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The 'Conquering' Soldier-Merchants of the Balkans: Colonization, State Interventionism and Separatist Claims in the Danubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (18th-19th Centuries)*

Aysel Yıldız

Abstact: This article studies the questions of self-rule and state intervention in the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the socio-economic life of a late frontier society against the backdrop of the eighteenth-century wave of internal colonization by Ottoman Muslims, mostly of Janissary background. It aims at revealing complex relations between agents on three levels: local (*voivodes*, *boyar*s, commoners), the regional (Janissaries and other soldiery) and the imperial; while also examining the influx of Muslims into the Principalities and its consequences as an interplay between various claims of trading rights, provisionist policies implemented by the imperial centre and the autonomous desires of the native nobility. The paper contends that the tributary status of the Principalities provided a major advantage in protecting the local population against Muslim penetration, as manifested in the ensuing direct intervention of the Porte and consequent trade restrictions. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, the policy of keeping the Muslim-Ottoman presence and activities in the region at a minimum and obtaining full liberty of trade became an important component in the struggle for economic detachment from the Ottoman orbit, which in the long run contributed to the nation-state formation in Romania.

Keywords: Danube, Wallachia and Moldavia, Ottoman, colonization, governmental intervention

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Introduction

In his famous Plane's-Eye-View of the Mosaic metaphor for integrative histories of the early modern era, Joseph Fletcher detects a world-wide population recovery after the seventeenth-century setback, a quickening of global tempo, the growth of regional cities and the rise of commercial classes. More noise, more motion, more commerce and more travel were noticeable on a global scale from this metaphoric distance. Long-distance trade and traditional cities continued, but this was a period of inland commerce, giving rise to regional-type cities that served as centers of economic activity for the surrounding regions. In conjunction with the new urban centres and classes, the period also witnessed the deepening of socio-economic inequalities (Fletcher, 1985:37–58).

Although the eighteenth-century Danube bears almost all the characteristics of Fletcher's panoramic view of integrative history, it was generally warfare that caused the most noise and motion in this part of the early modern world. Military mobilizations, huge armies moving back and forth, and violent clashes certainly quickened the tempo, disrupted rural production, harmed economic transactions, and caused population flight. The emergence of new garrison cities serving as the centres of regional trade but also accommodating thousands of soldiers changed regional dynamics and further deepened social inequalities. During the same period, Wallachia and Moldavia turned into "*buffer provinces*", to borrow a term from Viorel Panaite (Panaite, 2000: 235), in the long conflicts between the Ottoman, Habsburg and Russian Empires. Invasions, armed clashes, and consequent social disturbances became an endemic problem in this frontier region surrounded by the grand fortresses of Bender (mod. Bender), Hotin (mod. Khotyn), Akkerman (mod. Belgorod-Dnestrovsk), İbrail (mod. Braila), Vidin (mod. Vidin), İsmail (mod. İzmail), Kili (mod. Kilia) and Yergöğü (mod. Giurgiu). A desperate peasantry tried to survive under the oppression of local nobles (*boyar*s and other landed gentry), Phanariot rulers (voivode), imperial masters (Ottoman authorities), as well as the ever-increasing assaults by soldiers serving in these garrison cities.

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This paper studies the eighteenth-century wave of internal colonization by Muslim soldiers and the ensuing state response, set against the backdrop of the privileged (tributary-protected)[1] status of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the question of state interventionism. Rather than imprisoning the history of the entire region in the dualistic approaches of Ottoman exploitation and Romanian subordination,[2] or running the risk of reducing the importance of the entire region to provisioning the capital and its role in diplomatic relations,[3] this study attempts to gain some insights into the interplay of local and imperial dynamics in shaping the imperial policies that concerned these provinces. I argue that the tributary status and territorial integrity of the Danubian Principalities acted as leverage against Muslim expansion, while the strategy of keeping the Muslim-Turkish presence and its economic activities at a minimum became an important motivation for the local elite and authorities, which in the long run contributed to nation-state formation in Romania.

The 'Conquering' Soldiers and Internal Colonization

Internal colonization can best be described as various claims being laid new or unoccupied territories, especially within a country or around the borderlands. This concept is sometimes used interchangeably with internal colonialism, as both imply coercion, an asymmetric relationship to land and labour as well as an internal rather than external process of domination. The latter, however, is more often employed in describing in-country patterns of regional and racial inequalities that include economic exploitation, cultural hegemony, and the political subordination of ethnically different regions by the superior groups. Internal colonization, on the other hand, mostly refers to "physical conquest" of a certain region not through invasion or conquest, but by the creation of a market or settlement in a semi- or unoccupied periphery.[4] The best-known example is the Prussian state's sponsored program of colonization of the Baltic and Polish lands (Jones, 2014: 457–92; Etkind, 2011: 6–7, 21: Etkind, 2015: 159–60). As far as the Ottoman Empire is concerned,

Trian Stoianovich notes that a para-military and pastoral-agrarian wave of internal colonization was observed in the eighteenth century, best exemplified by Albanian penetration into the Balkans and the Mediterranean and by the rise of the *"typically colonial institution"* of large landed estates (*çiftlik*) (Stoainovich, 1953: 401–402). The expansion of the Muslim Ottoman soldiery and commoners into the Danubian Principalities and the establishment of pasto-agrarian estates (animal enclosures*: kışlaks* or *çiftlik*s) within these provinces should be added to the same picture.

Here, I consider the relationship between the Ottoman soldiery and locals in Wallachia and Moldavia as a form of asymmetric relation and define their spatial expansion into these provinces as a wave of internal colonization. It can be defined as the physical penetration of "superior" (Muslim/ Turkish and soldier) elements into a periphery with an "inferior" status (*reaya*) and identity (Christian) for settlement, production, and trade. These provinces were neither empty nor unoccupied, but still were "perceived empty".[5] They were considered almost a "foreign country" by the soldiers serving in the garrison cities, who mostly came from Anatolia. As a part of their tributary status, cadastral surveys (*tapu tahrir*) were never conducted in either province, tax collection was entrusted to the voivodes and there was a special police force (*beşlüyan*), meaning that other military units had no authority in the region. Both provinces also preserved their territorial integrity and enjoyed jurisdictional autonomy; cases of the Muslims and non-Muslims were treated differently, as if they were subjects of different states. Indeed, according to the secretary of Prince Brâncoveanu, Muslim Ottoman subjects resembled *"foreigners rather than the masters of the country"* (Georgescu, 1971:156).

Frontier ideology accompanied Muslim (mostly military) penetration into the region and further sharpened the perceived emptiness and otherness of the Principalities. It was the country of "others" and "infidels" for an average Muslim, with its limited Islamic presence, different ethnic composition and dominant Christian culture.[6] Foreign invasions, especially the Austrian occupation of 1718-1739, and internal reforms

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of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries created further alienation, accompanied by the increasing *sunni*fication of the Empire and the rise of anti-Christian sentiment among the Muslim populations in garrisons cities (Taki, 2007: 50–51; Gradeva, 2009: 342–46). Even in official correspondence, fortresses around the Danube such as Vidin are frequently referred as the "Abode of holy war and warriors of faith" (*darü'l-cihad ve'l-mücahidin*) and the surrounding region as the "Islamic side" (*İslam yakası*).[7] For the Muslims and soldiers on the Islamic side, the Danubian Principalities appeared as "*a near yet strange country where they could act undisturbedly and without the risk of punishment*" (Kovács, 2014: 15). It was an alien and virgin land waiting to be explored and exploited.

The root of internal colonization lies in the increased strategic importance of the region and the emergence of the Danube as a frontier zone in the eighteenth century. Long years of warfare with Austria (1716-1718; 1736-1739) and Russia (1710-1711-1736-1739, 1768-1774, 1787-1792) cost the Empire the Crimea and Bessarabia, among other losses. During these wars, the Principalities were repeatedly crossed by Ottoman soldiers and invaded by the Austrian or Russian armies several times, which meant hard times for the local population.[8] In addition to wars and invasions, the massive presence of soldiers, demobilizations and war fugitives created great pressure in this frontier region. Though there were no Ottoman fortresses or garrisons within the Principalities themselves, they were surrounded by the forts of Vidin, Akkerman, Kilia, Hotin, Bender, İsmail and İbrail. Particularly during the Austrian occupation of 1689, the loss of Banat (mod. Banat) and Temeşvar (mod. Timişoara) as well as pressure on the northern border led to a steady increase in the number of soldiers and the militarization of society.[9] The case of Vidin fortress is highly illuminating in this regard: while there were 60 Janissaries serving at the fortress in 1699, their number rose to 5,440 in 1750, then to 6,163 in the next decade, steadily increasing to 7,863 in 1771 and to 9,476 only 5 years later. The total number of soldiers at the fortress of İbrail soared from 106 to 4,800 in the period 1699-1776

(Engin, 2013: 66–66). In 1763-64, while a total of 15,819 soldiers were serving at the fortresses of Vidin, Hotin, İbrail and Bender.[10]

A rapid increase in the number of soldiers in any locality inevitably has deep socio-economic impacts. In the Morea, for instance, commoners, especially residents of Mezistre (mod. Mystras) and Manya (mod. Mani), suffered from violations at the hands of the Janissaries and tımariots (cavalry troops), who became local power holders from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries (Zarinebaf, 2005: 9–47). The same pressure was also felt in Egypt from the seventeenth century onwards, with the influx of young Anatolian boys and the stationing of the Janissaries in the region. Consequently, the *azeban* troops and Janissaries acquired unprecedented weight in Egyptian society (Hathaway, 1997: 13–15). Similar developments were also observed on both sides of the Danube. The overwhelming majority of soldiers gradually began to be localized by intermarrying with local women and settling in villages or urban centers. Several of them constructed houses, and engaged in agricultural production or commerce, while some formed gangs to pillage the countryside.[11] As also witnessed in Istanbul, some Janissaries – especially the members of the 64th *cemaat* serving at Ismail fortress- tried to make easy money by demanding "protection fees" from the town's artisans by placing their regimental insignia on shop doors.[12]

The localization of fortress soldiers and their involvement in non-military activities created new pressure in the Balkans, too, initially on life in the towns and later in the countryside, putting local artisans and merchants against the newcomers for control over limited local resources. Speaking of late eighteenth-century Salonika, for instance, Stoianovich notes that almost half the town's population was composed of Janissaries, a situation that placed the Eastern Orthodox population in unanticipated competition against Janissary craftsmen (Stoainovich, 1953: 400). A similar situation was observed in most towns around the Danube, including Bucharest and Iassi. The Janissaries and auxiliary Janissary troops called *yamak*s[13] opened shops and small businesses

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(grocery stores, butterworks, honeyworks, fish stores, cobbler's work-shops and coffeehouses) in numerous towns and quickly penetrated almost all sectors of urban life. While most of butchers in Vidin were of Janissary background, there were a considerable number of Janissary artisans and merchants in Bucharest, and six inns were run by them.[14] As irregular residents, it seems that they did not usually assimilate into guild structure (Iordachi, 2013: 84–85); and according to one document they cheated local craftsmen and created disorder in the towns.[15] Due to complaints from local artisans, the imperial government decided to keep 20-25 outstanding Janissary craftsmen and to oust the rest from Bucharest. A similar decision was made for all but some Muslim honey dealers in Iassi.[16]

In response to fierce competition, rising tensions and limited demand by urban consumers as well as the aforementioned governmental mea-sures, Janissaries serving in the fortresses of the Danube turned their eyes to land in the Danubian towns and the Principalities as a new field for investment.[17] The tremendous and continual demand for diary and agricultural products from the early modern metropolis of Istanbul en-couraged some of them to go into agricultural production and animal husbandry as being the main items of the imperial trade. Butter (es-pecially tallow), *pastırma*, cheese (*kaşkaval*), honey, cereal (wheat and barley) and sheep consumed in the capital were imported from these provinces, in addition to salt and timber.[18] For the soldiers of an un-der-financed empire, this meant extra revenue when struggling to sur-vive in the face of constant arrears and insufficient salaries. An anon-ymous but pro-Janissary author of the period underlines exactly this point, and notes that the Janissaries serving at the Danubian fortresses lost their previous comforts of regular payments, high salaries, and the prestige of being holy warriors. Most returned home, while those who preferred to stay lived in miserable conditions, and thus lost their zeal to confront the enemy. In order to earn extra income, he continued, they eventually began to loan tools and means of production (carts, seed, beasts of burden) or credit to locals, on the condition that they would be

repaid during harvest time. With this money they purchased merchandise (wheat, barley, honey, butter etc.) and sold it in Istanbul (Orhonlu, 1967: 43–44). A lively commercial network, the prospect of larger profit margins and easy trade with the locals thus caused a rush into the Principalities and triggered a wave of internal colonization.

