rule." (Shannon, 1963: 36). Furthermore, it can be argued that these events inspired some Bulgarian groups to move towards the idea of freedom and an independent Bulgaria which can also be seen as a late repercussion of the French revolution amongst the Ottoman nations. For that reason, the Bulgarian uprising can also be considered an extension of the

Herzegovinian uprising which had begun in April 1876 and continued until the end of the year. The debates gradually increased complaining about the lack of information on the Bulgarian insurrections and seeking to blame the Disraeli ministry. Beyond any doubt, the involvement of Gladstone with respect to the Bulgarian uprising of 1876, with his eloquence in pamphlets, speeches and public meetings, was a milestone in the course of British party politics and foreign affairs in connection with the Ottoman Empire. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on July 31 1876 was the foundation of his involvement with the Bulgarian issue. In this session, he frequently referred to Crimean War policy, in order to compensate for circumstances since Palmerston's time by cooperating with Stratford De Redcliffe by finding 'an honourable solution' to the Eastern Question particularly addressing the Turkish authorities' ineffectiveness and failures to reform during the nineteenth century. Gladstone supported liberal-nationalist movements in the Balkans who was criticised for subordinating imperial interests. Besides, Matthew stated, "Gladstone's role in encouraging Balkan nations against 'the unspeakable Turk' was more ambivalent than his famous speech 'bag and baggage' speech suggested." (Matthew, conclusion) In this vein, Gladstone argues that although 'the tyranny and authority' of Turks had risen, no government had reacted against them. By this, Gladstone referred to the Concert of Europe which will be the foundation of his policy towards the Ottoman Empire in his second premiership.

On the other hand, the Eastern Question was based on the Russo-British-Ottoman triangle during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. Particularly, the year 1877 saw the transformation of diplomatic relations into revulsion. Nevertheless, 1878 was even more important. While questions respecting the partition of Ottoman territories created new perspectives, there was a warming of relations created between Russia and Great Britain in the aftermath of the war in the ex-Ottoman territories. It should also be noted that the year meant the consolidation for the future strategies in the Balkans for British imperialism. Along with the interest of public opinion, there was a substantial increase in the number of caricatures during the Russo-Turkish war. In other words, public opinion was largely formed by party politics and foreign policy against the Ottoman Empire. Particularly, the extracts from the *Punch* had a powerful effect. For instance, portraying the political situation before and during the 1877-8 Ottoman-Russian War, the cartoon entitled the 'Dogs of War' illustrates what happened between the triangle of Russia, Britain and the Ottomans. The Balkans is represented by dogs whose collars show their names, Romanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Montenegrins. The man trying to hold back the dogs dressed as a Russian while, peeping over a fence, Britain suggests that letting the dogs loose could be dangerous.

The Ottoman Empire represented as a fat and vulnerable man, the sick man of Europe.



The Dogs of War, *the Punch*, 17 June 1876, <https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/the-dogs-of-war-1876>

Despite his doubts as to Turkish governance, Matthew had yet suggested Gladstone's sincerity on Turkish domination "as the best way of maintaining stability in the Balkans" on self-government for Christian states, and "had disliked independence or partition." (Matthew, 1995: 130). For the extreme view that, Lloyd's argument as to the actions of the Turkish government should be kept in order to interfere with any possibility on "massacring its Christian subjects' and gave countenance 'to give up some of its territory in Europe.'" (Lloyd, 1968: 41). Admittedly, Gladstone as the head of the Liberal Government now needed to balance his previous arguments on foreign policy which he had inherited from Disraeli's ministry in order to operate a new or revised Ottoman diplomacy. Parry argues that the Liberals' view was that the foreign policy was not, Hartington insisted,

Palmerstonian and instead, was like “the bastard imperialism of the Second Empire” (Parry, 1993: 279), which also justified Gladstone’s way of approaches to the Eastern Question as a leader. Parry also outlines the situation by referring to Robert Lowe’s reference to the ‘docility of an ‘imperial’ parliament’ pointed up the worst danger of a neutered Commons: that it allowed irresponsible jingo bluster to conceal a secretive, sinister, ill-conceived foreign policy, Disraeli’s government was lamentably ‘personal’ (Parry, 1993: 278). Therefore, it is certain that, the principles of Gladstone’s liberalism was legitimised at least to a limited degree with his consistent propaganda despite the substantial acquisition of Disraeli’s imperialism with the annexation of Cyprus to the Empire. Needless to say, the Eastern Question and events related to the Ottoman Empire became the core of the motivation and efforts to strengthen Gladstone’s liberalism against the Disraeli’s *realpolitik* imperialism during the general election of 1880. Eventually, the states of Serbia, Montenegro, Romania and Bulgaria were recognised as actors in the region and the Treaty of Berlin also confirmed Cyprus’ cession to Britain, Austria’s protection of Bosnia. Indeed, these developments meant a new era for British imperialism in the Balkans.

British Imperialism until the First World War

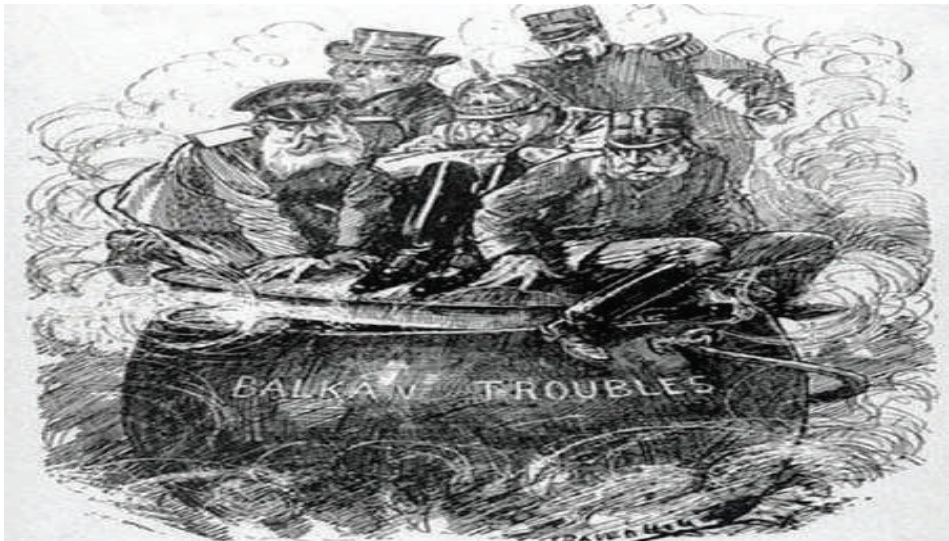
With respect to Balkan questions, the clash over the idea of liberal humanism back in 1876 and the *realpolitik* of imperialism following the occupation of Egypt was open to long debate. Besides, there is little doubt that ensuring British interests in the Suez Canal was vital for the British Empire to protect the routes to India. In 1875 the French Government refused to interfere, the French association fell through raising the money, and the Khedive committed to sell his shares to the British Government for £4m on November 23 (Blake, 2010: 583). In a similar vein, prior to the invasion, Galbraith and Marsot argue that ‘the security of the canal’ was justification for the occupation of Egypt but was not suggested due to ‘the gravity of the menace’ proved that such a ‘weighty action in the view of the well-informed’, however, it ensured ‘the most palatable explanation to the Liberal party and to the general public.’ (Galbraith and Sayyid-Marsot, 1978: 473). On the other hand, the social and political aspects of the invasion were also two sides of the same coin, namely British imperialism. For instance, Hopkins pointed out that Blunt saw the British occupation of Egypt as ‘illustrating a new form of imperialism’, which was assigned to Disraeli’s alteration of policy and to the enhanced significance of foreign enterprise (Hopkins, 1986: 366). To be precise, the benefit of British imperialism was above the politicians’ determination and the case of British occupation of Egypt was one of the unique examples of joint decision of Liberals with Conservatives in the end.

From this point of view, it can be argued that this Turcophobic tendency was not only consolidated in liberal political culture but also pursued by Conservatives. In his extensive research on the place of the Balkans in British liberal politics from the 1870's to 1920's, James Perkins refers to the diplomatic principles of humanitarianism, international diplomacy and the Concert of Europe by arguing that this analysis "could also be levelled at the approach of British liberals to the Macedonian question and other Balkan issues before 1914" (Perkins, 2014: 232). In that respect Noel and Charles Buxtons also represented the 'radical new liberalism' in the Balkan question of 1910s (Perkins: 105). On the other hand, Toynbee's pamphlet titled 'the Murderous Tyranny of the Turks' with a preface of Bryce demonstrated not only perceptions of 'the tyrant Turk' of the Armenian question of 1915 but also was a reminder of Gladstone's call against Turkish tyranny as 'the one voice for liberation against the Turk' in 1876 (Toynbee, 1917: 20). By the late nineteenth century, therefore, Balkan region was the most attracted place for Britain. This was not only for political purposes but also derived from the significance of cultural interactions of British imperial motives. Michail also underlines this point that 'the history of British-Balkan contacts and of Balkan images in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century is much richer than contemporary stereotypes allow for' (Michail, *British and the Balkans*, p. xvii).

Different from the Victorian era, the Edwardian period was a process of British cultural imperialism in the Balkans. Another strategic movement of Britain was the Balkan Committee founded in London in 1903 to promote liberal intervention and get widespread support from the British public. The Balkan Committee was founded in London in order to expand British imperial and strategic interests against Ottoman conquer and Russian influence in the Balkans from 1903 to 1908. In that respect, Balkan Committee Chairman Noel Buxton urged British travellers to visit Balkan regions and present British culture, *vice versa*. It is clear that "the arguments against Ottoman rule and trying to present the Turks as an inferior race, which became more evident in British political and intellectual circles in the late 1870s, were based on Social Darwinist terminology" (Buenos, 2012: 17). Nonetheless, there was an optimistic trend between British liberals to present the Balkans and its peoples positively in comparison to Turkey and Muslims. The members of the committee included Parliament members such as Harold Nicholson, Aubrey Herbert, Edith Durham, Francis Seymour; historians as George Gooch and Arnold Toynbee; diplomats like Robert William Seton-Watson and even propagandists as Viscount James Bryce who prominently blew the Armenian question. Each of the founders and members of the Balkan Committee "believed that different Ottoman elements wanted to create Greater Greece, Greater Bulgaria and involved in studies that support conflicting ideals" (Özçelik, 2022: 443).

The Boer Wars in Africa throughout the first years of the twentieth century was a significant event for the imperial strategies of the British Empire. In the same vein, British liberal internationalists accelerated their propaganda activities in the Ottoman territories. With the Balkan Committee, British imperialism changed form. The Balkan Committee carried out various campaigns, publications, meetings and humanitarian campaigns regarding the events in the Balkans. British support to the Balkan nations was also political. For instance, “as far as the Balkan Committee was concerned, ‘good government’ for the Macedonians, Albanians and Armenians under what it was hoped would be a reformist and liberal Young Turk regime had been preferable to the self-government of these long suffering ‘oppressed nationalities in July 1908” (Perkins, 2014: 234).

The outbreak of the Balkan War also marked the beginning of an international rivalry between the European Powers to gain much influence over the Balkans as the Ottomans withdrew. “Balkan Troubles” cartoon satirized the situation as growing uncertainty with a boiling cauldron that may sink all the Powers. “The resulting power vacuum” was defined as an encouragement of “Russia, Austria and other great powers to try to move in to fill it either by supporting the creation of new states like Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria or taking territory directly (such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, annexed by Austria-Hungary in 1908)”.



“Balkan Troubles”, the Punch, 10 February 1912, Access Website <https://magazine.punch.co.uk/image/I000011lRFFJbT3E>

On the other hand, Britain sought alliance with France and Italy against the realpolitik of Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary as a part of new imperial strategy. The states, established the Balkan alliance consisting of Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and Montenegro against the Ottoman Empire, which the Balkan Committee had long desired. In a Balkan Committee dinner given in Buxton's honour in 1909, British policy was stated;

“In him [Buxton] I saw the representative of an older tradition. And from his energy and persistence, and his power of gathering others round him, I learned that this tradition was not effete. I found that there was something in the English people, and in English policy, which was worthy and great” (Perkins, 2014: 115).

This “liberal alliance” meant not only a diplomatic intervention but also a clear foreshadowing of new imperial strategies. In that respect, in a speech at the Commons on 7 October 1912, Foreign Secretary Edward Grey defined the Balkan affairs as “a very critical state” by which he urged a British state policy of “approving of the peace in the Balkans and the need for the realisation of reforms in European Turkey” (HC Deb, 7 October 1912).

Conclusion

The Victorian period was a time of development in overseas economic interests with the imperatives of geopolitical security policies and political nationalism. While the British Empire reached its glorious days, the Great Game which played with Russia over Ottoman Mediterranean and Middle Eastern provinces, dramatically changed imperial strategies. The British responses to Eastern Question from party politics was the policy of keeping the Ottoman territorial Integrity and maintaining her political independence with constructive reforms eventually became a part of imperial strategy.

The first British engagement with the Balkans was the Greek revolt, spanning from 1821 to 1832. While the Crimean War can be considered as the peak-period of friendly relations, Lord Palmerston's tradition was pursued by Whig and Tory policymakers until the Bulgarian Uprising of 1876. It was also the time of Benjamin Disraeli who foresaw the Balkans as a priority not only from the political, economical and geographical perspectives, but also due to his life experiences and interests. The Near Eastern Crisis of 1875 to 1878 period, on the other hand, was a significant testimony for British imperialism in the Balkans so as Disraeli's political approaches. Beyond any doubt, the involvement of Gladstone with respect to the Bulgarian uprising of 1876 clearly furnished the most famous debates over imperialism against liberal humanitarianism in British diplomacy.

Eventually, the states of Serbia, Montenegro, Romania and Bulgaria were recognised as actors in the region and the Treaty of Berlin also confirmed Cyprus' cession to Britain, Austria's protection of Bosnia. Indeed, these developments meant a new era for British imperialism in the Balkans.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when the new Balkan questions at stake and the focal point of European diplomacy, the Balkan Committee was a part of imperial strategy for cultural imperialism in the Balkans. The Edwardian period, therefore, was a process of liberal administrative movements towards the Balkan nations and supporting military interventions against the Turkish rule. Beginning with emotional sympathy to the subject races and moral policies of liberal politicians' British imperialism characterised with political activism and humanitarian sympathy throughout the Balkan Wars until the eve of the First World War.

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DEVIANCE OF SUFI ORDERS IN BOSNIA THROUGH THE LENS OF STATE POWER

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Introduction

In Ottoman Bosnia, especially along its frontier regions, Sufi lodges (tekkeler) played crucial and multifaceted roles. These lodges, known for their spiritual teachings and communal gatherings, often found themselves navigating complex relationships with the state and central authority. At times, they aligned with official policies and supported the ruling powers; at others, they resisted and challenged central authority, asserting their own autonomy and spiritual leadership.

The sheikhs (leaders) of these tekkes were pivotal figures, oscillating between being controlled by the central Ottoman administration and asserting authority over local affairs under regional rulers. Among them, figures like Hamza Bali and İlhami Baba stand out both met outrageous ends through execution by decapitation. Yet, far from being relegated to the margins of history, they remain central to Bosnian Sufi tradition. Their stories transcend mere acts of defiance; they symbolize steadfast resistance against erasure, embodying the enduring struggle for spiritual autonomy and cultural identity within the broader Ottoman framework.

This nuanced relationship between the tekkes and central authority not only shaped local religious practices but also influenced broader socio-political dynamics within Ottoman Bosnia. The legacy of these Sufi lodges, their sheikhs, and their enduring impact on Bosnian tasawwuf (Sufi mysticism) underscores a rich tapestry of spiritual devotion, political maneuvering, and cultural resilience amidst the ebb and flow of Ottoman rule.



To begin with, it is essential to examine the identity of Hamza Bali. A prominent figure in Ottoman Bosnia, Bali was closely associated with the Hamzaviyya Order. He was born near Zvornik and received his education in Istanbul. Known also as Bâli Aga, he gained influence through his service to viziers before returning to Bosnia, where he faced persecution due to his activities. Accused of heresy by traditional scholars, Hamza Bali was eventually summoned to Istanbul and executed under a fatwa issued by Ebussuud Efendi. Despite these challenges, his teachings and spiritual legacy persisted, influencing followers known as Hamzevis, who integrated elements of Bogomilism and Shia beliefs into their practice, enduring as a cultural and spiritual presence in Bosnia.

Shifting focus to İlhami Baba, born Abdulvehhab İlhami in Žepče, Bosnia, in the late 18th century, he received his education both locally and within Sufi circles. Part of the Naqshbandi order, İlhami Baba authored numerous works, including poems and educational texts, focusing on Islamic principles and moral guidance. His outspoken nature and critical poetry against local authority figures like Celal Pasha led to his execution, reflecting tensions between religious dissent and state authority during the Ottoman Empire's reforms and territorial losses.

Comparatively, Hamza Bali and İlhami Baba represent distinct responses from the Ottoman state toward religious deviance. Hamza Bali's teachings, viewed as subversive due to their alignment with Shia and Hurufi doctrines, were harshly suppressed, culminating in his execution. In contrast, İlhami Baba's dissent against local governance brought him into conflict with Celal Pasha, illustrating shifts in Ottoman policy toward religious movements amid changing political landscapes. These contrasting fates highlight broader transformations in how the Ottoman state perceived and managed religious heterodoxy over time.

It could be inferred that while Hamza Bali's legacy endures through cultural memory and the resilience of his followers, İlhami Baba's works and teachings reflect a period where Sufi practices were more integrated into the state's religious framework, despite occasional tensions with local authorities. Their stories illuminate complex interactions between spiritual leadership, state authority, and societal norms in Ottoman Bosnia's religious landscape.

In the territory of Ottoman Bosnia, the Hamzaviyya Order was represented by Hamza Bali continued his activities in Istanbul for a while (Azamat, 1997:503-509). Upon his return to Bosnia, realizing that he was about to face persecution, he immersed himself in the activities of his order and in a short time, he gained several thousand followers, known as murids (Čehajić, 1986: 192). He also paved the way for the birth of the Hamzaviyya path.

The Bosnian sheikhs claimed that he was illiterate and not authorized to guide others, while some traditional scholars interpreted certain of his behaviors as heretical and reported him to the qadi (Ocak, 1998: 345-346). Upon the qadi's notification to Istanbul, a bailiff was sent to Bosnia, bringing Hamza Bali back to Istanbul for interrogation. Ebussuud Efendi issued a fatwa. The decree states: "Let the person named Hamza, who resides in Tuzla, in the Eskidžuma neighborhood, in the house of Sefer, son of Hasan Subaši, be arrested. If he cannot be found, his guarantors should find him and bring him to the Dergah-ı Mualla and hand him over to Officer Mustafa" (Bečiragić, 2013: 18). Consequently, Hamza Bali was executed by beheading in front of the Deveoğlu Fountain in Süleymaniye. There is a decree addressed to the bey and judge of Zvornik, dated 19 Dhu al-Hijjah 980 AH (April 22, 1573). It's likely that some of Hamza Bali's followers were executed alongside him. According to chronicler Nevizade Ata'i (Bečiragić, 2013: 18), one of his disciples, a halberdier in the janissary corps, was so distraught by witnessing his master's suffering that he took out his dagger and slit his own throat, described by Ata'i in a sarcastic verse as resembling slaughtering a cow. "Not even an animal would end its life in such a way" remarks Ata'i. Another group of Hamza Bali's followers managed to stay composed and bribed the executioners to release his body to them. The tomb of Sheikh Hamza Bali is located today in the cemetery near the Silivri Gate in Istanbul (Dervišević, 2013: 14). The tomb was renovated in 1864 by Mehmed Ali Pasha Rizvanbegović, the son of Ali Pasha Rizvanbegović (Čehajić, 1986: 193). Inscriptions on the tomb were placed during the last restoration in 1996 initiated by Ćazim Hadžimejlić (Ratković, 2015: 238).

Furthermore, Muniri Belgradi (Hadžimejlić, 2012: 189) states that Hamza Bali was secretly killed after being interrogated. It is claimed that Ebussuud Efendi, following his usual cautious approach, summoned the scholars and sheikhs to court, took their opinions, and after being convinced of Hamza Bali's heresy and apostasy, wrote his fatwa (Ocak, 1998: 97). However, it is unclear that the court records were not found obtained this information regarding Ebussuud Efendi's cautious approach. Muniri Belgradi (Hadžimejlić, 2012: 189) who claimed to have spoken with some of Hamza Bali's disciples and was a contemporary witness to the events, mentions that Hamza Bali had significant followers among palace officials, Janissaries, and state dignitaries. He had many disciples in Bosnia and encountered many people following his path, who referred to him as "Sultan." Additionally, Muniri Belgradi stated that he heard from witnesses and attendees of the assembly that Hamza Bali was not accused of anything necessitating accusations of heresy and apostasy. He was executed for insisting on saying, "If I

wanted, I could repel the plague from Istanbul,” which is not a crime warranting execution (Melamiyye TDVİA, 31). Nevertheless, in *fermans* sent to the region to closely monitor his followers, who were densely populated in Bosnia and its surroundings, Hamza Bali and his followers were referred to as “heretics” (Okiç, 1957: 279-286). Until the time of Hamza Bali, the members of the order identified themselves as Bayrami. From this period onward, they adopted the name Hamzavi and began to be known by this name (Gölpınarlı, 1985:191). Hamza Bali guided his followers not only in Bosnia but throughout the Balkans, leading them on the path of love.

There are also significant stories, corroborated by some historical events, about his ability to be in two different places at the same time. One such story recounts that while he was in his village, performing *dhikr* and working with a garden rake, he was also said to be fighting in the Battle of Mohács (1526) with the same rake. His presence at the battle was confirmed by his son Mustafa, who is historically documented to have been at the battle, while villagers witnessed Hamza Bali waving his rake in the air, thinking he had gone mad. Upon returning from the battle, his son stated that they would not have won without his father’s help. This was not the only miracle attributed to Hamza Bali; many similar tales have been passed down to the present day.

In similar vein, Abdullvehhab Žepčevi Ilhami Baba, more commonly known as Ilhamija, is among the most remarkable and well-known figures in Ottoman Bosnia from the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It has been established that he received his education in his hometown, as well as in Tešanj and Fojnica. Since these cities were not among the prominent scientific and intellectual centers of Bosnia at the time, it can be concluded that Ilhamija did not acquire extensive knowledge there, but rather compensated for his educational gaps through reading, contemplation, and interactions with learned individuals (Dizdarević, 2008: 220). He is also the most prolific Alhamijado poet and the most courageous Bosnian intellectual during the entire period of Ottoman rule in Bosnia. Although many have written about him, a complete picture of Ilhamija’s personality has yet to be drawn, and his worldview remains fully unknown. Different authors and researchers have focused on various dimensions of his personality, with most concentrating on his didactic and rebellious works. It is true that most authors have partially highlighted his mystical and *irfani* aspects (Dizdarević, 2008: 219). Thus, Abdullvehhab İlhami was deeply socially engaged, participating in the political events of his time, which led to his martyrdom.

Building upon in this context, Celal Pasha, appointed as the governor to Bosnia, was granted extensive powers to restore order in 1820. The instructions provided

to him stated that some individuals in Bosnia had been disregarding government orders, oppressing the people, and rebelling against the state for some time (Aksoy, 2018: 249). Surely, Celal Pasha took harsh measures to ensure public order, which disturbed some segments of the population who wrote complaint letters regarding this matter to Istanbul (BOA, Hattı Hümayun, No.21809). In his own poems, İlhami initially praised Celal Pasha and Sultan Mahmud II, but in one of his poems, but then he satirized Celal Pasha. In response, Celal Pasha had İlhami executed and punished those who shared similar rebellious thoughts. Despite considering İlhami as deviant due to a poem “Çudan zeman nastade” (Trans. Strange times have come), there exists a letter (BOA, HAT, 746/351232) to central administration from Celal Pasha where İlhami and those who rebelled against the state, with their misguided beliefs leading to animosity and hatred among the people, were discussed. This document indicates that Celal Pasha had the approval of Sultan Mahmud II. According to Aksoy, Sheikh İlhami’s head was brought to Istanbul (Aksoy, 2018: 254). Sheikh İlhami was characterized as one of the leaders of the rebellion, inciting the public to revolt, and being labeled as a heretical and deviant sheikh belonging to the same sect as other rebels (Aksoy, 2018: 254).

In addition to the aforementioned work, İlhamija authored a catechism for children in Bosnian. This work is known as “The Catechism of Hadži Abdulvehhab Efendi” In this text, İlhami Baba addresses fundamental religious beliefs, religious rules, principles, and moral issues. However, he presents these topics in an extremely simple, colloquial, and straightforward manner. Through this work, İlhamija demonstrates a strong understanding of basic pedagogical and methodological principles (Dizdarević, 2008: 223).

When the deviance and state authority are considered, there should be undertaken a comprehensive analysis of the classification of Hamza Bali and İlhami Baba as deviants, structured around three key aspects. The first aspect will delve into how their teachings and spiritual paths were represented and perceived within the public sphere. Islamic law, being the quintessential embodiment of the Islamic way of life and its regulatory framework, profoundly influenced societal norms and individual conduct. We will explore how these regulations directly impacted the followers of these spiritual leaders.

The second layer of the analysis, this paper will examine the shifts in the state’s perception of Hamza Bali and İlhami Baba, focusing on their interactions with state officials and their rivals. This examination will highlight the century-long difference in the Ottoman Empire’s stance towards Sufi orders, revealing a significant transformation in the official perspective on religious deviance. This shift

is particularly evident in the roles played in the execution orders: for Hamza Bali, during the zenith of centralized power in Istanbul, the orthodox Sunni authority Ebussuud Efendi was the central figure; in contrast, for İlhami Baba, Celal Pasha, a local agent acting as a centralization force on the frontier, took on this role.

Firstly, it could be said that in the 16th century, Hamza Bali founded a movement whose teachings bore similarities to Alevi Shia beliefs and those of the Huru-fis (Saeid Abedpour, 2018: 280). Central to their doctrine were the concepts of vahdet-i-vucud (unity of existence), a focus on social and political issues, and the assertion that the sultan's rule was illegitimate. From the perspective of the Ottoman government and orthodox Ulema, these teachings were perceived subversive. As a result, the movement faced suppression, leading to the execution of Hamza Bali and several of his disciples. Despite this crackdown, the Ottoman government continued to incorporate Hamzevi followers into the army. The Hamzevis remained active for at least two centuries following Hamza Bali's death, with their tekkes primarily located in Bosnia.

Hamza Bali's spiritual legacy has endured in oral culture, preserved in local stories that celebrate his greatness and significance, regardless of their authenticity. One such important story for Bosnians describes Hamza Bali as a person who valued everyone, even those who spent their time in taverns. Whenever he appeared at a tavern and began to speak, everyone would listen attentively. He would offer to exchange their wine for his own "wine of love." (Azamat, 1997: 503). Through this method, some left everything behind to follow his path, ultimately attracting numerous disciples around him. It is believed that the primary reason for the strong establishment of Melamism and the success of Hamza Bâlî was the influence of Bogomilism on the people in the region where these activities took place. Indeed, the existence of similar characteristics between the two movements, such as the doctrine of messianism, supports this view. Additionally, the regions where Bâlî operated were predominantly inhabited by followers of Bogomilism who had not yet converted to Islam, further substantiating this perspective (Okiç in Vildic, 2018:24). The Hamzeviye thus serve as a connection between Bosnia before the advent of Islam. Džemal Cehajić extensively discussed a "balanced synthesis of Christianity and Islam characteristic of Bosnia" (Algar, 1997: 257).

Unlikely to Hamza Bali, İlhami Baba received his Sufi training from either Sheikh Hüseyin Zukiç or Abdurrahman Sırrî in Fojnica, and therefore belonged to the Naqshbandi order which was the most influential and distinguished tariqa in 19th century Ottoman Empire. Besides his Bosnian hymns, which are recited in

the tekkes of Bosnia, İlhamî's works include a Divan containing 60 poems written in Turkish, an *İlmihal* for children, and the aforementioned Turkish works *Tuhfetü'l-musallin* and *Zübdetü'l-haşi'în*. These works address various subjects such as his life, different events, pluralism, and ethnic differences (Vildic, 2018: 11).

The work of İlhamî according to Vildiç (2018: 124), written in the Turkish language used in Bosnia during his time, discusses topics such as prayer, the basic principles of Islam, and moral guidelines. The content and approach to these subjects set it apart from similar works. The topics are given a spiritual dimension, and when addressing human education, it draws on factors of human nature and psychology. The introduction begins with the explanation of the prayer ritual, its meaning, purpose, and particularly its spiritual aspect, which is further elaborated in subsequent sections. According to him, prayer is the mother of all worship, *ummu'libâdât*. The second part of the book discusses the benefits of prayer, while the third part addresses the sinfulness of abandoning prayer. The conclusion covers topics such as the moral gains of performing prayer, the essence of the soul, and the etiquette of reading the Quran. Abdulvehhâb İlhamî conveys the depths of his spiritual teachings in his poems expressed in simple language.

Hence, the comparison of Hamza Bali and İlhamî Baba provides a nuanced understanding of how their teachings and spiritual paths were represented and perceived within the public sphere. Both figures were influential in their times, yet their legacies and the responses they elicited from the Ottoman authorities diverged significantly. Hamza Bali's movement in the 16th century, characterized by its alignment with Alevi Shia beliefs and the Hurufî doctrine, faced severe suppression due to its subversive nature and challenge to the legitimacy of the sultan's rule. His teachings on *vahdet-i-vucud* and social-political issues, perceived as threats by the Ottoman government and orthodox Ulema, led to his execution and that of his followers. Despite this, the Hamzevî tradition persisted, particularly in Bosnia, blending Islamic and pre-Islamic elements into a unique spiritual synthesis. This endurance highlights the deep cultural impact and the resilient nature of his legacy.

Conversely, İlhamî Baba, trained within the Naqshbandî order in the 19th century, represents a more integrated and state-favored approach to Sufism. His works, written in Turkish and Bosnian, focused on fundamental Islamic practices and moral teachings, framed within a spiritual and psychological context. İlhamî's emphasis on the spiritual dimensions of prayer and human nature reflects a sophisticated understanding of religious practice that resonated with the Ottoman administration's perspectives during his time. Unlike Hamza Bali, İlhamî's

contributions were recognized and incorporated into the mainstream Islamic education of his region, highlighting a shift in the Ottoman Empire's handling of Sufi orders from suspicion and persecution to incorporation and endorsement when aligned with state interests.

The contrast between Hamza Bali's and İlhami Baba's experiences underscores a broader transformation within the Ottoman Empire regarding the perception and treatment of Sufi movements. While Hamza Bali faced the harsh realities of challenging the established order, İlhami Baba navigated a more accommodating landscape where his teachings could flourish within the bounds of the Ottoman state's expectations. This evolution reflects not only changes in the state's approach to religious heterodoxy but also the dynamic nature of Sufi practice and its ability to adapt to different political and social contexts.

In the second part of the analysis, it should be observed that Hamza Bali was directly targeted by the religious establishment, primarily because he was perceived as a direct threat to the centralized, stringent orthodox Islam represented by Ebussuud Efendi. Hamza Bali's teachings and practices were seen as antithetical to the orthodox Islamic doctrine, leading to his execution. Conversely, İlhami Baba faced opposition primarily due to his defiance against a local power agent, Celal Pasha. İlhami Baba was executed not only because of his oppositional poetry but also because he refused to abandon his dissenting stance.

Celal Pasha, representing the local power structure, even went so far as to threaten Abdurrahman Sırrî, İlhami Baba's counterpart within the Naqshbandi order. This demonstrates a significant shift in the nature of what was considered deviant behavior within the Ottoman Empire. While Hamza Bali was criticized and ultimately condemned within the framework of mainstream Islamic orthodoxy, İlhami Baba's deviance was situated within the context of the 19th century's territorial losses, administrative reforms, and structural changes. This period saw a transformation in how religious and political deviance were perceived and addressed by the state. The focus had shifted from purely religious orthodoxy to a broader concern with maintaining order and authority amidst the Empire's evolving political landscape.

"In an archival document, it should easily be seen that the aforementioned bandit leaders, including Sheikh İlhami, allegedly married an angelic maiden a few years ago by supposedly raising his hands to the sky. From this union of 4 years, they had 3 sons. Sheikh İlhami claims that these children periodically appear and bring him news from the unseen and the future. He propagates that in the rebellion initiated by bandit Haji Salih, they will prevail and that an invisible army

(the army of saints) is moving with Haji Salih. Former mufti of Travnik from the Islamic nation, Ataullah Efendi, accompanied by 5-10 men, went to aid the bandits one night, but upon approaching Haji Salih, he learned that he was under siege in the fortress. Ataullah dispersed his men and himself fled in disguise, his whereabouts unknown. If caught here, he will be imprisoned. Meanwhile, Suleyman Pasha's sons, subdued under our surveillance, have no means to escape like a sleeping snake. All rebellion attempts in the region have been suppressed, and all the people have submitted" (BOA, HAT, 746/351232 B, 1 (6Ra.1237-1 Dec. 1821) in Aksoy).

In the evaluation note written by Sultan Mahmud at the top of the first document, Sheikh İlhami is mentioned as a heretic and deviant, with similar groups of corrupted beliefs increasing, not minding their own business and corrupting people's beliefs. Sultan Mahmud emphasizes the need to pay attention to such religious formations and to punish them immediately upon sighting. Additionally, Sultan Mahmud commends Celal Pasha with the phrase "well done to Celal Pasha" for cleaning up the bandits in Bosnia.

After Celal Pasha killed İlhami Baba, he summoned Sheikh Sırrî from Bosnia, a Naqshbandi sheikh, and threatened, "Just as I killed İlhamî yesterday, I will kill you too." Sheikh Sırrî responded, "İlhamî's martyrdom was due to you, and it was carried out. However, I am a spring, and many people will drink from me. You cannot harm me; you do not have the power to do anything." Then he recited the verse "izâ zülzileti'l-ardu..." (Quran 99:1). The room began to shake. Celal Pasha clung to Sheikh Sırrî's hand and begged for mercy. It was later understood that around the time Sheikh Sırrî, who managed his lodge through farming in the Bosnian region, passed away, Muhammad Can Efendi from Mecca had sent Abdullah Ma'rûf Efendi to Bosnia for guidance (Vildiç, 2018: 50).

Following the execution of Hamza Bali, the Ottoman authorities pursued the Hamzavis throughout the empire, particularly in Bosnia. While those searching for his tangible legacy found little, others embraced his spiritual teachings, which deeply resonated in their hearts. Despite being minimal, his influence is still felt in Bosnia, especially in the areas he lived in, such as Tuzla, Zvornik, and Posavina. The legacy of the Hamzavis is evident in their reputation for honesty, interpersonal relations, and a distinct worldview. This heritage has endured among contemporary Bosnians, preserving the essence of their beliefs and practices, even if they do not fully adhere to religious doctrines. Besides, Hamzevis are portrayed as symbols of resistance and rebellion in the novels of Bosnian-Herzegovinian writers, particularly in Meša Selimović's 1970 novel "Tvrđava" and Derviš Sušić's 1973 novel "Hodža Strah" (Ratkovčić, 240).

Until recently, inscriptions and calligraphic texts in the Hamzavi and Melami styles could be found on the walls of some mosques in Tuzla. This demonstrates that, despite the passage of time and the challenges faced, the spiritual and cultural imprint of Hamza Bali and his followers has persisted, reflecting their enduring significance in Bosnian society. The activities of the Hamzevis have continued to the present day. Ćazim Hadžimejlić writes how until recently, texts and verses in Nasta'liq script resembling Hamzevi and Melami styles could be found on the walls of some mosques in Upper Tuzla (Hadžimejlić 1434/2013: 63). In the journal *Kelamu'l Šifa'*, in an issue dedicated to the Hamzevis titled "The Living Hamzevi Order" an interview conducted by Ćazim Hadžimejlić with Professor Baha Dogramandžija, a member of the Hamzevi order, was published (Ratkovčić, 2017: 240).

That is to say, in the socio-political tradition, these rebellions have been characterized by the terms "zendeka" and "ilhad." In the Ottoman Empire, individual and sometimes mass uprisings against the political and social order, and the official ideology of the period behind it, have been accused of heresy and deviance. The central administration perceived these widespread opposition movements and their religious rhetoric not as a result of significant societal change and the discomfort it caused, but rather as challenges to its authority and the belief and ideology on which that authority was based.

Therefore, labeling İlhamî and his affiliated Sufi understanding as heretical and deviant can be seen as an official designation that describes all rebellion movements initiated against the authority as a kind of official categorization. Another notable detail highlighted in the sections concerning İlhamî is his purported marriage to an angelic being, from which children were born who allegedly brought him news and insights from the unseen and future. One of these insights claimed that the rebellion movement would result in victory.

The experiences of Hamza Bali and İlhami Baba within the Ottoman Empire illustrate contrasting paradigms of religious and political deviance. Hamza Bali, a figure of the 16th century, challenged orthodox Sunni norms with teachings aligned to Alevi Shia and Hurufi doctrines, advocating for social justice and questioning the legitimacy of the sultan's rule. His defiance led to suppression and eventual execution, yet his legacy endured in Bosnia, where his followers persisted, blending Islamic and pre-Islamic influences into a unique spiritual tradition.

In contrast, İlhami Baba, trained in the Naqshbandi order during the 19th century, navigated a landscape where Sufi practices were increasingly integrated into Ottoman state policies. His writings and teachings, focusing on Islamic

fundamentals and moral teachings, were embraced by the state, reflecting a shift towards accommodating Sufi orders that aligned with state interests. Despite facing local opposition and eventual execution for his dissenting stance, İlhami Baba's spiritual legacy continued through his works and the enduring influence of his teachings.

These contrasting narratives highlight broader shifts in Ottoman policies towards religious heterodoxy over centuries. While Hamza Bali symbolizes resistance against centralized authority and orthodoxy, İlhami Baba exemplifies the complexities of navigating state-sanctioned Sufism within changing political landscapes. Their stories underscore the dynamic interplay between spiritual expression, political authority, and cultural resilience within the Ottoman Empire's diverse religious milieu.

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CHAPTER II

BALKAN HISTORY AND RELIGION

THE RELOCATION AND RESETTLEMENT OF BOSNIAN MUHAJIRS AFTER THE ANNEXATION OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA BY AUSTRIA-HUNGARY IN OTTOMAN ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS (1908-1910)

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Introduction

The Bosnian people, who had been living as part of the Ottoman Empire for four centuries, faced many difficulties under Austrian rule after the annexation of Bosnia by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1908. Bosnian Muslims, in particular, were subjected to discriminatory and repressive practices by Austria. In addition, problems with adaptation in terms of religion, language, and culture also began to arise for Bosnians under the Austrian rule. For these reasons, Bosnians, along with other Muslim communities, began to migrate towards the Ottoman lands, which they considered safer. The difficulties and poor conditions experienced by Bosnians during the migration and resettlement operations led to great suffering and misery among the migrants. In the Ottoman Archives contains documents illuminating this period, particularly concerning the migrations and the transfer and resettlement of Bosnian Muslims after the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria. These documents are important because they show the difficulties and struggles that Bosnian Muslims experienced during their migration to the Ottoman lands. In addition, the socio-economic change caused by this migration after the resettlement of the emigrants to the Ottoman lands are also revealed. In conclusion, the relocation and resettlement



of Bosnians who became immigrants after Austria's annexation of Bosnia caused them to face great difficulties and experience a difficult adjustment process. This process was an important turning point in the history of the Bosnians and has affected the future of Bosnia. Regarding this period, ATASE (Ministry of National Defense Military History Archives) archival documents that were recently made public were examined. In addition, archival records such as "Yıldız Evrakı", "Teftişat-ı Rumeli Evrakı" ("Selanik Evrakı"), "Hariciye Siyasi", "Hariciye Mektubi Kalemi", "Hariciye İdari", "Dahiliye Muhaberat-ı Umumiye İdaresi (Mektubi Kalemi)", "Sadaret (Mühimme Kalemi Evrakı)", "Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası", "Meclisi Vükela Mazbataları" were also searched with the aim of providing new information and documents to the field. Furthermore, domestic and foreign sources, along the press organs of the period, were screened for the subject, contributing to the study.

Austrian Annexation of Bosnia in 1908

Bosnian Muslims mass-migrated to considerably safer Ottoman territories three times between the Austro-Hungarian invasion of Bosnia in 1878 to the annexation in 1908. The first of these migrations occurred after the Austro-Hungarian invasion of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878. The second wave of migration took place as a result of the Muslim Bosnian reaction to Austria's imposition of compulsory military service on Bosnian men in 1882. The third wave of migration arose from the rebellion known as the 'Dzabic movement'¹ that occurred in 1900. After the Austrian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, Muslim Bosnians were again forced to take to the migration route (Kırbaç, 2013: 8).

It is not possible to give an exact number of how many Bosnian Muslims emigrated during these migrations, which were the result of oppression and violence. This is because Bosnian immigrants migrated to many different places, especially Macedonia, Serbia, Yenipazar Sanjak, Kosovo, Ioannina, Preveza, Thessaloniki, Komanova, Edirne, Istanbul, Hudavendigâr and Beirut. (BOA, DH.MUI., 9/8, H. 26.08.1327 ; BOA, DH.MKT., 2908/31, H. 06.08. 1327). The population

1 It is the wave of migration that began with the rebellion led by the Mufti of Mostar, Ali Fehmi Dzabic, in 1900-1901. The uprising, which broke out after the actions of the Catholic Church aimed at sabotaging the rights granted to Muslim Bosnians by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in order to separate them from the Ottoman Empire and bind them to itself, such as the right to establish their own foundations and institutions, resulted in the migration of Muslims from Bosnia. See; Safet Bandzovic, *İseljavanja Bošnjaka u Tursku*, Sarajevo 2006, p. 363, quoted by A. "Dedeic-Kırbaç", "Bosnians' Migration to Turkey", *Academic View Journal (International Refereed Social Sciences E-Journal)*, Issue 35, March-April 2013, pp. 11-12.

registration information of the Bosnian emigrants was not kept in detail. In this case, it would be accurate to determine the population of Bosnia before 1877-1878 and 1908 from local and foreign sources and to attribute the difference to migration and the massacres experienced along the migration route, apart from natural deaths.

One of the most important sources we have today regarding the population of the Bosnia before 1877-1878 is the Bosnia Provincial Yearbooks (*Salname-i Vilâyeti Bosna*) in the Ottoman Archives of the Presidency of the State Archives of the Republic of Turkey. Among the 12 yearbooks prepared by the province of Bosnia between 1866-1878 and sent to Istanbul (*Dersaadet*), the most detailed and comprehensive yearbook, the 1870-1871 yearbook, which includes only the male population, is shown in the table below (BOA, HR.MKT., 872/59, H. 04.03.1292).

Name of Sanjack	Muslim	Greek	Latin	Jewish	Gypsy	Total
Saray	35.188	18.343	8747	959	677	63.914
İzvornik	63.661	46.767	11.663	126	1964	124.181
Travnik	43.487	25.095	23161	157	658	92.558
Bihke	45.186	37.117	2098	400	84.801
Yenipazar	52.626	30.575	40	742	83.983
Banaluka	29.902	44.923	14.426	23	589	89.863
Hersek	39.472	23.492	18.289	000	676	81.929
Sub Total	309.522	296.312	78.384	1305	5706	621.229

Table 1. Men Population of Bosnia in 1870.

As can be seen from the Table 1, Muslim Bosnians were the majority community in Bosnia until the occupation in 1878. According to the Bosnia Vilayet Yearbook (*Salname²-i Vilâyeti Bosna*) of 1870 , the province consisted of 50 districts

2 “In the Ottoman State, the publications for informative purposes, which were issued annually by the central administration, ministries, military institutions, provinces, some private institutions and individuals which included many statistical information including population numbers related to the province, were called *sal-nâme* (Provincial Yearbook). The first *sal-name* in the Ottoman State was published in Sarajevo in 1283 (1866) under the name *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Bosna*. 12 Bosnia Provincial Yearbooks were published between 1866 and 1878.” See “Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi”, volume 36, pp. 51-54.

connected to the livas of Sarajevo, Izvornik, Travnik, Bihke, Yenipazar, Banaluka and Herzegovina, and its total male population was 621,229. Among this population, which consisted of Muslims, Christians and Jews, the number of Muslims was 309,522 (49.82%) (“Pehlivanlı”, 2014: 144-145). Since these figures do not include women and children population, it is not possible to give the exact population of the Bosnia in 1870. Justin McCarthy calculated the total population of the Bosnia in 1870 using certain demographic analysis techniques. McCarthy stated that these calculations were population estimates made with the help of mathematical methods and did not represent any certainty³ (McCarthy, 1990: 19). McCarthy calculated the total population of the Bosnia province, including women, men, and children, using the male population information in the 1870 yearbook, and detailed tables prepared by Ansley Coale and Paul Demeny showing approximately what percentage of the total population the population in each age group should be in various populations with fixed mortality and fertility rates (Coale and Demeny, 1983: 308). As a result, he found out that the female and child population of the Bosnia in 1870 constituted 64.428% of the total population and 35.572% of the male population. Accordingly, he estimated the total population as 1,746,399 and the total Muslim population as 870,128 people. These data were accepted as correct by Halil İnalçık and used in the article “Turks and the Balkans” (“İnalçık”, 2005: 3).

3 Justin McCarthy, *The Population of Palestine: Population History and Statistics of the Late Ottoman Period and the Mandate*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990, p. XIX, mentions two demographic analysis techniques currently used for population estimates. The first technique is based on the formula $P_2 = P_1 \cdot e^{rt}$, which calculates the population in a year when the population is known and the population in a year when it is unknown according to the population growth rate based on birth and death rates. In this formula; P_2 = Population of the year to be calculated, P_1 = Population of the known year, r , the population growth rate of that city or country, and the number of years that passed from P_1 to P_2 in t . The second demographic analysis technique is a calculation method based on tables containing population ratios, which is used to estimate the degree of undercounting of women and young children, a situation frequently encountered in both Ottoman mandatory censuses and modern Middle Eastern censuses. McCarthy calculated the estimated population of the Bosnia Vilayet in 1870 using the second technique. To approximate the undercounted female and child population of the Bosnia Vilayet, McCarthy used the population estimate coefficients found on page 308 of Ansley J. Coale and P. Demeny's *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* and the population data for Kosovo, the Ottoman province closest to the Bosnian population.

In his article titled “Ottoman Bosnia, 1800 to 1878”, Justin McCarthy compared the changing population of Bosnian Muslims in the areas that came under Austrian control after the occupation of Bosnia in 1878, using the data in the 1870 yearbook and the census data conducted by Austria-Hungary in 1895 after the occupation⁴ (McCarthy, 1994: 55-57).

	1870	1879
Muslims	694.000	449.000
Orthodox	534.000	496.485
Catholics	208.000	209.000

Table 2. Population of Bosnia in 1870 and 1879.

It is obvious in the table that in 1870, Muslims in Ottoman Bosnia were the largest group in the population and constituted slightly less than 50 percent of the total population. The decrease in the number of Muslims (245,000 people) due to migration and deaths, especially during the 1875 rebellion, and the Orthodox and Catholics who were relocated to the region by Austria, made Orthodox Serbs the largest religious group living in Bosnia in 1879.

Bosnia, whose population was almost 50 percent Muslim in 1870, became a state with more than 60 percent Christians as a result of efforts to change its demographic structure after the Austrian occupation in 1878 (McCarthy, 1994: 57).

The Austro-Hungarian Occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878

The great powers of Europe gathered in Istanbul for a conference to discuss the fate of the Ottoman Empire after Bulgarian uprising in 1876. During this time, the Austro-Hungarian delegates met with the Russians in Budapest and

4 Justin McCarthy, “Ottoman Bosnia, 1800 to 1878”, in *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, (ed.) Mark Pinson, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1994, pp. 55-57; During the 1878 invasion, the Austro-Hungarian Empire could not control all of Bosnia. The entire Yenipazar district and three-quarters of the Herzegovina district remained under Ottoman rule. In the calculation, the number of Muslims in the 1870 yearbook, which is 870,128, was subtracted from the Muslim population of Yenipazar Sanjak (147,942) and the Muslim population of the ¼ part of Hersek Sanjak that was invaded by Montenegro (27,741) and the number was found to be 694,445. (Rounded to 694,000 in the table.)

promised to remain neutral in a war between the Russians and the Ottoman Empire, on the condition that Bosnia-Herzegovina would be given to them. In addition, the Austro-Hungarians and the Russians agreed that a single, large Slavic state would not be established in the Balkans under Russian control. After this agreement, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire on April 24, 1877 and won the year-long war with great superiority (Malcolm, 1996 :136).

The Austro-Hungarian Empire immediately implemented the agreement signed with the Russians and took action to occupy Bosnia. In a document dated 30 May 1878 in the General Staff Military History and Strategic Studies and Inspection Presidency Archives (ATESE), it was stated that Austria was using bandits to carry out acts of violence in the region in order to conquer Bosnia, and that the number of forces in this region would be increased. Although the Cavalry Governor Hasan Bey in the Bihke Command was a successful and hard-working soldier, it was reported that the Governor of the Third Reserve Regiment, Şemsi Bey, to be appointed as reinforcement. (MSB, ATASE., 70/0/33, M. 30.05.1878).

Austria-Hungary had begun to amass troops on the Bosnian border in order to intervene in the region, using the acts of violence it had instigated using bandits as an excuse. In a document dated June 20, 1878 of ATASE archive, it was reported that the Austrians had prepared and supplied troops for Bosnia and Herzegovina. as a precaution , Ottoman reserve soldiers should immediately be called up from the Raguza Consulate and sent to the town of Sin (Sinj) (MSB, ATASE., 70/0/27, M. 20.06.1878).

In another archive document dated 21 June 1878 of ATASE archive, it was stated that the Austrians had made extensive supplies to capture Bosnia and Herzegovina, and they had conducted reconnaissance in Nevesin, Gačka, Istolca and Trebin locations around the Ottoman border. It is also stated that Ottoman forces' the headquarter was asked what precautions should be taken against Austrian actions . (MSB, ATASE., 70/0/28, M. 21.06.1878).

In the ATASE archive document dated June 26, 1878, it was emphasized that since it had been learned that the Austrian state was making preparations for war in Bosnia around June, one month before the signing of the Berlin Treaty on July 13, it was gradually reported. According to the latest intelligence, it was understood that the Austrian State was building trench roads to the Bosnian border and accumulating soldiers, cannons and ammunition in the towns of Kotor, Sinokanin, Virlika and Ismoski. It was also stated in the archive document that the measures such as arranging the conditions of the auxiliary army, building light fortifications at strategic points, accumulating provisions and grains, and

adding a sufficient number of regular soldiers to the existing forces should be taken (MSB, ATASE., 69/0/211, M. 26.06.1878).

June 1878 was spent preparing for a series of invasions and taking precautionary decisions against them. On July 4, the Austrian Consul in Bosnia reported that a decision had been made at the congress that the Austrian State could land troops in Bosnia (MSB, ATASE., 70/0/83, M. 04.07.1878). Without waiting for the signing of the Berlin Treaty, the Austrian Consul had officially notified the order on July 8 that troops would be landed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In another archive document dated July 8, 1878 it was reported that orders were awaited from the Ottoman Empire on how to respond to the situation and, that the people of the region were determined to resist and defend together with the Bosnian battalions (MSB, ATASE., 70/0/30, M. 08.07.1878).

In another document dated July 8, it was stated that the people of Sarajevo reacted to the Austrian Consul's statement that their own soldiers would be deployed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and an order was requested from Ottoman headquarter to send forces and ammunition under the command of Colonel Talib Bey (MSB, ATASE., 70/0/84, M.08.07.1878).

In the document dated July 10, 1878, it was reported that upon hearing that Austria would land troops in Bosnia, the Bosnian people began preparations to hold a demonstration, and several battalions of soldiers should be kept as a precaution against possible incidents (MSB, ATASE., 70/0/85, M.10.07.1878).

The Ottoman Empire was also trying to find political solutions in the response of all these developments. In the ATASE document dated July 13, 1878, it was stated that if the Austrian army entered Bosnia, 19 out of 23 Turkish battalions in the division were Bosnian and could unite with the people and resist with arms. It was noted that the order not to resist with arms would be difficult to implement and that until the cannons and ammunition in this position were delivered to the Turkish battalions, a diplomatic solution should be sought to prevent the forward movement of the Austrian army (MSB, ATASE., 72/0/28, M. 13.07.1878).

The war ended with the Treaty of San Stefano, in which the Russians gained significant concessions after the Ottoman Empire, having lost the war against Russians, requested a peace treaty. The establishment of a Greater Bulgaria as a result of the war and the declaration of an autonomous status for Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary rendered the Treaty of Budapest invalid. The other great European powers disturbed by the advantages gained by the Russians in the Treaty of San Stefano, pressured Russians to back down. Under the presidency of German Chancellor Bismarck, a meeting was held in Berlin in June 1878 to

revise the agreement made in San Stefano and redraw the map of Southeastern Europe. With the Berlin Treaty signed on July 13, 1878, it was decided to end the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and to give the Bosnian administration to the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Gonenc, 2021: 509-556).

After the Berlin Treaty was signed, Austria made all kinds of preparations to occupy Bosnia in practice. In the document dated July 23, 1878, upon the statement of the Austrian consul in Bosnia that the Austrian army would enter Bosnia and go as far as Mitrovica, the issue of how to respond to this was raised, and it was noted that orders were awaited on the matter (MSB, ATASE., 72/0/49, M. 23.07.1878).

The occupation, which began on July 29 across the entire province of Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially in Sarajevo, led to major changes in the demographic structure and the emigration of thousands of Bosnians from the lands they had lived in for centuries. At the same time, the occupation of Bosnia caused a sharp deterioration in relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Donia, 2006: 29).

The Bosnian people had shown determined resistance to the Austrian occupation despite the decisions taken at the Berlin Conference. In an ATASE archive document dated August 24, 1878, it was reported to the Kosovo province that Austrian troops should not be resisted based on the decision taken at the congress against entering the Yenipazar Sanjak. It was stated that if the people of the Yenipazar Sanjak and the Albanians did not accept this decision, and the Austrians massacred them and looted their weapons and ammunition as they had done to some Ottoman officers in Bosnia, the necessary measures would be taken to retaliate (MSB, ATASE., 72.0.75, M. 24.08.1878).

The resistance shown against the Austrians was not limited to this. In another document dated August 22, it was stated that the people of Tashlica were stirred by the advance towards Caynice and that the people there would encourage the soldiers to move to Kovaç Balkan. and that if any evil was attempted against the soldiers and the police, an appropriate number of soldiers and artillery should be sent to Tashlica (MSB, ATASE., 72/0/77, M. 22.08.1878). The process of Austria taking control of Bosnia took a long time due to the strong resistance of the local population.

Despite the resistance of the Bosnian people, Austria-Hungary could not immediately seize control of Bosnia, even with a force of seventy-five thousand soldiers. After the occupation that began in July 1878, it took until September 1879 to gain control of the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. During this period,

Austrian lost around ten thousand soldiers and suffered significant economic losses. (Emgili, 2011: 126).

The Muslim Bosnian people, who had been living under the rule of the Ottoman Empire for centuries, would come under non-Muslim rule with the Austro-Hungarian invasion of Bosnia. Until that moment, Muslim Bosnians, who based their identity, social and economic status on Islam under Ottoman rule, had always been in a higher position than their Serbian Orthodox and Catholic Croatian neighbors. Bosnians, who lost these rights under Austrian rule, felt that their lives, property and lands were under threat from unruly Austrian soldiers and former Christian subjects. For this reason, the first reaction of a large portion of Bosnian Muslims after the Austrian invasion was to emigrate (Yilmazata, 2011: 87).

Migration of Bosnian Muslims After the Occupation

It is not possible to provide an exact number regarding the number of Bosnians who emigrated after the occupation, as local and foreign sources give different figures ranging from 120,000 to 300,000 (Babuna, 2000, p. 27, Aĝanoĝlu, 2017: 107). Bosnian historian Muhammed Hadzijahic's estimated number of those who emigrated to Turkey after the occupation in 1878 is 300,000 (Hadzijahic, 1950: 191).

The "*Tercüman-ı Hakikat*" newspaper dated August 28, 1878, reported that if the Austro-Hungarian Empire completely took over Bosnia-Herzegovina, there would be a large wave of migration towards Anatolia ("*Yoĝurtçu*", 2021: 145).

According to the news in "*Tercüman-ı Şark*" newspaper dated August 18, 1878, it was stated that Austria-Hungary could not maintain public order after the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that the people migrated to Ottoman lands in great fear due to the irregular actions of the Austro-Hungarian soldiers. It was emphasized that around 200,000 Bosnian Muslims migrated during this period ("*Yoĝurtçu*", 2021: 145).

In his book *Cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the End of the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century*, Ilyas Hadzibegovic mentions that after the occupation, from 1879 to 1910, the Orthodox population increased by 66% with 328,933 people, the Muslim Bosnians by 36% with 163,524 people, the Catholics (local and Croatian settlers) by 107% with 224,670 people and the Jews by 246% with 8,442 people. He emphasises that only the Orthodox (Serbian) population showed a normal increase, while the Muslims, due to the large number of immigration, lagged significantly behind the normal population growth rate, the Catholic population almost doubled, but the greatest increase was in the Jewish population, which

increased by about two and a half times due to the immigration of Ashkenazi (Polish and German Jews). He states that the big difference in the growth rates of the Muslim and Catholic populations is due to the fact that a large number of Catholics were brought to Bosnia from Austria-Hungary and other countries after the occupation of Bosnia by the Habsburg Empire, and on the other hand, their numbers decreased due to the migration of Bosnians to the Ottoman Empire after the departure of the Ottomans (he estimates their number as approximately 140,000 people) (Hadzibegovic, 2004: 20).

According to a document in the “*Yıldız Kamil Paşa archive*” in the Ottoman Archives, in the letter sent to Grand Vizier Kamil Pasha by Şerif Arnautovic, a prominent Bosnian politician, journalist and foundation director, on January 29, 1910, it was stated that the number of people who migrated from Bosnia to the Ottoman lands between 1882 and 1900 was around 120,000 (Binark, et al., 1992: 325).

In his book “*Geçmişten Günümüze Boşnaklar*”, Aydın Babuna stated that after the occupation in 1878, especially after the compulsory military service law enacted by Austria for Bosnian Muslims in 1881, mass migrations began, reaching their peak in 1900, and that approximately 150,000 Bosnians emigrated between 1881 and 1900 (Babuna, 2000: 34).

Annexation of Bosnia by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1908

Austrian government’s intention of annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina began to appear in the foreign press even before 1908, and statements denying such news began to be published in the same newspapers. On the other hand, representatives of the Ottoman Empire in foreign capitals closely followed these news and reported them they obtained from various sources on the subject to the “Bab-ı ali” (Ottoman Sublime Porte), along with their own opinions (BOA, HR.SYS, 260/2, M.13.09.1908).

The Sarajevo newspaper *Hrvatski Dnevnik* published several reports about the reinforcement of garrisons in the Austrian army, stating that such measures were usually taken only in cases of mobilization, etc. in its issue dated September 8, 1908. *The Vaterland* newspaper stated that these reports were untrue and that, despite the seriousness of the situation in Bosnia, there was no need for extraordinary measures (BOA, HR.SYS., 260/2, M. 13.09.1908).

The Neue Freie Presse newspaper summarized the latest news from Bosnia in its issue dated September 6, 1908, and added that all the communiqués of the parties

in Bosnia would be discussed in the delegations to be convened in Budapest towards the end of September (BOA, H.SYS., 260/2, M. 13.09.1908).

The Austro-Hungarian Empire annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina on October 7, 1908, and announced this decision through a note given to the Ottoman Empire through its ambassador in Istanbul, Marki Pallavicini. The annexation of Bosnia and the content of this note were reported in the “*Şuray-ı Ümmet*” newspaper dated October 8, 1908, as follows: *The Austro-Hungarian State announced in a note it sent to the Bab-ı Ali through its ambassador resident in Istanbul that it had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina to its own country and that it had withdrawn its troops from Yeni Pazar and left it to the new Constitutional Monarchy administration in order to show its goodwill towards the Ottomans* (“*Şuray-ı Ümmet*” Newspaper, October 8, 1908).

In the response sent by the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Austro-Hungarian ambassador on October 8, 1908 stated that the sovereignty of the lands of Bosnia and Herzegovina was given to the Ottoman Empire by the Berlin Treaty and that, unless there was an agreement between the signatory states of the treaty and the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman government did not agree with the Austro-Hungarian State’s decision to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. This situation constituted a violation of the agreement in question and protested (“*Gönenç*”, 2021: 524).

In the light of these developments, the Ottoman government applied to England, which they believed would provided them with the most assistance, for an opinion. In this regard, the English government stated that it would be in the interest of the Ottoman Empire if Austria’s decision to abandon Yeni Pazar to the Ottoman Empire was recorded in a conference, otherwise it was likely that Austria would reoccupy Yeni Pazar in the future (BOA, A.HUS., 525/66).

Austrian historian Rubina Möhring, in her doctoral thesis titled “Relations between Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire (1908-1912)”, stated that Bosnia was annexed by Austria only 30 years after its occupation, taking advantage of the Ottoman Empire’s preoccupation with the Second Constitutional Monarchy period, due to its strong loyalty to the Ottomans (Möhring, 1978: 522).

While the Bab-ı Ali was making diplomatic efforts regarding the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria, Austrian goods were also boycotted in Ottoman lands. People organized protest demonstrations in the provinces of Ioannina, Beirut, Manastir and Kastamonu and expressed their reaction by making speeches. This situation was reported to the foreign ministries of all European States except Austria by telegraph (BOA, DH.MKT., 2629/86, H. 17.09.1326). The people who protested in Bursa and Avyalık prepared a declaration stating that

Austria had unjustly occupied Bosnia and sent it to the consuls of friendly countries (BOA, DH.MKT, 2662/8, H. 23.10.1326).

In addition to Bosnian Muslims, Serbs also reacted to the annexation because one of the reasons why Bosnia and Herzegovina was annexed by Austria-Hungary was to prevent the Serbian Kingdom's long-standing dreams of seizing these lands and establishing a greater Serbia (Abdula, 2022: 15).

Despite all the reactions of the Ottoman government and Bosnian Muslims, a new wave of mass migration began for Bosnian Muslims towards Ottoman lands when Austria officially declared that it had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908.

Migration of Bosnian Muslims after the Annexation of 1908

In the study titled "*Bosna-Hersek'le İlgili Arşiv Belgeleri*", compiled by the Presidency of the State Archives of the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey and published in 1992, the total population of Bosnia-Herzegovina was given as 1,496,020 according to the census conducted by the Austro-Hungarian administration in 1895 after the occupation. Of this number, 548,632 (34.99%) were Muslims, 613,246 (42.94%) were Orthodox, and 334,142 (21.31%) were Catholics (Binark et al., 1992: 5).

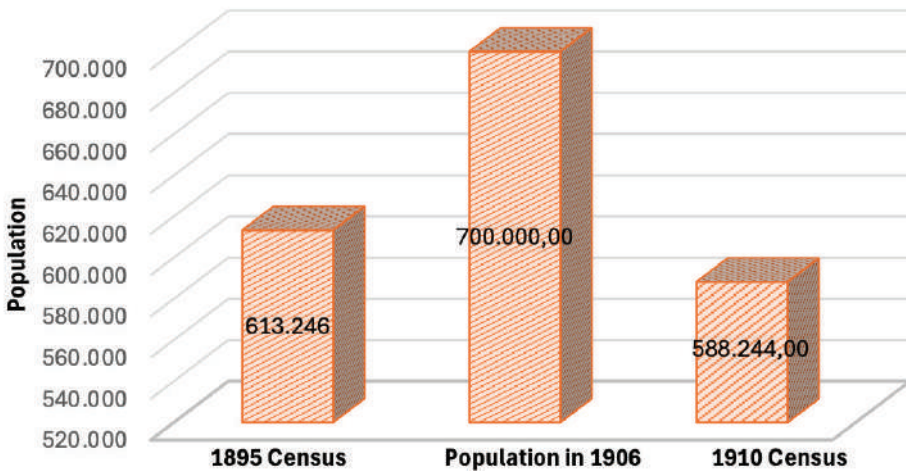
According to the figures given by Zafer Gölen in his book "*Tanzimat Döneminde Bosna Hersek*", based on the memorandum sent to the Sadaret (Ottoman Grand Viziership) in 1906 by Herzegovinian Ali Rüşdi Efendi, titled "The Memorandum Given to the Parliaments of Deputies and Ottoman Notables on Behalf of the People of Bosnia and Herzegovina Regarding the Obligation of Those Who Have the Idea of Separating Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman Lands and Selling It to Austria", the total population of Bosnia in 1906 was approximately 2,000,000. Of this, 700,000 (35%) were Muslims, 900,000 (45%) were Orthodox and 400,000 (20%) were Catholics (Gölen, 2010: 373).

According to the census conducted by the Austrians in 1910, the total population was 1,798,660 people. Of these, 588,244 (32.25%) were Muslims, 793,264 (43.49%) were Orthodox and 417,152 (22.87%) were Catholics (Binark et al., 1992: 5).

The Ottoman Empire, whose official rule in Bosnia ended with the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Empire on October 7, 1908, initially adopted a harsh stance against the annexation, but in 1909, it signed a protocol with the Austro-Hungarian Empire to recognize the annexation and ensure that Bosnian Muslims were still Ottoman subjects and that those who

wanted to migrate could migrate safely to Ottoman lands. According to the third article of the protocol signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Austrian State in a document dated February 26, 1909, which is among the Archive Documents Regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina: *The treaty signed on February 21, 1879 regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina is terminated and annulled, and this protocol is in place; It was accepted by the parties that the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina who wanted to immigrate to the Ottoman country could immigrate freely* (Binark et al., 1992: 304).

MUSLIM POPULATION OF BOSNIA BEFORE AND AFTER THE 1908 ANNEXATION



Graph 1. Muslim Population of Bosnia in 1895, 1906 and 1910.

The migration of Bosnian Muslims to the regions under Ottoman rule began after annexation date. In his book *Historija Bosnjaka* (History of the Bosnians), Bosnian historian Mustafa Imamovic mentions that 17,018 Bosnian Muslims migrated in the 9-month period from March 1910 to the end of the year (Imamovic, 1997: 434).

When graph 1 is examined, it will be seen that the Muslim population in Bosnia before 1908 was approximately 700,000, and according to the population data of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1910, the population of Muslims after the annexation was determined as 588,244. It is possible to say that the decrease in the number of Bosnian Muslims (111,756 people) was due to migration, natural deaths, and the atrocities and massacres experienced on the migration routes.

Relocation and Resettlement of Bosnian Muhajirs

After the annexation of Bosnia, the Ottoman State mobilized all available resources to ensure that Bosnian Muslims could migrate safely to Ottoman lands. First of all, all provinces were asked to identify suitable locations for settling the immigrants, and plans were made for allocating these places based on the responses received. Priority was given to the settlement of immigrants in the provinces of Rumelia, such as Macedonia, Yenipazar Sanjak, Kosovo, Skopje, Yanya, Thesaloniki, and Edirne, and in addition, Bosnian Muslim immigrants were settled in various cities in Western, Central, and Eastern Anatolia in a planned manner according to need (Babuna, 2000: 121).

The care shown by the Ottoman State to the immigrants was evident in every aspect during the uninterrupted migration of the Bosnian immigrants. In the petition written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs by the *Muhacirin-i İslamiyye Komisyonu*, which emphasized the importance of selecting places suitable for settlement, with clean air and abundant water for the settlement of the Bosnian immigrants, it was also requested that special attention be given to settling the Bosnian immigrants in places with pleasant air and abundant water (BOA, A. MKT.MHM., 514/3, H. 13.02.1319).

When the Ottoman archive documents belonging to the period after the 1908 annexation are examined, numerous examples of the oppression and violence that the Bosnian immigrants endured during their migration are striking.

In the minutes of the *Meclis-i Vükela* dated January 6, 1910, it was recorded that the Muslim Bosnians were forced to migrate due to the oppressive environment they faced the 1908 annexation in Bosnia, and that the immigrants who applied were to be settled within the Kosovo Vilayet (BOA, MV., 118/10, H. 06.01.1326).

In the documents written by the *Muhacirin-i İslamiye Komisyonu*, which was responsible for the relocation and resettlement of Bosnian immigrants, it was stated that “Bosnian Muslims were forced to migrate due to the transactions and obligations they were subjected to”. As a result, it was decided to settle the mistreated immigrants within the Kosovo province (BOA, BEO., 3251/243787, H. 14.01.1326).

In another document dated February 19, 1910, it was stated that the Bosnian immigrants were imprisoned by Austrian officials, and their money was confiscated, with a request made to redress the grievance (BOA, HR.İD.,14/14, M. 19.02.1910).

There are also many archive documents indicating that the immigrants were sent to various cities and resettled. For example, in a document dated 1909, a request was made to facilitate the settlement of Ahmed bin Mehmed and his followers in Kütahya (BOA, BEO.,2895/224559, 01.12.1325).

It has been reported that Bosnian Canbaz Ahmed bin Şakir and Derviş b. Şakir, who were planned to be settled in the Shkodra Province, were sent to the Shkodra Province with their families for settlement (BOA, DH.MKT., 2661/65, H. 23.10.1326).

Upon the request of the Bosnian immigrants who were settled in the province of *Adapazarı*, an order was given to drain the swamp around the settlement area (BOA, A. MKT. MHM., 529/39, H. 28.03.1324).

With the notification sent to the Kosovo Governorate, the issue of providing assistance regarding the construction of houses, agricultural supplies, animal supplies and transactions required for the settlement of Muslim Bosnian immigrants who came to the *Yenivaroş* district was recorded in a petition written to *Rumeli Vilayeti Umumi Müfettişliği* (BOA, TFR.I.KV., 186/18571, H. 02.12.1325).

Aid to Bosnian Muhajirs

Muhacirin komisyonu was established to be responsible for the transportation, resettlement and satisfying all the needs of Bosnian immigrants. This commission was tasked with finding suitable places for immigrants to resettle, ensuring their transportation and resettlement, providing shelter, acquiring land suitable for agriculture, and providing tools and animal support to work the land. *Vezir-i Azam* Hakkı Pasha gave the following answer to a question asked in the Ottoman Parliament on June 1, 1910: “The immigration of Muslims did not yield good results during the time of Abdülmecid because they did it badly, but not today; because the state itself controls this business.” A special commission was established for this purpose and it would purchase land and settle immigrants on these lands. As a start, 15,000 Turkish liras would be given to this commission. In addition, 4,000 liras and two hundred oxen were given to the immigrants to work as farmers in the Balkans. Furthermore, two hundred ploughs were taken from Thessaloniki and given to those in Skopje, and some lands was set aside and distributed to the immigrants (Emgili, 2011: 224).

In addition to in-kind aid, cash aid was also provided to needy immigrants. It was reported in the finance records that a salary of one hundred kuruş would be allocated to Veysel Fazlı Efendi, one of the Bosnian immigrants (BOA, BEO., 3222/241/583, H. 28.11.1325). Another document stated that the money spent for the aid and donations of Derviş Bey, one of the Bosnian immigrants, and some Muslims who escaped from Romania and Russia would be covered by the state (BOA, BEO., 3291/246801, H. 12.03.1326).

In the correspondence regarding the expenses required for 102 immigrants from the town of Mostar in Bosnia, who were temporarily residing in Mitrovica, to come and settle in the Barıçı winter quarters of Usturumca, it was also stated that the immigrant commission provided 5000 kuruş in aid (BOA, TFR.I.SL.,175/17422. H. 28.01.1326).

The professions of the immigrants coming from Bosnia were also taken into consideration, and since farmers should preferably be settled, various aids were provided by the state, taking into account the costs of household animals, agricultural tools, and the *levazım-ı iskaniyye* (resettling supplies) consisting of seeds and grains, as well as construction costs (BOA, DH.MKT., 2847/6, H. 27.05.1327). In addition, it was important for the government to provide assistance to the agriculturalists as well as the artisans among the Bosnian immigrants (BOA, BEO., 3634/272/480, H. 27.08.1327).

Among the immigrants migrating from Bosnia to Thessaloniki, the industrialists were settled in towns and the agriculturalists were settled in villages, and the immigrants were sent and settled in regions suitable for their professions (BOA, ŞD., 2788/24, H. 12.08.1327).

The state supported the immigrants in every way and was sensitive about covering the necessary expenses during their journey. In a petition written to the Ministry of Finance regarding the providing the necessary amount for the travel and daily expenses of Bosnian immigrants who wanted to travel from Mitrovica to Thessaloniki by train and settled there, it was stated that twenty-four people in six households needed 1376 kuruş for this journey and that this amount should be met immediately (BOA, DH.MKT., 2723/25., H. 7.01.1327).

The request for the Kosovo province to pay fourteen thousand ninety-three and a half kuruş to cover the expenses of 151 people who migrated from Bosnia to Taşlıca for their settlement in Ioannina was expressed in a petition written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (BOA, DH.MKT., 2861/100, H.11.06.1327).

Conclusion

There is a significant decrease in the Bosnian Muslim population during the period from the Austrian occupation of Bosnia in 1878 to the annexation in 1908. This situation was particularly evident as a result of the forced migrations of Muslims towards Ottoman lands.

According to Ottoman archive documents, after the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1908, there was intense migration from the region to Ottoman lands. A large portion of the immigrants were sent and settled in many

parts of Anatolia, especially in the Rumelia Provinces, Istanbul, Hudavendigâr, and even in places where Arabs were densely populated such as Syria and Beirut.

The Ottoman State made detailed plans for the relocation and resettlement of Bosnian immigrants by establishing a *Muhacir Komisyonu* (Migrants Commission). Various measures were taken to meet the shelter, food, health and security needs of the immigrants, infrastructure work was carried out in the regions where they were to be settled and shelters were built. They were encouraged to participate in economic activities such as agriculture and trade in accordance with their professions. The state also provided cash aid, agricultural land, agricultural equipment and seed support to the immigrants.

The Bosnian immigrants who came from Bosnia-Herzegovina and were experienced in areas such as agriculture, crafts and trade had a positive impact on the Ottoman economy. They also became a valuable element for the regions they came from in terms of cultural diversity and social wealth.

Ottoman archive documents reveal the details of the migration process that took place after the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. These documents are of great importance in terms of understanding the migration policies of the Ottoman Empire and evaluating the migration process in a historical context. The relocation and resettlement of immigrants took their place in history as one of the most important issues that the Ottoman Empire faced in its final periods.

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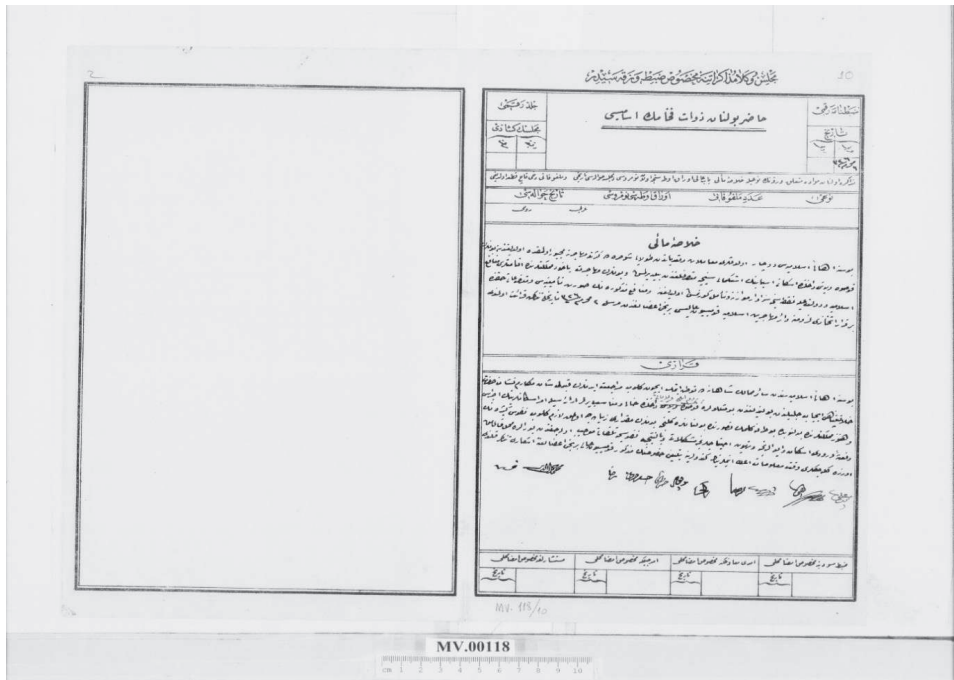
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Attachments

Appendix 1: The minutes of the Meclis-i Vükela (Council of Ministers), dated January 6, 1910, regarding the Bosnian muhajirs request for the resettlement within the Kosovo province due to the oppressive environment in which the Bosnian Muhajirs was forced to migrate after the annexation of Bosnia in 1908 (BOA, MV., 118/10, H. 06.01.1326).



WHO EXPOSED THE OTTOMANS? THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND THE EARLIEST REPORTS OF THE BULGARIAN ATROCITIES

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Introduction

During the summer of 1876 in the aftermath of what the *Daily News* first named the “Moslem Atrocities in Bulgaria” Sir Henry Elliot, her majesty’s ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, sent a telegram to the Foreign Office in London (*The London Daily News*, 1876, June 23 & July 8). On July 19 Elliot wrote therein, “The statements in the ‘Daily News’ have been taken principally from information furnished by the American missionaries” (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1876, July 19). Published soon thereafter, the role of the American missionaries in sourcing the *Daily News* and its reports of these “Bulgarian Atrocities” became a foregone conclusion in the popular memory of these notoriously violent events.¹ Elliot’s assertion about the role of the missionaries has continued to dominate the Western historiographic tradition for the last 150 years.²

However, the original influence and ongoing historiographic supremacy of Elliot’s assertion is unfortunate for he was, actually, mistaken. The American missionaries did not furnish the *Daily News* with information on the Bulgarian

1 The Blue Book containing Elliot’s telegram from July 19 was presented to Parliament on August 10, 1876. The telegram was then reproduced in full by the *Daily News* the very next day (*The London Daily News*, 1876, Aug. 11).

2 Chronologically, Schaeffer & Schuyler, 1901, p. 76; Temperley, 1931, p. 13; Harris, 1939, p. 31, 32; Shannon, 1963, p. 39; Seton-Watson, 1972, p. 53; Shaw & Shaw, 1977, p. 162; Sahara, 2011, p. 494; Shelton, 2011, p. 312.



Atrocities. On the contrary, the American missionaries attempted to correct Elliot by field researching and drafting their own eyewitness report in contrast to the *Daily News*. Entitled “The Suffering in Bulgaria” therein Henry O. Dwight and James F. Clarke, two career missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), emphatically challenged important points of the rapidly settling, popular memory of these events as an instance of unprovoked Muslim brutality, a narrative launched and regularly energized by the *Daily News*. Dwight thus wrote of his idea to do so and its original motivation:

Mr. Clarke of Samokov commenced to make a regular report upon the Bulgarian villages which he has visited since the insurrection. I had suggested to him that the surest way of exonerating ourselves [i.e., the American missionaries] from the charge of circulating exaggerated stories would be by the publication of a statement of actual facts, taking occasion at the same time to say coincidentally that no previous publication had been made (Dwight, 2023: 213).

Utilizing textual analysis of heretofore neglected primary sources, specifically those correspondences and documents of the American missionaries themselves,³ this essay challenges Elliot’s assertion that the American missionaries sourced the *Daily News* and its reports of the Bulgarian Atrocities. Paradoxically, it introduces the American missionaries’ eyewitness testimony within “The Suffering in Bulgaria” as a credible, tempered counternarrative of these events, which contradicted the exaggerated reports of the *Daily News* as well as the other early English reports. Looking ahead toward the concluding application of this thesis, “The Suffering in Bulgaria” and other missionary primary sources invite the thorough reconsideration of the history of the Bulgarian Atrocities.

Elliot’s Telegram and the *Daily News* Versus “The Suffering in Bulgaria”

In distinction from the *Daily News* and the most influential early English reports, “The Suffering in Bulgaria” made ample space for the April Uprising—the Bulgarian revolt against Ottoman rule, which precipitated the Ottoman reprisals or the “Bulgarian Atrocities”. This its author did by means of a lengthy historical introduction to the suffering as well as by repeated references to the excessive

3 Principally, from within the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archives, ABC 1-91* of Houghton Library at Harvard University, although where these have been published, I have made use of them as in the case of Dwight, 2023 and Washburn, 2024.

violence as “repression” for the “insurrection” (Dwight, 2023: 213, 215, 216, 218, 219, 223). Additionally, “The Suffering in Bulgaria” proposed a final death toll that was “not far from 3,800” (Dwight, 2023: 491), a dramatically reduced figure from the numbers proffered in the articles of the *Daily News* (18,000-30,000) or any of the other early English accounts, principally those of Eugene Schuyler (15,000+), Walter Baring (12,000+), and William Gladstone (15,000+).⁴

And yet, “The Suffering in Bulgaria” went unpublished.⁵ Dwight, in command of Clarke’s notes at Constantinople and the final author of the report, decided against sending it to press when some of their friends in Constantinople protested, arguing that it “mentioned no ‘atrocities’” (Dwight, 2023: 231). Furthermore, or so it was reasoned, its publication might be used against the missionaries of the American Board to show their supposed denialism of the tragedy or a lack of sympathy with the suffering Bulgarians (Dwight, 2023: 205). Dwight was incredulous of reasoning which suggested that a desire to correct a mistaken and exaggerated narrative amounted to a denial of the same or a lack of sympathy with those who had been truly victimized. He maintained that such reasoning was fallacious. Of a letter he wrote to U.S. Ambassador Maynard on the subject, which Maynard thought left the missionaries vulnerable to accusations, Dwight concluded:

Mr. Maynard suggested to me the other day that perhaps we would like to withdraw the letter in which last August we desired him to correct Sir Henry Elliot’s erroneous statement in reference to the missionaries supplying the stories published by the *Daily News*. Mr. Maynard’s reason for making this suggestion was not personal but simply a desire to save us from being placed in a false position by any enemy who might bring out our letter from the files and charge us with lack of sympathy for the sufferers. I was somewhat taken aback by the suggestion, especially as the reason given was a *non sequitur* (Dwight, 2023: 231).

And yet in the end Dwight resigned himself to the consequences of not distributing their counternarrative. A missionary himself, unsurprisingly, he found a missiological reason to overcome his activist impulses: “Instead of trying to set printed wrongs right, we will confine our attention to our natural work of trying by God’s grace to do something at setting actual living wrong right” (Dwight, 2023: 206).

4 Respectively *The London Daily News*, 1876, June 23; *Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Turkey*, 1876, August 10; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1876, September 5; Gladstone, 1876, p. 31.

5 It remained unpublished until 1977; see note 8.

The consequences of Elliot's telegram, however, loomed. He had unwittingly put the American missionaries in a predicament which can be guessed from the incendiary name which the *Daily News* already attached to the events of 1876—"Moslem Atrocities in Bulgaria".⁶ But, of course, the problems for the American missionaries did not end with the names of the articles. Therein the *Daily News* portrayed the Bulgarian Christians as slaughtered innocents and the Muslim Turks—principally Turkish irregulars or *bashi-bazouks*—as guilty perpetrators of mass murder in which between 18,000 and 30,000 Bulgarians lost their lives in acts of grisly (and often sexual) violence. As the media outlet which broke the story, the *Daily News* commanded the narrative of these events in the West as well as in the Ottoman Empire of which Bulgaria was then a part. The Sublime Porte read the *Daily News* as well as the published telegrams of her majesty's ambassador to the Ottoman Empire.⁷ They would have immediately learned of their accusers and had no trouble identifying who "the American missionaries" were in their midst.

Perhaps too because it went unpublished, the missionaries' protest in "The Suffering in Bulgaria" against Elliot's assertion has gone largely unnoticed in the secondary literature.⁸ The missionaries' reasons for wanting to dispute the charge that they sourced the *Daily News* are so obvious as to almost go without saying. But because so little has been written on what the missionaries of the American Board themselves thought and wrote about these events, it warrants some explanation here, specifically why they opposed Elliot's assertion and even went so far as attempting (albeit unsuccessfully) to have him recant it.

By 1876 the American Board had already been in Ottoman Bulgaria for nearly twenty years and in the wider empire for over half a century.⁹ They had hitherto

6 *The London Daily News* (1876, June 23 & July 8).

7 On July 17 the Turkish Foreign Minister wrote to the Foreign Office in London, "Nous avons lu dans un numéro du 'Daily News' une longue correspondance de Bulgarie, remplie de récits sans fondement et de mensonges les plus exagérés." ["We have read, in a number of the 'Daily News', a lengthy correspondence from Bulgaria, full of statements without foundation and the most exaggerated falsehoods."] (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1876, July 17). Furthermore, a preliminary search of the "Daily News" in the Ottoman Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri*) reveals over 1,600 results.

8 Since its authorship in 1876 "The Suffering in Bulgaria" has only been published twice; the first was in an article by Clarke's grandson and namesake a full century after the events concerned (Clarke, J., 1977); the second with photos of the original data tables (Dwight, 2023, p. 214-223, 490-492).

9 In 1858 the ABCFM sent its first missionary to Bulgaria (Amerikan Bord Hayeti, n.d.). The American Board sent its first missionaries to the Ottoman Empire in 1820 to evangelize Jews in the Levant. These landed at Smyrna.

enjoyed a largely favorable and latitudinal relationship with the Ottoman Turkish authorities both in Constantinople and to varying degrees in the nether reaches of the empire including Bulgaria. During the Tanzimat era the sultanate generally had a high view of the modernizing influence of the West in the old empire—without as-yet having considered the unintended consequences of opening it up to the same. Accordingly, and on the legal basis of commercial treaties between the Ottoman Empire and the United States both from 1830 and 1862 the missionaries established schools, hospitals, Protestant churches, as well as a sizable publishing industry and book trade across Ottoman lands including within Bulgaria. Secondary but no less important commercial interests of the American Board missionaries were their extensive real estate acquisitions and construction projects across the empire to house these various institutions. Additionally, by 1878 the American Board employed 132 full-time missionaries in the empire and had over 500 local Christians working as assistants in their various projects (Clark, 1878: 11). Therefore, it would be naïve to overlook the American missionaries' fiscal and material interests when they defend themselves against assertions that would put them at odds with their commercial hosts, the Ottoman Turks. Dwight phrased it this way in a private letter to Boston:

We find ourselves in an embarrassing position. The Turkish government is writing under the exposure of its bloody methods of repressing rebellion. But the story of its inhumanities has been largely exaggerated, or at least *it* believes in such exaggeration. The missionaries are pointed out to it as the source of such exaggeration in an indefinite way that will permit saddling any load upon their shoulders. Meanwhile, the missionaries have been smilingly accepting and returning civilities as usual, on good terms with *Turkish officials* as a general thing; and when asked about the Bulgarian atrocities, have absolutely no evidence of a tenth part of what has been published in the English papers. Under such circumstances there is danger that the Turks will begin to regard the missionaries as double-faced hypocrites (Dwight, 2023: 203 [italics original]).

“Saddling any load upon their shoulders” was an idea pregnant with threats to the missionaries' enterprising freedom as well as to their bottom line.

Motivated by the desire to preserve the ABCFM as an institution within the Ottoman Empire, it is also pertinent to observe with respect to Dwight's presuppositions that he was no “Turkophile”, a pejorative epithet used to identify those who instinctively defended the Turks so as to preserve their own political or

economic interests in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰ Elsewhere Dwight writes freely of his conviction that everything said about the Turks “may turn out true to the letter” (Dwight, 2023: 204). He even allowed for the fact that the charges—many of which he thought were true¹¹—were “entirely in keeping with the barbarous character of the Turkish peasantry” (Dwight, 2023: 206). In other words, Dwight’s prejudice against the Turkish “character” allowed for sweeping generalizations of Turkish Muslim guilt and Bulgarian Christian innocence. Furthermore, we can know this racial and religious prejudice of Dwight’s not merely by inference from the previous quotes. At times he also wrote explicitly of the inferiority of the Muslim Turkish people in comparison with their Christian neighbors. In one particularly striking letter he reflects on the incapacity of the Turks for achievements in architecture:

[T]he architectural attainments of the Turks are not great. Ask as to the architects of any fine buildings in Constantinople. They are all Christians even to the oldest mosques and the palaces of the sultan. The stonemasons, the builders, the best of the carpenters are all Christians. The Turks have not lost their predisposition for that life sufficiently to take readily to constructions requiring exactness and precision. The minaret in the sketch is a fair illustration of the average Turk’s attainments in this direction, and no passer would ever mistake it for the conceptions of a Christian brain (Dwight, 2023: 79).¹²

And yet, while motivated by self-interest, both institutional and personal, and simultaneously prejudiced against Islam and the Turks, “The Suffering in Bulgaria” is still not the narrative of the events of 1876 we might expect from someone so predisposed. A counternarrative to the *Daily News* which included both a historical explanation of the April Uprising as a provocation (not a justification) for what followed as well as a substantially reduced death toll to the numbers circulated by the *Daily News* and the other English reports, Dwight wrote under the influence of a third motivation, namely a sincere desire to recover the historical integrity of the events themselves.

Of course, Dwight’s chief purpose was to exonerate the missionaries from the charge that they had done what Elliot claimed, sourced the empire’s accusers in the *Daily News*. Thus, he began, “The following notes of a tour among the

10 I.e., Washburn, 2024, p. 65.

11 “Horrors there have been” (Dwight, 2023, p. 204).

12 Elsewhere he concluded similarly, “The Christians of Turkey have capabilities of development greater than any which have yet appeared among the Moslems” (Dwight, 1881, p. 40).

Bulgarian sufferers are published in response to many enquiries as to what has been seen by American missionaries residing in the immediate neighbourhood of the suffering region” (Dwight, 2023: 214). Later on, and more emphatically he again denied Elliot’s assertion that the missionaries were active in earlier reporting, “The reason why the missionaries have not spoken before is that they have not been able to get facts. They have heard plenty of stories; but not being able to obtain satisfactory evidence of their truth, they have refrained from writing in reference to them” (Dwight, 2023: 217).

But it does not follow from this clear purpose that self-interest overwhelmed or otherwise distorted Dwight’s interest in the truth of history. On the contrary in developing his narrative in “The Suffering in Bulgaria” and within his private correspondence of the time Dwight’s recourse is repeatedly to the historicity of the events themselves, in the reporting of which he was convinced the American missionaries had no part. And in further support of the veracity of his historical conclusions, the narrative of events which Dwight adopts does not comport with his anti-Turkish prejudice. In summary Dwight, who had little instinctive sympathy with Turks or with Muslims as a whole, had the integrity notwithstanding the presence of self-interest to seek to correct the *Daily News* and the other early English reports which, he was convinced, exaggerated the scale of Muslim brutality.¹³

Even if we can observe the evidence in favor of the credibility of the counter-narrative of “The Suffering in Bulgaria”, it still remains for us to make our own exploration of Elliot’s formative telegram. Extending Elliot’s, a historian’s courtesy of assuming that he was not deliberately misleading the Foreign Office as to the role of the missionaries, why was he convinced “the American missionaries” sourced the *Daily News* on the subject of these events? And, conversely, why did a similarly sincere interest in the historicity of the events lead Dwight to conclude otherwise?

As mentioned previously, the answers to both questions rest in a simple case of mistaken identity on Elliot’s part. The first clue pointing towards this conclusion is the fuller context of Elliot’s assertion. The same telegram reproduced within its wider context reads, “The statements in the ‘Daily News’ have been taken principally from information furnished by the American missionaries; and, before setting out, Mr. Baring went, by my direction, to those gentlemen, and obtained from them a Memorandum of all the facts with which they are acquainted” (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1876, July 19).

13 I am indebted to an e-mail from Prof. Dr. Brian Stanley for this phraseology.

To the readers of the published telegram in the West the identity of “those gentlemen” would have been unclear, but in Constantinople among the American expatriate community it was an open secret that George Washburn and Albert Long of Robert College had alerted the *Daily News*. Dwight wrote of a meeting of the ABCFM missionaries in Constantinople, “We discussed this matter in station meeting the other day and it being understood that Dr. Long and Dr. Washburn were the persons to whom Sir Henry Elliot had reference” (Dwight, 2023: 203). In a lesser-known memoir of his, years later Washburn recounted his and Dr. Long’s involvement in the events spoken of. Owing to its neglect in the secondary literature as well as its importance as the evidential link between the identity of “those gentlemen” and “the American missionaries” in Elliot’s telegram, Washburn’s account of his and Dr. Long’s involvement is worth reproducing here at length:

The first that I knew of these events was from a letter addressed to my colleague, Dr. Long, by a Bulgarian friend in Philippopolis, brought to Constantinople in the bag of the Austrian consul and delivered here without the knowledge of the Austrian embassy. Letters from the same source came to us in the same way every week, and, so far as I know, this was the only authentic information that reached the outer world from Bulgarian sources for some time. News also came later from the American missionaries in Bulgaria confirming these statements. Except that there was a natural exaggeration of numbers in some cases, it was afterwards proved that the statements were essentially accurate. I was horrified at this news and went at once to Sir Henry Elliot to whom I regularly communicated the facts. I begged him to remonstrate with the Turks and, as their chief friend, to show them the impolicy of these massacres. I believe that he did remonstrate, but his published dispatches show that he was more inclined to believe the Turks who denied everything than to accept the information which I gave him. I begged him to send someone of his staff to Bulgaria to investigate on the spot, but he did not see his way to do that. At the same time, I wrote to several friends in the House of Commons and begged them to interest the government in the matter. Dr. Long furnished Mr. Pears, the resident correspondent of the *Daily News*, with the material for the first letter on the subject published in England. I had before this given the facts to my friend, Mr. Gallenga, correspondent of the *London Times*, but they did not publish his letter. Our sole object was to do what we could to stop the massacres. We had no political end in view.... Later on, as the excitement increased in England Sir Henry told me that Lord Derby had telegraphed to him to send Mr. Wrench,

the vice consul, or one of his secretaries to Bulgaria to investigate. I was rejoiced, and he promised to send him to see me before he started. He selected Mr. Walter Baring, the youngest of his secretaries, and, when he came to see me, I gave him details of the places which he ought to visit and the persons whom he ought to see (Washburn, 2024: 59, 60).¹⁴

In 1876 Albert Long was the professor of natural science at Robert College in Constantinople. He had also served previously as a missionary to Bulgaria with the American Methodist Episcopal church.¹⁵ Long was, therefore, fluent in Bulgarian. And George Washburn was Long's friend from whom he had learned sympathy for the Bulgarians.¹⁶ Washburn was also a retired missionary but of the ABCFM in Constantinople where he served as treasurer for a decade until his resignation in 1868. Washburn was also a recent visitor to Bulgaria and acting president of Robert College, an institution where nearly 20% of the students were ethnic Bulgarians.¹⁷ Both men were, therefore, personally familiar with the region and people. But regardless of their intimate connections to Bulgaria and their historical employment as missionaries, it was fundamental to Dwight's rebuttal of Elliot and the counternarrative that he would write in consequence that neither gentleman was then employed by the American Board or any other missionary agency. "Those gentlemen" were employed educators not "American missionaries" as Elliot wrongly supposed.¹⁸

This case of mistaken identity was upset to no one more than Dwight, who adamantly denied the missionaries were involved. He complained to Boston, "Sir

14 A similar but less detailed account is found in Washburn, 1909, p. 103, 104, 108, 109. Of his personal relationship with Edwin Pears, Washburn wrote, "Through a long period of years he [Edwin Pears] has been one of my most intimate personal friends and a devoted friend of the College, to whom we owe a great debt of gratitude" (Washburn, 1909, p. 182).

15 The American Methodist Episcopal Church and the ABCFM shared the missionary field of Bulgaria with the former assuming oversight of the territory north of the Balkan Mountains and the latter, the territory south thereof. It was, consequently, the ABCFM and not the Methodist missionaries who were directly implicated in Elliot's assertion as the violence of summer 1876 overwhelmingly took place south of the Balkans in the regions around Philippopolis (Plovdiv).

16 Of Dr. Long, Washburn wrote, "My honored colleague, Dr. Long, was already an enthusiastic friend of the nation with great faith in their future. It was only natural that I should come to share his hopes and wish to do what I could for the elevation of this promising people" (Washburn, 2024, p. 49, 50).

17 This was in 1875 at the beginning of the school year; Bulgarian students numbered 33 of 137 boarders or 167 students total (including students who commuted); they were thus 24% of the student body that resided on campus and 19.8% of the total student body (Washburn, 1909, p. 102).

18 Only Millman makes a point to identify Washburn and Long as "ex-missionaries" and "former missionaries" (Millman, 1979, p. 127; Millman, 1980, p. 220, 221).

Henry Elliot does not distinguish between the American missionaries and the Americans resident here. He further errs by stating that he sent Mr. Baring to the American missionaries for documents. No American missionary has furnished information on the subject of the Bulgarian atrocities to the *Daily News* or its correspondents nor to Mr. Baring” (Dwight, 2023: 203).

However, Dwight went further than simple private protest. In a meeting of the missionaries of the Constantinople station an agreement was reached to invite Drs. Washburn and Long “to ask Sir Henry Elliot to correct his erroneous statement” (Dwight, 2023: 203). The result proved nil since “Dr. Washburn was away,” and Dr. Long, despite significant concessions, “declined to interfere, although acknowledging that the erroneous statement in question directs attention away from the gentlemen at the college and throws it upon the missionaries” (Dwight, 2023: 203, 204).

Dwight and the other missionaries were undeterred and invited Ambassador Maynard “to correct Sir Henry Elliot’s erroneous statement in reference to the missionaries supplying the stories published by the *Daily News*” (Dwight, 2023: 231). In response, Maynard wrote to Secretary of State Fish, “It is clear to the American missionaries, however, to say that they had little or nothing to do with [Elliot’s dispatch]; excepting of course Messrs. Washburn and Long, who, though at one time missionaries, have not been such for several years” (*Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Turkey*, 1876, Nov. 21). But while Maynard honored Dwight’s wishes and wrote to Washington to absolve the missionaries of any involvement in the eyes of the United States government, Elliot’s account was left publicly alone.

Working against his influence, Dwight’s dispute was hardly substantive to those outside of the small American missionary community in Constantinople. His distinction between the American missionaries, on the one hand, and Washburn and Long, on the other, is easily dismissible from the outside as quibbling, especially today, a century and a half later. After all, given what we know of the history and mutual Protestant-Evangelical interests of Robert College and the ABCFM was there really much difference between the American missionaries and their American friends living in Turkey and working at that institution? Even if others including present-day scholars are reluctant to differentiate, Dwight was sure they were not the same party. And his personal experience convinced him so. He was acutely aware of the growing gulf of interests separating the Bible House in Old Stamboul, where the ABCFM officed, from Robert College just north on

the Bosphorus in Bebek.¹⁹ The sense that Dwight is hair-splitting owes more to our present lack of familiarity with the actual history of Protestant expatriates in the late Ottoman Empire than it does to an overweening affinity for detail in Dwight.

Importantly too, neither do Bulgarian sources uphold Elliot's assertion about the involvement of the American missionaries. Interested in preserving Bulgarian agency in the events which ultimately led to a partial Bulgarian independence from the Ottoman Empire after the Russo-Turkish War, Bulgarian nationalist historiography is largely content with more or less hagiographical explanations that involve the heroic deeds of Bulgarians, principally clergy who in one autobiographical account claimed to have walked the hand-written testimony of violent events all the way from Plovdiv to Constantinople on scraps of paper hidden in their socks (Grogan, 1923: 641, 642; Bozhinov, 2000: 174-178, 186, 187). For our purposes, it is not important to delve into the detailed history of transmission of the earliest reports except to note that Bulgarian historiography, if it mentions Washburn, Long, and Robert College, ascribes to Westerners a secondary role in the sourcing of the *Daily News*.²⁰ The American missionaries, in general, do not figure into these explanations.

Atop this case of mistaken identity may be added Dwight's own educated assumptions as the corresponding secretary of the Committee ad Interim--the governing arm of the ABCFM in Turkey.²¹ About the events of 1876 his claim was simple and authoritative: "It is not true, however, that we missionaries have had aught to do in furnishing facts. We could not get them" (Dwight, 2023: 202). And again:

19 Dwight, for example, wrote of the missionaries at Constantinople, "Even with the friends at Robert College, we find it difficult to keep up intimate relations. I have not for lack of time been inside the college for 18 months" (Dwight, 2023, p. 124). For further evidence of conflict between the missionaries of the ABCFM and the leaders of Robert College including Washburn see: Dwight, 2023, p. 304, 305, 368.

20 Once the sources reach the *Daily News*, however, Westerners like Eugene Schuyler, Januarius MacGahan and William Gladstone figure more prominently within Bulgarian nationalist historiography. I base these claims in large part on observations I made in the museums dedicated to these events in the areas around Plovdiv, Bulgaria, which I had the opportunity to tour in 2023 as part of my M.Th. research, thanks to a grant from the Institute for the Study of Religion in the Middle East (ISRME).

21 On the evidence for his tenure as secretary (Dwight, 2023, p. 86, 259).

Sir Henry Elliot has pointed out to the English government the American missionaries as the source of the most of the information [sic] on Bulgarian outrages published by the *Daily News*. This is an error, and one the more likely to do harm as the statements in the *Daily News* are not worded as the missionaries would have worded them, and the missionaries have not been in a position to certify the truth of a tithe of statements made (Dwight, 2023: 202).

As the corresponding secretary Dwight would have been in a position to know such things. He read the mail of the American missionaries across the Ottoman empire, interpreted it, condensed it, regularly brought it before the other members of the Committee ad Interim, and frequently corresponded about its contents with the Prudential Committee or final governing authority of the ABCFM in Boston. If information from American missionaries in Bulgaria had come to light in their correspondences, Dwight reasonably assumed that he would have known about it. And yet the weight of evidence does not land on Dwight's reasonable assumptions about his official access to privileged information as corresponding secretary but on the testimony in Washburn's own memoir and in Dwight's contemporaneous correspondences that Elliot mistook George Washburn and Albert Long for "the American missionaries".

A Potential Objection and its Answer

However, there is, a detail in Washburn's own account which has the potential to disrupt the account of the events as set forth in this brief history. These are the references which Washburn himself makes therein to reports of violence coming to Constantinople from "the American missionaries". From a previous quote, "News also came later from the American missionaries in Bulgaria confirming these statements" (Washburn, 2024: 59). And later in telling of his attempts to get the U.S. Ambassador involved Washburn repeated the same, "I went to him [U.S. Ambassador Maynard], told him the whole story in detail and that I had every reason to believe that the reports which had come from the American missionaries, from Dr. Long's friend, and from our old students were essentially correct ..." (Washburn, 2024: 60, 61).

At a surface level reading these references seem to be all the testimony needed to upset the thesis of this essay and demonstrate that Elliot was fair and accurate in his description of the involvement of the American missionaries in sourcing the *Daily News*. There are, however, three small but compelling pieces of evidence, which upon closer examination undermine the hypothesis that it was this

group of American missionaries to whom Elliot referred in his telegram of July 19. First, within Elliot's telegram he uses "those gentlemen" --whom we know to be Washburn and Long--as a demonstrative phrase. The only possible antecedent to this phrase is "the American missionaries" (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1876, July 19). Elliot clearly had Washburn and Long in mind, not a third-party group of American missionaries.

Second, the initial reports which according to Washburn, "reached the outer world from Bulgarian sources for some time" were those that travelled via Plovdiv to the Austrian consul and embassy from which they were brought to Robert College apart from any American missionary involvement (Washburn, 2024: 59). This is the process of transmission whereby the *Daily News* (i.e., Edwin Pears) came into possession of the source material for his first article. And it is corroborated by Washburn's testimony elsewhere, as preserved by one of his Bulgarian students at Robert College.²²

Finally, Washburn explicitly writes that the testimony of the missionaries "came later" and merely as confirmation of the reports which had already "reached the outer world" from the Plovdiv--Austrian embassy--Robert College--*Daily News* route. In other words, Washburn claimed only that the American missionaries corroborated the initial reports to which Elliot's telegram refers. Thus, whatever historical evidence lies behind the claims of Washburn that the American missionaries corroborated the earliest reports--assuming there is evidence--it is a separate claim with different referents than Elliot's mistaken claim that "the American missionaries" sourced the first reports of the *Daily News*. Dwight's protest and the thesis of this essay, therefore, stand.

22 The testimony came from Petar Mateev in the Bulgarian periodical *Mir* ("Мир") as "A Great Benefactor of Bulgaria" (April 10, 1931), which is preserved in translation in the archives of Robert College (*Robert College Records* [Box 18, Folder 62], Columbia University Library). Mateev's corroboration reads, "I was not sure of the name of the person who sent the first information to Constantinople in regard to the massacre. In 1904 when I met Dr. Washburn in Washington, I asked him about that name, and he said: 'This name is Priest Tilev of Tatar Pazarjik. For many years I looked for an occasion to meet him and thank him for his great service. Once on our way to America we stopped at Tatar Pazarjik and thanked him as best as I knew for giving me the opportunity to do what I did for Bulgaria. Mine is the service. Thine is the glory.'"

Conclusion

Beyond a mere antiquarian interest in who said what, Elliot's misidentification of "the American missionaries" in his telegram of July 19, 1876, and its repetition in the secondary literature has resulted in a paradox of historical consequence. Elliot was right in an ironic sense to assert that the missionaries were the source of a disruptive report of violence in Ottoman Bulgaria during the summer of 1876. However, this report—"The Suffering in Bulgaria"—was a counternarrative to, not the literary foundation of what the missionaries believed to be the exaggerated reports of the *Daily News* and other leading English accounts.

The historiographic significance of Dwight's exoneration of the American missionaries from association with the reports of the *Daily News* on the "Moslem Massacres in Bulgaria" should not be overlooked. Perhaps the regularly assumed, incendiary role of American missionaries in other violent periods of late Ottoman history also merits reconsideration. At the same time Dwight's fastidious attention to historical detail, though colorfully motivated, suggests that "The Suffering in Bulgaria"—as a representative of the missionary sources—invites the correction not simply of who sourced the earliest reports of the Bulgarian Atrocities but the historical record of these violent events as a whole. Focusing on themes on which they differ from the popular memory of the Bulgarian Atrocities, namely the historicity of the April Uprising and a dramatically reduced death toll, we are left to wonder where else the American missionaries stand in justifiable protest of the historiography of the Bulgarian Atrocities.

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INTELLECTUAL CATALYSTS: THE CULTURAL INFLUENCE OF THE UNITARIAN CHURCH OF TRANSYLVANIA ON THE ROAD TO ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE¹

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Introduction

After being an autonomous principality under the Ottoman Empire until the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, Transylvania came under the rule of Habsburg rule following the decline of the Ottoman Empire. During the Habsburg administration, three different nations and four churches formed the backbone of the Transylvanian autonomy, with Hungarians, Saxons and Sekels holding the monopoly of power and privilege. The other masses were excluded, especially the Romanians, who constituted the majority of the Transylvanian population, were not included as part of this system because they were peasants and Orthodox. However, the people could no longer tolerate social, cultural and religious oppression and started to take concrete steps.

The contribution of the Uniate Church of Transylvania Uniate Church to the intellectual developments in the process of Romania's independence is very important. The cultural movements that emerged in this region in the 18th century

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led to political changes for Romania in the future. The first step was taken with the struggle for “equality” through the members of the Church. The struggles continued with tending to the origins of their own history and language, where they would find a patriotic motive in the name of nationalism.

The main purpose of the study is to evaluate the place of the Latinist activities and propaganda of the members and students of the Uniate Church of Transylvania in the struggle for equality and the revival of the past in the Romanian national movement in the light of research works. The cultural movements that emerged, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries, led to significant political changes on the path to Romania’s future independence. The role of the institution known as the “Transylvanian School” in shaping Romanian national ideology is also evaluated. In addition, it will be emphasized how the institution known as the “Transylvanian School” shaped the Romanian national ideology.

This study aims to investigate the multifaceted cultural impact of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church and its indirect but significant role in Romania’s struggle for independence, revealing how the church contributed to socio-political processes in a historical context. In this regard, it examines how the church’s policy of religious tolerance and support for ethnic-religious diversity accelerated the intellectual and cultural development of the Romanian community and laid the groundwork for the formation of independence consciousness. This perspective provides a new insight into Romanian history and the independence process, making a valuable contribution to the existing literature.

Transylvania, like Wallachia and Moldavia, was an autonomous principality under the administration of the Ottoman Empire until the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. However, following the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the balance of power in the region shifted, and Transylvania came under the rule of the Habsburg Monarchy. Throughout history, Transylvania has been a region where various ethnic and religious communities coexisted. This diversity has had significant social and political impacts. Transylvania is important for the history of Romania as a whole because the first steps towards independence, which would be achieved in 1878, were taken here.

The occupation of Transylvania by the Habsburg Catholic Kingdom was followed by ethnic, social and religious changes. When Transylvania came under Habsburg rule, its political status changed drastically, its internal autonomy was limited and its external relations were suspended. In addition to the native Romanians, who formed the majority, the region was settled by Hungarians, followed by Saxons and Szekels (Jelavich, 2013: 169-171). “The League of Three Nations”

was formed between the Hungarian, Saxon and Szekel nobility, which gradually removed the native Romanians from the constitutional life of Transylvania.

After the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, the Kingdom of Hungary was divided between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Dynasty, leaving many Hungarians under Vienna's rule. In the 16th century, due to the Protestant Reformation, Hungarians became Calvinist and Unitarian, Saxons became Lutheran, and Székelys became Calvinist (Hitchins^{2014: 58}). With the emergence of these three new denominations alongside Catholicism, a unified church was formed. The Transylvanian Unitarian Church, established in the 16th century, played a significant role in shaping the region's cultural and intellectual landscape. Its influence extended beyond religious areas, contributing to the socio-political developments that led to Romania's independence. This article explores the multifaceted cultural impact of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church and its indirect yet significant role in Romania's struggle for independence.

Historical Context of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church

The contribution of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church to Romania's independence holds a significant place in historical context. To understand the role of the Transylvanian Uniatic Church, it is necessary to consider the church's historical development alongside Romania's independence process (Wilbur, 1952). From 1541, the Principality of Transylvania became an autonomous province under Ottoman rule, governed by either Hungarian princes or Hungarianized Romanians. Along with these political changes, significant changes also occurred in church life.

In the 16th century, King John Sigismund of Transylvania (1540-1571) called a meeting of representatives from the competing Christian churches and denominations in the region. This meeting, held in 1568 in the city of Torda, resulted in the adoption of a policy of religious tolerance for all religions in Transylvania. He also supported the establishment of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church. Sigismund promoted dialogue between Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Unitarians. This policy, known as the Diet of Torda (Toptaş, 2021: 93), allowed various Christian denominations, including Unitarians, Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, to live together in peace (Yılmaz, 1994: 72-80). However, Romanians, with their Orthodox faith, were left out and deprived of their rights in their own land. The Romanian community was excluded and denied the religious and administrative privileges enjoyed by other communities in the region.

Under Habsburg rule, three different “nations” and four churches formed the backbone of Transylvanian autonomy. The main power and privileges were monopolized by the Hungarians, Saxons, and Székelys. Other groups were excluded, especially the Romanians, who made up the majority of the population but were not included in this system because they were peasants and Orthodox (Georgescu, 1991: 89).

The exclusion of the Romanian community from the political structure and their lack of recognition as a fourth “nation” stemmed from the feudal system prevalent in Europe at the time. In this feudal order, which was based on nobility, Romanian traditional leaders, the Voivodes, assimilated into Hungarian culture to gain respect and status, while the rest remained as peasants and lost their political identity (Bozbor, 2007: 4). On the other hand, the fact that the Orthodox Romanian clergy, who adhered to the rules of the Eastern Church, did not have any administrative power despite the Catholic Episcopate, which was the only official religious structure within this feudal order, left the Romanians outside this official structure in religious terms (Bozbor, 2007: 4).

The political and religious exclusion of the Romanians, who were the majority population, drew attention from some groups. Popes, Hungarian kings, and various Catholic missionaries began an intensive religious propaganda campaign in Transylvania. After 1690, under Habsburg control, Jesuits arrived in Transylvania and focused their missionary efforts on Orthodox Romanians instead of Lutherans or Calvinists. By bringing Orthodox Romanians into union with Rome, the number of Catholics would increase, resulting in more Catholic representatives in the Transylvanian Diet. This support led to intellectual development among the Romanian community, thanks to the contributions of educated individuals. The growing awareness of nationhood and unity, along with increased education and cultural development, fostered the idea of political freedom among Transylvanian Romanians. This socio-cultural development, which later spread to Wallachia and Moldavia, significantly contributed to Romania’s independence.

The Role of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church

National Identity Formation and Unity Consciousness

The Transylvanian Unitarian Church contributed to the development of national identity and unity among Romanians living in different regions of Romania. The political struggle of the Romanians aimed to create a fourth community to represent them alongside the Hungarians, Saxons, and Szekels. It strengthened the ties

between Romanians in Transylvania and those in Wallachia and Moldavia. These ties played an important role in the unification and independence process of Romania.

In 1781, Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II issued “the Edict of Tolerance”, granting most non-Catholics the right to practice their own religion. Additionally, the enlightened reforms of Emperor Joseph II coincided with the Romanian intellectual elite’s interest in their ethnic nation and had a significant impact on them. Joseph’s reforms enabled Romanians to access education and knowledge, changing their perception of nationhood and giving them hope that their lives could improve.

In 1791, a significant event occurred in Romanian history. Taking advantage of Emperor Joseph II’s atmosphere of tolerance, a group of Romanian Church clergy prepared a petition. The contributors to this petition included Romanian students who had received education in Vienna and Italy. The petition asserted the equal rights of the people and the absence of national privileges (Chambpell, 1971: 18). The national movement was evolving in character with ideas brought by young people from the West and intellectual efforts of the bourgeois aristocratic class, gradually gaining momentum.

King’s reforms profoundly shook the existing order in Transylvania, giving Romanians hope for rights and benefits. By relaxing censorship and encouraging broader debate, the reforms integrated Romanians into the general reform movement. Joseph’s decrees granted religious tolerance, civil rights, and educational opportunities to Romanians. His decisions to abolish serfdom resonated strongly, especially among dependent peasant Romanians.

The religious persecution against Orthodoxy and the serfdom system imposed by Austria-Hungary led many Transylvanian Romanians to flee to Wallachia and Moldavia (Georgescu, 1991: 89). However, the people were increasingly unwilling to accept social, cultural, and religious oppression and began taking concrete actions. In 1784, peasants in the western mountains of Transylvania, facing forced conscription and heavy taxation by Habsburg authorities, led a rebellion under the leadership of Nicolae Horia, a Romanian citizen (Florescu, 1967: 332). While the rebellion did not achieve the desired results that would change their future, their intentions were clear. They sought not autonomy or independence but equal political, social, and economic rights like the recognized “nations” of Hungarians, Saxons, and Székelys. The group that would shoulder the struggle was the educated segment of society, particularly members of the church.

One of the contributions of the Union was transforming the clergy’s identity into a new concept of nationhood. Bishops, viewing their Roman origins and

churches as a bridge between East and West, inspired by Ion Inochentie Micu-Klein, reimagined the nation in a distinct way. This ethnic nation encompassed all Romanians and acknowledged their Roman origins. Romanians believed in their Dacian ancestry originating from Rome and their language being of Latin origin (Hitchens, 2014: 60).

The Unitarian Church made significant contributions to the development of Romanian national identity through its educational and cultural activities. Advocating for the use of the Romanian language in education and religious services, the Church helped preserve and promote Romanian cultural heritage in a region dominated by Hungarian and German influences.

Furthermore, the Church's teachings emphasized the importance of moral integrity, social justice, and societal responsibility. These values resonated widely among the broader Romanian population, fostering a sense of unity and collective purpose. The Church's support for the cultural and linguistic rights of Romanians in Transylvania laid the groundwork for a national awakening that eventually led to the pursuit of independence.

Educational and Cultural Contributions

The Transylvanian Unitarian Church undertook significant efforts in education and cultural development. By establishing schools, the Church contributed to the education of individuals who played a role in shaping Romania's national consciousness. Especially during the 19th century independence struggle, intellectuals educated by the Church took leadership roles in national movements. Influenced by European thought currents and behavioral models, these intellectuals and clergy members entered the modern world.

One of the Unitarian Church's profound cultural impacts was its commitment to education. The Church founded numerous schools and colleges that became centers of learning and intellectual development. These institutions played a crucial role in spreading Enlightenment ideas, supporting critical thinking, and fostering a spirit of inquiry among the youth of Transylvania.

The Unitarian College in Cluj was one of the best example of this commitment. Founded in 1568, this school became a stronghold of liberal education by producing knowledgeable graduates in humanities, sciences, and modern political thought. These educated individuals played key roles in cultural and political movements that paved the way for Romania's independence.

Thus, church members who developed themselves culturally played a significant role in the formation of Romania's national identity and unity consciousness. They also served as catalysts for cultural change and supporters of political movements that would contribute significantly to the path towards independence.

By the late 18th century, Romanian intellectuals, closely associated with Western European thought, embraced Enlightenment ideas and guided societal change as leaders of Romanian society. Educated primarily in Uniate schools in Transylvania, these intellectuals focused on societal issues, particularly education and political liberation. Their productive efforts aimed to enhance the general welfare of Romanians based on the notion of nationhood.

This intellectual generation emerged as a result of the political action of Orthodox clergy who accepted union with Rome in 1700. While the union did not bring significant changes to religious life, it redirected Romanian intellectual life towards the West, creating a new class of intellectuals. These intellectuals served as intermediaries between a cosmopolitan Western world and a traditional, rural, and Eastern-facing society. The Union with Rome marked a turning point in Transylvanian Romanian history. Especially by providing unprecedented higher education opportunities to Catholic Romanian clergy in Transylvanian Roman Catholic schools, and universities in Vienna and Trnava (Nagyszombat), the Habsburgs aimed to inspire support for the Union among rural masses and create a well-educated and loyal populace. However, events took a different turn. Over time, limited educational opportunities for Romanians and experiences in Central Europe organized Catholic clergy to end discrimination against Romanians and elevate themselves to a higher rank, enabling them to assume political and spiritual leadership among Romanians (Hitchens, 2014: 60). They fought against discrimination by dominant nations in Transylvania; Hungarians, Saxons, and Szekels by attempting to liberate Orthodox and Uniate Romanians.

During the 17th century in Transylvania, recognition of the rights of the Romanian population was primarily based on religion. The Orthodox denomination was not one of the officially recognized four denominations: Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism. These denominations were accepted following Transylvania's separation from Hungary after the Ottoman defeat of King Louis II at Mohács and the spread of the Reformation. In 1542, Lutheran Johannes Honterus published Reformation writings in Braşov, and in 1556, the Catholic bishop was exiled, with Catholic monasteries converted into schools. Lutheranism was adopted by the Saxons, Calvinism by the Hungarians, and in 1568, Unitarianism was officially recognized. However, this tolerance extended only to these four denominations; the Orthodox Church was not protected, and

Romanians were not represented in the The Transylvanian Diet (assembly). There was a brief change in the status of the Orthodox denomination during the brief reign of Michael the Brave (1599-1600), but it did not last, and the system of the three official nations remained unchanged.

The struggle for equality by members of the Uniate Church in Transylvania (McGuckin, 2008: 66-68) and their efforts to revive the past through Latinist activities should be considered as intellectual endeavors in Romania's national movement. For many years, the people who had endured economic oppression and socio-cultural exclusion under the feudal system slowly began to raise their voices.

In terms of press and publishing activities, very few Romanian works were printed from the conquest of Transylvania by the Habsburgs until the 18th century. (Table 1 and Table 2 explain the situation by comparing the values in Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania) (Drace-Francis, 2006: 72-73). These works belonged to those attempting to establish the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church through the efforts of the Jesuits. Equipment was obtained from German printers in Sibiu. The works printed here aimed to legitimize the Union with Rome. These efforts were built upon the foundations laid by Gherontie Cotore in 1744. The works reflected the new religious and political context of Romanian identity, with some printed in Latin script. Romanian and Greek intellectuals contributed to these presses (Drace-Francis, 2006: 60). The influence of Habsburg cultural policy spread rapidly, leading to the printing of various educational and religious texts. These efforts supported the Enlightenment of the Romanian intelligentsia.

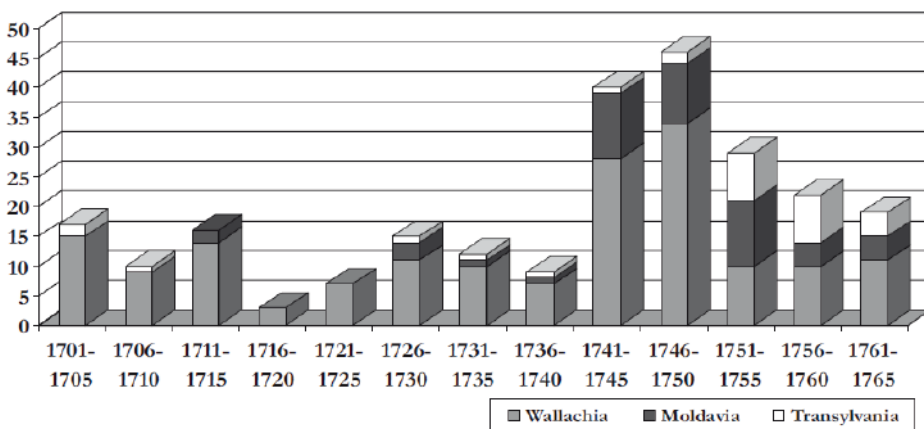


Table 1. Romanian-language printing 1701-1765: by province

Source: (Drace-Francis, 2006: 72)

TOWN	1766-1770	1771-1775	1776-1780	1781-1785	1786-1790	1791-1795	1796-1800	1801-1805	1806-1810	1811-1815	1816-1820	1821-1825	1826-1830	Total
Buda			2				6	8	25	38	35	24	32	170
Vienna		3	5	12	12	6	1	-	-	1	1	3	1	45
Czernowitz								2	3	3	2	2	-	12
Lenberg					1	2		1	-	-	-	-	3	7
Other	1		1		1			-	-	-	1	-	1	5
Sibiu		1		2	8	13	11	20	21	7	11	6	24	124
Blaj	10	8	12	8	6	7	5	15	11	8	6	3	2	101
Brăşov		1						4	9	6	3	4	3	30
Oradea								-	-	-	1	3	4	8
Cluj	1							1	-	-	1	1	-	4
Bucuresti	6	7	11	10	2	7	8	3	6	-	21	24	52	157
Râmnic	8	1	17	17	7	7		-	1	5	6	-	1	70
Craiova								-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Buzău	3							-	-	-	1	-	-	4
Trgovişte					1									1
Căldărâşani	1													1
Iaş	5	5	3	7	9	14	2	8	8	14	36	10	17	138
Neamţ								-	5	19	11	7	3	45
Movilău/Dubăsari						2	4							6
Chişinău									-	4	14	7	9	34
St.Petersburg								-	-	-	3	-	1	4
Unknown			1					1						2
TOTAL	35	26	52	56	47	58	37	63	89	105	153	94	159	974

Table 2. Romanian-language printing 1766-1830: by locality

Source: (Drace-Francis, 2006: 72)

Among the Romanians, a response to the sense of degradation emerged from the “Helot” class (Florescu 1967: 335). The spirit that would breathe life into the Enlightenment movement found expression among the Helots, who spoke Romanian and were exceptionally loyal to Orthodoxy, as well as among clergy who rose up on behalf of the entire people. Bishop Inocențiu Micu-Klein, a prominent advocate of the Romanian cause, served as the head of the Uniate Church from 1729 to 1751 (Georgescu^{1991: 89}), seeing himself not only as its leader but as the representative of all Romanians (Stavrianos, 2000: 359). He repeatedly demanded that Romanians be included among the “recognized, accepted nations” and aimed to establish this equality through the “Transylvanian School” (Seton-Watson 1924: 305-306). He expressed their desire to have equal rights with the other privileged three nations: Hungarians, Szeklers, and Saxons. Inocențiu Micu-Klein, who reiterated the historical rights of Romanians many times, proclaimed their rights deriving from their Roman origins and their presence in these lands since ancient times. His political activism unsettled Vienna, leading to his exile in Rome (Georgescu^{1991: 89-90}). However, the Uniate Church left behind theology students who would propagate the theory of Romanian nationalism based on their Latin origins: George Sincai, Samuil Micu, and Petru Maior (Campbell, 1971: 23). These students assumed leadership in intellectual and national movements.

The Uniate Church, facilitated by various Western cultural and intellectual influences, and the “Transylvanian School” it housed, played a significant role in

shaping the Romanian national ideology. Under Habsburg rule in Transylvania, a single assembly included representatives from the Saxon, Hungarian, and Szekels regions, along with high officials of the church and state, and delegates appointed by the court (Jelavich 2013: 173). Despite demographic advantage, Romanians were denied any voting rights in this assembly. Furthermore, Protestant Hungarians opposed the Catholic Habsburg dynasty's control over the region. In seeking allies to end the dominance of the three nations, the Habsburgs encountered the marginalized Romanians, who were viewed as foreigners. The discontent of Romanian Orthodoxy in Transylvania was evident. Under these circumstances, an unexpected nexus of interests formed between the Habsburgs and the upper clergy, the prominent element of Romanian society. The principles of the Union of Florence-Ferrara declared at the Council of 1439, including the union with the Roman Church, temporarily ended the division between the Byzantine and Western churches (Hitchins, 2014: 59). This union served the Habsburgs' intention to use the Roman Catholic Church as a tool to maintain unity among various ethnic groups across their empire.

As a result of closer ties with the Habsburgs, Romanian clergy were promised equal political and economic status. The dynasty offered unprecedented educational opportunities for new Greek Catholic clergy in Transylvania's Roman Catholic schools and universities in Rome, Vienna, and Trnava, opening Western cultural and intellectual doors for them (Hitchins, 2014: 60). The Habsburg goal was to create a well-educated and dedicated Greek Catholic clergy to gain support for unity among the predominantly Orthodox rural masses. However, despite the expectations of its members and King Leopold's decrees, the clergy of the Uniate Church did not achieve equal status with representatives of officially recognized religions (Jelavich 2013: 174).

In the latter half of the 18th century, intellectual leaders like Micu-Klein and his followers would mobilize organizational strength and initiate efforts to have Romanians recognized as a nation constituting Transylvania. The unfolding events indicated that while aiming to control the Romanian people, the Uniate Church inadvertently stirred national sentiments. The Uniate Church not only became the epicenter of a Romanian intellectual revival that left profound marks in both Transylvania and Moldavia but also shaped the Romanian national ideology in the following century through the endeavors of the institution known as the "Transylvanian School" (Jelavich 2013: 175). By the mid-18th century, both the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia and the Transylvanian Romanians found themselves on the threshold of the modern world. The political, economic, and intellectual elites of the principalities, along with the elite members of

the Transylvanian Church, were drawn towards the currents of European ideas and behavioral models.

Intellectual Identities: The Efforts of Samuil Micu Clain, George Sincai ve Petru Maior

Uniate Church, due to its relations with Rome, increased its contact with the West and eventually took concrete steps to elevate the educational levels of its followers and foster their cultural development. The city of Blaj became the center of Romanian cultural activities with the establishment of the first printing press in 1753 and the opening of a secondary school in 1754 (Jelavich 2013: 176). The three pioneers of the cultural awakening in Transylvania; Samuil Micu Clain, George Sincai, and Petru Maior, received theology education at universities in European cities with the support of the Uniate Church (Stavrianos, 2000: 360). While continuing their education in Vienna and Rome, they began studying ancient monuments. Through their research, they enthusiastically popularized the theory that they were descendants of the Romans (Stavrianos, 2000, 360; Ristelheuber, 1971: 111). Rome, which they described as the eternal city, inspired them through its monuments left from the Roman Empire, especially the famous Trajan's Column, and its connection to their homeland; Dacia (Chapbell, 1971: 23). The pioneers of the Enlightenment movement detailed their past with the Daco-Roman theory to determine their national destiny (Hitchins, 1974: 662). Alongside their ideological work developing historical-based nationalism, their interest in philology also intensified, making Latinization efforts a primary goal among the Romanian intellectual elite. Therefore, they directed their efforts towards the sources of their own history and language, where they would find national sentiments and patriotism. Their strong attachment to their religion enabled them to act together and prioritize education, contributing to the preservation and development of national feelings among Romanians.

Historical research has led to increased cultural production and the formation of national movements. Particularly, three Romanian citizens; Samuil Micu Clain, George Sincai, and Petru Maior made significant contributions to the preparation of textbooks for newly established Orthodox elementary schools focusing on their history and language (Hitchins, 1974: 662). In 1780, they authored the first modern Romanian grammar book titled *Elementa linguae daco-romanae sive valachicae*, which advocated for the use of Latin letters instead of Cyrillic characters (Seton-Watson, 2015: 271). In 1812, Petru Maior published *History of the Beginning of the Romanians in Dacia* aiming to elucidate the true historical origins

of the Romanians (Drace-Francis, 2006: 87). The notable development of linguistic studies alongside history and archaeology laid the foundation for awakening national consciousness in Romanian society.

Placing such emphasis on Latinization meant asserting chronological precedence for Transylvanian Romanians, implying that later arrivals would infringe upon Romanian rights (Fischer-Galati, 1994: 374). Samuel Clain argued for translating the Romanian language into pure Latin and claimed in his historical writings that the peoples of Transylvania and Moldavia constituted a single nation of Latin origin (Berkes, 2012: 153). Thus, they emphasized the importance of language as a national cultural element, attempting to adapt Latin instead of Slavic and Greek words found in their native languages. In Eastern European societies, language became a more significant symbol of nationality, leading these societies to focus more on linguistic elements during national struggles. Among the Romanian people, nationalism was built upon the efforts of intellectuals to create a literary language based on a national culture.

Pioneers of the Romanian Enlightenment sought to reach a wider audience, thus Samuel Clain and Petru Maior began incorporating their ideas into the church's sermon collections as an easier way to reach the public (Hitchins, 1964: 663). Gheorghe Sincai, on the other hand, wrote works such as *Istoria naturei sau a fire* on natural history and *Învățătură firească spre surparea superstiției norodului* to combat superstitions, providing people with scientific knowledge about nature to encourage more rational thinking (Hitchins, 1964: 663). Actually, all these efforts aimed to foster awareness among the Romanian people for enlightenment and cultural movement.

The individuals engaged in intellectual activities dedicated themselves to serving the needs and interests of the people. They provided opportunities to enable society's education and aimed for the eradication of ignorance and superstitions. Rather than being seen as oppressed or marginalized among other ethnic groups, they strove to portray themselves as part of a strong society with equal rights. In pursuit of their goals, Samuil Micu and his colleagues submitted a lengthy petition in March 1791 known as *the Supplex Libellus Valachorum* to Vienna, advocating for the rights of the majority population within the principality (Georgescu, 1991: ⁹¹). They sought validation from the Habsburg ruler of their Roman origins and demanded equal status in the parliament alongside the other three nations: Hungarians, Saxons, and Szekels (Fischer-Galati, 1994: 375). Their demands were not new; Bishop Inocențiu Micu-Klein had previously raised the issue of equal recognition among all nations. However, the petition sent by Emperor Leopold II to the Transylvanian parliament was rejected by Hungarian and

Saxon members (Seton-Watson, 1977: 177). They were unwilling to relinquish political and social control, which they had held for years, to the Romanians, who outnumbered them demographically. Moreover, Vienna was concerned that granting these demands could lead to a swift shift in power dynamics and potentially incite nationalist sentiments among the Romanians, who represented the majority population (Georgescu, 1991: 91).

Samuel Clain and his contemporaries made significant efforts in the Romanian Enlightenment and passed on their legacy to future generations. They emphasized the development of culture as a prerequisite for national liberation and stressed the necessity of close collaboration among intellectual circles. While the Enlightenment pioneers in Transylvania advocated for cultural unity, they did not take concrete steps towards unification with the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. However, they fostered a spiritual bond among them.

Through the Latinist School in Transylvania, cultural nationalism was also promoted in the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. In these principalities, under the administration of Greek voivodes and the Greek Orthodox Church, Catholics faced the threat of Hellenization. Intellectuals educated in Rome began to emerge among them, learning Latin and Roman history, and started to identify themselves as “Romanians” (Berkes, 2012: 153). They propagated the belief that they descended from Roman civilization, belonging to the Latin race. Despite the Orthodox world’s tendency towards isolation, relationships were never completely severed. Additionally, in 1816, Wallachian Prince John Caradja invited Transylvanian scholar Gheorghe Lazăr to teach arithmetic and geometry in Romanian rather than Greek at the Aziz Sava Monastery (Florescu, 1967: 339). Lazăr accepted the invitation and transmitted all his knowledge and the theories of Micu, Maior, and Sincai to his students, both in Transylvanian schools and in the Principalities (Florescu, 1967: 339). Through educators coming from Transylvania, education in the national language with a national character was provided to the Principalities, laying the foundation for cultural nationalism and fostering national awareness. Regarding the Transylvanian national movement, it is essential to highlight the role of intellectuals in contributing to the development of national thought in other principalities through their political, social, and literary activities.

Conclusion

The intellectual environment nurtured by the Unitarian Church of Transylvania produced many significant figures who played crucial roles in Romania's independence movement. Influenced by the liberal and progressive ideals of Unitarianism, these individuals stood at the forefront advocating for political and social reforms. Members of the Unitarian Church can be considered among the first intellectuals to make significant contributions to Romania's independence history.

The rights gained through the church's unification and the opportunities it provided for education abroad brought about significant changes. Upon their return, these educated Romanians established schools and helped many citizens realize their national identity. Proposing certain myths such as their Roman origin and Latin character colored the thoughts of intellectuals in the country. Romanians claimed to be a people descended from Roman civilization, serving as an outpost of Latin culture against Slavic and German barbarism.

In a feudal society, having a certain quality to make their voice heard and obtain political rights was crucial. Therefore, declaring their Roman origin and Latin character was readily accepted by intellectual and popular leaders in Transylvania and the principalities. Anchoring their historical past in a prestigious lineage like Rome proved effective in achieving their goals and greatly encouraged the development of Romanian national consciousness. The Transylvanian Romanians were the first to refer to themselves as a nation and develop a discourse on this matter.

One of the pivotal turning points was the union between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church in 1700. This union granted education and political rights to Romanians, leading to the formation of an intellectual elite that would develop the concept of the Romanian nation. The ideals of freedom, equality, and fraternity spread through Unitarian educational institutions inspired many Romanian intellectuals and leaders to pursue political activism and reform.

The European-wide Revolutions of 1848 also had a significant impact on Romania's independence movement. The Unitarian Church played a supportive role during this period of uprising. Many Unitarian leaders and members actively participated in revolutionary activities by advocating for civil rights, national sovereignty, and social justice.

The church's dedication to the revolutionary cause demonstrated its commitment to the principles of freedom and equality. During this period, there was

also an increase in collaboration among various religious and ethnic groups in Transylvania around the common goal of autonomy and self-determination. While the church did not directly engage in political movements, its members and educated intellectuals actively contributed to Romania's struggle for independence. The Romanians in Transylvania articulated their demands for independence and freedom more forcefully. The education and social solidarity provided by the church were crucial factors in the success of national movements during this period.

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CHAPTER III

BALKANS AND WOMEN

WOMEN IN THE 1528-1530 DETAILED SURVEY OF THE SANJAK OF BOSNIA

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Introduction

The subject of research in this work is Detailed Survey of the Sanjak of Bosnia from 1530 (Tapu defteri, Istanbul BOA TD No. 157). The paper will analyze the entries of women, try to identify them and analyze the contexts in which they appear. Detailer defters (Tahrir Deftersi, Mufassal defteri) are a type of official document of the Ottoman administration that were created as a result of population censuses that were periodically conducted in cities or sandjaks in order to determine the amount of taxes and to clearly know who and to whom is paying that tax. (Öz, 2010: 425-426). ¹Although the tax payers and tax bearers usually were men, this official record, as well as others, also records women. In the following article, cases when women are mentioned in the Detailed Survey of the Sanjak of Bosnia from 1530 will be presented.

Ottoman society recognized men, or males, as the heads of a household, householders, ergo as taxpayers. However, life is unpredictable and for various reasons, e. g. that the head of the house died, went missing etc., and his role had to be taken over by a woman. The policy of the Ottoman Empire was that the members of the reaya were obliged to pay personal taxes that directly depended on their ability to work, their marital status and religion. Muslim personal taxes were *resm-i mujerred* and *resm-i bennak*, while non-Muslims paid personal tax under the name of *ispenja*; widows were obliged to use its reduced version under

1 When writing this paper, the translation of the source into Bosnian language by Medžda Selmanović was used, which, along with the introductory study and editing by Dr. Elma Korić, is part of the publication of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo for the year 2024.



the name *resm-i bive* (Kasumović, 2021, 47). Since the widows are the most mentioned category of woman, in the following lines, the widows mentioned in the Detailed Survey of the Sanjak of Bosnia from 1530 will be analyzed.

A significant number of examples have been recorded in which it is stated that the former widow's *baštine*² was enjoyed by other people, mostly men, for example the *baštine* of the widow Mara, in the possession of Ivan (fol. 25). These are examples from which we cannot say with certainty whether it was a buying and selling relationship or a new marriage of a former widow, so her new husband takes over hold of the *baštine* from her. Similar examples are the *baštine* of widow Stipaniša, in the possession of Ahmed, son of Radin (fol. 529), the *baštine* of widow Ružica, in the possession of Alađoz, son of Radič (fol. 529), the *baštine* of widow Drivica, in the possession of Mumin, son of Hasan (fol. 862), *baštine* of the widow Milica, in the possession of Mehmed, son of Ahmed (fol. 680), *baštine* of the widow Milja, in the possession of Skender, son of Radonja (fol. 914), *baštine* of the widow Milosava, in the possession of Jusuf, [son of] Alađoz (fol. 914), the *baštine* of the widow Ruža, in the possession of Bayezid, son of Vukašin (fol. 455). These and similar examples have one thing in common: they are *baštine* of widows bearing non-Muslim names that are now in the possession of Muslim males. We cannot give any more info about their relationship, unfortunately. The last one we will list in this section is the *baštine* of the widow Stana, in the possession of Aisha (fol. 809), interesting because it is a widow's *baštine* that was enjoyed by a non-Muslim woman and is now being enjoyed again by a Muslim woman. This is the only identified example of this kind on this *defter*. Unfortunately, we cannot say anything about the relationship between these two women.

An interesting example (fol. 73) is the *baštine* of Vukašin, in the possession of the widow Milahinja, [now] in the possession of Nasuh, Mijasin's son. There are various theories that we can present here, but again we cannot say with certainty that Vukašin is the late husband of the widow Milahinja, nor that Nasuh is her new husband. Another lovely example is the *baštine* of the widow Rada, in the possession of the Radovan's widow (fol. 132), where we see the *baštine* of one widow in the possession of another widow. Unfortunately, the *defter* does not give us any information about the relationship between the two of them, whether they were possibly sisters, mother and daughter, or whether the *baštine* was exchanged through a sale or a similar contract. Examples such as the *baštine* of the widow Katava, in the possession of Lalko (fol. 216), the *baštine* of the widow

2 *Baština* is a term of Slavic origin and refers to larger estates that were mostly owned by non-Muslims in the Balkans. (Emecen, 1992, 135).

Janika, in the possession of Miladin, son of Petev (fol. 118), the baštine of the widow Katalina, in the possession of Vukadin, [with] Dragić (fol. 529), the baštine of the widow Milica, in the possession of Milk, son of Miletina (fol. 440), the baštine of the widow Petrunja, in the possession of Bora, (fol. 486), the baštine of the widow Stana, in the possession of Živko (fol. 216); baštine of the widow Vladisava, in the possession of Milenko, son of Živko (fol. 877); the baštine of the widow Vladka, in the possession of Marko, son of Jokov (fol. 529), the baštine of the widow Katalina, in the possession of Dejan, her son (fol. 529) are similar to the above, the only difference between them is that in the latter both the widow and the current beneficiary of the baštine are both non-Muslims.

Examples such as the baštine of the widow Radina, in the possession of the inhabitants of the village (fol. 90), may lead us to assume that the said widow had no heirs or possibly remarried, and that her property came into the hands of the village. We cite similar examples below: in the village of Vogošta (fol. 647) the estate of Sabina, a widow who died, in the possession of a village residents, the baštine of a widow Milica, in the possession of a village residents (fol. 126), the baštine of a widow Milica, in the possession of a village residenst (fol. 445) and the baštine of the widow Ružica, in the possession of the inhabitants of the village (fol. 506). Only in the case of the widow Sabina is it emphasized that she died and that the baštine passes to the enjoyment of the inhabitants of the village, for the others we cannot claim this, although this is one of the possibilities why they are no longer in their enjoyment.

The next category consists of baštines that were once enjoyed by other people and are now enjoyed by widows, such as the baštine of Hizir, in the possession of the widow Ljubica (fol. 37). There are too many such examples and it would be burdensome for the text of the paper to list them all, but we will list the most interesting ones. In this category, too, there are examples of relationships where the former beneficiary of the baštine was a non-Muslim, and the widow herself was also a non-Muslim, for example (fol. 213) the estate of Borov, in the possession of the widow Alice. We cannot claim that it is a marital relationship because in other places in the defter, in about twenty examples, there is an emphasized spousal relationship: (fol. 362) Radič's baštine, in the possession of the widow Jelica, his wife. It is interesting that in the examples where the spousal relationship is emphasized, both spouses are dominantly non-Muslims, but there is also one example recorded when the spouses are Muslims: (fol. 210) Vukadin's estate, in the possession of Halil, son of Jusuf, in the possession of the widow Kumria, his wife. In other examples, such as (fol. 53) the baštine of Radak, in the possession of the widow Vladuša, the spousal relationship is not indicated and we

can only assume the same. Again, another family relationship is not excluded, as well as possible buying and selling could have been the case. The example of the *baštine* of Radosav, [son] of Radivoje, in the possession of the widow Pavica (fol. 101), is similar, except that in it we have more information about the original beneficiary of the *baštine*, so the name of his father, potentially the father-in-law of the widow Pavica, is also mentioned.

Several examples of *baštines* give us information about descendants of widows, thus, Fatima (Muslim), daughter of the widow Vladova (non-Muslim) enjoys her mother's *baštine* (fol. 765) the *baštine* of Fatima, daughter of the widow Vladova, on the *baštine* of the widow Vladova, her mother; the next example showing transfer of *baštine* from mother to daughter (fol. 566) *baštine* Milić, in the possession of the widow Rada, in the possession of Omča, her daughter, is similar. In the following example, the son Ferhad (Muslim) enjoys the *baštine* of his deceased mother, the widow Jelica (non-Muslim) (fol. 841) in the *baštine* of Ivaniš, in the possession of the widow Jelica, deceased, in the possession of Ferhad, her son. These and similar examples indicate the active acceptance of Islam among the local, non-Muslim population of the Bosnian Sanjak, which will be discussed further in the paper. We will also mention a few examples that testify to the active relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims during the transfer of the right to enjoy the *baštine*: (fol. 739) the *baštine* of Radolin, in the possession of the widow Shahija; (fol. 680) *baštine* of the widow Milica, in the possession of Mehmed, son of Ahmed.

Examples were also found in the *defter* where widows enjoy the *baštine* of their sons, and they are both non-Muslims: (fol. 482) the *baštine* of Jovan, son of Radovan, in the possession of the widow Vladka, his mother; (fol. 437) *baštine* of Radič, son of Milovac, in the possession of the widow Radosava, his mother; (fol. 447) *baštine* of Radašin, in the possession of the widow Stanisava, his mother; (fol. 455) the *baštine* of Jovan, son of Vuk, in the possession of the widow Boda, his mother, was given to the widow; (fol. 591); the village of Orlja (fol. 456) the *baštine* of Stipan, [with] Branoš, in the possession of the widow Divna, his mother, as well as for the sons to enjoy their mother's *baštine* (fol. 542) the *baštine* of Pavli, in the possession of the widow Vladina, in the possession of Kara, her son. When analyzing widow's *baštines*, we also see an example of a sister who is a widow enjoying her brother's *baštine* (fol. 824) the *baštine* of Vladisav Radič, in the possession of the widow Pava, his sister, as well as the widow's daughter enjoying her father's *baštine* (fol. 1014) the *baštine* of Vuček, son of Vukas, in the possession of the widow Olivira, his daughter; a similar example on the same folio is recorded for a daughter who is not indicated to be a widow: the estate of Radosav, [with] Vukić, in the possession of Vladova, his daughter.

In addition to the above-mentioned examples that allow us to look at family relations through the *baštine* enjoyed by widows, in some examples the statements are quite simple and we only have information about the name of the widow who enjoys the *baštine*: the *baštine* of the widow Jaglika (fol. 138); *baštine* of widow Bilje (fol. 144) *baštine* of widow Katalina (fol. 456); *baštine* in the possession of the widow Vladisava (fol. 502); *baštine* of the widow Jeluša (fol. 529); *baštine* of the widow Dujka (fol. 529); *baštine* of the widow Cvita (fol. 529); *baštine* of the widow Alenka (fol. 660); *baštine* of the widow Milica (fol. 878); *baštine* of the widow Marćina (fol. 830). It is interesting to point out examples such as the widow Petruša, on the *baštine* (fol. 130), the widow Olivira, on the *baštine* (fol. 500), the widow Petruša, on the *baštine* (fol. 130) for which no more information about the previous origin of the *baštine* is given.

Several examples emphasize that the widow enjoys her son's *baštine*. Two such are mentioned in the list of the village of Čajković (fol. 138), the *baštine* of Vujič, son of Marko, [now] in the possession of the widow Jaglika, his mother, and the *baštine* of Živko, [son] of Milo, in the possession of the widow Mirada, his mother. The first mentioned Jaglika, or her namesake, was mentioned one more time in the list of the same village, briefly: the *baštine* of the widow Jaglika. The mother-son relationship is also visible in the example of the *baštine* of Vukas, in the possession of the widow Milica, his mother (fol. 158).

In contrast to the examples mentioned above, in which we cannot say anything reliably about the relationship of a man who is listed as the beneficiary of the *baštine* before or after a certain widow, the defter also records examples where it is precisely emphasized that widows enjoy the *baštine* of their husbands: the *baštine* of Ivankov, son of Milkov, in the possession of the widow Janka, his wife (fol. 144). The spousal relationship is emphasized in the example of the *baštine* of Đurašin, son of Vukča, in the possession of the widow Bilja, the wife of Radosav (fol. 144), but the example is also interesting because Bilja enjoys the *baštine* of one man and another man is listed as her husband. Here we can also speculate about possible relationships between these people, that Đurašin is father or first husband of Bilje and that Radosav is her second husband. It is also possible that Radosav is the husband she lost and that she is in another relationship with Đurašin. In the further list of the village of Gornji Štitar (fol. 144), the *baštine* of the widow Bilje is mentioned once more, and here we cannot say whether it is the same woman or her namesake, but there is a possibility that one woman may hold two *baštine*s in the same village.

Among the population of Novi Pazar itself, fourteen widows are listed, and that is so that their names are not listed, but only the names of their husbands. In the

mahalle of Mesjid Ahmed-bey (fol. 109), a total of ten widows are listed, and two are listed as the widow, the wife of tanner Alađoz, and the widow, the wife of tanner Ali. Therefore, their name was not given, but they were listed as someone's wife. We also emphasize that their husbands are not listed typically, first name, father's name, but their occupation is listed. In the next two Mahals of Novi Pazar, the Mahal of Subasha Skender (fol. 110), a widow, the wife of the tanner Mahmud, and in the Mahala of the Mosque of Kapıcıbaşı Hamza-voyvoda (fol. 112), a widow, the wife of Gazi Hasan, a widow, the mother of Oruča, a widow, widowed confectioners (pastacı) wife, Sinan's wife. Here we see two new examples, one widow is not given a name but is introduced as someone's mother while the other widow is further clarified as the wife of a pasta maker, but the pasta maker's name is also not given. In the mahal of Hajrudin's mašjid (fol. 113), a widow, the wife of Sulejman, the widow of Umur's son Jakub, then in the mahal of the mašjid of Skender-čelebi, son of Zaim Jakub (fol. 121), the widow of Alija's husband and the widow of Kasim's husband are listed. Mahala mašjid miner Sinan (fol. 121) lists three unnamed widows: the widow of the Burak, the widow, the wife of Ali, the Ahmed's widow. Two widows are mentioned in the village of Sarajevo (fol. 213), the widow Milašina and the widow Milorada, while the widow Radaka is mentioned in the village of Privor (fol. 537). The last example from the village of Rakovica (fol. 185) is interesting because it mentions the baštine of Vladisav, son of Dobrašin, in the possession of his daughter, the widow of Kemal Pasha. So this widow is not named, but we know the name of her father as well as her late husband. This woman probably belonged to the upper class of the population, because her husband holds the title of Pasha. (Özcan, 2007: 182). It is also interesting that she was married to a prominent member of the Muslim elite and herself came from a non-Muslim father. Most of the widows in this register, whose names are not given but are presented as someone's mothers, wives, daughters, are located in the city, predominantly in Novi Pazar, while only two are listed as residents of rural areas.

Women who are not widows were also recorded as beneficiaries of baštines in the Detailed Survey of the Sanjak of Bosnia from 1530, or at least this was not emphasized. Thus, in the village of Korča, belonging to Sarajevo, among the non-Muslim population, the baštine of Vukić, son of Vukas, in the possession of Šahbana, daughter of Mahmud (fol. 53), in the village of Izbice, belonging to Vrač (fol. 124) the baštine of Radosav, son of Stipan, in the possession of Halima, daughter of Mahmud and the baštine of Michael, in the possession of Ahmed, now in the possession of Halima, daughter of Mahmud are mentioned. Here, one woman enjoys two baštines, and the previous beneficiaries of the baštines are non-Muslims.

As one of the potentially richer women, a member of the elite, given the title of bey (Köprülü, 1992: 11) held by her father, Sejdi Bey's *baştine* is mentioned. It is further said that those are five meadows in the possession of Mrs. Đula, daughter of the deceased Omer-bey, son of Evrenos-bey. The mentioned meadows are in the possession of the mentioned lady with the obligation to pay *resm-i çift*. Now, according to the earlier decision, she processes them and pays *öşr* and *salarya* (fol. 151). So here, Mrs. Đula is fully portrayed as the head of the household, her father's heir, and obliged to pay taxes, *resm-i çift*, as a tax, a land tax that was mostly paid by Muslims (Emecen, 1993: 309-310), as well as *öşr* and salary (Kasumović, 2021: 27-28).

Women who are presented in some other kindred relationship with men, before marriage, are: village Karačić (fol. 471) *baştine* of Barak, son of Mahmud in the possession of Fatima, the sister of the mentioned Mahmud, in Priboj square, (fol. 1014) *baştine* of Lošilje, [son of] Izbuda, in the possession of Vladova, his mother, in the village of Radovlja (fol. 887) *baştine* of Stipan, [son of] Tvrdka, in the possession of Miluča, his mother, village of Babna, Mahala Čikola, *baştine* of Milun, in the possession of Kalemšaha, Mehmed's mother (fol. 542), and two women are marked as ladies - the village of Gradčac (fol. 642) Radonja's *baştine*, owned by Mrs. Džundi; the village of Aksović (fol. 594) the *baştine* of Radoj, [with] Mihosil, in the possession of Mrs. Džanišaha, Barak's wife.

Some males are mentioned as residents on female-owned *baştines*: in the village of Orlja (fol. 730) and the village of Islivna (fol. 738), Skender, son of Juraj, on his mother's *baştine*, and Nasuh, son of Milašin, on his mother's *baştine*, village of Tatunica are recorded as residents on the *baştine* of women. Ferhad, son of Radivoje, on his mother's estate (fol. 509), Višegrad square itself (fol. 158) Dragiša, son of Radonje, on the *baştine* of Ružica, his mother. The transfer of *baştines* into the possession of women also happened from the son to the mother, for example in the village of Bresnica (fol. 482, 483) the *baştine* of Jovan, son of Radovan, in the possession of the widow Vladka, his mother; the *baştine* of Radovan, in the possession of Todora, his mother. It is not known what happened, so the *baştine*, which was originally owned by the son, became the property of the mother. It is possible that the son died or moved away, but without a concrete indication we cannot say with certainty.

Women Enjoying “Çiftlik”³

In addition to *baştines*, women also enjoyed *çiftlik*. In the village of Slatina (fol. 798), the *Çiftlik* of Mehmed and Musa, the sons of Mustafa and Durbaşa-hatun, is recorded. In this example we can see the joint enjoyment of the *çiftlik* by man and a woman, and their relationship is not indicated. We have a little more information about a woman as a *çiftlik* enjoyer on the example of the village of Izbice (fol. 125) *Çiftlik* Ibrahim-čelebija. These are the lands that were left vacant after the non-Muslims Brajan and Radosav, so Ibrahim took them with a 200 akçe deed fee, and paid it. Later, that *çiftlik* was transferred to the miner Ahmed, on the basis of the Kadi hucet. The houses, garden and *çiftlik* that existed on it were given to his wife. But she had the right to the land only with the deed, and 500 akçe of the deed fee was taken from her and handed over to the imperial treasury, and the farm was given to her to use, with the condition that she cultivates it and pays *öşr* and salarye. So, the miner Ahmed was inherited by his wife, but as a completely new owner, she paid the deed fee in order to be able to use the homestead. A similar example was mentioned in the village of Jelaška (fol. 590), the estate of Halid-bey's mother. It is the *baştine* of Beloj in the village of Radičevići, in the Maglaj district. She was under a penalty of 120 akçe. Again, we are talking about a woman head of the household who is a member of the upper class of society, her son has the title of bey. The next example is from the village of Drakčinović (fol. 949) where a lady, a relative of Husein-aga, is mentioned in the context of enjoying *çiftlik* and *mezra*. “The estate of Jusuf, son of Božidar and Ahmed, son of Hamza, from the item Ibrahim, belongs to Sarajevo. It is a *mezra* called Depište, from the farmstead of Mrs. Sultanija, a relative of Husein-aga, in the *nahija* of Bijoska and part of the *baştine* of Bratilje.” It is similar in Visoko, (fol. 930) “The estate of Mrs. Seldžuka, daughter of Mehmed-bey, belongs to Visoko. These are the lands she enjoys in the village of Skugrići and (fol. 919 - 920) “Mrs. Fatima's *çiftlik*, belongs to Visoko, from the Nasuh, sipahi. Now it is enjoyed by her daughters Safija, Muhterem, Hadžija and Gevhera. It is the village of Grabovica in the village of Buci.” Here we are talking not only about the homestead that passed to the enjoyment of a woman, but also in the next generation that homestead continues to be enjoyed by women, her daughters.

We will also mention that in the village of Gradčanica, Aiša, the mother of Mustafa, and her son Mustafa, the son of Mahmud, took upon themselves the obligation of a *hasa* field and two vineyards, with taxes on the deed (fol. 917).

3 Cifluk represented a land holding of a certain size within the Ottoman agrarian system. (Inalcik, 1993: 313-314).

Women who Freed Slaves

Defter also records interesting cases of women who freed slaves. This is certainly an area for further research and discussion about how they acquired enough wealth to become “owners” of slaves, as well as the eventual motives that accompanied the release of slaves. In the village of Herčezi (fol. 867), „the Çiftlik of Mehmed and Lutfi, sons of Mustafa and Ilijas, son of Abdullah, belongs to Visoko. These are two farmsteads in the village of Milin. Now it has been established that the aforementioned Mehmed and Lutfi are sipahis and the sons of sipahis, and the aforementioned Ilijas is a freed slave of Mrs. Aiša, and this is how it was determined in the new defter. “We will not enter into a discussion about the çiftlik, its owners, and incidentally we will only emphasize that one of the enjoyers of the çiftlik is a certain Ilijas, the freed slave of Mrs. Aisha. The next example is in the village of Žrnovnica (fol. 684), where the baštine of Milić, in the possession of Ibrahim, a freed slave of Ejna-hatun, is registered in the Defter. According to the qualifier “hatun”, we see that here, as in the case of Aisha, we are talking about a woman who is a member of the upper class of society (Özcan, 1997: 499-500).

Interesting examples of conversions to Islam

Conversions to Islam during the Ottoman period are a question that never ceases to be in the focus of researchers of the history of the Southeastern Balkans. Surely the Detailed Survey of the Sanjak of Bosnia from 1530 will be a significant source that will help to monitor this issue in the area of the aforementioned Sanjak. Here we will highlight only a few examples that include women and from which the dynamics of acceptance of Islam can be seen. For example, in the village of Silje, (fol. 850) the baštine of Davud, son of Gojak, is listed in the possession of Jahja, his son, and Fatima, his wife. So, in this entry in the Defter, three generations of one Gojak family, his son Davud, and Davud’s son Jahja are listed. Here we can trace two generations of Muslims and a grandfather who is a non-Muslim. A Muslim’s wife is also listed with a Muslim name. The next example is in the village of Orahovica, (fol. 607) where the baštine of Mitrova, Vladimir’s wife, in the possession of Timurhan, Vladimir’s son, is listed. So, here we see the married couple Mitrova and Vladimir, non-Muslims, whose son, Timurhan, is a Muslim. Among the soldiers of the village of Tvrdomirić, (fol. 943) the baštine of Bali, son of Vukas, in the possession of Fatima and Kameršaha, his daughters, is mentioned. So here we are talking about grandfather Vukas, a non-Muslim, whose son is Muslim as well as his daughters, Vukas’ granddaughters. Among the soldiers of the village of Pohvalić, (fol. 801) the baštine of Radibrad, [son of] Živka, in the possession of Hadidža and Zejneb, his daughters, is mentioned.