Border violations of all kinds were always an endemic problem in the Principalities, but those in the eighteenth century were more collective, more frequent and had deeper socio-economic impacts (deprivation, subordination, disruption of trade), as they included settlement, localization, indebtedness, land seizure and enserfment. The first wave began in the early decades of the century in Moldavia when the Laz *yamak*s of Trebizond who were active in provisioning the capital, crossed the province and oppressed the local people, forcing them to sell their merchandise below its market value.[19] More importantly, together with soldiers serving at the fortresses of Bender and İbrail, some of them began to settle in the region, and marry local women, forcing the peasantry into debt and seizing their landed estates. Having penetrated 55 km into the interior of the province, soldiers from Bender took control of 12 villages, while *yamak*s from Hotin continued to penetrate into the northern parts of the province, including the towns of Dorohoi, Botoşani and Hirlau. Within a short period of time, 1,600 winter pastures (*kışlak*) were established in Moldavia.[20] In response, the *yamak*s were prohibited from passing through the region, those settled were ousted following breakup of their properties, and by an imperial decree of 1731 only 20-25 Muslims merchants were allowed to conduct business in the region.[21]

Towards the mid-eighteenth century, Muslims also began to penetrate into Wallachia. Some soldiers from Bender, Silistre, Vidin, İbrail, Yergöğü, Kule and Hotin established landed estates and winter pastures/animal enclosures, and mostly forced the locals to work on their estates. Despite strict and repeated orders, new estates were created around Zimnic, opposite Ziştovi (mod. Sviştov); the *boyar*s, priests and commoners then appealed to the imperial authorities, complaining of assaults by Muslims,

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and their habit of establishing new winter pastures wherever they desired, which left almost no meadows for use by the locals.[22] The report of a commission delegated by the Sultan to investigate the case reveals the extent of penetration into Wallachia in the mid-eighteenth century: there were at least 1,313 landed estates or animal enclosures, five shops, 25 rooms, 146 mills and three storehouses just around Oltenia (Kara Eflak) attached to Wallachia.[23] The Sultan ordered the immediate breakup of these estates and the deportation of their owners from the region. As a result, in the town of Karayova (mod. Craiova) alone, 131 houses, 112 mills, seven shops, two inns, three slaughterhouses, three honeyworks, three bakeries as well as a total of 702/708 landed estates and animal enclosures were demolished. (Table I)

Estates	C. HR. 16/870	TSMK. H. 445
Kışlak/çiftliks	702	708
Houses	131	131
Shop	7	7
Inn	2	2
Slaughterhouse	3	3
Honeyworks	3	3
Bakery	3	3
Mill	112	112
Total	963	969

Table I. Total number of buildings/landed estates demolished in Karayova in 1760, according to two different reports (sources: BOA, C. HR. 16/780 (4 R 1174/13 November 1760); TSMK, H. 445, fls. 40-41).

As may be observed in the Table, following the governmental decision more than 900 buildings owned by the Muslims in five districts of Karayova were demolished, their owners were banished, and all animals or

agricultural products were transferred to the other side of the Danube. Of 450 landed estates (*moşiye*) under the control of the ousted Muslims, 393 were seized and returned to their former owners (TSMK.H. 445, fls. 40-41). As centers of animal breeding, winter pastures were particularly widespread in Wallachia. In 1753, a total of 15,370 cattle and pack animals raised in 201 animal enclosures held by 233 soldiers from Vidin were transferred to the other side of the Danube.[24] These high numbers strongly suggest that the penetration of soldiers into different parts of Wallachia and Moldavia was a far from temporary phenomenon and provide a good idea of their infiltration into the sectors of the economy as producers and traders.

Much like the local peasantry, *boyar*s or monasteries had little chance of resisting these armed soldier entrepreneurs; and thus, land seizure, peasant indebtedness, dispossession and forced labour were the predictable consequences of this asymmetric relationship. Indeed, more than 2,995 Wallachian peasant houses were located in 187 winter pastures owned by 188 Muslims in the regions of Aslanata (mod. Slatina) and Telliorman (mod. Teleorman). If we take the average size of each household to be four, it means that at least 11,976 people were open to exploitation in these animal breeding centers.[25] Moreover, more than 3,000 locals in Kara Eflak were patronized by the Muslim estate owners from Vidin and Niğbolu (mod. Nikopol) and were used as cheap labour, being forced to live under servile conditions.[26]

It was not just sheer force that caused dispossession of the peasantry or local gentry. Numerous peasants and even monasteries lost their lands due to unpaid debts. In case of need, the soldiers made advance payments (*selem akçesi*) with daily interest to be paid at harvest time. By then, however, debts had grown so high that the debtor could not clear them in due time, and thus their lands, animals and other properties were seized by the creditors.[27] Following the governmental decision to deport of Muslim estate owners in the region, they were allowed to return to collect the immense amount of around 880 *kese akçe*s owed to them by indebted locals, worth the equivalent of 733,333 horses, or 100,000 sheep

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or 1,241.5 houses in the Danube in the mid-eighteenth century.[28] If we take into consideration that 170 *kese akçe*s in unpaid credits claimed by the soldiers still remained (TSMK.H. 445, fl. 48), the degree of peasant indebtedness and consequent dispossession becomes even more evident. Prior to the government's intervention, most debtors thus not only lost their source of livelihood, but also became labourers under Muslim soldiers who treated them almost like their slaves (*abd-i memluk*).[29]

Whatever the causes and consequences of eighteenth-century internal colonization were, it was not part of a state program and remained an independent attempt by Ottoman soldiery serving in the garrison cities around the Danube. Moreover, it did not lead to mass migration or settlements capable of changing the region's demography mainly due to the rapid response by the imperial government and local administration. Strict measures were imposed by a strong imperial government (the Porte) and local authorities (the voivodes) over a region where there were three tiers of lively trade networks with constant supply and demand. The initial stage of deporting of the soldiers, disbanding their estates and returning them to the original owners was thus followed by a more radical and long-lasting imperial strategy of trade restrictions that virtually turned the Principalities a forbidden trade zone for Muslims of any background.

State Intervention and the New Order in the Danube

In his dissertation on nation-state formation in Wallachia, Olaru Vasile detects an increased princely concern over monitoring human mobility and trading activities through the end of the eighteenth century. The physical movements and transactions of peasants, craftsmen and merchants or travellers were strictly scrutinized by means of certificates of license to conduct business and travel permits that were to be renewed annually. Especially in Bucharest, these certificates were frequently checked, and unauthorized individuals were imprisoned (Olaru, 2013:

215–31, 242–48). Though correct, Olaru's argument does not take imperial dynamics and the eighteenth-century wave of internal colonization into consideration and does not account for the similar story that played out in Moldavia. The systematic of issue of authorization certificates for foreign merchants had been practiced in Wallachia since at least the mid-fourteenth century (Chirot, 1976: 30–31), but became more pronounced during the mid-eighteenth century under the threat of internal colonization, the rise of a Muslim landed gentry and the increasing claims by the local elite for autonomous rule and detachment from the Ottoman economic system.

The new order (*nizam-ı cedid*) prepared and imposed through the collaboration of the imperial authorities and the local elite (*boyar*s and voivodes) was designed precisely so as to control human mobility and economic transactions in both provinces, especially with regard to Muslims. As the initial Muslim penetration was first observed in Moldavia, it was first applied there, to be followed later by Wallachia. Under the title deed of 28 June 1754, the total number of non-local merchants authorized to carry out trade in Moldavia was restricted to 100 Muslims (50 active merchants and their business partners) chosen from trustworthy and outstanding merchants in the Danubian towns.[30] As these stipulations formed the basis of subsequent regulations,[31] they deserve closer attention.

Under the title deed of 1754, the Muslim merchants authorized to conduct business in Moldavia promised: a) not to keep purchased grain in stores, but to transfer it to the capital without any delay; b) not to demand free food and fodder from the locals in the places they passed through; c) to trade on equal terms, not to force the locals to sell merchandise below market value; d) to pay the required fees to the local authorities and not to demand any discount. There were also two provisions restricting their mobility and residence in Moldavia: e.) they were not to reside in any other place but Iassi; f) they were never to purchase houses and hold them as freehold property. Two further items in the same deed were designed to prevent Muslim involvement in non-trading

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activities: g) they were not to cultivate any land [in Moldavia]; h.) they were never to build rooms, establish winter pastures or raise any animals that need winter pastures. Under the final item in the deed, the merchants also promised not to help miscreants but to report them to the local authorities for punishment.[32] In associated imperial decrees over subsequent years, authorized merchants were also warned not to demand extra interest on their loans to the native people.[33]

The new regulation not only granted exclusive trading rights to authorized/licensed (*serhadlü/tezkireli/mezun/defterli*) Muslim merchants in this frontier region, but also monitored any movement, transaction or action by those authorized during their business travels to the province. The permits were non-residential (*bila-tavattun*) and personal – not even allowing merchant's servants - with very strict spatial restrictions. Only the active merchant was allowed to cross the border, and he had done so, he was expected to stay in the places he was permitted to visit for a short duration and to purchase merchandise from some local bazaars and ports (especially Kalas) rather than visiting villages and having direct contact with native producers.[34]

After its more or less successful application in Moldavia, the same system was implemented in Wallachia in the face of crisis caused by Muslim penetration. Here, 100 merchants were initially allowed to trade under very similar conditions that limited their mobility and interaction with the locals. Due to objections by the Muslim merchants, however, the limit was later raised to 200.[35] They were to be accompanied by local guards during their visits. As noted by a contemporary observer, these regulations were devised exclusively for Muslims as "*nobody would question anyone entering Wallachia the reason for his visit unless he is a Muslim ...*" (Hâşim, 2022: 204–205). Among the Muslims, of course, the main target were soldiers, especially the Janissaries.[36]

The success of the new system was related to the territorial integrity of Wallachia and Moldavia, as it set the rules for crossing the borders, which was only possible with official permission for a defined period

of time. As Olaru rightly asserts, the system of monitoring "*reiterated the autonomy of Wallachia and, what is more important, marked out its boundaries and territory, where a new set of authorization letters was necessary*" (Olaru, 2013: 216–217).

Territoriality, Local Dynamics, and Separatist Aspirations

The basic motive behind state intervention in collaboration with the local authorities (voivodes and local gentry) was the welfare of commoners. It would be misleading, however, to present it as state's sole concern. Ottoman ministers tried to ensure the continuous supply of butter, meat, honey, cereals, and beeswax to the capital. As confessed by the Sultan, the new system was mutually beneficial for both parties in terms of keeping the provisioning of the capital smoothly running and thus preventing unrest and disorder both in the capital and the Principalities.[37] The motives of the voivodes and the local gentry in supporting mid-eighteenth-century trade restrictions are much more complicated. As we shall see below, the legislation provided a good pretext for reducing the Muslim presence and preventing the rise of a Muslim landed gentry in the region. It also became an important component of their struggle for detachment from the Ottoman economic orbit.

The new regulation not only enforced strict control over commercial transactions and human mobility but was also devised to minimize tax evasion. Muslim soldiers were given to squeezing surplus from agricultural production and trade not only by evading their own fees, but also by encouraging the locals under their protection not to pay the required taxes.[38] It was therefore very reasonable for the voivodes to be deeply concerned with the disorder, unequal deals and tax evasion caused by the Ottoman soldiery, as they reduced revenues from what was a lively trade network. According to a contemporary Muslim observer, it was for that very reason that the voivodes convinced and even bribed some local and imperial authorities to clear the provinces of soldiers and impose harsher trading restrictions, so as to eventually expel Muslim

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soldiers – especially Janissaries – from the region. Due to their intrigues, the author laments, Muslim soldiers lost their main source of revenue, and dispersed to find an alternative livelihood, which in the long run became detrimental for the defense of the frontiers against the enemies. For him, the voivodes' main aim was not to bring order to the region, but to keep the profit from imperial trade for themselves by eliminating their rivals (Orhonlu, 1967: 44). In the 1820s, Mehmed Selim Paşa, then governor of Silistre, also had deep concerns about the secret intentions of the voivode of Moldavia. He informed the Sultan that he was trying to oust the Muslims from the province to promote not only his own interests but also those of the Russians.[39]

Covert or not, similar concerns were shared by the anti-Ottoman and anti-Phanariot local elite who were not only fed by Enlightenment ideas, but also faced practical setbacks (loss of revenue and weakening of control over the peasantry, the rise of Muslim landowners and increased Muslim commercial transactions) due to internal colonization. Therefore, the necessity of the issuing fiscal certificates, authorization letters and restrictions on commercial rights for the Muslims was increasingly stressed by the local intelligentsia and gentry under the influence of growing separationist aspirations and Enlightenment ideas that emphasized the role of trade and economy in the evolution of a society (Georgescu, 1971: 109, 130–133; Murgescu, 1990: 819–22; Ioardachi, 2013: 117–24). Thus, they began to struggle for the restoration of traditional rights over their country, which they called capitulations. The theory of old capitulations emphasized the contractual nature of the relationship between the Danubian Principalities and the Porte, meaning that they had conditionally submitted to the Ottomans in return for military protection; in other respects, they had always remained autonomous and independent (Georgescu, 1971: 149, 153–154; Ioardachi, 2013: 118–19).