This entry is particularly interesting because we see a non-Muslim man, the son of a non-Muslim, but his daughters are Muslim. It is possible that the father converted to Islam later, so he was not registered as a Muslim, but also that the daughters converted to Islam independently of the father. One rather excellent example is the village of Izenik, belonging to Sarajevo, (fol. 746) *baştines* of Mehmed, son of Radivac, owned by Bilja and Vasilija, his daughters. Here we see a Muslim whose father is non-Muslim but whose daughters are also non-Muslim.

Conclusion

The aim of this work was to show that although men were the householders of the family in the Ottoman Empire and therefore tax payers, information about women is found even in a document such as the Detailed Survey of the Sanjak of Bosnia, which would be expected to mention only men. The analysis showed that women were mentioned most often as widows, but these mentions can be analyzed and it can be seen that there are cases where women are beneficiaries of *baştine* or *çiftlik*, that these properties pass to their enjoyment from husbands, sons, fathers and other family members. Cases were also recorded when the names of widows were not listed, but were entered in the Defter as someone's wife or mother. Nevertheless, several women are presented as full householders who pay taxes just like men, and it is also interesting that some of them acquired so much wealth that they freed slaves. The publication of this source will certainly lead to new analyses, especially comparative ones, both with Defters from the same sanjak but from other periods, as well as with Defters created on other Ottoman sandjaks. It is important to say that through the entries of women in this Defter, we can also follow the interesting dynamics of conversions to Islam and the religious diversity that was present.

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SEXUAL VIOLENCE DURING WAR: FOČA CASE

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Introduction

The 1992 and 1994 conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina respectively Rwanda have changed the way sexual violence in war is perceived internationally. The International Criminal Tribunals established for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda held trials unprecedented in international law that classified acts such as rape, torture or sexual slavery as crimes against humanity, crimes of genocide or war crimes. One of these revolutionary trials was dedicated exclusively to the crimes committed in Foča, where, with the goal of ethnic cleansing, perhaps the worst acts of sexual violence on the territory of Bosnia took place, the name of the city remaining, in the collective memory, closely linked to the term *rape camps*. The *Foča* case was part of the effort to create a “Greater Serbia” through the ethnic cleansing of strategic areas. It represented another piece of the “puzzle”, the same manner of operation being recognised simultaneously in several areas of Bosnia. Muslim men were forced out from their homes, then imprisoned in detention centers or killed while women and girls became rape victims, some as young as 12 years old. They were held in detention centers and raped, then moved to other houses or apartments to be abused repeatedly. Sexual violence had the purpose of instituting terror and it was designed to systematically destroy the Muslim community and paralyse government authorities, institutions and social structures.

The process of Kunarac *et al.* was a revolutionary one, marking the first conviction for sexual slavery. Other trials followed suite within the Tribunal which included convictions for sexual violence, but there were also trials in national courts. Of course, the conviction of the main perpetrators and the progress made in the courts are by no means negligible, but many victims still face persistent



high-level and societal problems today. Such are nationalist ideas and denialism that spread across Republika Srpska and Serbia facilitated by the gaps in legislation, leading to victims that often encounter hostile attitudes. The events of recent years in Foča confirm the existence of these obstacles in the process of transitioning to peace.

Foča Under the Occupation of Serbian Military Forces

From an ethnic and religious point of view, Bosnia was and still is heterogeneous, a characteristic that brought great problems in 1992, when it proclaimed its independence. If the Serbian administration in Belgrade could not accept the secession of Croatia, whose Serb minority represented 12.5% of the population (Tatum, 2010), it was very unlikely to accept the secession of Bosnia, where the percentage reached 31.3% of the population (Shelton, 2005). Therefore, the administration in Belgrade encouraged, with the help of the Yugoslav People's Army, the military and paramilitary forces of the Bosnian Serbs who opposed the independence of Bosnia and wanted to be closer to the motherland (Serbia). Bosnian Serb leaders then proclaimed their own republic, the Republika Srpska, beginning a wave of land cleansing (Judt, 2019).

Daryl Mundis, prosecutor in the “Foča” case, had acknowledged the existence of a pattern of events in areas controlled by Serbian forces, which he also found in the case of Foča: “I think clearly this is a piece of the puzzle . . . because we had numerous women from all throughout Bosnia that said this type of thing was happening [...] But clearly this is the type of thing that again fits into the bigger picture of persecution . . . [of] trying to intimidate and drive out the non-Serb population from certain areas in Bosnia” (Hagan, 2003: 182). Another member of the prosecution team, Dirk Ryneveld, considered the rape and sexual slavery in Foča as part of a general program of ethnic cleansing undertaken on the territory of Bosnia. During the trials, he used terms such as *organized campaign* and *ethnic cleansing policy* when referring to the Foča rape camps (Hirschauer, 2014).

One of the main objectives of the Serbian extremists was to occupy and clear the valley of the river Drina. A local politician stated about the situation of the both banks of the river: “the Drina would never become a border but a windpipe between two lungs.” (Karcic, 2022: 28). Therefore, Foča, a city crossed by the Drina, was directly an area of interest. Before the outbreak of the conflict, Foča was a small town in southeastern Bosnia and had a population of just over 40,000 people. According to the 1991 census, 45% of the inhabitants were Serbs, 52% Muslims, and the remaining 3% were of other ethnicities (Fiori, 2007). The

ethnic background of the city became an issue as tensions rose and Yugoslavia began to disintegrate. In the months leading up to the attack, Muslims faced gradual exclusion from society: they were no longer paid at work, gatherings were banned and the freedom of movement was restricted (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). Lured by the promise of a peaceful settlement, many Muslims agreed to surrender their weapons when the authorities asked them to. Therefore, on the 8th of April 1992, when the attack towards them began, most Muslim civilians were unarmed and unable to defend themselves (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). In just a few months, both the municipality of Foča and the surrounding villages came under the control of Serbian forces. As these villages were occupied, Muslims were systematically subjected to numerous abuses (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). They were gathered in several locations, then transported to various buildings converted into detention centers: schools, the local prison or other administrative buildings. Detainees were beaten and, in many cases, killed (Fiori, 2007). Those who survived were kept in poor conditions, without access to food or hygiene. One of the inmates at the KP Dom (Kazneno-Popravni Dom) prison told the ICTY that during the three months he spent there, he lost 40 kilograms. Another claimed to have lost 15 kilograms in 40 days (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001).

In 1994, Foča was renamed “Srbinje”, the name referring to demographic realities. Foča was exclusively inhabited by Serbs and had become part of Republika Srpska (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). On the day of the city’s renaming, Momčilo Krajišnik (high-ranking political leader of Republika Srpska) gave a speech: “Today you are not as you were before. Now I see a true Serbian town. And you proudly bear your Serbian name. You are the example to every Serb. All that was coming from this town you’ve managed to eliminate, you prevented it from happening” (Karcic, 2022: 22). Krajišnik’s praise was not groundless. Foča represented one of the examples of ethnic cleansing campaigns that achieved their goal. By the end of the conflict, twenty thousand Muslims had been expelled from the city (Iacobelli, 2009) and only ten Muslims remained in the area (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001).

The sexual abuse began only three days after the attack and continued until April 1993 (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). The events in Foča gained notoriety mainly because of the treatment of Muslim women by Serbian forces. A regime of torture and rape was quickly instituted involving Serbian soldiers, police and members of paramilitary groups (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). Women and girls, some as young as 12 years old, were held at Buk Bijela (hydroelectric plant in the area) and then transferred to other detention areas such as Foča

High School, “Partizan” Sports Center, Kalinovik High School, but also to houses or apartments (Fiori, 2007), many being abused or raped even before arriving at these detention centers (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). Some houses, under the control of military commanders, were called brothels, but they were not brothels per se. These were houses where girls simply became slaves and the soldiers could come whenever they wanted to rape them (Kuo, n.d.).

As early as 1993, Roy Gutman drew attention to the torture of Muslim women, coining the term *rape camps* to refer to the detention centers where rapes were systematically carried out. The term was adopted as such and thus it remained in the collective memory (Hirschauer, 2014). Gutman described for the international audience the operations carried out at the high school in Foča and at the Partizan Sports Center: “But for two months in 1992, between June and August, it functioned as a rape camp, holding 74 people, including about 50 women. Partizan [sports center] was one of many Serb rape camps in Bosnia [...] and it was prominently located, next door to the police station”(Hirschauer, 2014: 98). One of the victims, a 15-year-old girl, stated that she was moved from Partizan to several brothels, where she was repeatedly raped (Iacobelli, 2009). Gutman also described the modus operandi of the Serbian forces, based on testimonies received from victims: “Each night they selected 10 or more Muslim women. Then men led them at gunpoint to a nearby house and raped them, witnesses and victims said. One 27-year-old woman told Newsday she was raped up to six times a night. Another woman was raped in the hall before the eyes of the others held there, witnesses said”(Hirschauer, 2014: 99).

Once in these camps, women were regularly subjected to sexual violence. According to the victims’ statements, the soldiers would come after dark, make light with lighters or light torches, and then choose the people they wanted to rape. In some cases, the victims were raped by several men at the same time and subjected to terrible humiliations, being burned with cigarettes or threatened with having crosses engraved on their backs. Other girls were taken by soldiers and commanders and kept as personal slaves in abandoned apartments. There they were forced to perform sexual acts and take care of the house (Kuo, n.d.). Some of these were then sold and many of them were never seen again (Fiori, 2007).

The terror instituted through sexual violence was intended to systematically destroy the Muslim community and paralyze government authorities, institutions and social structures. The actions of the Serbian forces followed a certain pattern: they would usually enter a village, rape a few women in plain sight, and then the terrified population would be promised that they would be allowed to leave the village on the condition that they never return. To further destroy

existing community cohesion, soldiers often abused their power (Hirschauer, 2014). Of course, those responsible denied the existence of a general policy behind the rapes. In 1992, Radovan Karadžić, president of Republika Srpska during the conflict, blamed rumors of mass rape on Muslim propaganda. He claimed that he had no information about what had happened at Partizan, but that he was aware of 18 cases of rape, which were not organized, but were the actions of psychopaths (Iacobelli, 2009). If the incidents had been individual actions by soldiers following the insubordination and disobedience of hierarchy, the preceding claims might have been credible. However, analysing the way in which sexual violence was used in the conflict, the ethnic category in which the victims fell and the existence of a pattern in the mode of operation of the Serb troops in several areas of Bosnia, we can determine that an important part of these actions were determined by the policy of ethnic cleansing applied in areas with a Muslim population. Moreover, an important indication is the involvement of local authorities and some military leaders in these practices. Several key figures involved in organizing the military campaign in Foča were part of Karadžić's inner circle and had frequent meetings with him (Iacobelli, 2009). It is unlikely that, during these meetings, the existence of rape camps in the area was not brought up. The police in Foča not only provided weapons and uniforms to the Serb soldiers, but Dragan Gagovic, chief of police, appointed with the help of Karadžić's Serbian Democratic Party (The Death of Indictee Dragan Gagovic, n.d.), suggested buildings such as the high school and sports center as suitable locations for rapes. He himself visited the Partizan center and could always see and hear what was happening there, considering the police station was just across the street. A group of inmates from Partizan also complained to Gagovic about constant sexual abuse in the detention center. The way he reacted to these complaints is revealing in order to understand the situation and the real chances the Muslims had to save themselves: shortly after the incident, Gagovic raped one of the women who had previously come to complain about sexual abuse (Iacobelli, 2009).

Despite the Serbian leaders' refusal to acknowledge the existence of a policy of sexual violence, the International Criminal Court indicted eight men deemed responsible for what happened in Foča: Dragan Gagovic, Gojko Janković, Janko Janjić, Dragoljub Kunarac, Radomir Kovač, Zoran Vuković, Radovan Stanković and Dragan Zelenović. Six of them held positions of authority during the war, and some of them were simultaneously leaders of paramilitary groups. As for their lives before the war, their occupations were various: policemen, cafe owners, waiters or unemployed (Iacobelli, 2009).

Sexual Violence in Foča: The Trials

“The three rapists from Foča probably never imagined that their victims would confront them in a courtroom. They knew that women don’t speak about their “shame,” especially not Muslim women. This time they were wrong. Raped Bosnian women decided not only to speak up but to do so in front of the International Criminal Tribunal. Often, they cried, but they managed to describe precisely how they were taken first to a motel, Buk Bijela, then to the Foča high school and the Partizan hall, and from there to private apartments, where they were turned into slaves and sexually abused for months on end.” (Drakulic, 2005)

Present at the ICTY in The Hague, Slavenka Drakulić outlined a picture of the proceedings: the attitude and appearance of the accused, the atmosphere during the testimony, the reactions caused by the proclamation of the sentences. The three gave the author the impression that they did not understand the gravity of their actions and the reason why they were accused, concluding that they “would serve their sentences regretting only that they were stupid enough to be caught or tricked into surrendering” (Drakulic, 2005). The case of the three was first of its kind, given that until the ICTR and ICTY, sexual violence in war had not been openly condemned on an international level. The court issued sentences for rape and slavery, falling under the category of crimes against humanity, being the first conviction for sexual slavery (Askin, 2003). Kunarac, leader of a unit within the Bosnian Serb army, was sentenced to 28 years in prison. Kovač and Vuković, figures in authority within the military police and also paramilitary leaders, received sentences of 20 and 12 years in prison (Kunarac, Kovač & Vuković Case Information Sheet). The tribunal determined that rape was not used as a weapon of war in the sense that specific orders were issued to commit rapes, but determined that rape was “an instrument of terror” used in the context of ethnic cleansing to make people leave and never come back (Kuo, n.d.).

Dragoljub Kunarac was convicted of torture and rape (crimes against humanity and violations of the laws and customs of war) and slavery (crimes against humanity). He committed several rapes and allowed soldiers under his supervision to commit such acts, taking turns. He also committed acts of slavery, directly depriving two women of any control over their lives and treating them as personal property (Kunarac, Kovač & Vuković Case Information Sheet). Three of the women who appeared before the ICTY had been taken by Kunarac from Partizan and taken to another address where they were repeatedly raped, including by the accused. One of these stated that she was threatened by Vuković that he would kill her if she did not comply with the wishes of his commander (Kunarac)

(Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). The court determined that the rape victims were selected on ethnic grounds, with the actions intended to cause mental and physical suffering. According to the testimonies, Kunarac told the women that they would give birth to Serbian children and that they should be glad that they had sex with a Serb (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). Another sentence, that of slavery, was issued because, for a period of six months, Kunarac deprived two women of their freedom. They were held in an abandoned house, where they were forced to have sex with him and other soldiers, do household chores and obey their orders (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). Initially, Kunarac pleaded guilty before the Tribunal, but later changed his mind (Drakulic, 2005). Kunarac tried to find justification for his actions. For example, in the case of one of the girls from Partizan, he stated that he did not realize that she did not have sex with him willingly, and that she had only complied out of fear (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). He even claimed that he did not want to have sexual relations with the victim and that the events happened against his will (Hagan, 2003).

Radomir Kovač was convicted of sexual slavery (crimes against humanity), rape (crimes against humanity and violations of the laws and customs of war) and crimes against personal dignity (violations of the laws and customs of war). The convictions were based on several actions: he held two people captives in his apartment for four months, treating them as personal property; raped, together with other soldiers, several people; he humiliated the victims and sold them to other soldiers for a few hundred German marks (Kunarac, Kovač & Vuković Case Information Sheet). The two victims who were held captive in Kovač's apartment were repeatedly raped and made to do housework, clean and cook (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). Perhaps the most outrageous case was that of A.B., one of the two girls (referred to as A.B. in the Tribunal documents), who was twelve years old when she was taken by Kovač, a forty-year-old man (Drakulic, 2005). According to her mother's statement, a person came to the house, threatened to kill them and put A.B. in a car (Hagan, 2003). After the abuse she endured in the few locations she was transported to, A.B. was sold by Kovač to a soldier for 200 German marks (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). The girls who became rape victims were also subjected to numerous humiliations at the hands of Kovač: they were forced to strip and dance naked in front of him and other men while they held their guns pointed at them; they were forced to walk naked in the streets of Foča; one of the girls was raped while classical music was played in the background and forced to wear the insignia of the Republika Srpska army (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). Apart from the victim A.B., Kovač sold two other girls to Montenegrin soldiers for 500 German marks. (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic,

2001). Like Kunarac, Kovač also offered implausible justifications for his actions. He claimed that the victims were in love with him, stating that one of them even wrote him a love letter. Regarding the sale of the victims, he claimed that he only wanted to protect them from the risks to which the Muslim girls living in Foča were exposed at the time (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). The court did not find these claims credible.

Zoran Vuković was convicted of torture and rape (crimes against humanity and violations of the laws and customs of war. Several charges were brought against him during the trial, but he was found guilty of only one incident. Vuković, along with another soldier, moved a girl from Partizan to a nearby apartment and raped her, even though he knew she was only 15 years old (Kunarac, Kovač & Vuković Case Information Sheet). The victim stated that at the time of the rape, Vuković told her that she was lucky that she was the same age as his daughter, otherwise he would have done much worse things to her (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). In his defense, Vuković claimed that due to an injury to his genitals, he was suffering from temporary impotence at the time. Therefore, he could not have committed the rapes he was accused of (Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic, 2001). The court rejected this theory.

The cases of Gojko Janković (a member of the military police and one of the main leaders of the paramilitary troops) and Radovan Stanković (a member of a paramilitary unit) were transferred to the national jurisdiction, to the State Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Janković was sentenced to 34 years in prison for torture and rape. He participated in several rapes, in the high school, the Partizan sports center, but also in the Karaman house, a brothel located outside the city (Janković & Stanković Case Information Sheet). Stanković was charged, among other things, with slavery, rape and crimes against personal dignity, receiving a 20-year prison sentence. During the war, he was in charge of the Karaman house, the place where women and girls, some as young as 12-14 years old, were held captive by Serbian soldiers and sexually abused. In addition to sexual abuse, the women held at Karaman were forced to work for Stanković and other soldiers, washing their uniforms, cooking and cleaning the house (Janković & Stanković Case Information Sheet).

In a separate ICTY trial, Dragan Zelenović, a former soldier and police officer in Foča, received a 15-year prison sentence for torture and rape. He was responsible for committing several rapes in locations such as Buj Bijela, the high school in Foča, Partizan or Karaman (Dragan Zelenović Case Information Sheet). One of the victims, a 15-year-old girl, was raped in Buj Bijela by Zelenović and three other soldiers, being threatened with a gun. For both this case and the other

cases of rape and torture of Muslim women, Zelenović admitted his guilt. (Zelenović, 2007). The other two previously mentioned accused, Dragan Gagovic and Gojko Janković, never got to be tried before the Tribunal. Gagovic was shot in 1999 by SFOR (Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina) troops while trying to evade arrest. Janković had a similar fate. When, in 2000, SFOR troops tried to arrest him in Foča, he blew himself up using a hand grenade (Iacobelli, 2009).

Of course, those mentioned above were not the only ones responsible for the Foča murders. During the testimonies, the victims gave many more names, and some of the people indicated by the victims were later caught and tried in local courts. For example, just two years ago, Slobodan Ćurčić, one of the soldiers who committed rapes in Foča, was indicted by Podgorica authorities for his crimes (Rovcanin, 2022). The trial of criminals on the lower levels of the hierarchy remained the task of national and local courts. Even if the ICTY could not take on the task of trialing all those responsible, its role was far more important in setting precedents. Without the international involvement of both the ICTY and the ICTR, such significant strides towards condemning sexual violence in war would probably have not been made. The trial of Kunarac, Kovač and Vuković represented a first in international law, being the first time that sexual slavery was condemned as a war crime and a crime against humanity. Peggy Kuo, a member of the prosecution team in this trial, recounted how she had to come before the Court with a definition of slavery. Normally, the procedure involves consulting previous cases, but for this case there was no precedent. To come up with an answer, Peggy Kuo went home, put a chair in the middle of a room, and asked herself, “If I own that, what can I do with it?” She then made a list: “I can move it where I want, I can prevent other people from using it, and I can destroy it. I can do anything with it. I can deface it, throw it out the window or lock it up” (Kuo, n.d.:312). Such a list was submitted to the Court, which largely accepted this description of slavery. Such challenges have also occurred during other trials as the Tribunal was working in uncharted territory. At the time the Foča trial began, rape had also been defined following the ICTY and ICTR trials, and with precedent behind it, the Tribunal did not hesitate to classify the crimes as crimes against humanity and war crimes (Kuo, n.d.). The two tribunals were required to establish the foundations and future legal developments regarding the condemnation of sexual violence in war. Thus, as a result of legislative developments in the 90s, the Rome Statute of 1998 included “rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity” (United Nations, 1998) among crimes against humanity and war crimes.

“Where, after all, do universal human rights begin?”: Collective memory and reconciliation

The intervention of an international body, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, was a vital element in obtaining justice for victims of war, including victims of sexual violence. Given the attitudes that perpetuated in society and at the highest level, among political leaders, it is difficult to imagine that justice could have been applied strictly on a national level. Thus, the punishment of those responsible and the creation of a legal framework came under the attributions of the Tribunal. However, the other elements and mechanisms specific to transitional justice (such as recognizing the truth, reparations for victims, reforming institutions, reconciliation, forms of commemoration and collective memory) (Shelton, 2005) experienced important obstacles in the process of their realization.

Both Serbia and Republika Srpska denied vehemently that genocide had taken place in Bosnia and opposed the work of the Tribunal. As evidence, several officials have made denialist statements over time. In 2018, the prime minister of Serbia, Ana Brnabić (still in office), claimed that she does not consider that there was genocide in Srebrenica, but “horrible crimes, war crimes” (Serbian PM: Srebrenica ‘a terrible crime,’ not genocide, 2018). Very recently, in May this year, the topic was brought up again. The United Nations put to vote a resolution designating July 11 as the International Day of Reflection and Commemoration of the 1995 Genocide in Srebrenica. The president of Serbia, Aleksandar Vučić, opposed this initiative, considering it “politicised” (Delauney, 2024), and at the time of the UN General Assembly vote, he appeared carrying the flag of Serbia on his shoulders as a sign of protest (Belgrade, 2021). This kind of attitude, also perpetuated in society, did nothing but provide benefits to war criminals. After the war, some of the suspects sought by the ICTY found refuge in Serbia and Republika Srpska, continuing their peaceful lives. Radovan Karadžić (leader of the Bosnian Serbs and president of the Republika Srpska) and Ratko Mladić (commander of the army of the Republika Srpska) were not even arrested by the authorities, but they continued to hold official positions (Orentlicher, 2018). This attitude towards the conflict and war criminals allowed, for example, Dragan Gagovic (one of those accused of sexual violence) to live unhindered in Foča. For several years, he didn’t even try to hide, he even owned a business and was a karate instructor in the city (Iacobelli, 2009). In addition to these things, several of the war criminals accused of rape at the national level were allowed to escape without serving time in prison. A loophole in the Bosnia-Herzegovina’s legal system allowed those sentenced to less than 12 months in prison to commute their

sentences, ending up paying only a simple fine (Augustinovic-Stojak & Cilic, 2024).

As with the allegations of genocide, the Republika Srpska's leaders have consistently denied allegations of mass rape. When asked about the rape of Muslim women, General Mladić cynically stated: "We Serbs are too picky to do such things." (Iacobelli, 2009: 277). The negationist attitude was maintained both at the high level and at societal level, the differences in the approach of the subject being obvious over time. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (an entity that makes up the state alongside the Republika Srpska), attempts have been made to keep alive the memory of the victims and, among other things, museums, memorial centers, programs for providing information and raising awareness have been established. Just one year ago, the authorities in Sarajevo decided to open a museum in the premises of the former Kon-Tiki motel, which became a rape camp during the war (Zatega & Sijamija, 2023). In contrast, in Republika Srpska, one of the locations where girls were repeatedly raped, today operates as a spa. Vilina Vlas Hotel, located in the city of Višegrad, was for a year, between 1992 and 1993, a detention center where approximately 200 women and girls were tortured, raped and killed (Heath & Zahedi, 2023). In 2020, Vilina Vlas was even included by the authorities on the list of locations where citizens can spend their holiday vouchers and was promoted by travel agencies. This raised objections among activists in Bosnia, who wrote a petition to remove the hotel from the web pages (Halimovic & Heil, 2020).

Given that the town of Foča is today in the territory of Republika Srpska, it is not surprising that the situation there is not at all different. The locations that were used as rape centers look like ordinary buildings today. Although there have been calls to this effect from the victims and their families, there is no marker or memorial plaque that even broadly commemorates the events of the war, let alone museums or memorial centers. The high school in Foča, in whose classrooms countless girls were raped, functions today as a normal educational institution. After a quick look at the institution's web page, probably no one could guess what events took place in its premises just a few decades ago (Foča, n.d.). In an interview with BIRN (Balkan Investigative Reporting Network Bosnia and Herzegovina - an organization that monitors the trials of war criminals), Midheta Kaloper, president of the *Association of Victims of War – Foca 92-95*, spoke about the situation of the Partizan sports center: "When you go to the Partizan sports hall and you look at the building, it's just an ordinary building like any other. You know what was happening there, the members [of her war victims association] know what was happening, the courts know it, the public knows it, but there is

no stone plaque measuring one square meter, which we have been asking to be put there so people could see it when visiting, other than on the commemoration day” (BIRN BiH, 2023). The members of the Association “Foča 92-95” fought over time against denialism and made efforts to commemorate the victims and the missing persons (in the case of Foča more than 600 people are still declared missing) (Sorguc, 2020). In 2018, members gathered on a bridge and threw roses into the Drina River in memory of the victims (Agency, 2018). Flowers were also laid in front of the Partizan center building, in an action by the “Foča 92-95” association, in collaboration with the “Women in Black” Association in Serbia. The event took place in 2020, on the International Day for the Elimination of Sexual Violence in Conflict (Y.Z, 2020). The same event was repeated a year later when members recited the Al-Fatiha prayer, laid flowers in front of the Partizan center and then threw flowers into the Ćehotina River (International Day for Elimination of Sexual Violence in Conflict Marked in Foča, n.d.).

But the fight seems to be unequal. The efforts of the slightly more than 1000 Muslims living in Foča can hardly cope with the attitude of the society and the authorities of Republika Srpska. In 2020, while flowers were being laid in front of Partizan, just a few meters from the building, there was a mural of Draza Mihailović, the leader of the Serbian Nationalists (Chetniks) in World War II (Y.Z, 2020). Two years later, black paint was thrown over the painting of Mihailović’s face (Kurtic, 2022). In 2021, the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time, Valentin Inzko, was shocked after a visit to Foča, where he was greeted by a 25-meter-long mural depicting Ratko Mladić. Inzko said at the time that the situation was so shameful that one could even make maps of Bosnian cities that have murals of war criminals, with Foča certainly being among the “champions”(Sarajevo, 2021). The community’s favorable attitude towards war criminals was evident from the first years after the end of the conflict. In 1999, at Dragan Gagovic’s funeral, around 15,000 people were present, including the then-reigning Vice President (later President) of Republika Srpska, Mirko Šarović (OHR SRT News Summary, 1999). The Muslim community in Foča also experienced small successes. In 2019, the Aladza mosque was reopened after a reconstruction that lasted several years. The mosque was built in the 16th century and was considered a masterpiece of Ottoman architecture. During the war, it was blown up with dynamite (Bosnian War: Aladza Mosque Reopened after 1992 Bombing, 2019). However, two years after the reopening, in 2021, an unknown person fired several shots into the minaret of the mosque. (Y.Z, 2021).

The events of recent years, not only in Foča, but also others that happened throughout Bosnia, can only show us that the road to reconciliation is still a long

one. What happened in Foča during the war was not an accident, it was not a sum of random actions, but deliberate, planned actions. Sufficient evidence has been provided in past years to place the Foča rapes in a larger context of a policy of using mass rape as a tool of ethnic cleansing (Iacobelli, 2009). However, given that in both Republika Srpska and Serbia denialism is still embraced, a miraculous reconciliation between the parties is unlikely to happen soon. It is even less likely that the sexual violence practiced in Bosnia will be recognised by the Serbian side as such, as a war crime, a crime against humanity or a crime of genocide, given that the actual existence of the crimes is still strongly denied. During Kunarac's trial, Judge Florence Ndepele Mwachande Mumba quoted the following words from Eleanor Roosevelt (former first lady of the United States of America) (Kuo, n.d.): "Where do human rights begin? In small places, close to home, so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. [...] Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere" (Human Rights, n.d.). This statement is of course applicable in our case. All the international efforts to condemn sexual violence in war have been a milestone, but without applying the same laws and principles at the local, community level, significant changes cannot be made to improve the situation of the victims and to prevent future conflicts.

Conclusion

While the International Criminal Tribunal did not officially categorize the sexual violence in Bosnia as genocide, it acknowledged the role of rape within the ethnic cleansing process, identifying it as a tool of terror. The primary objective behind using sexual violence was to systematically dismantle the Muslim community and undermine governmental authorities, institutions, and social structures. The Foča case was part of a broader ethnic cleansing effort aimed at creating a "Greater Serbia" - just one piece of a larger "puzzle," as the same methods could be observed across multiple regions in Bosnia. Given that Foča likely witnessed some of the most severe acts of sexual violence in Bosnia, it is no coincidence that, in this instance, the Tribunal conducted trials focusing exclusively on crimes like rape, sexual enslavement, and torture. The *Kunarac et al.* trial, in particular, was groundbreaking, marking the first conviction for sexual slavery. The convictions of key perpetrators and the legal progress achieved in court played a meaningful role in the path toward peace. However, despite these advances, many victims still face significant obstacles in having their status and the crimes committed against them fully acknowledged, as nationalist beliefs and denialism persist in both Republika Srpska and Serbia, legal loopholes remain

unaddressed, and there is persistent resistance from high-level politicians, state authorities, and society as a whole. As a result, determining how much further society must go toward genuine reconciliation with its past remains difficult. It is yet to be seen how these differences might be resolved and what mechanisms will be put in place to support this process.

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Call for Freedom: The Situation of Albanian Muslim Women During the Interwar Period (1925-1945)

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Introduction

The Muslim Community of Albania (MCA) was founded in 1923 as the main institutional basis representing the Muslims of Albania after its independence. In function of the MCA, two other important organs were formed: the educational institution *Medreseja e Naltë e Tiranës* (High Medresa of Tirana) and the periodical publication “Zani i Naltë” (The Magnificent/High Voice). The periodical “Zani i Naltë” had a great range of contents such as: religion, philosophy, ethics, national literature and sociology. It was published regularly for 16 years until 1939, when it was replaced by another periodical “Kultura Islame” (The Islamic Culture).

“Kultura Islame” was directed by two young students who graduated from *Medreseja e Tiranës* and studied further abroad, Sadik Bega from Gjirokastrë, who studied in Cairo, Egypt, and Sherif Putra from Korçë, who studied in Lahore, India. The journal was published for six years from 1939 to 1945 and was dealing again as the previous one, with a great variety of subjects. Our focus will be on the subject of women’s rights, which has been covered by “Kultura Islame” in almost 25 articles, the same as has been covered by “Zani i Naltë”, but in a shorter time. In addition to articles directly related to this topic, many other articles about the revolutionizing effect of Islam in general and the reforms of the Prophet regarding the status of women in particular. The idea that Islam was the first to rightfully contribute to the empowerment of women, and to their equality with men as creatures and servants of God was dominantly expressed throughout both journals. However, it can be noticed that there are also some differences of approach between the journals, as we shall see later.



The Journal “Zani i Naltë”

“Zani i Naltë” frequently addressed the issue of Albanian Muslim women very often during the first years of its publishing, from 1925 to 1930 and later in 1936-1937, which coincides with important political movements. The main concern, not only for women, but for the whole population during this time, was the way of adaptation to modernity. Westernization was praised in some cases and refused in some others, so there is a constant struggle for the Muslim Albanian intellectuals to create their own identity between East and West. However, even in the cases when the West is praised, there is usually an attempt to find the roots of its development in Islam, by arguing that the Westerners were introduced to these values through their connections with Muslims. The overall claim of Muslim scholars about the most important contribution of Islam to the status of women is the establishing of equality between men and women in the essence of their creation. However, the interpretation of some Quranic verses is strongly dependent on old traditions and customs, which even Albanian Muslim scholars could not escape, as reflected in their writings.

By the end of the year 1925, in a series of four articles, the revolutionizing role of Islam towards women in comparison to previous religions (Brahmanism, Buddhism, Judaism and Christianity) and pre-Islamic Arab society, emphasizing the equality of men and women in essence, as illustrated by Quranic verses and Prophetic sayings (“Grueja në Myslimanizmë”, 1925a: 617; 1925b: 661; 1925d: 700). However, in one of the articles, the author shows some contradictory views: according to his historical analysis, the development of women has always been lower than that of men, physically, socially, religiously, politically, and even mentally. Since this superiority of men has been established over time built itself since very old times, relating it also to the very biological construction of women as bearers of children, which is a universal trait for women binding them to the help of men, women will never be able to transcend it, so their duty is to raise their children rightfully and to obey their men with modesty (“Grueja në Myslimanizmë”, 1925c: 680). He even argues (without mentioning a source) that Prophet Muhammad has accepted women as lacking, because the “nature” itself endowed her like this (“Grueja në Myslimanizmë”, 1925c: 681). He continues his argumentation with the view of Schopenhauer that women pride with their appearance instead of strength, inclining them towards the denial of truth, again without giving any source (“Grueja në Myslimanizmë”, 1925c: 682). On the other side, he argues that “men besides their good abilities, have also gained a lot of bad habits, such as shed of blood, immorality, drinking and gambling. Therefore, men and women should recognize each other’s preponderances and divide

their duties”, and here the author gives examples from Quran to reinforce his view (“Grueja në Myslimanizmë”, 1925c: 681).

In October 1926, an article is published regarding the duties of women in democracy following debates on women’s civil and political rights. The author claims the high value of women as basis for the prosperity of the family and the whole nation, and then explains what her duties would be in this regard. First, he argues that “women don’t need to be as smart as men, they just need to be smart enough to understand the views of their husbands and to help children in their studies” (“Në Demokrasit”, 1926: 83). Secondly, he argues that women’s “primary responsibility is at home, she should not be forced to work outside because it harms her health and the moral and material life of her family” (p: 84). If she has finished all her duties at home and still has some free time, there wouldn’t be any prohibition to help her husband economically as well (p: 84-85). Third, following the same logic, “participation of women in the political life would again harm her and her family’s dignity and prestige, since politics are very dangerous and unbearable even for men, let alone for women” (p: 86). Therefore, the best solution that the author gives in this case, is “to educate women with moral and ethical values in order to contribute to their family, as supporters of husbands and educators of sons, who will then contribute to a better development of the society morally, economically and politically” (p: 86-87).

In 1930, a series of articles titled “What should we do?” about the shortcomings of the Albanian people. Author argues to “not wait for fate and time to prescribe their future, but instead to take action to fix the problems, which start with the Albanian mother. Is she in the right degree to accomplish her mission towards her family according to the current century? What are her flaws?” (Sharofi, 1930a: 915). The author first states that women do not know their duties because there are no conferences, school or teachings for her, so every husband should become a preacher, an advisor and a tireless teacher for them” (p: 916). The most important duty of her is to learn how to raise her kids, because there are a lot of wrong traditions and superstitions that have accompanied this process. However, “it is not her fault for this lack of knowledge, instead is the fault of those who don’t teach her, therefore should be formed an organization and a commission for the project of educating women how to raise the future generations physically, morally, and culturally” (Sharofi, 1930b: 941-942). In another article, the author mentions other flaws of women, such as “wasting time, not knowing any craftsmanship, not knowing how to receive guests” (Sharofi, 1930c: 1030), and requests from the Muslim Community of Albania to organize religious preaching for women (p: 1031).

A conference of S. M. Abdullah held in the Mosque of Berlin on 2 August 1929 was published in 1930 in the German journal "Vossische Zeitung" about the status of women in Islam, and its translation to Albanian from Jonuz Buliqi was also published in "Zani i Nalte" in 1930 as well. The conference begins with a historical overview since the creation of Adam and Eve, and continues with the status of women among Jews, Christians, other religious communities, and other societies, emphasizing the significant role Islam played in changing the conception on women and the wrong practices and customs of previous generations (Buliqi, 1930a: 966-973). In another article, he describes the rules for marriage according to Quran and the right of women to be free in choosing their future husbands (Buliqi, 1930b: 1015). Then he continues to describe the misunderstood issue of polygamy, which is not obligatory and is allowed only under certain conditions (wars, disproportion between the number of males and females) with certain requirements from men (justice), is limited until four wives and lastly is advised to have monogamy (p: 1017-1018). He also explains the marriages of Prophet Muhammad, the right to divorce, the right of heritage and the covering of women, which are all debatable issues among scholars of Islam (Buliqi, 1930c).

As we can observe, in the first years from 1925 to 1930, the articles related to women's issues are mainly based on gender roles, on the idea that men and women have equal rights but different duties, women being responsible at home and men being responsible outside the home. As a result, women can enjoy their rights as far as their duties are concerned because further persuasion would bring disbalance and destruction of the family, therefore the whole nation.

After a period of silence on women's issue, the debate starts again in 1936-1937 during a new period of political crisis. The topic of debate is the covering of women, which was actually mentioned very shortly even earlier in September 1924 when the Office of the Mufti of Shkodra sent a complaint to the Head of the High Council of Shariah in Tirana. The complaint referred to an article of the Catholic journal "Ora e Maleve" (The Clock of Mountains) where they showed discontent about the urban Muslim women wearing "*çarçaf*" in the cities where Europeans wander around, when both Muslim and Christian women in the villages do not wear one, so they request from the government to decree a law against it. The Office of the Mufti of Shkodra warns about such a writing that touches deeply the sentiments of Muslim Albanians, that it might be a cause for harsh polemics between the two elements, therefore the local authorities should take measures about it ("Zyra e Myftiut", 1924: 348).

The topic is brought forward again in 1936 in some articles in other Albanian magazines, which accuse the covering of Muslim women as the cause for the

backwardness of the Albanian nation. The response published in “Zani i Naltë”, begins with criticizing the authors of the magazines for not being competent in this issue and for writing unanimously, which raises doubts about their intentions (“Zbulimi i Grues”, 1936: 142). Then the author starts the line of argumentation that if the covering was the obstacle for the development of Muslim Albanian women, what was then the obstacle for the development of Christian Albanian women and the women in villages who don’t cover, meaning that the causes for the lack of development should be searched somewhere else, not in the covering of women (p: 143). He further provides examples from the Quran and claims that the face and hands are free to uncover for practical issues (p: 148). However, the debates continue, and the Muslim intellectuals are being accused of being opponents of the women’s uncovering, so they answer that these are the dispositions of the Quran, and they cannot change it according to what people want (“S’duen me na kuptue”, 1936: 219). Another answer to these accusations is given from Sabri Dardha, who argues that “the uncovering of women will cause immoralities” (Dardha, 1936: 328), “the liberalism that is being promoted will have harmful consequences for the family, because women and men can never be equal because of nature, that men have always been superior even in the West” (p: 329).

The debate continues until March 1937, when the Head of the Muslim Community of Albania calls for an extraordinary meeting of the General Council, who decide to prohibit the covering of face and hands of Muslim women and request from the government to take the necessary measures for the application of this decision (Shapati, 1937: 72). As soon as the decision arrived at the correspondent offices, the first to apply it were the Muftis, who went out with their wife and daughters without a face cover and preached the fatwa in the mosques (“Korespondencë”, 1937: 96). Although it appears as an initiative of the Muslim Community, Nathalie Clayer (2014: 236) suspects it was influenced by political authorities. Taking into consideration that the issue of reforms in Islam in Albania had been debated since the formation of the Muslim Community of Albania during the Muslim Congresses and in a long series of articles published in “Zani i Naltë”, with opposition coming mainly from the *ulama* of Shkodra, I would argue that this is just a finalization of ongoing tension within the Muslim scholars of Albania.

Sherif Putra, student in Lahore, writes an article arguing that the original simple way of covering of women during the time of the Prophet has been transformed after the changes in Muslims’ conditions and has taken today’s strained form without taking into consideration the majority of women who need to go out and

work, unlike the wealthy ones who have servants to do the ordinary jobs (Putra, 1937: 210-212). He also notes that “he is surprised that India has already solved this case 30 years earlier, whereas in Albania they are still discussing it” (Putra, 1937: 213).

In this long debate about women’s covering, an article by a female Muslim writer, Selime Mendari, that comes as a response to an article from a female Christian writer, Lejmune Kostandinari, published in another magazine “Java” (The Week). Kostandinari (1937: 14) writes to congratulate the Muslim “sister” for taking off the face and hand coverings and to console her to not feel brokenhearted about it. She claims that after extensive study of the Quran, she has found no evidence supporting the practice, arguing that covering is merely an Arabic and Anatolian custom. She also makes further remarks about good relationships between Muslim and Christian women in Albania recollecting the good old times of Skanderbeg (Kostandinari, 1937: 14). This writing appears to not be quite sincere, and neither is the response of Mendari (1937), which contains a lot of ironical notes and tries to catch mistakes from the text of her “caring sister” taking every word of her into account. In the text of Kostandinari (1937) it can be noted a tone of superiority, as if she was an “older sister” (implied from the fact that Christianity was older than Islam in Albania) who has studied the Quran and its commentaries very well, and now is trying to advise her younger sister, who still has some traces of Christian culture in her, to not get upset from getting rid of “imported Arabic customs” that show her very ugly not in the face of her Christian compatriots, but rather in the face of Europeans (Kostandinari, 1937: 14). Mendari (1937: 157), on the other side, ironizes the “great knowledge on Islam” of her Christian sister by saying that now she doesn’t even need to ask Muftis any longer, since Kostandinari is a specialist in these topics.

Clayer (2014: 236) argues that despite the ban on covering face and hands covering, there was still resistance from the population and the authorities were also very cautious when applying the law, preferring to convince, rather than forbid. Determining the real reasons behind women’s resistance is challenging, as there are very few accounts from women, which will be better represented in the upcoming periodical.

The Journal “Kultura Islame”

After the occupation of Albania from Italy in April 1939, the journal “Zani i Naltë” stopped publishing, and in September 1939 started the publication of “Kultura Islame”. A simple comparison between the two, I could say that in “Zani i Naltë” the debates evolve mostly around women’s covering, whereas in “Kultura

Islame” the main concern is women’s education and there is more participation of women writers.

In the journal “Kultura Islame” the first article related to women’s issues is written Sashi, who argues again that the main duty of women is maintaining the household, taking as reference the words of Madame de Maintenon, who lived in the seventeenth century and had founded a school for girls in Saint-Cyr, which according to the author granted her a good recognition of women’s psychology (Sashi, 1939: 30). Again, the necessity for women’s education goes as far as to rightfully maintain the household and to make it a little paradise for her husband and children, she wouldn’t be smart if she destroys her own house in order to pursue further education, arts or supposedly sacrificing herself for the common good (Sashi, 1939: 31-32). In the end of this article, the director Sadik Bega (1939: 33) notes that there are plenty of examples of such women in the History of Islam and writes an article about Khadijah, the wife of the Prophet Muhammad. Obviously, the dichotomy between East and West appears again, sometimes there are attempts to show the compatibility between the two, and sometimes to show a competition of which one elevated the status of women the most, and who are the women worthy to be taken as ideals.

In 1940, “Kultura Islame” starts to publish a dramatic play by a young man from Shkodra, Asim Lohja. The play (Lohja, 1940a: 424) deals with the history of a young girl, called Bukurushe, whose mother has died very young, and her father marries another woman who doesn’t treat the orphan girl well. She wants to continue her studies and graduate, but her father, urged by the stepmother, doesn’t allow her (Lohja, 1940a: 429-430). Another concern is that of arranged marriages, the young girls who don’t even know whom they are being married to. Bukurusha has fallen in love to her neighbor, who will continue his studies in Italy, and Bukurusha is afraid that like the other young boys who went abroad, he will also go after the European girls and forget his commitment to the girl who is waiting for him in the village, until she will be forced to marry someone who doesn’t love (Lohja, 1940b: 103). The author of this play seems to have been inspired by the famous novel of Haki Stërmilli “Sikur t’isha djalë” (If I were a boy) written in 1936 in the form of a girl’s diary. The history of this girl is almost the same with that of Bukurusha, complaining about the covering, the isolation at home without a choice to study and marry the man she wants, because this is what tradition requires and religion orders, a religion which is bastardized by unscrupulous people. The author puts his own religious views in the mouth of a decent Imam who preaches the original form and teachings of Islam to the “fanatical and ignorant father” of the young girl (Stërmilli, 1936).

Haki Stërmilli's work seems to have also inspired a young girl from Shkodra, who writes an article for "Kultura Islame" under the nickname "Postribësja". She makes a call to the young Muslim male intellectuals of Shkodra, who have travelled and seen a lot, who are well-educated in literature, sciences, arts and who play musical instruments in the shadows of the castle of "Rozafati", to think for those poor girls constrained in their houses, working all day long to obey the orders of the males and to entertain them as if they were tools. Those male poets can find the time to describe the beauties of women, just for the pleasure of the moment, but never bother to write about her rights. When speaking about rights, she refers to women's rights as given from the Quran and the Prophetic tradition, she emphasizes that she is not seeking for unlimited liberal rights, but only those natural rights that Islam has granted to women. She claims that nobody has spoken out for the women's rights except from Haki Stërmilli in his novel "If I were a boy" and she is thankful to the journal "Kultura Islame" for giving her the opportunity to raise her voice in the name of many other young girls who still in the twentieth century suffer from the old, irrational, and discriminating traditions of their society (Postribësja, 1941a: 145-146).

This article attracts a lot of attention and creates a long debate in the coming numbers. Firstly, two young men from Durres, Haxhi Kalaja (1941: 173) and R. Tuzi (1941: 174), support the courage of this young girl and claim that they had the same intentions when they formed the "Group of Muslim Youth" for both males and females, to gather voluntarily to study Islam. However, Kalaja opposes the envy for the "guitars" and "shadows of Rozafati" and proposes instead to take the pen and tirelessly work altogether to reach the divine light of Islam (Kalaja, 1941: 173). The response of "Postribësja" (1941c: 260) is that she had meant the same with what Kalaja has expressed in his writing, but clearly was misunderstood, something she was afraid would happen anyway. In the same number is also published the continuation of the first article of "Postribësja" (1941b: 249-250), this time with a call to the "modern" girls of Shkodra, who dress well, put some make-up on and some of them even ride bikes almost taking down their co-citizen covered in black from head to toe "as if the mother of 700 devils" who doesn't see any light or sun. She mentions two extremes to argue that this wouldn't give a good impression to both ignorant or intellectuals, who would see this degradation as the signs of liberalism and would prevent their daughters to follow it. She proposes a moderate and gradual change since the country is still in transition and should take the steps very carefully to not fall completely apart. She urges her "modern" sisters, who probably lost themselves in European university life, to not forget about the Albanian girls and to help them gain their freedom.

An answer to the first article is given from a young intellectual man from Shkodra, under the nickname “Principes” (1941: 54-55), arguing that both males and females are born and raised under the same conditions, but men worked hard to gain their liberty, unlike women who have kept silence, showing acceptance to their situation. Therefore, they should raise their voice and work hard to gain this independence, and in order to become worthy of the partnership of these intellectual men, they should be good mothers, good cooks and hospitable to guests, shortly they should accomplish all the good virtues that distinguish the Albanian women from others. He encourages her to continue her struggle without coveting the musical instruments and walks by the lake and claims that men will always be there to support them, as they have done so far. The debate ends on this topic, probably because since the beginning, the anonymous girl from Shkodra had claimed she didn’t want to enter polemics, she just wanted to express the depths of her soul. However, she will continue to write articles about different social topics: the condition of the cemeteries in Shkodra, a short article for the national hero Skanderbeg, a description of her meeting with the novelist Haki Stërmilli, and in the end a call to Albanian heroes to stand up and fight for their Motherland. “Postribësja” is the only female writer in the journals of the MCA to raise her voice against the injustices towards women, as a Muslim girl, in the name of Islam and through an Islamic journal. Her origin from the city of Shkodra should also be highlighted because, as we mentioned earlier, the main opposition to reforms was coming from the clerics of this city.

Alongside “Postribësja” I would like to mention that there are even some little girls who participate in the ceremonies of *Mevlud* and give speeches in front of the High Officials of the MCA requesting courses and schools for girls as well. Even though most probably these speeches are being taught to them, their message is important. In the first number of the second year of “Kultura Islame” is published a short statement of a little girl, Myfaret Hysen Sula, with the occasion of a religious ceremony in one of the mosques of Tirana in September 1940 in the presence of the Head of the MCA, Dr. Behxhet Shapati. She has a request for the MCA to create the possibilities to have a religious school even for girls, and she is promised that this will be accomplished very soon (“Të Ndryshme”, 1940: 51). Within a year it was achieved to open some religious courses in the mosques for boys and girls and it was promised from Dr. Behxhet Shapati, who donated himself 400 fr.sh., to open knitting courses for girls to express the creativity of their beautiful souls (Lalezari, 1941: 274).

Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to analyze the approach of the Muslim Community of Albania towards the women's issue through its main periodicals, "Zani i Naltë" and "Kultura Islame". During a period of twenty years from 1925 to 1945, the issue of women has been covered seldomly, usually in times of political crises and especially when there were accusations towards the Muslim women for being oppressed. The articles always express the revolutionizing effect of Islam in comparison to other religions or societies, especially in the conceptualization of women as being equal with men in creation and in the responsibilities towards God as creatures coming from one essence, as illustrated in the Quran and in some Prophetic traditions. However, the interpretation of religious sources and the preference for one view over another has always been affected from the context of the thinkers. Even in the case of Albanian Muslim intellectuals this has been unavoidable, as reflected in their writings. Although it is stated that men and women have equal rights, Muslim intellectuals advocated that they have different duties and roles in family and in society, being that women can enjoy their rights only as far as it concerns their duties (maintaining the household and educating her children).

For me it was interesting to see how each author can find references anywhere to prove the accuracy of his own views, sometimes even using Western thinkers to prove the accuracy of the Quranic verses or "Islamic approaching" according to his own understanding of it. The references vary from Khadijah and Aisha (wives of the Prophet Muhammad) to Schopenhauer and Madame de Maintenon, from Indian thinkers to Egyptian thinkers, from Atatürk to Haki Stërmilli, which clearly shows the flexibility of Albanian thinkers and a real struggle for identity-formation of a small Muslim majority country in a Christian majority Europe.

The debates evolving around the issue of women always present a notion of liberation: liberation from covering and liberation from home for education and work. The accusations that covering is the main obstacle in the development of women in Albania have caused long debates which were finalized with a ban on face and hand coverings, after the fatwa issued from the MCA that looking into a woman's face and hands is not *haram* (prohibited).

Women's agency in the process of empowerment appears very poor, since there are very few female writers, and only one of them raises the topic of women's rights in her call for freedom. She was the young Muslim girl from Shkodra, who required from the Muslim male intellectuals to return to the origins of Islam

and give women the rights Islam has granted them. She supports a moderate and gradual change without going into extremes and seeks for the help of all to achieve this goal.

Finally, it can be said that both journals “Zani i Naltë” and “Kultura Islame” were two important means of communication among Muslim Albanians and played an important role in the public discourse with their articles, by contributing gradually to the improvement of women’s status in family and society.

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CHAPTER IV

BALKANS, PERIODICALS AND MEMORIES

TRIBUNE OF THE BULGARIAN EXARCHATE: *NOVINI* (1890-1898)

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Introduction

Newspapers and magazines, serving as mass communication tools, have acted as tribune where the issues of the period could be brought to the forefront and debated from the perspective of Bulgarians since the 19th century. The Bulgarian periodicals published in Istanbul before 1878 became platform for discussing national, religious, and political matters. According to Konstantin Velichkov, a poet, writer, diplomat, and statesman who witnessed the period, “[...] The enthusiasm with which current issues and disputes were discussed in public and the press, without any material interest, was a manifestation of a lofty ideal. The energy and courage of the newspapers were fueled by the awareness that the cause they pursued was just. If the spirits in Bulgaria seemed so ready everywhere for a general uprising, and if the leaders of this movement saw that the nation was eager to embrace the call, it was largely due to the newspapers of Istanbul. The future historian of this period will attribute great value to the press, pointing to how, during these difficult times, it carried out its duty with determination, selflessness, and patriotism, and will present it as a rare example of such dedication [...]” (Veliçkov, 2017: 50).

The Bulgarian doctor and teacher Hristo Stambolski, who witnessed the developments in the Ottoman capital, described the impact of a magazine on the Bulgarians in Istanbul as follows: “*Bilgarski Knijitsi* [Bulgar Books] [...] was being published in Istanbul, eagerly read among the youth, and new issues were impatiently awaited in the mail to learn what was being written and done about the Bulgarians in Istanbul [...]” (Stambolski, 2018: 25). As can be understood from the statements of Konstantin Velichkov and Hristo Stambolski, the Bulgarian press in Istanbul had become a powerful “weapon” in shaping the Bulgarian community.



In Turkish historiography, there are studies that broadly cover Ottoman Bulgarian periodicals and, more specifically, Bulgarian-language newspapers and magazines based in Istanbul.¹ İlber Ortaylı's article titled "Osmanlı Bulgar Basını Üzerine Notlar" can be considered a pioneering study on this subject.² Additionally, Hüseyin Mevsim has authored several works, including "19. Yüzyıl Bulgar Uyanış Çağı ve *Bulgar Kitapları Dergisi* (1858-1862)"³, "Bulgar Basın Tarihinde İstanbul Gazetesi'nin (*Tsarigradski Vestnik*) Yeri"⁴, "Bulgarca Süreli Yayıncılığına Dair Notlar"⁵, "Bulgarlar Arasında Katolik Propagandası Yapan Bir Gazete: *Bilgariya* (1859-1863)"⁶, "Bulgarların Rehberliğine Soyunan Bir Gazete: *Svetnik* (1863-1865)"⁷, and "Silaha Sarılma Yerine Kitap Okuma Çağrısında Bulunan Bir Dergi: *Çitalište* (1870-1875)"⁸. Moreover, Neriman Ersoy Hacısalihoğlu's article titled "Osmanlı Basınında Bir Mizah Dergisi: Gayda" is another significant research focused on Bulgarian periodicals in Istanbul.⁹

It would be appropriate to assess Bulgarian periodical publishing in Istanbul in two phases: before and after 1878. All the aforementioned studies focus on the period prior to the Treaty of Berlin on July 13, 1878. With this treaty, which led to the establishment of the Principality of Bulgaria, publications advocating for the political, religious, and national goals of the Bulgarians began to emerge primarily through newspapers based in Sofia and Plovdiv (Filibe). Indeed, it is hardly

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- 1 In this paragraph, since it is thought that each reference in the text may disrupt the flow of the text, the works of the authors are shown as footnotes.
 - 2 See: Ortaylı, İ. (1991). Osmanlı Bulgar Basını Üzerine Notlar. *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 15(26), 253-260.
 - 3 See: Mevsim, H. (2014). 19. Yüzyıl Bulgar Uyanış Çağı ve *Bulgar Kitapları Dergisi* (1858-1862). Emre Yalçın (Eds.), *Tanzimat ve Edebiyat: Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Modern Edebi Kültür içinde* (266-251. ss.). İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.
 - 4 See: Mevsim, H. (2015). Bulgar Basın Tarihinde İstanbul Gazetesi'nin (*Tsarigradski Vestnik*) Yeri. XVI. *Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20-24 Eylül 2010, Ankara, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, VI. Cilt, İstanbul içinde* (51-37. ss.). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
 - 5 See: Mevsim, H. (2020). Bulgarca Süreli Yayıncılığına Dair Notlar. *Kebikeç*, (50), 233-246.
 - 6 See: Mevsim, H. (2020). Bulgarlar Arasında Katolik Propagandası Yapan Bir Gazete: *Bilgariya* (1859-1863). *Kebikeç*, (50), 247-258.
 - 7 See: Mevsim, H. (2020). Bulgarların Rehberliğine Soyunan Bir Gazete: *Svetnik* (1863-1865). *Kebikeç*, (50), 259-266.
 - 8 See: Mevsim, H. (2020). Silaha Sarılma Yerine Kitap Okuma Çağrısında Bulunan Bir Dergi: *Çitalište* (1870-1875). *Kebikeç*, (50), 267-282.
 - 9 See: Hacısalihoğlu, N.E. (2018). Osmanlı Basınında Bir Mizah Dergisi: Gayda. *Türk Basın Tarihi Uluslararası Sempozyumu 19-21 Ekim 2016 / Elazığ, II. Cilt içinde* (785-761. ss.). Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları.

possible to speak of Bulgarian-language newspapers based in Istanbul after 1878. The first Bulgarian newspaper to be published in Istanbul after 1878, and the main focus of this article, is *Novini*.

The purpose of this study is to provide a general introduction to *Novini*, the official publication of the Bulgarian Exarchate, by discussing its form and content characteristics. The scope of the study is limited to the years between 1890 and 1898. *Novini* began its publication on September 27, 1890, and ceased under this name after its final issue on October 16, 1898, undergoing a name change. Under the supervision of the Bulgarian Exarchate, the newspaper resumed publication with the same goals under the title *Vesti* on October 23, 1898, and continued under this name until its last issue on October 11, 1912, during the Balkan Wars. Since *Vesti* is the subject of another study, the focus here is solely on the newspaper's journey under the name *Novini*. Lastly, all issues of *Novini* are housed at the "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodiy" National Library (*Националната библиотека „Св. св. Кирил и Методий“*) in Sofia.

Beginning of *Novini*'s Publication Life

Novini was a spokesperson of the Bulgarian Exarchate, as reflected in Ottoman documents (BOA, İ.MTZ.04: 16/1012). Briefly, it should be mentioned that the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate was decided by Sultan Abdülaziz's a padishah's *irade* dated March 11, 1870. This institution was the highest level religious institution representing the Bulgarians living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. The Bulgarian Exarchate is an institution belonging to the Ottoman Empire as it is based in Istanbul. The Bulgarian exarch is the most authorized person at the head of this institution (Koyuncu, 1998: 98-100; Güllü, 2017: 353-355). Through his intermediary and with the support of the Bulgarian government, the situation of Bulgarians living in Ottoman lands was conveyed to the Sultan and Ottoman statesmen, the current issues of the period were brought up and demands were made, and support was sought in many inclusive areas, especially in educational and religious matters. In order to do all this through a periodical that was accessible to the local population and with a loud voice and to create public opinion, attempts were made before the Ottoman ruler for this purpose.

The first attempt that could be considered in this context is the note presented to the Ottoman Empire on June 16, 1890, by the Bulgarian government of the time

(the Stefan Stambolov Government, 1887-1890).¹⁰ This note primarily concerned the formal recognition of Prince Ferdinand by Sultan Abdulhamid II and the granting of berats to the Bulgarian metropolitans of Ohrid and Skopje. However, a significant statement within the note stands out. In this crucial phrase, it is said, “*If today the Sublime Porte allows the voices of Bulgarians living in the Ottoman Empire to be heard for their benefit, this aims to prevent any disorder that would harm both the Principality of Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire*” (ЦДА, ф. 176к, оп.1, а.е. 413, л. 17-18). According to the information given by Dr. Georgi Valkovich, the Bulgarian *Kapıkethüdası*¹¹ in Istanbul, who followed the negotiations at the Sublime Porte daily, to Sofia on July 15, 1890, “Permission has been granted for a Bulgarian political newspaper to be published in Istanbul under the guarantee and supervision of the Bulgarian Exarchate”, and the first issue of the newspaper would be published within a few days (ЦДА, ф. 176к, оп. 1, а.е. 413, л. 156). However, contrary to Valkovich’s prediction, the publication of the newspaper did not materialize in the short term.

Another attempt to publish a Bulgarian newspaper was the petition (*arzuḥâl*) submitted to Sultan Abdulhamid II by a Bulgarian named Dimitar Pandurov, the

10 One of the demands contained in this note is the official recognition of Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand by Sultan Abdulhamid II. To briefly explain, the first Bulgarian prince, Alexander of Battemberg, was overthrown in a coup on August 21, 1886, and subsequently forced to abdicate. In accordance with Article 3 of the Treaty of Berlin, efforts were made to elect a new prince for the now-vacant position. The Bulgarian Assembly ultimately selected Ferdinand as prince on July 7, 1887. However, this prince was not officially recognized by the Ottoman ruler, as he had not obtained the approval of all the Great Powers, as required by Article 3 of the Treaty of Berlin. Another demand in the note concerns the safeguarding of the rights of the Bulgarian Church, specifically the issuance of berats to the Bulgarian metropolitans in Ohrid and Skopje. Following discussions at the Sublime Porte, approval was granted for the issuance of the berats to the said metropolitans. However, the Sultan refused to officially recognize the Bulgarian prince. (Hasanoğlu, 2023: 118-152).

11 According to Article 1 of the Treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, Bulgaria was a tax-paying autonomous principality under the Ottoman Sultan. The status quo created by this treaty determined the level of relations between the Principality of Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire. The status of the institutions that would establish bilateral relations and the titles of the authorized persons were also determined accordingly. The head of the Bulgarian government was called “*reis-i müdüran* / chief director” instead of prime minister, while those in charge of foreign affairs, internal affairs, finance, education and warfare were called “director” instead of *nazır*/minister. Likewise, the most authoritative Bulgarian official in Istanbul was the *kapıkethüdası*, while the most authoritative Ottoman statesman in Sofia was the commissar. However, sometimes the “chief director” was addressed as “prime minister” and the “director” as “minister”. This means that the Treaty of Berlin was not respected. (Aydın, 1996: 73).

former deputy governor of Kırkkilise (now Kırklareli). In this petition, permission was sought to publish a newspaper named *Novini* in Istanbul once a week to discuss internal and external news, as well as education and science. In accordance with the Ottoman *Matbuat Nizamnamesi* (press law), the Ottoman Ministry of Zaptieh conducted the necessary investigation and determined that the individual in question possessed the qualifications required to publish a newspaper and had provided a substantial deposit. It was also established that Dimitar Pandurov had obtained a certificate of testimonial from the Istanbul Municipal Council. Following the completion of the investigation, the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior submitted the necessary reports to Ottoman ruler on August 30, 1890 (BOA, İ.DH: 1193/93331, 1). By a *irade* issued on September 10, 1890, permission was granted for the publication of a Bulgarian-language newspaper under the name *Novini* in Istanbul (BOA, İ.DH: 1193/93331, 2).

Following the issuance of the padishah's *irade*, the first issue of *Novini* was published on September 27, 1890. In this first issue, the editors dedicated a lengthy article to expressing their affection and respect for Abdulhamid II, who had granted permission for this publication. According to the article;

Our era is one of enlightenment, education, and science. The source of this enlightenment is our ruler, who illuminates this knowledge and education with his laws and decrees. We are under his protection. Thanks to our ruler's liberal and just laws, we are today a formally recognized community, we exist as a people, we write and speak in our language, we have our own teachers and are able to learn in our schools without hindrance, we can pray in our churches, and we are advancing both materially and spiritually” (НОВИНИ, год. I, бр. 1, 27 септ. 1890: 1).

The newspaper also outlined its purpose and objectives. According to the editors, Bulgarians would be able to “loudly and publicly glorify God, defend their faith, nationality, religion, churches, and schools” through *Novini*, which would publish content on political, social, scientific-literary, and religious matters (НОВИНИ, год. I, бр. 1, 27 септ. 1890: 1). After its first issue, *Novini* became an important tribune for the Bulgarian Exarchate.

Novini's Stylistic Features

When looking at the newspaper's headline, the name of the newspaper (НОВИНИ / *Novini*) can be seen prominently displayed in capital letters at the center. Above the newspaper's name, on the far left, the year of the newspaper is indicated, in the middle, the day, month, and year of publication, and on the far right, the

issue number is listed. Below the name of the newspaper, its scope is specified. Accordingly, *Novini* is a “political, scientific-literary, and religious newspaper”.



Visual 1. Headline of the *Novini*

The owner of the newspaper was Dimitar Pandurov, who had submitted the petition to Abdulhamid II for the publication of *Novini*. The editorial office was initially located in Ortaköy, where the Bulgarian Exarchate’s residence was, but an announcement on September 23, 1894, stated that the office had been relocated to Pera (Новини, год. V, бр. 1, 23 септ. 1894: 1). The annual subscription fee for those living within the Ottoman Empire was set at two white *meçidiye*, while for those outside the empire, it was ten Bulgarian leva. A single issue of the newspaper was priced at one *kurus*. Subscriptions could be obtained on an annual or six-month basis. *Novini* was printed at both the Aramyman Printing Press and the Ugurluyan Printing Press.

In its first year, the newspaper was published once a week on Thursdays. Starting in the second year, it was published twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays. One of the editors of *Novini* was Atanas Shopov¹², who served as the chief secretary of the Bulgarian Exarchate from 1884 to 1897. The other editor was Dimitar Makedonski.¹³ Contributors to the newspaper included Kuzman Shapkarev, a textbook

12 Atanas Shopov (1855-1922). He was born in Panagyurishte (Otlukköy). He studied at the Military Medical School (*Askerî Tibbiye*) in Istanbul. He worked for the Bulgarian Exarchate. He participated in the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78. During this war, he collected intelligence information for the Russian army and also worked as an interpreter. After 1878, he studied law in St. Petersburg and then specialized at the Sorbonne. Between 1884 and 1897 he was the chief secretary of the Bulgarian Exarchate. Between 1897-1908 he was the commercial agent of the Principality of Bulgaria in Thessaloniki. Between 1909 and 1913 he was the Bulgarian consul in Thessaloniki.

13 Dimitar Makedonski (1848-1898). He was a publisher, educator and revolutionary. He worked as a teacher in Istanbul, Plevna, Lom, Samakov, Sofia and Skopje. After the establishment of the Principality of Bulgaria, he started to engage in journalism. He worked as a redactor in different magazines and newspapers and wrote articles for some authoritative Bulgarian newspapers of the period. In 1895, he took part in the establishment of the Supreme Macedonian Edirne-Thrace Committee (VMOK) in Sofia. For a period of time, he served as the editor of the newspaper *Saglasie* (*Съгласие*), which supported the politics of the Supreme Committee. As a result of the articles

writer, ethnographer, and folklorist; Yordan Ivanov, a literary historian, archaeologist, and folklorist; Anton Popstoilov, a historian, folklorist, and ethnographer; and Kone Samarciev, a bookseller and publisher.

Table 1. *Novini's* Published Years, Issues and Date Ranges (Български периодичен печат 1844-1944, Анотиран библиографски указател. том II, 1966: 77)

Year	Issue	Date
I	1-52	27 September 1890-19 September 1891
II	1-102	24 September 1891-18 September 1892
III	1-101	22 September 1892-17 September 1893
IV	1-101	21 September 1893-20 September 1894
V	1-101	23 September 1894-19 September 1895
VI	1-101	22 September 1895-8 October 1896
VII	1-100	11 October 1896-3 October 1897
VIII	1-97	8 October 1897-16 October 1898

Novini's Content Features

According to an article published by the editors, *Novini* is the only Bulgarian-language newspaper directly under the authority of the Sultan and serves the interests of the Bulgarian population across the vast Ottoman territories. This newspaper is the primary publication for Bulgarians living within the Ottoman Empire. As claimed, it is not partisan in nature. The columns of *Novini* feature only articles and general information. The newspaper attracts interest not only from Bulgarians under Ottoman rule but also from those in the Principality of Bulgaria. *Novini* offers a wide array of content with various sections. (Новини, год. VII, бр. 100, 3 окт. 1897: 1). These include domestic and foreign news, reports from the provinces and Sofia, travel notes, a religious section, literary section, scientific section, economic section, church affairs, and political commentary, providing a rich diversity of news and information.

Education was a primary tool for the Bulgarian Exarchate to impart its political agenda to Bulgarians living in Ottoman territories. In this regard, one of the fundamental objectives of *Novini's* editorial policy was to focus on issues concerning

he published during his editorship of the *Novini*, he became a target of the committee members. As a result, he was killed in an attack on February 21, 1898.

Bulgarian education. The editors, aligning with this goal, regularly reported on the condition of Bulgarian schools operating in provinces such as Istanbul, Thessaloniki, Edirne, Monastir, and Skopje. Statistical data on Bulgarian schools were provided, and the curricula of prominent Bulgarian schools of the time were published. Additionally, the newspaper highlighted the needs and deficiencies of these schools. *Novini* also informed readers about laws related to education that were discussed and passed in the Bulgarian Parliament. For instance, a law concerning the retirement of teachers was mentioned, with detailed explanations of its provisions (НОВИНИ, год. II, бр. 26, 20 дек. 1891: 3). Special attention was given to the national education law adopted in the Principality of Bulgaria, with extensive explanations and thorough coverage of its details. Moreover, *Novini* did not limit its reporting to educational laws. Readers were also kept informed about military, economic, and other legislative proposals and laws passed by the Bulgarian Parliament.

Under the title “Our Schools”, a series of articles was created with the aim of improving and advancing the state of Bulgarian schools, including notes on teaching methods. The first article in this series focused on learning the Bulgarian language. In this section, concerns about education were also expressed. In one published article, it was stated, “We asked whether our youth are familiar with our folk literature. Unfortunately, the answer must be negative. How could the current state of Bulgarian schools be any different? [...] We still have time to thoroughly examine similar works until we develop a full literature [...]”. This expressed both concern and hope for the future (НОВИНИ, год. I, бр. 11, 9 дек. 1890: 2). *Novini* did not stop there, but continued to offer its readers educational materials from various parts of the world. Topics included the general history of education, the first Bulgarian teachers’ conference in Prilep, the education systems of Western Europe and Scandinavian countries, Auguste Comte’s thoughts on education, schools in China, national education in Germany, and higher education for women in England, Germany, and the United States. These materials were presented in serialized form, ensuring continuity and providing a broad spectrum of knowledge on the subject.

In terms of content, another goal of the newspaper, according to Bulgarian linguist Mariya Mitskova, was to showcase the richness of the dialects spoken by Bulgarians living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, to prove that these dialects belonged to the Bulgarian language family, and to create a linguistic and religious map of the Bulgarian people as a whole (Мицкова, 2020: s. 45). To this end, examples of speech from Bulgarians living in regions such as Kilikis, Strumica, Yenice-i Vardar, and Razlog were provided. In this context, the newspaper

presented examples of words used by the inhabitants of Grubevtsi, a village in Yenice-i Vardar. A table was displayed showing what terms they used for various things, such as newborn boys and girls, the hearth, strawberries, eyeglasses, a cupboard without a door, and a one-year-old chicken (Новини, год. III, бр. 53, 2 апр. 1893: 3). Similarly, dialect samples from Bulgarians living in several villages in the Razlog region were also shared (Новини, год. IV, бр. 37, 1 февр. 1894: 1; Новини, год. IV, бр. 43, 22 февр. 1894: 2; Новини, год. IV, бр. 62, 3 май 1894: 2).

In addition to education-related topics, another section of the newspaper focused on domestic news, providing information about prominent developments both in the Ottoman capital and the provinces. In the foreign news section, events occurring globally were reported. Some events that affected both foreign and domestic affairs were closely followed. Numerous articles were published in various issues of the newspaper about the 1897 Ottoman-Greek War, particularly regarding the events in Crete (Новини, год. VII, бр. 35, 14 февр. 1897: 2; Новини, год. VII, бр. 36, 18 февр. 1897: 1; Новини, год. VII, бр. 37, 21 февр. 1897: 1; Новини, год. VII, бр. 48, 1 апр. 1897: 2-3; Новини, год. VII, бр. 58, 9 май 1897: 1; Новини, год. VII, бр. 65, 3 юни 1897: 2; Новини, год. VII, бр. 72, 27 юли 1897: 2-3 et al.). Additionally, under the title “Political Perspective”, the newspaper featured news and commentary on events that influenced European and global politics. Examples include the 1894 Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-French Alliance, the 1898 Spanish-American War, and the situation in England.

Novini closely followed developments in the Balkans and took a stance that served the interests of Bulgarians. Through its publications, it addressed the rising and intensifying Serbian, Greek, and Romanian nationalism, aiming to support the Bulgarian Exarchate’s initiatives to safeguard Bulgarian rights. In line with this, the newspaper even engaged in polemics with some Greek-language newspapers based in Istanbul, sharing their news to inform and enlighten the public (Новини, год. II, бр. 14, 8 нояб. 1891: 1; Новини, год. II, бр. 36, 28 ян. 1892: 1). It is important to note that the newspaper did not solely focus on political and nationalist developments. Extensive articles were also written on the economic conditions of the Serbs, Greeks, and Romanians, providing related texts for readers’ attention.

The newspaper placed particular emphasis on events that could positively or negatively impact the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Principality of Bulgaria. It closely followed the legal proceedings after the assassination of Bulgarian *Капкethüdası* Dr. Georgi Valkovich in Istanbul in 1892. Additionally, it shared updates on the agricultural and industrial exhibition held in Plovdiv that same year. Information regarding Prince Ferdinand’s 1896 visit to Istanbul and his audience with Sultan Abdulhamid II was also made available.

Travel notes are among the most notable sections of *Novini*. From the very first year of its publication, notes sent from various provinces were shared. Particularly from regions in Macedonia, which were part of the Ottoman administrative system known as *Vilâyet-i Selâse*—comprising the vilayets of Thessaloniki, Monastir, and Kosovo numerous writings were featured in the newspaper's columns. Some of these regions included Serres, Veles, Thessaloniki, Monastir, Melnik, Shtip, Demir Hisar, Prilep, Tetovo, Florina, Kastoria, and Resen. For instance, readers could find descriptions of New Year celebrations in the Kastoria region, including the customs practiced by the locals during these festivities. Similarly, information from a village in Kilkis provided details about unworked mines in the surrounding area. Moreover, traditional fairs held in the region were also covered, offering insights into these local events (НОВИНИ, год. II, бр. 34, 21 ян. 1892: 2). Information about the course of church activities in the Razlog region is accessible (НОВИНИ, год. II, бр. 34, 21 ян. 1892: 2). In one of the travel notes, it was reported that a Sunday school with 42 members had been opened in a village called Yankovets, located in the Resen region. The report praised “Sultan Abdulhamid II for granting his subjects the freedom to learn and develop their native language” (НОВИНИ, год. II, бр. 36, 28 ян. 1892: 3).

Another section, titled “News from Sofia”, featured reports on political, social, economic, military, religious, and other developments in Bulgaria. In this way, events in the Principality of Bulgaria were closely monitored, ensuring real-time updates. However, this at times negatively impacted *Novini*'s publishing journey. Since *Novini* was directly subject to the Ottoman Empire, every article it published was scrutinized and controlled by Ottoman authorities. The newspaper's coverage of a legal amendment in the Principality of Bulgaria at the end of 1892 and the beginning of 1893, which involved it directly in the issue, led the Ottoman authorities to take action.¹⁴ Accordingly, the padishah instructed the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior to take action in order to put an end to *Novini*'s “harmful” publications. The situation escalated to such an extent that Bulgarian

14 At the end of 1892 and the beginning of 1893, the Bulgarian Assembly brought the amendment of Article 38 of the Tarnovo *Nizamnamesi* (Constitution) to its agenda. Article 38 prohibited the Bulgarian prince and his descendants from belonging to any denomination other than Orthodox Christianity. According to the existing statute, if the elected prince belonged to another denomination, there was nothing that could be said in this regard (Българските конституции и конституционни проекти, 2003: 28-29). The proposed amendment to Article 38 aimed to ensure that the prince's son could retain his own religious denomination. Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand was Catholic, and the prospect of his son remaining Catholic was not a development the Bulgarian Exarchate would approve of. For this reason, the amendment was fiercely criticized through *Novini*. See: The Amendment of Article 38 of the Tarnovo *Nizamnamesi*. Hasanoğlu, 2023: 84-108.

Chief Director (prime minister) Stefan Stambolov demanded the dismissal of the Bulgarian Exarch. Though Sultan Abdulhamid II did not consider it appropriate to replace the Bulgarian Exarch at the time, a censorship was imposed on *Novini*, and the newspaper was temporarily banned (BOA, İ.MTZ.04: 16/1012). This ban was lifted after Bulgarian Exarch Joseph I assured the Sublime Porte that no further reports would be published regarding the legal amendment (BOA, Y.A.HUS: 269/137). Formun Üstü

Novini's role as the spokesperson of the Bulgarian Exarchate transformed its religious and ecclesiastical sections into significant sources of information. Under these headings, one could read the official statements of Bulgarian Exarch Joseph I and Bulgarian metropolitans, as well as announcements from the "Joseph I Bulgarian Aid Association" operating in Istanbul. Similarly, valuable information on the administrative structure and activities of the Holy Synod was provided. Through these sections, readers could also find details about schools, churches, chapels, and other institutions affiliated with the Bulgarian community. Additionally, lists of textbooks approved by the Bulgarian Exarchate for use in Bulgarian schools were published. Under these sections, readers had the opportunity to read the biographies of notable monks.

In terms of literary and scholarly content, Bulgarian poems and songs were published in the newspaper. Both artistic and popular reviews and works were presented to the readers. Moreover, there was a "criticism" section where the works of famous Bulgarian poets and writers were evaluated. New books and magazines were regularly announced to keep followers of *Novini* informed.

Lastly, the advertisement section featured announcements from educational institutions such as Robert College, Üsküdar American Academy, the British School in Istanbul, Bulgarian boys' and girls' high schools in Monastir, the trade school in Svishtov, and others, guiding prospective students. Similarly, advertisements from prominent companies of the era found space in the newspaper. Marriage, engagement, and wedding announcements, as well as condolence messages, were published to share both joy and sorrow.

The Cessation of the *Novini's* Publication Life

The publishing journey of *Novini*, which began on September 27, 1890, came to an end with its final issue on October 16, 1898. In this last edition, an article titled "From the Editorial Office" explained the situation to readers. According to the article, due to disagreements between Bulgarian Exarch Joseph I and *Novini's* proprietor, Dimitar Pandurov, permission was granted by the Ottoman

government to launch a new newspaper called *Vesti*. This newspaper would replace *Novini* as the Exarchate's new official publication, with renowned publisher and translator Dimitar Hristos Brizitsov taking on the responsibility. All of *Novini*'s administration and subscriptions were transferred to *Vesti* (Новини, год. VIII, бр. 97, 16 окт. 1898: 1).

According to the article, *Vesti* was considered a continuation of *Novini*. It expressed gratitude to the printing house where *Novini* was produced, while also explaining that due to economic reasons, it was decided that *Vesti* would be printed at the Bulgarian printing house of Kalcho Stoyanov in Istanbul. After *Novini* faced financial difficulties, strict financial measures were implemented to secure the future of the new publication. Under these measures, the newspaper would no longer be sent for free. It would only be distributed to regular subscribers, teachers, clergy, and individuals who made at least six months' advance payment (Новини, год. VIII, бр. 97, 16 окт. 1898: 1).