Inspired by the writings of Dimitri Cantemir and first appearing in its modern form in 1772, the theory of capitulations became popular after the 1750s (Georgescu, 1971: 153–154). It provided a historical background

for the requests and claims of the local elite with the specific purpose of convincing the reigning Sultan to restore the old privileges they had enjoyed during the reign of Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687). To that end, beginning in the year 1769, they presented more than 200 petitions (*memoranda*) on various occasions to various authorities or governments in which they made assorted claims and requests. In these petitions, the suspension of economic monopolies (the *kapan* system) was a favorite topic, especially in the those written following the war of 1768-1774, while denying Muslim access to the Principalities was discussed in six petitions in the period 1769-1800.[40] For our concerns, the memorandum presented to Russian delegates at the Congress of Focşani (1772) is of particular importance, as it is directly related to our topic. In this specific memorandum, it is noted that in the old days,

> The Turkish merchants would not make business trips to Wallachia or leave the country on their own. They could only conduct trade in bazaars. They could not hold *çiftlik*s, cultivate lands or raise cattle, sheep and goats. They could not engage in bee keeping in the plains... If they did not obey these rules, they would be sentenced to death (Georgescu, 1970: 93).

In another petition, submitted to Russian Marshal Rumiantzev on 22 July 1774, Wallachian *boyar*s and metropolids urged that no Muslim Ottoman subjects – of any rank or occupation – should be allowed to cross into the Principalities or dwell freely there. As the Russian general had previously "verbally" promised that the country would be returned to the conditions applying in the late seventeenth century, they drew up the petition to explain the old privileges they had enjoyed during the reign of Mehmed IV (Cantacuzino 1902: 537–40; Georgescu 1971: 157). Apart from their primary concern over the appointment of the voivodes from among the local aristocracy, and non-interference of the Ottoman government in local affairs as long as they paid the tribute, the same petition included some items regarding Turkish/Ottoman Muslim subjects living in or conducting business in Wallachia. During the reign of Mehmed IV, they claimed, the voivodes enjoyed full judicial autonomy

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in criminal cases involving the Muslims and Christians, and no blood money was demanded for the Muslims/Turks murdered within the borders of the province. During this "golden age", the Porte respected the province's territorial rights, and Muslim merchants were denied residential rights and unauthorized passage into their country. As soon as they crossed the borders, they were subject to the rules of local jurisdiction. Moreover, it continued, trading rights (residential and free), economic activities (involvement in agricultural production and husbandry), as well as rights of worship (building mosques) or civil rights (employing local merchants or intermarriages) were denied to Muslim Ottoman subjects (Cantacuzino 1902: 537–38; Georgescu 1971: 157), obviously to prevent their naturalization in the Principalities.[41]

Georgescu thinks that such claims in these memoranda had a preventive character.[42] Yet, the new regulation was already in force when these petitions were presented. Therefore, the real motivation seems to have been to make the new regulations permanent with Russian support or to end some violations that continued even after the new system was implemented.[43] It was evidently written in response to the threat of internal colonization, the rise of a Muslim landed gentry in the Principalities, as well as increased competition over commerce that was detrimental to the vested interests of the local gentry.

It is no coincidence that, under the Russian pressure, the restoration of privileges enjoyed by the Principalities by the time of Mehmed IV were incorporated into the articles of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (article 16, item 8);[44] and the Sultan issued an imperial decree reminding everyone of the previous restrictions imposed by the new regulation and promising to respect the privileges granted by Mehmed IV just a month after the treaty.[45] Alexandrescu-Dersca rightly underlines the significant role of this imperial decree in defining the privileges of the Principalities (Alexandrescu-Dersca, 1958: 103–19). Contrary to that author's assumption, however, sultanic decree of 1774 did not inaugurate a new of set of privileges limiting Ottoman sovereignty in the region, as

most of the provisions had already been in force since mid-eighteenth century for the reasons discussed above. Almost all of these items are repeated in the convention signed at Aynalıkavak in 1779 between the Russian and Ottoman authorities, except the specific reference to the privileges granted by Mehmed IV.

The protection of local people, the granting of exclusive trading rights to the licensed merchants, the breakup of landed estates, as well as the deportation and punishment of the miscreants are also discussed and repeated in detail in the agreement signed between the Russians and the Ottomans in 1784.[46] When the Russian delegates proposed the grants of Mehmed IV as the agenda during the negotiations, the Ottoman party declared that *"[The Porte] has no record of any privileges granted to Moldavia in the time of Mehemet IV in her archives. It demands that if any do exist, they be shown to it, or that Russia withdraw in this respect."* The reply of the Russians makes it quite evident that the pressure came from the local people:

> There is no question of investigating whether the privileges of Mohammed IV are to be found in the archives of the Porte. But the point is to treat the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia in accordance with that time, with regard to the payment of tribute and freedoms, *since they regard the reign of this Sultan as the happiest time for them*; for these reasons it will suffice, if we wish to renew and sanctify the Katicherifs [Imperial Rescript] of the reigning Sultan, which were first given to these two Principalities after the restoration of peace in the last place.[47]

Even though the privileges enjoyed during the time of Mehmed IV are usually taken as a reference point in the aforementioned petitions, some of them made references to earlier treaties (1393, 1460, 1462, 1512, 1529) with the Ottoman authorities. These agreements were initially accepted as original treaties by many historians but later came under increasing criticism from revisionist historians in the absence of any reliable clues proving their authenticity.[48] Invention or not, the intention and timing of the emphasis on traditional rights and earlier treaties are

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more important for our concerns. The clauses of the ninth article in the so-called 1460 treaty, for instance, stipulated that all Muslim merchants *"had to inform the local authorities of duration of their stay and ought to depart when the period shall expire."* (Testa, 1862: 285–86; Wilkinson, 1820: 20–22; Hurmuzaki, 1897: 15) According to the alleged treaty of 1529, on the other hand, Muslims could not hold any property in the new vassal state and would only be permitted to make visits for commercial purposes with the special permission of the voivode. In the same treaty, it is also noted that Turkish merchants would not be treated differently from those of other nationalities and would conduct their commercial transactions in the ports of Galatz, Ismail and Kilia *"without being allowed to penetrate into the interior of the country, except by the authority of the Prince."* In a similar vein, the Ottoman governmental agents were not to be allowed to cross the Principalities while on mission around the region.[49]

In a letter presented to the grand vizier, too, spatial and time restrictions as well as the exclusion of unauthorized traders, and the non-establishment of landed estates and animal enclosures are explained as part of the established tradition of Wallachia.[50]

The references to old customs and usages[51] or treaties were formulated in response to internal colonization and dislike of the Ottoman rule; but were also related to the crystallization of the idea of citizenship more along ethnic lines and; a common Romanian identity for the native inhabitants of *tara* (patrie) from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, especially in terms of denial of property rights to all aliens including Muslim Ottoman subjects. Beginning in the 1820s, what made the creation of modern Romania easier was accelerated territorialization – including the prohibition on the sale of lands to foreigners- and the unification process in the Principalities symbolized by the establishment of the Organic Status, plus the victory over the Phanariot regime. The Akkerman Convention (1826) abolished the Ottoman commercial monopoly in the Principalities, while the Treaty of Adrianople of 1829 prohibited the settlement of Muslims in the Principalities, though it was not

implemented immediately. The denial of trading and property rights to the Muslim Ottoman/Turkish population can thus be seen as part of the struggle for the economic and political autonomy promoted and discussed by Enlightenment-era politicians and intellectuals, who found their justification in the theory of capitulations, but it was also related to the internal wave colonization wave by the Muslim soldier merchants.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to go beyond dualistic and reductionist narratives of Ottoman exploitation and Romanian suffrage and attempted to study the eighteenth-century Muslim penetration into the Danubian Principalities, its causes and consequences from a historical perspective, particularly concentrating on imperial and internal dynamics. During the eighteenth century, three things happened at the same time: the influx and establishment of Ottoman soldiery in the Principalities; the disruption of trade circuits; and the consequent deterioration of conditions for the locals. Even in its heyday and harshest period, however, the mid-eighteenth-century wave of internal colonization never morphed into a settler colonial movement, a land-centred project, or a state-sanctioned program. Instead, it remained mainly at a private or group level, due to the tributary status of the Principalities and prompt state intervention.

State intervention and the creation of a trading zone exclusive to licensed local merchants was a governmental policy shaped on the initiative of the local actors (peasants, landed gentry, metropolids and the voivodes) in response to the internal colonization of Wallachia and Moldavia by the Muslims. While the centralization of the trading activities and monopolistic restrictions created a zone exclusive to Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, the internal colonization provided a pretext for the local gentry and intelligentsia to reduce the Muslim presence and the trading activities to a minimum, in their struggle for socio-economic detachment from Ottoman domination.

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Endnotes

1   Regarding this concept and its applications in Ottoman context, see V. Panaite, *Ottoman Law of War and Peace: The Ottoman Empire and its Tribute-Payers from the North of the Danube*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2019), 251-375.

2   This approach is particularly evident in European travellers' accounts and Romanian historiography: While contemporary authors define it as arbitrary rule of by a despotic Oriental regime, many later historians focus on legal, diplomatic and political relations, making a special effort to understand the status and degree of subordination of the Principalities, and occasionally to uncover the roots of Romanian backwardness. Regarding the eighteenth-century observers' evaluation of the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the Principalities, see B. Murgescu, "Avatarurile Unui Concept: Monopolul Comercial Otoman Asupra Tarilor Române", *Revista Istorica*, 1/9-10 (1990), 819-47; B. Rodica, "The Effects of Ottoman Suzerainty in XVIIIth Century Wallachia and Moldavia: A Case of Mental Geography of Enlightenment Epoch", eds. F. Nitu, C. Ionita, M. Ünver, Ö. Kolçak and H. Topaktaş, *Turkey & Romania, A History of Partnership and Collaboration in the Balkans* (İstanbul: TDBB, 2016), 215-25; and for the disjuncture between Turkish and Romanian historians and the marginalized perception of the Principalities among Ottomanists, see M. Wasiucionek, "Placing the Danubian Principalities within the Composite Ottoman Empire", eds. F. Nitu, C. Ionita, M. Ünver, Ö. Kolçak and H. Topaktaş, *Turkey & Romania, A History of Partnership and Collaboration in the Balkans*, (İstanbul: TDBB, 2016), 167-80. For some selected examples of modern Romanian historiography, see D. Chirot, *Social Change in a Peripheral Society: The Creation of a Balkan Colony*, (New York: San Francisco: London: Academic Press, 1976); V. Panaite, "Power Relationships in the Ottoman Empire: Sultans and the Tribute Paying Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia (16th-18th Centuries)", *Reveu Etudes Sud-Est Europe,* 37/1-4 (1999-2000), 47-78; V. Panaite, "The Legal and Political Status of Wallachia and Moldavia in Relation to the Ottoman Porte", in ed. G. Kármán and L. Kunčević, *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2013), 9-43; N. E. Kovács, "The Legal Status of the Danubian Principalities in the 17th Century as Reflected in the Şikayet Defteris", *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi,* 25 (2014), 1-23.

3   Apart from chronological accounts of political relations between the Ottoman Porte and the Principalities, the most recurring themes are the role of these provinces in provisioning the Ottoman capital and the army, and the importance of the Phanariot princes as a source of information on European affairs. For some selected examples, see M. Demirtaş, "İstanbul'un Kileri Eflak-Boğdan'ın Başkentin Beslenmesindeki Yeri ve Önemi", eds. S. Nurdan and M. Özler, *XVIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi 1-5 Ekim 2018/Ankara, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. III* (Ankara: TTK, 2022), 909-932; M. A. Yalçınkaya, "The Role of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia on Ottoman Foreign Policy at the Time of Selim III (1789-1807)", *Codrul Cosminului* 24/1 (2018), 179-204; H.