Conclusion

The examination of *Novini* provides an opportunity to view the political, social, economic, spiritual, and other events that occurred during its publication period from the perspective of a spokesperson for an Ottoman religious institution. The editorial policy of *Novini*, which did not shy away from political matters and included commentary and evaluations on these issues, clearly demonstrates that the Bulgarian Exarchate, despite being a religious institution, was deeply intertwined with politics. In fact, it is entirely natural for the Exarchate to be at the center of politics in order to secure gains from the Ottoman Sultan on behalf of the Bulgarians in matters of education and religion. For this reason, the newspaper closely followed current affairs, reflecting the policies and stance of the institution with clarity. *Novini* provided notable support to the Bulgarian cause, particularly with its publications favoring Bulgarians in the intensifying nationalist conflicts in Macedonia.

Education was a primary focus of *Novini*'s editorial policy, and as such, the information it shared, particularly regarding Bulgarian schools, holds original insights that are valuable for researchers studying the history of education. As the mouthpiece of the Bulgarian Exarchate, the newspaper also offers valuable data for those researching church history through its published content. When cross-referenced with official archival documents, the information gleaned from *Novini* is bound to yield comprehensive studies.

Although education and religious publications were at the core of *Novini's* editorial mission, the travel notes shared with readers also carried significant weight. These notes, especially within the context of the period, could serve as propaganda tools for promoting Bulgarian presence in Macedonia. At the same time, these travel accounts hold the potential to be invaluable auxiliary sources for cultural, demographic, and local history research.

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A VISUAL FIGHT FOR BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA – NARRATIVE ANALYSES OF CARICATURES IN *Врач погађач: шала и подсмјевка* MAGAZINE ON THE ANNEXATION CRISIS

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Introduction

The preparation of this paper has a long and somewhat complex history, which unfolded as follows. The initial aim was to apply narrative analysis to caricatures generally dealing with the 1908 annexation crisis. However, this scope proved too broad. Considering the published and available caricatures, such a topic would require extensive, long-term archival research in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Italy¹, and France efforts that could constitute a lifelong project or culminate in a comprehensive monograph. These countries are mentioned intentionally, as they represent the major powers of the time. Additionally, the inclusion of the USA and Japan could be considered, as they were already emerging as global powers during this period. To achieve a comprehensive understanding, it is also necessary to analyze available sources from Yugoslav and Ottoman origins. Subsequently, I decided to narrow the research focus to the Yugoslav region. Logically, caricatures can primarily be found in the Serbian and Montenegrin contexts, as Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina were part of the

1 I consulted Dr. Jovana Ivetić, the author of the treatise “Le relazioni diplomatiche tra Serbia e Italia dal Congresso di Berlino all’annessione della Bosnia e Erzegovina (1878–1908),” about the research possibilities in the Italian environment. She indicated significant limitations within the Italian context, suggesting that only targeted archival research would be feasible.



Austrian domain. After reviewing periodicals available in both physical and online formats at the Gazi Husrev-beg Library in Sarajevo,² the online resources of the Digital Collections of the National and University Library in Zagreb,³ and the Digital Library of Slovenia,⁴ no relevant caricatures were found. Upon studying relevant periodicals from the annexation crisis period within my materials from previous research at the SANU (Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade),⁵ the Digital National Library of Serbia,⁶ and the Library and Archive of the Historical Institute of the University of Montenegro in Podgorica,⁷ I have discovered several interesting caricatures. However, these were insufficient for a comprehensive view. Since the aim of this study was not a random selection of caricatures from various origins, I opted for a case study approach. I selected only one magazine which provided me with a numerous caricatures dealing with the topic - Врач порађач: шала и подсмјевка /Fortune-teller: jest and mockery/ (1896-1914) and three caricatures from the period before, during, and after the annexation crisis. In choosing the cartoons, attention was paid to generalizability, ensuring that the samples of analyzed cartoons were representative of the broader context. The primary objective is to demonstrate the potential of using narrative methods in the analysis of historical caricatures, it is also important to point out whether the view on the annexation of Bosnia in this periodical was unequivocally condemnatory.

No period or society can do without narratives. Contemporary thinkers argue that everything said and thought about a time or place becomes a narrative. From the oldest myths to postmodern fabulation, narration has always been central. Postmodern philosophers claim there are no grand, encompassing narratives, but everything amounts to a narrative, including the world and the self. Therefore, the study of narrative is not just for literary theorists. It unveils fundamental culture-specific opinions about reality and humankind, expressed in stories and novels (Herman & Varvaeck, 2005: I.). This study presents a qualitative textual analysis. Concerned with non-statistical method of inquiry, as qualitative studies are, it draws on an inductive process in which themes and categories emerge through analysis of collected data. Among the three primary methods used in

2 <https://ghb.ba/fond-periodike/>

3 <https://digitalna.nsk.hr/>

4 <https://www.dlib.si/Publications.aspx>

5 <https://www.sanu.ac.rs/jednice/arhiv-sanu/>

6 <https://digitalna.nb.rs/>

7 https://www.ucg.ac.me/objava.php?blog_id=1298&objava_id=3454

qualitative research—observation, document analysis, and interviews this study selects document analysis. This technique produces descriptive data, develops categories, codes contents, and performs category counts. Specifically, this study employs rhetorical analysis, a type of document analysis, using an analytical-descriptive method. This approach deconstructs subjects into relevant parts to facilitate thorough and critical interpretation. The fundamental perspective of narratology is rooted in French structuralism, particularly in the approaches of Roman Jakobson and Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Russian formalism, notably through the works of Vladimir Propp, Viktor Shklovsky, and Boris Tomashevsky (Kubíček, 2007: 9-10). Lévi-Strauss's binary oppositions and mythemes as universal structures that myths can be reduced to and are organized according to a specific grammar, along with Shklovsky's concepts of story (fabula) and plot (syuzhet), which reveal the author's intent, delineate the primary dimensions of narratological inquiry: identifying the elements of narrative (actants), their relationships, the conflicts within the structure, and the manner of narration (technical, verbal, or symbolic code). Although narratology was dismissed in the 1980s under the influence of contemporary rhetoric concerning the death of the author and reader, deconstruction, and post-structuralism, it re-emerged in the 1990s. Revitalized by a belief in narratives as foundational and interpretative tools, narratology re-entered the realm of social sciences and other disciplines, establishing narrative analysis as an academically grounded method (Kubíček, 2007: 11-12). Narrative theory centers on the form, pattern, or structure through which stories are constructed and told. Narration typically begins with the presentation of a situation, setting, main characters, and the general state of affairs. This initial situation evolves through a series of events and actions until a new situation is established, concluding the story. As indicated narrative analysis offers various approaches, largely depending on what aspects of media narratives are being examined. The elements involved in signification can be categorized into technical and symbolic components. When employing syntagmatic analysis of story structure, one can follow the method of Tzvetan Todorov, as referenced by Bertrand and Hughes (2005). Each narrative is viewed as a sequence containing propositions composed of actants⁸ and predicates. Predicates are either dynamic, altering the situation, or descriptive, not changing the situation. In our

8 Subject – usually the main protagonist, Object – the princess to be won; but also abstractly goodness, power, happiness, a favorable marriage... Addresser – the one who gives the task Addressee – the one who has to fulfill the task; often identical with the subject Opponent or antagonist – the one who stands between the object and the subject (criminal, but also an abstract principle: passion, resistance) Helper – can intervene directly, through them the subject (or opponent) receives immediate assistance (Kubíček et al., 2013, p. 53)

study, we apply the narrative structure description according to Umberto Eco (1982) and Lévy-Strauss, focusing on the first two steps of his five-level analysis, which examine the narrative on paradigmatic and syntagmatic levels. We follow the first step of the provided analyses - Binary Oppositions of Characters and Values: contrasting meanings related to characters and values, such as love and hate etc(Trampota Vojtěchovská, 2010: 149).

Caricature as a Source for Historical Research

Cartoon and caricature are one of the expressive communication tools of humankind and some of the most effective tools to communicate in society. The cartoon and caricature are expressions or a form of visual communication that refer to various forms of art, including bizarre caption images, satirical political images, comic images children's books, and animated films. In many cases the written content of the sign precedes the cartoon or caricature. It is no wonder that cartoons and caricatures can communicate their messages in less than a second. Conversely, when there is a message that needs to be conveyed with words, cartoons and caricatures at the same time take the initiative to emphasize the message in a very easy way. In this respect in a quote, artist Abedin Dino mentioned that "*As a weapon, the caricature is much stronger than a poem or painting in order to reach message, it should be realized that caricature is the short cut way to say something*" (Karmakar, 2022: 38). There are countless definitions of caricatures, but their intersections with political caricature are particularly interesting, a caricature focuses on an exaggerated depiction of an individual, it may or may not carry a political message.⁹As suggested by David Perkins, another part of the puzzle is the variety of pictures sometimes called caricatures, but which deviate in obvious respects from the most typical usage of the term. Political cartoons in general need not represent any known political figure (Perkins, D. 1975: 1-24). The term *caricatura* originated at the end of the sixteenth century and was first used among Bolognese artists in the circle of Annibale and Agostino Carracci to describe portrait-caricatures, as opposed to representations of comic or grotesque types. The Italian word, as Denis Mahon has noted, "involves the idea of giving more weight (*carico*) or emphasis to the defects [of an individual's physiognomy] and thus exaggerating them.' This process of exaggeration, however, rather than disguising its subjects, renders them instantly recognizable. By

9 The two genres do, however, share certain fundamental characteristics, the most important among them being the exploitation of the subversive potential of humor. Clearly, this capacity can be used for different ends and with varying degrees of intensity, but it nonetheless remains an essential feature of all caricature. (Hockman, 1988, p. 16).

isolating and stressing that which is unique and divesting the portrait of that which is superfluous, the caricature serves to unmask and reveal. Mahon also points out that the verb *caricare* could be used to mean “to load or to charge, in the sense of a firearm.” While he comments that “this was probably not the original connotation of our use of the term,” it was “eminently suitable for something which came to have a sting in it”.(Hockman, 1988: 15).

One is exaggeration: a caricature typically exaggerates features of its subject. The second is individuation: a caricature typically exaggerates so as to differentiate the subject from his fellows. Exaggeration and individuation alone promise some unscrambling of the problems sketched above. Exaggeration seems a meaningful concept only in a symbol system where one can also tell the truth. This might illuminate caricature's dependence on and relation to a tradition of realistic portraiture. Individuation commands that the caricature remain true to the subject's physiognomy at some level, reflecting the intuition that mere distortion, as in the child's cartoon monster, is not caricature (Perkins, 1975: 1-24). A political caricature according to Valter (Valter, 2017: 84-97) “is meant to reveal and mock individuals, political groups, and organizations involved in power issues within society.” Generally, political humor used in media, television, and thus in caricatures, serves two main functions: it criticizes the political status quo and seeks to reshape and reinforce dominant political values and opinions. Despite its critical function, contemporary literature and prevailing opinions suggest that politically oriented humor lacks the power to instigate changes in political behavior, reforms, or even protests. However, research by Diana Popa highlights that eliminating politically oriented humor or satire from media would lead to a lack of public participation in public affairs, political apathy, and consequently, a disruption of democratic principles (Streicher, 1967: 445).

Annexation Crisis of 1908 – A Serbian Perspective

The Young Turk revolution spurred opposition in Bosnia-Herzegovina, led by the Serb and Muslim National Organisations (led by Ali-Beg Firdus and Gligorije Jevtanović), to demand a constitution granting a parliament and civic freedoms for Bosnia-Herzegovina within the Ottoman Empire. On 7 September, representatives of these parties submitted this demand to Ban István Burián. Austria-Hungary faced the threat of Bosnia-Herzegovina being represented in the new Ottoman parliament or establishing its own parliament, jeopardizing Vienna's control of the region. Consequently Austria – Hungary annexed BAH on 5 October 1908 (Hoare, 2024: 474). Austria-Hungary had been planning the annexation for several years prior (Hladký, 1996: 52). The justification of the annexation as

a necessary step following the Young Turk Revolution contrasts with the new dynamic political concept of the monarchy in the Balkans. It was well understood that Austria's position in Bosnia and Herzegovina could be seriously threatened by either potential pressure from Balkan states supported by Russia or by the Turks' efforts to fully restore sovereignty over these provinces. After Russia's defeat in the war with Japan, the first scenario was unrealistic, and the Young Turk Revolution clearly revealed the second risk. Regarding the activation of Balkan politics, a staunch advocate of incorporating the occupied provinces into the Habsburg monarchy and taking a firm stance against Serbia was also the Chief of General Staff, Conrad von Hötzendorf. He identified the "annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the incorporation of the non-Bulgarian parts of Serbia" as the fundamental goal of Austria-Hungary's Balkan policy, envisioning the remainder of Serbian territory being allocated to Bulgaria (Skřivan, 2022: 91-92.) Serbian Foreign Minister Milovan Milovanović had responded to the news that Bosnia-Herzegovina would be annexed by seeking territorial compensation for Serbia in the region of the Sanjak that would provide it with a territorial link with Montenegro; this had been accepted by Izvolsky but not by Aehrenthal. The annexation did not surprise Serbia's political elite, but the opposition saw it as an opportunity to gain support by channeling anti-Habsburg sentiment. On 6 October, the day the annexation was announced, *Odjek* published a special issue urging Belgrade's residents to protest against Austria-Hungary.¹⁰ That same day, Davidović addressed a crowd of over 20,000 people at the National Theatre in Belgrade, calling for a determined struggle against the Habsburgs: "*We will struggle until we are victorious, but if we are defeated, we will be defeated knowing that we gave our greatest effort, and that we have the respect not only of all Serbs but also of the whole Slavic race.*" In response, Milovanović issued a circular to the Great Powers on 7 October, stating that if the status quo regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina was not restored, Serbia should receive compensation to ensure its independence and national survival, as outlined in the Treaty of Berlin. Pašić called for secret mobilization and war preparations. On 8 October 1908, General Božidar Janković proposed the creation of a guerrilla organization in Serbia to operate against Austro-Hungarians in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This organization, named 'National

10 Also people of Montenegro revolted against annexation. Immediately following the proclamation of the annexation, a large rally was held in Cetinje, where a significant group of citizens gathered in front of the court, demanding that Prince Nikola lead them into war for Serbian lands and Serbian rights. Addressing the assembled crowd, the prince delivered a spirited speech: „Živjela Srbija.“ Knjaz je sa balkona dvora poručio narodu: „Čekamo konferenciju velikih sila, pa ako nam i oni krivo učine, onda u boj, pa ma i ja i vi ne bili više živi.“ (Vučetić, 2021, p. 187).

Defence,¹¹ was established on 21 October with Janković as president and Captain Milan Vasić as secretary (Hoare, 2024: 475-476).

Milovanović warned the opposition against its aggressive stance, stating, “*If the Serbian government adopts your point of view and provokes war with Austria-Hungary, it would be suicide for us all.*” He emphasized that Serbia could not fight Austria-Hungary without Russia’s support, advising that Serbia should align with Russia and liberate Bosnia-Herzegovina when militarily feasible. On 26 February 1909, the Ottoman Empire recognized the annexation in exchange for an indemnity from Austria-Hungary. Under Vienna’s pressure, Constantinople banned the import of military materials into Serbia. Aehrenthal then issued an ultimatum demanding Belgrade recognize the Austro-Ottoman agreement and guarantee a “correct and peaceful policy.” As Serbia resisted and war loomed, the Habsburg Empire’s Crown Ministerial Council allowed a partial mobilization of the army on 27 March 1909. Facing a German ultimatum, Russia recognized the annexation, forcing Serbia to do the same on 31 March. Serbia had to reduce its army to pre-crisis levels, suppress all anti-Austrian activities, including those by National Defence, and adopt a policy of good neighborliness. This capitulation softened Habsburg policy towards Serbia. After further negotiations, Vienna and Belgrade signed a treaty on 27 July 1910, regulating Serbian exports to and transit rights across Austria-Hungary, which took effect in late January 1911, ending the Pig War (Hoare, 2024: 478-479). In 1909, a major war was averted largely because Imperial Russia, still reeling from her defeat in the Russo-Japanese War and internal revolution, chose to back down. One significant consequence of Russia’s humiliation in this crisis was that Wilhelm developed the crucial belief that Great Britain would neither choose nor be able to intervene in a European war stemming from a conflict in the Balkans (Rohl, 2015: 136).

11 In Bosnia and Herzegovina, a large number of supporters appeared (220 branches with 5,000 volunteers). National defense committees have been set up in countries under Ottoman and Habsburg domination, but their activities were gradually changed to cultural and national propaganda. Role of National Defense was again revived after 1909, but it remained focused mainly on the chetnik actions in Old Serbia and Macedonia. *In using the word ‘people’ the Narodna Odbrana means our whole people, not only those in Serbia. It is hoped that the work done by it in Serbia will spur the brothers outside Serbia to take a more energetic share in the work of private initiative, so that the new present-day movement for the creation of a powerful Serbian Narodna Odbrana will go forward in unison in all Serbian territories.*“ (Melichárek, 2020, p.)

Narrative Analyses of Caricatures in Врач погађач: шала и подсмјевка from 1907, 1908 and 1909

From the fundamental identifiable categories of societal issues—political, economic, environmental, academic, religious (Pagliawan, 2017: 9-10) as stated in the introduction, I assert that the caricature from October 16 (29), 1908,¹² should be defined as a political caricature. In contextualizing this, it is essential to highlight the Serbian perspective on the annexation, as the magazine was published in Novi Sad, formally within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but targeted the Serbian community.

In defining the key elements (Characters, Symbols, Expressions, and Postures), we identify two figures: a smaller, prophet (Врач погађач) resembling a fairy-tale wizard, and a larger man in Ottoman/Oriental attire with a staff, cap, massive boots (labeled as Bosnia and Herzegovina), and a pipe. Crucially, the vest bears the symbol of the Austrian eagle. A significant motif is the path, the larger figure is walking towards the horizon. The setting, in terms of time and place, is minimally depicted. The image includes two sentences: сепл путу пред европсу конференцију (Sep1 on the road for the European conference) and Врач: А шта онда, ако со врати — босоноI?! (And what then, if he returns - barefoot?!) Concerning expressions and postures, it is hard to identify facial expressions, but the body language of the bigger figure suggests rigidity, fatigue, and suffering.

As indicated in the introduction, we proceed according to a syntagmatic analysis of the story structure—viewing each narrative as a sequence containing propositions composed of two elements: actants and predicates. In this case, we define the actants as follows:

- **Subject:** “Ottoman” Bosnia and Herzegovina depicted as the large figure.
- **Object:** Can be a figure but is abstract here—maintaining Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Ottoman Empire.
- **Sender:** Opponents of the annexation.
- **Receiver:** Identical to the subject.
- **Opponent:** Those who stand between the object and subject—Austria-Hungary and the powers supporting the annexation.

12 Врач погађач : шала и подсмјевка. Br. 20/19, oktobar 1908. https://digitalna.nb.rs/view/URN:N-B:RS:ND_8C1CE85CC46210257D2AE33D19500002-1908-10-B019-20

- **Helper:** May intervene directly, although not visible here, but in this case, forces formally opposing the annexation (Russia—in the context of the Russian stance, Serbia).

The predicates—descriptive passages such as *сепл путу пред европску конференцију* and *Врач: А шта онда, ако со врати — босоноI?!—* do not directly change the situation, but the outcome (if Ottoman Bosnia returns from the European conference barefoot, it signifies Bosnia's loss, fundamentally altering the situation).

In the context of binary oppositions of characters and values:

- **Ottoman Empire vs. Habsburg Monarchy:** This opposition is a variation of Lévi-Strauss's fundamental binary opposition of good vs. evil, where the Habsburg Monarchy represents modernity, progress, and industrialization, while the Ottoman Empire symbolizes backwardness, orientalism, and adherence to traditional functioning.
- **Habsburg Monarchy vs. Serbia:** Pro-Yugoslav inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina and other parts of the future Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes again represent a variation of good vs. evil, where the Habsburg Monarchy signifies national oppression, centralism, and an obstacle to national unity. In contrast, Serbia embodies the longstanding dream of Slavic unity, the opportunity for national life, and self-realization in linguistic, cultural, and political spheres.

The caricature serves as a medium to convey the Serbian opposition to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, utilizing symbolic characters and binary oppositions to articulate the struggle between modernity and tradition, and national oppression versus the aspiration for unity and independence. This analysis underscores the political tension and the broader socio-cultural implications of the annexation within the context of early 20th-century European geopolitics.

The next caricature appeared in 1907 (p. 178, Nos. 22 and 23).¹³ It features four characters, traditionally identified as the figure of a wizard who looks at the other characters from behind a fence, raising a warning finger. The other figures are positioned opposite each other. On the left, it likely represents the Russian Tsar Nicholas II, although, apart from resemblance, there are no clear symbolic identifiers in the context. Opposite, we presume to be Austria and Hungary, with the larger figure symbolizing Austria and the smaller one Hungary, though there are no clear symbolic identifiers for them either. The central key motif is a map of Bosnia and Herzegovina

13 Врач погађач : шала и подсмјевка. Br. 23/22, decembar 1907. https://digitalna.nb.rs/view/URN:NB:RS:ND_8C1CE85CC46210257D2AE33D19500002-1907-12-B022-23

and Austria, which the characters (Tsar and Emperor) are sewing together.¹⁴ The cartoon provides limited information about the time and place (setting) in which the events occur. There are also textual references above and below the image: Above: Све сами мајстори (“All masters themselves”) Below: Врач: “А шта ви то радите?” (“Wizard: And what are you doing?”) „Мајстори “: “Па ево „шијемо” анексију.” (“Craftsmen’: Well, we are ‘sewing’ the annexation.”) Врач: “Хајде, хајде; само немојте да — парате.” (“Wizard: Come on, come on; just don’t — spoil it.”) Concerning expressions and postures, it is hard to identify specifics, although we can partially see their faces. However, the figure on the left appears very uninterested. Actants can be defined as;

- **Subject:** Austria and Russia,
- **Object:** A favorable agreement resulting in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina,
- **Addresser:** The Russian Tsar and the Austrian Emperor, potentially including their foreign ministers (Izvolsky and Aehrenthal),
- **Addressee:** Identical with the subject
- **Opponent or Antagonist:** The wizard and opponents of the annexation (both within Bosnia and Herzegovina¹⁵ and beyond its borders),
- **Helper:** Forces that formally oppose the annexation.

Predicates: Descriptive passages are indicated above; they do not directly change the situation, but the outcome if Bosnia becomes an integral part of Austria significantly alters the context. In the Context of Binary Oppositions (following Lévi-Strauss and Eco):

Bosnia vs. Austria: The annexation of Bosnia by Austria can be seen as an intrusion of an outsider (Austria) into the territory of an insider (Bosnia). The presence of Russia and Austria as external forces emphasizes this opposition.

14 In 1907, the year to which the illustration is dated, intense discussions about the possibility of annexation resumed in the highest circles of the Habsburg monarchy. The Foreign Minister at the time was Aehrenthal, who had previously served as the Austrian Ambassador in St. Petersburg. The rapprochement with Russia regarding the annexation issue took on real contours on July 2, 1908, in a memorandum where the Foreign Minister of Tsarist Russia, A. Izvolsky, expressed in a special memorandum to Aehrenthal actual support for the idea of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in exchange for Austrian support of Russia's strategic efforts for free navigation through the Black Sea straits (Hladký, 2005, pp. 123-124).

15 As noted by Hladký, the annexation was psychologically most troubling for Bosnian Muslims, as the Young Turk Revolution revived hopes among them for a strong Ottoman Empire and, hypothetically, the restoration of direct political ties with Istanbul (Hladký, 2005, p. 134).

Order vs. Disorder: The act of sewing Bosnia and Austria together can symbolize the imposition of order by external forces, whereas the warning not to ‘spoil’ it implies a fear of descending into disorder or chaos.

The message of the 1907 caricature is a satirical commentary on the proposed annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. It highlights the geopolitical maneuvering of powerful nations (Austria and Russia) at the expense of a smaller territory (Bosnia and Herzegovina). The act of sewing the map together represents the forced integration, suggesting an imposition of order by external forces. The warning from the wizard symbolizes the potential for underlying chaos or conflict. Overall, the cartoon critiques the overreach of powerful nations and the precariousness of such political actions.

The last caricature was published in March 1909 (Issue No. 6),¹⁶ featuring two animal figures: a large frog and a smaller bee. The cartoon provides scant details regarding its temporal and spatial context, with only the background ruins suggesting a military conflict. Above the illustration are textual references: Судбина пчелице “The fate of the little bee” and below: о јест, како то чивутско¹⁷ -њемачка штампа сања и замишља. “That is, how this Jewish-German press dreams and imagines.” The symbolism is clear in this image, as the frog bears the Austrian-Hungarian crest, while the bee represents Serbian identity with the symbol of the four S’s (“Samo sloga Srbina spašava” – Only Unity Saves the Serb).

Regarding expressions and postures, identification is challenging due to the depiction of animals; however, the frog appears inactive, passive, and indifferent.

- **Subject:** The frog representing Austria-Hungary
- **Object:** Serbia
- **Addresser:** The Jewish¹⁸-German press
- **Addressee:** Identical with the subject

16 The period just before Serbia’s recognition of the annexation and the acceptance of the memorandum addressed to Russia by German diplomacy, demanding recognition of the annexation and thus definitively ending the crisis (Mulligan, 2017, p. 68). Врач погађач: шала и подсмјевка. Br. 6, mart 1909. https://digitalna.nb.rs/view/URN:NБ:RS:ND_8C1CE85CC46210257D2AE33D19500002-1909-03-B006

17 In the context of Jewish communities in various regions, particularly in Southeast Europe and the Balkans, this term historically designated the area where Jewish communities were concentrated or where Jewish cultural and religious institutions were located.

18 For further information on Jewish-Serbian relations see: Byford, J. (2006). ‘Serbs never hated the Jews’: the denial of antisemitism in Serbian Orthodox Christian culture. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 40(2), 159–180.

- **Opponent or antagonist:** Serbian and Montenegrin resistance, politicians, and powers opposing (such as Russia)¹⁹
- **Helper:** German Empire²⁰

The descriptive passages above do not directly alter the situation but imply the potential shift in circumstances following the annexation of Bosnia, possibly extending to Serbia (the form of which remains uncertain), thus altering the Balkan landscape favourably for the Habsburg Monarchy. In the context of binary oppositions of characters and values upon Eco and Lévi-Strauss:

Serbia (weak) vs. Austria (strong): We witness a battle akin to David and Goliath, with the stronger confronting the weaker, which may lead to a surprising outcome, as indeed occurred in reality.²¹

Good vs. Evil: The bee, symbolizing Serbian unity and resilience, embodies 'good,' whereas the frog with the Austrian eagle symbolizes 'evil' or oppressive force.

Cartoon symbolizes the struggle between Serbia and Austria-Hungary, portraying Serbia (represented by the bee) as resilient and united despite facing a larger and more powerful adversary (represented by the frog with the Austrian eagle). This reinforces Serbian national identity and resistance against foreign domination. Overall, the message underscores themes of national pride, resistance against foreign interference, and the complexities of geopolitical dynamics in early 20th century Europe, particularly in the context of the Balkan region.

Conclusion

In contrast to later crises where the military balance was more evenly matched and fraught with danger, the Bosnian annexation crisis in early 1909 was essentially a predetermined outcome. The pivotal reality, acknowledged even by Izvolsky to the Austrian ambassador, was that Russia remained too weak to contemplate military

19 *"the Russian autocracy is the sworn enemy of free people throughout the world"* (Vujačić, 2015, p. 157)

20 On 18 March 1909, the German ambassador told Franz Joseph, the Habsburg Emperor, that William II would 'stand faithfully by his side'. Others in German leadership circles were less enamoured with Austro-Hungarian policy. Germany's position in Turkey was undermined, relations with Russia damaged, and dependency on Austria-Hungary increased (Mulligan, 2017, p. 68).

21 The Battle of the Kolubara marked Serbia's most significant victory of the war, as the Austro-Hungarian forces suffered a decisive defeat and were once more expelled from Serbian territory. On the 15th, Serbia's army triumphantly reoccupied Belgrade, where Aleksandar praised his troops: "With powerful strikes, you have vanquished the enemy and shaken the sturdy pillars of a Greater Serbia." (Hoare, 2024, p. 541).

action. Consequently, the Triple Entente powers found themselves compelled to navigate away from the diplomatically precarious position they had hastily adopted the previous autumn (Bridge F. & Bullen, R. 2014: 293). The study demonstrated that the possibilities for using narrative analysis in the research of cartoons in historical studies are exceptionally broad and open. The application of narrative analysis, encompassing multiple approaches such as those of Levi Strauss, Eco, and others, can enrich historical research and methodologies, thereby elevating the interpretation of cartoons to a different level. The caricatures examined provide insightful glimpses into the geopolitical tensions and narratives surrounding the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the early 20th century. Each image employs symbolic representations to convey complex political messages, highlighting key actors, their roles, and the prevailing sentiments of the time. Through actantial analysis and binary oppositions, these images illuminate broader themes of national identity, resistance to foreign imposition, and the quest for autonomy within the complex geopolitical landscape of early 20th century Europe. However, the second research question was only partially addressed, as we utilized only one periodical. Nevertheless, it may be asserted that cartoons are unequivocally anti-Austrian (anti-Triple Alliance) and follow a general anti-Austrian narrative in Serbian and Montenegrin press as suggested by Jan Beaver “*The Serbian press launched a series of blistering denunciations of Austrias action and demanded struggle to the death with the Monarchy*” (Beaver, J. 2009: 118).

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BOSNIAN FRANCISCANS AS GUARDIANS OF THE WRITTEN HERITAGE IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

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Introduction

The collections of Oriental manuscripts in Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina are very diverse in terms of their themes, and according to the data provided by relevant sources, it can be assumed that they were also used in the educational process during the Ottoman rule in Bosnia. The monasteries, like all other institutions of cultural, national, and educational significance, suffered great losses, so today we can speak of collections preserved in several institutions: the Archive of the Franciscan Province (formerly the Provincialate of the Herzegovinian Franciscans in Mostar), the Franciscan Monastery in Fojnica, the Franciscan Monastery in Petrićevac, the Archive of the Franciscan Monastery Gorica-Livno, the Professors' Library of the Franciscan High School in Visoko, and the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery Tolisa - Vrata Bosne.

In these institutions today, works by Bosnian authors who wrote in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian are preserved, and notably, a significant number of autographs as well. The total number of manuscript codices preserved in these institutions exceeds four hundred. Regarding the works of Bosnian authors, the libraries of the Franciscan monasteries hold very valuable works, which will be mentioned bellow.

The total number of local copyists of manuscripts in Oriental languages in the explored collections of monastery archives and libraries is 71. Through the research of these manuscript collections, we have also identified a number of previously undiscovered local copyists. Through this work, we will endeavor to systematically present the manuscript material in Oriental languages that is still



carefully preserved in the collections of the mentioned institutions and highlight these institutions as an important link in preserving and presenting the value and significance of the written heritage in Oriental languages.

A Brief Historical Overview of the Arrival and Activities of the Franciscans in Bosnia

The arrival of the Franciscans in Bosnia dates back to the late 13th century. It is known that they came to the region of Hum, which has been called Herzegovina since 1448, from the Republic of Dubrovnik, Dalmatia, and other countries, with the year 1291 being taken as the beginning of their activities in Bosnia. Initially, as noted by Nikić, they ministered to parts of eastern and western Herzegovina (Nikić 1984). The Bosnian Vicariate was established as a separate administrative unit in 1340. The first seat of this Vicariate was in Mile (Visoko), from where the Franciscans continued their activities. At the beginning of the 15th century, in addition to monasteries in Bosnia, the establishment of several Franciscan fraternities in Konjic, Blažuj (near Duvno), Mostar, Novi (Gabela), and Ljubuški is recorded. With the arrival of the Ottomans in Bosnia, many Franciscan monasteries ceased their activities. The Bosnian Vicariate was divided into smaller regions, known as custodies. According to Fra Dominik Mandić, there were initially two custodies – one in old Bosnia (Bosnian Custody) and the other in Duvno (Duvno Custody) (Nikić 2000/2001: 203). Later, between 1385 and 1390, Fra Bartolomej Pizanski created a nominal list of custodies, which mentioned 7 custodies and 35 monasteries.¹ When it comes to the Franciscans of Herzegovina, they began their work in 1231, but administratively they were part of the Bosnian Vicariate or Bosnia Srebrena. The independent work of the Herzegovinian Franciscans began in 1844, when they separated from the Bosnian Franciscans. In 1892, the Herzegovinian Franciscan Custody achieved the status of a province (Hasandedić 2016: 161; Nikić 2016: 161).

Generally speaking, the role of monasteries in the Middle Ages was of particular importance, as they were almost the only centers of culture and education. During the Ottoman period, monasteries did not have this educational role, as they were simply not institutions capable of educating the broader populace. Their collection of textbooks (mainly grammars and dictionaries) in oriental languages, particularly Ottoman Turkish, was exclusively for self-education purposes. As Čaušević observes, they had a pragmatic need to learn Ottoman Turkish because “relying solely on intermediaries in communication with Ottoman authorities proved neither reliable nor cost-effective” (Kursar 2022: 292).

1 These were the Custodies of Duvno, Greben, Bosnia, Usora, Mačva, Bulgaria, and Kovin.

The archive of the Franciscan Province, initially institutionally connected to the Franciscan Library in Mostar, is today an independent institution. The manuscript collection preserved there likely originated between the two world wars. Fra Dominik Mandić, who served as Provincial from 1928 to 1934, is most credited for the variety and size of its collection. As Hasandedić highlights, Mandić's acquisition of a significant number of manuscripts "undoubtedly rendered a great service to science and saved extremely valuable material that would have surely been lost or largely destroyed had he not purchased it" (Hasandedić 1968/69: 16). Later, the library and archival materials, including manuscripts, were separated, with the manuscripts and archival materials being entrusted to the care of the Franciscan Provincial Archive. Just before the war 1992-1995, this material was deposited at the Monastery in Humac near Ljubuški, where it remains to this day. It is important to note that this material, except for a few works mentioned by Hivzija Hasandedić, has not been the subject of scholarly research and evaluation.

The origin and founding of the library of the Franciscan Monastery in Fojnica are closely linked to the establishment of the monastery itself. Most sources do not provide precise information on the founding date of this monastery, which is undoubtedly one of the oldest in Bosnia. The first reliable information about the monastery's existence points to the year 1435 when Fra Ivan (nicknamed Proboz) was elected its guardian (head) (Stanić 1989: 64). It is also certain that the monastery must have been founded after 1378, as it is not listed in the Bosnian Vicariate's custodies at that time. The original monastery building (in Pazarnica) was destroyed in 1521. The monastery was later rebuilt at another location, but in 1664 it again suffered a tragic fate—a great fire destroyed not only the building but also all the valuables in the monastic library. The current monastery building was constructed between 1863 and 1865.

When it comes to the origin and enrichment of the library's book collection, the primary collection consisted of books that Franciscans brought as gifts from other countries where they were educated. The library contains a modest collection of manuscripts in oriental languages and over 3,000 documents in Turkish.

The Franciscan Monastery of Petrićevac near Banja Luka is one of the younger monasteries of the Franciscan Province of Bosnia Srebrena, built at the end of the 19th century. The monastery has suffered significant damage several times, first during the capture of Banja Luka by the Austro-Hungarian army in 1878, when the monastery building burned to the ground, and during the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina on May 7, 1995. Nevertheless, the monastery was rebuilt in 1997 and is currently active in the Bosanska Krajina region.

The construction of the Gorica Monastery began in 1854. The manuscripts for the monastic library were most likely started to be collected by the first guardian of the monastery, Fra Lovro Karaula, who knew the Arabic language. It is not known if all 18 manuscripts were collected by Fra Lovro, but given that it is not a large number, it is very likely that he was the only one who acquired the manuscripts and left them in the monastery's permanent care. With the establishment of the Franciscan Museum and Gallery Gorica - Livno, the Archive of the Franciscan Monastery Gorica was entrusted to the museum, along with all the collections that the friars possessed.

The Franciscan Monastery in Tolisa is one of the younger monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, established in 1874. The friars were active in the Posavina region even before the construction of the monastery. Throughout their long history, the friars collected books, various documents, and even museum artifacts.

An Overview of the Most Represented and Rare Works in collections of Franciscan Monasteries

Archive of the Franciscan Province

Hivzija Hasandedić compiled the list of manuscripts of the Archive of the Franciscan Province. According to his list, the total number of manuscripts in oriental languages is 339. However, Vančo Boškov later determined that there are actually 376 manuscripts, and that "multiple manuscripts of the same dimensions bound together with a rope are included under one number" (Boškov 1988: 9). According to Hasandedić, there are 211 works written in Arabic, 56 in Turkish, and 13 in Persian. Three are alhamiyado works, while 51 manuscripts are written in two languages. Four manuscripts are written in three oriental languages. Regarding the fields from which the works were written, 86 are from liturgy and various legal branches.

The oldest manuscript in this collection, according to Hasandedić, is a copy of the work "Muḥtaṣar al-Qudūrī" (Ms 41), which was transcribed by Yūsuf al-Sarāyī (from Sarajevo), son of Ḥasan, in the town of Zenica in 1574.² Among the oldest manuscripts written in Mostar and by "the hand of a citizen of this city", Hasandedić includes "Sharḥ al-Mašāriq", transcribed by Ḥasan Ziyā'ī Chalabī in 1576 (in the second decade of the month of Shawwal, 983 AH) (Ms 115). Subsequently, Boškov determined that the oldest manuscript in this collection is

² Hasandedić states that it is the year 1564, which we have recalculated and found to be an error.

actually an Arabic-Persian-Turkish dictionary (Ms 147) written in 1464 (in the month of Safar, 869/from 3-31 October 1464). According to published catalogues, this manuscript is the oldest in the world so far. According to Boškov, it is possible that this is also a “Turkish glossary of Zamahshari’s Arabic-Persian dictionary” (Boškov 1988: 78).

There are a total of 40 manuscript copies of the Qur’an (al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf). Most of them are incomplete, fragmented, scattered, and to a greater extent damaged. Among the significant copies are two that were transcribed by local scribes.

To a lesser extent, the following works are represented: three copies of “An’am” (An’am-i Sharīf): Ms 244, Ms 178, and Ms 290; three manuscript copies of works from the genre of *siyar* (biographies of the Prophet) in this collection: “Durrat al-tāğ fī sirat ṣāhib al-mi’rāğ” by Uways b. Maḥmad Waysī (better known as Vejsi Uskupi) (Ms 188), and two works listed in the Catalogue as “Siyer” (Ms 125) and “Siret-i Nebi” (Ms 201) (Boškov 1988: 27-28); three copies of mawlıds - poems about the birth of the Prophet Muhammad; two copies of the work “Waṣīlat al-nağāt” by Sulayman Chalabī (Ms 317 and Ms 125).

Finally, Bargiwi’s works, along with those mentioned above, constituted an indispensable part of every manuscript collection. Often, commentaries by other authors on various works by Bargiwi are also included in this corpus of works. Regarding manuscript copies in the Archive of the Franciscan Province, there are ten copies of works on Aqeedah titled “Waṣīyyat-i Bargiwi”³ (Ms 39, Ms 160, Ms 191, Ms 195, Ms 223, Ms 247, Ms 284, Ms 285, Ms 306, Ms 332). Only a few copies provide the transcription date, and according to available data, the oldest transcription of this work is from 1702-03/1114. Commentaries on Bargiwi’s “Waṣīyyatnāme” are found in two manuscript copies in this collection. The first commentary titled “Sharḥ-i Waṣīyyat-i Bargiwi” was written by ‘Alī al-Şadrī Qonawī (d. 1114/1702) (Ms 29 and Ms 145), and the second by al-Ḥāğğ Muṣṭafā b. Maḥmad Ḥulūşī al-Rūmī titled “Zubda al-ḥaqā’iq”. The total number of manuscript copies of this mentioned work in this collection is three (Ms 102, Ms 122, and Ms 364).

Three copies of the work “Manāsik al-ḥağğ” by the author Shaykh Sinān al-Makkī are available. It is a guide for pilgrims on performing the rites of Hajj in Mecca and Medina.

3 The work can be found under the titles “Risāla-i Bargiwi”, “Waṣīyyatnāme”, “‘Ilm-i ḥāl-i Bargiwi”, or simply “Bargiwi”.

Among the works found in manuscript collections, one of the most represented is the “Kitāb-i Uṣṭuwānī”, an *ilmihal* of unknown authorship, of which there are as many as 13 manuscript copies in this collection (Ms 25, Ms 15, Ms 52, Ms 53, Ms 68, Ms 69, Ms 83, Ms 84, Ms 129, Ms 294, Ms 297, Ms 363, Ms 365). The oldest copy dates back to the year 1772 (Ms 52).

A significant part of the manuscript collection consists of Arabic grammar books. Among the works that constituted the corpus for mastering Arabic grammar, essential works include “al-Kāfiya”, “al-Šāfiya”, “Taṣrīf al-‘Izzī”, “al-Fawā'id al-ḍiyā'iyya”, “al-Miṣbāḥ”, “al-Maqṣūd fī al-taṣrīf”, “Marāḥ al-arwāḥ”, as well as commentaries on these works aimed at adapting the content for madrasa students, written in a concise manner, and thus very common in education.

Dictionaries are mostly bilingual, Arabic-Turkish or Turkish-Persian. Among them, rhyming dictionaries hold an important place. Today, the most popular dictionaries can also be found in manuscript collections of Franciscan monasteries: four copies of the Turkish-Persian dictionary “Tuḥfa-i Shāhidī” by Ibrāhīm b. Šāliḥ Shāhidī (d. 957/1550) (Ms 55, Ms 76, Ms 99, Ms 218); the dictionary “Tuḥfa al-hādiya” (“Kitāb luḡat-i dānistan”) by Muḥammad b. al-ḥāḡḡ Ilyās (Ms 239); three copies of the dictionary “Šubḥa-i šibyān” (Arabic-Turkish dictionary) (Ms 48, Ms 343, Ms 345); the Arabic-Turkish dictionary “Luḡat-ı Allah Tanrı” - two manuscript copies (Ms 168 and Ms 334), Persian-Turkish dictionaries “Tuḥfat al-‘ushshāq” (Ms 168), “Tuḥfa-i Wahbī” (Ms 318), and the Turkish-Bosnian dictionary “Maqbul-i ‘Ārif” (Potur Shāhidī) (Ms 317).

In some manuscript codices, various *fetwas* (legal decisions) of *muftis* from Foča (Ms 45, Ms 59), Mostar (Ms 51, Ms 103, Ms 207), Sarajevo (Ms 103), Konjic (Ms 48), Blagaj (Ms 66, Ms 112, Ms 120), Travnik (Ms 103), and Banja Luka (Ms 221) can be found. Such data are significant for complementing the picture of the intellectual and spiritual environment in Bosnia during the Ottoman rule. On the other hand, local color is contributed by poems that celebrate the natural beauties of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian geography, as well as poems by Mā'ilī from Mostar, Shaykh Muḥammad from Užice (Ms 125), and others.

Among the rare works of special value, mention should be made of the manuscript of the Divan of the poet Aḥmadī (Ms 180). According to Boškov, a total of six manuscripts of this work have been registered worldwide (Boškov 1988: 54).

The Library of the Franciscan Monastery in Fojnica

The manuscript collection, as already mentioned, consists of a total of nine manuscripts in oriental languages: seven in Turkish and two in Arabic. It is presumed

that the manuscripts were acquired during the 19th century for the purpose of learning the Turkish language. The fact that Turkish was taught in the monastery is evidenced by manuscripts of dictionaries and several Turkish language grammars. Most of the Turkish language grammars are written in Latin (six), with one in “Serbo-Croatian” language.

In his research on the history of learning the Turkish language in Bosnia, Ekrem Čaušević utilized the corpus of grammars from this manuscript collection: six Turkish language grammars in Latin, seven Latin-Turkish dictionaries, and one each of Turkish-Italian, Italian-Turkish, and Turkish-Latin dictionaries. When it comes to grammar, let's highlight the grammar of the Turkish language in Serbo-Croatian from the second half of the 19th century (Ms 8). A similar grammar from 1874 also exists in the collection of the Archive of the Franciscan Province (Ms 320). Both grammars are likely student notebooks for the Turkish language, which currently represent the oldest grammars of this language in Serbo-Croatian. The mentioned two dictionaries can also be marked as the oldest in their kind.

The majority of these Turkish language manuals date back to the first half of the 19th century when friars Anđeo Jelić (d. 1837) and Franjo Sitnić (d. 1854), knowledgeable in oriental languages, were active in the Fojnica monastery. Friar Sitnić compiled two Latin-Turkish dictionaries (one in 1825, in Vienna, and the other in 1833) and intended them for young men who were educated in the Franciscan monastery. The oldest manuscript in this collection was transcribed in 1833 (6th of Dhu al-Hijjah 1248/26th of April 1833). In Catalogue of V. Boškov, it is listed under catalogue number III/4, as it does not have a signature mark (bb). It is a work called “Sharḥ-i Waṣiyyat-i Bargiwī” written by ‘Alī al-Ṣadrī Qonawī (d. 1114/1702). This collection also preserves the basic text of Bargiwī's work, “Waṣiyyatnāme” (Ms 3), which once again confirms the thesis that these two works formed the basis of every library collection, regardless of its size.

A unique item in this manuscript collection is the manuscript under the signature Ms 23. It is a translation of the Gospel according to Matthew (Injil) into the Turkish language. We are not aware of any similar specimen in other manuscript collections in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Within this collection, there is a work titled Pīrī-nāme (Ms 6/VII) found within one manuscript codex of a total of ten works (mostly fragments). It is a fragment of a work on genealogy (*silsilah*) of professions. The genealogy lists the following professions: knife makers, confectioners, farmers, *muezzins*, bath attendants and their chiefs, sailors, butchers, carpenters, blacksmiths, bow and arrow makers and merchants. (Boškov 1988: 120)

The Franciscan monastery in Petrićevac

The Franciscan monastery in Petrićevac possesses a modest collection of Oriental manuscripts in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, totaling eight manuscript codices. It is known that two manuscript copies of the Quran, as well as several other manuscripts in the collection, were acquired by Fra Boris Ilovača, the secretary of the Mostar bishop, Fra Alojzije Mišić, in 1926 in Mostar. After the death of Bishop Mišić in 1942, Fra Ilovača brought these manuscripts to the Petrićevac monastery. Additionally, some of the manuscripts were acquired through purchases. The contents of the entire manuscript collection were previously presented in a scholarly work (Babović, Mašić 2017).

Among the manuscripts in the Oriental collection of the Petrićevac monastery, the oldest is a copy of the Qur'an (al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf) dating back to 1459 (Ms 1). One of the manuscript codices contains a copy of the *qanun-name* of Sultan Ahmed I, who ruled from 1603 to 1617. At the end of the copy, there is a note stating that this *kanun-name* was copied in 1018 AH (1608-9 CE), indicating that this copy was made during the Sultan's lifetime (Ms 3 – fol. 7b-9a).

It is worth noting that the Petrićevac monastery's Oriental collection includes several works by Shaykh Toqādī Muḥammad Amīn (1664–1745). One manuscript codex (Ms 10) contains three of his shorter treatises (“Tuḥfa al-ṭullāb li hidāya al-aḥbāb”; “Risāla fī ḥaqq sulūk al-ḥāl ilā ṭarīq al-naqshibandī”; “Irshād-i sālīkīn”), one longer and several shorter wills (*wasiyyat-namas*) (written in 1152 AH/1739–40 CE), and one *qasida* dedicated to the Naqshbandi silsilah (Qaṣīde-i silsile). Although this renowned Sufi scholar left behind numerous works in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian (Şimşek 2005), his works are rare in Bosnian-Herzegovinian manuscript collections.

Among the works that had broader usage and are represented in Bosnian-Herzegovinian manuscript collections in a far greater number are the commentary on forty Hadiths titled “al-Mağālis al-saniyya fī al-arbaʿīn al-Nawawiyya” (Ms 6); one manuscript copy of the work “al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya” by Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘Alī al-Birgiwī (Ms 5).

The corpus of literary works in this collection includes two manuscript examples. The first work is a commentary on Attar's “Book of Counsel” (“Sharḥ Pand-nāme-i ‘Aṭṭār”), popularly known as “Mufīd” (Ms 2). The author of this commentary is ‘Abdurraḥmān ‘Abdī-paša (d. 1103/1691), also known as ‘Abdī ‘Abdurraḥmān Zārī. The second literary work is “Ġulistān”, a prose work of moral and didactic content written in Persian by Shaykh Muṣliḥuddīn Sa’dī b. ‘Abdullāh Širāzī (Ms 8).

Regarding local scribes, it is worth mentioning the name Muḥammad bin Aḥmad from Gornji Vakuf, who, copied the work “Tabyīn al-marām” (Ms 4) The aforementioned manuscript copy of Sa’dī’s “Ġulistān” (Ms 8) was transcribed by ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm b. Muṣṭafa Imamović in 1261/1845–46.

The manuscript collection of the Franciscan monastery Petrićevac, like most other heritage collections stored in various institutions within the religious communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is less accessible to scholarly and wider public due to its specific status.

The Franciscan monastery of Gorica in Livno / Franciscan Museum and Gallery in Livno

The archival material of this institution has been preserved and catalogued. Based on the lists most likely compiled in the second half of the last century by Hivzija Hasandedić and Šaban Zahirović, it is known that the archive contains at least 18 Turkish manuscripts and over 380 documents and records.

The collection of oriental manuscripts consists of 18 manuscripts. As for the language in which the works are written, 11 are in Arabic and seven in Turkish. In his Catalogue, Boškov presented only manuscripts in the Turkish language.

When it comes to manuscripts in the Arabic language, there are three copies of the Qur’an (Ms 5, Ms 7, Ms 10). All three manuscript copies are incomplete.

Manuscript Ms 2 contains several *qasidas* in Arabic: 1. Qaṣīda bad’u amālī by ‘Alī b. ‘Uṭmān al-Uṣī al-Farganī (d. 575/1179); 2. al-Qaṣīda al-muḍarriyya, by Imām Buṣīrī (d. 694/1294) in honor of the Prophet Muhammad; 3. al-Qaṣīda al-Ḍimyāṭiyya, a qasida about the names of God⁴ by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dayrūṭī al-Dimyāṭī (d. 921/1515).

This collection also includes a copy of the work “Ḥaṣhiya al-Saylakūtī ‘alā ḥaṣhiya al-Ḥayālī ‘alā sharḥ al-aqā’id al-nasafiya by ‘Abdulḥakīm Saylakūtī (d. 1652) (Ms 6). The manuscript Ms 12, written in Arabic, is of smaller size (total of 16 pages) and contains fragments of two treatises: 1. Ḥawāsh ‘alā Sharḥ ‘Iṣāmuddīn Ibrāhīm, a gloss on the commentary on metaphor written by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Zibarī; 2. Treatise on the particular use of words in the figurative sense by Abū al-Qāsim al-Samarqandī. The remaining three manuscripts in Arabic represent fragments of works, they are incomplete and of smaller size: “al-Waṣīla

4 This qasida in Islamic tradition is recited as a prayer for fulfilling wishes, so it is probably frequently found in manuscript collections due to its practical application.

al-Aḥmadiyya” (Ms 14), and a fragment of an encyclopedic work on dogmatics and Islamic law (Ms 16). The Ms 16 is also the oldest manuscript in this collection (877/1473). The Ms 18 represents a work on Arabic language grammar (“al-Maḥṣūd fī al-taṣrīf”). The work was endowed by Mehmed b. Ismail Begić.

Regarding manuscripts in the Turkish language, there are two manuscript copies of the Prophet’s biography (“Kitāb siyar al-nabiyy”/ *Sīrat-i Nabī*) (Ms 1; Ms 2).

This collection also contains one copy each of the works “Kitab-i Uṣṭuwānī” (Ms 5), Bargiwi’s “Waṣīyyatnāme” (Ms 4), a work on Islamic religious studies (Ms 6), a work titled “Du‘ā-nāme” (Ms 3) written by Abū Su‘ūd Maḥmad b. Maḥmad al-‘Imādī.

The Professorial Library of the Franciscan High School in Visoko

The Professorial Library of the Franciscan High School in Visoko possesses a smaller collection of 89 manuscripts in oriental languages. There are 54 manuscripts in Arabic, 31 in Turkish, and two each in Persian and Bosnian languages (Alhamiyado texts). These manuscripts likely came into the institution’s possession in 1938-39 when they were transferred from Mostar to Visoko. Fra Boris Ilovača, who played a significant role in preserving the manuscript heritage in oriental languages (including at the Franciscan Monastery in Petrićevac), wrote to the Provincialate suggesting the purchase of a manuscript legacy from a resident of Mostar. This suggestion was acted upon, with one part of the manuscript collection remaining in Mostar and the other being transferred to Visoko (Boškov 1988: 9).

This manuscript collection also contains one autograph (Ms 3). It is a collection of letters/correspondence (al-Inšā’) compiled by Ṣādiq Ḥilmī b. Ibrāhīm aḡa al-Mostārī. According to Boškov, the collection includes copies of Sultan’s decrees, official reports, and various congratulatory forms.

Among the most represented works in this manuscript collection are Bargiwi’s “Waṣīyyatnāme”, found in four manuscript copies (Ms 16, Ms 17, Ms 18, Ms 19). Two commentaries on this work are also present in this collection (R 20 and R 21). Both commentaries are identical, authored by Shayḥ ‘Alī al-Ṣadri al-Qonawī.

Two copies of the manuscript “An‘ām” (Ms 23 and Ms 24) and the work “Manāsik al-ḥaḡḡ” (Ms 25 and Ms 26) are also found in the collection of the Professorial Library of the Franciscan High School in Visoko.

There are two Arabic language grammars in Turkish in the collection (Ms 29 – “Risāla-i şarf”) and (Ms 30 – “Binādan mafhūm”), both from the field of morphology. This collection also includes one manuscript copy of the Arabic-Turkish dictionary “Mirqāt al-luġat,” written by an anonymous author (Ms 2), who states at the beginning of the work that he derived 14,000 words from the dictionary “Şihāh” and 16,000 words from “Qāmūs” for writing his dictionary.

When it comes to literature, let’s mention a commentary on the “Diwan” of Hafiz Shirazi (Ms 13). The author of the work titled “Sharḥ-i Dīwān-i Ḥafīz” is Muşliḥuddīn Muştafā Surūrī.

Museum of the Franciscan Monastery Tolisa - Gate of Bosnia

During the research of manuscript collections in monasteries, we came across information that the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery Tolisa - Gate of Bosnia also possesses a certain number of manuscripts in oriental languages. However, in direct communication with the management of this institution, it was explained that the friars did collect various materials, but did not maintain inventory books. Moreover, neither the documentary nor the manuscript materials were subject to cataloguing by experts. Therefore, the entire collection held by this Museum as a newly established institution is in a completely unorganized state, meaning there is no written record of what is in the possession of this institution. The Museum’s managers are in negotiations with the Croatian Institute regarding engagement in organizing archival materials. What can be said with certainty is that the entire collection was acquired before 1992, and nothing has been received by this institution subsequently.

In the manuscript legacy of Fra Martin Nedić, the provincial of Bosnia Srebrena, known as Turkuša due to his excellent command of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, there are his notebooks, or grammars of Turkish and Persian languages that he wrote in Latin.

The Museum possesses a four-volume Persian-Turkish-Arabic dictionary with Latin interpretation from 1780.

Although the manuscript material is not inventoried in the digitization process, cooperation with experts is expected in the following period to inventory, assess, and offer professional evaluation of this material to make this heritage accessible to the public.

Manuscripts of works by Bosnian-Herzegovinian authors and scribes in Franciscan monasteries

In the archive of the Franciscan province, several works by local authors are preserved, among which it is worth mentioning an autograph of the work by Mustafa Ejubović (Shaykh Yuyo). It is a gloss on the work “Muḥtaṣar Sulaymān bin ‘Abdurrahmān b. Sulaymān al-Mağribī” (Ms 60). This mentioned work is not recorded in Boškov’s Catalogue, as it is written in Arabic. Shaykh Yuyo’s gloss (Ḥāshiya) on this Commentary (Muḥtaṣar) was written, according to the note at the end of the work, in 1688 (on Thursday evening, 4th of Rabi al-Awwal, 1099 AH). (Hasandedić 1982: 163) Another significant autograph (Ms 117) is the work “Muḥarrrik al-qulūb ilā ‘ibādat ‘allām al-ğuyūb” (Stirrer of Hearts to the Worship of the Knower of Secrets) by Aḥmad son of Muṣṭafā from Mostar (Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-Mostārī). The work was written in 1666 (1077 AH) in Užice in the tekke of Shaykh Isa-efendi.

Among the works of domestic authors, it is worth mentioning the “Muntaḥab”, an Arabic-Turkish dictionary by author Shaykh Murtaža Stočanin. This manuscript is of particular value as it is the only surviving copy of the work in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second known copy of this dictionary was destroyed at the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo in 1992 (Ms 325).

The work “Niẓām al-‘ulāma ilā ḥātām al-anbiyā” (The Order of Scholars until the Seal of Prophets) written by Ḥasan Kāfi al-Aqḥiṣārī (Pruščak) is preserved in manuscript form with the signature Ms 130 (fol. 41-65). Interestingly, in their study of Pruščak, Nametak and Ljubović do not list this manuscript among the 12 manuscript examples of the work “Niẓām al-‘ulāma”.

Among the works of Bosnian-Herzegovinian authors is the manuscript Ms 186, which is a work “Ġazawāt-nāma” by author Aḥmad Ḥāğğ Nasīm-oğlū al-Aqḥiṣārī) from the 18th century. The existence and significance of another chronicle written by Ahmed Hadžinesimović from Prusac were first pointed out by Mehmed Tajib Okić. (Okić 1938) He also discovered the autograph of his work preserved in the National Library in Paris. The manuscript Ms 186 of the Franciscan Province Archive contains a shorter excerpt from this work, describing the wars of the Turks in Serbia.

One of the oldest manuscript examples of the work “Sahlat al-Wuṣūl” by Omer Humo is preserved in this collection under the signature R 237. It is an “ilmihal” written in Bosnian language in Arabic script. The work was printed in Istanbul in 1865. According to Drkić and Kalajdzija, the printed text of Humo’s work has been lost. (Drkić, Kalajdzija 2010:7)

In the Professor’s Library of the Franciscan High School in Visoko, manuscripts of two works by Bosnian-Herzegovinian authors are preserved. The first of these

(Ms 7/I) is “Uṣūl al ḥikam fī nizām al-‘ālam” (The Foundations of Wisdom in the Governance of the World), a treatise belonging to the genre of *siyasatnama* (moral-political works) by Hasan Kafi Pruščak (Ḥasan Kāfī al- Aqḥiṣārī).

The second work by an author from this region is “Sahlat al-wuṣūl” by Omer Humo (Ms 31).

The role of domestic scribes and their contribution to book production and the dissemination of literacy culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a special aspect of the study of literacy and book history. Mohammed Ždralović made an immeasurable contribution in this regard by presenting a comprehensive overview of scribal activity in oriental languages based on numerous researches in manuscript collections of the former Yugoslavia. His systematic review of all scribes allows us to offer several new names: ‘Abdullāh Kohnić, son of Ḥalīl; ‘Abdullāh, son of Darwish; Aḥmad, son of ‘Alī from the fortress Vrane; ‘Alī, son of Aḥmad from Stolac; ‘Alī, son of Ṣāliḥ; Hāḡḡ ‘Alī, qadi of Budim; Darwish Muṣṭafā, son of Aḥmad from Ljubinje; Ğa‘far, son of Hāḡḡ Muṣṭafā; Ḥasan son of ‘Abdurraḥmān; Ḥasan, son of Muḥammad from Blagaj; Ḥāfiṣ Ibrāhīm b. Muṣṭafā Imām-zāde (Imamović); Hāḡḡ Ismā‘īl son of Muṣṭafā -aḡa; Yūsuf, son of Aḥmad from Mostar; Mehmed Žuljević, son of Muhamed; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad from Gornji Vakuf; Muṣṭafā son of Darwish Aḥmad; ‘Uṭmān b. Bāqī; Ṣāliḥ, son of Ibrāhīm from Mostar.

The total number of domestic scribes of manuscripts in oriental languages in the researched funds of monastery archives and libraries is 71. As can be seen in the notes, most scribes come from the Herzegovina region (Mostar, Stolac, Nevesinje, Ljubinje, Ljubuški, Trebinje, Blagaj), and the largest number of transcriptions relates to works used as textbooks (works of Arabic grammar, religious disciplines - dogmatics, hadith, inheritance law). Several manuscript examples were transcribed by students or professors in Bosnian-Herzegovinian madrasas (Merhemić Madrasa and Atmejdān Madrasa in Sarajevo, Karađoz-bey’ Madrasa in Mostar), which supports the claim that the highest percentage of transcriptions was made out of the need to serve for learning in madrasas. A manuscript transcribed by the well-known Mostar poet Ḥasan Ziyā‘ī from Mostar holds special value. It is a transcription of the work “Ṣarḥ al-maṣāriq” with the signature Ms 115 in the Archive of the Franciscan Province, in the monastery on Humac. The work was transcribed in the second decade of Shawwal 983 (January 1576).

Conclusion

With this work, we aimed to present the manuscript heritage in oriental languages that is still carefully preserved in the collections of Bosnian-Herzegovinian monasteries and to draw attention to these institutions as important links in the preservation and presentation of the value and significance of written heritage in oriental languages. Based on the insight into the manuscript heritage cared for by these institutions, it can be confidently stated that activities in learning the Turkish language were conducted in certain monasteries. The role of friars in collecting and preserving manuscript heritage is immeasurable; thanks to these institutions, despite facing numerous adversities, a significant number of manuscript artifacts have been preserved, bearing witness to a very productive period in Bosnian-Herzegovinian history. Today, these institutions preserve works by Bosnian-Herzegovinian authors who wrote in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, and, notably, a considerable number of autographs. The total number of manuscript codices preserved in these institutions exceeds four hundred.

When it comes to works by Bosnian-Herzegovinian authors, very valuable works are preserved in the libraries of Franciscan monasteries, starting with the autographs of two Herzegovinian authors, Aḥmad, son of Muṣṭafā from Mostar, and Shaykh Yuyo. Other Bosnian-Herzegovinian authors' manuscript copies unquestionably contribute to the value, such as Aḥmad, the son of Ḥasan Ḥāğğ Nasīm-oğlu (Hadžinesimović) from Prusac (“Gazavāt-nāme”), Shaykh Fawzī Mostarī (“Bulbulistān”), Ḥasan Kāfi al-Aqḥiṣārī (Pruščak) (“Nizām al-‘ulāma ilā ḥātām al-anbiyā and Uṣūl al ḥikam fī nizām al-‘ālam”), Ibrahim Opiyač (“Šarḥ al-Miṣbāḥ fī al-naḥw” and “Risāla fī šarḥ al-ṣalawāt allatī ‘awradat ‘alā ṭariq al-alğāz”), Muḥammad Hawā’ī Usqūfī (“Maqbul-i ‘Ārif”), Omer Hamza Humo (“Sahlat al-Wuṣūl”), and Sheikh Murtaḏa Istolċawī (“Muntaḥab”).

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MEMORIES OF A RUSSIAN OFFICER ON THE OTTOMAN-RUSSIAN WAR (1828-1829)

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Introduction

Fedor Feodorovich Tornau, who was born into a military family in a region that is today within the borders of Belarus, participated in the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828-1829 as a young lieutenant at the age of 18. Tornau, who rose to the top ranks in a short time with his successes in this war, especially in the field of intelligence, later served in various missions in the Caucasus. Tornau spent the last part of his life as an agent in Vienna and died on January 7, 1890, in Vienna.

F.F. Tornau wrote his memoirs about the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828-1829, many years after the war, in 1867. In this memoir, which was published in two parts in the journal *Russkiy Vestnik* (Tornau, 1867: 5-64), which we can translate as *Russian Bulletin*, F.F. Tornau, who participated in the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828-1829 as a young lieutenant at the age of 18, conveyed his observations about the operations, conflicts and the Russian army. Although the reliability of this memoir, which is the subject of this article, is questionable since it was written years after the war, the fact that it describes the clashes between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire forces through the eyes of a Russian lieutenant makes this memoir an important source for this war. Interestingly, however, the young lieutenant does not give much information about the dates of the events in his memoirs. This is probably because the memoir was written around 37 years after the war, and he could not remember the exact dates. Tornau wrote about his duties during the war and the battles he fought, and this memoir and other memoirs he wrote during his other duties were combined and published as a



book in 2017. In addition to my recollections of the War with the Turks in the Danube and the Balkans, the subject of this article, and the campaign of 1829, this study also includes the Polish operation of 1832, the narratives of an Armenian lieutenant from Vienna to Karslbud (Baden-Germany), impressions of the journey from Vienna to Karslbud, and Tornau's recollections of Vienna in 1859 (Tornau, 2017).

Tornau stated that these missions gave him a lot of experience and he served from one end of Russia to the other. His observations in Turkiye, Poland and the Caucasus led him to different units in the Russian army, adding his name to the list of military officers who should not be forgotten. Although Tornau has such an important position in Russian military history, the number of studies on him is extremely small. These studies are generally based on the publication of Tornau's notes. The following works on Tornau are available in Russian literature and have been prepared for publication by other researchers: Russian intelligence officer F.F. Tornau's secret mission in Circassia (Sekretnaya Missiya, 1999), Baron F.F. Tornau and His Memoirs (Makarova, 2024), F.F. Tornau and His Notes on the Caucasus in the XIX century (Dzidzariya, 1976), Evaluation of the memoirs of the soldiers who participated in the Russian-Ottoman War of 1828-1829 as a historical source (Gokov, 2011), and the reflection of the personal characteristics of soldiers in their memoirs by the same author, the example of the war of 1828-1829 (Gokov, 2012: 189-212). In this article, the author analysed the memoirs of two generals who participated in the war (A.I. Mikhailovsky-Danilovsky and F.F. Tornau) and emphasized that the effects of the psychology, worldview and professional characteristics of the authors are clearly seen in these texts. The last study we were able to identify on the subject was published in 2014 with the title Evaluation of F.F. Tornau's Memoirs of a Caucasian Officer as a historical source (Abidzba, 2014: 103-107).

Tornau, who achieve continuous success in the Russian army and rose to the top ranks in a short time due to these achievements, has interesting views on war: "I do not like war at all. But I think that war is a profound and inevitable evil that must exist until humanity is freed from the oppression of centuries-old ignorance. Such a force can preserve order. I did not enter this service because I enjoy killing people, but to destroy the existing evil and protect my homeland".

He begins his memoirs with the following words describing his journey to the Balkans with the assignment he received while he was in St. Petersburg: 'Except for a few years of retirement, I started my military service at a very early age, which I have given almost all my life. I took the first step by joining our army, which was standing against fire, plague and Turks on the banks of the Danube at

that time. I was very happy to start my military service'. In early February 1828, Tornau, who stated that he set off from St. Petersburg in severe cold, reached the Russian army headquarters in Jassy in a short time. Then, with an aide assigned to him, he travelled first to Tulchin and then, after 4 days, to the city of Balta which is 100 miles away. Stating that his journey was difficult, Tornau and his aide rested in an inn in Chisinau for a while.

Then he gives information about the rivers and river journey until the city of Kraljevo. Tornau lists the rivers in the region and writes about how to cross them. Apart from the Seret and Olta rivers, on which there are bridges, the other rivers, namely the Argis and Slatina rivers, are difficult to cross. These rivers flow from the Carpathian Mountains in Transylvania and divide into numerous tributaries along the Danube Plain. Crossing the rivers is easy in summer. The waters that do not exceed the knee level can be crossed easily. However, in the spring, when the rains begin and the snow melts in the mountains, these rivers flow at high speeds, sweeping away everything in their path. Tornau, who states that he has observed these rivers many times, describes how to cross the river in this season as follows: "All spring the rivers show similar flow regimes, the water flow accelerates in the morning, peaks in the afternoon and slows down at night. However, the best time for crossing by boat is early in the morning".

Tornau travelled from Kraljevo to Bucharest on business and returned to Kraljevo at the end of March. Kraljevo, the chief town of Wallachia Minor, is in the valley of a river, bordered on the east by hills. From his notes here it is clear that Tornau was impatient and excited to start his mission as soon as possible. He met General Geismar in the town of Kraljevo, and the General said to Tornau: "I think that you can act in a useful way as an officer of the General Staff. I will write to the Commander-in-Chief about all this; in the meantime, go to the regiment, serve diligently and wait for my decision", and he showed his happiness by saying: "I cannot express how pleased I am with General Geismar's promise to me, who put before me the possibility of joining the service for which I had been preparing since my childhood and to which I felt an irresistible inclination".

Tornau, who left Kraljevo the next day, described the clash between Ottoman and Russian troops in the following words: "After the passage of Russian troops across the Prut, on 7 May 1828 Budzevich's 3rd Corps advanced to Satunov on the lower Danube to cross into Dobrudja, Voykov's 7th Corps settled at Brailov and his 6th Corps occupied Bucharest on 16 May. The vanguard forces under Geismar's command moved to the rear of Olta. The Guards and Prince Serbatov's 2nd Corps have not yet made a move. Our troops entered the interior on 21 May and marched from there to Kalafat. The first attempts of the Turks to attack our

troops near Slobodzea on 2 July, near Zhurza on 3 July and near Kalafat on 8 July were very unsuccessful for them”.

According to the memoirs, General Geismar remained on the left with 17 infantry and 4 cavalry divisions. Geismar was given the task of defending Wallachia from Zhurza to Vidin. During this time, it was necessary to carefully observe the fortified points of Nikopol and Rakhov beyond Zhurzha and Kalafat, which allowed the Turks to freely cross the Danube. Viddinski, who, in addition to the regular troops, had at his disposal another thousand fifteen squads of cavalry, was more dangerous for everyone. General Geismar occupied the village of Goltsey, just below Kalafat. Returning to Kalafat, the Turks attacked again on 27 August and forced our troops to retreat inland, taking advantage of the situation for widespread looting and destruction of food supplies. Geismar once again managed to break through Zhio and drove them back to the fortified Kalafat camp. On 24 September, Viddinski set out from Kalafat with 26,000 men and occupied the Turkish-held village of Bayleşti on the 26th.

Tornau also provided information on the command echelon conducting operations in the Balkans. Accordingly: in the centre was the regimental commander of the 34th Chasseurs regiment, Colonel Gavrilenko; on the edges were the regimental commanders, Tomsky Zhivolgadov and Kolyvansky's colonels Zavadsky. Colonel Alexei Petrovich Tolstoy, adjutant, Major Danilovich, Colonel Pavel Kristoforich Grabbe, Captain Pavel Ivanovich Priedkov are also mentioned as commanders who served in the Ottoman-Russian war.

Continuing his memoirs, Tornau wrote the following about the next engagement: “Coming within a cannon shot of the enemy, Geismar ordered artillery fire to be opened on the Turkish camp, which was in a very advantageous position commanding the area on which the platoon stood. A shallow hollow lay between him and the Turks. Under these circumstances it would have been unwise to attack the enemy camp. By autumn there was not a single enemy left in the area. The Turkish losses were about 3,000, and a little more than 500 were taken prisoner. In addition, our troops received 7 cannons, the entire camp, more than 400 food wagons, several thousand horses, many silvers engraved swords, pistols and machetes, amber, carpets and shawls. A definite result of this victory was that the Turks were cleared out of Kalafat and fled to the right side of the Danube. I do not mention our losses because I do not remember the exact figure. It seems to have reached seven hundred killed and wounded”.

In his memoirs Tornau mentions not only the fighting but also the plague epidemic in the region. He writes that beyond the Danube, the plague, which had a

great impact on the local population, crossed the river near Galați, affected Moldova and Great Wallachia, and was rapidly approaching the border with Lesser Wallachia. Tornau states that no cases of plague have yet been reported in the Russian troops but emphasises that there is much talk about the disease and that there is great disagreement among doctors as to its definition. Later on, he says that he also fell ill, and they decided to send him to the platoon hospital. He describes those days as follows: “I was unconscious for several days, then I opened my eyes and for a long time I could not understand what had happened to me and where I had woken up. After a long hospitalisation I was treated at General Geismar’s house. Soon I was well enough to sit up in bed, and after two weeks I was able to walk around the room. At the beginning of May 1829, I regained my strength and no longer needed anyone’s help”.

Tornau writes that the illness weakened him, and that after his recovery he was assigned to clerical work. The young lieutenant, who organised the correspondence there, presumably then quoted part of his account from the correspondence between the commanders. According to him, at the beginning of May, part of the Russian army crossed the Danube to Girsov; on 17 May, Dibić approached Silistre to renew the siege of this fortress, which had failed the previous year. He emphasises that the periods of unusually intense correspondence in the office were also periods of intense fighting. According to him, boats were being built on the Zhio River near Kraljevo to supply the Russian army, and two new bridges were being constructed over the river. All these circumstances indicated that the unit was preparing to move from a defensive to an offensive situation, as such intensive preparation was indication of this. The entire left bank of the Danube from Zhurzh to Argarova, close to the Austrian border, was cleared of Turks, who remained only in the last sector of the Argarov Bastion near the Ada-Kale fortress.

At the beginning of the second half of May, Geismar called him one day to his office, where the chief of staff and Pribitkov were present, and asked him if he had any idea how the boat should be filled and tarred. Tornau replied that he had practised on this subject near Narva in the Baltic Sea and knew how large boats were built and how they were filled. As a result of his favourable reply to Geismar, he was dismissed from the editorial office and ordered to go immediately to inspect the construction of boats on the Zhio River.

He describes those days as follows: “In the early days I had no time to think of anything but my work, which I began with the ardour of a young officer fulfilling his first important task. I stayed on the banks of the river from morning until late in the evening, when the infantry soldiers, guided by a small squadron from

the first horse-drawn vanguard squadron, successfully finished filling the boats. Rowers for the boats were collected from the coastal natives of the great Russian rivers, and steersmen were prepared by the Danube Vlachs. Three days later General Geismar arrived on horseback with a squire, inspected the work, listened to my words and praised me. This completely unexpected praise, the first praise I had been honoured with in the service, encouraged me greatly. I promised to prepare the last boat for landing three days later, ready to make my greatest efforts to fulfil the general's wish, and I kept my promise. On the morning of 25 May I found that the boats were ready and launched, and that none of them was leaking. The number of boats, or rather the number of large flat-bottomed barques, amounted to eighty; there were also ten smaller boats”.

After this, Tornau, who continues to give information about the clashes, narrates the events as follows: “The offensive actions of the Russian army began, as mentioned above, in May, crossing the Danube, first at Girsov, then at Kalarash and besieging Silistre. The central Turkish forces were at Sumle under the command of Grand Vizier Mehmet Reşit Pasha and near Rusçuk under the command of Hüseyin Pasha. Grain and other supplies purchased in Banat were brought to these troops and the garrisons of the Turkish Danube fortresses by river from Vidin. From Ruse the Turks sent supplies to Shumlu in boats taken from the Bulgarians by the Turks. The commander-in-chief, aware of the enormous benefit to be gained if this route to the Turkish troops' food was cut, ordered Geismar to prepare himself to cut all this communication as soon as he saw fit. Geismar had been preparing for this for a long time, and now that everything necessary had been prepared, all that remained was to choose the most favourable point from which to achieve the objective. The fortified city of Rakhov, lying on the right bank of the Danube against the mouth of the river Zhio, seemed to be the most suitable place. Our troops had to capture it. As the prepared boats sailed through the reeds, they were spotted by the Turks and the fire came from the other bank. In response to the Turkish fire, twenty-two armed batteries lined up on the left bank of the Danube opened continuous fire; the smoke spread over the water and completely covered the boats. Since the Turks did not see them, they fired many unsuccessful shots and did not stop our crossing. Grabbe's shout of 'forward' mobilised our troops again. And everyone rushed to the ditch. The ditch was no more than three paces wide. Covering my head with my hand, I rushed forward, climbed to the top and found myself during a crowd of soldiers who were trying to hide me from the Turks, who were waiting for me ten paces away with guns and swords in their hands. The determined stance of the Turks did not frighten our troops, and they attacked the enemy with bayonets”.

Describing a moment when he came back from the dead in this conflict, Tornau recorded the following: “A grey-bearded Turk was coming at me shouting «infidel dog, Moscow’s infidel». My aide stopped him at the last moment with a bayonet. Our soldiers caught up and defeated the enemy and drove them out of the city. The fighting continued, and when it was over and the smoke cleared, I saw the square full of dead horses and the bodies of Turkish and Russian soldiers”.

According to Tornau, this successful attack was only the beginning of the problem. He says that they entered the city with two hundred fighters without waiting for the arrival of the Chasseur battalion, and that the Turks, relieved of their fears, realised that they were outnumbered and launched a powerful attack from the fortress. This sudden attack split the Russian troops in two and drove them in different directions. Tornau says that Grabbe with many his soldiers was driven to the cemetery where the mosque was located, which was also occupied by the enemy, and that a deep ravine that swept the city towards the river separated the cemetery with the mosque from the neighbourhoods near the castle, and a narrow wooden bridge connected both sides of the valley. He then continues his words as follows: “Although attacked from the flank of the fort by a dense mass of Turkish infantry, Grabbe successfully turned the situation in his favour. Covering his rear with a small bodyguard, he went over the bridge to the cemetery, drove the enemy out of the mosque with bayonets and while waiting for help from the Chasseur battalion remained there. While this was happening, thirty of our men defended this bridge and then retreated to the mosque”.

In his memoirs, Tornau also mentions his observations that the Turks beheaded wounded and stranded Russian soldiers. He also states that the Russians showed no mercy to the local Turks. The young lieutenant even wrote that boiling water was poured on him from the window of a house, and then he entered the house and killed that person.

Towards the end of his memoirs, he describes the surrender of the Turks as follows. “Desperate for help from Cibra-Palanka, where there were thousands of armed cavalymen, the Turks, having lost their other fortifications and being in a difficult situation with deadly fire from the mountainous bastion, decided at noon to place a white flag on the fortress. Our fire quietened down and the Chasseur battalion hurried down from the mountain to line up in front of the fortification gates, and the Turks opened fire on me, although they had unfurled the white flag. Then the three Turkish dignitaries went out for negotiations, which lasted about an hour. Pavel Khristoforovich demanded unconditional surrender; Pasha’s envoys insisted on his speech about the garrison’s arms and military honour. After protracted discussions there was a situation that forced

them to submit to the will of the winner. The gate was opened, and the Russian guards were allowed to enter. At that moment Geismar arrived, shook Grabbe's hand, thanked the troops and entered the fortress. The Turks were ordered to lay down their arms and leave the fortification. In addition to the garrison and the armed inhabitants, all the Rakhov women and children, about one thousand two hundred of whom were allowed to take their fathers and husbands prisoner, were hiding in the fortress. Grabbe instructed me to protect them at the first opportunity, to bring them food and find them shelter. Together with the necessary infantry and Cossacks, I was given seven white-bearded Muslims and an interpreter from the Bulgarians of Rakhov to help me".

Of these women, children and old people taken into Russian custody, Tornau writes the following: "For the sake of this crowded local population, it was necessary to cross them to the other side of the Danube, find tents for them to stay in and prepare food for them; until the end of these preparations, they were left in the fortress under the supervision of Colonel Lehman, who was called Rakhov's commander. Walking through the streets where we had fought an hour earlier, I had a chance to look at the terrible picture of ruin, an inevitable consequence of the war. Houses partly burnt, partly destroyed, gardens flooded, looted everywhere; our feet slipped in blood, in some places lay dozens of Turkish corpses without clothes, this desperate protection of the Turks by the local population cost dearly for them: about seven hundred corpses were found, dumped in a ravine and covered with quicklime. Our losses consisted of 3 killed and 11 wounded officers, 47 killed and 175 wounded lower ranks. Geismar, intending to settle in Rakhov with his headquarters, ordered that several houses near the fortress that had survived the fire and looting be set aside for our facility, that a guard be kept on them and that nothing be touched in the houses and gardens, and camped there".

Continuing to give information about the prisoners, the young lieutenant says the following about the security of these prisoners 'I made a great effort to protect the captive Turkish people, especially the beautiful Turkish women, from the giaour officers, as they called them. That is why the old people in the camp loved me. After 4 days the prisoners and women were sent to Krovoy. Eight days after the capture of Rakhov, Geismar crossed the Danube with his entire headquarters and settled in Pasha's old house. In the house there were not only sofas, pillows, carpets, dishes, but also all kinds of household necessities. The cellar contained rice, tobacco, coffee, sugar, sherbet and spices.

Tornau was then sent by General Geismar to General Kiselev for information about the siege of Rakhov. After receiving several envelopes from Kiselev on the

subject, he left Bucharest for Silistre. According to Tornau, who reported on the fighting in Silistre on 20-21 June, the city of Silistre was shelled from one end to the other and the artillery did not stop until the morning. He was then sent by the General Staff to Yenibazar with envelopes in a courier bag, a horse and a group of jumpers. They were strictly warned that these envelopes should not fall into the hands of the enemy.

The road from Silistre to Shumlu passed through a terrain extremely rich in forests, which allowed him to ride most of half of the way «in the cold», as the Cossacks called it, but at the same time forced him to be very careful not to unexpectedly stumble upon an enemy ambush. However, according to Tornau's information, contrary to expectation, this journey took place without any problems, although sometimes Turks on horseback at great distances were seen in the bushes and then disappeared. In addition to these rare encounters, the whole country seemed completely deserted and presented a picture of the most miserable destruction: abandoned by the inhabitants, half-burnt villages with no trace of life. When we arrived at the camp of the main department before nightfall, Tornau was immediately taken to deliver the envelopes for the Kulevchin case on 11 June to the Chief of the General Staff, General Tolu, who had just been elevated to respectability, where he was rewarded for his achievements. The young lieutenant, who said that he was very pleased with the award, reported here about the events in Rakhov.

In the meantime, Tornau writes that Krasovski, who took Silistre on 29 July, was expected to push the 3rd Corps, commanded by Krasovski, towards Shumlu, forcing it to cross the Balkans with the Sixth and Seventh Infantry Corps: 'The beautiful places I had to cross were full of ruins and rotting corpses. The plague ravaged Bulgaria, Moldavia and Great Wallachia, which the main forces of the army had managed to protect until then. Much later, in the last days of September, it struck in Lesser Wallachia'. Tornau also stated that when he arrived in Varna, the city was quarantined, and he was able to enter the city after the precautions and disinfection procedures.

The second part of the memoirs, published in *Russkiy Vestnik*, begins with the news of the enemy fleet descending along the Danube from Vidin: "General Geismar immediately acted. The cavalry mounted on horses galloped swiftly downhill to the riverbank; the troops occupying the heights outside the city were ordered to be ready to meet the enemy, hundreds of Cossacks were immediately sent to look in all directions. Looking towards the Danube, three miles above the bridge, the river appeared covered with sails that turned white in the moonlight. The enemy was rapidly approaching, the warship sent for reconnaissance returned with an explanation. The white sails, which deceived everyone without

exception, did not belong to the Turkish fleet, but to the innumerable flocks of Pelicans swimming in the water, occupying the Danube in full width for several hundred fathoms”.

In the second part of his memoirs, Tornau writes more about the situation at the army headquarters, and mentions the soldiers at the headquarters, where they were constantly playing cards.

He writes of the Turkish army's action and its aftermath as follows: “Meanwhile, Mustafa Pasha was advancing towards the upper Danube with thirty thousand heavily armed Albanians, and behind them lay a still uncountable crowd of half-tribes. The Serbian Prince Miloš, who informed Geismar about the Turkish forces, was very inconsistent about the equipment and armament of this crowd. Rumours of Turkish forces approaching Vidin increased every day. In the second half of July the Turks arrived on the right side of the river towards Kalafat. This did not worry Geismar too much, and he defended the Danube crossing. Every movement they made near Vidin was reported to us, while nothing prevented our troops at Rakhov from secretly crossing from one bank to the other, unnoticed by the enemy.”

“Commander Weismar was encouraged to cross the Danube and occupy the city of Rakhov, which we left behind for the second time. Our main army was on the road to Edirne. Mustafa Pasha, who had not prevented him from crossing the Balkans, suddenly diverted his armies from Vidin to the road to Sofia. The undisciplined volunteers, however, dispersed in all directions from Vidin while he was inactive, but the appearance of Albanian Pasha in the Zabalanian battlefield with forty thousand new troops when he was near Edirne began to threaten the superiority we had gained through disease and long fighting. It was necessary to stop Mustafa Pasha's movement as soon as possible. For this purpose, the commander-in-chief ordered General Kiselev to move from Sistov to Gabrov and Geismar in Rakhov. I do not remember the number of troops that Kiselev had; in any case, it did not exceed our forces of five thousand people, which were barely assembled for the Transdanubian campaign. The lack of means of transport and the difficulty of preparing provisions in advance on the road could have bewildered all other generals, less determined than our platoon commander, for whom such conditions did not constitute an insurmountable obstacle. Not giving up hope, he decided to go after the Turks with a handful of Russians, believing in the sympathy of the Christian population. As a last resort, if Mustafa Pasha turned all his forces against us and we could not withstand his attack, we still had a choice: To go to Serbia, to provoke the Serbs, Herzegovinians, Montenegrins and with their help to destroy the Albanian army, the success of which could not be doubted”.

Later, Tornau again mentions an earthquake in the region, although he does not give an exact date. He writes that he realised that animals felt the earthquake in advance. He reports that he was lying in bed at night when he suddenly started to shake and ran away. He writes that for about three minutes, the howling, hesitation, flashing of lights, and the bellowing of cattle continued. He describes what happened next as follows. “Then everything subsided except the people’s cries; finally, when they realised that the danger had passed, they relaxed, got cold and started to go home. The earthquake did not cause any major damage to Kraljevo, only a dozen people lost their lives, but the houses were significantly damaged”.

Towards the end of the memoirs, he makes the following assessment: ‘Public life in 1829 was far from resembling the order of things that exists today in the Danube Principalities, although it did not exactly correspond to the conditions of true enlightenment. The concepts and habits rooted in the continuation of centuries of repression, accompanied by the suppression of all moral principles that nourish feelings of national and human dignity, are not easily changed by the people. Such a process of rebirth requires a lot of time, which can be reduced only with the help of people of great intelligence and unusually strong will, and under happy conditions. At that time the Russian government liberated the principalities from Turkish arbitrariness and gave them relative independence’.

Conclusion

Leaving Kraljevo in 1830, Tornau’s memoirs mainly cover the intelligence activities and local conflicts in the region. Tornau’s memoir, which describes in detail the capture of Rakhov by Russian troops, is an important source of information about the war of 1828-1829. In the memoirs, the successes of the Russians are generally included, and these successes are embellished. Tornau, who participated in this war as a young and excited 18-year-old lieutenant, reached high ranks in a short time due to his usefulness in the war and served as a soldier in the Russian army for a long time.

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BALKAN VIEW OF A JAPANESE SCIENTIST: TRAVELOGUE OF NAKANOME AKIRA

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Introduction

Akira Nakanome was born on May 23, 1874, as the second son of Yasutomi Nakanome, into a samurai family in Sendai. He graduated from the German Literature department of Tokyo University with a great success in 1899 (Ishida, 2000: 46). Nakanome, studied at the University of Vienna under the famous geographer A. Penck with a scholarship from the Japanese Ministry of Education in 1903 (Katayama, 2018: 239).

Nakanome had the chance to observe the situation and geography of the Balkan Countries during his Balkan trip in 1906, when he was 32 years old. He made his trip between 2 July 1906 and 22 September 1906 and recorded the events he experienced in his diary. In addition, the *Balkan Travel Additional Records* consist of articles published by Nakanome in Japan's Tohoku Newspaper, in which he wrote down his thoughts throughout his travels.

The Tour of Danube River

Nakanome's diary consists of three parts: Records of the Danube River Travel, Records of Russia and Records of Turkey. Nakanome started his Danube River voyage from Budapest and used the "Hildegard" ship up to Orşova, and the "Carl Rudolf" ship after Orşova. He states that the reason why he spent most of his trip on the Danube was that he had a great influence on his readings of German Literature and that he was influenced by the Song of the Nibelungs. "When I first



came to this river in Vienna, I once thought, the idea occurred to me. I wanted to go down this river to its mouth and see it (Nakanome, 1916: 1-2)” It seems that he was attracted to the mystical charm of the Danube. These thoughts about the Danube are based on reading German literature. According to Nakanome, “Many of the people living on that coast do not know where the river starts and where it flows, but Danube controlled the rise and fall of many ethnic groups in ancient times, their history before the Middle Ages is unknown. There are many mystical aspects to the legends about the damage that occurred on that coast (Nakanome, 1916: 1).” He thinks that the fact that many civilizations were born and sank along the Danube River makes this river special. However, three weeks after Nakanome arrived in Vienna, the Russo-Japanese War broke out, so he had to postpone his planned Danube River trip for a while. After the Russo-Japanese War ended, he decided to travel despite the internal turmoil in Russia.

Nakanome was required to obtain approval from the embassies or consulates of the Balkan countries to travel. Nakanome writes at length on this subject. “In the civilized countries of Europe, there is almost no need for a passport, but in order to travel to countries such as the Balkans or Russia, one must go to the legation or consulate of that country to obtain proof of admission. This is what is called an inspection. But before that, we need give a paper called a route of travel. I thought a lot about this route. Because if you just write that I will take a short walk and see important places, it is difficult to take (Nakanome, 1916: 2).” He states that developed countries do not cause any problems regarding passports, but the Balkan countries and Russia especially examine the travel route carefully. He received proof of admission in Vienna for his trip to Turkey and Romania, and decided to get this visa in Istanbul in case of going to Bulgaria.

Nakanome planned to take the morning train to Budapest on July 3rd of 1906, have dinner there and leave in the evening. However, his friend Sasaki Kichisaburo, in Budapest encouraged him to stay one night with him. Since he had almost finished the preparations, he left Vienna on 2nd of July. He decided to go to Budapest one day early upon the invitation of Sasaki. The person Nakanome mentioned was Sasaki Kichisaburo, who was appointed to teach the Japanese martial art judo in Budapest upon the request of Hungary (Miyagiken Kyōikukai, 1929: 263). After staying at Sasaki’s house for one night, Nakanome went to Budapest’s famous Rudas bath on July 3. “I took a bath in the Rudas bath, and behind it I rested at the monument to St. Gerard, killing time by reading a Roman dictionary. After that I crossed the river by boat and went to Drechsler hall. This morning, the three of us had promised to eat breakfast here (Nakanome, 1916: 4).” In addition to Sasaki, Asahi also attended the breakfast.

Nakanome states that he ate bandit roast at the restaurant in the evening and ordered this dish because it seemed for him interesting as he thought there are many bandits in the Balkans. He comments about this dish, "It tasted good, similar to the Caucasian dish shashlik (Nakanome, 1916: 5)." After the dinner, at 21:30, he boarded Hildegard and started her Danube River journey. When he gets on the ship, it seems that the feeling of loneliness gives way to curiosity. "The electric lights on both banks were reflected beautifully in the river water, and looking to the right, the moon appeared from among the clouds that had broken up over mountain block. It was summer, but the weather was just right for wearing a coat, and it reminded me of the mid-autumn moon (Nakanome, 1916: 6)." While the ship leaving the port of Budapest, he spent about an hour on the deck and slept.

The ship reached Mohács on July 4, 1906. Nakanome made the following comments about this place: "This area is famous for being inhabited by the Cumans, a tribe of Turkic-Tartars, who lived between the Danube and Tisza rivers. They have been here for over 600 years and have mixed with the Magyar people to some extent, but they still retain their Mongolian style. The boat stops at Mohács for an hour, and there is a coal mine nearby, so that this city little lively. But this place is more famous in history than anything else (Nakanome, 1916: 7)." He especially wrote about the Cumans and emphasized the Asiatic side of Hungary. Nakanome also mentions the Battle of Mohács due to its historical importance. "In 1526, a decisive battle took place here, in which the Austrian army was defeated and King Louis II (II. Lajos) was killed in battle. The Turkish army then advanced northward with great force, covering thousands of miles, and came to control most of Hungary until the end of the 17th century (Nakanome, 1916: 7)." He noted that the Ottoman Empire's victory at the Battle of Mohács remains a significant event in the collective memory of the Hungarian people. Even the impact of this event on the Hungarians; "Although this incident occurred 400 years ago, the memory of it still remains in the minds of the Hungarian people, and even today, when a mistake is made, the proverb "More was lost at Mohács" is used (Nakanome, 1916: 7)." He noted that it is also mentioned in Hungarian expressions. Regarding the geography of Mohács, he indicated that the area behind the city is mountainous, while the other side consists of extensive plains. He observed that from Budapest to Mohács, the right side of the river features long plains, which sometimes turn into marshes, making it very difficult for large armies to advance through this region.

Another point of Nakanome's journey is Bezdan. He documented that Bezdan is the confluence of the Danube and Tisza rivers, with trees along the riverbanks

submerged in water, a sight that reminded him of the landscape he encountered when leaving Singapore and entering the Malacca Strait. Nakanome noted that from this point onward, the mountains were no longer visible. In his diary, Nakanome mentioned that he did not particularly like the Hungarians and that he traveled with a sullen expression to avoid speaking with them. Upon reaching Erdut; “I saw a temple on top of the mountain. It was called Ilok and appears to have been there since the Roman period, and books say that items from that period are being excavated in the future (Nakanome, 1916: 9).” he noted the presence of a church dating back to the Roman era. Further along the river, he observed that the first railway bridge was constructed between Petrovaradin and Novi Sad.

After departing from Budapest, Nakanome noted several significant observations; “Leaving Budapest, one had the feeling that one was already in Asia or Africa inland, and this feeling was even stronger when one reached Karlovci, an official from the Zemun (Belgrade) police station came to the ship to inspect boarding tickets (Nakanome, 1916: 10).” He also remarked that the region reminded him of Asia or Africa. Furthermore, he was quite surprised by what he saw in Titel, located on the Tisza River. “Then, a third-class passenger at the bow of the boat, probably a descendant of the Hun, plays a Chinese tune on a wooden flute that looks like a “Fula”, you can hear (Richard) Wagner composition. There was something very Asian about this scene (Nakanome, 1916: 10-11).” he comments on Asian features of Hungary. Nakanome arrived at Zemun, the last port of Hungary, he had his passport inspected in the port of Zemun and passed the border. It was midnight when he arrived at Belgrade, Serbia.

On the morning of July 5, 1906, Nakanome woke up early to observe his surroundings and made several comments about Belgrade. “Last night, seeing the electric lights of the city from the ship, I thought that Belgrad was indeed the capital of a country, but when dawn broke, it looked like nothing more than a dirty provincial town, and at about four-thirty, gradually more and more guests began to arrive on the boat (Nakanome, 1916: 11).” It appears that Nakanome made overall negative comments about Belgrade.

In Nakanome’s diary, there are also historical details about the city. According to his entries; “The city of Belgrade was founded around 400 BC, when the Celtic people came from the northwest and invaded the Balkans. One of their tribes, the Scordisci, occupied what is now the northern part of Bosnia and Serbia, and, finding a fortified place where the Sava River meets the Danube, they made it their military base, built a fortress there, and named it Singidunum. However, this people were destroyed by the Roman Emperor Tiberius shortly after the birth of Christ, and for several hundred years afterwards, great waves of ethnic

migration swept across the land (Nakanome, 1916: 12).” He points out that the city was founded around 400 BC and it is a famous historical place. It draws attention to Belgrade’s geopolitical position as the meeting point of the Sava and Danube Rivers. Also, for the geographical features of Belgrade; “Below Belgrade, the right bank is the Serbian Mountains, but the left bank is flat land with nothing visible beyond the forest as usual. The river gradually grows larger and has a different atmosphere from the upstream areas of Vienna and Budapest, but flows slowly like a large river (Nakanome, 1916: 12).” He mentions that on the right side of the river, there are mountains, while on the left side, there are extensive plains.

When Nakanome arrived in Smederevo, he gives information about the ruins of the Roman Empire period. He commented about Smederevo as below; “A little after seven o’clock, looking downstream, you can see the imposing castle walls, and getting closer, you will see the village of Smederevo on the Serbian side. This was also a fortress in the Roman period, and in 1429 Branko Kicci built a large castle on the site (Nakanome, 1916: 12).” When Nakanome arrived; “There is an island called Ostrovo in the river. It is flat and lush with trees, and is the island of the protagonist in Hungarian novelist Mor Jokai book *The Golden Man* (Nakanome, 1916: 13).” He commented on the island of Ostrovo, referring to Jokais’ novel.

Nakanome also showed great interest to the Roma Empires old roads as Szechenyi road which Emperor Trajan made, located nearby Cazane Gorge. The ship arrives the port of Orşova which is the last port of Hungary. He needed to change the ship here. Nakanome felt, “When we disembarked at Orşova, the customs had changed again, and the Oriental style was more and more noticeable. There were many Turkish hats. It was very annoying to have to wait so long for passport inspection in the heat (Nakanome, 1916: 16).” being in Asia again when he disembarked at Orşova. And reset his clock as from there to on down it is Eastern Europe time.

Nakanome also showed great interest to the Iron Gate in which has been impassable for ships since ancient times because of the fast current and the rocks that jut out from the river. But at that time, he added that a canal was dug on the right bank to allow ships to pass through. Nakanome admits that, “This was a major construction project that was completed on September 27, 1896, and the emperors of the three countries of Austria, Romania and Serbia attended the opening ceremony. Today, steamships can pass from Passau in Germany to the Black Sea, making transportation very convenient (Nakanome, 1916: 18).” as three Balkan countries showed great importance to the project.

Nakanome commented only on important places he passed through, on the night of 5th of July he was on the Timok River, which is the border between Serbia and Bulgaria, and Calafat, which is famous for Crimean War. He also comments about Nikopol, “The towers of mosques can be seen here and there among mud huts and collapsing houses. In the afternoon, I arrived at a place called Ruse on the Bulgarian side, where it separates for a while from the Bulgaria (Nakanome, 1916: 20).” Nakanome emphasizes the Ottoman traces in the city.

Nakanome documented the cities along the Danube River and the historical events that occurred there during his journey. He also commented on the geographical features of the cities he passed through. Nakanome noted that downstream from Belgrade along the right bank of the river, there are many mountains where farming was predominantly practiced and lots of cattle. He also documented the cities and villages of Romania. “The towns and villages on the Romanian side is neat and somehow looks comfortable, but the villages in Serbia and Bulgaria are very shabby and do not seem in good condition (Nakanome, 1916: 22).” He compared the situations of the cities and villages of these three Balkan countries.

Nakanome has provided advice for travelers planning a journey along the Danube River. Based on his travel from Linz to Giurgiu, he offers insights into different segments of the river. According to his observations, the quality of passenger experience between Linz and Vienna is notably high, comparable to the cruise journey between Mainz and Cologne on the Rhine River. While the quality of passengers between Budapest and Belgrade may slightly decline, he notes no significant safety concerns. Further downstream from Orşova, however, passenger quality diminishes further. Additionally, Nakanome recommends Baja as an ideal starting point for river travel on the Danube. He highlights Baja’s good train and ferry connections, emphasizing that the earlier stretch of the Danube lacks notable sights apart from long stretches of plains. Travelers boarding from Baja can disembark at Orşova or continue to Somovit for those heading towards Pleven. He also notes the possibility of visiting the Kazan Straits, which he considers a must-see during a European journey.

Nakanome also took interest in the traditional clothes worn in the Balkans. He notes that unlike Central Europe, traditions of this kind are observed along the Danube River beyond Budapest. According to his observations, Hungarian peasants and workers wear a traditional white garment thicker than a Chinese hakama but slightly narrower than a Japanese hakama (Nakanome, 1916: 24). He recalls seeing a different version, black and sleeveless, in a place called Guran, resembling the white sleeveless attire he saw in Moldova, which he likened to the traditional attire worn by Japanese during the “oyamamairi” ritual, a prayer for

a prosperous year (Nakanome, 1916: 24). In Moldova, these clothes are adorned with a black sash and worn with red leggings.

Nakanome also mentions that Bulgarians wear a traditional attire similar to Japan's "nobakama", characterized by three pleats and a narrow hem tailored for ease of movement, typically paired with a red sash and leather sandals (Nakanome, 1916: 24)." According to Nakanome, such traditional garments can be observed in east of Hungary. He also notes in his journal that people in the region display diverse facial features, including some resembling Japanese or Chinese individuals.

Bucharest - Sofia

Nakanome laments the cumbersome nature of passport procedures throughout his travels, highlighting that Japan does not issue birth certificates or identity cards; "In individualistic Europe, there are no families, and individuals live, so everyone has things like a birth certificate or a certificate of identity (Nakanome, 1917: 1).", adding that individualistic Europe ensures that everyone possesses documents such as a birth certificate or a certificate of identity.

Nakanome touches upon the issue of strict passport controls in the Balkans in his article published in Japan's Tohoku newspaper on July 8, 1906. He was quite bored with passport controls until he reached Bucharest.

"When we arrived in Ruse (Rusçuk), all the passengers had their passports taken and were searched. Then I took a carriage from Romania to Russia, and were searched on the Romanian side once and also on the Russian side at the border. Then I boarded a boat at a town called Reni in Bessarabia, Russia (now Ukraine). I was searched there too. When I arrived in Odessa, nothing was there. But I filled a residence report and submitted it to the police again (Nakanome, 1917: 3)."

There are also some recommendations and warnings for Japanese who will travel to the Balkans. Nakanome states that it is easy to obtain a visa to countries such as Russia, where diplomatic relations are established with Japan. But regarding the Ottoman Empire and Romania; "Russia is fine, but I couldn't go directly from Japan to Turkey or Romania. Because these countries are not treaty countries of Japan and do not have diplomatic missions, so it is impossible to go to get passport certification in Japan. If you leave a capital like Vienna like me, you can easily get a passport because the envoys and consuls of those countries are there (Nakanome, 1917: 2)." Nakanome mentions that since the Ottoman Empire and Romania do not have diplomatic relations with Japan, it is difficult to obtain visas for these countries.

Nakanome arrived in Bucharest on July 6, 1906 by train from Giurgiu, the last stop of the Danube River journey, as part of his Balkan trip. Nakanome says that Vienna extends from western Europe to the east, and the Viennese always point to Mount Leitha, saying that the shadow of the mountain is already Asia, and that Vienna has a certain Asian atmosphere. Although he thought that the siege of Vienna by Asian Turks in 1683 had an impact on this, he concluded that the Asian culture had reached here before. According to Nakanome, “The tone of the popular songs is very Asian. Those who have heard Viennese folk songs sung to the playing of the czar will notice that the music is quite different in style from Western or Northern European music, and that there is a vaguely Eastern feel to it. The melody is slow and resentful, almost sad, and seems to predict the fate of the country (Nakanome, 1917: 19).” He found Asian emotions and tones even in Viennese music.

Nakanome compares Vienna and Budapest, “These Viennese and Southern Italian folk songs are quite similar to Japanese folk songs and are very tragic. Although the melody is the same, Vienna is still a Western capital, but when you come to Budapest, you will find even more Eastern elements” He emphasizes that there are more eastern elements in Budapest.

Nakanome notes that Romania, like other Balkan countries, gained its independence through the Treaty of Berlin. “This year marks 40 years since then. The country has made steady progress and has become something resembling a country, so this year they held a National Exhibition to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the country (Nakanome, 1917: 19-20)” Nakanome believes that hosting a fair to celebrate the country’s 40th anniversary will contribute to its progress. He observes that, while Balkan countries in Europe are generally perceived as underdeveloped, Romania has made significant progress compared to Serbia and Bulgaria, which have shown only minor development. Bucharest stands out in this regard. He also points out that, unlike other Balkan countries that use Arabic or Cyrillic scripts, Romania uses the Latin alphabet.

Nakanome likens Bucharest to Tokyo, citing its establishment on a flat plain, and the distinct architectural style of its houses, which differ from those in Berlin and Vienna. He notes the presence of manors and sometimes two-story villas, often surrounded by trees. Only in the dense parts of the city he has encountered three-story houses. Regarding the city’s architecture and general impression, he observes:

“There are some parts that seem somewhat like a capital. The architecture is also elegant, and the city is generally clean. In short, it is a neat little town. What is particularly impressive is how well the paving stones in the town are

well-arranged. The horse-drawn carriages are particularly impressive. Most are drawn by two horses, and these are cheaper than a single one in Vienna.” (Nakanome, 1917: 21)

Nakanome commends Bucharest for its urban development, architecture, and cleanliness. He observes that cafes in Bucharest carry newspapers from various countries, and that the city publishes two French and four German newspapers, which he believes facilitates ease of access to information for foreigners. Nakanome is intrigued by the fact that foreigners in Bucharest communicate primarily in German. Since his departure from Budapest, he has noticed that almost all conversations have been in German, even among Serbs and Bulgarians, who, despite their Slavic heritage, use German instead of Russian. He notes that while Romania initially looked to France for cultural influence, there has been a recent rise in German influence, making Bucharest particularly navigable for German speakers.

Nakanome also took some notes on his observations about Romanians. He thought that they seem to be aware that they are a small country and that they have a long way to go, so there are no people who are as arrogant as the Hungarians. According to Nakanome, unlike the Hungarians who act all high and mighty, the people of this country are very calm and well behaved. He doesn't think there is much difference in the level of civilization between Hungary and Romania, but while the Hungary people act like teachers to the Japanese, the Romanians tell the Japanese that their country is small and there is no way it can be like Japan, but they are not flattering themselves.

Nakanome also attended Romania's general exhibition. He notes that the fair, originally planned for April or May to celebrate the 40th anniversary of Romania's founding, was only able to take place in July. According to Shona, it was intended to demonstrate to the world the progress independent Romania had made under Carol's rule (Kallestrup, 2002: 147-162). It is clear that Romania's goal is to showcase its development to the world. Nakanome was critical of the fair. According to that; “Not only was the opening delayed, but there are many points that could be criticized if someone tried to criticize the outside world, but everyone is silent. In short, it is a new country, and it is like a child imitating an adult, so if it goes well, newspapers in each country will surely praise it highly, but it is natural that it will not go well, which is why the current organization is not saying anything about it. After all, Romania is still not of age (Nakanome, 1917: 24-25).” According to Nakanome, it is too early for Romania to organize such an organization. At the fair, which he stated was held in the south of the city, only, “However, the army alone is well-disciplined and, perhaps because

they are used to it, their exhibits are neatly arranged. It also looks like they are advertising the independence of weapons (Nakanome, 1917: 25)” he states that the army participated regularly. Besides, “Then there is a part of the agricultural hall on display. The domestic section is about this size, with Austria and Hungary added as guests. The Austrian section takes up quite a large space after the exhibition is complete. Across the hallway is the Hungary Hall, which, as usual, has something incomprehensible written on it, but it hasn’t opened yet (Nakanome, 1917: 25).” It is noted that Hungary and Austria were guests. According to Nakanome, for a fair to be successful, it must attract more foreigners. As the reason for this, “Generally speaking, exhibitions are not worthwhile because the expenses are greater than the income, but the reason they are being held in spite of this is because it advertises the progress of the country. Regardless of the cost, if many people can see the exhibits, then the purpose has been fully achieved (Nakanome, 1917: 26-27).” He thinks that the main purpose of fairs is to show the development of the country. In this respect, he suggested that it would be beneficial for Romania to abolish the passport control practice applied to foreigners in the Balkan countries.

Nakanome’s comments about Bulgaria, who also been to Sofia for a short time, are also interesting. According to Nakanome, everyone praises the Bulgarian capital of Sofia. Many people say that the development of Bulgaria is surprising, judging from the beauty of the city. I don’t think that the countryside has progressed as much as the city, but the city is certainly beautiful. He states that the rural area is not as developed as the city.

He observed that the natural beauty of Bulgaria reminded him of Aizu and Mogami, that it was similar to Japan because it was surrounded by mountains and forests on all sides, and that the mountains were getting higher along the Maritsa River. Nakanome adds “When I come here and see it, the idea of a small Russia naturally comes to mind. And it is not unreasonable (Nakanome, 1917: 49).” He calls it the miniature of Russia. He thought that in addition to the fact that Bulgarians were Slavs, the fact that the majority of the Bulgarian people understood Russian and that Bulgaria was geographically closer to Russia, unlike Serbia and Montenegro, had a great impact.

Nakanome’s comment on Sofia is, “Looking at the town of Sofia, the layout of the town is neatly laid out in a grid pattern. (...) There are high mountains nearby, and to the north you can see the Balkan Mountains in the distance (Nakanome, 1917: 49-50).” He thinks that creating a grid city plan contributes greatly to the appearance of the city. Although Nakanome praises the development of the city of Sofia, he concludes that the situation in Bulgaria’s rural villages and towns is deplorable.

Conclusion

Nakanome's observations provide valuable insights into the Balkans from a Japanese perspective of that time, experiences and the rich cultural traditions found in the region. Nakanome's diary contains historical details about the Balkans, providing a richer context for understanding the region's cultural and social dynamics. He provided detailed accounts of historical events he visited, focusing mainly on the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans.

Nakanome observed Asian elements in the Balkans, particularly noting that Vienna has an Asian atmosphere influenced by historical events and cultural exchanges. He found Asian emotions and tones in Viennese music, comparing Viennese and Southern Italian folk songs to Japanese folk songs for their tragic melodies and Eastern feel. He also noted that Budapest exhibited even more Eastern elements than Vienna. He also gives detailed descriptions of traditional attire in Hungary, Moldova, and Bulgaria reveal a fascinating blend of cultural influences. According to Nakanome, such traditional garments can be observed in the east of Hungary.

Nakanome also attended Romania's general exhibition and offered a critical perspective on its execution and impact. He noted that the fair as a whole fell short of effectively showcasing Romania's progress. He emphasized that for a fair to truly succeed, it must attract more international visitors, thus effectively promoting the country's development. He suggested that abolishing passport control practices for foreigners in the Balkan countries could enhance the success of such events.

Through his journal, Nakanome provided a Japanese perspective on the Balkans. He also provided Japanese readers with essential information on the geography, history, and socio-economic conditions of the Balkan Peninsula. Overall, Nakanome's insights emphasize historical context, and practical observations, offering a comprehensive Japanese perspective on the Balkans of that era.

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CHAPTER V

BALKAN LITERATURE AND POLITICS

DECONSTRUCTING “THE BRIDGE ON THE DRINA” IN THE CONTEXT OF POSTCOLONIAL CRITICISM

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Introduction

Postcolonialism is a theory and critical approach that deals with the postcolonial period and generally developed as an anti-colonial reaction. This theory analyses the literary and cultural structures formed during and after the colonial period, especially in the countries that were former colonies of Europe. Therefore, the origins of postcolonialism can be traced back to the historical resistance against colonial occupation and imperialist control (Young, 2001: 60). The success of the resistance paved the way for a fundamental challenge to the political and conceptual structures of the systems on which such domination is based. In historical terms postcolonial theory problematises the legacy of colonialism, its effects on societies, and how these effects are dealt with. However, the prefix ‘post-’ in the term should be considered not only in a temporal sense, but also as a sign of a conceptual movement that goes beyond existing theoretical understandings of the world.

Postcolonial approaches therefore seek to challenge dominant narratives and reshape them in a way that provides categories of analysis that are more inclusive and sufficient to develop both ‘backward’ and ‘forward’ analyses. However, in the contest for political and social authority, postcolonial critique bears witness not only to contemporary inequalities but also to the historical conditions of these inequalities (Bhambra, 2023: 4). In this context, one of the main interests of postcolonial theory is to show how western-oriented theories reformulate the old colonial order and thus maintain the hegemony of the West over the rest



of the world (Balci, 2019: 27-28). In other words, postcolonialism emphasises the continuing impact of colonial and imperial histories in shaping a colonial way of thinking about the world and how western forms of power marginalise the non-Western world (Nair, 2017: 1). This is because western colonialism involves not only the control and conquest of other peoples' lands and goods (Loomba, 2000: 8), but also the denial of the subjectivity and existential status of indigenous peoples. In other words, Western colonialism, which can involve various practices and processes such as appropriating riches such as gold and silver, physically eliminating the 'indigenous' population, destroying their cultural elements, enslaving them, creating settlements and establishing a direct administrative apparatus in the colonised lands (Kelleci, 2023: 47), is also, as Emmanuel Levinas says in his critique of western philosophy, a way of destroying the otherness of the colonised people by making their otherness similar to 'the same' through concepts, principles, representations (Direk, 2021: 124). Accordingly, postcolonial theories offer a comprehensive analysis of cultural, class, racial, religious, gender-based and similar differences by addressing the unequal power relations between cultural differences arising from Eastern (colonial) and Western (colonialist) oppositions.

Therefore, any study of the Eastern question from a postcolonial perspective, as J. Holland Rose emphasises, 'must begin with the geographical and ethnic factors that make the problems more complex' in the Balkans (Rose, 1922: 307). For the Balkan countries, which have been ignored for many years as 'the other within Europe', this concept includes not only the East-West relationship, but also the western Balkan dichotomy. In colonial discourse, the East was constructed as 'the other', while the Balkans were condemned to the status of 'in-betweenness', a more ambiguous but still negative position (Ejupi, 2018: 3).

Therefore, although the Balkans are geographically part of the European continent, they are considered as its periphery in terms of belonging to European culture and civilisation. In other words, the Balkans are like a 'bridge-junction point' between the Asia-Europe or East-West blocs (Arslan, 2023: 293). In other words, as Bulgarian historian Maria Todorova expresses, the Balkans have been portrayed with a colonialist mentality as 'Europe's captive, its anticivilisation, its alter ego, its inner dark side' (Todorova, 2009: 188). In her study, Todorova referred to the definitions of Albanians, Bulgarians and Greeks that sometimes contradict their living spaces in order to exclude themselves from the Balkans and Balkanness modelled by Europe. For the Balkans marginalised and excluded by the West, she gave the following expressions as examples:

“...Most of all [the Balkanites (les Balkaniques)] are devoid of charity. Their religion might not be even considered religion, so fundamentally different is it from the emotional, psychological and intellectual religion of the Catholics and the Protestants. The priests are materialist, practical, atheists in the western sense; they are brigands, satraps, cunning with their black beards, without mercy, telluric (Todorova, 2009: 47).

As can be seen in the passage, the attitude of the colonial Westerners towards the Balkans is generally based on the principles of political correctness. These principles are limited to western attitudes towards people of colour, especially black people, people of non-Christian faiths, especially Islam, and people coming from or living in former colonies (Ejupi, 2018: 61). Similar to Todorova's framework, Bozidar Jezernik argues that it is difficult for the West to imagine an 'other' as clear as the Balkan peoples. According to Jezernik, the Balkans are seen as a region that represents everything that the West rejected generations ago (Jezernik, 2006). At this point, the concepts with which the Balkan geography is most often identified in Western discourse are striking. Geographically, the Balkans are defined as a 'bridge-junction point', socially and culturally 'hybrid', historically 'violence and crisis', politically 'hierarchical' and politically 'communism' (Arslan, 2023: 293).

From this point of view, the Western vision of the Balkans is a manifestation of the power dynamics criticised by postcolonial theories. Although the Balkans are geographically located within Europe, they have been pushed aside and marginalised in terms of culture and civilisation. This situation can be seen as an example of the West's processes of constructing and excluding the 'other' within itself. This Western perspective on the Balkans reflects an understanding based on stereotypes, far from the historical, cultural and geographical realities of the region.

In her 1997 study 'Imagining the Balkans', Maria Todorova deconstructs the colonial policies applied to the Balkans and reveals how 'Balkanism', the condescending attitude of the West, has shaped perceptions of the region. The Balkanism described by Todorova depicts a geography characterised by ancient ethnic conflicts, chronic instability, entrenched corruption, backwardness and random violence. Therefore, she argues that Balkanism constitutes an independent rhetorical arsenal with its unique geopolitical, cultural and religious characteristics (Todorova, 2009: 128). Mehmet Hacısalıhoğlu states in his article "Never Ending Fight with the Past: History and Historiography in the Balkans" that this concept developed in Western and Central Europe as a term containing negative judgments and was shaped by the discourse that Balkan peoples could not cope with

history and their own past. This statement changes after the publication of the book by Todorova. Hacısalıhoğlu emphasises that Todorova's book questioned the image of the Balkans worldwide, especially in the West. The book was translated into various languages and gained an important place in the world history literature (Hacısalıhoğlu, 2019: 48). From this perspective, with the introduction of the concept of otherness into the political literature, the depiction of the Balkan geography as 'a special area, a deserted island and a marginal region between Europe/West and East' (Çağ, 2020: 2) has become open to new interpretations and analyses with the concept of Balkanism.

Balkanism, like Orientalism, is a discourse structured by hierarchical binary oppositions. For example, dichotomies such as rational/irrational, centre/periphery, civilisation/barbarism reinforce the superior position of the West and create a framework that defines the Balkans. Inspired by E. Said, *'The West [here] is the protagonist; [the Balkans] remains a passive figure. The West is the observer, judge and arbiter of all [Balkan] behaviour'* (Said, 2022). Despite the parallels between Balkanism and Orientalism and the apparent influence of the former critique on the latter, it is often claimed in academic discourse that Balkanism is just another form of Orientalism. However, Maria Todorova emphasises that Balkanism is not a sub-genre of Orientalism (Todorova, 2009: 8). While the Orient is discursively constructed as the 'other', the Balkans are pushed into a more ambiguous, but still negative position of 'in-betweenness' (Ejupi, 2018: 3). In other words, according to Todorova, the Balkans are an 'incomplete reflection' of Europe. According to her, Balkanism in this context constitutes a different and independent rhetoric from Orientalism. Therefore, she argues that perceptions of the region should be re-evaluated (Todorova, 2009: 18).

On the question of whether the region was the object of colonialism, Maria Todorova argues that the region was not subject to colonial rule in the true sense, like the Orient (Todorova: 2009: 13-14). However, according to Todorova, 'the status of the Balkans as semi-colonial, de facto colonial, with distinct colonial features, but not fully colonial, is a subject that deserves closer scrutiny' (Todorova: 2009: 16). In other words, the fact that the Balkan nations have not completed the modernisation process (Arslan, 2023: 293) has affected Western perceptions of the Balkans and the term 'Balkanism' has fostered a negative approach towards the region in terms of 'we' and 'the other' (Ejupi, 2018: 63).

When the concept of 'colonialism' is considered in the context of the Balkans, along with various analyses on it, the situation of the Balkans is 'the East of Europe, the Europe of the Ottomans' (Çağ, 2012: 132), in other words 'the dark other of Western civilisation, the incompleteness of Europe' (Ejupi, 2018: 3). This

perspective aims to position the region within the discourse and narrative of Europe as a signifier of colonial presence and dominance over the Balkans. Therefore, postcolonial criticism examines the colonial intervention that permeated the Southeast European Peninsula and the complexity of the relationship between the Balkans and Europe. As Tuğçe Kelleci expresses: ‘when colonialism is seen as a practice of domination over an “other” group, it is no longer limited to a specific time and space, and implies that there is a common experience in geographies that have historically been subjected to different forms of domination’ (Kelleci, 2023: 49). This approach allows us to reassess the historical and political context of the Balkans and to understand its relationship with Europe in depth. This provides a more comprehensive view of the region’s problems of identity and representation, and allows us to consider the concept of colonialism from a broader perspective.

Therefore, the common agenda between Balkanism and postcolonial studies functions as a means to question Eurocentric historical narratives and to move Europe away from its own centre. Balkanism emphasises that the Balkans are an integral part of Europe, opposing colonial ideas of indigenous rights. By explicitly stating that the region is similar to the rest of Europe, this approach leads to a qualitative change in the image of Europe. In the words of Maria Todorova, this project can effectively contribute towards the goal of decentralising Europe for the rest of the world. It can also transform the European paradigm from a purified ideal into a representation of colonialism, subordination and conflict. In this context, there can be a fruitful overlap between postcolonial theory and antibalkanism. As Todorova emphasises, this intersection allows for a reshaping of the historical and social image of Europe and helps us to understand in depth the position of the Balkans within Europe (Todorova, 2009: 202).

In this direction, postcolonial literary criticism, by incorporating the above-mentioned considerations for Balkan and Balkanism, seeks traces of colonialism and related phenomena in the literatures of both ‘semi-colonised’ countries and colonial countries. According to Kelleci ‘colonialism is a “power relation” that penetrates not only the territory, local resources and racial/cultural structures of the colonised, but also their bodies, minds, and thus their forms of subjectivity’ (Kelleci, 2023: 42). For this reason, postcolonial literary criticism, in general terms, investigates the effects of the colonialist western civilisation in the countries it colonised by examining the colonialist projection reflected in literary works, especially in their discourses. It even deconstructs the artificial East-West opposition woven from colonial stereotypes, utilises the data of theories such as Marxism, poststructuralism and postmodernism and fulfils its main

task. In addition, it creates an awareness of these influences and subjects the concept of colonialism to a critical reading.

Naturally, it is noteworthy that the opposition to the West, or rather to the idea that condemns the Balkans to 'in-betweenness', is carried to an aesthetic dimension through transformed literary works. For example, Nobel laureate Ivo Andrić's novel 'The bridge on the Drina' is notable for its narrative of the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the subsequent moments of pluralism and change, which are produced not only as transitions but also as contradictions. The work depicts the lifestyle and diversity of the heterogeneous society living for a long time around the bridge in question. It exhibits the resistance of the society in the face of political events that destroy 'otherness' and push it towards 'sameness' within the framework of Eurocentric values. In this study, the resistance of the Balkan subalterns, who are involved in paradigmatic political and social events related to them, but still condemned to otherisation, will be discussed. In addition, the study will examine the history, cultural diversity and complex political structure of the geographically/physically European but culturally/spiritually non-European Balkans in Ivo Andrić's work in the context of postcolonial criticism.

Deconstructing "The Bridge on the Drina" in the Context of Postcolonial Criticism

Ivo Andrić's novel 'The bridge on the Drina' depicts the economic, political and social effects of the transition from the pre-capitalist system to the capitalist system through the life of the border town of Višegrad and the construction of the bridge. The town of Višegrad, where the events of the novel take place, is depicted as a place where two different belief systems and cultures meet, where this interaction turns into a conflict over time, and at the same time connects East and West. The novel analyses in detail how the expansion of the capitalist economy led to changes in the social, economic and political structure of Višegrad. From this point of view, the novel is an extremely important work in terms of understanding the effects of Western colonialism on the Balkans.

Western colonialism involved not only the appropriation of resources to acquire wealth, but also the processes of reshaping the economy of the dominated regions, regulating the flow of people and resources, and establishing complex relations between the homeland and the controlled territories. These processes constitute the main theme of the novel and reveal the West's extensive influence in the Balkan geography. Therefore, it is possible to perceive Western

colonialism, which gained a new form with the advent of capitalism (Loomba, 2000: 11), as a form of political power that ignores the lifestyle and diversity of the heterogeneous society living around the bridge for a long time, destroys 'otherness' within the framework of the Eurocentric set of values, and pushes it to 'sameness'. However, as Tuğçe Kelleci points out, it is not enough to consider colonialism only from an external perspective as a historical beginning and end process; on the contrary, the practices through which colonialism is constructed and how and in which contexts these processes transform colonised subjects should be examined in depth from an internal perspective (Kelleci, 2023: 59).

To understand the Western colonialism depicted in the novel in depth, we must first focus on the pre-capitalist Balkan societies. These regions were important frontier territories of the Ottoman Empire until 1908, when they came under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. However, as Todorova points out, the Ottomans did not pursue a colonial mission in the Balkan lands similar to the French or British colonialist approach (Todorova, 2009: 195). Rather, these lands functioned as a buffer zone between the East and the West. For this reason, the 'The bridge on the Drina', which is at the centre of the novel and built on the Drina River by Sokollu Mehmet Pasha in the 16th century within the framework of a strategic plan, is a political symbol that unites East and West. However, Sokollu Mehmet Pasha mentioned in the novel built bridges not only in Višegrad, but also in places like Podgorica and Trebišnica (Bayram, 2014: 275). Therefore, we can understand that the construction of the Bridge on the Drina was carried out for economic and strategic reasons, not for Sokollu's emotional reasons.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which had made an agreement with the Ottoman Empire for the aforementioned economic and strategic reasons, began to occupy the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina with sporadic clashes. In the process, the town of Višegrad and the Bridge on the Drina also came under the control of Austrian troops. However, although Austria-Hungary's conquest of Bosnia-Herzegovina was realised through war and occupation, it was perceived as if it was an invitation. In the novel, this situation is described in the Austro-Hungarians' own words as reflecting the occupation of Višegrad as a kind of saviour mission.

"People of Bosnia and Herzegovina! The Army of the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary has crossed the frontier of your country. It does not come as an enemy to take the land by force. It comes as a friend to put an end to the disorders which for years past have disturbed not only Bosnia and Herzegovina but also the frontier districts of Austria-Hungary. The King-Emperor could no longer see how violence and disorder ruled in the neighbourhood of

his dominions and how misery and misfortune knocked at the frontiers of his lands. He has drawn the attention of the European States to your position and at a Council of the Nations it has been unanimously decided that Austria-Hungary shall restore to you the peace and prosperity that you have so long lost. His Majesty the Sultan who has your good at heart has felt it necessary to confide you to the protection of his powerful friend the King-Emperor” (Andrić, 1962: 121-122).

As can be seen from this passage, in line with Marx's proposition that 'they cannot represent themselves, they must be represented' (Said, 1979: 21), Western colonialism, which came as a 'friend', aimed to make all the mystery, difference and diversity of the Balkans intelligible to the West. In this context, Western colonialism reshaped the Balkan geography from its own perspective and tried to make sense of the region for the West (Said, 1979: 20). Because the colonial perspective of the West 'marginalises those who are not its own and forces those it marginalises to live oppressed. Those who are marginalised live under oppression in their own countries like prisoners, without the need for a closed space' (Şahin Yılmaz, 2017: 52). For this reason, as Albert Memmi emphasises, the Visegrád society [capitalisation] 'must accept itself as colonised in order to live' (Memmi, 2003: 133).

Through the Bridge on the Drina, Andrić tries to depict the retreat of the Ottoman Empire and the coming to power of Austria-Hungary and the modern colonisation of the people and their acceptance of colonialism. In other words, he psychosemantically explains through the character of Alihodja that the bridge, which will be destroyed in World War I at the end of the novel, was actually destroyed not in the war, but in an abstract sense during the Austro-Hungarian occupation and will now be colonised by the West.

He walked slowly and it seemed to him that never again would he cross to the farther bank, that this bridge which was the pride of the town and ever since its creation had been so closely linked with it, on which he had grown up and beside which he had spent his life, was now suddenly broken in the middle, right there at the kapija; that this white paper of the proclamation had cut it in half like a silent explosion and that there was now a great abyss: that individual piers still stood to right and to left of this break but that there was no way across, for the bridge no longer linked the two banks and every man had to remain on that side where he happened to be at this moment. (Andrić, 1962: 123).

As can be seen from this excerpt, with the entry of the Austrian troops into the town, in a metaphysical sense, Kapiya has collapsed and everyone has to accept

the colonial situation in order to live. However, as Frantz Fanon states, the appearance of the settler has meant in the terms of syncretism the death of the aboriginal society, cultural lethargy, and the petrification of individuals. (Fanon, 2022: 93). Therefore, in the colonial system built on binary opposites such as rational/irrational, centre/periphery, civilisation/barbarism, the first element of the dichotomy (Austria-Hungary) was always primary, while the second (Višegrad) was placed in a position of determining the second. In other words, Austria-Hungary is perceived as right-wing, orderly, democratic, civilised, legitimate, «rational, future-oriented, with established values and criteria, and individualistic (Ejupi, 2018: 26), while the Višegrad people are portrayed as left-wing, disorganised, democracy visible only through democratic symbols, primitivism, illegitimacy, myths, necrophiliac obsession with the past, unsystematic, collective conscience, and nationalism. The coloniser therefore ‘refuses to identify in any way’ with the indigenous population (Memmi, 2003: 70). In the novel *Bridge on the Drina*, such a rejection is experienced in the encounter between the Colonel and the town elders who are instructed to welcome the Austrian Colonel:

“Pop Nikola spoke fluently and naturally, addressing himself more to the young officer who was to translate his words than to the colonel himself. In the name of all the faiths here present, he assured the colonel that they, and their people, were willing to submit themselves to the coming authorities and would do all that was in their powder to maintain peace and order as the new authorities demanded. They asked the army to protect them and their families and make a peaceful life and honest toil possible for them.

Pop Nikola spoke shortly and ended abruptly. The nervous colonel did not have any excuse to lose patience. But all the same he did not wait for the end of the young officer’s translation. Brandishing his riding-crop, he interrupted him in a harsh and uneven voice:

‘Good, good! All those who behave themselves will be protected. Peace and order must be maintained everywhere. It must be, whether they like it or not.’

Then, shaking his head, he moved onward without a glance or a greeting”. (Andrić, 1962: 131).

Thus, it is impossible to see any direct connection in the encounter between the Western Colonel and the town elders. Colonialism and colonial authorities, which are set up as binary opposites, theoretically have no connection with the objects of the command, that is, the natives (Mbembe, 2021:34). However, in the passage we have read, we see that both the notables of the city and the religious representatives, İbrahim Molla, Müderris Hüseyin Efendi and Rabbi David Levi, especially Priest Nikola, say that they will act according to the wishes of the new state and

that they will do everything they can to ensure peace and order, that is, they obey the coloniser. In this context, 'it can be said that colonialism creates the colonised people just as we see that it creates the coloniser' (Memmi, 2003: 135). Therefore, at the moment, the townspeople are the objectified, to use Aime Cesaire's expression, 'thingified' (Cesaire, 2023: 42) subject of their own history by being excluded from historical and social life. It remains for the townspeople, who now have the status of objective subjects, to submit to the new state and accept themselves as colonisers. Because, as Albert Memmi emphasises, 'colonial people are not free to choose between being colonised or not' (Memmi, 2003: 130). Continuing with Albert Memmi's view, 'for the coloniser to be a complete master, it is not enough for him to be objectively so, he must also believe in his own legitimacy' (Memmi, 2003: 132-133). In order for this legitimacy to be complete, it is necessary to change the life of the colonised people, to erase the pre-colonial history and make it intelligible to the West. For this reason, the customs, traditions, and myths of the colonized people, particularly their myths, are the first indication of their poor spiritual and constitutional condition (Fanon, 2022: 42).

Ivo Andrić describes the changes brought about by colonialism in the novel as follows:

"In fact what had been known as the Stone Han had long ago become completely ruined. The doors had rotted, those lace-like grilles of soft stone on the windows broken, the roof had fallen into the interior of the building and from it grew a great acacia and a welter of nameless shrubs and weeds, but the outer walls were still whole, a true and harmonious rectangle of stone still standing upright. In the eyes of the townspeople, from birth to death, this was no ordinary ruin but the completion of the bridge, as much an integral part of the town as their own houses, and no one would ever have dreamt that the old han could be touched or that it was necessary to change anything about it that time and nature had not already changed.

But one day its turn came too. First engineers who spent a long time measuring the ruins, then workmen and labourers who began to take it down stone by stone, frightening and driving away all sorts of birds and small beasts which had their nests there. Rapidly the level space above the market-place by the bridge became bald and empty and all that was left of the han was a heap of good stone carefully piled.

A little more than a year later, instead of the former caravanserai of white stone, there rose a high, massive two-storied barracks, washed in pale blue, roofed with grey corrugated iron and with loopholes at the corners" (Andrić, 1962: 139-140).

As stated in this passage, it is a true reflection of colonial rule that the colonisers demolished the Stone Han and built a barracks in its place, while 'it was thought that no one but nature could destroy the Stone Han. Therefore, the main purpose of colonialism here is not to remind people of history, but rather to erase the pre-colonial past and thus create an obedient colonial subject. In the later parts of the novel, it is seen that the colonialist destroys old cultures in order to create the colonial subject. One of the most striking examples of cultural destruction is described as the loss of the Kapiya culture (Saribaş, 2021: 169). Kapiya, which has been seen as an important part of the cultural and social life of Višegrad since the construction of the bridge, begins to lose its importance day by day with the occupation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The author describes the loneliness, pain and fear of Kapiya after so many joyful years with the expressions 'Instead of that constant joy and vitality, a silence of death has now descended on Kapiya' (Andrić, 1962: 280) and worries about the loss of pre-colonial cultural values in the colonial world and thus the acceleration of colonisation.

Colonising the indigenous people, in this respect is therefore, as Achille Mbembe emphasises, 'putting into action the two-way movement of destroying and creating, creating by destroying, creating destruction and destroying creation, creating to create and destroying to destroy' (Mbembe, 2021: 189). Thus, the inhabitants of the town, 'destroyed to create a colonised subject and rebuilt to be destroyed', lose their pre-colonial cultural values during the colonial period and remain deeply attached to the discourse created by the coloniser. For this reason, 'the colonised subject (the people), whose cultural values are lost and whose identity is eroded, does not exist with its own "autonomous" definition in its encounters with the coloniser, but with the discourses produced about it and its place in the power relationship' (Kelleci, 2023: 21).

Thus, the colonised subject, who cannot be positioned in a place independent of colonialism, which monopolises civilisation, cannot leave this position even if colonialism is abolished. Because 'colonised peoples are defined as people whose labour is not only exploited by others, but whose cultural freedoms are slaughtered and therefore inferiority complexes are formed in their souls' (Şahin Yılmaz, 2017: 52). However, if the history, past and sense of freedom of the subaltern, whose 'inferiority complex is formed' in the context of colonial production, is lost, the subaltern as a woman remains in an even deeper darkness. In other words, in the colonial and postcolonial periods, as Spivak says, 'the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow' (Spivak, 2020: 62).

Nevertheless, it should also be noted that Western colonialism, by promoting the social, political and legal emancipation of women, aimed to 'liberate' them from

the lower rungs of social and familial hierarchies in the old patriarchal society. Such 'liberation' of women on the part of the colonisers has often been understood as a case of 'white men are saving brown women from brown men' (Spivak, 2020: 82). However, this 'saving' or 'rescue' by the colonialists was nothing less than a 'double colonisation' (Loomba, 2000: 140), as Ania Loomba puts it, which subverted national characteristics and values and doubled the pressure of power dynamics in the colonised society, especially on women.

In Ivo Andrić's novel, this 'saving' is described as follows:

There had, naturally, always been a link between the kapia and the women in the town, but only in so far as the menfolk gathered there to pass compliments to the girls crossing the bridge or to express their joys, pains and quarrels over women and find relief from them on the kapia. (...) Much was said or thought about women and about love, many passions were born and many extinguished. All this there was, but women had never stopped or sat on the kapia, neither Christian nor, still less, Moslem. Now all that was changed.

Now on Sundays and holidays on the kapia could be seen cooks tightly laced and red in the face, with rolls of fat overflowing above and below their corsets in which they could scarcely breathe. With them were their sergeants in well brushed uniforms, with shining metal buttons and riflemen's pompoms on their chests. And on working days at dusk, officers and civil servants strolled there with their wives, halted on the kapia, chatted in their incomprehensible language, strolled about at their ease and laughed loudly. (Andrić, 1962: 142).

Thus, inspired by Spivak, it is possible to see that the Austro-Hungarian men were trying to colonise the Vishegrad women as if they were rescuing them from the Vishegrad men. However, Austria-Hungary's attempt to make the subaltern speak cannot be anything other than an attempt to suppress their voices and eliminate their existence. In other words, as Ali Balcı emphasises, 'in cases where the subaltern is a woman, this silencing is deeper and the subaltern is something that cannot be represented in the discourse reflecting the dominant power relations' (Balcı, 2019: 34).

During these periods, large construction activities were seen in the town, the old caravanserai was demolished, foreign women were seen in the town, officials of various nationalities came to the town, young people who went to other cities to study at university came to the town during holidays and started to discuss new ideas among themselves (Soytürk, 2022: 162). Although the Bridge on the Drina was left untouched, a new railway was built and it lost its former importance. Though the town has a new and modern appearance, 'the sweet and calm life of

the Turks [no longer] existed, but everything was organised according to the new understanding (which was already impossible)' (Andrić, 1962: 154). However, the author, again through Alihodja, tries to explain that even if everything is gradually organised according to the understanding of the new power, there is a very serious colonial violence in the background of this organisation. Alihodja, who is perceived as conservative and reactionary in the novel, is actually a character with a complete anti-colonialist understanding, who understands the order of the new state as the destruction of the Bridge on the Drina, but still remains deeply attached to the bridge. Because even though the Bridge on the Drina does not lose its former importance in the Austro-Hungarian colonial system, even though its intensity of use for the townspeople begins to decrease, only Alihodja remains attached to the Bridge on the Drina. In fact, the novel ends with Alihodja dying of grief immediately after the destruction of the bridge in World War I.

"They are not playing and do not waste their time even when they are sleeping but look well to their own affairs. We cannot see today what all this means, but we shall see it in a month or two, or perhaps a year. For, as the late lamented Shemsibeg Brankovid used to say: "The Schwabes' mines have long fuses!" This numbering of houses and men, or so I see it, is necessary for them because of some new tax, or else they are thinking of getting men for forced labour or for their army, or perhaps both." (Andrić, 1962: 155).

As can be seen, Alihodja is aware that Austria's method of numbering houses and keeping track of men's ages is to subject the population to colonial discipline. According to him, the aim of the colonial power was not to determine the number of houses, the number and age of the population, impose a new tax or recruit soldiers, but to consolidate its power over the colonial population and to keep them under discipline. In this respect, supporting Alihodja's idea, we should say that 'colonial power lies at the intersection of "absolute power", which reigns through arbitrary violence, and "biopower", which operates through practices such as discipline and biopolitics' (Kelleci, 2023: 180). Therefore, the inhabitants of the town are 'subjected to a kind of physical and mental encirclement and subordination in parallel with the economic and political goals of colonial power relations' (Kelleci, 2023:181).

To put it more clearly, Tuğçe Kelleci defines the external interventions of colonial power as violence, discipline and biopolitics based on Foucault's philosophy and shapes these power practices in the context of colonialism as violence (slavery, forced labour, punishments violating bodily integrity and killing), discipline (missionary activities, educational institutions, plantations) and biopolitics (population control, changing the population structure, reproduction of labour

force) (Kelleci, 2023: 182). Naturally, in the novel, it is possible to see that the Austrian colonial power prepares the conditions for the formation of the obedient 'colonial subject' and subordinates the inhabitants of the town to the colonial order through the practices of discipline (not writing the notices posted in Kapiya in Turkish, ignoring linguistic and cultural values) and biopolitics (determining the number and age ratio of the population in Višegrad) as well as violence in the classical sense.

Andrić describes the functioning of the 'biopower', which is formed by colonial discipline and biopolitics together, which is not oppressive, but rather keeps the body and mind under surveillance, through the newly built railway.

“You are an imbecile if you think that the Schwabes have spent their money and brought their machine here only for you to travel quickly and finish your business more conveniently. All you see is that you can ride, but you do not ask what the machine brings here and takes away other than you yourself and others like you. (...) The time will come when the Schwabes will make you ride where you don't want to go and where you never even dreamt of going.” (Andrić, 1962: 212-213).

From this passage, we can see that Austrian colonialism, like other western colonialisms, intertwines absolute power (violence) and biopower (discipline and biopolitics). Therefore, this kind of colonialism provides the conditions for the creation of the colonial subject by 'domesticating' under the name of 'civilising' on the one hand and 'othering' on the other, and continues to maintain its power over colonial bodies even when colonialism is abolished. For this reason, national liberation and decolonisation in postcolonial states is formulated, as Frantz Fanon says, as 'the creation of new people' (Fanon, 2022: 36). In this respect, the emergence of nationalist and socialist views against colonialism in order to 'create new people' in the later parts of the novel is also noteworthy. However, in the novel, Ivo Andrić emphasizes the differences in the anti-colonialist orientation of these views and tries to explain the conflict between them through the dialogues of the characters Yanko Stikovic and Yakov Herak.

(...) “Only the preliminary economic liberation of the exploited classes, the peasants and the workers, that is to say the greater number of the people, can create real conditions for the formation of independent states. That is a natural process and the road we all must take, and in no way the other way round. Therefore both national liberation and unification must be carried out in the spirit of socialist liberation and renaissance. Otherwise it will happen that the peasant, worker and ordinary citizen will introduce their pauperism and their slavish mentality,

like a mortal contagion, into the new state formations and the small number of exploiters will instil into them their parasitical, reactionary mentality and their anti-social instincts. Therefore enduring states or a healthy society cannot exist.

All that is foreign book-learning, my good fellow,' answered Stikovid, 'which vanishes before the living impetus of awakened nationalist forces among the Serbs and then among the Croats and Slovenes also, though tending to one aim. Things do not come to pass according to the forecasts of German theoreticians but advance in complete accord with the deep sense of our history and our racial destiny. From Karageorge's words: 'Let each kill his Turkish chief' the social problem in the Balkans has always solved itself by the way of national liberation movements and wars. It all moves beautifully logically, from the less to the great, from the regional and tribal to the national and the formation of the State.' (Andrić, 1962: 238).

As can be understood from the passage we have read, the aim of both views is the liberation of colonised peoples and the establishment of independent states. Therefore, while the nationalist view argues that social problems can be solved through national liberation movements, for the socialist view national liberation and unity can only be realised through the improvement and liberation of the social situation. However, as Robert Young emphasises, '...in Austria-Hungary (...) the anti-colonial movement appealed above all to nationalism rather than communism and socialism' (Young, 2001: 119). Therefore, we can say that nationalism was one of the first and most important steps in the struggle for independence as a very serious reaction against colonialism. In other words, as Andrew Heywood states, 'nationalism, which directed the doctrines and principles first developed in Europe in the process of "nation-building" against the European powers themselves, contributed significantly to the collapse of over-extended empires (Heywood, 2014: 164). However, socialism, which 'defined the nation not as a single phenomenon but as a phenomenon consisting of two national cultures, always according to the fundamental class distinction' (Young, 2001: 121), 'emphasised that the bonds of class solidarity against colonialism were stronger and more real than the bonds of nationality' (Heywood, 2014: 165). For this reason, Andrić depicts the conflicts and incompatibilities of these views very clearly in the novel and leaves it as a question to the readers in which direction it would be more beneficial for postcolonial societies to move towards the future.

The novel ends with the destruction of the Bridge on the Drina, which has had an important place in the historical panorama of Bosnia and Herzegovina for nearly four centuries, after an explosion during World War I. However, the destruction of the bridge, together with the turmoil of the political and economic

problems that follow, reinforces the questioning of the anti-colonial nationalism and socialist views mentioned earlier. Because the destruction of the bridge, which connected East and West for many years, also depicts the destruction of a link between these views. Therefore, we realise that the Bridge on the Drina, built by Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, provides not only the connection between East and West, but also the connection between the history of the inhabitants of the town against colonialism and the national consciousness. For this reason, Andrić tries to explain the collapse of the bridge, which serves as both a physical and metaphysical link to many dualities, in detail through Alihodja:

“The kapia was there where it had always been, but just beyond the kapia the bridge stopped short. There was no longer any seventh pier; between the sixth and the eighth yawned a gulf through which he could see the green waters of the river. From the eighth pier onward the bridge once more stretched to the farther bank, smooth and regular and white, as it had been yesterday and always.” (Andrić, 1962: 311-312).

As can be seen, after the explosion the bridge split in two and the seventh pillar was completely destroyed. In real terms, the bridge that has connected East and West for four centuries has ceased to exist. But even if the Bridge on the Drina no longer connected the two shores, ‘everyone was doomed to stay where they were forever’, except Alihodja (Andrić, 1962: 123). Alihodja, who saw the destroyed bridge at the moment the colonisers stepped in from the border of the town, endured everything throughout the novel only for the bridge. However, with the destruction of the Bridge on the Drina, which characterises the existence of his life, he finds nothing to hold on to in life and dies of grief. After the explosion, we understand that the Bridge on the Drina, like a bird freed from the colonial cage in the abstract sense, settled in the chest of the inhabitants of Višegrad, which blossomed like a garden. Because now, the Bridge on the Drina is the townspeople. Therefore, the Balkans, considered as a ‘half-region’ between Europe and Asia, are doomed to remain forever in the place where the Bridge on the Drina was built to unite East and West. Therefore, like the bridge, they belong neither to the West nor to the East. In other words, they are ‘too western to be Eastern and too eastern to be Western’ (Ejupi, 2018: v). But as Todorova puts it, a bridge is only a part of the road, a difficult, dangerous part, but it cannot be the abode of human (Todorova, 2009: 59). As can be understood from Ivo Andrić’s novel, this homelessness in which the inhabitants of Višegrad settled, both physically and metaphysically, put the social groups in the region in a situation where constant change is most clearly observed and where they seem to be caught in the middle.

Conclusion

Colonisation is the process by which a nation goes beyond its borders to establish political and economic dominance and control over the nations, communities and territories under its rule. Colonialists usually try to dominate the natural resources, labour force and markets of the regions they conquer. In this process, oppression of the socio-cultural and religious values of the local population is also common; thus, colonisers seek to impose their own cultural superiority. Colonialism is based on an intellectual and ideological foundation in which the colonisers see themselves as developed and the people they exploit as backward. On a global scale, colonialists often try to legitimise their domination in the name of 'civilisation' or 'development' in order to create the impression that their colonial policies have a humanitarian dimension.

In this context, when we examine the policies implemented by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Višegrad through Ivo Andrić's novel 'Dripa Bridge', we see that the efforts to modernise ethnic groups deeply affected not only peace but also the social fabric of the region. These policies reflect the complexity and contradictions of the West's quest for domination. These domestication efforts under the name of modernisation have led to deepening divisions between local communities and increasing social unrest. Andrić's work therefore emphasises a paradox that is common in the history of colonialism: The modernisation claims of dominant powers often tend to destroy or transform local cultural and social structures. This clearly shows how, regardless of the type of colonialism, it undermines the sense of identity and solidarity of the subjugated communities.

In conclusion, it is clear that any colonial intervention in the Balkans and similar regions has left deep and lasting scars on local societies. Postcolonial criticism enables us to understand these historical and social dynamics and offers us the opportunity to evaluate their reflections in today's world order. In regions such as the Balkans, which have been the scene of various cultural interactions throughout history, important lessons can be drawn through postcolonial criticism to understand the legacy of the past and to build a more just and sustainable world order in the future.

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SULTAN MURAD MOSQUE AND COMPLEX IN THE FORMATION OF SKOPJE CITY IDENTITY

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Introduction

The first conquest movements from Anatolia to the Balkans started during the reign of Sultan Murad I and gained momentum during the reign of Yıldırım Bayezid Khan. The conquest of Skopje was also realized in this period, in 1389-90, by the Ottoman-Turkish army led by Margrave Yiğit Mehmed Pasha (İnbaşı, 2016: 395; Sâlih Âsım Bey, 2004: 55). Following the conquest, the Turkmens in the Saruhan region of Western Anatolia were settled in Skopje, and the proportion of Muslim and Turkish population in the city has increased (Gökbilgin, 2008: 13-15). On this, Şemseddin Sami Frasherî writes in *Kamûsü'l-A'lâm*: "A commanding sultan is Üsküb, which became the first Ottoman and Muslim city in the Greek province by transferring and settling many people from Anatolia to Islam" (Frasherî, 1306: 933) mentions. It is seen that development activities have been initiated in order to meet the needs of the increasing Muslim population and to give the city a Muslim-Turkish identity. The works of the foundation, led by Pasha Yiğit Bey in the 15th century, were later continued by his spiritual children (İshak Bey), grandchildren (İsâ Bey) and Ottoman sultans. During the reign of Murad II (1421/51), a new settlement was established with the construction of the Sultan Murad Mosque and Complex (1436/37), which the sultan had built in his name, and the city began to be revived with other architectural works built in the same period.

The subject of this study is the Sultan Murad Mosque and Complex, which is an important representative of the early Ottoman social complex architecture in



the Balkan geography. We tried to talk about the importance of Skopje, which had a settlement within the walls before it became a Turkish territory, being moved outside the walls thanks to this sultan complex built, and the importance of the “Câmi-i Kebîr District” formed around the complex in Skopje gaining a city identity. Our aim in the study is to mention the role of the Sultan Murad Mosque and Complex in the transformation of Skopje into a Turkish city in terms of its location and function, and also to analyze the place of the complex in the early Ottoman architecture by considering the architectural and decoration features of the mosque and other structures within the complex from the perspective of art history. In this context, information about the mosque, two tombs, cemetery and clock tower that exist today in the social complex, and the madrasa, soup kitchen and school / foundation administration, which are units that do not exist today both through written and verbal sources, as well as through information obtained during field research and photographs taken. Due to the abundance of architectural units and the detailed nature of the subject, the focus was on mosques and tombs, which are the main units of the complex.

One of the primary sources used for the verbal text is Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi's article titled “Turkish Monuments and Foundations in Yugoslavia”, which is the oldest study on the architecture of the Sultan Murad Mosque. Also, by Ayverdi, “Çelebi and II Murad in Ottoman Architecture”. The works titled “Sultan Murad Era 806-855 (1403-1451) II” and “Ottoman Architectural Works in Europe Yugoslavia III” also contain information about the architecture of the mosque and the madrasa. Lidiya Kumbaracı Bogoyeviç's book “Ottoman Architectural Works in Skopje” is one of the main sources consulted. Semavi Eyice's articles titled “Skopje in Terms of Turkish Art” and “Turkish Period Works in Skopje”, Mehmet Zeki İbrahimgil's doctoral thesis titled “Examples of Wall Decorations in Turkish-Islamic Architecture in Macedonia and Turkey”, also by İbrahimgil. The article titled “Sultan Murad Social Complex” in the Diyanet Foundation Islamic Encyclopedia and Mustafa Özer's doctoral thesis titled “Turkish Architecture in Skopje (XIV-XIX. Century)” are also among the important sources used. The most information about the madrasa, which does not exist today, was obtained in Yahya Kemal Beyatlı's work titled “My Childhood, My Youth, My Political and Literary Memories”, which included his memoirs. Although there are other written sources used in addition to these written sources, oral interviews were held with respected people from Skopje about the neighborhood where the Sultan Murad Complex is located and the units of the complex. Thus, information not included in written sources was obtained and footnote information about these people was presented.

In addition, to the verbal text, photographs taken during field research conducted within the complex in 2018, 2019 and 2020 were used. Restoration works were started in the complex by TIKA in 2016 and ended with the reopening of the complex in January 2020. The field surveys carried out in the complex during this restoration process facilitated the examination of the materials, architectural elements and decoration elements used in the buildings, and enabled the viewing of some details that could not be seen during normal times. During the inspections carried out in the field, the necessary information was obtained from the restorers appointed by TIKA. The information they gave was very useful in terms of making sense of many things in the structures examined on site. Photographs were taken showing the state of the mosque and other units both before the restoration, during the restoration, and after the restoration. Due to the limitations of this study, the photographs taken that supported the written information on the subject were selected and added.

The Location of Sultan Murad Mosque / Social Complex and Its Place in the Formation of Skopje's Turkish City Identity

The mosque is named after Sultan Murad II. He was named "Sultan Murad" because he was Murad. However, it is also known by other names due to some of its features and location. "Hünkâr Mosque" because it was built by an Ottoman sultan and one of the sultan's mosques, "Clock Mosque" among the people of Skopje because of the clock tower in its courtyard, "Câmi-i Kebîr" because it is the largest mosque in Skopje, and "Cami-i Atik" because it is the oldest mosque in the city. It is also mentioned with names such as "Atik" and "Ulu Mosque" since it serves as a grand mosque (Bogoyeviç, 2008, p. 44; İbrahimgil, 2009: 509).

Sultan Murad Mosque (1436/37), slightly lower than the Skopje Castle, on a hill overlooking the city center, on "Saat Bayırı" as the people of Skopje call it, was previously called "Câmi-i Kebîr / Cami-i Atik Mahallesi". Today, it is located on the street named "Vasil Andelarski". It is seen that Evliyâ Çelebi made the following entry about the mosque in his travelogue: "... First of all, it is the history of the Hünkâr Mosque above, at the foot of the Clock Tower: Sultan Murad bin Mehmed Han tâbe serâhumâ fî sene erba'in semâne mi'e" (Evliyâ Çelebi, 2017: 767).

Due to its location, the mosque is in the east of Skopje's Old Turkish Bazaar, in the part of the city where the Muslim part of the city called "old", lives today. The mosque's location on a high hill and next to the clock tower makes it easy to spot from almost anywhere in the city. It presents a magnificent appearance on

the hill on which it is located. The fact that it is surrounded by courtyard walls on four sides gives the mosque majesty. It is not a coincidence that such a high location was chosen for the construction of the mosque; on the contrary, it can be said that it was a planned choice. Since the founding period, Ottoman sultans have attempted to establish new mosque-centered districts and urbanization by building social complexes in the places they conquered. First of all, complex units consisting of infrastructure organizations that would meet the religious, social, cultural, economic and daily needs of the people were established, and the new population was settled around these. While these social complexes bore the name of their founders, they also gave their name to the neighborhood in which they were located. These were built just outside the city walls and connected to each other by roads, so new cities began to form around these social complexes. Thus, the cities would lose their old identity and physically transform into a Muslim-Turkish city over time. This urban development, which was implemented in the Balkan cities along with the conquests, was actually taken from Anatolia.

With the construction of the Sultan Murad Mosque in Skopje, the settlement, which was only within the walls before the conquest, was moved outside the walls after the conquest. In other words, the first settlements other than the castle in Skopje and the first architectural works date back to reign of Murad II. Sultan Murad Mosque and Social Complex constitute the core of Skopje, which will physically become an Ottoman city in the future. Câmi-i Kebîr District, where the social complex is located, is the pioneer of the Muslim neighborhoods to be established later in the city. It is seen that the first socio-cultural and religious activities in the city were implemented in this neighborhood.

Two important obligations can be mentioned in the construction of the mosque. The first is that, with the increase in the Muslim population immediately after the conquest, there was no center to meet the needs of the people, namely a Friday Mosque. The second, as we mentioned before, is the implementation of social complex-centered urban planning activities for the construction and formation of new settlements in the new places conquered in the Ottoman Empire. Foundations were established to implement these development activities. It is seen that this foundation-social complex-city system, which started to be implemented in Anatolia, was also implemented in the Balkans by the Ottoman sultans. Sultan Murad Mosque was one of the important examples of this in the early period.

Sultan Murad Mosque and Complex

Examinations of the Sultan Murad Complex were made in two groups: The mosque, tombs, cemetery and clock tower, which are the existing units today, and the madrasa, soup kitchen and school / foundation administration, which do not exist today.

Architectural Features and Decorations of Sultan Murad Mosque

Sultan Murad Mosque is an important example of sultan mosques built in the early Ottoman architectural tradition in the Balkans. This mosque, built by Murad II in Skopje in 1436/37, is one of the first mosques in the city and is also the oldest of the mosques that have survived to the present day (Bogoyevič, 2008: 44). Sultan Murad Mosque, the largest mosque in Skopje, is the fourth largest mosque in the Balkans in terms of volume after Sofia Mahmud Pasha Mosque, Plovdiv Hüdâvendigâr Mosque and Dimetoka Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Mosque (Ayverdi, 1981: 265).

The foundation charter and construction inscription of the mosque, which is located in the center of the social complex in which it is located, do not exist today. There are three repair inscriptions on the main gate. The oldest of these inscriptions is the one located right above the entrance door. From the three-line inscription written on the stone in Arabic jali thuluth, the mosque was built by Sultan Murad II in 1436/37. It is understood that it was built by Murad II, was exposed to fire in 1537/38, and was restored to its original state by Suleiman the Magnificent between 1539/42. The second repair inscription, written in Ottoman Turkish with ta'lik calligraphy and dated 1712, located in the middle of the rectangular panels with landscape pictures on both sides above the main gate, is dedicated to the mosque's founder, Sultan Murad II. It begins with a prayer to Murad and informs that the mosque was set on fire by the Austrians in 1689, and as a result, only a minaret without a cone and four walls remained. The mosque was built by Sultan Ahmed III in 1711/12. It remained in this condition for 23 years until it was repaired by Ahmed III. During this repair phase, the burnt covering system of the work, the wall surfaces damaged by high fire, and the cone of its minaret were renewed. In a document dated 1711 found in the Topkapı Palace Museum Archive, there is a brief written to Rikâb-ı Hümâyün regarding the repair of the mosque. In the document, Sultan III. Ahmed has a hatt-ı hümayün. As understood from the document; After the war with Austria, the mosque was destroyed by the invasion of Christians, and with the permission and order

of the sultan, it was repaired in 1711/12 by spending 1288 and a half kuruş and 1 suls 4 and a half coins. The third repair inscription was engraved with yellow paint directly on the main gate arch of the mosque. Since the inscription, written in Ottoman Turkish, is not readable today, Lidija Kumbaracı Bogoyević's reading was used. This inscription states that the work was repaired by Sultan Mehmed Reşad V before his visit to Skopje in 1911. The majority of the mosque's mahfil, pulpit, preaching platform and wall decorations belong to this repair phase.

The mosque has a deep rectangular plan (34.60 x 27.75 m.) in the north-south direction, and the main prayer area (harim) is covered by a wooden ceiling from the inside and a hipped roof from the outside, which includes the narthex. The narthex on the northern facade is divided into five sections with porticoes with round arches resting on four columns. In the northwest corner of the mosque, adjacent to the main mass, a minaret with a single balcony resting on a heptagonal base rise.