Topaktaş, "What Happened Beyond the Border: Some Reports of Moldavian and Wallachian Voivods Related to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1764-1795)", eds. F. Nitu, C. Ionita, M. Ünver, Ö. Kolçak and H. Topaktaş, *Turkey & Romania, A History of Partnership and Collaboration in the Balkans*, (İstanbul: TDBB, 2016), 271-87.

4 P. Calvert, "Internal Colonisation, Development and Environment", *Third World Quarterly*, 22/1 (2001), 51-63. See also L. van de Grift, "Introduction: Theories and Practices of Internal Colonization: The Cultivation of Lands and People in the Age of Modern Territoriality", *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity*, 3/2 (2015), 139-58; M. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), 32, ft. 2.

5 I have borrowed the idea of "perceived emptiness" from van de Grift, "Introduction", 143.

6 Check, for instance, the religious vocabulary used by Janissary officers who criticized their soldiers for insisting on staying or spending time in "lands of the infidels" (*kefere memleketinde*) instead of serving at their fortress, TSMK. [Topkapı Palace Museum Library] H. 445, fls. 37-8.

7 For some selected examples, see BOA [Ottoman Archive of Istanbul/ Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi], A.DVN.SAHK.ÖZSİ.d. [Özi ve Silistre Ahkam Defteri] 11: fl. 168 (evail-i M 1174/13-22 August 1760); E. Tüncer, *42 Numaralı Vidin Şer'iye Sicil Defterinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi*, MA thesis (Bitlis Eren/Mardin Artuklu University: 2015), 41, 47, 57, 61-62, 70-72, 74, 78, 80-81.

8 William Eton, for instance, notes that the passage of soldiers and wartime excesses were one of the basic sources of complaint for the local population. In 1778, he himself observed that even rumours of an Ottoman army approaching would alarm the people. Every family in Moldavia had a wagon and horses ready to flee in case of need. W. Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire* (London: 1801), 288-89. On confrontation, invasion and mobilization in the region during the course of eighteenth century, see V. H. Aksan, "Whose Territory and Whose Peasants?: Ottoman Boundaries on the Danube in the 1760s", ed. F. Anscombe, *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750-1830* (Princeton: NJ: Marcus Weiner, 2006), 64-69.

9 For the historical dynamics of the region's transformation into a frontier see, R. Gradeva, "War and Peace along the Danube: Vidin at the End of the Seventeenth Century", *Oriente Moderno* 20/1 (2001), 149-75; Gradeva, "Between Hinterland and Frontier", 331-51.

10 BOA, MAD.d. [Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler] 6536: fls. 1212-13; Gradeva, "War and Peace", 155-56; Gradeva, "Between Hinterland and Frontier", 337-40; Aksan, "Whose Peasants", 68. See also https://janet.ims.forth.gr/site/1762.

11 BOA, A.DVNS.DVE.d. [Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri] 77, fls. 132-33, order no. 307 (evasıt-ı L 1170/29 June-8 July 1757); A.DVN.SAHK.ÖZSİ.d. 8, fl. 51 (evahir-i Z 1167/9-17 October 1754).

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12 BOA, Kamil Kepeci Defterleri 5, fls. 146-47 (17 M 1205/26 September 1790), fls. 157-58 (6 S 1205/15 October 1790).

13 *Yamak*s were imperial Janissaries permanently appointed to specific fortresses regardless of their regiment's location.

14 Vidin Şeriyye Sicilleri 8, fl. 18 (1133/1721); BOA, Mühimme Defterleri 138, fls. 157-158, order no. 533 (evahir-i Ca 1144/21-31 November 1731); TSMK. H. 445, fl. 58. See also, Gradeva, "War and Peace", 157-58; İ. Kokdaş, "Habsburglar Kara Eflak'a Gelirse: Vidin'de Hayvancılık Sektörünün Dönüşümü, 1695-1740", *Cihannüma Tarih ve Coğrafya Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5/2 (2019), 83-85.

15 BOA, Mühimme Defterleri 138, fls. 157-58, order no. 533 (evahir-i Ca 1144/21-31 November 1731).

16 BOA, Mühimme Defterleri 138, fls. 157-58, order no. 533 (evahir-i Ca 1144/21-31 November 1731), fls. 176-77, order no. 593 (evasıt-ı Ca 1144/21-31 November 1731); TSMK. H. 445, fl. 58.

17 Concerning pressure on the land and the dynamics of Janissary penetration in the Vidineese countryside in the eighteenth century, see for instance İ. Kokdaş, "Janissaries and Conflicts over Rural Lands in the Vidin Region, 1730-1810", *Cihannüma Tarih ve Coğrafya Araştırmaları Dergisi* 8/1 (2022): 101-27; Kokdaş, "Habsburglar Kara Eflak'a Gelirse", 92-5.

18 BOA, A.DVN.SAHK.ÖZSİ.d.10, fl. 254 (evahir-i L 1172/17 June 1759); BOA, C. ML. [Cevdet Maliye] 576/23638 (13 R 1196/28 March 1782); BOA, C. MTZ. [Cevdet Eyalet-i Mümtaze] 2/74 (evail-i S 1206/30 September-9 October 1791); TSMK. H. 445, fls. 22-23.

19 Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitore la Istoria Românilor*, (Bucharest: 1897), vol. X, XVII-XIX. See also M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, "L'approvisionnement d'Istanbul par les Principautés roumaines au XVIIIe siècle: commerce ou requisition?", *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranéen*, 66 (1992); 73-4. See also R.P. Joseph Boscowich, *Journal d'un Voyage de Constantinople en Pologne, fait a la suite de son excellence Mr. Jaq. Porter, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre*, (Lausanne: 1772), 183-184.

20 M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, "Sur le regime des ressortissants ottomans en Moldavie (1711-1829)", *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, V-VII (1967), 159-60. See also TSMA.e. [Topkapı Palace Museum Archive] 588/11 (evahir-i B 1162/7-15 July 1749).

21 BOA, Kalebend Defterleri 2, fl. 29 (evahir-i R 1146/1-9 October 1733); TSMA.e. 588/11 (evahir-i B 1162/7-15 July 1749); A. DVNS.DVE.d. 78, fl. 33, order no. 94 (evasıt-ı S 1146/24 July-2 August 1733), fl. 36, order no. 102 (evahir-i R 1147/20-28 September 1734); fl. 39, order no. 119 (evail-i Za 1152/30 January-8 February 1740), fls. 57-58, order no. 175-76 (evail-i Za 1160/4-13 November 1747), fl. 70, order no. 221 (evasıt-ı M 1164/10-19 December 1750), fls. 75-76, order no. 236-38 (evail-i S 1166/8-17 December 1752). The last entry concerns the collaboration between Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa and Constantin Mavrocordato in ousting the *yamak*s. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, "L' approvisionnement

d'Istanbul": 73-4; Alexandrescu-Dersca, "Sur le regime des ressortissants"; 148-51, 153-161 and M. de Peysonnel, *Traite sur le Commerce de la Mer Noire*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1787), vol. 2, 203-4.

22 BOA, A.DVNS.DVE.d. 77, fl. 3, order no. 1 (evasıt-ı R 1142/3-12 November 1729), fls. 4, order nos. 2- 3 (evasıt-ı M 1146/24 June-3 July 1733); A. DVNS.DVE.d. 78, fl. 30, order no. 83 (evail-i Ca 1144/1-10 November 1731).

23 BOA, C.HR. [Cevdet Hariciye] 16/780 (4 R 1174/13 November 1760); TSMK.H. 445, fl. 58. For further details on the commission and the report see Aksan, "Whose Peasants", 61-86; A. Yıldız and İ. Kokdaş, "Peasantry in a Well-protected Domain: Wallachian Peasantry and Muslim *Çiftlik/Kışlak*s under the Ottoman Rule", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 22/1 (2020), 175-90.

24 BOA, TSMA.d. 4222 (19 Z 1166/17 October 1753).

25 BOA. TSMA.d. 9182 (C 1169/February 1756); Yıldız and Kokdaş, "Peasantry in a Well-protected Domain", 182.

26 For some selected examples, see BOA, C.HR. 69/3408 (evahir-i R 1163/30 March-7 April 1750); BOA, A.DVNS.DVE.d. 77, fl. 24, order no. 70 (evasıt-I Ra 1154/27 May-5 June 1741), fl. 50, order no. 143 (evasıt-ı Z 1158/4-12 January 1746), fls. 50-1, order no. 145 (evahir-i Ra 1159/13-21 April 1746), fls. 56-7, order no. 159 (evail-i Za 1160/4-13 November 1747), fls. 63-64, order no. 172 (evasıt-ı C 1161/8-17 June 1748), fls. 69-70, order no. 182 (evahir-i Za 1162/2-10 November 1749), fl. 102, order no. 247 (evahir-i Z 1167/9-17 October 1754). See also Yıldız and Kokdaş, "Peasantry in a Well-protected Domain", 182.

27 BOA, A.DVNS.DVE.d. 77, fl. 20, order no. 57 (evasıt-ı L 1152/11-20 January 1740), A.DVNS.DVE.d. 79, fl. 7, order no. 3 (evasıt-ı Za 1173/25 June-4 July 1760), fl. 9, order no. 8 (evahir-i S 1174/2-10 October 1760). For more details on credit transactions and peasant indebtedness, see Yıldız and Kokdaş, "Peasantry in a Well-protected Domain", 184-85. For similar cases from Moldavia, see Alexandrescu-Dersca, "Sur le regime des ressortissants", 154-55.

28 For further details, see TSMK.H. 445, fl. 48. In the eighteenth century, 1 *kese akçes* = 50,000 *akçe*s.

29 BOA, A.DVNS.DVE.d. 77, fl. 6, order no. 9 (evasıt-ı N 1145/25 February-6 March 1733), fl. 23, order no. 68 (evail-i Ra 1153/27 May-5 June 1740); Yıldız and Kokdaş, "Peasantry in a Well-protected Domain": 184.

30 BOA, A.DVNS.DVE.d. 78, fl. 136, order no. 381 (7 N 1167/28 June 1754). See also Alexandrescu-Dersca, "Sur le regime des ressortissants", 159.

31 For some selected examples both from Moldavia and Wallachia, see BOA, A.DVNS.DVE.d. 78, fls. 106-07, order no. 313 (evahir-i L 1168/31 July-8 August 1755), fl. 128, order no. 361 (evasıt-ı C 1172/9-19 February 1759); A.DVNS.DVE.d. 79, fl. 48, order no. 113 (evasıt-ı L 1180/12-21 March 1767). See also Mustafa A. Mehmed, *Documenti Turceşti Privind Istoria României*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1976), vol. I, 249-303.

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32 BOA, D.DVNS.DVE.d. 78, fl. 136, order no. 381 (7 N 1167/28 June 1754).

33 In these orders, the title deed of 1754 is taken as a reference point. For some selected examples, see BOA, A.DVNS.DVE.d. 79, fl. 11, order no. 14 (evahir-i Ca 1174/29 December 1760-6 January 1761), fl. 14, order no. 24 (evahir-i Ra 1175/20-29 October 1761), fls. 14-15, order no. 25 (evahir-i L 1177/23-1 May April 1764), fls. 29-30, order no. 60 (evasıt-ı Za 1178/2-11 May 1765), fls. 31-2, order no. 66 (evail-i Za 1175/24 May-2 June 1762), fl. 35, order no. 78 (evail-i R 1177/9-18 October 1763), fls. 38-39, order no. 92 (evasıt-ı C 1179/25 November-4 December 1765), fl. 48, order no. 113 (evasıt-ı L 1180/12-21 March 1767).

34 Vidin Şeriyye Sicili 78, fls. 99-100 (15 R 1179/1 October 1765), fls. 100-101 (3 Ca 1179/18 October 1765). See also Mehmed Hâşim, İmâ-yı *Törehât-ı Büldânân: Osmanlı Beldelerinin Töreleri*, Feridun M. Emecen and İlhan Şahin (eds.), (Ankara: TTK, 2022), 204-05, 207.