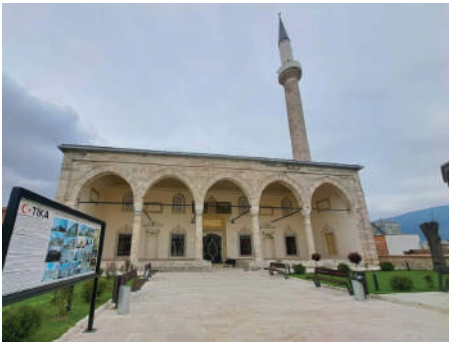


Figure 1. Sultan Murad Mosque Northern Facade

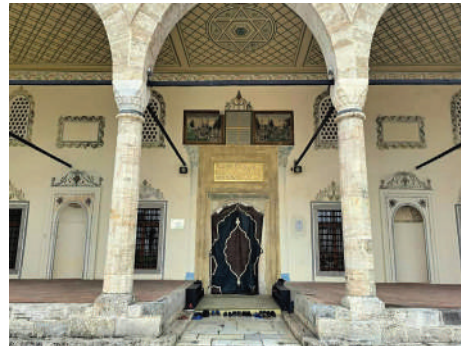


Figure 2. Sultan Murad Mosque Main Door

As construction material, it is seen that smooth cut stone was used on the north facade of the mosque and the minaret, and cut stone and brick were used in a vertical alternating technique in the main walls on the other three facades. The portico arches, columns and column bases in the narthex area are also made of cut stone. The marble supporting the portico arches in the narthex area is used. The column capitals can be considered as the most beautiful examples of their period and preserve their originality. Two of these capitals on the entrance axis have stalactites, while the other two capitals on the sides have large almonds. There are stone bracelets under the column capitals. The narthex is located on the east and west wings and has a semicircular plan and a rectangular frame. The mihrabiyes are decorated with flowers in naturalistic style.



Figure 3. Stalactide
Column Head



Figure 4. Almond
Shaped Column Head



Figure 4. Drawings in
Mihrabiya

The wooden ceiling covering the narthex is self-segmented, and on the entrance axis, the six-pointed star motif consisting of two intertwined triangles in a circle called “Seal of Suleiman” stands out. Another decorative element in this section is two murals depicting different landscapes from the restoration in 1911.

The half-pipe molding and border belt surround the low-arched entrance door, built entirely of stone, which provides the entrance to the harim from the last congregation area, in three directions. There are two panels between the low arch and the upper border belt. There are muqarnas decorations carved on stone on both sides of the flat-shaped door arch. Apart from these muqarnas decorations, the door is quite plain and undecorated. The wooden wings of the door are original, and there are staggered bars on the upper panels and cypress motifs on the lower ones.



Figure 6. The Suleiman Signature in
Wooden Ceiling



Figure 7. Main Door Wooden Wing

The mosque sanctuary is divided into three aisles by means of round arches on six square legs in two rows on the right and left, perpendicular to the axis of the qibla. In the harim, which consists of three parts, the middle aisle is wide and the two side aisles are narrower. The wooden ceiling covering the harim from the inside is mounted on two rows of pillars. These thick pillars made of stone suggest that the mosque had a domed covering system when it was built. Because the fact that such thick legs were made shows that there must be a heavy dome load to carry. In this regard; M. Zeki İbrahimgil mentions that Afrodita Tanevska, who took part in the restoration of the mosque in 1966, stated that the original cover of the sanctuary was a vault. Considering the architecture of the work and the vaulted cover of the Karlı Province Bey Mehmed Bey (Burmali) Mosque, which is a work of the same period as the Sultan Murad Mosque in Skopje, he thinks that the original cover system of the mosque was vault (İbrahimgil, 2009, p. 510). Ekrem H. Ayverdi, Semavi Eyice and Gliša Elezović are of the opinion that the middle aisle of the harim is covered by a vault, and the two side aisles are covered by domes (İbrahimgil, 2009: 510). Bogoyevich also attributed the current appearance of the mosque to the 18th century. Stating that he bought it after the repairs it had undergone in the beginning, he says that it was a domed structure when it was built (Bogoyevič, 2008: 49). In addition to these theories put forward, when we look at Bursa Murad II (Muradiye) Mosque and the Edirne Üç Şerefeli Mosque built in 1437/47 by Murad II, we see that their covering systems are domes. Therefore, it is more likely that the dome was also used in the Skopje Sultan Murad Mosque, which was built around the same time. In addition, according to the statements of the people of Skopje, the old version of the mosque was domed, and the dome of the mosque was burned down when the city was set on fire during the occupation of Skopje by the Austrians (1689). The today's covering system of the mosque, the hipped roof with wooden construction on the inside and Marseille type tile pattern on the outside, was built during the repair phase during the reign of Sultan Mehmed Reşad V. This period was a period when the economic budget of the Ottoman Empire was tight. Since it is not possible to repair the mosque cover in the original way due to economic difficulties, this solution was found in the most practical way. The ceiling decorations belonging to the dominant style of the period also support this idea.

The entire woodwork ceiling in the prayer hall has a segmented knitting composition, and in the middle of the ceiling is a twelve-segmented rosette motif. Large and small palmettes are placed within the border belt that goes around the ceiling molding.

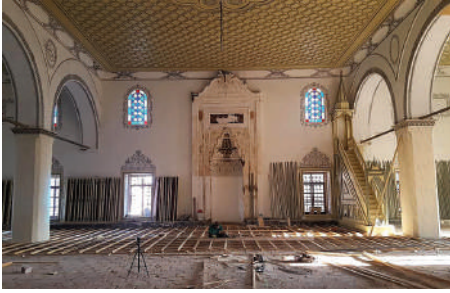


Figure 8. Harim of Sultan Murad Mosque (Restoration Period 2019)



Figure 9. Harim's Sliced Wooden Ceiling (After Restoration)

The floor in the mosque harim is paved with original hexagonal bricks from the period. Square shaped bricks were added to some damaged areas. However, in general, the ground maintains its originality.

There are two rows of windows in the harim. There are thirty-two windows, sixteen at the bottom and sixteen at the top. The windows in the lower row are rectangular in shape and have wooden jambs. There are colorful floral motifs engraved on plaster on the blind arched pediments of the windows. The windows in the upper row are in the form of round arches and have wooden sashes that can be opened from the inside. Colored stained-glass glasses of different sizes were used in these wings. There are plaster gratings on the parts of the windows facing the exterior.

The mihrab located on the south wall of the harim is made of plaster-stuko. The arch of the mihrab niche, which has a semi-circular plan, is surrounded by three rows of stalactite moldings. Above the kavsara, there is a rectangular plate on which the 37th verse of the Al-i Imran Surah, known as the "Mihrab verse", is written in jali thuluth. The curved branches and leaves inside the mihrab niche, made in baroque and rococo styles with golden yellow relief technique, belong to the restoration of the mosque in 1910/11 during the reign of Sultan Mehmed Reşad V.

The pulpit, which extends perpendicular to the wall in the southwest of the nave, is entirely made of wood. There is an octagonal wooden conical cone on the pavilion section, which is in the form of a rectangular prism. The pulpit is not original, it was repaired in 1910/11 (İbrahimî, 1989: 41-42). Most recently, it was renewed with the restoration carried out by TİKA.

On the south wall of the nave, there is the second lower row of windows from the east side and a wooden preaching stand in the middle of the altar. It is not from the pulpit period, but belongs to the third repair of the mosque in 1910/11.

In the northern wing of the harim, there is a women's mahfil with entirely wooden construction, sitting on eight wooden pillars, four in the east and four in the west direction, separated by wooden cages. It is clear that this large and eye-catching mahfil was added to the mosque later. The fact that the upper row windows do not open and are arched shows that the mahfil was not built together with the mosque and was added to the harim later. As a result of the research, the mahfil was added to the harim during the restoration of the mosque in 1910/11. The woodwork in the mahfil, baroque profiled arches and intensely worked realistic flower motifs reveal that the mahfil was built in the late Ottoman period.



Figure 10. Sultan Murad Mosque Women's Section (Situation After Restoration)



Figure 11. One of The Pen Drawings on Wooden Foot Carrying Women's Section

The colorful decorations and landscape depictions made with hand-drawn technique on the plaster on the mosque's harim and exterior are not from the first period of the mosque, but were applied during the reign of Sultan Mehmed Resad V, according to the baroque and rococo style, which was the artistic approach of the late Ottoman period. It can be said that the visible part of the mosque changed to the Western style after the restoration in 1910/11. After this repair, the features preserved on the exterior have undergone significant changes in the interior.

Tombs of Beyhan Sultan and Dagestanli Ali Pasha

There are two tombs within the complex. One of these is the Beyhan Sultan Tomb dated 1556/57, which is attributed to Beyhan Sultan, the daughter of Yavuz Sultan Selim Khan, in the southwestern corner of the mosque. The name of this tomb is known as "Beyan Baba" among the people of Skopje. The tomb has a square

planned, cubic body and a domed structure resting on an octagonal drum inside and outside. The dome is covered with lead.

We see the cut stone-brick alternating masonry, which has become widespread in Ottoman tombs since the 16th century, in this tomb as well. On the facade walls of the tomb, a row of smooth cut stones and alternating masonry with bricks, in some places two and sometimes three rows, were used. Entrance to the tomb is provided through the low arched entrance door on the east side. Above the entrance gate arch, there is a construction inscription written in Ottoman Turkish in jali thuluth style, in two lines divided into four, in a horizontal rectangular stone slab. The inscription preserves its originality. The tomb, which had an open portico over the entrance gate when it was built, was without a portico until the restoration process started in 2016. After the restoration, a wooden porch was built and placed in its place.



Figure 12. Tomb of Beyhan Sultan

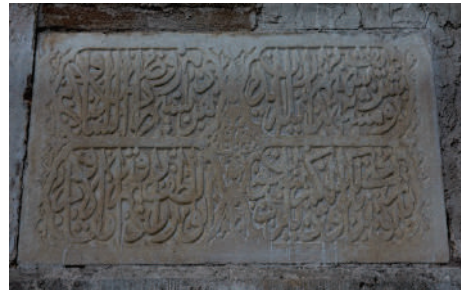


Figure 13. Beyhan Sultan Tomb
Construction Inscription

There are four more graves in the tomb, along with Beyhan Sultan's grave. When you enter through the low arched opening, there are three boat tombs, two large and imposing boats on both sides and a small boat on the south side, and two tombs with sarcophagi at the back (west side). The boats and sarcophagi are made of marble. The crown of one of the sarcophagi has a turban. There is no writing on the marble head and foot end of the graves. As an element of decoration in Shahis; muqarnas mihrab niche, column, pench, leaf and passion flower motifs are included. When we look at the Ottoman dynastic tombs of the early and classical period, it is understood from the richness of the marbles used and the majesty of the tomb that this tomb belongs to the sultan dynasty. Sâlih Âsım Bey also expressed the following sentences on this issue: "There is a tomb in the courtyard of the İrfan Mektebi (currently Mehmed Sokolovic) which is very

decorated in terms of art and its dome sarcophagi are made of marble. Judging by its shape, it resembles the tombs of lady sultans in the mausoleums in Istanbul” (Sâlih Asım Bey, 2004: 47-48).



Figure 13. Interior of Beyhan Sultan Tomb

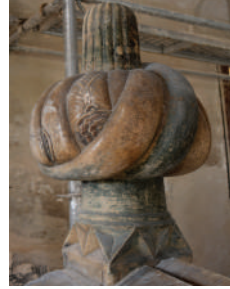


Figure 14. Marble Hood on Tomb Coffin Header

The floor of the square planned tomb is paved with square bricks. As in the mosque, the ground in this tomb preserves its originality. We see that classical style motifs were included in the decoration of architectural works in the 16th century, which was the brightest period of the Ottoman Empire in art and architecture, in accordance with the artistic understanding of the period. Traces of the classical period can also be seen in the decorations in the Beyhan Sultan Tomb. With the plastering done during the restoration process, colorful hand-drawn ornaments from the period were revealed on the window pediments. We see the pench motif, which is one of the ornamental motifs of plant origin and was widely used in decorations in the Ottoman classical period, in the hand-drawn works in the tomb. A claw motif is engraved on the pediments of the wooden windows, at the junction of two branches. Yellowish leaves surround the motif and there are dendans underneath. The wooden interior window sashes with iron rosettes in the tomb are also original. The fact that these inner wings are wooden and original suggests that the tomb may have previously had a wooden door. In the last restoration carried out by TİKA, a new wooden door was placed at the entrance of the tomb.



Figure 13. Beyhan Sultan Tomb Pen
Drawn Ornament



Figure 14. Details of Wooden Window
Wing

The transition to the dome of the tomb is provided by pointed arches and muqarnas corner pendants. These pendants are outstanding and beautiful examples of their period. A total of four upper row windows, one on each side, were placed on the upper surface of the walls, at the middle level of the pointed arched pendentives. Beyhan Sultan Tomb, with its architectural structure and magnificence, is the largest of this type of tombs that have survived to the present day in Macedonia (Pavlov, 2008: 63).

The other tomb within the complex is the Dagestanli Ali Pasha Tomb. The tomb is located adjacent to the eastern facade wall of the Sultan Murad Mosque. The tomb does not have a construction or repair inscription. However, the testimony of the two sarcophagi inside gives an idea about the construction date of the tomb. According to the testimony dated 1774 belonging to the daughter of Dagestanli Ali Pasha, the tomb was built in the 18th century. It reveals that it was built towards the end of the building. The tomb, which is in baldachin style, has a hexagonal plan and a lead-covered dome resting on a hexagonal drum. At the top of the dome, there is a finial with a flat hemisphere on the base, two cubes on the body, and a palmette motif on the top (Dişli & Fırat, 2016: 327). The six legs that make up the body of the tomb are connected to each other with pointed arches. The tomb, which has no seating or crypt, sits on a pedestal made of two rows of smooth cut stones. The pedestal floor is also made of smooth cut stone. The tomb generally has a plain appearance. Only on the exterior, a mosque with a minaret made in relief on stone, a twisted minaret and flower branches in ewers on both sides are conspicuous decorative elements. There are two boat-shaped graves in the tomb. The one with a witness to the northern facade belongs to Ayişe Hanım, the daughter of Dagestanli Ali Pasha. The rectangular boat has head and foot end bearings. Under the motif of a cypress tree on the headstone, there is a ten-line

text written in Ottoman Turkish, dated 1188 H./1774, expressing the sadness of a mother who lost her daughter. Pench motifs are placed in circles on the front and back parts of the rectangular shaped boat and on the side pehle stones. The claws are decorated with a geometric pattern around them. The other boat in the tomb belongs to Zeynep Hanım, wife of Dagestanli Ali Pasha. The boat has a rectangular plan and does not have a bow and foot end and a cover. While there was a marquee at the bow of the boat, Glişa Elezovic copied the Arabic text on it, and Yıldız Kocasavaş translated it into Turkish. Lidiya Kumbaracı Bogoyeviç included this text in her work. Like the other boat, there are claws made with carving technique on the side faces of this boat.



Figure 18. Ali Pasha of Dagestan Tomb



Figure 19. Bedside Table Belonging to Âyişe Hanım



Figure 20. Claw Pattern Made With Carving Technique on Table Surface

There are gravestones on the eastern facade of Sultan Murad Mosque. In this area, which was used as the graveyard of the mosque, there are now ten Ottoman period tombstones, two of which are in the form of boats, one in the form of a sarcophagus, and the others in rectangular form. The gravestones whose dates we have determined belong to the 18th and 19th centuries. The ornamental motifs carved on the stones also bear the characteristics of late Ottoman art. Especially baroque style flowers and rosettes are included. Apart from the tombstones in the graveyard, there are also some tombstones that have survived to the present day in broken condition. These stones were not erected in the cemetery before the restoration process, but were removed from the cemetery area, but were included in the cemetery after the restoration. Residents of the neighborhood say that about 20-25 years ago, while there were more tombstones in the

cemetery, Hodja Effendi, a member of Wahhabism who was the imam of the Sultan Murad Mosque, removed many of the tombstones here, some of them were completely destroyed and some of them have survived to the present day in a broken state. Therefore, looking at the existing stones and their dates, it is not possible to say the 18th century.



Figure 21. Grave in Stone Form



Figure 22. 16 Armed Star Shaped
Badged Signature

Clock Tower

The clock tower located in the northeast corner of the mosque courtyard is not one of the main units of the Sultan Murad Complex, but was included in the complex later. There is no construction inscription or any written document about the clock tower, which has become one of the symbols of Skopje over time. Some important sources state that the tower was built in the period between 1566-73 (Bogoyeviç, 2008: 58; İbrahimgil, 2009: 511). Skopje Clock Tower is one of the first examples of the clock tower construction tradition that started in the second half of the 16th century in the Ottoman lands (Bogoyeviç, 2008: 58; Acun, 2008: 325). In his travelogue written in the mid-17th century, Evliya Çelebi mentioned this clock tower as follows: “First of all, there is a clock tower like a minaret shaft in front of Yurkarkale, near the Hünkâr Mosque. The bell of the clock is an imposing-sounding bell that is heard throughout a mansion. “The tower is also instructive” (Evliyâ Çelebi: 772). The height of the clock tower, which consists of three parts as base, body and pavilion, is 34.25 m. The transition from the square-planned pedestal built of stone to the octagonal prismatic body is made with four large almonds. This octagonal shaped part, which constitutes the body of the tower, is made of stone up to a certain height, and is divided into two parts by a molding in the middle, and the upper part is covered with red brick. At the top of the body, there is a pavilion with a balcony surrounded by iron railings, and at the top there is a bulbous cone with a pointed tip and widening from top to bottom. Although the

body of the tower is an Ottoman structure in terms of architecture, its cone is in baroque style. A two-stage section with an octagonal prismatic plan rises above the balcony with black iron railings. There are eight round arched windows on the facades of this two-tiered section. There are circular clock dials with Roman numerals on the four sides of the tower body. The entrance to the tower is provided through the round-arched wooden door on the south side of its base facing the Sultan Murad Mosque. When you enter the tower, you encounter a room. Here, there are wooden stair steps used to go up to the balcony mansion section where the clock mechanism is located. The interior, which has a wooden construction, has a three-storey staircase, just like the exterior of the tower. You can go up to the mansion with balcony via wide wooden stairs, but the two-tiered section at the top cannot be reached. The clock mechanism of the tower is located in the pavilion at the top. The clock wheel and the clock bell located under the cone at the top of the mansion still exist today, having lost their functionality.



Figure 23. Skopje Clock Tower



Figure 24. Skopje Clock Tower Wheel

Units That Do Not Exist Today: Sultan Murad Mosque Madrasa, Sultan Murad Almshouse and School / Foundations Administration

We learn from the present-day wall ruins and some available documents and sources that during the construction of the Sultan Murad Mosque, a madrasa was built inside the complex, on the south side of the mosque (1436/37). While talking about the madrasas in the city during his visit to Skopje, Evliyâ Çelebi first mentions this madrasa as “Sultan Murad Mosque Madrasa” (Evliyâ Çelebi, 2017: 768). Only some wall ruins have survived to the present day from the madrasa, which is located at the back of the Beyhan Sultan Tomb within the social complex, adjacent to the residential houses. Regarding the architecture of the madrasa from these ruins, it can be said that the madrasa was built as a masonry

building like the mosque, with two rows of bricks and one row of cut stone, with alternating masonry, and pointed arches were used in the window pediments, like those of the mosque. On the topographic map dated 1711/12, this madrasa was recorded as “Mekteb-i Cami-i Atik” and the madrasa is clearly visible on the map in terms of its shape. On this map, the madrasa is drawn with a hipped roof and a three-legged portico in front of the entrance door. The building, which provided education as a madrasa when it was built, was later converted into a school (Ayverdi, 1972: 566; Salih Âsım Bey, 2004: 47). In his memoirs, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı mentions that he was a student of this school in 1889 and refers to the school as “New School”. Explaining that the school is located behind the altar of Sultan Murad Mosque, in the courtyard of Beyhan Sultan Tomb and that it is a foundation work that is five hundred years old.

This new school was behind the Sultan Murad Mosque, which was on the most sacred hill of Skopje. The New School was new compared to the old schools throughout the centuries. I still can't determine this. In fact, it was completely old. I believe that when Sultan Murad-i Sani built the Maruf Mosque on that hill, he also added the madrasa and imaret around it. As on that hill there was no building that was not part of mosque. The innovation of the New School came from the reconstruction of its building, which had burned and collapsed over time. (Beyatlı, 2018: 21)

It provides information about this school. We do not know until which date the school was active, but while Yahya Kemal was talking about his visit to Skopje in 1932, he stated that Skopje was under Serbian rule at that time and that the Serbs destroyed all the schools there, but did not touch the old neighborhood schools and that the New School was still providing education. He says that he gives (Beyatlı, 2018: 29). The school was damaged and destroyed in the 1963 Skopje Earthquake, and its ruins remain today.



Figure 25. Sultan Murad Mosque Madrasa Wall Ruins



Figure 26. Remains of the Madrasa

It is learned from sources that in addition to the madrasa and the Sultan Murad Mosque, a soup kitchen was also built (Bogoyeviç, 2008: 44). It is estimated that this soup kitchen, of which no trace has been found today, was on the south side of the Sultan Murad Mosque, on the side of the madrasa (İbrahimgil, 2009: 509). While talking about the existence of nine imarets in Skopje, Evliyâ Çelebi refers to this imaret as “Hünkâr Imaret” and states that during the period when the imaret was in service, it was always open and had many blessings, like other large imarets in Skopje (Evliyâ Çelebi, 2017: 774). Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi also refers to this soup kitchen as “Sultan Murad Imaret” (Ayverdi, 1981: 294).

Today, it is learned from Skopje notables and some old photographs that there was a building in the Sultan Murad Complex, in the area between the mosque and the Clock Tower. The building, for which no exact information can be found about its construction date, was probably built by Sultan Abdülhamid II. It is said that it was built as a school during the reign of Abdülhamid, and that it was in use as a school until the 1950s and 1960s, and then it was used as the Mufti Building of the Islamic Union of Macedonia (Awqaf Administration) for a certain period. We see this building in some old Skopje photographs. In a photograph from the 19th century, this building is mentioned as “the old building of the Council of Ulema”.



Figure 27. School From the Eastern Front of Sultan Murad Complex / Foundations Administration Building



Figure 28. Clergymen Council 19. yy. ¹

¹ Behicüddin Şehabi, Daniela Nikolova, Üsküp Hatırası, 2014, s. 219.

Conclusion

15th century it was a period when the Ottoman Empire developed in every field: military, political, social, cultural and economic. As a result, positive progress has been made in art and architecture. We see that early Ottoman architecture was carried to the Balkan cities where the Ottoman Empire dominated, after Anatolian lands. At this point, Skopje Sultan Murad Mosque is important as it shows that the early Ottoman architectural tradition was continued in the Balkans. The social complex, which consisted of a mosque, a madrasa and a soup kitchen when it was built, was later added to two tombs, a cemetery with tombstones, a clock tower and a school / foundation administration.

Sultan Murad Mosque was built in a plan, volume, material, technique and facade order in accordance with the general character of the early Ottoman architecture, but as a result of the natural disasters such as fire and earthquake it was exposed to over time, the Macedonian civil war in 2001 and the repairs it underwent, many things have changed from its original state. lost. The original parts of the mosque that have survived to the present day are the facade walls, the marble column capitals in the narthex, the part of the minaret up to the balcony, and the three repair inscriptions on the main gate. We see from the present ruins of the madrasa, which was built together with the mosque but has not survived to the present day, that it was built in accordance with the materials and technical specifications of the early period. Beyhan Sultan Tomb, one of the surviving units of the complex, is a good example of its period when compared to its contemporaneous dynastic tombs in Anatolia. The large corner pendants, hand-drawn works, wooden window sashes and marble sarcophagi in the tomb have survived to the present day while preserving their originality. Dagestanli Ali Pasha Tomb, which was added to the complex in the 18th century, is an example of Ottoman open tombs built in baldachin style. The hazire (Sultan Murad Mosque Cemetery), located on the eastern facade of the mosque, contains stones from the 18th and 19th centuries, as far as we can read. The baroque style decorations belonging to the late Ottoman art, most of which are located on the stones in rectangular and rectangular prismatic form, are important in terms of giving an idea about the period of the tombs. The 16th-century Clock Tower, located in the northeast of the complex, is the oldest clock tower in the Balkan lands and is one of the first examples of clock towers built during the Ottoman period. The building, which was built between the Sultan Murad Mosque and the Clock Tower, the existence of which we can detect from the people of Skopje and from old Skopje photographs, continued its functionality as a school until the 1950s/60s, and was later used as the mufti's office building of the period. Today,

there is a green area on the site of the building, which was destroyed a while after the 1963 Skopje Earthquake.

In our study, we tried to provide information by researching and examining every aspect of the Sultan Murad Mosque and Social Complex, which has an important place in the urbanization of Skopje but has not been extensively researched and examined until now. The social complex was reopened to visitors in January 2020, after the last restoration process.

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REFLECTIONS OF MODERNIZATION IN DAILY LIFE IN SARAJEVO: A STUDY BASED ON SVRZO'S HOUSE AND DESPIĆ HOUSE

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Introduction

Starting in Western Europe and changing cultural, socioeconomic and political systems around the world, modernization has also caused many changes and reforms in the Ottoman Empire. During the Tanzimat period, which is described as Ottoman modernization, the effects of modernization have penetrated into political, economic, social and cultural areas. Modernization, which caused major changes in European cities and cultural life, has also had an effect in Ottoman cities, causing various transformations in the physical structure of cities and daily life. The events experienced in the modernization process in Sarajevo have affected the course of the transformative effects of modernization. The effects of modernization, which first started under Ottoman rule after the Tanzimat, were mostly manifested with the emergence of a new administrative system, institutions and services, while the physical structure of houses and daily life were not affected by this process. However, the modernization that can be described as the second period modernization of Sarajevo took place under the Austro-Hungarian rule. Compared to the first period modernization of Sarajevo under Ottoman rule, the Habsburg rule brought European culture and modernization experiences to the country. Modernization began within the Ottoman State and Islamic cultural structure and continued under non-Muslim rule and European culture. These different political and cultural structures affected the nature and structure of the modernization process in Sarajevo. The differentiation of the



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cultural life of the society living in Sarajevo in terms of modernization differed in these two periods.

Focusing on the transformation experienced in Sarajevo in the context of the modernization process between 1839-1918, this study aims to explain the effects of modernization on different religious groups living in Sarajevo through houses, which were the basic living spaces of daily life. In this context Svrzo's House and Despic House, which were prominent houses of the period, were discussed.

In this context, various written sources were used in the study and Ottoman modernization was primarily investigated in the light of these sources. In this context, firstly the first modernization process experienced by Sarajevo was discussed. Then, the transformation of Sarajevo under the Austro-Hungarian rule was examined. In light of this information, the effects of these two modernization processes on daily life were tried to be revealed by focusing on Svrzo's House and Despic House in the city of Sarajevo. During this study, written sources, field notes, photo and postcard archives were used and the findings were analyzed. The study concludes that modernization was accepted more widely among the Christian people living in Sarajevo, while the Muslim people tried to preserve their old culture and life.

Ottoman Modernization: The Tanzimat Reforms

The modern world has changed many things from the past to the present. According to Halil İnalcık (1972: 33), who considered modernization as a process, modernization transforms the social, material and spiritual civilization of a society from one type to another. Along with the concept of modernization, the spread of European values, ways of thinking and techniques, called Europeanization, also took place. Modernization and Europeanization challenged Islamic civilization and created difficulties for it. They caused radical changes in people's lives and ways of thinking (Karcic, 1999: 23-25). Starting from the 18th century, European-Western modernity created difficulties for Muslims, especially during the 19th century. Over time, Europe became a dominant power in terms of military power and gained superiority. Muslims, on the other hand, found themselves in the background against Europe in this new modern world.

Muslim travelers and Ottoman elites who visited Europe during the 19th century were fascinated by the order they saw there. They found the values that Muslims had previously had in Europe. The most important of these were a strong economy, developed trade, a fair legal system, power, effective bureaucracy, a well-educated and disciplined army, science and education. They came to the conclusion that the

power and prosperity of Europe was a result of the well-established and effective institutions there. They believed that the way to improve the situation of the Muslim ummah was through legal and institutional reform (Karcic, 1999: 25-32). The Second Siege of Vienna in 1683 resulted in the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, and after this defeat, the Ottoman administrative system and state institutions experienced disintegration. These disintegrations made it necessary to renew the organization. The reforms of the Ottoman Empire can be grouped under two periods. The first is the period until Mahmud II, which also includes the reign of Selim III. In the reforms made during this period, the existing structure of the institutions was preserved. The second period is the period starting with Mahmud II. The reforms made during this period gained a quality that changed the existing structure and order (Şener, 1990: 144). After the death of Mahmud II on July 1, 1839, his son Abdülmecid came to power (Akyıldız, 2011: 2). Sultan Abdülmecid inherited his father's reformist ideas (Güngör, 2003: 419). As a result of these ideas, the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu, also known as the Edict of Gülhane-Tanzimat, was declared on November 3, 1839 and the Tanzimat Period began (Akyıldız, 2011: 1).

The edict begins by emphasizing that the Ottoman State had a prosperous country and a prosperous society thanks to the provisions of the Quran and the sharia, and that weakness and poverty had emerged due to the non-compliance with these provisions and the sharia in the last 150 years, and that the state could return to the old days in a short time thanks to its geographical location, the fertility of its lands, and the diligence of its people. The edict also states that new laws should be prepared. These new laws are based on the principles of security of life and property, protection of honor and chastity, regulation of taxes, and reform in the military field. It is also emphasized that the people should not be taxed more than they can afford. The method of tax-farming, which harmed the Ottoman treasury and the people, will be abolished. It is emphasized that indefinite military terms should be regulated and the period should be reduced due to the increase in population, negatively affecting agriculture and trade. It is emphasized that the people have rights over their property, regardless of whether they are Muslim or non-Muslim. In order to discuss all these issues, it was decided to increase the number of members of the Meclis-i Vala and to have the deputies and dignitaries attend the meetings to be held occasionally. In addition, it was decided by the edict to prepare a law on bribery in order to improve the country's situation caused by bribery. This edict included innovations that radically changed the traditional structure of the Ottoman Empire. (Akyıldız, 2011: 2-3).

With the Tanzimat, the reform movements that had been ongoing since the 17th century began to be implemented in the entire state and in every field for the

first time (Gölen, 2010: 5). For this reason, it is generally accepted that the Ottoman modernization and Westernization movement began with the reforms brought by the Tanzimat Edict (Beşirli, 1999: 132).

Issues such as equality, military service and taxation in the edict caused confusion and the implementation of the edict was delayed in some states. One of these states was Bosnia and Herzegovina. Tanzimat was put into practice in this region in 1851 (Gölen, 2010: 6). Before modernization, the Ottomans kept people with different languages, religions, identities and cultures together. Especially in the Balkans, a concept of Turkish Nation based on religious unity and common culture can be mentioned among Turks and Muslims of non-Turkish origin (Ağanoğlu, 2013: 29). The fate of the Ottoman and Balkan geography, which shared a common culture and tradition for centuries, would change with the modernization process and the rebellions that broke out in the region, the idea of nationalism and the treaties signed with European states, and the Ottoman map of Europe would be redrawn. The nation-state phenomenon and the imperialist interests of the great powers almost completely ended the Ottoman presence in the Balkans in the early 20th century (Yetim, 2011: 285). This situation particularly affected Bosnia, which had been the westernmost province of the Ottoman Empire since its conquest, and Sarajevo, one of the most important Ottoman cities. This effect did not only manifest itself in the political arena, but also had important effects in the socio-cultural context.

Sarajevo and the Modernization Period

Sarajevo has been one of the traditional Ottoman cities with all its institutions and elements from its first construction to the modernization process. In the 19th century, the effects of modernization, which penetrated every field from the administrative structure to the cultural life of the Ottoman Empire, were also seen in Sarajevo. The modernization of Bosnian society took place in two different sociopolitical and cultural contexts. Modernization began within the Ottoman State and Islamic cultural structure and continued under non-Muslim rule and European culture. During this period, Bosnia came under the rule of Austria-Hungary, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Socialist Yugoslavia. These different political and cultural structures affected the nature and structure of the modernization that took place. Bosnia was governed by the Ottoman State between 1463 and 1878. During the last hundred years of their rule, the Ottoman State made efforts to bring the necessary changes to its structure. These reforms, which were the first steps of modernization, were also implemented in the Bosnian province (Karcic, 1999: 14).

The effects of Tanzimat and Ottoman modernization differ in Sarajevo, which came into existence with the Ottoman Empire. After the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict, the provisions of the edict could not be put into practice in the Bosnian Province for many years (Gölen, 2010: 78-85). The rebellions that broke out in Sarajevo in particular prevented the implementation of Tanzimat (Karcic, 1999: 48-49; Gölen, 2010: 68-77). The provisions that could not be implemented with military interventions were largely put into practice during Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's Bosnian inspectorship (Gölen, 2010: 115-121). Many innovations and regulations were made in Sarajevo, especially in the last 15 years of Ottoman rule. The establishment of the regular army (Karcic, 1999: 49-51), the province system (Gölen, 2010: 136-143; Karcic, 1999: 53-54), telegraph service (Karcic, 1999: 66), the establishment of the printing house (Gölen, 2010: 210), the emergence of monumental public buildings such as the Konak and military barracks (Karcic, 1999: 66), the opening of the first modern hospital in Sarajevo, the Gazi Husrev Bey Vakıf Gureba Hospital, and the first pharmacy (Gölen, 2010: 227-228) are some of the practices implemented after the Tanzimat. The greatest development in this period was in the field of education. Many new schools and primary schools affiliated with the church were opened in Sarajevo. While the madrasah education in Sarajevo was left as it was, new arrangements were made in primary schools and secondary schools (Gölen, 2010: 181-182; Karcic, 1999: 68). The aim of the teacher training school opened in Sarajevo was to train new teachers for the primary schools previously taught by neighborhood imams (Karcic, 1999: 69). In this context, it is seen that the modernization process in the Ottoman Empire manifested itself in the cultural, military, administrative and educational fields in Sarajevo. However, it is also seen that modern innovations that would change the urban texture in the context of the physical structure of the city and neighborhoods could not be implemented.

After the declaration of Tanzimat, a circular was issued in 1839, planning to open wide roads arranged according to geometric plans in the neighborhoods of Istanbul, to ban wooden construction by building brick houses, to ban dead-end streets and to open new housing areas. Later, the Ebniye Regulations were issued in 1848 and 1849, and the regulations were put into a legal framework to be applied only in Istanbul. In 1863, the Turuk and Ebniye Regulations were issued, and it was decided that the regulations would be applied in other city centers and large towns (Tekeli, 2006: 385). On the other hand, considering the late implementation of the Tanzimat provisions in Sarajevo, the urban texture of the traditional Ottoman city was preserved intact until the end of Ottoman rule (Appendix 1). With the occupation of the Bosnia province by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin, a new era of modernization began in

Sarajevo. The Austro-Hungarian rule between 1878 and 1918 had economic, social and cultural effects, especially on Sarajevo. The modernization that can be described as the second period of modernization in Bosnia took place under the Habsburg rule. Compared to the first period of modernization in Bosnia under the Ottoman rule, the Habsburg rule brought European culture and modernization experiences to Bosnia (Karcic, 1999: 75).

In this context, the Austro-Hungarian period is very important in terms of the modernization of Bosnia. During this period, Bosniaks first came into direct contact with European ideas of the period. After 40 years, they left indelible marks on the social, economic, political and cultural life of Bosnia. During this period, political ties between Bosnia and the Ottoman Empire were broken. Bosnia's Islamic religious administration was separated from the Caliphate center in Istanbul. Banks and modern schools were opened. All the institutes and organizations of the non-Muslim state and modernization derived from the modern understanding of Central Europe spread in Bosnia (Karcic, 1999: 14-16). During this period, the physical structure of the city changed. After the Austro-Hungarian annexation, the city's panorama began to change. The Austro-Hungarian administration initiated a construction process westward along the Miljacka River in Sarajevo. While Ottoman architecture continued to exist in the city on the one hand, new architectural elements emerged on the other. With the construction activities of Austria-Hungary, Sarajevo doubled its size in a short time (Bejtic, 1973: 31-34). Over the course of about forty years, buildings such as the City Hall, the Palace of Justice, the National Theatre, the Sports Hall and the Army Headquarters in the Neo-Renaissance style were built. In addition, a sewage system was built throughout the city. In addition, a new main water source was created and this source replaced sixty-eight fountains located in different local areas. A new electric tram system was built and lighting systems were also installed in the streets. The Gazi Husrev Begova Mosque is the first Ottoman mosque in the world to be illuminated with this new method.

In Sarajevo, a traditional Ottoman city that previously separated housing and commerce spatially, large blocks with shops underneath were built. The newly arrived Christian population was accommodated in these apartments. Unlike the Ottoman period, the construction process did not consider landscape and privacy. Instead, street networks that provided easy communication were preferred. In this new period, the concept of neighborhood was eliminated and the street became the main unit. In addition, even new houses built as private properties began to be built with a plan that had an Austrian appearance (Sparks, 2014: 1-2). Sarajevo, which remained under Ottoman rule for more than 400 years before the Austro-Hungarian

rule, had its urban texture largely composed of buildings built with Islamic architecture. In the city, which was attempted to be rebuilt with the colonial style of governance of Austria-Hungary, the extent of social, cultural and architectural change was quite great due to the influence of the local middle class and elite class that adopted Western lifestyles and patterns (Sparks, 2014: 4-7). After the Austro-Hungarian troops annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, Sarajevo entered the 20th century as a larger, more developed and more European city. The city, which had a classical Ottoman city appearance, gained a Western-centered face. The city experienced a major physical transformation. The basis of this physical transformation is major changes in the demographic structure, political organization, cultural life and social practices in the city. These changes can generally be described as “modernization” or “Westernization”. These changes reached Sarajevo through the Habsburg administration, which had the experience of Vienna, and mixed with the local culture and traditions in an unpredictable way. By 1900, there were two overlapping cultural orbits in Sarajevo. One of these orbits was the traditional world centered in Istanbul. The second was the modern world with increasingly dominant influences originating in Vienna (Donia, 2002: 43-75).

Evaluation of the Samples of Svrzo’s House and Despica House

The innovations and transformations that took place in the modernization process in Sarajevo also affected daily life. These effects can be analyzed through the houses of the period. The Ottomans brought a new city type to Bosnia. Within this new city type, residential architecture experienced a conceptual transformation. This transformation is a reflection of a developed and high living culture. Because it was accepted by both Muslims who converted to Islam and Christians. Some traditional houses from the 18th and 19th centuries have survived to the present day in Sarajevo. These houses carry the common characteristics of the Ottoman civilization. Houses in Sarajevo are similar in terms of their spatial plans and the materials used in their construction. The houses of the rich in Sarajevo generally consist of haremlik and selamlık sections, and have courtyards and high walls separating the private and public areas (Surkovic and Bojadzic, 2017: 230).

During the Ottoman period, houses in Sarajevo were built of adobe, stone and wood. The foundations and walls of the houses that rest on the ground are made of stone, the beams are made of wood, the outer walls that are reinforced with these beams are made of adobe, the windows, doors, roof construction and the majority of the furniture are made of wood. The interiors of the houses have a simple and regular structure. The houses have a useful and pleasant appearance.

They also have a rich decoration. The wooden furniture is decorated with special carvings. The houses have a large room called a cardak, other multifunctional rooms and a divanhane (Surkovic and Bojadzic, 2017: 230).

The Svrzo's House (Svrzina Kuca) is one of the most beautiful examples of Ottoman civil architecture that has been preserved. This house also represents the lifestyle of an urban Muslim family in the late 18th and throughout the 19th century. In fact, Svrzo's House belongs to Sarajevo Ahmed Munib Efendi Glođo, who belonged to one of Sarajevo's prominent families. However, when Munib Efendi died without a male heir, the house passed to the Svrzo family through marriage. The Svrzo's House consists of two main parts: the haremlik and the selamlik. The haremlik is the part of the house reserved for private and family life. The selamlik is the semi-open part where male guests are received (Appendix 2). When the plan of the house is examined, the outer courtyard is entered through the wooden street door (Appendix 3). This is called the "muska avlija", or men's courtyard (Appendix 4). On the right side of this courtyard is the selamlik section, the "muski halvat" (Appendix 4). The stable entrance door is located just across the courtyard. There is also a wooden door in this section that opens onto wooden stairs to go up to an outer hall or open space (called "sofa") on the upper floor. There is a door to the inner courtyard, in other words, the ladies' courtyard, through the small gap in the far-right corner of the courtyard (Appendix 4). The reception room for male guests, called halvat, is surrounded on both sides by a divan-sofa called "secija" that is slightly elevated from the ground (Appendix 5). Rug making is a well-developed craft in Bosnia. As can be seen in the other rooms of the house, the open floor here is covered with a large rug. In addition, the rug was used as a decorative item by hanging it on the wall. The rugs contain traditional Bosnian motifs (Appendix 5, Appendix 6). In the Svrzo's House, as in other traditional Ottoman houses, a brazier or stove was used for heating. There is a copper brazier in the middle of this room (Appendix 5, Appendix 6). The divan is covered with various woven fabrics and has back cushions and pillows (Appendix 5, Appendix 6, Appendix 7). Other remarkable details in this room where male guests are accepted are: A carved wooden chest (Appendix 6), a sword, rifle and gun hanging on the wall (Appendix 8), a wooden shelf above the window surrounding the room with a jug, glass cups and a few pots and pans on it (Appendix 9), a ceiling chandelier with embroidered and glass details (Appendix 10), two-winged curtains with striped fabric (Appendix 5, Appendix 6, Appendix 7, Appendix 9), a hookah and a Quran on a wooden rehal (Appendix 7).

There is a small room next to the halvat room. In this room, called the coffee stove, coffee is cooked to be served to the male guests. In this room, there are coffee

beans, a copper hammer for grinding the coffee beans, a copper tray, a copper cezve and cups with metal covers (Appendix 11).

The “divhana” or divanhane located on the upper floor is in the form of a semi-open veranda and the rooms open to this divanhane. The divanhane is connected to a narrow corridor called mabeyn. This mabeyn opens to the harem section of the house. The divanhane continues to the harem section of the house, which is private to the family. This divanhane, which has carved arches and wooden railings, has a pergola (kameriye) has view the inner courtyard (Appendix 12). The doors of a large room called çardak, which is used as a bedroom, a young girl’s room and a living and dining room in the harem section of the house, open to the divanhane.

Rooms are also used for multiple purposes in Sarajevo houses. In the bedroom of Svrzo’s House, there is a floor mattress and a divan covered with a rug surrounding three sides of the room (Appendix 13, Appendix 14). This room is used for sleeping at night, but in the morning the floor mattress is put away in the closet (Appendix 15) and used as a living space. For this reason, this room is also called “çardak”, that is, the large room. One of the multi-purpose functions of the room is its closets. These closets are called “musandra”. One of the closets is used as a storage closet, while the other closet is used as a bathroom (Appendix 15). The stove located between the two closets heats the room and provides hot water for the bathroom (Appendix 15). Another feature that distinguishes this room from the other rooms is the wooden cages in front of the windows (Appendix 13, Appendix 14, Appendix 16). These cages are the reflection of the importance that Islam gives to privacy in this house where a Muslim family lives. Other noteworthy elements in this room are: a wooden cradle (Appendix 13, Appendix 14), a floor rug with motifs of Bosnia (Appendix 14), back cushions covered with patterned fabrics on the divan, embroidered pillows and divan covers (Appendix 13, Appendix 16), and an embroidered cover (Appendix 15).

Another room in the harem section is the young girl’s room. This room, which is relatively smaller than the other rooms, contains a divan with cross-stitched covers with floral motifs, back cushions on the divan, two-winged curtains, a rug with motifs of Bosnia, a small chest and embroidered chest cover in the window niche (Appendix 17), a gold-leaf embroidered wall mirror, a cross-stitched cover hanging over the mirror, a carved wooden chest, an embroidered chest cover, a wooden wall shelf, and various sized ewers and vases on the shelf (Appendix 18). The most remarkable element of the room is the wooden cross-stitch hoop (Appendix 19). In Ottoman society, young girls spent most of their time at home doing embroidery. Various embroidery works, which are works of art found in many parts of the house, are produced in this small room of the house. Cross-stitch or gold and

silver striped wire-break shawls, covers, headscarves and quilts are extremely important items in a young girl's dowry. According to the informative plate prepared by the Sarajevo City Museum, young girls carefully kept their own handicrafts in wooden carved chests called "sehara" (Appendix 18). During the Ottoman period, it was very important for young girls in Sarajevo to receive a good education and to be skilled in embroidery. There were several ways for young girls to be educated. For the daughters of wealthy families, a governess came to the house. In addition, young girls first go to the neighborhood primary schools and then they can continue to secondary schools. The largest room in the harem section of the house, which opens to the divanhane, is cardak. This large room, used as a living and dining room, is the room where the family members come together. The room is surrounded by divan on three sides and has a large sitting area. The divan is covered with cross-stitched covers. Like the other rooms, there is a rug covering all the open areas of the room (Appendix 20).

According to Faroqhi, who wrote about Ottoman culture and daily life, she states that the Ottomans did not know the table (Faroqhi, 2005: 175). Meals are eaten on a tray. On this tray, there are copper pans-paltes with lids and copper cups which everyone eats together. In addition, there is a wooden spoon and embroidered handkerchiefs for each family member on the table. There is also a tablecloth on the tray. Right next to the table is a copper water jug and a washing bowl. Due to the great importance Islam attaches to cleanliness, hands are washed before and after the meal (Appendix 21). This room called "cardak" has some details that are not seen in the previous rooms. For example, there is a wooden wall clock on the wall (Appendix 22) and a plaque with the Arabic words "La ilahe illallah Muhammedün Resûlullah" (Appendix 23) hanging on it. While the modernization process has shown its effects in many areas, it is understood that Western-style decorative figures such as paintings and sculptures have not yet entered Muslim homes. Instead, the walls of the houses are decorated with rugs, various embroidered covers and wooden carvings. There is a mirror in the room and copper ewers and vessels on a wooden shelf on the wall. There is also a bead hanging on the wall (Appendix 24). It is possible to go down to the inner courtyard from the divanhane by means of wooden stairs located right next to the pergola (Appendix 12). The inner courtyard is called "zenski avlija". In this courtyard, which is reserved for women's use, there is a kitchen, a fountain and a guest room for female guests (Appendix 25, Appendix 26).

The reception room is the largest room in the house and has a separate entrance from the inner courtyard. The remarkable elements in this room are as follows: A divan surrounding three walls of the room, back cushions and pillows

on the divan, a copper brazier, carved wooden coffee tables, a rug covering the open areas of the room, a gold-leafed mirror, a table clock in the window niche, two-winged curtains, wooden corner shelves, various glass and copper vases, sugar bowls and glasses on the shelves (Appendix 27), a wooden rehal and a handwritten Quran on it (Appendix 28), a wall clock (Appendix 29), a brass or copper ceiling chandelier with many details and glass in various colors (Appendix 30), large cabinets with many carved ornaments and painted floral motifs on the wall where the room door is located (Appendix 31, Appendix 32, Appendix 33), a carved wooden chest and a divan side table, woven runners (Appendix 31) and a large stove (Appendix 34a). The most remarkable element of the room is the wooden ceiling navel with many engravings and details (Appendix 34b). Like most Ottoman houses, Svrzo's House has many wooden furniture and items such as doors (Appendix 35), coffee tables, ceilings, ceiling navels, cabinets and chests.

In the kitchen located in the inner courtyard of the house, there are many pots and pans such as copper trays, covered pans, plates and graters (Appendix 36). In addition, there are cauldrons, pots and pans of various sizes, both large and small, in the kitchen (Appendix 37). Since the meals are cooked in cauldrons, the ceiling of the kitchen is quite high to ensure smoke emission. There are wooden chests and wooden boxes in the kitchen to store food items such as legumes (Appendix 38). The most interesting detail of the house is the Ferris wheel located in the inner courtyard. The meals cooked and prepared in the kitchen are taken to the pergola room on the upper floor by means of this ferris wheel (Appendix 39).

This house, which witnessed both periods of modernization in Sarajevo, was sold to the Sarajevo City Museum by the Svrzo family in the 1960s. When this house, which represents the lifestyle of an urban Muslim family in the neighborhood, is examined, it is understood that the effects of the modernization process, especially under Austro-Hungarian rule, quickly penetrated many areas in Sarajevo, from the city panorama to the bazaar, while it affected the Ottoman neighborhoods that constituted the eastern part of the city and the daily lives of Muslims in the longer term. Muslims tried to preserve their traditional Ottoman-style lifestyle in their daily lives during the modernization process.

Another house in Sarajevo that witnessed the same period as Svrzo's House is the house of the Despic family, an Orthodox Christian and wealthy merchant family (Despic House) (Appendix 40). There are several basic features that distinguish this house from the other house. The most important of these features is the various icons, candles and pictures in the house, since it was the property of a Christian family. Another feature is that, unlike the unity that dominates Svrzo's House, traces of the modernization process can be observed from one room to another

in Despic House. The mother's room, located at the entrance of the house, is the only part of the house that has been preserved from 1780 to the present day. Like other houses in Sarajevo during the Ottoman period, it has "oriental" elements, as Western terms call them. The room also has a divan (Appendix 41) and a wooden carved musandira (Appendix 42). Like the rooms in Svrzo's House, this room is also used for multiple purposes. The floor bed used for sleeping at night is put away in the closet during the day (Appendix 42). The room also has a stove, copper pots and pans (Appendix 42), back cushions on a divan, a Bursa-style pillow found in the houses of the wealthy of the period, a rug (Appendix 41), a wooden chest with painted interior, and various embroidery works inside the chest (Appendix 43).

Another room on the ground floor is the father's room. It is known that this room was added to the house in the late 18th century. It has a traditional layout like all houses of that period and the mother's room. The room contains a divan (Appendix 44), a musandira (Appendix 45), a stove, a wooden chest, a copper water jug, a copper basin (Appendix 45, Appendix 46), a rug, and a table on a tray (Appendix 44). The feature that distinguishes this room from traditional Muslim houses is the icon hanging on the wall (Appendix 47).

Another room on the ground floor is the large room (Appendix 48). This room was incorporated into the house in the early 19th century. The main feature of this room, which is a living room, is that it was used as the first amateur theatre in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The brothers Makso and Mico Depic staged a theatre in this room in the mid-19th century. The audience sat on the divan in the room (Appendix 49). Portraits of family members are hung on the walls of the room (Appendix 50). In addition, figures specific to the Christian religion are hung on the wall (Appendix 51). The Ottoman period determined a common daily life in Sarajevo. The barbecue and wooden furniture in the room are also found in Muslim houses (Appendix 49).

When you go up to the upper floor of the house, the view changes. The upper floor, built during the Austro-Hungarian period, bears the influences of the new period and contains all the "modern" items brought by the Habsburg administration. The upper floor of the house bears the traces of Western-European fashion in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. During this period, a new living room, bedroom and dining room entered the family's life. There are classical European furniture in the living room of the house. Armchairs covered with precious fabrics, a nesting table, a closed glass bowl, a mirrored sideboard, a painting (Appendix 52), a sideboard with porcelain tea sets and cups and wide curtains with European-style wings (Appendix 53, Appendix 54) are some of the items found in the living room. In the bedroom, instead of the floor bed that was put away in

the closet during the day, there is now a European-made bedframe set (Appendix 55). There is also a mirrored brass dressing table in the bedroom (Appendix 56).

Another “European” room of the house is the dining room. An English grandfather clock with female motifs (Appendix 57, Appendix 58), a console, a dining table, a large chandelier with magnificent wings and large winged curtains (Appendix 57) are some of the items found in the dining room. Another innovation on the upper floor of the house is the wallpapers (Appendix 52, Appendix 55, Appendix 59). Kitchenware also changed during this period. Crystal glasses, porcelain cups, bowls and dinnerware entered daily life (Appendix 60, Appendix 61). As a result, it is understood that the daily lives of the Christian people living in Sarajevo until the Austro-Hungarian period had many similarities with the Muslim people. When the houses are examined, the similarities in the items in the rooms and the ways they use these items attract attention. However, the differences in religious life are also reflected in home life. In the houses of the Muslim people, items such as calligraphy plaques and prayer beads (Appendix 23) are hung on the walls. In the rooms, there is the Quran on a wooden rehal (Appendix 28). In the houses of Christian people, there are icons and pictures (Appendix 51, Appendix 59) and photographs of family members (Appendix 50) hanging on the walls. In the rooms, there is a Bible on a wooden rehal (Appendix 62).

The change in the daily life and household goods of the Christian people, especially with the Austro-Hungarian period, is remarkable. European-style furniture, wallpapers, kitchenware such as porcelain and crystal became a part of daily life. When Svrzo’s House was examined, this transformation was not detected.

In addition, when the two houses were examined, another striking element is that in the city of Sarajevo, which came into being with the Ottomans, a common Ottoman culture was developed during the Ottoman rule that lasted more than 400 years. For example, many items such as musandıra (musandra), minder (minderi), mangal (mangala), sandık (sanduk), kilim (cilim), leğen (leđen) ibrik (ibrik), sofrā (sofra) ve yastık (jastuci) are used with their equivalents in our language.

The Habsburg administration implemented a modernization policy in Sarajevo. They perceived this policy as a cultural mission to bring European culture to Sarajevo. This planned transformation took place, and during this period, European culture and European modernization showed itself in many areas in Sarajevo. The transformative effect of modernization also showed itself in daily life. While modernization gained wider acceptance among the Christian population, the Muslim population tried to preserve their old culture and life. While many transformations took place in the urban landscape of Sarajevo, the city gained a more “European” identity with its wide roads and new types of buildings (Appendix 63).

Conclusion

When the Tanzimat period began, the Ottoman Empire, which had an urban tradition that had lasted for hundreds of years, was undergoing a modernization process by making reforms in military, political, administrative, educational and many other areas, while on the other hand, it undertook reforms in the physical field with the urban planning that it took as an example from its European counterparts.

The effects of Tanzimat and Ottoman modernization differed in Sarajevo, which had the identity of a traditional Ottoman city. After the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict, the provisions of the edict could not be put into practice in Sarajevo for many years. The effects of Ottoman modernization showed themselves in the last 15 years of its rule, and many innovations and arrangements were made. These arrangements and reforms showed themselves in the military, administrative, cultural and educational fields, but no modern innovations that would change the urban fabric of the city and its neighborhoods were introduced. The urban fabric of the traditional Ottoman city in Sarajevo was preserved until the end of Ottoman rule.

On the other hand, modernization for Sarajevo gained a different dimension under Austro-Hungarian rule. Sarajevo, which was directly exposed to modernization and Westernization, initially entered modernization through military means with the annexation of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary. Later, European modernization, which quickly manifested itself in many areas such as education, administration and transportation, also affected social and cultural life. Austria-Hungary left indelible marks on the social, economic, political and cultural life of Sarajevo after 40 years. While the modernization policy pursued by Austria-Hungary manifested itself in all areas, it was greatly affected in daily life. The physical structure of the city changed, new housing types, apartment buildings and terraced houses emerged. While Muslims had both demographic and cultural superiority in the city during the Ottoman period, the population structure changed with the migrations to Ottoman lands and Christian settlers coming from Europe. With the wide roads and new housing built, a part of the city gained a more European appearance. In addition, the city expanded to the west with the effect of its increasing population, and these new settlements were likened to European cities. Sarajevo, an Ottoman city with a 400-year Ottoman urban tradition, has caused a duality in the city with modern Sarajevo, a prototype of European cities. This duality in the city has not only manifested itself in urban form, but also in cultural and daily life. Bosniaks who preferred to stay in their own lands in Sarajevo have tried to preserve their religion and culture. The Svrzo's House,

which has witnessed modernization, is an indication that Muslims have largely preserved their culture and traditions inherited from the Ottomans. On the other hand, the Despic House, which has witnessed every phase of modernization, is an indication of the extent to which modernization, which has penetrated into all areas, has changed daily life.

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Appendix



Appendix 1. City model showing the physical structure of Sarajevo in 1878.

Brusa Bezintan, Sarajevo

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 2. Plate showing the housing plan of Svrzo's House



Appendix 3. Street door of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



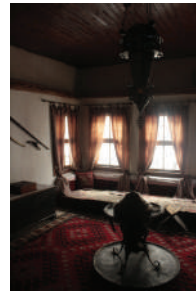
Appendix 4. The outer courtyard of Svrzo's House in Sarajevo, where the street door opens, and the entrance to the hall and selamlık, where the rooms on the upper floor open.

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 5. The room where male guests were hosted in the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 6. The room where male guests were hosted in the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



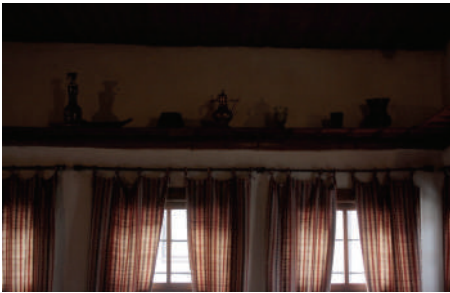
Appendix 7. The room where male guests were hosted in the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 8. The room where male guests were hosted in the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



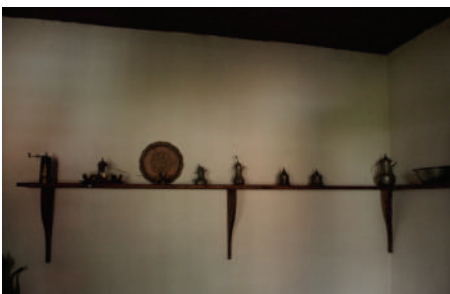
Appendix 9. The room where male guests were hosted in the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 10. The room where male guests were hosted in the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 11. The room with the coffee stove in the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 12. View of the divhana and pergola located above from the inner courtyard in Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 13. Bedroom of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 14. Bedroom of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 15. Bedroom of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



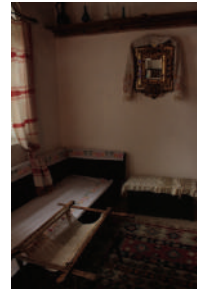
Appendix 16. Bedroom of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 17. Young girl's room in Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 18. Young girl's room in Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 19. Young girl's room in Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 20. The cardak room of the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 21. The cardak room of the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 22. The cardak room of the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 23. The cardak room of the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 24. The cardak room of the Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 25. Inner courtyard of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 26. Inner courtyard and fountain of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 27. Guest room of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 28. Guest room of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 29. Guest room of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 30. Guest room of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 31. Guest room of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 32. Guest room of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 33. Guest room of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 34a. Guest room of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 34b. Guest room of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 35. Guest room of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 36. Kitchen of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 37. Kitchen of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 38. Kitchen of Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 39. Ferris wheel in Svrzo's House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



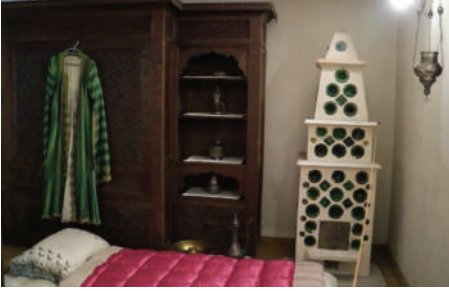
Appendix 40. Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 41. Mother's room in Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 42. Mother's room in Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 43. Mother's room in Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



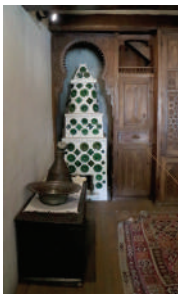
Appendix 44. Father's room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



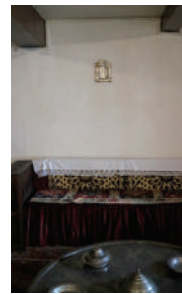
Appendix 45. Father's room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 46. Father's room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 47. Father's room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 48: The large room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



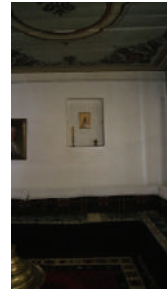
Appendix 49: The large room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 50: The large room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 51: The large room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 52. The living room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



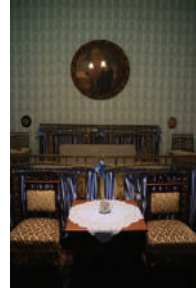
Appendix 53. The living room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 54. The living room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 55. Bedroom in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 56. Bedroom in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



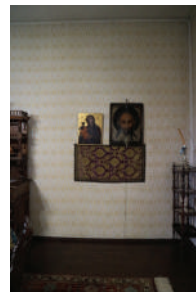
Appendix 57: Dining room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 58: Dining room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 59: Dining room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 60. Sideboard in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 61. Sideboard in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 62. A room in the Despic House

Source: Esra Tatlı Photo Archive



Appendix 63. A view of Sarajevo during the Austro-Hungarian period

Source: Gazi Husrev-Begova Biblioteka Digital Archive

METAPHYSICAL FOUNDATIONS OF GOD-HUMAN RELATIONSHIP IN USÛLÎ'S POEMS

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Marmara University | <http://doi.org/10.51331/EB06.19HHC>

Introduction

The majority of the divan poets who lived in the classical period successfully handled religious, especially mystical, thought in their poems, along with the social, political or literary understanding of the society they were in. This thought was sometimes expressed under the influence of theology and philosophy, while at other times, it manifested under the influence of sects such as Mevleviyya, Akbariyya, Naqshbandiyya, and Gulshaniyya. One of the poets who centered religious thought in his poetry was Usûlî (d. 1538).

According to the information provided by biographical sources, Usûlî was born in Yenice-i Vardar. Despite receiving a solid education in both religious and rational sciences in Yenice, he did not complete his madrasah studies and traveled to Egypt with the intention of becoming a dervish at the lodge of İbrahim Gülşenî (Mustafa Âlî, 1994: 193; Latîfî, 2000: 175). After the death of İbrahim Gülşenî, he returned to Yenice and devoted the rest of his life to spreading the Gülşenî order in Rumelia alongside Evrenosoğlu Abdi Bey (Çelebi, 2010: 344).

It would not be incorrect to say that Yenice-i Vardar during Usûlî's time was diverse both religiously and literarily. Usûlî spent time in the company of prominent poets of the period, such as Hayalî Bey and Hayretî, in friendly gatherings (Çelebi, 2010: 1541), and most probably met with Yusuf Sîneçak, who was Hayretî's brother. When these poets, who were Usûlî's contemporaries, are examined, both their relations with each other and the religious atmosphere of Yenice-i Vardar will become apparent. Accordingly, Hayretî, similar to Usûlî, first went



to Egypt and became affiliated with İbrahim Gülşenî, and then adopted Bektasism (Tatçı, 1998: 61). Like his brother Hayretî, Yûsuf Sîneçak initially became a disciple of İbrahim Gülşenî, later traveling to Konya where he adopted Mevlevî Order (Çelebi, 2010: 685). Hayalî Bey, on the other hand, joined the followers of the Kalenderî sheikh Baba Ali Mest-i Acemî, who passed through Yenice, and traveled to Istanbul with them. In Istanbul, the city's qadi (judge), Sarı Gürz, took Hayalî out of the Kalenderî group, guiding him onto the Sufi path. Hayalî spent the rest of his life within palace circles, alongside figures like İskender Çelebi and İbrahim Pasha (Çelebi, 2010: 1541-1544). What is understood from the preferences of these poets, who were both contemporaries and friends of Usûlî, is that Yenice was surrounded by an intense spiritual atmosphere. It is not possible to consider it as a reasonable and sufficient approach that four famous divan poets from Yenice had Sufi preferences that were both very close and very far from each other in the same century.

The founding figure of the spiritual atmosphere of Yenice-i Vardar is Abdullah-ı İlâhî. Born in the Simav district of Kütahya, Abdullah-ı İlâhî traveled to Samarkand and became a disciple of Ubeydullah Ahrar. After completing his spiritual journey, he first returned to Simav, then moved to Istanbul, and later settled in Yenice at the invitation of Evrenosoğlu Ahmet Bey (Kara and Algar, 1988: 110-111). Abdullah-ı İlâhî, who remained in Yenice for the rest of his life, was not only a Naqshbandi sheikh but also a devoted follower of the concept of wahdat al-wujûd (the unity of being). Additionally, according to Mustafa İsen (2020: 21), Abdullah-ı İlâhî's expression of his thoughts through poetry, along with his prose works, is one of the reasons why Yenice-i Vardar produced many poets, and why these poets expressed similar themes. Furthermore, Abdullah-ı İlâhî's treatment of the concept of wahdat al-wujûd from a theoretical perspective in his works is significant for tracing the influence of this concept in Usûlî's poems.

This article focuses on the metaphysical foundation in the poems of Usûlî, a 16th-century divan poet. In order to clarify this foundation, it is essential to thoroughly examine Usûlî's life, era, the individuals with whom he interacted, and his scholarly competence. When all these aspects related to Usûlî are assessed, the allusions in his poems will also be identified accurately. The identification of these allusions is crucial for demonstrating the potential scope of poetry, which lies between theoretical and practical wisdom. As Sayyid Sharif Jurjanî (1403: 167) explains, in the context of poetic works composed within Islamic thought, the purpose of poetry is to influence the soul either by inspiring a love for something (targhib) or by creating a dislike for something (tanfir). In other words, when considering the theoretical foundation, poetry aims to inspire the soul to

love actions that lead it toward perfection, thus creating an ideal human portrait. In this regard, the expression of metaphysical theories through poetry is an indispensable path in both philosophical and Sufi traditions, as it reflects the inseparable unity of theory and practice. The significance of this article stems from its effort to clarify Usûlî's position within the Islamic intellectual tradition by specifically evaluating his poems in a metaphysical context. Although certain studies have been conducted on Usûlî and his divan, the theoretical analysis of the Sufi thought that forms the theme of his poems has not yet been thoroughly examined.

The method to be followed when examining Usûlî's divan is based on the detailed evaluation of the concepts and figures referenced in the poems. The sources used are shaped within the framework of the theories represented by these concepts and figures. Accordingly, the background of Usûlî's poetry is primarily grounded in texts such as Nasîr al-Dîn al-Tûsî's *Tajrîd al-Aqâ'id*, Sayyid Sharîf Jurjânî's *Sharḥ al-Mawâqif*, and Ibn Sînâ's *Kitâb al-Shifâ: Metaphysics*. Additionally, works by figures like Ibn Arabî, Sadr al-Dîn al-Qûnawî, and Ibn Turkah, who also influenced İbrahim Gülşenî, form the primary sources. As for secondary sources, texts by Side Emre on İbrahim Gülşenî and works by Ekrem Demirli on the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujûd* are particularly noteworthy.

Elements Preparing Usûlî's Poems Madrasa Education

The authors of the biography state that Usûlî was continuing his education in the madrasah in Yenice before going to Egypt. Accordingly, since he devoted almost all of his divan to the God-human relationship, it is inevitable that the scientific knowledge Usûlî acquired during his madrasah education would be reflected in his poems. Therefore, once it becomes clear in which madrasa Usûlî pursued his education and which works he benefited from during this period, it will be possible to make more reasonable interpretations regarding the metaphysical implications in his poems.

It is known that three madrasas were active in Yenice-i Vardar during the 16th century, when Usûlî lived. These madrasas are Musa Bey Madrasa, Sheikh İlahî Madrasa, and Gazi Evrenos Bey Madrasa (Aydın and Günalan, 2023: 498-499). The hierarchy of these madrasas was determined according to the system established during the reign of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. Accordingly, madrasas are categorized in levels such as twenties, thirties, forties, fifties, with the Sahn-ı Semân madrasas being at the highest status (Hızlı, 2008: 27). Among the

madrasas in Yenice, the Musa Bey Madrasa falls under the twenties group, while the other two are considered among the fifties. The texts studied vary depending on the status of the madrasa. In the madrasas categorized as “twenties” the text studied in the field of Islamic theology (*kalâm*) is the *Hâshiya al-Tajrîd*, a commentary by Sayyid Sharif Jurjani on Nasiruddin al-Tusi’s *Tajrîd al-‘Itiqâd* (Baltacı, 2005: 121). In the “fifties” madrasas, the text taught in the field of kalam is *Sharh al-Mawaqif*, also written by Sayyid Sharif Jurjani, which is a commentary on *al-Mawaqif* by al-Ijî (Baltacı, 2005: 124)

Considering the information about the madrasas in Yenice, it can be seen that Usûlî was already familiar with the fundamental texts of Islamic theology and philosophy, which form the basis of Islamic thought, even before going to Egypt. Accordingly, it can be said that Usûlî had the opportunity to benefit from both the philosophical tradition leading to Ibn Sina through Nasiruddin al-Tusi and Sayyid Sharif Jurjani, and the theological tradition leading to Fakhr al-Din al-Razi. Additionally, it is highly likely that the works of Abdullah-i Ilahi on *wahdat al-wujud* (the unity of existence) continued to be taught in the madrasa named after him. Thus, it can be said that Usûlî began his period of dervishhood in Egypt with a certain theoretical foundation. As will be examined later, the stance he takes in his poems also reflects this entire process.

Ibrahim Gülşenî and Gülşenî Order

Ibrahim Gülşenî is one of the prominent figures of the 16th century, known for his significant influence in Egypt, Anatolia, and the Balkans. In his youth, Ibrahim Gülşenî became a disciple of Dede Ömer Ruşenî, a Halveti sheikh in Tabriz. After the death of Dede Ömer Ruşenî, Ibrahim Gülşenî moved to Egypt, where he began training dervishes (Azamat, 2000: 302). As mentioned in the introduction, the journey of figures like Usûlî, Hayretî, and Yusuf Sîneçak from Yenice to Egypt to become disciples reflects the fame of Ibrahim Gülşenî during his era.

Since Ibrahim Gülşenî was a poet and a Sufi, he was influenced by many figures both scientifically and literarily while shaping his intellectual world. Two figures that greatly influenced Gülşenî are central to this thought: one is Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi, and the other is Mevlana. While it is not possible to trace the concept of *wahdat al-wujud* in a clearly defined theoretical framework in Gülşenî’s poetry, it can still be followed through certain concepts and signs (Konur, 1998: 204). According to Side Emre (2014: 93), it is also possible that Gülşenî was influenced by the works of Ibn Turka, who not only dealt with the theory of *wahdat al-wujud* but also followed a Hurufi line. Gülşenî’s relationship with the works

of Ibn Turka is notable, as Ibn Turka was a thinker who examined *wahdat al-wujud* by considering almost the entirety of the Islamic intellectual tradition, thus allowing for a comparison between the views of philosophers and Sufis. Considering that Gülşenî had a certain level of expertise in Islamic sciences (Emre, 2012: 38), as well as in logic and theology (Emre, 2017: 330), it becomes possible to make broader interpretations regarding the background of his poetry and the content of his relationship with his disciples. Another aspect to keep in mind about Gülşenî is his connection with Yunus Emre. Since Yunus Emre has always been a remarkable figure both in terms of his poetry and the thought underlying his works since the period he lived in, the similarities in style and content between the poetry of Yunus Emre and Ibrahim Gülşenî, as well as the resemblance of some couplets, are key elements pointing to Yunus Emre's influence on Gülşenî. As an example of this, Side Emre (2012: 55) provides Gülşenî's couplet, "Today, the beloved appeared with a thousand favors/ Come now, open your eyes, O soul, the beloved appeared (*Bugün bin lütf ile cânân görindi/ gel imdi gözün aç iy cân görindi*)" and Yunus Emre's couplet, "That how nice the ocean appeared from a drop/ It is neither the ocean nor the drop that appeared (*Zihî derya ki katreden göründü/ ne deryadır ne katredir göründü*)". The most obvious indicator of Gülşenî's connection with Mevlânâ is his work *Ma'nevî*, which he wrote as a response to Mevlana's *Masnavi* (Konur, 1998: 150).

Another important aspect to focus on regarding Ibrahim Gülşenî is the accusations of heresy made against him, which are also relevant to Usûlî. In this context, various accusations were made against Gülşenî. One politically charged accusation was that he accepted gifts from the Safavids (Emre, 2017: 226). Among the reasons for this accusation is his journey from Tabriz to Egypt. Another accusation, which also relates to the Safavids, had a religious basis, as it involved claims that Gülşenî and his followers' dhikr assemblies were similar to those of the Kızılbaş, and furthermore, that prayer was not considered valid in places where their dhikr was performed (Emre, 2017: 231). The third accusation was more theoretical in nature. Some of Gülşenî's opponents claimed that he advocated pantheism and called for his execution (Emre, 2017: 234). Following all these accusations, Ibrahim Gülşenî was brought to Istanbul for questioning by Ibrahim Pasha, a close associate of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. Although Ibrahim Pasha presented the sultan with claims that Gülşenî aspired to become the ruler of Egypt, after meeting with him, the sultan was convinced that Gülşenî had no such intentions (Gülşenî, 2014: 334).

In light of the information about Ibrahim Gülşenî, many aspects become clearer when looking at Usûlî. The thought-centered aspects will be discussed in the

following sections. However, before moving on to those sections, the accusations of heresy against Usûlî need to be clarified in the context of the accusations made against Ibrahim Gülşenî. Accordingly, the poetic insertions (*tahmises*) of Nesîmî in Usûlî's *Divan*, his being a devout Gülşenî dervish, and his references to the nine Imams in his poems led some to label him as a heretic. The first accusation against Usûlî came from his contemporary Âşık Çelebi. Âşık Çelebi (2010: 344-345) complained that Usûlî had sown the seeds of apostasy that he had learned from Sheikh Ibrahim in Rumelia, and at the end of the section, he even curses, saying 'May God wither his seeds and his roots to dry up'. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (2013: 156), one of the recent researchers, shares similar views with Âşık Çelebi, stating that Usûlî engaged in Hurufî propaganda. However, when Usûlî's poems are carefully analyzed verse by verse, it becomes clear that these accusations against him are exaggerated. The poems and verses Usûlî selected for his *tahmises* on Nesîmî do not contain any hint of Hurufî or incarnation (*hulul*) ideas. Another point raised is that Usûlî, through his references to the nine Imams, is said to follow a weak Sunni line. In one of his poems, Usûlî (2020: 131) writes a quatrain: "Zeynel Abidin resides in my heart/ My soul turns to Muhammad Bakir/ Cafer al-Sadık is my faith and creed/ Why would I turn away from my master? (*Zeyne'l-âbidîndir gönümde cânım/ Muhammed Bâkır'a bakar bu cânım/ Ca'fer-i Sâdıkdur dînîm îmânım/ Dönmezin niye döneyin pîrimden*)". He continues to name other Imams in his verses. However, it would not be correct to seek the reason for Usûlî's emphasis on the Ahl al-Bayt and later the nine Imams solely within his verses. This situation becomes meaningful when traced back to the Halvetiyye order. According to this, at the head of the Halvetî lineage, after the Prophet, comes Ali, followed by Hasan and Hüseyin, and continuing from Hüseyin are Zeynel Abidin, Muhammad Bakır, and Cafer al-Sadık (Emre, 2012: 42). Usûlî's verses in question can thus be interpreted as a broad love for the Ahl al-Bayt within the context of his affiliation with the order. This is because the general characteristics of his *Divan* do not emphasize tendencies outside of Sunni Islam but rather focus on a Sufi thought and morality following the lines of Junayd al-Baghdadi and Bayazid al-Bistami. However, from Âşık Çelebi's statements, it is understood that although Ibrahim Gülşenî left a positive impression during his time in Istanbul, the negative claims against him continued to resonate with figures like Âşık Çelebi.

Metaphysics in Usûlî's Poems

Usûlî has dedicated almost his entire *Divan* to the relationship between God, the universe, and humanity. In this respect, it is not surprising to find reflections of the texts he studied during his madrasa education and traces of Gülşenî thought,

to which he devoted his life, in his poetry. As detailed in the previous section, İbrahim Gülşenî is not among the theoretical founders of Islamic thought but is rather a figure who consistently translated theories into practice, thus, creating a charismatic image as a sheikh. This position allowed Gülşenî the opportunity to develop his spiritual path by drawing on various philosophical and mystical traditions. When comparing Gülşenî's approach to Usûlî, it is possible to encounter a poet who is practically loyal to his sheikh but who has also constructed his own intellectual framework theoretically. To confirm this, it is necessary to examine Usûlî's poetry from a theoretical perspective.

When Usûlî's poems are examined theoretically, two different approaches emerge. The first reflects the influence of the late-period kalâm understanding stemming from his madrasa education, while the second reveals the reflections of the concept of wahdat al-wujud and its sub-theories, which highlight Usûlî's Sufi inclination. Although the kalâm and Sufi traditions have developed theories that are closely related, there are fundamental differences between these two traditions arising from their principles on certain key issues. Two key topics stand out where the late-period kalâm and the Sufi tradition based on wahdat al-wujud exhibit their own distinct stances, leading to differences in their principles. The first concerns the nature of God's existence. In late-period kalâm, influenced by Avicennian concepts, God is considered the Necessary Being, with an ontological distinction between Him and the universe. According to the idea of wahdat al-wujud, however, God is regarded as absolute existence. These differing evaluations of God will be analyzed in detail along with Usûlî's couplets. The second topic concerns the essence of the universe. While the kalam tradition firmly asserts that the universe was created *ex nihilo* (from nothing) by God and therefore cannot be eternal, Sufis who adhere to the concept of wahdat al-wujud hold a belief in an eternal universe. The divergence between these two traditions, stemming from their principles, occasionally manifests in Usûlî's poetry. In this context, it will become evident that Usûlî made deliberate choices between these theoretical views, shaping his thoughts and poetry accordingly, as seen in certain key couplets.

God as the Source of Demonstration

When Usûlî's couplets directly addressing God are analyzed in terms of meaning and the concepts used, it becomes clear that the poems are constructed on a metaphysical foundation. The first couplet that deserves attention is as follows; "Oh Usuli, once again God is a clear proof for himself/ So much so that the sun's light becomes a proof for the sun (*Ey Usûlî yine Hakka Hak durur rûşen delîl/ K'afitâba*

afitâbin nûru hem burhân olur)” (Usûlî, 2020: 168). Here, Usûlî sees the proof of God not in other beings, but directly in God Himself, comparing this to how the light of the sun is proof of the sun. The light is one of the sun’s essential attributes. In other words, without light, it is impossible to call the sun “the sun.” In this sense, the proof of the sun is not the objects made visible by its light, but rather the light itself. The idea that God’s proof lies within Himself resonates in both the kalâm and Sufi traditions.

Late-period kalâm was significantly influenced by the metaphysical theories put forth by Ibn Sînâ. For this reason, books such as *Sharh al-Mawâqif*, which are central to discussions of Usûlî’s madrasa education, cannot be fully explained without referencing Ibn Sînâ and Fakhr al-Dîn al-Râzî. Usûlî’s conception of God should also be analyzed in this context, taking into account works of kalâm and philosophy that inform his understanding.