35 Vidin Şeriyye Sicili 78, fls. 100-101 (3 Ca 1179/18 October 1765), fls. 110-12 (C 1179/November-December 1765).

36 Vidin Şeriyye Sicili 78, fls. 99-100 (15 R 1179/1 October 1765), fls. 100-101 (3 Ca 1179/18 October 1765).

37 BOA, A.DVNS.DVE.d. 81, fls. 10-16, order no. 8-80 (evasıt-ı S 1206/10-19 October 1791).

38 For some selected examples, see BOA, C.HR. 69/3408 (evahir-i R 1163/30 March-7 April 1750); C.HR. 2819 (evasıt-ı R 1175/9-18 November 1761); A.DVNS.DVE.d. 77, fl. 6, order no. 11 (evasıt-ı L 1145/27 March-5 April 1733), fl. 7, order no. 14 (evahir-i Z 1146/25 May-2 June 1734), fl. 8, order no. 17 (evahir-i Z 1146/25 May-2 June 1734), fl. 9, order no. 19 (evahir-i Z 1146/25 May-2 June 1734), fl. 10, order no. 26 (evahir-i Z 1146/25 May-2 June 1734), fl. 13, order no. 35 (evail-i L 1147/24 February-5 March 1735) fl. 19, order no. 52 (evail-i L 1149/1-11 February 1737), fl. 19, order no. 55 (evasıt-ı Z 1149/11-21 April 1737); fl. 30, order no. 87 (evahir-i C 1155/23-31 August 1742), fl. 30, order no. 87 (evahir-i C 1155/23-31 August 1742).

39 BOA, HAT 1141/45390 (11 L 1238/21 June 1823): "... *Boğdan kazalarında ehl-i İslam'ın moşiye iltizâmı maddelerinin men'i istidasından ibaret olub asıl maksudu ol taraflardan ehl-i İslam'ın bütün bütün ayağını kesmek ve Rusyalunun dilhâhına muvafık usule gitmek ...*"

40 For more details on these petitions, see V. Georgescu, *Memoires et Projets de Reforme dans les Principautes Roumanines, 1769-1830: Repertoire et Textes inedits* (Bucharest 1970). Iorga notes that the expulsion of the soldiers (*yamak*s) who established *çiftlik/kışlaks* was also requested by the local *boyar*s (1774). N. Iorga, *Istoria Comertului Romanesc Epoca Mai Noua* (Bucharest: 1925), 36.

41 This line of thinking seems to have followed a local custom called *obiceiul pamântului*, which meant that naturalization could only be obtained through marriage to a native woman, ennoblement, or settlement (especially for labourers, merchants or artisans). For more details, see Ioardachi, "Greek Question": 100-01, 116-17.

42 Georgescu, *Memoires*, XVIII, ft. 1: "*While analysing this category of demands, it needs to be taken into consideration that Turks, as very idiosyncratic people, have never enjoyed political, economic, or religious rights to the north of the Danube. Including these problems in the memoirs presents a preventive character, which aims to prevent any attempt to change the legal status on behalf of Turks.*"

43 BOA, A.DVNS.DVE.d. 81, fl. 168, order no. 540-42 (evahir-i Z 1229/4-13 December 1814); A.DVNS.DVE.d. 82, fl. 15, order no. 31 (evasıt-ı R 1236/16-25 January 1821), fl. 26, order no. 77 (evahir-i Ca 1237/13-21 February 1822); HAT 1141/45390 (11 L 1238/21 June 1823). All of these documents concern the passage of unauthorized merchants to the Principalities either by pretending to be a *kapan* or licensed local merchant. In the final document it is noted that some people have already started to build mansions in Moldavia, demanded free food from the local people, forced them to sell their merchandise below market value and seized the *çiftlik*s and other estates of innocent people. In response to all these violations the Sultan warned the local authorities not to allow such violations and to enforce the existing regulations.

44 This is mentioned in both Russian and Turkish copies. The Turkish copy reads as follows: "*...cedd-i emcedim Sultan Mehmed Han-ı Râbi zaman-ı saadetlerinde mütmetti oldukları imtiyazât ile kema-yâb olalar*", BOA, TSMA.d. 9921 (evasıt-ı N 1188/15-24 November 1774). For the Russian copy, see https://www.vostlit. info/Texts/Dokumenty/Turk/XVIII/1760-1780/Traktat_Kucuk_Karnaji_1774/ text.phtm

45 A copy of the imperial decree, addressed to the voivode of Moldavia, is available in the Ottoman archives of Istanbul. It is a long and probably the most detailed decree covering almost all issues of controversy in the Principalities. It initially repeats general matters discussed during the negotiations of 1774 - and later by the Aynalıkavak Convention of 1779 - such as the declaration of a general amnesty, appointment of voivodes, tax collection and tribute, conversion and the provisioning of the capital. The rest repeats the old prohibitions introduced by new regulation (non-residential trade, non-property ownership, construction of landed estates and non-involvement in agricultural production or animal husbandry). BOA, A.DVNS.DVE.d. 80, fls. 6-8 (evasıt-ı L 1188/15-25 December 1774). See also Mustafa Mehmed, Documenti Turceşti, vol. I, 321-28; "Doneseniya Grafu Rumyantsovu Polkovnika Petersona", *Çteniya v İmperatorskom Obşetstve İstorii Arivnostiy Rossiyskih pri Moskovskom Universitete, Genvar-Mart 1866*, Knige Pervaya (Moscow: 1866), 51-61.

46 BOA, C.HR. 81/4002 (evahir-i Ra 1198/13-21February 1784); C.HR. 100/4977 (19 R 1198/12 March 1784).

47 Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitore, Supplement* I, vol. I, 975-76. See also C. Giurescu, *Capitulatiile Moldovei cu Poarta Otomana: Studiu Istoric* (Bucharest: 1908), 30-1; A. Vianu, "Aplicarea Tratatului de la Küciük Kainargi cu Privire la Moldava şi Tara Romîneasca, 1775-1783", *Studii Revistâ de Istorie*, XIII (1960), 82-87; "Doneseniya Grafu Rumyantsovu Polkovnika Petersona", 44-5. (my italics).

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48 For a textual analysis of these documents and a critique of the available literature, see Giurescu, *Capitulatiile Moldovie*, 25-65; S. Papp, "Eflak ve Boğdan Voyvodalarının Ahidnâmeleri Üzerine Bir İnceleme: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuzeybatı Hududundaki Hristiyan Vassal Ülkeleri", H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek and S. Koca, *Türkler* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), vol. X, 1380-98; M. A. Kılıç, *Eflak ve Boğdan'a Yönelik Osmanlı Siyaseti (17. Yüzyıl)*, (Istanbul University: 2023), 43-75, especially 52-6. See also, Ş. S. Gorovei and M. M. Székely, "Old Questions, Old Clichés. New Approaches, New Results: The Case of Moldavia", ed. O. J. Schmitt, *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Interpretations and Research Debates*, (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 209-42.

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HAT. [Hatt-I Hümayun]

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An Assessment on Balkan Historiography

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Abstract: In addition to their own originality in historiography, Muslims inherited the accumulation of ancient civilizational basins such as Hijaz, Bilad al-Sham, Egypt, Maghreb, Andalusia, Iraq, Iran, Sindh and Mawara' al-Nahr. They created a wide variety of genres by making it more systematic and methodological. The Muslim historiography of the 7th-10th centuries, which harmoniously combines authenticity and heritage, was in contact with the Balkans indirectly through the Byzantine Empire during this period. However, its main impact and contribution to the basin was in the 11th-18th centuries, when it continued its development in historiography. During this period, Muslims, especially the Ottomans, who established political dominance in the region modeled the historiography, which had completed its development and developed a methodology, in the basin and brought an era to the activities of the basin in the field of historiography. The historiography, which was based on the narration of either the history of empires or the history of emperors in the form of special histories, has changed and developed with the methodology and model developed by Muslims. İn this regard, they created a great linguistic richness in the basin with Ottoman Turkish, provided diversity through the four main genres of siyar and maghazi, general, special, city and regional histories, and established a close relationship between administrations and historians. As a result, the Balkans have made great progress with the strong contribution and influence of Muslims in historiography. This study deals with the process of historiography in the Balkans in a comprehensive manner. These issues are discussed through more than four hundred historiographers and historical sources, mostly based on historiographical studies available in Turkish and taking into account the activities of the Ottoman Empire, a dynasty of six centuries. The main significance of this study is that it takes the step of presenting the strong contribution and influence of Muslims in historiography in the Balkans, which developed especially until the 19th century, in a holistic manner. The aim of this study is to increase the interest in Balkans studies, which is constantly developing in our country, and to attempt to unearth the huge heritage in the field of historiography.

Keywords: History, Balkans, Ottoman Empire, Historiography, General, Special, City & Regional Histories.

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Introduction

We can divide historiography in the Muslim world into three periods. These are the Formation Period (7th-10th century), the Development Period (11th-18th century) and the Contraction, Transformation and Diversification Period (19th-20th century) (Macit, 2024: 95-120). Within the framework of this periodization, Islamic historiography had a great impact on historical studies locally in Hijaz where it was born, regionally in the Arabian basin where it expanded, and globally in basins such as Greek, Roman, Persian, Sassanid, Indian and Chinese basins by carrying the model it established during its formation period and brought them to a new era. In this regard, the mobility of Muslim historians in a vast geography from the Sindh region to the interior of Anatolia, from the borders of China to the Atlantic Ocean during the formation period of Muslim historiography, and from the Indian Subcontinent to the Balkans, from the Malay world to Dasht-i Kipchak during the development period, has been so intense that it surprises us.

Determining the borders of the Balkan geography, which was one of the important points of this mobility during the development period, is a very difficult issue today as a result of geographical conditions and changes in the historical process. The general view is that the geography we call the Balkans is the southern part of the line drawn from east to west by the Danube and Sava rivers (Vasary, 2018: 11). The name Rumelia, which the Ottomans (1300-1922) gave to the Balkan peninsula, was also the name of the administrative structure in the form of a beylerbeylik/state from the first conquests in the region. In the early years of the Kanuni period (1520-1566) the sanjaks of Rumelia were Pasha, Bosnia, Peloponnese, Smederevo, Vidin, Herzegovina, Silistra, Ohrid, Avlona, Iskodra, Ioannina, Gallipoli, Constendil, Niğbolu, Sofia, Inebahtı, Tırhala, Alacahisar, Vulçıtrın, Kefe, Prizren, Karlı-ili, Eğriboz, Çirmen, Vize, Zvornik, Florina, Elbasan, Segedin, Midilli, Montenegro, Musellemân-ı Kırkkilise, Voynuk. With the 17th century regulations, Sofia and Bitola were added to the Pasha sanjak, and new sanjaks named Thessaloniki,

Skopje, Dukagjin, Delvina, Kirkkilise, Akkerman (together with Bender) were also recorded. Likewise, the sanjaks of Gallipoli, Eğriboz, İnebahtı, Karlı-ili and Midilli were transferred to the state of Cezâyir-i Bahr-ı Sefîd, while Kilis (Klis), Herzegovina, Pojega, Izvornik (Zvornik), Zaçana (Zaçasna or Pakrac), Rahovica (Orahovica) and Kırka (Krka) were transferred to the state of Bosnia. Silistra, Niğbolu, Çirmen, Vize, Kırkkilise, Bender and Akkerman sanjaks from Rumelia were joined to the state of Özü or Silistra. The Rumelia region included the sanjaks of Kyustendil, Tırhala, Prizren, Ioannina, Delvina, Vulçıtrın, Skopje, Elbasan, Avlona, Dukagjin, Iskodra and Voynuk (İnalcık, 2008: 232-235).

The Balkans, which serve as a crossroads and bridge between the continents of Asia and Europe, have been one of the important basins to be dominated throughout history due to this strategic geographical location. The Balkans, which were under the rule of empires such as Greek (B.C. 756-146) and Roman (B.C. 27/476) before Islam, were within the borders of the Byzantine Empire until the 15th century in the Islamic period. This period of the Balkans was instrumental in the formation of an important accumulation of historiography. Therefore, this basin, which naturally attracted the interest of many societies, has also been the subject of historical studies of Muslims. Muslims were indirectly in contact with the Balkans through the Byzantine Empire (330-1453) during the formation period. However, it reflected its real influence and contribution to the basin in the 11th-18th centuries when it continued its development in historiography. In this regard, the Balkans became a recognized basin first during the Seljuk (1040-1308) and then during the Ottoman periods. Thus, in the geographical perception of Muslim societies, the western horizon of the earth was moved further away. With this widening of the horizon, Muslims ensured the entry of Islam into the region through the activities of both merchants and proselytizers who visited the Balkans, especially by land. Later, during the Seljuk period, with the efforts of Umur Bey (1334-1348), they defeated both Serbs and Bulgarians in the Balkans and made conquests that reached Albania. For the next three centuries, Muslims traveled and settled in

the Balkans as Sufis and merchants. Eventually, the Ottomans ensured the permanent domination of Muslims for about 600 years through regular military activities. In this process, Muslims modeled the historiography, which had completed its development to a great extent and developed an important methodology, to the basin and brought an era to the activities of the basin in the field of historiography. As a result, the Balkans experienced a great development with the strong contribution and influence of Muslims in historiography. So much so that this development in the Balkans after Andalusia formed a very important basis for modern historiography in Europe.