The idea that God is His own proof, and that nothing else can serve as proof for Him, is central to Ibn Sînâ’s metaphysical understanding. Dividing existence into Necessary and contingent beings, Ibn Sînâ (2017a: 133) argues that God cannot have a definition or proof; rather, God is the proof for everything else. In his work *al-Ishârât wa al-Tanbîhât* (2017b: 133), Ibn Sînâ asserts that the Necessary Being bears witness to all contingent beings, referring to this as the judgment of the truthful (*al-siddîqûn*). In the post-Ibn Sînâ kalâm tradition, it is observed that the origination (*hudûth*) proof for God is gradually replaced by the contingency (*imkân*) argument. The contingency argument (*dalîl al-imkân*) essentially involves proving the Necessary Being by reasoning from contingent beings (Kaya, 2021: 656). Unlike the *hudûth* argument, which relies on objects in the external world, the contingency theory is based solely on the intellectual classification of existence and has become a primary argument in the kalâm tradition. However, Ibn Sînâ’s notion that the Necessary Being witnesses contingent beings, which he describes as the “judgment of the truthful” (*hukmu’s-siddîqîn*), represents the highest level of metaphysical analysis concerning existence. The reason Usûlî’s couplet on God opens the door to these explanations is due to the concepts he employs in another of his poems. In a *tahmis* on one of Nesimî’s ghazals, Usûlî (2020: 136) writes: “Contingent beings is filled with inherently Necessary Being. ... (*Vâcibün bi’z-zât tolmuş mümkinâtun aynına ...*)” The concepts of inherently Necessary Being (*wâjib bi’al-dhât*) and contingent beings (*mümkinât*) are directly rooted in the metaphysical tradition developed by Ibn Sînâ and inherited by post-Fakhr al-Dîn al-Râzî kalâm. However, Usûlî’s expressions about God are not limited to these terms. The strong Sufi tone present throughout much of his *Dîvân* seems to have naturally influenced his conception of God as well.

Usûlî's understanding of Sufism, which stems from İbrahim Gülşenî, is largely shaped by the tradition of Ibn 'Arabî. However, determining whether Usûlî systematically follows the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujûd* requires a more detailed examination. Ekrem Demirli (2023: 90-92), in discussing the question "Is Yunus Emre a poet who adheres to the concept of *wahdat al-wujûd*?", focuses on two central principles of *wahdat al-wujûd*. The first is that God is absolute existence, and the second is the grounding of the concept of immutable entities (*'ayân al-thâbita*) in relation to the idea of eternity. The notion that God is absolute existence is tied to the modification of the analysis of existence, as discussed earlier, by Akbarian Sufis. In other words, the primary principle concerning God is explained as "existence, in terms of being, is Truth" (Demirli, 2017: 209). When we look at Usûlî's (2020: 144) poetry, the most striking couplet related to this concept is; "What is the sea of absolute existence? Who can make its waves apparent?/ (He) tells the secret of "I am Truth (*Ana al-Haq*)", in hidden or openly (*Vücûd -ı Mutlâkun bahri ne mevci kim ider peydâ/ Ene'l-Hak sırrını söyler eger mahfî eger peydâ*)" However, even though the proposition "existence, in terms of being, is Truth" highlights the distinction between kalâm and Sufi traditions, since the proposition continues to divide existence into Necessary and contingent beings, it would not be accurate to see this as a clear *wahdat al-wujûd* doctrine. Another couplet by Usûlî (2020: 310) that employs Sufi terminology in describing God is: "The unity of my self is non-determination (*lâ-ta'ayyun*)/ The unity of my attribute discover multitude of entities (*Lâ te'ayyündür egerçi gene zâtum vahdeti/Kesret-i a'yânı kesfeyler sıfâtum vahdeti*)" The term *lâ ta'ayyun* in this couplet is the first of the levels of existence according to Ibn 'Arabî (Demirli, 2017: 290). This level can be understood as another expression of Absolute Existence.

It can be understood from Usûlî's verses about God that he draws significantly from both the kalâm and Sufi traditions as appropriate. However, it is not entirely possible to grasp a person's complete theoretical framework solely by examining their conception of God. In both the kalâm and Sufi traditions, God as the Necessary Being can, in a sense, also be expressed as Absolute Existence. Moreover, it would not be accurate to claim that the terms Necessary by itself (*wâjib bi'l-dhât*), *mumkinât*, Absolute Existence, and *lâ ta'ayyun* used in Usûlî's poetry are contradictory to one another. In other words, it is insufficient to make a clear-cut distinction between the principles of kalâm and Sufism based solely on their conception of God. Nevertheless, all these analyses are valuable in showcasing the intellectual heritage Usûlî inherited.

The Universe Between Reality and Imagination

The debate over the eternality of the universe holds an important place in both late-period kalâm and the post-Ibn ‘Arabî Sufi tradition. As mentioned earlier, this is due to the fact that kalâm scholars shifted from the hudûth argument to the imkân argument in proving the existence of God. The hudûth argument is directly linked to the idea that the universe was created by God at any time of His choosing. However, with the contingency argument, the hudûth of the universe is considered in two aspects: essential hudûth and temporal hudûth. In *Sharh al-Mawâqif*, hudûth is defined as something coming before the created thing. What precedes may either be the non-existence of the created thing or something else. If it is non-existence, it is termed temporal hudûth; if it is something else, it is termed essential hudûth (Jurjânî, 2015: 750-752). In the Sufi tradition, the concept of ayân al-thâbita, mentioned earlier as one of the two principles of wahdat al-wujûd, is central to the understanding of the universe. Accordingly, creation is the act of bestowing existence. What is given existence is the ayân al-thâbita, the realities of things in God’s knowledge. These realities in God’s knowledge cannot be considered created. According to Sadr al-Dîn al-Qûnawî, the realities in God’s knowledge possess a type of existence, but it is also not correct to call them “created” (Demirli, 2017: 234-244). At this point, the fundamental distinction between the kalâm and Sufi traditions’ theories of the universe lies in whether the universe has an ontological reality apart from God.

In Usûlî’s poetry, it is possible to find verses that can be attributed to both the kalâm and Sufi traditions. For example, the couplet; “Infinite entity is find in finite darkness/ Indeed, darkness became the source of life water (*Zulmet-âbâd-ı fenâda bulınur ayn-ı bekâ/ Menba’-ı âb-ı hayat oldu nitekim zulümât*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 153) can be interpreted as a depiction of creation from nothing, using the contrast between darkness (*zulmât*) and life. A clearer example is the following; “We did not exist, He existed from eternity/ He is the powerfull (*qâdir*), the superb upright sustainer (*qayyûm*) and the almighty (*jabbâr*), This wavy sea was not created/ Male and female were not born, The throne, the chair and the tablet were not written/ The Powerfull did not take a pen in his hand, That God is the absolute being/ He generally watched his essence (*Yok idiük biz ol ezelde vâr idi/ Kâdir-ı kayyum u hem cebbâr idi, Hâdis olmadın bu bahr-i mevc-zen/Gelmedin vücuda dahı merd ü zen, Arş u kürs ü levh olunmadın rakam/ Dest-i kudret almadın ele kalem, Zât-ı baht-ı mutlak idi ol ilâh/ Mücmelen kılurdu zâtına nigâh*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 316-317). These verses point to both the ontological and temporal distinction between God and the universe. However, Usûlî also has verses within the framework of wahdat al-wujûd that remove the ontological distinction between God and the universe.

One of these examples is the verse; Even multiplicity has found a place for itself in the world of unity/ The seed and the tree almost being within from each other (*Âlem-i vahdette kesret dahı tutmuşdur makar/ Birbirinden münderiç sankim nevât içre şecer*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 134). Here, Usûlî explains the relationship between unity and multiplicity using the metaphor of the seed (*nevât*) and the tree (*şajar*). The fact that the seed inherently contains the tree from the beginning, and that the tree does not emerge from nothing but rather unfolds from the seed, appears to symbolize the relationship between God and the a’yân al-thâbita. Another verse by Usûlî (2020: 315) states; “Oh a believer in the Oneness of God, do not prove anything other than God/ This is polytheism, don’t say this, One is one, there is no other/ If it exists, even that would be the entity of Truth (*Ey muvahhid gayri isbât eyleme/ Şirk durur zinhar bunu söyleme, Bir durur bir birden artuk yok durur/ Var ise ol dahı ayn-ı Hak durur*)”. Additionally, immediately following this verse in the same poem, he says; “Whoever thinks the shadow of existence is existence/ He gives existence to the non-existent because of his own ignorance (*Kim vücûd un zıllını sandu vücûd / Kendi cehliünden virir nâ-bûda bûd*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 315). Although these expressions seem open to interpretation within the context of a’yân al-thâbita, the fact that Usûlî uses the concept of eternity with respect to God in its true sense, while employing it metaphorically when referring to other things, should be seen as a challenge to the idea of a’yân al-thâbita. Considering the Avicennian tradition, it is possible to frame the relationship between the Necessary and the contingent in terms of the concepts of Truth (*Haqq*) and Falsehood (*bâtil*). According to Ibn Sînâ (2017a: 46), the Necessary Being is true (*haqq*) by its very essence, while contingent beings are false (*bâtil*) by their essence and become true (*haqq*) only through the Necessary Being. Usûlî’s expressions can also be interpreted in this context.

The conclusions drawn from Usûlî’s verses concerning the relationship between God and the universe, particularly in the context of eternity, suggest that the a’yân al-thâbita theory, one of the two main principles of wahdat al-wujûd, is not explicitly addressed in his poetry. Although his references to the primordial covenant (*bezm-i elest*) do carry an emphasis on eternity, consistency with his other poems is achieved within the framework of the theological theories put forth by the kalâm tradition. Furthermore, to better understand Usûlî’s theoretical preferences, a comparison with Yunus Emre would be enlightening. The previous discussions on the possibility that İbrahim Gülşenî may have been influenced by Yunus Emre could also be applied to Usûlî, considering that he followed the same tradition. Furthermore, the thematic similarities in certain poems also support this observation. For instance, while Yunus Emre (2020: 286)

says; “This is the bazaar of love where souls are sold / I offer my soul but no one buys it (*Işk bâzârıdır bu cânlar satılır/ Sataram cânımı hiç kimse almaz*)”, Usûlî (2020: 121) expresses a similar sentiment with, “In the bazaar of love, my soul passes by in disgrace (*Işk bâzârında cânım hayli rüsvayî geçer*)”. Additionally, Yunus Emre (2020: 251) declares, “You are the soul of my soul, without you I have no peace / Even in paradise, if you are not there, in truth I have no delight (*Sensin benim cânım cânı sensüz karârım yok durur/ Uçmak’da sen olmazısan va’llâh nazârum yok durur*)” while Usûlî (2020: 179) echoes this idea with, “If I go to the rose garden, for a walk, O soul, without you / God knows, the rose garden of paradise brings me only sorrow (*Ger varam seyrâna didârunsuz ey cân gülşene/ Hak bilür gülzâr-ı cennetten bana kaygu gelür*)”. However, Yunus frequently emphasizes the pre-eternality of the human soul in his poetry. Examples of such verses include: “I existed from eternity, I was beloved to the beloved / God sent me to see the World (*Ben ezelden varıdum ma’sûkıla yârıdum/ Hak beni viribidi âlemi göre geldüm*)” (Yunus Emre, 2020: 326), and “Before the earth was built, before Adam came into the world / Before the ox and fish were made, I was there from eternity (*Yire bünyâd urulmadın Âdem dünyâya gelmedin/ Öküz balık eylenmedin ben ezeli andayum*)” (Yunus Emre, 2020: 320). Considering the given examples, it becomes evident that Usûlî does not adhere to a systematic doctrine of *wahdat al-wujûd*. This raises the question: how should we interpret Usûlî’s frequent emphasis on unity or his statements denying the reality of the world? A possible answer can be found in one of Usûlî’s poems (2020: 198): “We have come with the love of eternity, knowing our own state / We have died before death, we are annihilated, annihilated (*Ezel ıskıyla gelmişüz kendi hâlümüz bilmişüz/ Ölmezden evvel ölmüşüz fenâlaruz fenâlaruz*)”. At this point, it would be fitting to examine Usûlî’s implications regarding the theory of annihilation (*fanâ*) while also considering his views on the nature of humanity.

The Interface (*Barzakh*) Between God and the Universe: Human

In Usûlî’s poems, the views of Ibn Arabi and his followers are most evident in the subject of humanity. When discussing the nature of man, it seems inevitable to mention both God and the universe. In his poems, Usûlî also considers this situation and outlines a framework accordingly. In his verses, Usûlî describes man through the relationship between the self (*nafs*) and the body, adopting an approach similar to that of the general structure of Islamic thought. Usûlî sometimes portrays the self as the dark side of man, while at other times, he views it as the essence of humanity. A more comprehensive expression of this can be seen in

the following verse: “Be wise one, do not let your heart’s royal falcon descend to the lowest levels/ The abode of the sacred bird is the higher realm (*Arif ol esfellere salma gönül şeh-bâzını/ Murg-ı kudsînün makâmı âlem-i bâlâ imiş*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 206). The metaphor of the self as a bird used in this couplet is a common one. Works like Ibn Sînâ’s *Risalat al-Tayr*, Ahmad al-Ghazâlî’s *Risalat al-Tuyûr*, and Farid al-Din Attar’s *Mantıq at-Tayr* are among those that explore the self through bird imagery.

When discussing Usûlî’s concept of the “perfect human” (*insan-ı kâmil*), Sufi terminology becomes prominent. In one of his couplets, he says; “Like the sun, the perfect human becomes the manifestation of divine signs/ He becomes a mirror reflecting the creation of the eighteen thousand worlds (*Gün gibi insân-ı kâmil mazhar-ı âyât olur/ On sekiz bin âlemün tasvîrine mir’ât olur*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 165). The issue of the *insan-ı kâmil* requires addressing the relationship between the theory of *wahdat al-wujûd* and the concept of *fanâ’*, which was touched upon at the end of the previous section. While Usûlî does not explicitly address the concept of eternity, which is one of the two main principles of *wahdat al-wujûd*, his poems frequently refer to ideas such as the *haqîqat al-Muhammadiyya* or the theory of divine attributes, as used by Ibn Arabi and his followers when discussing the relationship between God and the universe. The concept of *insan-ı kâmil*, therefore, lies at the center of all these theories.

In general terms, the concept of *fanâ’* attributed to Junayd al-Baghdadi means witnessing divine oneness (*tawhîd*). In other words, in the state of *fanâ’*, the servant’s existence is obliterated in God. Additionally, within the context of this theory, Junayd al-Baghdadi incorporates the concept of the pre-eternal covenant (*bezm-i elest*), making references to the eternality of humanity (Başer, 2017: 277). In this respect, the expressions of eternality and verses that include the pre-eternal covenant found in Usûlî’s works can also be evaluated within the framework of the *fanâ’* concept. One of Usûlî’s couplets pointing to *fanâ’* is as follows; “When the pain of love unites and brings peace/ Joy and sorrow become the same in the lover’s presence (*İttihâd idüp gâm-ı ışk bulursa huzûr/ Şâdi vü gam âşikun yanında hep yeksân olur*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 168). Another example, which beautifully depicts both the understanding of the *insan-ı kâmil* and the result of *fanâ’*, is: “Praise be to God, I am once again in the manifestation of Your beauty/ Forever gazing upon the eighteen thousand worlds/ Today, I am in the celestial gardens of God Almighty... (*Hamdû li’llâh kim yine hüsnün tecellâsındayam/ On sekiz bin âlemün dâ’im temâşâsındayam/ Hak Teâlâ’nun bugün firevs-i âlâsındayam...*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 122).

When it comes to the relationship between God and humanity, the three main traditions of Islamic thought philosophy, kalâm, and mysticism (*tasawwuf*)—all

place prophethood in a central position. In the works of Ibn Arabi and his followers, this central role takes on a more explanatory approach, with topics such as the unity-multiplicity question, the concept of the insan-ı kâmil, and the nature of divine knowledge being consistently addressed, especially in relation to the Prophet Muhammad. Usûlî, following the thought of Ibn Arabi, offers a similar view of the Prophet in his poetry. Accordingly, in one of his couplets, Usûlî (2020: 279) addresses the Prophet as follows: “The moon, the sun, and all the angels praise your beauty/ Blessed be God, of all beauty, you are the most radiant and perfect/ Your stature is the true evidence of the best form/ Your figure is a clear proof of the divine verses of God’s light (*Ay u gün cümle melekler hüsnüne tahsîn okur/ Bârekallâh zî-cemâli ahsen ü hüsn-i cemûl, Kâmetündür ahsen-i takvîme burhân-ı sahîh/ Sûretün Allâhu nûr âyâtına rûşen delîl*)” These verses are both an expression of love for the Prophet and a depiction of the insan-ı kâmil.

Usûlî continues his comprehensive approach to the Prophet Muhammad when discussing the relationship between God and the universe. Accordingly, Usûlî (2020: 317) says: “He wished to write the diverse line/ First, He drew the “alif” from Ahmed (*Diledi kim yaza hatt-ı muhtelif/ Nakş kıldı evvel Ahmedden elif*)” This couplet points to the levels of existence frequently discussed by Ibn Arabi and his followers. At the first level of manifestation (*ta’ayyun*), the divine names remain undifferentiated within God. In other words, at this level, even a relative multiplicity cannot be spoken of. In the second level, however, the divine names or realities become distinct from each other. The divine counterpart of this level is represented by the name “Allah.” The manifestation of the name “Allah,” in turn, is found in the human being. At this point, the concept of the haqîqat-i Muhammadiyya, also known as the haqîqat-i insâniyya (the Reality of Humanity), emerges (Demirli, 2017: 303-305). Usûlî’s couplet becomes meaningful through the lens of the haqîqat-i Muhammadiyya theory, as the first line can be interpreted as symbolizing the transition from the first to the second manifestation (*ta’ayyun*). Usûlî (2020: 317) continues his verses in harmony with this theory; “From the “Mîm” of Ahmad, the universe appeared/ The Throne, the Earth, above and below, and the six directions (*Mîm-i Ahmed’den göründü kâinât/ Arş u ferş u fevk u taht u şeş cihât*)”. Furthermore, Usûlî has composed verses regarding the relationship between divine names and multiplicity. For example: “We understood the essence of all things and their reality/ Meaning that we are the embodiment of all divine names (*Cümle eşyânun kemâhi anladuk mâhiyyetin/ Ya’ni kim esmâ-i küllîniün müsemmasındayuz*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 197) and “If there was no Adam, forms would not appear/ Nor would there be any knowledge of these divine names (*Olmasa Âdem görünmezdi suver/ Hiç bilinmezdi bu esmâdan haber*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 319).

In conclusion, when it comes to the concept of humanity, Usûlî follows in the footsteps of Ibn Arabi and his followers. This perspective on human nature not only encompasses the ability to explain many interrelated topics but also carries the intellectual background of Islamic thought as a shared heritage. At this point, when humans are placed at the center of the theory, both the theoretical and practical dimensions become equally significant. The theoretical aspect provides a metaphysical framework, while the practical dimension emphasizes the application of these ideas in spiritual practice, linking the concepts of insan-ı kâmil and fanâ' to everyday spiritual and moral development.

The Method of Reaching the Truth: Action

All Islamic intellectual traditions agree that a person can only attain perfection through the union of contemplation and practice. However, while the traditions of philosophy and theology prioritize contemplation and logic as its method, the Sufi tradition prioritizes direct witnessing (*mushahada*) and ascetic practice (*riyaza*) as its method. Usûlî (2020: 175), by centering the Sufi method in his poetry, expresses that the claim to truth must be based on direct witnessing through the following verses: “O, you who claim to know the truth, what is your Lord/ Since you lack vision, what is this conflict you incite? (*Ey hakîkatten haberdârum diyen Mevlâ nedür/ Çün şuhûdun yok durur bu itdüğün gavgâ nedür?*)” To reach the level of direct witnessing, one must distance oneself from worldly attachments. Usûlî (2020: 165) describes this situation as follows: “O Usûlî, you have made your eye hidden in the apparent/ Therefore, for you, the unseen becomes manifest (*Ey Usûlî aynunu gayb eylediün a'yânda/ Anun için sana gaybiyyât ayniyyât olur*)”.

For Sufis, one of the most important concepts in the context of the God-human relationship is love. Sufis frequently emphasize the inadequacy of other traditions in fulfilling the requirements of love. On the other hand, the traditions of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and kalâm heavily criticize Sufi theories in the context of interpreting religious texts. Usûlî, taking the side of the Sufis in this debate, constructs his poetry accordingly. For example, he expresses that those who prioritize theoretical knowledge cannot possess knowledge of love, and thus speaking with them is futile, in the following verses: “O heart, do not ask the rational people about love/ If you are wise, do not engage in debate with the ignorant (*Ehl-i akla ışk bâbından su'âl itme gönül/ Eyleme dâna isen âlemde nâdan ile bahs*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 154) and “In both worlds, our only desire is the love of the Friend/ Our story cannot fit into the book of reason (*İki cihânda matlubumuz ışk-ı dosttur/ Sıgmaز kitâb-ı akla bizüm dâsitânumuz*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 188). Additionally, he reminds the jurists of the greater fiqh (*fiqh-i akbar*), emphasizing that

engaging in trivial matters is not valuable: “The greater fiqh is this, O jurist, if you have not understood/ Know what faith is for those who “do not understand” (*Fıkh-ı ekberdür bunu fehm itmedünse ey fakîh/ Bil sana lâ yefkahûn ile olan îmâ nedür*)” (Usûlî, 2020: 175).

Considering that Usûlî is a Sufi who takes into account the theory of *fanâ'* in the context of the God-human relationship, it seems reasonable that he places *mushahada* and *riyaza* at the center of his thought. Furthermore, when it comes to love for God, it is often emphasized that it should be demonstrated not only through theoretical knowledge but also through practical states. It would be misleading to think that Usûlî's criticisms in his poetry are directed against *kalâm* and *fiqh* merely as fields of knowledge. Rather, his critiques are aimed at jurists for being preoccupied with worldly matters and at theologians or philosophers for immersing themselves in theoretical issues, failing to turn toward God as they should. In this sense, it should be noted that Usûlî does not see a conflict between *sharia* and *haqîqa*; on the contrary, he believes that these two realms should be maintained as complementary to one another.

Conclusion

Both Usûlî's birthplace, Yenice, and the time he spent as a dervish in Egypt had a profound influence on his poetry. Additionally, it seems that his journey to Egypt after reaching a certain level in both rational and traditional sciences in Yenice also shaped the course of his intellectual development. Thus, Usûlî was able to reflect a sense of wholeness in both theoretical and practical terms in his life, which he was able to convey in his poetry as well. In this regard, identifying the metaphysical allusions in Usûlî's *Divan* forms the foundation for understanding the concept of humanity he sought to construct through his poems.

In Usûlî's poetry, the main issues of Islamic thought—God, the universe, and humanity—hold a central position. While Usûlî draws on Sufi terminology when discussing God and the universe, he places the understanding of the *kalâm* tradition at the core of his thought. In this sense, he views an ontological distinction between God and the universe, following the belief that the universe was created from nothing rather than being eternal. On the other hand, the Sufi tradition, established by Ibn Arabî and his followers, uses terms like “bestowal of existence” or “manifestation” instead of creation from nothing, through the concept of *ayan al thabita*. In this view, the universe exists eternally in God's knowledge as *ayan al thabita*. This is where the theological and Sufi traditions diverge. Although Usûlî occasionally uses expressions in line with the principles of *wahdat*

al-wujud in some of his verses, he shapes his thought around the unity of God and humanity rather than the unity of God and the universe. In other words, he establishes a distinction between God and the universe and focuses on the method by which humans can reach God.

It would not be wrong to say that Usûlî's understanding of humanity is fundamentally based on the theory of fanâ' stemming from Junayd of Baghdadî. This is because the fanâ' theory encompasses both the theoretical and practical aspects of a person's journey towards God. Considering that Usûlî was a disciple of İbrahim Gülşenî, the importance of practice (action) becomes more evident. Furthermore, within the context of the fanâ' theory, Usûlî comfortably employs both the cosmological model of kalâm and the theories of Ibn Arabi and his followers, such as haqîqat al-Muhammadiyya and the Divine Names. Accordingly, while he explains the Prophet Muhammad and the concept of the perfect human (*insan al-kâmil*) through the idea of haqîqat al-Muhammadiyya, the creation of the universe occurs through the Divine Names.

In conclusion, Usûlî, in his poems, frequently emphasizes divine love and the paths that lead to God, presenting an impactful expression within a specific theoretical framework. At this point, Usûlî turns to poetry to ensure that this theoretical understanding can be put into action in the context of love for God. Thus, poetry becomes a starting point that stirs the self in the relationship between God and man.

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CHAPTER VI

BALKANS AND OTTOMAN EMPIRE

THE OTTOMAN STATE'S MILITARY GOVERNORSHIP OF ROMANIA AND ITS ACTIVITIES DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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Introduction

The Ottoman Empire fought on many different fronts in World War I. One of these fronts was the Romanian Front. Osman Nizami Pasha was appointed to the Military Governorate of Romania, which was established by the Ottoman Empire after the Allied forces gained control on this front. The activities carried out by the governor in Bucharest, the dialogue he established with the people of the region and his military actions are important for us to understand the operations on this front.

As we all know, World War I was sparked by the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, the Crown Prince of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, by a Serbian nationalist during his visit to Sarajevo. In response to this, the Austro-Hungarian Empire declared war on Serbia by bombing Belgrade on July 28, 1914, while Russia declared general mobilization to aid Serbia. Germany declared war on Russia on August 1, 1914, and on France on August 3, 1914, after failing to achieve a resolution despite its demand for Russia to halt the general mobilization (Kaya, 2018: 2478).

After the declaration of the war, the number of states joining the war on the side of the Entente and the Alliance increased over time. In the summer of 1915, Italy joined the war on the side of the Entente followed by Romania in 1916. In the fall of 1915, Bulgaria joined the war on the side of the Alliance powers. The participation of these three states in the war shifted the balance of power in the Balkans



during World War I. This was because the Entente and Alliance powers provided arms, ammunition, logistics, and financial aid to the states that entered the war within their respective blocs. In this context, the Ottoman Empire sent troops to the Galicia, Macedonia and Romania fronts to ease the burden of Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Bulgaria in the Balkans (Çevik & Yılmazpehlivan, 2018: 163). The dispatch of the 6th Corps to the Romanian Front was not only a step taken to lighten the burden on the Allies, but it was also intended to assist the Muslims within Romania's borders, especially in Dobrudja, and to secure a stake in Western Thrace in case of victory during the division of the territories to be gained from Romania (Çetin, 2016: 542).

In November 1916, the Germans reached the capital, Bucharest, and bombed the railroads, forcing King Ferdinand I, Queen Marie, and members of the government to move towards the city of Iasi, near the Ukrainian border. After the December 3 Battle of Balarìa, the Romanian Army offered no resistance, and following the occupation of Bucharest on December 6, Germany and its allies, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria, took control. The Imperial Government of Bucharest City was established, consisting of the military police, the political police, and general German Security. The German troops chose the Athenee Palace Hotel as their headquarters in Bucharest, while the Bulgarian troops chose Casa Capşa (Çevik & Yılmazpehlivan, 2018: 169).

After the wars on the Romanian Front ended in a short period of three months, the Allied forces took control of Bucharest. With the 6th Corps' support to the Allied forces on the Romanian Front, the Ottoman Empire aimed to have influence in the administration of Bucharest by establishing a headquarters there. This study will attempt to reveal the main objectives of the administration that the Ottoman Empire aimed to establish in Bucharest, the activities it carried out, and the way the Romanian Military Governorate worked. It is aimed to contribute to the field by identifying the Ottoman Empire's activities on the Romanian Front during World War I and the steps taken by Governor Osman Nizami Pasha who carried out these operations. The structure of the text was developed by scanning and evaluating archival materials. The Ottoman Archives of the Presidential State Archives, ATASE, periodicals of the period, newspapers and other copyrighted works were the sources of our study.

Organization of the Military Governorate of Romania and Appointment of the Governor

The battles on the Romanian Front were completed within a short period of three months, and the capital, Bucharest, was occupied by the Allied forces on December 6, 1916. After the victory in the war, it became necessary to establish an appropriate logistical organization in Bucharest to meet the needs of the behind the front. The Ottoman Military Governorate of Romania was established to meet this need (Arslan, 1998: 85).

Before the Ottoman Empire appointed Osman Nizami Pasha as the Military Governor of Romania, the needs of the soldiers and Muslim subjects in the region were met by the Chief Consulate in Constanta (ATASE, 2/2, d. 9, f. 34). On December 13, 1916, in a telegram to Vienna, it was stated that Osman Nizami Pasha was appointed as the Ottoman Military Government's representative in the occupied regions of Romania. The telegram stated that Osman Nizami Pasha would leave for Bucharest by Balkan train and that the governor would meet Enver Pasha in Sofia (BOA, HR.SFR.4, 285/13). However, Osman Nizami Pasha's appointment in Bucharest was finalized at a slightly later date. With the approval of the Council of Ministers of War for the Military Governorate of Romania, Osman Nizami Pasha was only appointed as the Military Governor of Bucharest on February 15, 1917(BOA, BEO., 4455/334087; BOA, MV., 206/3). During Osman Nizami Pasha's military governorship in Bucharest, Ahmet Tevfik Bey, a staff officer, was appointed as the number two in the command echelon. Apart from Ahmet Tevfik Bey, 44 other people were appointed as Military Governor of Romania (BOA, BEO., 4455/334087).

Very soon after the occupation of Bucharest, the organizational structure of the Romanian Military Governorate was established. The structure was shaped under the main headings of central and provincial organization. In this framework, the central organization was formed first and followed by provincial organization. The Military Governorate was divided into five departments: the Economic Department, the War Materials Department, the Agricultural Affairs Department, the Transportation and Dispatch Department and the Military Administration Department. Although position commands were established in the provinces, detailed information about the Provincial Organization is unavailable. At the same time, range point commands were established to provide logistic support in the provinces, and civilian and military affairs were jointly managed by this units. After the establishment of the Military Governorate of Romania, various institutions, organizations and commands were set up under its authority.

In addition to a post command in Bucharest, a dormitory for officers, a dormitory for conscripts and privates, and a movie theater were established. Furthermore, the consulate, a hospital in Bucharest, the soup kitchen for poor families, various soup kitchens in the provinces and the hospital in Ruse were all founded under the Military Governorate (Arslan, 1998: 87).

In addition to the central and provincial organization of the Military Governorate mentioned above, the consulates also contributed to the logistical support and relief activities in Romania. In a telegram sent from the Rusçuk Consulate General to the Military Governorate of Bucharest, it was requested that the needs of the Muslims in the region be met first with the 3,000 sacks of corn to be sent from Romania to Istanbul. The Military Governorate did not refuse this request, and after the needs of the Muslim population in the region were met, the remaining sacks were sent to Istanbul (BOA, HR. SFR.04, 658/2).

One of the most important buildings with Gothic architecture was allocated for the Military Governorate established in Bucharest. While the Turkish flag flew over this building, sentry boxes were constructed to ensure the security of the building (Çevik & Yılmazpehlivan, 2018: 170). In addition to the security posts built around the building, all necessary precautions were taken for security. One of these measures was informing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about a group of 50 suspicious individuals residing in buildings close to the one used by the Ottoman Military Governorate, and ensuring that they were relocated to different areas. The main purpose of these measures was to eliminate the possibility of an attack against the Ottoman Military Governorate. Thanks to these measures, there was no attack attempts during the governorate was in office.

Romania's Withdrawal from World War I and the Ottoman Empire in the Bucharest Peace Treaty

Osman Nizami Pasha, who was appointed by the Ottoman Empire as the military commissar of Romania, completed his organization in the city and provinces in a short period of time and took part in the committee convened for the peace treaty after Romania's withdrawal from World War I, along with Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs Reşat Hikmet Bey.

In a telegram sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Governor of Bucharest stated that the Ottoman Empire could receive 4-5 hundred million dollars' worth of equipment from the division of machinery and goods to be obtained from Romania among the Allied Powers. In the continuation of the telegram, it was stated that if the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs Reşat Hikmet Bey could

convinced Germany to provide wheat and lubricants, which the army and the country desperately needed, a 25% share of the material could be allocated to the Ottoman Empire. Otherwise, for every ton of grain or a wagon of oil, the Ottoman Empire would be left to the mercy of Germany (Çevik & Yılmazpehlivan, 2018: 170).

Following the telegram sent by the Governor of Bucharest, Ahmet Nesimi Bey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent a telegram to Reşat Hikmet Bey, outlining the conditions under which the proposals would be presented. Ahmet Bey emphasized that the agreement between Germany and Bulgaria regarding Dobrudja should not be approved and that the economic conditions that would apply in Romania should be accepted under the following conditions:

1. The territory given from Germany to Bulgaria will be returned to the Ottoman Empire.
2. Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire will accept a 25% share of the occupation of Romania for the Ottoman Empire.
3. If Bulgaria withdraws from its share of the occupation, the Ottoman State's share will be increased to 33%.
4. The principles set out in the above-mentioned protocol will be valid until the general peace. For long-term benefits (concessions, monopolies, etc.) a special arrangement will be made between the Ottoman Empire and Germany.
5. In cases where the Ottoman Empire's wheat supply will be provided by reserves in Ukraine, the price of this wheat will not be higher than the fixed price of wheat supplied by Romania to Germany.
6. Similarly, the prices of mineral oils and fats required by the Ottoman Empire shall not be higher than the prices paid by Germany in Romania (BOA, HR. SYS. 2360/2).

The issue of Dobrudja was one of the main issues emphasized by Reşat Hikmet Bey and Osman Nizami Pasha in the Ottoman delegation. The delegation argued that some of the territories of the province of Edirne, which had to be ceded to Bulgaria during the Balkan Wars, should be returned to the Ottoman Empire. It was stated that the Ottoman Empire should resolve the territorial issues with Bulgaria for the whole of Dobrudja to be given to Bulgaria. Minister of War Enver Pasha closely followed the process and sent a telegram to the delegation regarding Dobrudja and Thrace. Bulgaria did not accept the Ottoman delegation's proposals on the subject, but the the delegation continued to insist on Dobrudja. This prevented Dobrudja from being entirely ceded to Bulgaria. Article 10 of

Chapter 3 of the Peace Treaty concluded that Southern Dobrudja would be ceded to Bulgaria, while Northern Dobrudja would be temporarily placed under the joint administration of the four Allied states (Cevizliler & Öncü, 2013: 113). The treaties between Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bulgaria, the Ottoman Empire and Romania were drafted in both Romanian and in the language of each respective country. In addition to the treaty between Romania and the Allied Powers, an additional 26-article treaty was signed between the Ottoman Empire and Romania (Cevizliler & Öncü, 2013: 130).

The benefits and gains of the Allied Powers from the occupation of Romania can be divided into four main categories: political, economic, financial and military. To determine what the gains were under these four main headings, a representative of the Allied powers established a permanent commission in the Military administration in Romania. The commission took its decisions by majority vote. As a result of the commission's work, it was decided that Germany would get 40%, the Austro-Hungarian Empire 30%, the Ottoman Empire 20% and Bulgaria 10% (BOA, HR. SYS.2360/2 Lef 9).

After the work carried out by the commission, it was reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 14 that the railway materials in Bulgaria had been shared among the Allied powers in proportion to the determined shares. It was also telegraphed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the commission deemed appropriate to leave the railway material to be distributed to the German Military Railway Administration until the peace with Romania was achieved (BOA, HR. SYS.2360/3). In the telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was requested that the 20% of railway equipment and machinery such as locomotives and wagons in Romania and Dobrudja, which constituted the Ottoman Empire's share, be determined. At the same time, an initiative was requested regarding the freighters and trailers on the Danube to prevent them from being left abandoned (BOA, HR. SYS. 2360/2).

As a result of the allocations made after these negotiations, the trains, wagons, and shimendifers that fell to the Ottoman Empire's share were shipped to Istanbul via Bulgaria. During the shipment, the officials in the field were warned to check the shipped materials and to be careful (ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/11; ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/12). In addition to these materials, the shipment of materials to be used as spare parts in shipbuilding and repair in factories in Constanta, Dobrudja and other cities was realized (ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/29). A list of materials was sent to the officers in order to ensure the complete control of many materials such as carburetor, American cloth, grater, bolt, nut, wood screw, machine oil, sanding stone, fire brick and bristle nose brush (ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/30; ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/31;

ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/32; ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/33; ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f. 14/34).

In addition to these materials collected from the factories, it was determined that materials such as guide wrenches, steel squares, steel gauges, screwdrivers, wrenches, wood graters, trowels, augers, foot buckets and wood saws were collected from the market for the factories and shipyards serving the Nezareti of the Navy, and that the materials were sent to Istanbul after a list was kept (ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/30; ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/31; ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/32; ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/33; ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/34). The above-mentioned locomotives, wagons, freighters, trailers, factory materials and all kinds of goods were sent to Istanbul in a total of 1500 wagons (ATASE, BDH, k.1208, d.321, f.14/52).

In addition to railroad, locomotives, wagons, freighters, trailers and factory equipment, the Arms and Materiel Branch of the Romanian Military Prefecture created an inventory of the material captured as trophies during the retreat of the Romanian Army. Sixty-four rapid-fire cannons (16 batteries of 4 guns each), 800 ammunition carts, several hundred thousand artillery shells, 70,000 infantry rifles and 20 million rifle bullets were shipped as military supplies. Additionally, 11 factories worth 4 million francs, iron and raw materials worth 5 million francs were sent to support the war industry. Along with these military and industrial materials, a list of agricultural equipment was also made. In addition, to agricultural tools and equipment valued at 62 million francs, 132,000 tons of grain worth about 350 francs were also shipped. On the other hand, it is noted that 5500 horses, oxen and other large and small cattle worth 2 million francs were sent by the Military Governorate (Arslan, 1998: 86).

Furthermore, a telegram was sent to inform the Military Governorate about the Ottoman government's share of the tax to be collected from the Romanian territory. In the telegram sent to the governorate, it was stated that although the taxes allocated by the Allied soldiers responsible for the administration of Romania were collected by the German government, the Ottoman government's share should be recorded (BOA, BEO. 4471/335255).

As a result of the meticulous work carried out by the Romanian Military Governorate, it is evident from the statements reflected in the documents that the Ottoman Empire was represented in the best way both militarily and diplomatically on the Romanian Front.

Activities of the Romanian Military Governorate in the Region

The Romanian Military Governorate served in Romania for nearly a year. Osman Nizami Pasha, the military governor of Romania, and the staff of the governorate did not adopt an oppressive style of governance during this period: they also addressed the problems of the Romanian people in the region under their control. During his administration, 217,841 francs were provided to refugees and families of captured soldiers in the form of salaries and subsistence. Housing was provided for 381 families who had become homeless during the war. Efforts were made to ensure the survival of the predominantly Muslim families living in Adakale (Çevik & Yılmazpehlivan, 2018: 170).

The departure of the consulates and embassies of neutral countries from Bucharest, which was under Ottoman military occupation, led Iranian citizens there to express that they were also Muslims and demanded protection from the Ottoman Military Governorate. The Iranian citizens requested the governorate to facilitate their travel within Romania to conduct their commercial business. The governor's office informed the Nezareti of Foreign Affairs and stated that the Iranian citizens demanded protection for themselves as well, given that the Ottoman Empire looked after Muslims. In addition, they requested assistance in exporting the trade goods remaining in Romania to their country (BOA, HR. SYS. 2438/73). In the reply from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the governorship, it was requested that the Iranian citizens' requests should not be rejected (BOA, HR. SYS. 2438/73).

The first thing the Governorate did was to conduct a population census in Bucharest. After the census, a detailed report was submitted to the Ministry of War to inform the Nezareti of the current situation. The report stated that there were 267,524 Romanians, 25,099 Austrians and Hungarians, 2,732 Germans, 1,126 Bulgarians, 123 Turks, 5,402 Greeks, 739 Serbs, 1,644 Italians, 128 Russians, 394 French, 124 English and 538 people of various nationalities, totaling 306,683 thousand people in Bucharest. The governor's office estimated that the total population in Bucharest was around 400,000 before the war and that the difference was about 90,000 was likely due people being recruited for military service (BOA, HR. SYS. 2118; ATASE, k.1/2, d.828, f.116.9). Thanks to this report, we now have information about the ethnic structure of Bucharest during the war.

The Romanian Military Governorate had funds allocated for the needs of the Muslim subjects. In addition to this, in October 1917, an aid of 1000 liras was sent to the Governorate, particularly for the Muslims who had been displaced from Moldova, a war zone, and were in dire conditions due to exile by the

Romanians. The Governor's Office forwarded this aid to Enver Bey, the Chief Consul General, to be used for the needs of these Muslims. Enver Bey used the 1000 liras received from the Bucharest Governorate for the needs of the needy subjects (BOA, DH. EUM.5.Şb. 35/44; BOA, HR. SYS.2438/57). The remaining funds were spent on schools, hospitals and other necessary institutions. (BOA, HR. SYS. 2457/12, July 29, 1334; BOA, BEO. 4522/339098).

It is understood that Osman Nizami Pasha, the Military Governor of Romania, was given full authority when he was appointed to this position. It is stated in the documents that many Bulgarian and German officials applied to Istanbul for transportation between Romania and Bulgaria. In the replies to these applications, it was clarified that Osman Nizami Pasha was the representative of the Ottoman State in Romania and that he was fully authorized in this matter (BOA, DH. I. UM. EK. 105/48). Individual applications for travel were also made to the governorship. One of these applications was made by Dr. Atif Hüseyin. Atif Hüseyin received permission to travel to Bucharest on April 10, 1918, due to severe pain. On May 26, Dr. Atif Hüseyin was granted permission to stay until mid-August to go to Karlsbad, where Osman Nizami Pasha had previously been treated (Birinci, 2010: 229).

On December 31, 1917, the Prefecture of Bucharest sent a letter stating that everyone was jointly preoccupied with the statements of the German Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg and the demands of the Allies. The Prefecture explained that in London, before Bethmann Hollweg's speech, a speech had been made expressing the terms of a conditional peace agreement. In his speech, Hollweg listed the demands of Germany and its allies under five main headings. First, he emphasized that Poland (Lehistan) should never again come under the rule of Russia. He stated that Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire would settle the Polish issue together. In other words, the Austro-Hungarian Empire would take the province of Galicia from Russia, unite it with Poland, and establish an independent Polish government. The Governor interpreted this article in his letter as follows. *"Although the Chancellor did not express it precisely, a Poland created with Galicia, a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, would have relations like those between Hungary and Austria. In other words, the newly created Poland would be under the control of the Austrian state."* The second issue in Hollweg's conditional peace demand was Belgium. He stated that Belgium would not be annexed by Germany and that Belgium would serve as the vanguard in the event of an offensive against Germany. He explained that Belgium would be divided into two parts: the Dutch part would be independent, and one part would be given to the Netherlands. Hollweg emphasized that the Netherlands, being

under the threat of England at the time, must protect its colonies. The letter also stated that the first three conditions put forward by Hollweg for peace were very clear (BOA, HR. SYS. 2312/17).

The fourth article stated that Russia should pay reparations in proportion to the damage suffered by the Germans during the war. The fifth article clarified that Germany's colonies should not be interfered with. In his letter, Osman Nizami Pasha, while evaluating the five articles of Hollweg, noted that Germany had no demands from France and England. As clearly stated in these articles, he stated that Germany regarded Russia as the main enemy. In the continuation of the letter, the Governor wrote that Hollweg stated Russia should be punished. He emphasized that the importance of punishing Russia so that it could not disturb the peace in Europe again. According to the governor, there was no clause in Hollweg's above-mentioned conditions that France and England would not accept. At the end of the letter, the Governor stated that there were some deficiencies in Hollweg's speech and made notes at the end of the letter, including his own views. According to the Governor, *"First of all, according to the course of the war, the Chancellor should have said that these are Germany's peace terms on this day. If, according to the course of the war, more sacrifices were necessary, Germany would of course offer fewer terms. This would allow Britain and France to be more eager for peace. On the other hand, it was not right that he did not make any statement on the Balkans, which was the cause of the outbreak of the war, and that he did not express the wishes of the Ottoman allies."* At the end of his letter, the governor wrote that Hollweg repeated the sentence *"Germany has no animosity towards France"* several times and each time it was applauded by those in the hall (BOA, HR. SYS. 2312/17, 31 Kânunusani 1333).

In the months following the Governor's telegram, significant changes occurred during the war. In April and May 1918, stagnation continued the Romanian Front. From Constanta, troops were transported to Batumi by the steamships Akdeniz, Resit Pasha and Olga. On April 29, 1918, the corps headquarters moved from Ibrail to Chernovada by freighters, and from there to Constanza by train. The headquarters departed from there by steamer on May 9, 1918, and arrived in Batumi on May 12, 1918. The 15th Division started transportation from Ibrail on May 13, 1918, with its first group and gradually moved to Constanza. The division headquarters arrived in Batumi on June 29, 1918. As the 45th Infantry Regiment and the reserve units gradually moved to Istanbul by sea, the units of the 6th Corps, which had served in Romania for nearly two years, left the Romanian territory (Güleç, 1967: 161).

On September 26, 1918, Bulgaria signed an armistice with the Entente powers and withdrew from the war, and on September 29, Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire also attempted for an armistice.

The End of World War I and Closure of the Governorate of Bucharest

As the developments on the fronts in the last year of World War I shifted in favor of the Entente, the states in the Alliance group both individually and collectively made attempts at armistice negotiations. In September and October of 1918, the first of these initiatives, which showed weight, came from Burain, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. However, the Entente states did not accept this initiative. On September 15, after the French offensive in Macedonia broke the front, the Bulgarians no longer cared about the attitude of their allies and appealed to the Entente states on September 26, calling for an armistice. This call was accepted by the Entente states and Bulgaria withdrew from the war with the signing of the Thessaloniki Armistice on September 29. Germany, the leader of the Allied states, decided to apply to the American President Wilson on the day Bulgaria signed the armistice and informed its allies about the situation. On September 29, Germany sent its request for an armistice through Switzerland, followed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire through Sweden and the Ottoman Empire through Spain on October 5 (Bacanlı, 2015: 348). Between October 27-30, Rauf Bey, Reşat Hikmet Bey and Ali Bey, who was appointed as the clerk of the delegation, conducted the armistice negotiations. On October 30, 1918, with the Armistice of Mondros accepted by the Ottoman delegates, the Ottoman Empire de facto withdrew from the war (Renouvin, 1977: 267).

After the de facto withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from the war, the 6th Corps, which had achieved significant successes on the Romanian Front, began to gradually evacuate the Romanian territories in 1918. On October 5, 1917, it was reported to Istanbul from Budapest that Osman Nizami Pasha and the staff of the governorship arrived in Ruscuk to go to Istanbul (BOA, HR. SFR.4. 914/71). With the occupation of Bucharest, the Ottoman Empire had a say in the administration of Romania for about a year. In this context, the Ottoman Danube Range Inspectorate, under the control of the Ottoman Military Governor of Romania, operated in these territories. During his nearly one-year tenure in Romania, the Governor was always tolerant and just in his attitude towards the people living in these lands in an exemplary manner (Çevik & Yılmazpehlivan, 2018: 173). After the Ottoman Military Governor of Romania left the region, a military delegate

was left to represent the Ottoman Empire in the region before the Entente powers (ATASE, BDH, k.1971, d.329, f.4/8; ATASE, BDH, k.1971, d.329, f.4/9).

Established in a very short period, the Romanian Military Governorate adopted an unprecedented form of organization. It is traditionally characterized by tolerance and benevolence. Even civilian affairs were managed by the Military Governorate under the leadership of the governor. The fact that, after completing the central organization, the Governor's Office was soon able to organize the provinces, covering the entire country, demonstrates how effectively it performed its duties.

Conclusion

The Ottoman Empire fought on many fronts in World War I and provided the necessary support to its allies. The Ottoman Empire, together with its allies Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Bulgaria, established the Military Governorate of Bucharest to take an active part in the Romanian territory. This governorship undertook all missions carried out in the region. The appointment of an important statesman like Osman Nizami Pasha as the Governor of Bucharest underscores the significance placed on this position.

The Military Governorate of Bucharest, which completed its organization both in the center and in the provinces very quickly, began its activities in the region rapidly. It addressed the basic problems of the Muslims living in Romania such as shelter, food and transportation. At the same time, it also tried to meet the basic needs of Muslims arriving Bucharest from different regions. Despite being an ally, Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, was informed about the basic border problems with Bulgaria regarding Dobrudja and Thrace, and the necessary steps were taken through this governorship.

Heavy industrial materials, basic food products and livestock, which were agreed to be shared among the allied states after the occupation of Romania, were identified through the work of the Bucharest Governorate. Strict control was implemented for the shipment of the determined goods, ensuring they reached Istanbul without any issues. The Bucharest Governorate acted as the eye, hearing ear and holding hand of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans during World War I. It is important to note how meticulously they conducted their work, reporting every action in detail to Istanbul. Since 1918, developments on the fronts had favored the Entente Powers. Both individually and collectively, the states in the Alliance group made attempts at armistice negotiations. Following these negotiations, the Military Governorate of Bucharest completed its mission in Romanian territory and gradually withdrew.

Attachments



Description: Ottoman Military Governorate of Bucharest



Description: Bucharest Ottoman Military Hospital



Description: Bucharest Military Governorate Ottoman Zabitan Dormitory



Description: Ottoman delegation in Bucharest / 1918

In front (from left to right) Colonel Tevfik Bey, Chief of Staff of the Bucharest Military Governorate, Ahmet İzzet Pasha, Osman Nizami Pasha; in the back Dr. Süleyman Emin Pasha (3rd row) and Dr. Münir Bey (4th row).



Description: Bucharest Military Prefecture Staff

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ALBANIANS AND TAFIL BOLETINI TRIBAL SCHOOL

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Introduction

Sultan Abdulhamid II's policy to ensure governance in distant regions was rooted in Pan-Islamism, as a counter to Pan-Arabism, Pan-Germanism, and Pan-Slavism. The dispatch of the Qur'an to the Senusi sheikhs and the advocacy for the Tuaregs to rally around the caliph exemplify this policy. In the 19th century, the Western powers' increasing interest in Africa and the Middle East, their imperial advances, and the significant defeat suffered by the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish War prompted Abdulhamid II to adopt such a strategy. It was believed that the remaining Islamic territories could be safeguarded through this approach. Turkish historian Enver Ziya Karal elucidates the rationale behind the sultan's adoption of this policy through four main points:

- Deterioration of Muslim-Christian relations,
- European intervention in favor of Ottoman Christians,
- The invasion of Islamic territories by European powers,
- The emergence of ideas supporting Islamic unity within the Islamic world (Karal, 1983).

It is essential to explore why Pan-Islamism became the dominant ideology of the Ottoman State, rather than merely examining its meaning. It can be asserted that Pan-Islamism was employed in conjunction with the mission of Islamic unity, aiming to politically consolidate Muslims around the caliph. Furthermore, it sought to establish political solidarity against the major European powers and to unite the populations in exploited regions under the caliph's protection to form a collective strength. During this period, a form of Islamism emerged



that embraced the technical, military, and modern aspects of the Great Powers, while simultaneously preserving the nation's traditional values (Alkan,2023). Turkish historian Kemal Karpat challenges the classification of the sultan's policy by certain thinkers as "Pan-Islamism." He posits that this ideology could be more accurately defined as Islamism. He argues that this political thought, when instrumentalized in international relations, might appropriately be referred to as "Pan-Islamism." According to Karpat, this dimension of Islamism is not fundamentally significant in the formation of a nation. He contends that the primary purpose of operationalizing Islam as an ideology was to integrate Arabs within the Ottoman framework. In other words, Pan-Islamism can be understood as a tool used by the sultan not to promote Islam but to reinforce central authority within the empire (Karpat,2006).

Sultan Abdulhamid II, recognized as a reformist in Turkish historiography, integrated his educational reforms with the notion of Pan-Islamism, leading to the establishment of schools throughout the country. Graduates of these institutions significantly influenced the subsequent period following Abdulhamid II. The sultan, who regarded education as a priority for development and a fundamental aspect of loyalty to the state, sought to solidify his position and cultivate qualified personnel by opening schools across the nation. Institutions such as the Agricultural School, Veterinary School, and Fine Arts School were established to nurture skilled generations. Additionally, a school named "Aşiret Mektebi" was created for minorities, aiming to foster loyalty to the state (Güler, 2024).

By the late 19th century, it was apparent that innovations within the Ottoman Empire were ongoing. The ruler endeavored to reinforce the concept of centralization derived from the Tanzimat through his policies, striving to enhance the understanding of a centralized state with the institutions he constructed. Ottoman modernization, akin to the modernization movements of France's Third Republic, involved efforts to integrate the public with the state. While the Aşiret Mektebi exhibited similarities to the "Sefogulları School" established by France in colonized regions such as Niger and Senegal, their objectives were not aligned (Bouche, 1974). The Sefogulları School, also known as the "School of Hostages," provided education to the sons of tribal leaders and notable figures captured during wars. Louis Faidherbe aimed to instill French culture and values in the students attending this institution. The strict oversight of the students also aided the imperialists in maintaining the established order. Consequently, the families of these "hostages" distanced themselves from notions of rebellion due to concerns over their children falling into enemy hands. France's objective reflected the necessity for distinguished individuals among the sons of tribal chiefs,

educated in the European manner, capable of serving as intermediaries between Europe and Africa (Bouche: 220).

Establishment of the Aşiret Mektebi

The Aşiret Mektebi, established in Istanbul by the order of Sultan Abdulhamid II, was initially intended to educate the children of prominent Arab tribes and facilitate their integration into the state. Subsequently, children from Kurdish and Albanian tribes also enrolled in the school. Following the territorial contraction after the Russo-Turkish War, the Sultan aimed to maintain the unity of the remaining Arab, Kurdish, and Albanian populations. The prevailing ideology in this context was Pan-Islamism (Rogan, 1996). The practice during the Ottoman classical period of educating non-Turkish elements from noble families in Enderun and Acemi oğlanlar schools, which led to their ascension to significant positions within the state, highlights the similarities with the Aşiret Mektebi. The state admitted non-Turkish individuals—namely Arab, Kurdish, and Albanian students—into the Aşiret Mektebi, thus subjecting them to Ottoman educational practices to prepare them for roles within the government. Indeed, this institution has illustrated the principle that “continuity in governance is essential” (Ergin, 1977). Ruhi Can Alkan presents a distinct perspective on the Aşiret Mektebi, viewing it as a manifestation of the Ottoman commitment to educational continuity and an international student policy (Alkan, 2020).

The key features of the Aşiret Mektebi established in Istanbul include:

- Direct control by Sultan Abdulhamid II.
- Grants and favors bestowed upon families sending their children,
- Graduates were expected to assume official positions in their respective regions.

Operating until 1907, this institution was among the most effective policies concerning tribal modernization and the integration of tribes with the state. The Ottoman Empire had approached tribes with suspicion since its inception, as their non-payment of taxes and autonomous structures posed challenges to the state. Consequently, Abdulhamid II aimed to extend state authority into the most remote regions by bringing 48 students from Arab provinces such as Hejaz, Yemen, and Tripolitania to Istanbul in 1886 to receive education at the Military Academy (Eugene L. Rogan, 1996). The existence of such policies prior to the establishment of the Aşiret Mektebi facilitated the subsequent admission of students to the school. The Sultan, who closely monitored the school, sent greetings to the students upon its opening, emphasizing that their enrollment was a privilege (BOA, DH. MKT., 2007/72, Lef: 1, R. 21 September 1308).

The Aşiret Mektebi distinguishes itself from other state schools in terms of its educational objectives, teachings, and goals. Although it was established with a Rüştiye degree for civil and military high schools, this institution was specifically designed for the sons of prominent tribal leaders and is therefore not classified as a regular military school. The state aimed to approach the sons of tribal notables from a political perspective to prevent the development of nationalism among them. Additionally, it sought to counteract imperial dominance over non-Turkish elements and to create an educational model that would address the ignorance prevalent in the tribes. The establishment of a school like the Aşiret Mektebi was part of the implementation of the principle of Islamic unity. This institution reflects the centralization efforts of the Ottoman Empire, which sought to strengthen its administrative level and extend its influence to peripheral regions (Moreau, 2007).

The project for the Aşiret Mektebi, prepared by Osman Nuri Pasha and presented to Abdulhamid II on June 22, 1892, was approved by the Sultan after discussions in the Ottoman Council of Ministers. The contents of several important articles from this proposal are summarized below (BOA, DH.MKT., 1964/79,26 Zilkâdde 1309): “The main purpose of the school, as defined in the above article, is to civilize the tribes living in a state of barbarism through education. Schools opened with this intention functioned not only in the center but also in the provinces. In 1877, boys’ and girls’ Rüştiye schools were established in Beirut; in 1891, the Hamidiye School of Commerce and Industry was founded; and in 1870, five boys’ schools and six non-Muslim schools were established in Akka. The idadi school in Akka opened as a day school in 1894. Additionally, various levels of schools were established during this period in Jerusalem, Haifa, Nazareth, Safed, and Tiberias (Bostancı, 2005). Sultan Abdulhamid II aimed to maintain control over the region by developing more reasonable policies compared to the harsh central measures of the Tanzimat period, utilizing education for this purpose. This can be conceptualized through the “carrot-and-stick” theory. The Tanzimat period can be characterized primarily as a “stick,” whereas Abdulhamid II’s era can be perceived as a “carrot.” The rewards, medals, and honors during this period exemplify this approach. Furthermore, the education of tribal children and their rewards in state positions can also be examined through this lens (Avcı, 2009).

Another audience for the article in Osman Nuri Pasha’s regulations pertains to the administrators of the institution. Abdulhamid II placed importance on this matter and appointed Ali Nazîmâ Bey, a significant educational figure known for his teaching and textbook writing during the Hamidian era, as the director of the school (Kahraman, 2006). The qualifications of teachers and the methods of instruction were explicitly outlined in the Aşiret Mektebi regulations. A

notable aspect is that the backgrounds of the students were not to be overlooked, and consideration of this was required during lessons. For instance, in the 30th article of the section on teachers' duties, it is stated, "Although teachers will primarily express and present in Turkish, they will explain and define the subjects in Arabic when students do not understand the Turkish expressions until exceptions arise, and they will also convey the Turkish meanings of these explanations" (BOA, Y. MTV., 73/99, Lef: 2, 14 Cemaziyülahır 1310). "Students who complete their education will be appointed to teaching positions or other relevant services and positions in the schools established and designated in their tribes when they return" (BOA, DH.MKT., 1964/79, 26 Zilkâdde 1309).

The Ottoman state not only considered the education of students but also their post-educational lives, striving to secure the futures of graduates under the program. Students completing the Aşiret Mektebi would further their education at the Harbiye or Mülkiye schools and were employed upon graduation. For example, Ahmed Muin Efendi was appointed to the principalship (BOA, BEO., 3457/25968, Lef: 1, 21 Zilkade 1326), and Abdurrahman Efendi was assigned to the Asir Mutasarrıflığı (BOA, DH. MKT., 2595/94, Lef: 1, 25 Zilkade 1319). Many such graduates were sent to their own regions or to locations designated by the state. The objective here aligns with Sultan Abdulhamid II's mission of integrating individuals into the state.



Fotoğraf 1. Aşiret Mektebi Öğrencileri

Admission of Albanians to the School

Albania is a region that remained under Ottoman control for many years and was influenced by Ottoman culture. In the early 19th century, Albania did not participate in the nationalist uprisings and later formed a front against the centralist policies brought about by the Tanzimat reforms. Local dynasties, not wanting to lose their influence in the region, rebelled against these policies regarding conscription and taxation (Bey, 2006). The issues of taxation and military service that underpinned the Albanian uprisings eventually gave way to rising nationalist movements, paving the way for Albania's separation from the Ottoman Empire. The Balkans, a playground for great powers, witnessed the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, during which Albania declared its independence in 1912. Up until this point, Abdülhamid had taken special care of the Albanian region.

Sultan II. Abdülhamid's Pan-Islamism policy became more pronounced after the 1878 Berlin Conference. As the borders of the state shrank, the majority of the population became Muslim. Looking at the regional distribution of the Muslim population, Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia were targeted by the British and Russians, while the Arab territories attracted significant British and French interest. Albania also served as the Ottoman Empire's gateway to the West. To maintain control over the Kurds, Albanians, and Arabs in these three regions, the Ottoman state devised various policies. For the Kurds, there were the "Hamidiye Cavalry Regiments"; for the Arabs, the "Tribal School"; and for the Albanians, a special guard unit named the "Tüfekçiler," formed from the leading families of the region (Kodaman, 1987). During this period, Albanians were also appointed to significant positions in Istanbul, the most notable being the appointment of Ferid Pasha from Avlona as Grand Vizier from 1903 to 1908 (İnal, 1982). The Sultan's aim in all these actions was to bind these ethnic groups to the state within the framework of Pan-Islamism.

The term "aşâir-i urban" in the founding regulations of the Tribal School was changed to include Albanian students by the decree of the Sultan (BOA, İ. HUS., 98/16, Lef: 1, 22 Rebiyülevvel 1320). The Ministry of Education did not exhibit the same attitude as when accepting Kurdish students and stated that the costs would be covered by the repair budget (BOA, İ. MF., 8/32, Lef: 2, 2 Cemaziyülevvel 1320; BOA, Y.MTV., 233/22, Lef: 1, 27 Temmuz 1318). The Ministry also communicated the conditions for accepting students to the region. Referring to the health problems experienced by students from Libya, Jerusalem, and Syria due to climatic changes, it was emphasized that selected students should be examined by a doctor and avoid immoral actions, being open to education (BOA, MF. MKT. 644/11 Lef 1, 26 Safer 1318). In subsequent days, according to news in the

Tercümân-ı Hakikat newspaper, it was highlighted that Abdülhamid approved the acceptance of students from the Balkans into the Tribal School, specifically noting that students from Kosovo and Manastir had arrived in the capital (Tercüman-ı Hakikat, 24 September 1902, No. 7694: 2).

That year (1902), 20 Albanian students from Kosovo, Manastir, Debre, and Yanya were enrolled in the school. In February 1905, the Governor of Kosovo requested from the Grand Vizier to enroll the sons of Ali Zübeyr from Yakova and Hacı Ali Ağa from Mitrovica. The Governor of Shkodra also requested the admission of two students that same year. However, the Ministry of Education rejected all these applications, citing that twenty students from Albania were already enrolled in the school (BOA, MF.MKT., 660/50, Lef: 3, 3 Şaban 1322). Due to the limited student quota, the Governor of Kosovo, Reşad, sent a coded telegram requesting an increase in the number of students (BOA, DH. ŞFR, 289/101 Lef 1, 30 July 1318), but it seems this request was also not accepted in later periods. For instance, the sons of Gülbeyzade Süleyman Bey from the Shkodra elite were also rejected due to the full quota (MF.MKT. 906/5 Lef 2, 24 Kânunuevvel 1321). However, as an exception, the request for one of Süleyman Bey's sons from Yanya to be admitted to the Tribal School and the other to the Veterinary School was approved, allowing the students to come to Istanbul (BOA, İ. MF., 13/9, Lef: 1, R. 27 March 1322). It was decided that the travel expenses and stipends for the students coming to Istanbul would be covered by the Ministry of Education under the orders of the Grand Vizier (BEO, 1925/144308, 11 September 1318). The budget allocated for the expenses of 20 Albanian students, including their salaries, school costs, and clothing, was set at 64,650 kuruş per the sultan's decree. This amount is detailed in the following table.

Table 1: Showing the expenses for 20 students to be admitted to the Tribal School.

Expense Type	Required Coin
Student Salary	7200
Total Expense	7200
Meals	23800
Clothing	13000
Laundry	1400
Firewood and Coal	500
Lighting	250
Miscellaneous and Repair	500

Expense Type	Required Coin
Reserve (expenses for students returning home)	16000
Unforeseen Expenses	2000
Total	57450
Overall Total	64650

The state paid careful attention to the expenses of the students to ensure that those coming from the regions were not disadvantaged. For example, it was communicated that the expenses for students from Yanya would be covered by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as ordered by the Ministry of Education (BOA, DH. MKT. 567/40 Lef 1, 28 Cemaziyülevvel 1320). Similarly, the Ministry of Education was designated to handle the stipends for students coming from Shkodra (BOA, DH. MKT. 567/1 Lef 1, 22 Cemaziyülevvel 1320).

Graduates from the Tribal School who applied were enrolled in the “tribal class” of the Civil and Military Schools, continuing their education under a special program mentioned earlier. The documents also outlined the future occupations of the graduates in their respective regions (BOA, BEO., 2974/222983, Lef: 2, R. 17 Kânunusani 1321).

The Ottoman state continued to integrate the Albanian students who enrolled in the Tribal School into its educational system after their graduation. Derviş Sabri, the grandson of Malik Pasha from Priştina, had previously registered for the Civil School, but it was noted that his transition to the Military School was facilitated (BOA. MF. MKT. 834/18 Lef 1, 9 February 1320). Graduates of the Tribal School also served as gendarmes in the provinces. Kenan from Debre, Taki from Yanya, and Abbas Efendi from Ilbasan were officially appointed to the rank of Second Lieutenant (Mülazım-ı Sani) by the sultan’s decree (BOA, İ. HUS., 160/50, Lef: 1, 13 Şevval 1325).

Tafil Boletinî

Among Albanian students, there were individuals who would later leave their mark on Albanian history. One of them is Tafil Boletinî, the nephew of the Kosovo chief İsa Boletinî. Members of this family, significant figures in Albanian nationalism, received their education at this school (Clayer, 2014). While Clayer identifies Tafil as İsa Boletinî’s nephew, a document written by the ambassador of Belgrade, Ali, states that he is İsa’s son. The document mentions that İsa and

his sons (Amil and Tafil) had been staying at a hotel in Belgrade for three days and had their princely rifles with them. It also states that Captain Filip Mavranoviç, a committee member, accompanied İsa and his sons (BOA HR. SYS. 151/73 Lef 1, 17 July 1912).

In his memoirs, Tafil Boletinî states that he was born in 1888 in Boletin, near Mitrovica. After losing his father at an early age, Tafil was taken in by his uncle İsa, who never left his side. Growing up alongside significant Albanian nationalists of the time (such as Bajram Curri and Hasan Prishtine), Tafil was introduced to the concepts of freedom and independence from a young age, shaping him into a tireless supporter of his country's independence. He participated in the Mitrovica uprising of 1903 and was subsequently exiled to Istanbul with his uncle İsa (Boletini, 2011). In 1904, he enrolled in a military school (Tribal School) in Istanbul. It is understood that Tafil remained in Istanbul until 1908, after which he returned to Albania and began to take an active role alongside İsa Boletinî following the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era.

Between 1910 and 1912, Tafil served in the councils of Junik, Ferizovik, and Luka, fighting for Üsküp. He became İsa's right-hand man in the struggle against the nationalist armies of Serbia and Montenegro. A part of the 1912 independence movement, Tafil served as vice president of the commission responsible for settling refugees in the homeland and later became the secretary of the commission. In 1913, he fought against the Serbian and Greek uprisings that spread from Lake Ohrid to the Rugova mountains, and a year later, he defended Durrës. However, in 1915, when Montenegrins entered Northern Albania, he sought refuge at the French consulate but was ambushed in Shkodra. On January 16, 1916, he lost his uncle İsa and his brothers Jonuz and Halit to the Montenegrin ambush, while he miraculously survived the attack (Boletini, 2011).



2: Soldan Halil Boletini, Tafil Boletini, Misin Bala, Jonuz Boletini

Between 1916 and 1918, Tafil remained in his homeland and served as the deputy president of the Mitrovica region. During this time, he had the opportunity to defend his homeland against Serbian chetniks. In 1918, following the occupation of Kosovo by French and Serbian military forces, he became part of the significant organization known as the “Kosovo National Defense” committee, emerging as a symbol of the Kosovo resistance alongside important figures of the time. This prompted the Serbs to exert extra effort to negotiate with Tafil, offering him money and power in a meeting. However, Tafil rejected all their offers and moved from Mitrovica to Shkodra. From 1920 to 1924, he served as the deputy district governor in Fier and Lushnja. In his attempts to establish democracy in the region, Tafil clashed with local leaders and was ultimately removed from his position due to failure. Taking on active roles, Tafil engaged in farming in Fier from 1925 to 1930. During World War II, he held governor positions in Korça, Elbasan, and Kalkandelen. Known for his democratic character, Tafil gained public sympathy by supporting anti-fascist forces (Boletini, Kujtime, 2011). In 1943, while serving as governor in Elbasan, he showed a positive attitude towards the Jews there and supported those fleeing Gestapo persecution (Boletini M., 2020).



3: 1944 yılında Kalkandelen valisiyken.

After World War II, Tafil settled in Fier, leading a simple life without seeking wealth like many others in prominent positions. In 1946, he was arrested on charges of engaging in activities against the government. Although he was released shortly after, he was re-arrested in 1947 and handed over to Yugoslavia. Regardless of his circumstances, Tafil never wavered from his ideals and anti-fascist stance, fighting for the interests of his nation. During his time in the Mitrovica region, he became a wise figure, mediating blood feuds and attempting to resolve conflicts. In the early 1960s, he fought to prevent Albanians from leaving their homeland under Serbian pressure. Returning from Kosovo to Tirana in 1963, Tafil was warmly welcomed, yet his thoughts remained with Kosovo's independence. Tafil Boletinî died in an accident in 1970, leaving behind a profound spirit of struggle and becoming an important figure in Albania (Boletini, Kujtime, 2011).

Conclusion

Sultan II. Abdülhamid's reforms aimed at establishing a centralized state were prominently reflected in the educational sector. The establishment of the tribal school, designed to ensure the tribes' loyalty to the state, held a distinctive status due to its curriculum, educational program, and the direct interest of the sultan. The prevailing view in the Ottoman Empire that tribes "live in a state of savagery" prompted the state to develop these policies. By integrating Pan-Islamist thought with education, the school aimed to cultivate the children of influential tribal leaders, thus garnering special attention from the sultan. The primary objective of this institution was to foster a generation that was loyal to both the state and the sultan.

Graduates, influenced by Ottoman ideologies, typically enrolled in military or civil service academies. Upon their return, graduates from the Civil Service School often took positions as district governors or sub-district heads, while those from the Military Academy served as first lieutenants. In contrast to their ancestors, these tribal graduates operated within the framework of state authority. As long as the state persisted, these individuals served it; however, with the state's subsequent decline, many became involved in nationalist movements among the Arabs, Kurds, and Albanians. Notably, many young graduates from this specialized Ottoman school either resisted colonial powers or governed the region in collaboration with them. The determination of Albanians to enroll in this institution underscores the efficacy of II. Abdülhamid's policies. Tafil Boletinî, a notable graduate, later emerged as a significant figure in Albanian history, further demonstrating the caliber of students educated in this school.

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THE LANDS EVERYONE WANTS TO KNOW BUT NO ONE KNOWS EXACTLY: CARTOGRAPHY RACE IN THE BALKANS¹

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Introduction

The emergence of modern state concepts strengthened regionalism, elevated the sanctity of borders to its peak, and sparked a sense of territorial nationalism within the Ottoman Empire. The notion that land, which is fundamentally a cultural entity, could one day be lost led to the exploration of various methods to preserve it. Maps became one of the most significant tools for proclaiming the sovereignty of the modern state. This idea was supported by ideological apparatuses such as the education system and the military, and efforts were made to academically study geography. Maps, as physical products reflecting the reality of land and borders, also contributed to the formation of national identity.

Boundary maps, which became a main component of the Ottoman Empire's "geographical body" (Winichakul, 1997: 57-61), were introduced into the Ottoman world as official treaty annexes with the Treaties of Karlowitz in 1699, Passarowitz in 1718, and Belgrade in 1739 (Altić, 2022: 89-216). By the 18th century, boundary maps had become a standard annex to peace treaties. The Ottoman Empire's most significant collaboration regarding boundary maps, arising from wars and treaties, was with Austria. However, Austria's systematic cartographic activities over Balkan territories only became feasible during the Crimean War

1 This study is part of the author's PhD dissertation titled "Development of Modern Geography in the Ottoman Empire: The Case of Balkan Geography (1820-1908)".



period, when Austria's Military Geographic Institute in Vienna initiated triangulation surveys in the Balkans (Kovács and Timár, 2009: 911-922).

Béla Kovács and Gábor Timár's research (2009: 911-922) explores the process of Austria's triangulation surveys in the Balkan territories beginning with the Crimean War. This study concludes that these surveys directly influenced Ottoman cartography. From this information, it is inferred that Austria was one of the two main actors influencing 19th century Ottoman cartography in the Balkans, which is examined in this study along with its reasons.

The second pillar of the argument in this study involves Russia, often associated with Pan-Slavism, and other Slavic states such as Serbia and Bulgaria, supported by Russia. This claim is directly linked to the well-known outcomes of the Crimean War. After the war, the increasing demands for independence and territorial claims among the Slavic peoples necessitated clearer boundary definitions. This nationalist movement among the Slavic peoples translated Pan-Slavism into maps. While Austria's influence on regional cartography was through boundary maps, Slavic cartographers produced more ethnic maps. Austria's ethnic cartographic efforts had to wait until after the Treaty of San Stefano.

This study focuses on the cartographic competition between the Slavs, with their ethnic maps born out of Pan-Slavism, and the Austrians, with their scientific boundary maps resulting from triangulation studies, during the mapping process of the Balkan territories. It aims to explain the impact of this competition on Ottoman cartography.

Austrian Engineers in Balkan Lands

There are two significant milestones in the cartographic efforts regarding the mapping of Ottoman territories. The first occurred with the 1815 Congress of Vienna, convened after the Napoleonic Wars, where the European states that had defeated Napoleon turned their attention to the Ottoman Empire. This shift in focus also had implications for cartography. The second milestone occurred during the Crimean War period.

The first attempt to map the entire Ottoman territory was in 1615, but it did not come to fruition. The offer from the Dutch scientist Glorius, who was invited to create a map of the Empire, was deemed suspicious and impractical by the Sultan and was thus rejected (Özdemir, 2008: 209).

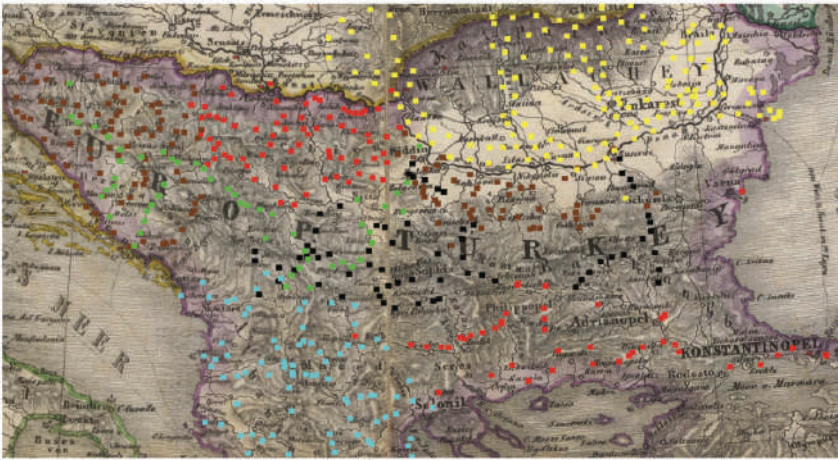
In the first half of the 19th century, German maps of the Ottoman Empire's European territories advanced by utilizing sources from Austria, France, and Russia.

These maps were primarily small and medium-scale maps made for military purposes. The multilingual nature of the region and the use of nearly five different alphabets (Latin, Serbian Cyrillic, Russian Cyrillic, Greek, and Arabic) made the mapping process quite challenging. The different scales of source maps and the lack of equivalents in the Latin alphabet for certain letters used in other scripts (e.g., č, ć, š, ž, đ in Cyrillic) led to questions about the accuracy and functionality of the maps. Despite all these difficulties, the maps prepared in the first half of the 19th century were used as references for many years. One of the most renowned figures of this tradition is Kiepert (Altić, 2016: 82).

What makes the Crimean War crucial for Ottoman cartography is Austria's triangulation activities. By the mid-19th century, the Austrian Empire decided to undertake the most extensive cartographic endeavor of the time. Its aim was to create a vast database in Vienna by covering all of Europe with a triangulation network. The primary reason for this massive project was to gain advantages in military operations and peace negotiations. Additionally, due to its central location in Europe and its vast territories, the Austrian Empire saw itself as capable of completing this endeavor. To measure territories beyond its borders, Austria attempted to start measurements immediately at every temporary location it occupied (Kovács and Timár, 2009: 912). Croatia is one of the first examples of Austria's measurement activities. In Croatia, Austria began topographic mapping in 1806 and cadastral mapping in 1817 (Altić, 2019: 77).

The first opportunity that suited Austria's objective emerged during the Crimean War (BOA, Í..HR., 130-6647). Although Austria did not send troops to the front lines in the Crimean War, as Britain and France did, it stationed soldiers in Wallachia and Moldavia from 1854 until the Paris Peace Conference to deter Russia. During this period, Austria completed the geodetic survey of all of Wallachia and Northern Dobruja. These surveys became the first systematic triangulation studies in Romania (Kovács, Timár, 2009: 913). Besides Wallachia and Moldavia, various Austrian cartographic activities in different regions can be traced in Ottoman archival records. While tensions continued between the Ottoman Empire and Austria over boundary violations in Bosnia, Austria also conducted cartographic activities on the Bosnian border. In 1852, Austria began working on mapping the area around the Sava River. In 1853, border negotiations with Austria continued through Abdi Pasha, during which Abdi Pasha prepared seven maps related to the border. The central authority requested the reproduction and distribution of these maps to relevant parties. In 1855, Austrian surveyors were permitted to conduct reconnaissance in the Hızır İlyas Strait for map-making purposes (BOA, HR. MKT. 52-30, BOA, MB. Í. 11-130, BOA, HR. MKT. 125-30).

Austrian engineers returned to conduct map-making activities on the Bosnian border again in 1856 and 1857 (BOA, A.}AMD. 68-50). Austrian engineers not only conducted measurements on the Sava but also on the Danube and Tigris rivers, with local officials accompanying these measurements (BOA, HR. MKT. 165-67, BOA, A.}AMD. 68-50). Numerous decisions from the archives indicate that between 1868 and 1876, Austrian delegations were appointed for boundary measurements and map-making, and it was instructed that they should be facilitated in this task (BOA, HR, MKT. 606-60, BOA, HR. MKT. 787-12, BOA, HR, MKT. 882-39).



Map 1. Geodetic Surveys of Austria in the Balkans (Kovács, Timár, 2009: 914)

(Meanings of the colours on the map. Yellow: Wallachian measurements made between 1855 and 1857. Green: measurements made in 1871. Brown: measurements made in 1872. Light blue: measurements made in 1873. Red: measurements made in 1874. Black: measurements made in 1875.)

The second wave of triangulation measurements conducted by the Habsburgs occurred between 1871 and 1875 on Ottoman-controlled Balkan territories. Securing permission to conduct geodetic surveys within a country's borders has always been challenging. Austria overcame this difficulty by using the Central European Arc Measurement Association as an intermediary. Since no other institution or state could conduct such a comprehensive survey, the Ottoman Empire allowed limited measurements between 1871 and 1875. During these years, geodetic surveys were conducted in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania, Montenegro, Southern Serbia, Kosovo, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Northern Greece.

Just before the peasant uprising in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1875 and the declaration of war against the Ottoman Empire by Serbia and Montenegro in the summer of 1876, the areas with the highest concentration of survey points were Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Northwestern Bulgaria. These regions were followed by Albania, Macedonia, and Northern Greece, which had a lower concentration of survey points. Southern Bulgaria and the area around Istanbul had the least concentration of survey points.