There are numerous foreign and domestic studies on historical sources and historiography in the Balkans (Adanır and Faroqhi, 2015; Todorova, 1997; Fleming, 2000; Lampe and Iordachi, 2020). Many scholars such as Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu, Neriman Hacısalihoğlu, Levent Kayapınar, Ayşe Kayapınar and Mustafa Hamdi Sayar continue to work on the Balkans in Türkiye. The book *Historical Sources and Historiography in the Balkans*, to which these names also made strong contributions, has made a valuable contribution to Balkan studies as it deals with historiography in the Balkans from the ancient period to the present day, taking into account the sources and historians of Balkan history (Hacısalihoğlu, Kayapınar, Sayar and Macit, 2024). We will base this study mainly on the historiographical studies available in Turkish. Although there is literature in English, scholarly contributions to understanding the development of historiography in the Balkans, especially in German-speaking regions, and the Slavic languages and their contributions to the historiography of the Balkans have not been adequately covered in this study. To the best of our knowledge, the State Archive in Dubrovnik, for example, contains thousands of documents in Slavic languages directly related to Ottoman-Balkan relations. And this archive is only one of many in the Balkans. Recognizing the lack of this literature, this text should be taken into consideration.

Following all these studies, in this study, we will explain that the Ottomans, who were established especially in the Balkans during the

development period after the formation period of historiography in Muslims, not only took into account all this accumulation, but also provided an important opening to the historiographical accumulation with their siyar and maghazi, general, special, and city/regional histories and subcategories. We will argue that the six centuries of the Balkans between the 15th and 20th centuries cannot be written if this accumulation is not taken into account. However, we will criticize that a new and fictional historiography appeared in the Balkans during the period of contraction, transformation and diversification of historiography. In this regard, we can say that historical studies were quite intense, even though there were political borders, dynasty changes, and struggles and wars between dynasties to expand their areas of dominance in the wide geography of the Balkans, which was dominated by Muslims, especially during the development period of historiography. Undoubtedly, the Ottomans, who ruled in the Balkans, made significant contributions to the writing of the history of the Balkans, the basin and humanity in different ways. Although these contributions are known by scholars working on the period, they are not known in a holistic and comprehensive way for scholars who want to study the Balkans. Taking these concerns into account, the main purpose of this study consists of three issues. The first aim is to reveal what kind of processes historiography in the Balkans has been shaped through. The second aim is to introduce the historical sources written in the Balkans as a genre and to evaluate the historical sources accumulated in the basin from the past to the present and the historians who created them in a holistic manner. If a stronger process of recognition and understanding of the Balkans is to be carried out in our country, this cannot be accomplished without comprehending the accumulation of the past. Based on this principle, the third aim of this study is to comprehend the developments, deepenings, transformations, expansions or differentiations in historiography in the Balkans.

The Process of Historiography in the Balkans

Pre-Islamic Preiod

Many historians from Herodotus (BS 484-425/413) to Procopius (500-565) have dealt with the political events that took place in the Balkans during the twelve centuries from the 6th century BC to the 6th century AD. While some of these works have survived in their original texts, others have some parts of their original texts, and some have survived only as copies of their original texts made in the 4th-15th centuries AD. The content of the works, all of the original texts of which have been lost, is known from other sources. The historiography dealing with the historical events that took place in the Balkans during this period was not written by the nations that inhabited the Balkan geography during the Greek and Roman periods, but by the historians who were in contact with them due to political and commercial relations and who saw the Balkan peoples as the other, or largely outside their own cultural basin, and whose origins were in various parts of the Mediterranean geography, in Ancient Greek (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybios, Diodoros, Cassius Dio) or in Ancient Latin (Titus Livius, Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, Cicero, Suetonius, Ammianus Marcellinus). For this reason, historical sources written by historians belonging to Balkan peoples are almost non-existent. It is noteworthy that most of the historians who wrote works on the Ancient and Late Antiquity Period of the Balkans were people who lived in regions outside the Balkan geography.

Greek and Roman sources include the Historiae by Herodotus, The Peloponnesian War by Thucydides, Hellenika by Xenophon, Anabasis by Xenophon, Historiai by Polybios, Poseidonios and Historiai, Bibliotheke Historike by Diodoros, Geographika by Strabo, Chorographia by Pomponius Mela, Naturalis Historia by Pliny, The Anabasis Alexandrou by Lucius Flavius Arrianus, Ab urbe condita libri by Titus Livius, Historiae Philippicae by Pompeius Trogus, Historia Romana by Velleius Paterculus, Orationes by Dio, Bioi Paralelloi by Plutarch, Annales and Germania by Publius Cornelius Tacitus, De vita Caesarum by Gaius

Suetonius Tranquillus, Romanica by Appianus, The Romaike Historia by Lucius Cassius Dio, Tes meta Markon Basileia Historia by Herodian, Skythika by Publius Herennius Dexippus, Liber de Caesaribus by Sextus Aurelius Victor, Breviarium ab urbe condita by Eutropius, Res Gestae by Ammianus Marcellinus, Historika Hypomnemata by Eunapios, Historikoi logoi by Olympiodoros, Fragmenta by Priskos, Nea Historia by Zosimos, De mortibus persecutorum by Lactantius, Historia Ecclesiastica by Eusebius, Historia adversus Paganos by Oresius, Chronographia by Johannes Malalas, De Bellis, Peri Ktismaton by Prokopios, Historiai by Theophylaktos Simokates, Getica and Romana by Jordanes (Sayar, 2024: 13-34).

Historical sources of this period were mostly built on the narrative of either imperial history or the history of emperors in the form of special histories. We may mention the Res Gestae, written by Ammianus Marcellinus of Antioch in accordance with the annual tradition of Roman historiography, as a highly representative example. The work, consisting of 31 volumes, describes the period from Emperor Nerva to Emperor Valens (96-378 A.D.). On the other hand, Oresius, in his 7-volume Latin history work Historia adversus Paganos, which he wrote against those who adhered to non-Christian pagan beliefs, dealt with the events that occured according to his own definition from the formation of the world until the year 410 A.D. He also mentioned the struggles with the Goths in the Balkans. Johannes Malalas of Antioch lived between 490 and 570 and wrote about the political events that took place until 565 in an 18-volume world chronicle written in Greek. In the work, political events in the Balkans are mentioned several times (Malalas, 1831: v. X).

After Byzantion (Byzantium), a Thracian settlement, was made the capital of his empire by the Roman Emperor Constantine in 330 A.D., the city, known as Constantinoupolis / Constantinople now, became a political and cultural center dominating both the Balkan and Anatolian geographies. Constantinople continued to be the most important city in the world as the capital of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire,

where Greek was used as the imperial language instead of Latin after the division of Rome into two. The Balkans was one of the most fertile geographies of the world in terms of historical sources and historians also during the Byzantine period.

Islamic Period

The Formation Period (7th-10th century)

During this period, Muslims were geographically in contact with the Iberian Peninsula, the Mediterranean and the Balkans via Bilad-ı Rum (Anatolia), and they also gained knowledge in historiography through the translation of some important Greek and Roman sources, especially during the Abbasid period. However, the intense influence on historiography occurred largely during the development period.

The Development Period (11th-18th century)

Between the 11th and 14th centuries, the activities of the Turks in the Balkan geography were carried out by the Pechenegs, Cumans and Uzs who crossed from the north of the Black Sea and settled in the regions south of the Danube and entered the Byzantine service, and by the Oghuzs who crossed into Rumelia through Anatolia. The influence of the Turkish communities coming from the north of the Black Sea in the Balkans continued uninterruptedly. These Turks, who came from the north of the Danube and whose activities were mostly looting and plundering, partially settled in the Balkans and permanently entered the Byzantine service when the political situation required it. Turks who chose this option played an extremely important role for the existence of Turkish culture in the Balkans.

It is possible to classify the Oghuz Turks who moved from Anatolia to the Balkans in three groups. These are the Seljuks, the Western Anatolian Principalities and the Ottomans. The first crossing of Anatolian Turks to the Balkans took place in the last quarter of the 11th century (Kayapınar and Ayönü, 2015: 23). We see that immediately after the Battle of Malazgirt (1071 A.D.), the Seljuk Turks made short-term crossings to the

Balkan lands upon the request for help of one of the forces that was a party to the power struggle within the Byzantine Empire. It is clear that the Seljuk forces that crossed into the Balkans to support Byzantium did not stay in the region after completing their mission and returned.

After an interruption of about two centuries for various reasons, the permanent Turkish migration from Anatolia to the Balkans during the Seljuk period took place in the second half of the 13th century. It is understood from the records of Byzantine sources that it is the time when some of them even settled permanently in the region. The occupation of Constantinople by the Latins as a result of the 4th Crusade in 1204 and the relocation of the Byzantine center first to Iznik and then to Nif [Nymphaion-Kemal Paşa] increased the social and political relations between the Seljuk Turks and the Byzantines. However, after the Byzantine recapture of Constantinople in 1261, Byzantium wanted to increase its political influence over the Balkan geography and frequently requested help from the Anatolian Seljuk Turks during its activities.

It will be noticed that the Anatolian Turks, who moved back to the Balkans in the second half of the 13th century, stayed here for a longer period of time and in the first half of the 14th century, the activities of the Turks in this geography increased as a result of the alliances established between the Byzantine Empire and the Western Anatolian Principalities. We understand that the Turks, who frequently crossed into the Balkans to help their allies or to obtain loot, became thoroughly familiar with this geography. It is possible to find information in Byzantine sources from the 11th century about the activities of Anatolian Turks in the Balkans and their settlement in the Balkan peninsula and becoming one of the permanent Balkan peoples. As we have mentioned in the previous lines, the Byzantine sources of the Balkans include A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811-1057 by John Skylitzes; Epitomê Istoriôn by Iôannês Zônaras; Historia by Mikhaêl Attaleiatês, Iôannês D. Polemês; Ylê Istorias by Nikêforos Vryennios, Dêmêtrês Tsougkarakês-Despoina

Tsougklidou, The Alexiad by Anna Komnena (Ayönü and Başat, 2024: 59-92).

Turkish-Byzantine relations, which started with the Anatolian Seljuks and after their fall continued with the Turkish principalities, were generally based on Byzantium's requests for help, and some of the Turks who came to help chose to stay in the Balkans. In time, these Turks became a serious threat to Byzantium. In addition to these, frequent internal disturbances in the Byzantine Empire encouraged the Turks and other Balkan nations to take action. Therefore, the activities of the Turks living in Anatolia in the Balkans increased noticeably from the second half of the 13th century onwards. About these activities of the Turks in the Balkans, the Anonymous Chronicle of Peloponnese from the 13th century, Syngrafikai Historiai by Yorgios Pahimeris from the 14th century, Romaniki Istoria by Nikiforos Grigoras, Istoria by Ioanis Kantakuzinos VI and Istoria by Ioanis Kananos from the 15th century, Diigisis by Ioanis Kananos, Anonymous Tokko Chronicle, Logos Istorikos by Simeon of Thessaloniki, Diigisis peri tis Teleftias aloseos tis Tesalonikis by Ioanis Anagnostis, Historia by Dukas, Apodiksis Istorion by Laonikos Halkokondilis, Istoria by Mihail Kritovulos and Chronikon by Yorgios Sfrancis provide detailed information (Kayapınar, 2024A: 93-160). These works were mostly written in Greek. Among them, it is possible to discuss the work of Dukas in terms of content. This work describes the events that occurred until the death of Çelebi Sultan Mehmed in 1421. The chapter, which is largely based on information taken from the Torah and tells the story of the creation of the world and the Latin occupation of Constantinople in 1204, is the introduction of the work (Karagiannopoulos, 1970: 394-395). Unlike other historians writing in Greek, Halkokondilis, in his work *Apodiksis Istorion*, which can be translated into Turkish as *Documents of History (Tarihin Belgeleri),* covering the events between 1298 and 1463*,* he centered his work on the history of the rising Ottoman Empire, not the collapse of the Byzantine Empire (Karagiannopoulos, 1970: 401; Talbot, 1991: 407; Harris, 2003: 158). In this respect, Halkokondilis can be considered an Ottoman historian who

wrote his work in Greek under Ottoman rule rather than a Byzantine historian. To some extent, Halkokondilis' work can be considered one of the earliest Ottoman histories (Kaldellis, 2012: 132-135). These works are also Byzantine period sources that provide information about the foundation of the Ottoman Empire and the reasons that paved the way for the establishment of the Ottoman Empire.