The measurements were carried out in two ways. The first method involved determining the astronomical coordinates of settlements. The second method used triangulation to determine the astronomical points of high locations such as mountain peaks. Latitude and longitude were determined separately. The North Star and the sun were used for latitude, and the prime meridian for Rumelian territories was Paris. At that time, Austria typically used Ferro (Canary Islands) for prime meridian points, but this practice was abandoned for maps of Macedonia, Greece, and Turkey (Kovács, Timár, 2009: 913-917).

This cooperation could not be repeated until the 1910s due to the successive wars and the deterioration of relations with Austria after 1878. Orders were even issued prohibiting Austrian soldiers traveling in the Balkans from mapping and photographing important locations (BOA, Y..PRK.DH. 10-55, BOA, Y..PRK.KOM. 15-03). However, the extensive dataset obtained from these authorized measurements served as the basis for Austria's 1:75,000 and 1:200,000 scale maps produced from the 1880s until World War I. Serbia, having gained independence from the Ottoman Empire, also used this dataset to create its own maps. By 1910, Austria had published a series of 1:200,000 scale maps with minimal margin of error for continental Europe and the Balkans (Kovács, Timár, 2009: 912-913).

In addition to these extensive triangulation studies, Austria continued its cartographic activities. Austria's initial surveys in Ottoman territories were primarily conducted in coastal areas with Christian populations, where it was relatively easier for Europeans to enter. Additionally, archaeological surveys were conducted in Central Anatolia and Mesopotamia. Among those who came to work in Ottoman territories were the famous cartographer Heinrich Kiepert and his son Richard Kiepert. One of Heinrich Kiepert's most significant works is the "Asia Minor" map at a scale of 1:1,000,000, produced between 1843 and 1845. He created this map by compiling materials related to Anatolian topography collected by Western travelers at the beginning of the 19th century. His subsequent work focused on improving this map. In this effort, the Kieperths produced an Anatolian map at a scale of 1:1,000,000 in 1870 and a 26-sheet map at a scale of 1:400,000 between 1901 and 1908 (DÍA, 2022: 562-564).



Map 2. Kiepert, “Asia Minor,” 1:4.000.000, 1916 (Kiepert, 1916).

These maps were the only series at that time to depict Anatolia so comprehensively from a European perspective. They represented a transition from the historical atlas genre, which was popular at the time, to topographically referenced maps. In creating these maps, they utilized route maps previously made by Prussian officers (Stern and Leboutteiller, 2013: 38).

While the earliest maps of the Balkan Peninsula can be found in French sources, the most professional and comprehensive maps came from Austrian sources. When selecting maps for translation, the Ottoman Empire generally preferred Austrian maps first, turning to Russian sources only when the desired information was not available in Austrian maps.

Balkan Maps of Panislavism

When examining the cartographic activities of the 19th century, the abundance of Europe-originated ethnic maps for the Balkan territories is noteworthy. Considering the nationalist movements in the Balkans during the same period, the Treaty of San Stefano process, and Europe’s interest in it, it can be seen that cartography progressed in parallel with political developments. A common feature of the European-origin ethnic maps is that they depict the entire world, the entire Europe, or, at its largest scale, the entire Balkans. More detailed ethnic maps are quite rare in this period. Another common feature of the maps is that they color regions according to ethnic majorities. Achieving a 51% majority was

sufficient for a settlement to be marked with the color of that nation. Another representation system involved showing only areas inhabited by a specific ethnic group on the map. While this method was not frequently encountered, it was particularly evident in maps of Serbian origin.

Although the prevalence of French and German-origin maps is notable in every period, until the Treaty of San Stefano, Panslavist policies almost exclusively dominated Balkan ethnic cartography. Slovaks and Serbs, who began their own cartographic activities at the beginning of the century, produced ethnic map products. From the second half of the 19th century, Russians also began to appear on the ethnic map scene. After the Treaty of San Stefano, the origin of Balkan ethnic maps diversified.

During the age of revolutions, spanning the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the 1848 revolutions, the first discussions about the conditions and status of Slavs began among Slav thinkers influenced by romantic French, German, and British intellectuals. Slovak writer Jan Kollar started expressing the idea that Slavs should live as one nation. His nationalist poems, titled “Slavy Dcera,” were regarded as the “first gospel of Panslavism.” This idea began to gain more support in the 1830s and spread among other Slav intellectuals. Slovak philologist, writer, and poet Pavel Jozef Šafárik, considered one of the first scientific Slavists, published scientific studies on the Slavic language and literature as well as research on the history and origins of the Slavs. He was among the first to propose the Slav Congress held in Prague in 1848 (Gülseven, 2017: 25-33).

One of the earliest and most comprehensive ethnic maps of the period was the “The Slavic Land” signed by P. J. Šafárik and published in Prague in 1842. In the explanation key of the map, nations are categorized into two main distinctions. The first category is the Indo-Europeans, with Slavs being the largest group within this category. Slavs are further subdivided into subcategories. Other nations in the same category include Lithuanians, Romanians, Germans, Albanians, Armenians, Greeks, and Ossetians. The second category in the explanation key is titled Northerners, listing nations such as the Chuds, Samoyeds, Tatars, Caucasians, and Kalmyks. Turks fall under the Tatar category within the Turcomani subgroup. The entire Tatar heading is indicated with a single color. There are no religious elements on the map.



Map 3. “The Slavic Land” by P.J. Šafárik, 1842. (Šafárik, 1842)

When examining the ethnic projection presented by the map for the Balkans, the first noticeable feature is that, apart from a small area marked for Greeks around Edirne, nearly the entire Balkans up to Hungary is depicted as Slavic. There are two exceptions to this representation. The first is Romania, which is shown as Romanian and not included in the Slavic population. In the Balkan territories, the Turkish population is marked only in small and scattered areas. The significant aspect of the depiction of the Turkish population here is the deliberate portrayal of Turks as minorities with very low populations living in lands belonging to the Slavs. Outside of Anatolia and Crimea, there is no other region shown as having a large Turkish population. The Turkish population, represented by red

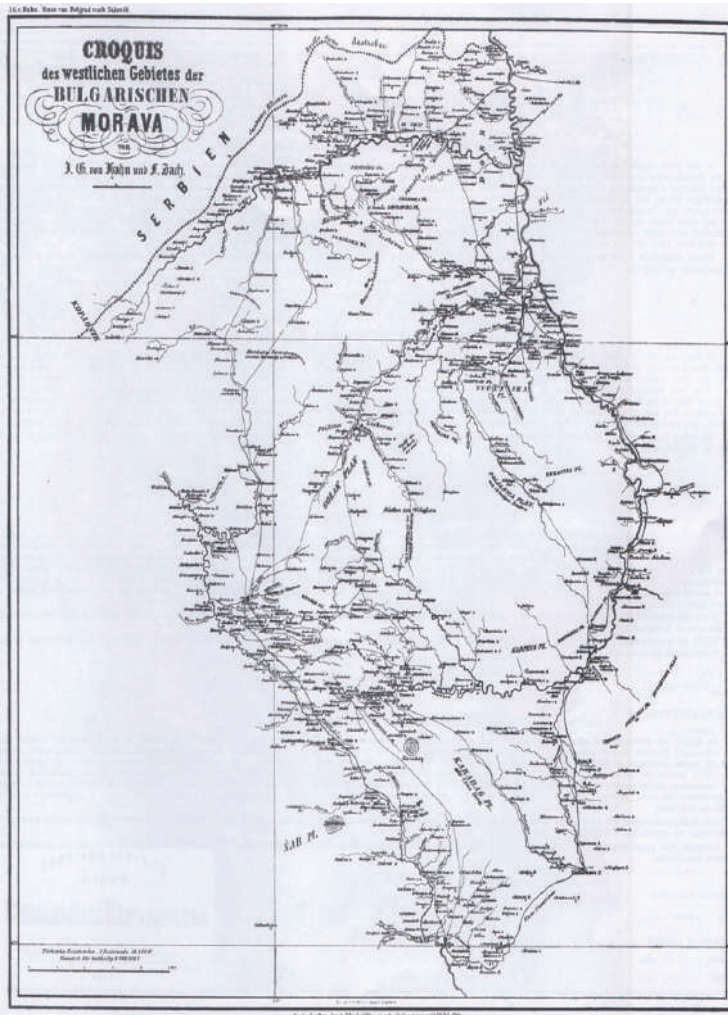
circles, uses the general color assigned to the Tatar category rather than having its own distinct color. While the interiors of the red circles in Greek population areas are left empty, these points are filled in the geography representing the Slavic population. This indicates a large and continuous Slavic population area. This map, prepared during the periods when Pan-Slavism was strengthening, bears all the traces of Pan-Slavist policy. Another notable feature of Šafárik's map is that he was the first to distinctly separate Bulgarians from their neighbors, the Serbs, Romanians, Albanians, and Greeks (Demeter, Csaplár-Degovics, and Bottlik, 2015: 71). Kiepert mentions that this work was a significant step forward in identifying the ethnic groups of the people in Southeast Europe. He also notes that this map encouraged Ami Boué to create his map in 1847 (Kiepert, 1878: 2; BOA, HR.SYS. 1230-12).

The map titled “Serbia and Regions Where the Serbian Language is Spoken,” prepared by Professor Dejardin in Serbia in 1853, incorporates many different elements. The most striking feature of the map, alongside classic elements such as postal routes and railways, is that it delineates the Serbian border claimed by Dawidowitsch and other Serbian writers. Unlike other maps, this one has minimal Pan-Slavist influence. The reason for this is that the work is based on Dawidowitsch's study (Demeter, Csaplár-Degovics, and Bottlik, 2015, p.73).



Map 4. “Serbia and Regions Where the Serbian Language is Spoken” by Professor Dejardin (Dejardin, 1853)

In 1861, a map titled “Western Territories of Bulgarian Morava” was prepared by Johann Georg von Hahn, an Austrian diplomat who was the consul of Greece, and František Aleksandr Zach, a Czech-born Panslavist who also served as the Chief of General Staff of the Principality of Serbia between 1876 and 1877. This map was arranged according to the language spoken by the majority and is notable in the context of the ethnic representation of these languages. Instead of using colors, the map used the letters “B” or “BU” for areas inhabited by Bulgarians, “S” for areas inhabited by Serbs, and “A” for areas inhabited by Albanians. Although the map is poor in detail and readability, the fact that one of the creators later became the head of the Serbian army leads to the interpretation of this work as one of the assertions of the Serbian state.





Map 5. “Western Territories of Bulgarian Morava” by von Hahn and Zach (Von Hahn & Zach, 1861)

One of the earliest maps of Macedonia after the Treaty of San Stefano belongs to the Serbian nationalist, astronomer, and historian Spiridon Gopčević. In 1889, he published the “Ethnographic Map of Macedonia and Old Serbia,” centered on Macedonia. In 1890, he completed this map with his work titled “Old Serbia and Macedonia.” Gopčević begins his work by discussing the map he prepared. According to him, maps by non-Slavic cartographers are unreliable because they cannot perceive the differences between dialects. Another of Gopčević’s comments on other maps is that their scaling is inappropriate, preventing analysis at the settlement level. Additionally, Gopčević published his map in German rather than Serbian to appeal not only to Serbian nationalists but also to Western scholars (Gopčević, 1890: 2).

Unlike previous maps, Gopčević’s map shows a smaller area, focusing only on the historical lands of Macedonia. In similar map studies, the region from the Aegean coast to Serbia was generally referred to as Macedonia. The map’s classification is based on both ethnic and religious categories. Serbs, Bulgarians, and Albanians are divided into Muslim and Christian groups. Turks are shown in red, and Greeks in blue. The first noticeable feature of the map is the significant Christian Serbian presence in the Macedonian plain. The map does not show a large Turkish presence within Macedonia. It is clear that the Muslim population is classified as either Serbian or Bulgarian. What makes Gopčević’s map significant is that it was published in the renowned cartographic journal *Petermann’s Geographische Mitteilungen* by one of the period’s important cartographers, August Heinrich Petermann. This publication brought Gopčević’s work to the attention of Europe. Additionally, another noteworthy aspect of this map is that it

was published on the 500th anniversary of the First Battle of Kosovo, which took place in 1389.



Map 6. “Ethnographic Map of Macedonia and Old Serbia” by Gopčević, 1889 (*Ethnographische Karte Von Makedonien Und Alt-Serbien*, 1889)

Yosmaoğlu (2010, 168) considers Gopčević’s map as a transition point from “Turkey in Europe” maps to “Macedonia” maps. The noticeable increase in Macedonia maps supports this view.

In 1877, Carl Sax, the consul of Edirne for the Austrian Empire, prepared the “Ethnographic Map of Turkey in Europe and its Dependent Territories,” which was also the first ethnic map of the Balkans by the Austrian Empire. The Turkish

population is referred to as Tatar, Turanian, or Turkish. Sax used both language and religion as ethnic determinants simultaneously. Furthermore, Sax's work distinguished seven additional Slavic groups besides Bulgarians and Serbs, separating Bosnian Serbs, Kosovan Serbs, Muslim Serbs, and Montenegrins. However, consistent with the Austrian State's stance before 1878, the Slavs of Macedonia were still considered Bulgarians. After the Treaty of San Stefano and the subsequent debates on "Greater Bulgaria," Austria changed its position on this issue. Following Bulgaria's claims and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, there was an intention to direct Serbian nationalists within Austria from Bosnia towards Macedonia. For this purpose, a secret agreement was made in 1881 between Austria and Serbia to allow propaganda movements against Macedonia. However, after the good relations established with Bulgaria following the Serbo-Bulgarian War in 1885, Austria continued to regard the Slavs of Macedonia as Bulgarians (Demeter, Csaplár-Degovics, and Bottlik, 2015: 83-86).

The term "Macedonian/Macedonia Slavs" has generally been used in three different ways. Firstly, it has been used to describe the population of Macedonia without disturbing Serbian and Bulgarian nationalism. Secondly, from Austria's perspective, it describes a Slavic group different from both Serbs and Bulgarians but ethnically and politically closer to Bulgarians. Thirdly, according to Cvijić's definition, it refers to a Slavic group without a developed national consciousness and ethnic and political affiliations, distinct from both Serbs and Bulgarians (Demeter, Csaplár-Degovics, and Bottlik, 2015: 91).

During this period, the dominance of Habsburg cartographers in the field is noteworthy. Most of the maps were prepared using German and Austrian sources, and sometimes translations were made on these maps.



Map 7. “Ethnographic Map of Turkey in Europe and its Dependent Territories” by Sax (Sax, 1877)

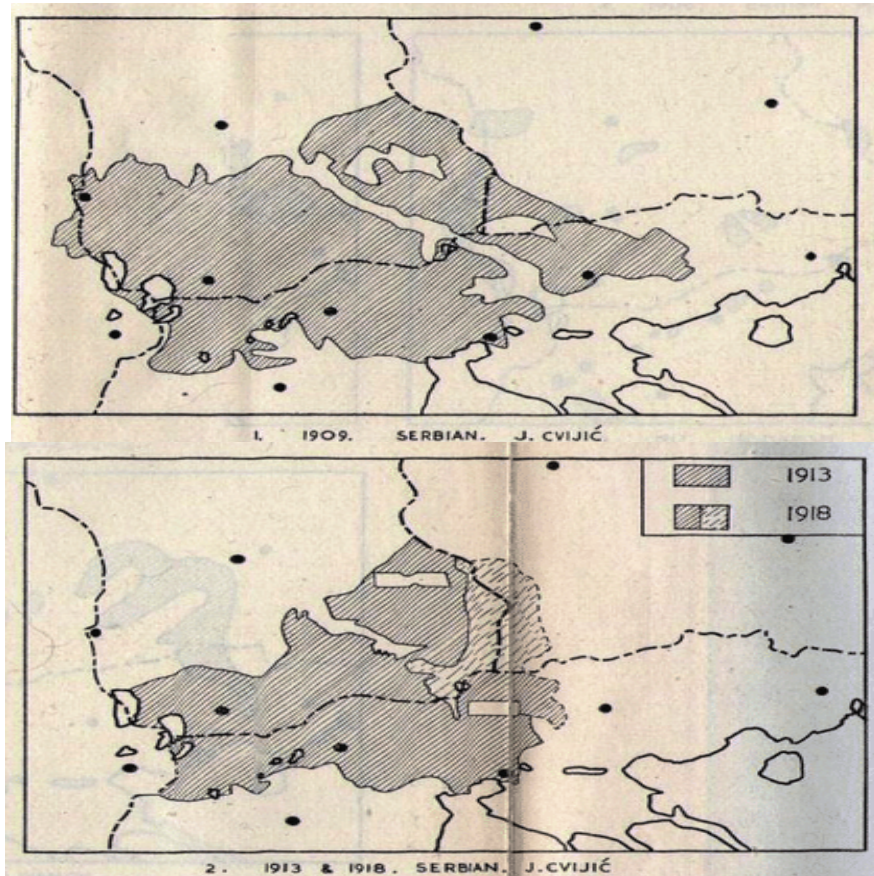
The practice of each nation preparing its statistics and maps using the data that most strongly supports its claims is a fundamental characteristic of 19th-century ethnic cartography. One of the most influential Serbian cartographers, Jovan Cvijić, exemplifies this approach through several stages of his cartographic work. In his first map, created in 1906, he used a single color as he did not want to classify the Slavs. He also claimed that Slavs were dominant in Kosovo and Northern Albania. However, this claim was refuted by the fact that the region was predominantly Catholic, and there were very few Catholic Slavs. The reason for this misinterpretation was Cvijić’s use of his map as a propaganda tool for Serbian geopolitical objectives.

In his second map in 1909, Cvijić distinguished Macedonian Slavs from Bulgarians and depicted the area around Skopje as belonging to the Serbs. His 1912 map emphasized Serbia’s claims to Albania and the Adriatic coast due to commercial priorities. The map prepared immediately after the Balkan Wars shows a notable reduction in the territory of Macedonian Slavs within the 1913 borders. Without topographic information, it is roughly understood that the area between Lake Ohrid in the west, the Struma Valley in the east, Kastoria in the south, and Skopje in the north was defined as the region of the Macedonian Slavs. Recognizing Macedonian Slavs as a separate ethnic group in these maps significantly limited the territories of both Serbs and Bulgarians.

In his 1913 ethnic map, Cvijić did not consider Albanians as the dominant nation even in northern Albania, and the map contained many methodological errors. This map reflected the secret agreements made against the Bulgarians regarding the division of Macedonia with Greece in 1913 (Demeter, Csaplár-Degovics, and Bottlik, 2015: 93-94). Cvijić's cartographic process is one of the finest examples of the political language of ethnic maps. It shows that even the most influential cartographers in the region did not hesitate to create maps that could easily be refuted under the influence of the political conjuncture of the time.



Map 8. "Ethnographic Map of the Serbian State" by Cvijić (Sekulovski, 2015: 93)



Map 9. Macedonian Slavic Territorial Change between Cvijić's Maps of 1909, 1913 and 1918 (Sekulovski, 2015: 100)

In post-San Stefano ethnic cartography, the use of language as data for map preparation increased, and school enrollment records began to be used as a new element. The unequal educational opportunities among different ethnic groups within the Ottoman Empire led to new debates. Although the use of language increased, the influence of religion was not completely erased. Generally, complex maps were created using two or more data points simultaneously, such as showing both language and religion. Additionally, unlike the pre-San Stefano period, there was a noticeable focus on Macedonia in the maps. These maps, which simplified the complex geography of Macedonia—a region that encapsulates the diverse elements of the entire Balkans—supported the notion that solving the Macedonian issue was “easier” than expected. Using maps to model political realities that had not yet materialized became a perennial tool, one that would always hold relevance and be especially recalled during political crises.

Conclusion

This study examines the dominance of Austrian boundary maps and the influence of Russian and other Slavic states' ethnic maps on the cartography of Ottoman-held Balkan territories in the 19th century. The Ottoman Empire's boundary maps in Rumelia were largely shaped within the framework of its relations with Austria and according to its own needs. The Crimean War was a significant milestone in these relations. The cartographic activities that began during and continued after the Crimean War transformed the cartographic relations of the Ottoman Empire. Assistance from foreign experts, along with direct foreign measurements and data exchanges, served as a springboard for the Empire's own cartographic activities.

While the technical superiority of Habsburg maps is evident, Russia's influence on the period's mindset is also significant. Pan-Slavism placed great importance on cartography and supported its production. Serbia, which began its own cartographic activities as soon as it became a principality, received substantial support from Russia. During the period up to the Treaty of San Stefano, Slavic maps influenced by Pan-Slavist thought were on the rise. A common feature of these maps is that, unlike German maps which incorporated religious affiliations as data, Slavic maps did not take religion into account. This was because the Slavic population in the Balkan territories was spread across different religions and denominations. Therefore, the inhabitants were shown under the overarching identity of Slavs. The rise of Bulgarian and Greek maps would await the emergence of the Macedonian question.

Although delayed, Austrian cartographers also entered the ethnic cartography competition alongside Slavic cartographers. While the purpose of Russian maps of the period was primarily to emphasize the large Slavic presence in the region, Austria focused on the region's division. Accordingly, post-San Stefano Austrian maps particularly followed a trajectory towards Macedonia.

Despite the technical difficulties of producing independent maps, the Ottoman Empire managed to generate maps by adding topographic data to pre-drawn maps. Indeed, most of Europe's ethnic maps were not created through independent surveys but were based on data sets and maps produced from Russian and Austrian measurements. In this context, the cartographic activities of Austria and Russia in the region, conducted with different purposes and techniques, not only determined the political fate of the region but also directly influenced the development of Ottoman cartography.

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THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE OF BIHOR DISTRICT IN THE 19TH CENTURY

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Introduction

In Turkish, *nüfus*, the plural of the Arabic *nafs* (soul, life), is employed interchangeably with the Arabic *sukkân* to denote population (Bozkurt, 2007: 293). Nations view the population as a crucial source of power and a necessary component of their sustainability. Consequently, population has historically been and remains a significant consideration for political authorities (Karabağ, 2019: 1).

The Ottoman Empire conducted land and population surveys as needed to assess the economic potential of conquered territories, evaluate the tax base, allocate *timar*, and document receipts (Sayın, 1330: 387; Behar, 2011: 63). Early censuses lacked specific design for population assessment, leading to limited data on the Ottoman population in the 17th and 18th centuries. Initiating censuses and surveys during the 19th century facilitated the acquisition of comprehensive data regarding the state's demographic composition (Demirci and Kartal, 2015: 10). Mahir Aydın asserts that the primary objective of the 19th century population censuses was to assess military capability and identify taxpayers (Aydın, 1990: 83). The conflict with Russia prevented the completion of the initial modern census effort, which took place following the dissolution of the Janissary Corps in 1826. Only in 1831 did they conduct the census (Ünlü and Albayrak, 2021: 60). Moreover, while traditional property and population registries excluded women and children, they included male children in the 19th century (Adyeke, 2017: 97-100).



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Hüseyin Kapudan's insurrection led the census of 1831 to exclude the Bosnia Province (Albayrak, 2024: 250). The negligence of officials, the distortions by those who opted not to enlist, and the inability of non-Muslim community leaders to disseminate accurate information about their communities hindered the official announcement of the census results in 1844 (Karal, 1997: 9; Demirci and Kartal, 2014: 122). Ubcini and Bore have disseminated the census data. The official population data for the Bosnian region has been unavailable for an extended duration due to insufficient detailed demographic information. In 1850, following the implementation of *Tanzimat* in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a new census was required, prompting the initiation of a large-scale census in that year (Albayrak, 2024: 251; Gölen, 1988: 36). The prolonged absence of data regarding the population of the Bosnian region, coupled with the reliance on estimates from European travelers and diplomats, heightened the significance of the census conducted in 1850 (Gölen, 2010: 18). The census records offer significant insights into the administrative, demographic, social, and economic framework of the Bosnia-Herzegovina region.

The population registers of the area serve as the foundation for this research. The study conducted a thorough assessment of the administrative, demographic, and economic conditions of the region by examining all population registers and provincial annuals (*salnames*) of the district during the 19th century. The Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, Ottoman Archives (BOA) of the Directorate of State Archives catalogs the texts used in the research under the identifiers 5746, 5747, 5748, 5749, 5750, 5956, 5957, 7438, and 7439. The specified population records date back to 29 Dhu al-Hijja 1248/19 May 1833, 29 Dhu al-Hijja 1252/6 April 1837, 29 Dhu al-Hijja 1266/5 November 1850, 29 Dhu al-Hijja 1267/25 October 1851, and 29 Dhu al-Hijja 1268/14 October 1852.

The Administrative Structure of Bihor District

The continuous adjustments in the administrative framework of the Bosnia region have led to the incorporation of Bihor into the boundaries of several sanjaks. Under the rule of Fatih Sultan Mehmet, the districts associated with the Prizren Sanjak included Prizren, Suva Reka, Has, and Bihor (Yiğit, 2010: 123). In 1485, a tax register detailing products and revenues indicated that the Izlarika District, under the jurisdiction of Plav in the Bihor District and Bihor Province, was associated with the Sanjak of İskenderiye (Shkodër, Albanian Shkodër). The Prizren province encompassed the districts of Bihor and Trgovište in its 1530 survey (Gökbilgin, 1956: 273, 279; Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Archives General Directorate Ottoman Archives Department, 2004: 1). These locations

exhibited a sustained interaction between Bosnia and Shkodra during the 18th century. In January 1767, these territories, formerly part of the Bosnia Province, were incorporated into the Prizren District, which fell under the authority of the Shkodra Province in June of that year (İbriç, 2004: 15). The incessant alterations in borders render it impossible to ascertain the jurisdiction to which Bihor County belonged at any specific moment.

Census records of 1833 indicate that the region was part of the Prizrin District of the Bihor Province (BOA., NFS.d., 5746, 5747, 5748, 7438), whereas the population registers of 1851 show its association with the Yenipazar District. (BOA., NFS.d., 5956). By 1854, the administrative division in Bosnia had solidified. The provincial regulations maintained this administrative structure, instituted in 1852, with minimal alterations (Gölen, 2010: 138).

Due to its strategic position, people have consistently regarded the administratively linked Sanjak of Novi Pazar as distinct from Bosnia. The incorporation of this third region into the dual framework of Bosnia and Herzegovina occurred. The expansive dimensions of the banner substantially increase the incidence of accidents. The region's administrative center moved from Yenipazar to Seniçe District in 1864. In 1866, the Yenipazar District comprised the districts of Seniçe, Yenipazar, Mitroviçe, Yenivaroş, Trgovište, Prepol, Gusine, Akova maa Bihor, Taşlıca, Kolaşin-i zir/bala, and Berana (Vasovik). Palanka of Priboj was a district of Yenivaroş; Palanka of Banja Luka was a district of Banja Luka; and Plava was a district of Gusinje. The establishment of the Viranuş District, associated with Akova, took place in 1873 (Salname-i Vilâyet-i Bosna, 1283: 106; Gölen, 2010: 149-150). In 1867, the districts of the Yenipazar Sanjak remained unchanged (Salname-i Vilâyet-i Bosna, 1284: 84). From 1866 to 1869, people referred to the Bihor District as "Akova maa Bihor" (Salname-i Vilâyet-i Bosna, 1283: 106; 1284: 84; 1285, 95; 1286: 98-99); in 1870, they referred to it as "Maa Akova Bihor" (Salname-i Vilâyet-i Bosna, 1287: 131), and from 1871 to 1877, they referred to it as "Akova District" (Salname-i Vilâyet-i Bosna, 1288: 96; 1290: 137; 1291: 143; 1292, : 143-144; 1293, : 137; 1294, : 129).

Subsequent events post-1875 resulted in the detachment of the Yenipazar Sanjak from Bosnia and its incorporation into the Kosovo Vilayet (Gölen, 2010: 150). The Kosovo Vilayet comprised four districts: Üsküp, Priştine, Taşlıca, and Yenipazar, during the years 1880-1881. Following İpek's elevation to sanjak status in 1882-1883, the total number of sanjaks in the Kosovo Vilayet rose to five. During the years 1882-83, the Yenipazar Sanjak comprised the districts of Seniçe, Yenipazar, Mitroviçe, Yeni Varoş, Akova, Trgovište, and Kolaşin. In the years 1886-87, it included the districts of Seniçe, Yenipazar, Akova, Yeni Varoş, and Kolaşin (Ünlü,



2014: 68–71). Since 1880, seven districts—Vraneš, Moykovac, Ravna Rijeka, Bistrica, Kamadat, Brzava, and Bihor—were constituents of the Akova District. Nevertheless, the quantity of these districts was in a state of constant flux (İbriç, 2004: 45). During the years 1889–1890, the Akova District comprised four sub-districts: Bistrica, Bihor, Kamadat, and Brzava. During that period, the Akova District comprised 133 villages, whereas in 1893–1894, it contained 134 villages. The Priština District incorporated Yenipazar between 1904 and 1905. The Seniçe Sanjak comprised the districts of Seniçe, Akova, Yeni Varoş, and Kolaşin. Between 1904–1905 and 1908–1909, the Akova District included 138 villages, with Bihor retaining its status as a township within its jurisdiction (Ünlü, 2014: 74–79). In 1912, the number of districts linked to Akova diminished to two: Bihor and Brzava. In 1912, the district center of Akova linked 82 of the 138 villages, Bihor linked 45, and Brzava neighborhoods linked 11 (İbriç, 2004: 45–46).

Settlements

The registers generated from the population censuses of 1833 and 1851 reveal the settlements in the Bihor District and the villages where Muslims and non-Muslims cohabited. The study deems the population censuses of 1833 and 1850 pivotal, designating the Bihor region as a district during these periods and referring to it as such throughout the study. Religious differences were considered during the creation of the registers. However, both the Muslim and non-Muslim population registers excluded the Copts, documenting them in a separate register. Table 1 presents the district's settlements, taking into account the religious distinctions among the populace. Table 2 presents the settlements with cohabiting Muslim and non-Muslim populations, along with their respective population figures from the 1833 census. The absence of the Muslim population register for the 1851 census precludes the identification of common settlement areas based on that year's data. Despite our best efforts to read village names, errors are possible.

Table 1. Settlements

Muslim Villages	Non-Muslim Villages		Muslim Coptic Villages		Non-Muslim Coptic Villages
	1833	1851	1833	1851	
Bufovik	Nikolçe	Rasova(h)	İvanye	Savina Bula ¹	Gerdene-çrniçe
Oyrova	Dobrakova	Boyhan	Luzna	İvanye	Tuzine
Prepçik	Oyrova	Rastoka	Beginçe	Luzna	Luzna
Lozinçe (Loznitse)	Torava	Luznaça		Laza	Çirniş
Rasova	Lozinçe (Loznitse)	Nikolçe			
Broška	Nektova	Prepçik			
Nedakus	Kokola	Obrof			
Litine	Rasova	Nedakus			
Mokrilug	Dobrine	Korkocvah			
Ustoviye	Holuya	Sutivan			
Dolaç	Nedakus	Brestrek			
Medişe	Gobagça	Podkırayçi			
Poyretik	Virh	Kokola			
Yutorik	İsradne	Hunovine			
Rado-ya-glava	Ustoviye	Matança			
Mostir	Kostaniçe	Dobrine			

1 There was a village named “Savina Bula= ” in the Muslim Coptic population register of 1851 (BOA., NFS.d., 5749, p. 2). There was “Savine Bur Village= ” registered in the Muslim population record of 1833 (BOA., NFS.d., 5746, p. 70). There was a hamlet (mezraa) called “Savino Burye” in the Bihar District in the 1530s. This hamlet may be the same as the villages mentioned above. This place, which was a hamlet in the 1530s, probably became a village in the following years (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Archives General Directorate Ottoman Archives Department, 2004, p. 76).

Şule	Necik (?)	Nekevah			
Zilak (Zihlak)	Veşanovik	Holuy			
Bresticik	Litine	Gubafaç			
Uşanovik	Butorik	Baydice			
Bırçeva	Bolhante	Volafça			
Podkırayçi	Esleb- çe maa Lekuşte	Beliçe			
Grobniçe	Dobrava	Burişik			
Korkoc- va(h)	Brastraka	Bikarişka			
Sutivan	Kukofça	Duşanoviç			
Rastoka	Mostir	Zilak (Zihlak)			
Brastraka	Bilata	Miraviçe			
Kostaniçe	Sutivan	Kostaniçe			
Vişonova (Vişnova)	Zilak (Zihlak)	Potoriçe			
Kokola	Yablanova	Mostir			
Dobrava	Poyretik	Mokrilug			
Dobrine	Mokrilug	Veper			
Bolhante	Rastoka	İsredne- birido			
Zavi- no-grake (Zavi- no-grad)	Zavi- no-grake (Zavi- no-grad)	İstuble			
Duga-luka	Bojegine (Bojjigane)	Pozekine			
Milova	Grobniçe	Girgaya			
Dobrakova	Podkırayçi	Goşevo			
Biyedik	Yedineyud	Yablanova			

Menatiçe	Dolna-İstiranani	Vişneva(h)			
Mirovik	Mirçkovine	Palan			
Yedineyud	Visoçka	Bilata			
Dolna-İstiranani	Bikarişka	Kraynoviçe (Kraynovik)			
Virh	Virobniçe	Pezero			
Radoviye	Çukovine	Çrişneviç			
Gobagça	Biyedik	Totic (Totik)			
Volafça	Volafça	Paganlu			
Bodbraje	Totik	Virbniçe			
Bare	Gorna-İstiranani	Milakoviç (Milakovik)			
Yorişek	Milakovik (Milakovic)	Koprivine			
İslatine	Koprivine	İşnepançe			
Brodar	İskiyaniçe	Toçilova			
Godeva	Cadeva	Mirçkovine			
İvanye	Girgaya	Gropence			
Dubova	Goşeva	Zavino-graç			
Yasen	Vişnova (Vişnova)	İslatine			
Rakla	Zahumiska	İsterinani			
Lahola	Kraynoviçe (Kraynovik)	Visoçka			
İzminiçe	İslatine	Zahumiska			
Kosnic (Kosnik)	Kırkoçova	Boyhan			

Radulik (Radunik)	Menatiçe	İvanye			
Yaşanye (?)	Posilek	Kosnic (Kosnik)			
Sebanye	Dranovine	Yasen			
Gerdu- ne-çırniçe	Bilata	Dubova(h)			
Dolna-çr- niçe	Yuşine	Godeva			
Kırodenik	Beliçe	Radolac			
İstepan- dovik	Bare	İstoyanoc			
Veprepe	Toçilova	Çırniçe			
Çırhale	Pezere	Pişani			
Zaton	İvanye	Zurane			
Zerdene	Dolna-İz- miniçe	Zaton			
Luzna	Dobora	Pirzava			
Trobine	Nekübrat- na (?)	Koriş			
Çırniş	Godeva	Prelug			
Beliçe	Kosnic (Kosnik)	Madaşo- vine			
Podgrake	Radulik (Radunik)	Zagrad			
Buda	Koriş	Zalazça			
Guyovik	Brezava	İşnatare			
Serkefçe	Zagrad	Bihorik			
Trepez	Ustoyano- vik	Kırla			
Daroman- ce	Dolna-çr- niçe	Çırniş			

Beginçe	Gorna-çr- niçe	Ruyişte			
Goduç	Butok	Luzna			
Rahova	Zaton	Hazan			
Traçaniçe	Zojna (Zozana)				
Paluç	Pişani(ye)				
Laza	Berilok				
Virbniçe	Madaşo- vine				
Kruşçiça	Çırhale				
Virşeva	Luzna				
Hazan	Bugoça				
Lagator	Trobine				
Buderce	Çirniş				
Buhorice	Guyovik				
Bor	Bihorik				
Dobro-dol	İştatara (?)				
Savine-bur (Savi- no-burye)	Ruyişte				
Dahcaraka	Zalazna				
Pavdova	Kırla				
	Rahova				
	Virşeva				
	Buhoreva				
	Kaliçe				
	Dobro-dol				
	Hazan(e)				
	Kruşçiça				

Reference: BOA., NFS.d., 5746, 5747, 5748, 5749, 5740.

The Bihor District comprises villages. The villages are documented as “Mostir Karyesi under the aforementioned district” or “Karye-yi Çirniş.” In 1833, the Bihor District comprised 98 Muslim villages, 105 non-Muslim villages, 3 Muslim Coptic villages, and 4 non-Muslim Coptic villages. Several of these villages are typical settlements. Non-Muslims inhabited 83 settlements in 1851, while Muslim Copts resided in 4 settlements. In 1833, the number of villages occupied by non-Muslims exceeded that of 1851. In 1833, there existed three Muslim Coptic villages, which increased to four by 1851. The 1851 population registers do not indicate any Muslim or non-Muslim Coptic village associated with the Bihor District. According to the population registers for the years 1850 and 1852, there was a Muslim population in the district, with 147 villages inhabited by Muslims, non-Muslims, and Muslim Copts in 1850 (BOA., NFS.d., 5956, 5957). Consequently, we must consider the loss of the Muslim population register for the 1851 census when assessing the data. Furthermore, data from 1850 and 1852 indicates the absence of a non-Muslim Coptic population in the district.

Table 2. Villages with Coexisting Muslim and Non-Muslim Populations and Their Population Figures From 1833 to 1837

Villages	Muslim Population		Non-Muslim Population		Total Population	
	Living	Dead	Living	Dead	Living	Dead
Oyrova	27	-	15	-	42	-
Lozinçe (Loznitse)	13	3	18	3	31	6
Rasova	92	6	131	17	223	23
Nedakus	53	3	37	3	90	6
Litine	21	1	3	-	24	1
Mokrilug	6	-	4	1	10	1
Mostir	39	1	66	9	105	10
Zilak (Zihlak)	14	1	14	-	28	1
Podkırayçi	23	-	16	3	39	3
Grobniçe	7	-	32	2	39	2
Rastoka	14	-	43	-	57	-
Kostaniçe	3	-	28	5	31	5
Vişonova (Vişnova)	7	-	69	1	76	1
Kokola	106	7	2	5	108	12

Dobrava	5	3	1	-	6	3
Dobrine	27	1	8	-	35	1
Bolhante	40	2	23	1	63	3
Zavino-grake (Zavino-grad)	24	1	15	-	39	1
Dobrakova	8	1	2	-	10	1
Biyedik	9	-	11	-	20	-
Menatiçe	29	-	10	-	39	-
Dolna-istiranani	25	-	37	5	62	5
Virh	3	-	45	2	48	2
Gobagça	50	4	11	1	61	5
Volafça	11	-	25	2	36	2
Bare	24	3	6	-	30	3
İslatine	31	-	9	-	40	-
Godeva	108	11	50	5	158	16
İvanye	87	11	158	15	245	26
Kosnic (Kosnik)	28	9	8	-	36	9
Radulik (Radunik)	12	2	25	3	37	5
Dolna-çrniçe	25	-	22	-	47	-
Çırhale	19	1	8	-	27	1
Zaton	144	16	29	-	173	16
Luzna	49	3	33	5	82	8
Trobine	28	-	7	-	35	-
Çirniş	61	2	17	-	78	2
Belice	26	3	20	-	46	3
Guyovik	8	2	3	-	11	2
Rahova	21	1	5	2	26	3
Kruşçiça	13	-	2	-	15	-
Virşeva	26	1	10	-	36	1
Hazan(e)	2	1	67	10	69	11

Dobro-dol	17	1	3	1	20	2
Yedineyud	6	-	4	-	10	-
Ustoviye	16	1	13	-	29	1
Sutivan	13	1	32	1	45	2
47	1.420	103	1.197	102	2.617	205

Reference: BOA., NFS.d., 5746, 5747.

The 1833 census register includes records of births and deaths up to 1837, alongside the population data for the census year. Therefore, we assembled the data in Table 2 by accounting for the births and deaths that occurred between 1833 and 1837. The Bihor District comprises 47 villages inhabited by both Muslims and non-Muslims. The aggregate male population living in these villages is 2,617. From 1833 to 1837, 54.2% of the inhabitants in the communal living area were Muslims, whereas 46% were non-Muslims. Table 2 shows that Vanye has the highest population, followed by Rasova in second place. Dobrava is the village with the least population. Zaton has the highest Muslim population, whereas Hazan(e) has the lowest. The village with the largest non-Muslim population is İvanye, whereas Dobrava has the smallest dhimmi population. Table 2 does not display the Muslim Coptic and non-Muslim Coptic populations. In 1833, six villages exist where Muslim and non-Muslim Copts coexist. In two of these villages, Muslim Copts inhabit, whereas in three, non-Muslim Copts reside. Luzna Village is the sole settlement where Muslim and non-Muslim Copts coexist (BOA., NFS.d., 5748).

Age Ratios

Population registers provide quantitative information on the region's demographics and facilitate the analysis of population distribution by age groups. The assessment of age ratios enables observations regarding the characteristics of the population. The tables below present the demographic distribution of the district population categorized by age groups for the years 1833 and 1851.

Table 3. Distribution of the Muslim Male Demographic by Age Groups from 1833 to 1837

Age Groups	Total Muslim Male Population	Living Population	Death	Ratio to Total Muslim Male Population (%)	Total Muslim Coptic Male Population	Living Population	Death	Ratio to Total Muslim Coptic Male Population (%)
Newborn Baby	298	261	37	10	-	-	-	-
1-8	703	646	57	23	8	8	-	27
8-15	397	385	12	13	6	6	-	20
15-40	1039	1002	37	34	10	10	-	33,3
40-60	429	401	28	14	5	5	-	17
60+	203	165	38	7	1	1	-	3,3
Total	3.069	2.860	209	%100	30	30	-	%100

Reference: BOA., NFS.d., 5746, 5748.

Table 4. Distribution of the Muslim Male Demographic by Age Groups from 1833 to 1837

Age Groups	Total Zimmi Male Population	Living Population	Death	Ratio to Total Zimmi Male Population (%)	Total Zimmi Coptic Male Population	Living Population	Death	Ratio to Total Zimmi Coptic Male Population (%)
Newborn Baby	334	291	43	12	-	-	-	-
1-8	750	663	87	26,46	1	1	-	7,1
8-15	367	353	14	13	3	3	-	21,4
15-40	928	875	53	33	7	7	-	50
40-60	311	276	35	11	2	2	-	14,2
60+	144	114	30	5,08	1	1	-	7,1
Total	2.834	2.572	262	%100	14	14	-	%100

Reference: BOA., NFS.d., 5747, 5748.

The data in the preceding table exclusively relate to the male demographic. The tables display the living population and the deceased in distinct columns; however, the calculations consider the “surviving population”. From 1833 to 1837, the estimated male population of Bihor District was 5,947. This year, 471 individuals have died, while 5,476 individuals have survived.

To determine the total population of a territory, we can combine the female and male populations in equal proportions; therefore, although a precise figure may be elusive, we can derive a general estimate. The overall anticipated population of Bihor District is 10,952.

The birth and death rates among non-Muslims surpass those of Muslims. The male population comprises 53% Muslims and 47.22% non-Muslims. The Muslim population in the district exceeds that of the dhimmis.

Determining the age group distribution of a population is as crucial as ascertaining the total population count. Age distribution conveys insights regarding the attributes of a population. The age group distribution of Muslims and non-Muslims, as observed in Tables 3 and 4, is approximately analogous. In both tables, the initial row represents the 15-40 age range, while the subsequent row denotes the 1-8 age range. The demographic with the smallest population is individuals aged 60 years and above.

The age range of 15–40 signifies individuals eligible for military service and those who are part of the workforce. The age range of 1–8 years signifies the concentration of the child population. Individuals in this age demographic require care; however, their numerical predominance is significant as they possess the capacity to bolster the productive population in the future. People view the low proportion of individuals aged 60 and above as a positive aspect of the population. This group is predominantly exempt from taxes and military service due to their age, resulting in significantly low productivity levels. Consequently, their limited number is noteworthy in terms of both population quality and economic factors, as they primarily function as consumers rather than producers. In conclusion, the population of Bihor District from 1833 to 1837 conformed to the characteristics of a youthful and productive demographic.

Table 5. Distribution of Male Population by Age Groups in 1851

Age Groups	Muslim Coptic Male Population	Ratio to Total Muslim Coptic Male Population (%)	Non-Muslim Male Population	Ratio to Total Non-Muslim Male Population (%)
1-8	11	22	608	22,2
8-15	14	28	550	20,1
15-40	17	34	1.104	40,3
40-60	7	14	389	14,2
60+	1	2	82	3
Total	50	%100	2.733	%100

Reference: BOA., NFS.d., 5749, 5750.

The non-Muslim population increased from 2,572 between 1833 and 1837 to 2,733 in 1851. Over a span of approximately fifteen years, the population has risen by 161 individuals. In the 1833 census, the Muslim Coptic population was 30, and it increased to 50 by 1851. From 1833 to 1837, the non-Muslim Coptic population was 14, whereas the 1851 census recorded no dhimmi Copts.

The age group distribution of the male population in the 1833 and 1851 censuses exhibits similarities. In the 1851 census, the majority of the population fell within the 15-to-40 age bracket. The subsequent groups are ages 1-8 and 8-15. The lowest rate is attributed to the demographic aged 60 and older. The 1851 population of the district conforms to the characteristics of a youthful and productive demographic.

In 1851, the estimated total non-Muslim population of Bihor County was 5,466, whereas the Muslim Coptic population was 100. This data does not assist in determining the estimated total population of the parish for the year 1851. No Muslim population register for this year has been located. Nevertheless, the summary population registers (*icmal*) from 1850 and 1852 include a Muslim demographic. In 1851, a Muslim population existed in Bihor District; however, the registry was inaccessible.

Table 6. Total Male Population of 1852

Religious Group	Elderly Population	Youth Population	Total
Muslim	3.075	1.537	4.612
Non-Muslim	2.064	667	2.731
Muslim Coptic	32	18	50
Total	5.171	2.222	7.393

Reference: BOA., NFS.d., 5957, p. 3.

Table 6 shows that the 1852 population register included Muslims. Upon comparing the population tables of 1851 and 1852, it is evident that the numbers of non-Muslim and Muslim Coptic populations are comparable, with a mere two-person discrepancy among the dhimmis. The 1850 census register explicitly documents the presence of Muslim, non-Muslim, and Muslim Coptic populations in the Bihor District. (BOA., NFS.d., 5956: 60). The male population of Bihor District was 5,476 from 1833 to 1837, and it rose to 7,393 in 1852. In a span of roughly 15 years, the population has risen by 1,917 individuals.

Number and Size of Households

The Bihor District enumerated the population as “individuals” in the 1833 census but as households in the 1851 census. Consequently, the 1851 census was considered when determining the household size of the district. Furthermore, we have utilized records from 1850 and 1852, which include the Muslim population and household counts, in the absence of a Muslim population register for the year.

Table 7. Number and Size of Households in 1851

Muslim			Non-Muslim			Muslim Coptic			Total		
Household	Population	Household Size	Household	Population	Household Size	Household	Population	Household Size	Household	Population	Household Size
1.349	4.612	6,83	687	2.733	7,95	16	50	6,25	2.052	7.395	7,20

Reference: BOA., NFS.d., 5749, 5750, 5956.

In 1850, there were 686 non-Muslim households and 15 Muslim Coptic households recorded. In 1851, there were 687 non-Muslim households and 16 Muslim

Coptic households. The count of Muslim households is 1850, whereas the Muslim population is 1852 (BOA., NFS.d., 5956, 5957).

We determined the household size of the Bihor kaza to be 7.20. Nejat Göyünç indicated that household sizes can range from 1.88 to 9.60, despite appearing elevated (Göyünç, 1979: 335-345). Emine Ak reports that the household size for the total non-Muslim population in Bosnia Province is 8.4 (Ak, 2010: 135). In the Sanjak of Sarajevo, the average household size was 7.29 in 1850 and 8.85 in 1864 (Albayrak, 2024: 284). The household sizes in other areas of the Bosnia region exhibit comparable proportions.

Physical Characteristics

Population registers document physical attributes, including height, beard, and mustache, to aid in individual identification. Subjective estimations classified height as “short, medium, and tall.” Moreover, terms like “*şâbb-ı emred*, *şâbb*” were designated for young men lacking facial hair, “*ter bıynklı*, *ter* or *müzellef*” for those who had recently commenced mustache growth, and “*çâr-ebraû*, *çâr*” for individuals yet to develop a mustache. Occasionally, people have favored the terms “*şâbbca*, *terce*, *müzellefçe*, and *çârca*.” The terms are primarily applied to individuals aged 15-17 for “*şâbb*,” 18-19 for “*ter*,” and 20-21 for “*çâr*” (Kütükoğlu, 2010: 132-134).

The Bihor region’s population registers generally began recording physical characteristics at the age of 10. The 1851 census recorded the physical characteristics of 18 non-Muslims aged 2 to 8. For 12 individuals aged 5, 6, 7, and 8 years, the term “boy” was used, whereas for 9 individuals, the designation “*şâbb-ı emred*” was applied. The recorded descriptions for a 2-year-old child were “medium height and brown mustached,” for a 3-year-old child, “medium height and *şâbb-ı emred*,” and for two 4-year-old children, “medium height and *şâbb-ı emred*.” A two-year-old child possessing a light brown mustache seems unlikely. The designation “*şâbb-ı emred*” is not applicable to children aged 3 and 4. A child of that age typically lacks facial hair. The family may have misreported the child’s age. Therefore, the officer likely generated a record, regardless of the individual’s age, when they recorded their observations. It is, undoubtedly, impossible to render any conclusive assertions concerning this matter.

Aside from the exceptional cases, the 1833 census indicated that the Muslim population register utilized the age range of 15-20 for *şâbb-ı emred* and 18-23 for *ter bıynk*, whereas the non-Muslim population register employed the age range of 15-19 for *şâbb-ı emred* and 18-25 for *ter bıynk*. In the 1851 census, the Muslim

Coptic population register designated *şâbb-ı emred* for individuals aged 10-25 and *ter büyük* for those aged 25, while the non-Muslim population register employed *şâbb-ı emred* for ages 10-48 and *ter büyük* for ages 10-40.

Table 8. Beard and Mustache Characteristics

Physical Properties	Muslim	Non-Muslim		Muslim Coptic		Non-Muslim Coptic
	1833	1833	1851	1833	1851	1833
White Beard	42	2	-	-	-	-
Black Beard	40	-	-	-	-	-
Grey Beard	144	10	1	1	-	-
Very Sparse Beard	-	-	1	-	-	-
Auburn Beard	6	-	1	-	-	-
Yellow Beard	21	-	-	-	-	-
Black Moustache	220	124	33	3	2	4
Grey Moustache	92	152	29	-	-	1
Very Sparse Moustache	-	-	1	-	-	-
Auburn Moustache	77	65	785	2	14	-
Faint Auburn Moustache (<i>Kumral Ter Büyük</i>)	-	-	1	-	-	-
Yellow Moustache	616	675	15	4	1	4
Faint Moustache (<i>Ter Büyük</i>)	180	164	192	4	1	-
Faint Black Moustache (<i>Ter Kara Büyük</i>)	-	-	3	-	-	-
Beardless Youth (<i>Şâbb-ı Emred</i>)	43	15	847	-	16	-
Short Stature	-	-	1	-	-	-
Medium Stature	-	-	1.837	-	34	-
Tall Stature	-	-	36	-	-	-
Total	1.481	1.207	3.783	14	68	9

The population registers document disability status in addition to the physical descriptions of individuals. Age restrictions were not considered when documenting individuals' disabilities. The table below displays the disability statuses of individuals in Bihor District.

Table 9. Disability Statuses

Disability Status	Muslim	Non-Muslim		Muslim Coptic
	1833	1833	1851	1851
Eyeless (<i>Âmâ</i>)	1	-	1	-
Lame (<i>Arec</i>)	2	7	-	-
Impaired One Foot (<i>Bir Ayağı Alil</i>)	7	-	-	-
Pathological Feet (<i>Ayakları Alil</i>)	1	1	-	-
Speech-Impaired (<i>Dilsiz</i>)	4	7	1	-
Deaf and Speech-Impaired (<i>Sağır ve Dilsiz</i>)	-	-	1	-
With an Impaired Hand (<i>Bir Yedi Alil</i>)	4	2	-	-
One-Armed (<i>Çolak</i>)	-	-	2	-
One-Armed, Deaf (<i>Çolak ve Sağır</i>)	-	-	1	-
Hernia (<i>Fıtık İlleti</i>)	1	-	-	-
Impaired Eyes (<i>Gözleri Alil</i>)	1	-	-	-
Diseased (<i>Alil</i>)	13	10	-	1
Insane (<i>Mecnun</i>)	8	2	1	-
Epilepsy (<i>Sara İlleti</i>)	2	-	-	-
Urolithiasis (<i>Taş İlleti</i>)	1	-	-	-
Impaired Hands (<i>Yedleri Alil</i>)	2	1	-	-
One-Eyed (<i>Yekçeşm</i>)	6	1	-	-
One-Handed (<i>Yekdest</i>)	-	1	-	-
Total	53	32	7	1

The data presented in Table 9 was sourced from the years 1833 and 1851. In 1833, it was established that 85 individuals had disabilities, whereas in 1851, it was discovered that 8 individuals had disabilities. However, the lack of disability status data for Muslims during that period prevented the determination of

the total number of disabled individuals for the year 1851. In 1833, the challenges encountered by Muslims were more significant than those experienced by non-Muslims. Disabled men represent 1.5% of the overall male population.

The population registers include not only physical characteristics but also the statuses of individuals as “*mim*, *müsinn*, and *tüvânâ*.” The term *tüvânâ*, meaning “strong, powerful, vigorous” (Devellioğlu, 2008: 1115), is used for children’s entries, and the term *müsinn*, meaning “old, aged, elderly, and senior” (Devellioğlu, 2008: 741), is used for the entries of individuals who have reached a certain age. One of the main goals of the census was to find out how strong the military was. To show this, Muslims who were eligible for military service had their entries marked with either a *mim* sign or the phrase “*matlûb-ı âliye muvâfık* (suitable for the desired purpose)” (Karal, 1997: 18–19; Başaran, 2017: 308). The previously mentioned terms appeared in the 1833 census but were absent in the 1851 census. The table below displays the number of individuals using these terms.

Table 10. Numbers of *Tüvânâ*, *Müsinn*, and *Mim* from 1833 to 1837

	Muslim	Non-Muslim
<i>Tüvânâ</i>	132	170
<i>Müsinn</i>	150	-
<i>Mim</i>	823	-
Total	1.105	170

Reference: BOA., NFS.d., 5746, 5747.

In the Muslim registry of the Bihor District, the term *tüvâna* is typically inscribed alongside the names of children aged 9, 10, and 11, whereas in the non-Muslim registry, it appears next to the names of children aged 7, 8, and 9. It is important to note that the terms *tüvâna* and *müsinn* were not inscribed in the year the census was executed. If the *sinn* section for a child recorded as *tüvânâ* indicates 9, it denotes the age at the time of the census. In subsequent roll calls, if the individual has attained the age of *tüvânâ*, the term *tüvânâ*, along with the roll call date, was inscribed in red ink above their names. Consequently, it is feasible to ascertain both the child’s age at the time of the census and the year this entry was documented. The ages of individuals who were *musinn* in 1833 and the quantity of *musinn* for each year have also been presented. This term is predominantly associated with individuals aged 40, with only one person noted as being 39 years old. The *mim* designation in the Muslim population register predominantly applies to individuals aged 14 to 35. A person with a *mim* entry is 38 years old.

Occupational Distribution

In Bihor District, 85.17% of registered individuals are employed in the agriculture and livestock sector. The predominant occupation in this sector is agriculture. Of the farmers, 98.5% are non-Muslims, while 1.4% are Muslim Copts. This scenario demonstrates that agriculture significantly impacts the regional economy. Workers are also present in the crafts, service, and public sectors.

Table 11. Professions of Bihor District

Sector	Job	Muslim	Non-Muslim		Muslim Coptic	Total
		1833	1833	1851	1851	
Agriculture and Livestock	Farmer	-	-	668	10	678
Agriculture and Livestock	Shepherd	-	-	1	-	1
Craft	Tanner	1	-	-	-	1
Craft	Smith	-	-	-	6	6
Craft	Tailor	-	-	6	-	6
Service	Miller	-	-	4	-	4
Service	Servant	-	-	65	-	65
Service	Holder (<i>Kiracı</i>)	-	-	1	-	1
Service	Merchant	-	-	2	-	2
Public	Armored-Retainer	4	-	-	-	4
Public	Head of the Provincial Financial Department (<i>Dester Nazırı</i>)	1	-	-	-	1
Public	Imam	1	-	-	-	1
Public	Knez	-	4	-	-	4
Public	Priest	-	6	2	-	8
Public	Primary Teacher	6	-	-	-	6
Public	Spahee	1	-	-	-	1

Dual Occupations	Farmer/Servant	-	-	1	-	1
Dual Occupations	Deputy Imam/Mukhtar	1	-	-	-	1
Dual Occupations	Imam/Mukhtar	5	-	-	-	5
Total		20	10	750	16	796

Following agriculture and livestock, the service sector is the most in-demand industry. The predominant occupation in this sector is servitude (*hizmetkârlık*). The servants, conversely, consist of non-Muslims. It is also acknowledged that certain individuals possess dual occupations. These individuals are typically assigned responsibilities distinct from their primary profession. For instance, some individuals serve as *imams* while also undertaking administrative responsibilities, such as that of a village head (*mukhtar*).

In the 1851 census, the names of 17 non-Muslims were annotated with “*amel-mande*”. This term refers to individuals who cannot work due to factors such as advanced age or disability (Devellioğlu, 2008: 31; Özön, 1979: 30). Among the 17 individuals referenced, four are aged 15, 16, 20, and 50 years, and they were approved for surgery due to their disabilities. Thirteen individuals are aged between 60 and 100, with five possessing tax records under the status of “*edna*”.

Jizya Tax

Jizya, defined as “to suffice, to compensate, to pay” in the dictionary, is a head tax mandated by Sharia law. This tax was levied in exchange for the Islamic State’s protection of non-Muslims’ lives and property (Nedkoff, 1944: 606). Non-Muslims obligated to pay the Jizya were typically characterized as having attained maturity, possessing physical and mental soundness, and being gainfully employed. Dhimmi possessing these attributes would incur the Jizya tax upon attaining the age of 14 and would persist in its payment until the age of 75 (Nedkoff, 1944: 621; Ünal, 2015: 182). In the 1833 census, non-Muslims aged 65-70 were exempt from the Jizya tax. In the absence of a stated rationale, it may be inferred that they are tax-exempt owing to their age. Consequently, it may be inappropriate to establish a definitive boundary concerning age (BOA., NFS.d., 5747).

Individuals' financial circumstances aligned the Jizya tax rates into three wealth tiers: *âlâ* (higher income), *evsât* (middle income), and *ednâ* (lower income). Over time, the quantities of these three categories have fluctuated. Consequently, the Jizya rates employed in the 1833 and 1851 censuses varied. In 1829, the values were assessed at 48, 24, and 12 kuruş for the higher, middle, and lower incomes, respectively (Karpas, 2003: 59). In 1834, these values were established at 60, 30, and 15 kuruş for the higher, middle, and lower incomes, respectively. Consequently, distinct ratios were employed for each census in the research (Nedkoff, 1944: 627; İnalçık, 1993: 47).

Table 12. Jizya Distribution in 1833

Lower Income	Death	Deserved Lower Income	Death	Free	Death
1.031	81	407	30	60	17

Reference: BOA., NFS.d., 5747.

In 1833, the Jizya was exclusively categorized under the *ednâ* classification, designated as “*ednâ* and deserved *ednâ*.” The two are presented in separate columns in the table. The deceased population was excluded from the calculation of the Jizya tax. Additionally, 77 individuals were exempt from the tax, of whom 17 have died. In 1833, the Jizya tax collected, excluding the deceased and those exempt, amounted to 17,256 kuruş. In the *icmal* population registers of that year, it was documented that 1,563 taxes were levied on dhimmis (BOA., NFS.d., 7438). The Jizya revenue collected in 1833 amounted to 18,756 kuruş.

Table 13. Jizya Distribution in 1851

Population	Higher Income	Middle Income	Lower Income	Total
Muslim Coptic	-	2	36	38
Non-Muslim	13	424	1.574	1.961

Reference: BOA., NFS.d., 5749, 5750.

In 1851, the age range of non-Muslims subjected to the Jizya in Bihor District was between 8 and 15 years old. Typically, Jizya was levied on individuals aged ten and older. Notably, the names of ten children aged 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are also recorded alongside the Jizya tax in the ledger. This situation prompts an inquiry into whether the taxation of young children resulted in an abuse or if the tax record was expunged and the date was not subsequently revised in later years. Nevertheless, the reviewed records do not provide answers to these inquiries.

In 1851, taxes amounting to 780 kuruş of superior quality, 12,780 kuruş of average quality, and 24,150 kuruş of inferior quality were collected from the Bihor District. The cumulative cizye tax collected amounts to 37,710 kuruş. The Jizya revenue rose from 1833 to 1851. Furthermore, the Jizya tax in the district was levied solely on the lowest category in 1833, whereas in 1851, it was imposed on the highest, middle, and lowest categories. In 1833, the Jizya tax was exempt for both Muslim and non-Muslim Copts; however, in 1851, it was imposed on Muslim Copts as well. Moreover, although numerous justifications existed for imposing a uniform tax across the region in 1833, the most rational explanation pertains to its geographical location. The Ottoman Empire typically imposed the Jizya tax at the minimal rate on inhabitants of border territories, including Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia (İnalçık, 1993: 47). Furthermore, dhimmis situated in passes, fortresses, islands, and border regions were either exempt from the Jizya and other taxes or subjected to minimal taxation, attributable not only to their geographical positioning but also as recompense for their services (Ercan, 1991: 377-378). Consequently, the rationale for the minimal tax levied on non-Muslims in the Bihor District in 1833 was likely this.

Conclusion

Population registers offer both quantitative data regarding the region's population and comprehensive information elucidating the demographic structure. Entries in these registers typically encompass details regarding individuals' names and their paternal lineage, nicknames, ages, birth and death dates, occupations, religions, physical attributes, and disability status. Through population registers, townships, villages, and neighborhoods, and changes in their names over time can be tracked. Consequently, population registers are essential for conveying information regarding the demographic, social, economic, and cultural frameworks of the Ottoman domains.

The male population of Bihor District rose from 5,476 in 1833 to 7,395 in 1851. The analyzed records indicate that the Muslim population in the district exceeded the non-Muslim population in both 1833 and 1851. Analysis of the district population distribution by age groups indicates that it comprises a youthful and productive demographic.

In 1833, all taxpayers in the district experienced a reduction in income tax. While this situation was infrequent, the district's geographical location facilitated it. Border region residents may either face minimal taxation or receive full tax exemption. Taxes on non-Muslims based on upper, middle, and lower-income brackets were evident in 1851. In 1851, the collection of Jizya surpassed that of 1833.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE OTTOMAN MILLET SYSTEM AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN THE BALKANS: A CASE STUDY OF CHURCH DISPUTES IN FLORINA

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Introduction

The Balkans possess a highly diverse religious and sectarian composition and have historically been a region where various nations have striven to assert and maintain their national identities. The issue of churches and schools, which incited hostility and conflict among Christian Orthodox elements within the Ottoman Empire, arose when the “millet system”—established to govern Ottoman society—lost its efficacy due to the nationalist movements that emerged from the 19th century onwards (Karal 2003: 84 see also Faroqhi 2005). Regardless of their place of residence within the empire or the language they spoke, non-Muslims were members of a nation whose administrative center was located in Istanbul (Eryılmaz 1992: 13). Under the millet system, the Ottoman Empire recognized three primary nations: the Greek, Armenian, and Jewish nations. Each of these nations comprised various ethnic and linguistic groups that were subordinate to the Patriarchate through their respective clergymen. The Greek nation encompassed not only ethnic Greeks but also all Orthodox Christians, including Serbians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Wallachian’s, Orthodox Albanians, and Arabs (Ortaylı 2005:67).

This study aims to illuminate the church disputes between Greeks and Bulgarians in Florina through an analysis of Ottoman archival records. In the 19th century, the



issues surrounding churches and schools in the Balkans, particularly in Macedonia, have been extensively discussed in prior scholarship (Yenidünya 1999; Abdula 2013; Roudometof 2002; Brooks 2015; Mazower 2000; Dakin 1966; Yıldız 2008, Taşcan 2011 etc.). The complexity and breadth of the subject matter and geographical scope necessitated a focused sample, leading to the selection of Florina as the case study. Florina presents a unique microcosm for examining these conflicts, as Muslims were also involved in the church disputes occurring there. This involvement of multiple religious communities adds a significant dimension to understanding the broader socio-political landscape of the region during this period.

The Ottoman Millet System and The Rise of Nationalism in The Balkans

As the Ottoman Empire expanded its territory, the population under its rule became increasingly differentiated with the vast geography that was annexed to Turkish territory, and the confidence-building policies implemented towards this population also succeeded in ensuring the loyalty of the new participants / non-Muslim elements. In this way, a new system that could blend Muslims and non-Muslims in the same pot was created. This system, in which the subjects were categorized according to their religion and sect instead of their ethnic identity, was called the “millet system” (Ortaylı 2005:66; Yücel 2014:1).

The Ottoman Millet System was a unique administrative structure that recognized the diverse religious and ethnic communities within the Ottoman Empire (Faroqhi 2005). The Ottoman rulers acknowledged the existence of various religious and ethnic groups within the empire and respected their distinct identities and practices. Instead of organizing communities based on territorial boundaries, the millet system granted each religious community a degree of autonomy in managing its internal affairs, such as personal status matters and religious practices (Davison 2005; Findley 2010). The millet system allowed each religious community to maintain its cultural traditions, language, and legal practices under the supervision of its own religious leaders and institutions. By providing a framework for different religious groups to coexist peacefully, the millet system helped prevent large-scale religious and ethnic conflicts within the empire. The system of legal pluralism allowed communities to resolve disputes and grievances through their own community courts, contributing to a sense of order and security within the empire (Barkey 2008; Gavrilis 2015). Intermediaries played a crucial role in maintaining the millet system, acting as liaisons between the imperial state and the various religious communities to ensure smooth governance.

The millet system evolved over time, especially during the nineteenth century Tanzimat reforms, to address challenges such as rising nationalism and external pressures while striving to modernize citizenship and equality among subjects (Davison 2005). Overall, the Ottoman Millet System was seen as a successful example of non-territorial autonomy that allowed for the peaceful coexistence of diverse religious and ethnic groups within the empire, contributing to social stability and governance (Barkey- Gavrilis 2015).

The Ottoman Millet System had a significant impact on Balkan societies during the Ottoman rule. The millet system allowed for the recognition and organization of various religious and ethnic communities in the Balkans, providing a framework for coexistence and governance. Different religious communities in the Balkans, such as Orthodox Christians, Jews, and Muslims, were able to maintain their cultural and religious practices under the millet system, contributing to the preservation of their identities. While the millet system provided a degree of autonomy and stability, it also sparked nationalist sentiments in some Balkan societies, leading to movements for independence and the eventual dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in the region (Kursar 2013: 97-108).

Another significant decree that brought substantial changes to the community structure following the Tanzimat was the Reform Edict issued on February 18, 1856. This edict promised three major reforms to non-Muslim subjects in the context of constitutional development. First, it ensured that Muslims and non-Muslims would receive equitable representation in provincial and municipal councils. Second, it stipulated that non-Muslims would be included in the Meclis-i Ahkam-ı Adliye. Third, it mandated the reorganization of the “millet” system of non-Muslims, allowing laypersons, in addition to clergy, to participate in their councils (Ahabab 2015: 52-53).

As the millet system weakened due to the rise of nationalist movements, the state-initiated efforts to abolish it following the Tanzimat Edict. These new efforts aimed to replace the millet system with the concept of “Ottoman citizenship,” emphasizing the equality of nations. This new citizenship legislation sought to eliminate the differences in legal status and lift all social and legal restrictions imposed on non-Muslims. These restrictions were altered in favor of non-Muslims by the 1856 Reform Edict. Taking advantage of the legal gaps created by this edict, non-Muslims swiftly began issuing their own nationality charters, fostering their national identities. This trend among non-Muslims was accompanied by various responses. To address this issue, the Ottoman State introduced the Ottoman Citizenship Regulation on January 28, 1869, attempting to resolve the matter through this new legislation (Serbestoğlu 2014).

Among the non-Muslim nations in the Ottoman Empire, the Orthodox were the largest (Glenny 2000: 71-72; Akarlı 1972: 77-84; Zarogianni 2023:94). Since the majority of the Orthodox were Greeks, the Patriarchate of Fener was called the Greek Patriarchate. The other nations affiliated to this patriarchate were Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins. However, Bulgarians established the independent Bulgarian Church in 1870 due to the intimidation policy of the Orthodox Patriarchate against them (Eryılmaz 1992: 43).

As a consequence of the burgeoning nationalist movements in the Balkans, regulations were formulated, and communities striving to establish their national identities took measures to delineate their distinctions. These efforts were undertaken soon after their successful struggles against the Ottoman Empire. Prior to the decree of 1870, Bulgarians were incorporated into the Rum Millet within the Ottoman Empire's millet system (Taşcan 2011; Yıldız 2008:17-22). The separation of the Bulgarian Church contributed greatly to Bulgarian nationalism and Bulgaria gained its independence in 1878. After the separation of the Bulgarian Church from the Greek-Orthodox Church, many churches and schools in Macedonia were in dispute as to whether they belonged to the Patriarchate or the Exarchate (Yosmaoğlu 2014:53-60). Abdülhamid II exploited this conflict to the Ottomans' advantage, thereby postponing the formation of Balkan unity. However, the Committee of Union and Progress addressed this issue in Macedonia by enacting the law on churches on October 3, 1910. This led Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria to unite and declare war against the Ottoman Empire (Eryılmaz 1992:44).

The Bulgarian Exarchate expressed dissatisfaction with the jurisdiction delineated in its founding decree. Seeking to expand its authority, the Exarchate invoked Article 10 of the edict *which stated that the Exarchate could establish further dioceses in places where 2/3 or more of the population voted in its favor in organized plebiscites* (Zarogianni 2023:99). The persistent efforts of the Bulgarian community to enforce this article proved successful. In plebiscites conducted in dioceses such as Ohrid and Skopje, 90% of the Orthodox population voted in favor of affiliation with the Bulgarian Exarchate. These developments significantly intensified the conflict between the Exarchate and the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Yücel 2014: 55). This tension between the Bulgarian Exarchate and the Greek Patriarchate is also manifest in the case of Florina.

The Case of Florina

In the 19th century, the population of the town of Florina, located in the province of Monastir, was composed of diverse ethnic groups, including Muslims, Bulgarians, Greeks, Vlachs, and Jews (Sakaoğlu 2007; 78). The multi-ethnic composition and strategic geographical location of Florina contributed to the church and school conflicts that arose in the 19th century.

In the town of Florina, Bulgarians wanted to build a church in the neighborhood named Cami-i Atik. As it is understood from the telegram sent to the local administration with the signatures of the Muslim inhabitants of this town: Bulgarians wanted to build a church between the two mosques in the neighborhood of Cami-i Atik. The Muslims living in this town objected to this and wanted to prevent the construction of the church (BOA, DH.MKT. 1619/133 27 Apr 1889). In response to this telegram sent by the people of the neighborhood, it was understood that the construction of the church in question had been permitted by the sultan's edict, but the construction could not be started due to the intervention of some of the Muslim residents with the encouragement of the Greeks. The Ministry of Justice and *Mezahib* informed the Province of Manastir that there was no Islamic neighborhood in the vicinity of the church planned to be built, as claimed by the Muslims, and therefore there was no objection to the construction of this church (BOA, DH.MKT. 1626/14 4 Jun 1889). It is understood from the official records that the Greeks allocated the church outside the town of Florina only to their own nation and the Bulgarians had no place to worship (BOA, DH.MKT. 1601/115 6 Mar 1889).

Although the Greeks had allocated the church outside the town of Florina to themselves and the Bulgarians, who had recognized the Exarchate, had been deprived of the performance of the liturgy, the construction of a church for them had been granted a licence, but the construction of the church had not yet begun due to the interference that had occurred at the site. As a result of the research carried out upon the petition submitted by the Bulgarians regarding the prevention of this interference, it was determined that there was no church where Bulgarians could worship. Accordingly, Nona Petro and Dimitri Taranyan donated 20.000 kurus to build a church in the slum neighborhood of the town. The research carried out before the construction permit was granted revealed that although the land where the church was to be built was located in the Cami-i Atik neighborhood, there were no mosques or Islamic houses around it, it was located among the Christian houses in the slum neighborhood and was owned by Bulgarians. Although it is in a location where people can worship freely without disturbing other nationalities, the Greeks want to prevent the construction

of this church due to the dispute between the Greeks and Bulgarians (BOA, ŞD. 2541/13, 18 Feb 1889; DH.MKT. 1633/75, 30 Jun 1889; DH.MKT. 1641/11, 22 Jul 1889).

Church disputes between Greeks and Bulgarians escalated into legal disputes as well. Askir Vasil was dispatched from the Istanbul Police Directorate through Thessaloniki to apprehend tablakar Niko, who allegedly assaulted his sister Katerine and his brother Kostantin's family, Elen, during a confrontation at the church in Florina (BOA, ZB. 447/3, 28 Mar 1891).

In the communication made upon the complaint about the intervention of Bulgarians in the church belonging to the Greeks in the village of Nolyan in the province of Florina, it was understood that the church was handed over to the Greeks upon the complaint of the Greek metropolitan, but the Bulgarians continued to worship in the church. In a village with two churches, a church should be allocated to each side, and in villages with one church, the churches should remain common between the members of both nations (BOA, DH.MKT. 1909/105, 11 Jan 1892).

In another example, in the church and school shared by Greeks and Bulgarians in the village of Pir Kopani in Florina, the Bulgarians did not want to hold services together with the Greeks and did not want to educate their children in the church and school, where the Greeks had 90 inhabitants and the Bulgarians had 807 inhabitants, and it was thought that unless a decision was made by the state about this problem, incidents between the two nations would escalate. Accordingly, the matter was resolved with the abandonment of the church and school to the Bulgarians and the Bulgarians giving compensation to the Greeks (BOA, BEO 122/9079, 14 Dec 1892). Since the Bulgarian population was larger, it was considered logical to leave it to them. If this is not accepted, the other nation has the right to build its own church, but they must continue to share the church (BOA, BEO 275/20625, 13 Sep 1893).

In another example, a telegram sent by the mukhtar of the town of Tarsiye in the province of Florina with the complaint that the church, which was built jointly by 100 Bulgarian households and 28 Greek households, had been seized by the Greeks and what should be done about it was consulted with the Ministry of Justice and Mezahib. It was understood that the church in question was affiliated to the Greek patriarchate and that they had been holding services together until today (BOA, BEO 331/24762, 21 Dec 1893; BEO 340/25478, 8 Jan 1894).

According to the official record dated 8 May 1904, in the village of Zelih in Florina, there were 297 Greeks in 76 households and 1349 Bulgarians in 202 households.

While Greeks were celebrating mass in the church of Aya Dimitri outside the village and Bulgarians were celebrating mass in the church of Aya Yorgi inside the village, the Greek Metropolitan forcibly took the church of Aya Yorgi from the Bulgarians and gave it to the Greeks. Although the Bulgarians outnumbered the Greeks in terms of population, it was unfair to take the church away from the Bulgarians (BOA, TFR.I.MN 38/3798).

On 4 July 1910, according to the draft law submitted to the parliament, a number of rules were put on the agenda in order to prevent the church and school disputes between Greeks and Bulgarians (BOA., İ.MLU 2/18). Before this draft law was submitted, the issue of churches and schools between the Bulgarian nation and the Greek nation had grown to such an extent that the Bulgarians organized a meeting in Florina against the pressures of the Greek patriarchate (BEO. DH.MKT. 2767/31).

Conclusion

By situating the Florina church disputes within this broader context, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of how local conflicts were influenced by wider imperial policies and nationalist movements. The involvement of Muslims in the Florina disputes also offers a unique perspective on the intercommunal dynamics and the impact of Ottoman reforms on different religious communities. This case study illustrates how the Greeks effectively utilized the Ottoman bureaucratic framework to counteract Bulgarian efforts aimed at expanding their religious influence. Even if they could not prevent it, they managed to slow down the construction of the church in Florina.

It can be argued that the church disputes between Greeks and Bulgarians were not solely the purview of nationalist ideologues or religious leaders but also profoundly impacted the quotidian lives of ordinary individuals. These conflicts permeated various aspects of daily existence, influencing social interactions, economic activities, and local governance. The disputes over ecclesiastical control and educational institutions often dictated community affiliations, marriage alliances, and even access to social services, thus embedding the larger national and religious struggles into the very fabric of everyday life. Moreover, the involvement of local populations in these disputes underscores the interconnection between macro-political movements and micro-social realities, revealing the complex ways in which national identity and religious allegiance were negotiated on the ground level. This perspective aligns with the broader historiographical debates on the interplay between elite political strategies and

grassroots social dynamics in shaping historical outcomes in the Balkans during the late Ottoman period.

In instances where local administrations proved incapable of resolving disputes between Greeks and Bulgarians, the province escalated grievances by forwarding complaints to central authorities, specifically the ministries. This bureaucratic recourse exemplifies the Ottoman Empire's administrative response to localized conflicts over church ownership and educational jurisdiction, highlighting the hierarchical nature of governance and the role of provincial administrations as intermediaries between local communities and imperial authorities. Such actions underscored the empire's efforts to maintain order and adjudicate intercommunal disputes within a legal framework governed by Ottoman law and policy. The practice of referring disputes to central ministries reflects broader historiographical debates on imperial governance and the balance between centralized authority and local autonomy in multiethnic and multi-confessional societies.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the Ottoman government endeavored to adjudicate church disputes based on demographic majority as a means of achieving equitable resolutions. However, as evidenced in the case of Florina, the government also employed compensatory measures to mitigate potential grievances and prevent one community from feeling marginalized. This practice involved ruling that the community granted official worship rights in disputed churches should provide compensation to the opposing community, reflecting the Ottoman state's pragmatic approach to managing intercommunal conflicts within its diverse and multi-confessional domains. Such measures underscored the empire's attempt to balance legal principles with social harmony, navigating the complexities of religious rights and communal tensions through institutionalized frameworks. This historical episode exemplifies broader scholarly discussions on Ottoman governance strategies and the dynamics of religious coexistence in the late imperial period.

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THE BALKANS : POLITICS, HISTORY AND SOCIETY

The world today faces profound challenges—global security, climate change, trade imbalances, democratization, legal uncertainties, epidemics, failed states, and terrorism—all threatening humanity's progress and well-being. The Balkans, shaped by these global currents throughout history, remains deeply interconnected with broader political, historical, and cultural transformations. Despite the region's progress in institutional development and cooperation over the last quarter-century, its journey toward integration with global norms and institutions continues.

This volume explores the dynamic and complex history of the Balkans, delving into its ethnic and religious diversity and the profound impact of nation-state building and imperial dissolutions over the past two centuries. Recent research has expanded beyond traditional nationalist and state-centric narratives, embracing cultural studies, women's issues, migrations, micro-history, biographies, and socio-economic structures. These fresh perspectives are vital for fostering a research culture that can contribute to the region's growth and global integration.

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