The permanent settlement of Anatolian Turks in the Balkans and the transformation of the region into a Turkish homeland was the result of the systematic conquest and settlement policy of the Ottoman Empire since the second half of the 14th century. As of this time, the Ottoman influence was felt in the Balkans. Up until this time, the Ottoman historiographers in the 15th century were included in the narratives we have mentioned in the historiography of the Balkans. The works of Ottoman chroniclers such as History of Âşıkpaşazâde by Âşıkpaşazâde, Cihânnümâ by Mevlânâ Mehmed Neşrî, History of Oruç Bey by Oruç Bey, History of Hadîdî, History of Tawârîh-i Âl-i Osmân by Ibn Kemal and History of Peçevî-by-Peçevî İbrahim Efendi chronologically describe the events of Ottoman history from the end of the 13th century until the first quarter of the 16th century (Kayapınar, 2024: 163-182).

The works describing Sultan Süleyman's conquest of Hungary (Engürüs/Ungürüs) include Er-Risale el-Fethiyye Es-Süleymaniyye by Tabib Ramazan, Mohaçnâme by Kemalpaşazâde (in Tawârîh-i Âl-i Osmân), Tawârîh-i Âl-i Osmân by Lütfî Paşa, Tabakātü'l-Memâlik by Celalzâde Mustafa Efendi, Târîh-i Sefer-i Zafer-Rehber-i Alaman (History of the Campaign of Victory - Guide to the Germans) by Celalzâde Salih Çelebi, Tarih-i Feth-i Şikloş ve Estergon ve İstolni Belgrad (History of the Conquest of Sikloş and Esztergom and Istoklini Belgrade) by Matrakçı Nasuh, Tarih-i Feth-i Şekloviş ve Estergon ve Ustun-i Belgrad (History of The Conquest of Şikloş, Üstürgon And Üstol-Belgrad) by Seyyid Muradî, Nüzhet-i Esrârü'l-Ahyâr by Feridun Ahmed Bey. The Ottoman-Habsburg war, which started in the 1590s, led to the creation of many gazavatnâme and fetihname (conquest books), the main

setting of which was the Hungarian provinces. These include Tawârîh-i Cedîd-i Vilâyet-i Üngürüs by Cafer Iyanî, Şehnâme and Eğri Expedition Şehnâme by Talikizâde Mehmed Subhî, 1596 Expedition Rûznâmesi (Expedition Diaries) by Gâ'ibî, 1601 Kanije Defence by Tiryaki Hasan Pasha, Cihâdnâme-i Hasan Pasha by Cafer Iyanî, Hasenât-ı Hasan, Gazâvât-ı Tiryaki Hasan Pasha by Faizî, Târîh-i Peçevî by İbrahim Peçevî Efendi, Zeyl-i Tâcü't-tevârîh by Hasan Beyzade Ahmed, and Târîh by Topçular Kâtibi Abdülkadir Efendi. Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha and the Uyvar Expedition are specifically described in Cevâhirü't-Tevârîh by Mühürdar Hasan Ağa and Seyahatnâme by Evliya Çelebi. The 1683 Vienna Campaign and its aftermath are covered by Vekâyi'nâme (Vekâyi-i Bec) by an Unknown Ottoman Clerk, Mî'yârü'd-Düvel by Hasan Esirî, Feth-i Lipova and Muhârebe-i Lugoş by Sırrı Mustafa Efendi, A Risale Concerning Mustafa II by Hasan Ağazâde Hacı Abdullah Efendi, Vâkı'ât-ı Ruz-merre by Abdullah b. İbrahim al-Üsküdarî, Zeyl-i FİZl-i Fuz-merre by Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, and Vâkı'ât-ı Ruz-merre by Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, and the Anonymous Ottoman History (1688-1704). In addition to all these, there are important explanations about the Ottomans in Hungary in Cevâhirü'l-Menâkıb by Nahîfî Mehmed Efendi, al-Wasfü'l-Kâmil fî Ahwâli'l-Vezîri'l-âdil by Mehmed Nergisî, Târîh-i Vak'a-nâme-i Cafer Pasha by Mühürdar Ali, Esâretnâme by Osman Aga of Tımışvar and Hadîkatü'ş-Şühedâi's-Serhad and Pendnâme by İbrahim Naimeddin Efendi (Kolçak, 2024: 183-228).

Among the 18th century Ottoman chroniclers are Çeşmizâde History by Çeşmizâde Mustafa Reşid Efendi, İzzî History by İzzî Süleyman Efendi, Hakim History by Seyyid Mehmed Hakim Efendi, Enverî History by Sadullah Enverî and Nurî History by Halil Nûrî Efendi. In addition to the chronicles, some works and authors who draw attention with their historical works written not for an official duty but entirely based on their own intellectual knowledge and who can be considered as complementary to the aforementioned sources also deserve to be mentioned here. Among these are Müri't-tevârîh by Şem'dânîzâde Süleyman Efendi and Hadika-i Vekâyi by Ahmed Câvid. On the Peloponnese

Revolt (1770-1779), History of the Peloponnese Revolution and Esbâb-ı Tedbir-i Nizâm-ı Ekâlim by Süleyman Penah Efendi draws attention (Başarr, 2024: 249-278).

Among the biographical works of the period from 1774, which included the Balkans, until the actual collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, are Sicill-i Osmânî (Tezkire-i Meşâhir-i Osmânîye) by Mehmed Süreyyâ, Hadîkatü'l-Vüzerâ by Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib Efendi, Verdü'l-Hadâik by Rıfat Ahmed Efendi, Kemâlu's-Sudûr by İbnülemîn Mahmud Kemal İnal, Devhatü'l-Meşâyih by Müstakimzâde Süleyman Sadeddin Efendi, Devhatü'n-Nükabâ by Rıfat Ahmed Efendi, Harîta-i Kapudanân-ı Deryâ by İzzet Mehmed Bey, Fatin Tezkire by Davut Efendi, İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal Bey's There is Perfection of the Servants. Bibliographic works include Ottoman Authors by Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Bey, Âyine-i Zürefâ by Karsîzâde Cemâleddin Mehmed Efendi and Ottoman History Writers and Their Works by Franz Babinger. Among the encyclopedic dictionaries are Lügat-ı Tarihiyye ve Cografiyye by Ahmed Rıfat Efendi, Kamusu'l-A'lâm by Şemseddin Sâmi and Memâlik-i Osmaniye'nin Musavver Tarih ve Cografiyye Lügâti by Ali Cevad. Among the chroniclers, Tarih-i Enverî by Enverî Sa'dullah Efendi, Tarih-i Edîb by Edip Efendi, Tarihi Vâsıf by Ahmed Vâsıf Efendi, Tarihi Nûrî by Halil Nûrî Bey, Tarihi Âsım by Ahmed Âsım Efendi, Tarihi Şânîzâde by Şânîzâde Ataullah Mehmed Efendi, Tarih-i Es'ad and Üss-i Zafer by Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, Tarih-i Cevdet by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, Tarihi Lütfî by Ahmed Lütfî Efendi and Tarih-i Devlet-i Osmaniye by Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi were published by chroniclers. Additionally, Taylesanizâde Hâfız Abdullah Efendi History by Attarzâde Lebîba, Câbî Târihi, Târih-i Sultan Selîm-i Sâlis and Mahmûd-ı Sânî by Ömer Efendi, Work on Nizâm-ı Cedîd by Mahmud Râif Efendi, Special histories called Târîh-i Livâ by Abdülhak Molla, Gülzâr-ı Fütûhat by Şirvanlı Fatih Efendi, Cerîde by Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, Hadîka-i Vekāyi' by Ahmed Câvid Efendi and İbretnümâ-yı Devlet by Mustafa Kesbî were published (Beyhan, 2024: 279-328).

As it can be noticed, the Balkan geography, which came under the control of the Ottoman Empire starting in the 14th century with the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, was one of the luckiest regions of the world in terms of historical resources, as in previous periods. A significant portion of the more than 90 million documents and hundreds of thousands of record books in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul constitute the sources of Ottoman-era Balkan history. In addition to these official documents produced by the Ottoman imperial institutions, the historians whose names we have mentioned in this study and the chronicles and other works written by them are also of great importance for the history of the region.

The Contraction, Transformation and Diversification Period (19th–20th century)

The 19th century can be understood as a period that, in a way, marked the social and political transitions that began with the French Revolution in the 18th century and brought significant transformations and events to the Ottoman Empire, which at first glance stood on the sidelines and did not get involved in the political and military conflicts between the leading political powers of Europe. All of these fundamental changes began in the 18th century and gradually made their way to the Ottoman Empire. The revolutions that lasted more than a century in the formation processes of Western European states, the emergence of new elites dealing with administration, social transformations and the changes that continued with all these events created a tremendous impression in the Ottoman Empire and deeply affected the population living within its borders, especially in the Balkans (Mantran, 1989: 439-460). The era of ongoing reforms made it more than ever a "bridging" state between Europe and Asia, serving as a gateway for ideas and adapting and transforming new political and social changes into an imperial form of political existence (Quataert, 1994: 761-777).

Even in the 19th century, which was a critical period for the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans, Ottoman archival sources provided a

relatively large wealth of resources for Balkan history. However, in the nation-building process that began in the Balkans, the wealth and privilege offered by these resources were not realized or were deliberately ignored. Many ethnic groups that were able to survive under Ottoman rule without being completely assimilated needed historical sources and historiography to support this process after they entered the process of becoming a nation. In this period, historiography was seen not as an attempt to understand the past, but as a tool to legitimize the developing national movement, mobilize the masses, and build a nation-identity (Hroch, 2015: 13-28). Moreover, historical sources were also produced for this purpose and many historical legends (historical sources, folk songs, etc.) about the past were produced in this period (Kiel, 1998: 56-126; Kayapınar, 2012: 112-113). This instrumentalization of history for the Balkan Reconquista (the expulsion of the Turks from the Balkans) (Holt, 2019) was also supported by the European great powers of the period – in contrast to the scientific historiography trend that was developing within them. These powers also supported instrumental historiography that served politics instead of scientific historiography of the Balkan communities, which they saw (or wanted to see) as a kind of "Proxy" in today's terms, in their imperial struggles. During the period of the national independence struggles of the Balkan nations, a large corpus that provoked a war against the Turks in European countries and called for a conflict was formed. As an example, the Philhellens (Friends of Hellenic) movement that emerged during the Greek war of independence can be seen (Völler, Alekou and Pechlivanos, 2021). Furthermore, the treatment of contemporary historiography on the Balkan geography is sometimes discussed in the context of nationalist movements, and researches are carried out around various arguments such as identity, nationalism, legitimacy, and the role of Christianity, and conclusions are reached in various dimensions.

The political conflicts, regime changes, internal crises and identity conflicts experienced by the Balkans, which have a multi-national structure, during the nation-building process we are focusing on, have also

deeply affected the relationship towards history and historiography in the region. Just as in the nation-building process, history and historiography continued to be the tools of political regimes and governments or different political movements in the 20th century. So much so that, in the conflicts that occurred during the collapse of the Socialist regimes and the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the late 20th century, the most important argument used was history – as can be seen in the forced assimilation and ethnic cleansing policies implemented against the Turks in Bulgaria between 1984 and 1989 and in the use of the myth of "forced Turkification" used in the 1995 Srebrenica genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Based on what we have said so far, 19th and 20th century Balkan historiography has been seen, above all as the main tool of political sharing struggles, identity politics, the desire to assimilate or the struggle not to assimilate (Hacısalihoğlu, 2019: 47-74).

In this respect, in the contemporary history textbooks of Greece, the sequence of national history is Ancient Greece, Byzantium, Turkokratia (Ottoman rule), Hellenic Revolution (1821-1830) and Modern Greece. The official perception of Greek history is dominated by the stereotype of an uninterrupted struggle between "us" and "the other" from antiquity to the present day. The "us" refers to the "civilized" and culturally superior Hellenes fighting for "freedom". "The other" refers to the "barbarians". This Hellenic-Barbarian conflict-oriented understanding of history, which includes many mythological elements, continues in Greek history textbooks. The barbarians are Persians, Romans, Arabs, Avars, Turks, etc. who have attacked the Hellenic lands since antiquity. The sovereignty established by the barbarians in the Hellenic country is expressed by the concept of "kratia". According to the Greek perception of history, the Hellenes put up a permanent resistance against these "kratia". In chronological order, the Romans, Crusaders and Turks were the foreigners who invaded Hellenic lands. Among them, the worst "Barbarians" were the Turks and the cruellest Barbarian domination was the "Turkokratia" (Turkish domination) (Koullapis, 1993: 11).

For Bulgarians, the 19th century included major changes, such as the establishment of the Bulgarian Diocese, the April Uprising, the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 and the struggle for the recognition of a separate Church which led to liberation. Taking these changes into account, the formation of modern Bulgarian historiography owes much to the works of Vratsali Sofrony, Benyo Tsonev, Vasil Aprilov, Ivan Seliminski, Georgi St. Rakovski, Spiridon St. Rakovski, Spiridon St. Rakovski, and others. Rakovski, Spiridon Palauzov, Petko Rachev Slaveykov, Lyuben Karavelov, Stedan Zahariev, Pandeli Kisimov, Marin Drino, Zahari Stoyanov, Stoyan Zaimov, Svetoslav Milarov, Vasil Hadzhistoyanov Beron, Georgi G. Dimitrov and Konstantin Jireček, etc. (Petkova, 2024: 499-518). Among the historians of the 20th century are Gavril Katsarov, Vasil Zlatarski, Petar Mutafchiev, Petar Nikov, Ivan Sakazov, Nikola Milev, Ivan Duychev, Ivan Shishmanov, Boyan Penev, Petar Dinekov, Hristo Gandev, Yordan Ivanov, Zahari Stoyanov, Todor Burmov, Dimitar Strashimirov, Gavril Katsarov, Hristo Danov, Alexander Fol, Dimitar Angelov, Vasil Gyuzelev, Galab Galabov, Bistra Tzvetkova, Tzvetana Georgieva, Dimitar Kosev, Nikolay Genchev, Ilcho Dimitrov (Popnedelev, 2024: 519-556).

The Bulgarian national historiography was written in a cumulative manner by these representatives, whose names we have mentioned. The first attempt was made to dilute the contribution of the Bulgarian tribe, which is a Turkic tribe in Bulgaria and which gave its name to today's Bulgarian people, in Bulgaria. In this way, any traces of kinship with the Turks - who were deeply hated - were erased. The second important phase in the Middle Ages was the Christianisation of the Bulgarian Empire and its major political activities. It covers the conquest of Bulgaria by the Turks and the Turkish rule in Bulgaria (Türkenherrschaft) and Bulgaria in the 15th century. It is positioned as a less important period of Bulgarian history. In terms of content, this less important status has contributed to the perception of a dark period with negative descriptions. In this regard, Jireçek also gives here the basic judgements/negative stereotypes about the Ottoman period: The relationship of the Bulgarians with the developing European civilization

was cut off by the Turks. Bulgarian lands were turned into farms by rich lords. Muslims were in the privileged class. While as "rayah" (reaya), Christians were oppressed anyway. This is the emphasis on the "exploiting/feudal" Turk and the "exploited/rayah" Bulgarian. In this process, they were not allowed to build churches and their bells were removed. Their clothes were restricted. "Kidnapping of Christian girls was commonplace and still is." Tribute and other heavy taxes, arbitrary taxation, forced recruitment of children aged 10-12 for the Janissary Corps, the dreadful conditions of villages and cities during campaigns, the invalidity of Christian testimony, the frequency of brutal executions, and many other negative stereotypes appear in Jireček's description (Jireček, 1876: 448-450). The fourth link is the rebirth of the Bulgarian people. It is devoted to the Bulgarian national movement and the struggle for independence. Since the political developments leading to autonomy had not yet taken place, Bulgarian history is covered until 1875 (Hacısalihoğlu and Hacısalihoğlu, 2024: 373-376).

The first emergence of the Romanian nationalism movement was the "Dacianism" movement. This movement developed in the 19th century and resulted in the unification of the principalities of Wallachia and Taurus under the name of Romania after the Crimean War of 1853-1856, and the language of this new state, whose official name was Romania, began to be called Romanian and its people began to be called Romanians. The unification of Wallachia and Bogdan and the declaration of independence in 1878 stand out in this context. In this sense, we can say that there has been a return to the ethnic nationalist understanding of history (Hacısalihoğlu and Hacısalihoğlu, 2024: 373-376).

When constructing the chain of national history in Albania, the main skeleton of the work Shqipëria ç'ka qënë, ç'është e ç'do të bëhet? by Şemseddin Sami Frasheri has been preserved: Illyrians in antiquity, Arbërs in the early Middle Ages, then Alexander Bey and the "Albanian Resistance", then Rilindja (Albanian Rebirth), i.e. the Albanian national movement and the Union of Prizren, the independence process, the

"War of National Liberation" (World War II) and the establishment of Socialism in Albania and the partisan struggle of Enver Hodja, which led to the Socialist period. The most important change in the official understanding of national history in "Enver Hodja's Albania" or Socialist Albania is the further sharpening of pre-existing clichés. This is particularly reflected in the narrative of the Ottoman period. The pre-existing stereotype of "Albanians who contributed to the Ottoman Empire" has been blurred, and stereotypes such as "Turkish occupation" and "forced Islamisation", which are also present in other Balkan countries, have been sharpened. In this process, a great destruction of the Ottoman heritage (especially religious manuscripts, etc.) was carried out, and Albania became the first Socialist country to ban religion (Hacısalihoğlu and Hacısalihoğlu, 2024: 376-386).

As it will be noticed, every nation in this period was, to a certain extent, a product of the nation-building process. The example of the Macedonian nation is the model of nation-building with which the concept of "nation-building" is most compatible, at least in the Balkan geography. As we have stated in the examples above, a national history thesis has been shaped in every nation-building process. In the case of Macedonia, it would almost be more appropriate to say a nation produced by the history thesis rather than a national history thesis produced by the nation. There is no doubt that the main factor that led to the emergence of the nation-state was political developments and decisions. Based on these points, Mehmet and Neriman Hacısalihoğlu state that the formation of the Macedonian national history thesis and its reflection in history textbooks is one of the most striking examples of this issue that can be analyzed worldwide. According to them, the following six questions make the Macedonian national historiography remarkable:

"First of all, the name "Macedonian" is the name of a tribe that lived in antiquity and is known for Alexander the Great and that has disappeared into the pages of history. Today's Macedonians, on the other hand, are a Slavic tribe that was known as Bulgarians during the

Ottoman period with the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870. How are these Bulgarian-Slavs and the ancient Macedonians to be reconciled? This is the first question. The second question is, how can the history of this tribe be continued in a period starting in the early Middle Ages and extending until the end of the Middle Ages with the identification of these Bulgarian-Slavs as Macedonians? In other words, which kingdoms, principalities, heroes and events will be categorized as "Macedonian"? Third question is, this definition, which will of course be made primarily for the principalities and kingdoms that have established sovereignty in the geography defined as Macedonia, will naturally include the subjects that Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek historiography define as their own history. How will the reaction of Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek historiography be dealt with in the face of defining them as "Macedonian"? Fourth question: When will the foundation of the modern Macedonian nation-state and the nationalist movement be dated? Among the political organizations and actors that emerged in the framework of the Macedonian Issue, which ones will be selected as representatives of modern Macedonian nationalism and which ones will be rejected? Since it is a recent period, how will the thesis that they are "Macedonian" and anti-Macedonian continue to be defended against the documents and opinions that emerge about these actors defined as "Us" and "Other"? Fifth question: Which attitude and thesis will be taken against the claim that the so-called Macedonian language is "a dialect of Bulgarian"? Sixth question: How will a thesis be formulated against the claim that the modern Macedonian nation-state is "an artificial state created by Tito?" (Hacısalihoğlu and Hacısalihoğlu, 2024: 399-406).

During this period, educational institutions in the Principality and Kingdom of Serbia and scientific institutions such as the Velika škola (Great School), the Serbian Historical Society, the Central State Library of Serbia, Društvo Srpske slovesnosti (Serbian Literary Society), the Royal Serbian Academy and the State Archive of the Kingdom of Serbia performed important functions. Serbian historians who were educated and worked in these institutions include Jovan Rajić,

Dimitrije Davidović, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, Jovan Ristić, Ilarion Ruvarac, Ljubomir Kovačević, Panta Srećković, Čedomilj Mijatović, Dimitrije Ruvarac, Stojan Nonaković, Mihailo Gavrilović, Jovan Tomić, Ljubomir Kovačević, Ljubomir Jovanović, Stanoje Stanojević, Konstantin Jireček, Đorđe Nikolajević, Medo Pucić and Ljubomir Stojanović (Krešić, 2024: 429-458). Serbian historiography has largely been shaped by the same ideological and identity perspectives of the modern Serbian nation and state. In this context, the work entitled History of Slavic Peoples, especially Croats, Bulgarians and Serbs written by Jovan Rajić in the late 18th century can be considered as the beginning of modern Serbian historiography. Since the second half of the 19th century, there has been an increase in Serbian historical studies, and this process has led to the emergence of new schools of thought. Due to reasons such as independence, constant changes in the borders of the Serbian State, migrations, coexistence of religious and cultural groups of different ethnicities and sects, ideologies, wars, pressure from international institutions, it is possible to see that a wide variety of historical perspectives have emerged in Serbian historiography both in terms of method and approach. Serbian historiography is a battleground of the struggle between the use of history for power and ideology and the scientific understanding of history. While the romantic nationalist school, the Marxist school, the postromantic nationalist school are reflections of the intertwining of historiography with power and ideology within the framework of the positivist scientific paradigm, the Ruvarac school, the Annales School and post-2000 social historiography represent the post-positivist scientific paradigm. While the role of enlightenment and positivism was dominant in the beginning of Serbian historiography, the Annales and Marxist school gained strength over time. However, postpositivism has also started to be seen in Serbian historiography within the framework of social historiography and common history studies after 2000 (Abdula, 2024: 459-498).

When we look at the process of Bosnians becoming a modern nation, we see that after the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the

Austro-Hungarian Empire on the basis of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 - especially during the reign of Kallay, the finance minister of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, who ruled Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1882-1903 - Bosnian identity was recognised and even supported as a counterweight to Serbian nationalism. In this framework, a national Bosnian history also began to take shape. Kallay wanted to create a territorial "Bosnian nation" and saw Muslim Bosnians as the most suitable community to support this (Hacısalihoğlu and Hacısalihoğlu, 2024: 406-414; Babuna, 2006: 406; Babuna, 2013).

Despite some limitations, a view of history in the field of Bosnian history, albeit not as "Bosnian/Bosniak history", has been well shaped since the middle of the 20th century. In particular, the concept of Bosnian identity and Bošniyaštvo (Bosnianness) was debated among historians in this period, whether it should be understood as a regional identity or an ethnic identity. Since 1963, historians and writers such as Muhammad Filipović, Avdo Sučeska, Avdo Huma, Atif Purivatra, Enver Redžić and the exiled Adil Zulfikarpašić have continued these debates. With the influence of these historians, the first main link in Bosnian national history (Malcolm, 1994) is the Kingdom of Bosnia in the Middle Ages. The emphasis in the narrative of this period is that Bosnia was neither subject to the Eastern Church nor to the Western Church, and as such was neither Serb nor Croat, but was a separate people from the beginning. The Kingdom of Bosnia and the Church of Bosnia constitute the two main themes. Another important issue is the Ottoman period and the process of Islamization. While the process of conversion to Islam is treated as a very negative phenomenon in all other Balkan national history narratives, the conversion of Bosnians to Islam is explained with the development of the historical process, for example, points such as the Bogomil Church and the similarity between the principles of this church and the principles of Islam (Hoare, 2019: 42-43). In this way, becoming a Muslim is described as a natural process. While portraying the Ottoman rule, the continuity of Bosnians' identity and existence as a separate nation is emphasized. For this reason, Ottoman rule is defined

as a foreign sovereignty. However, the clichés about the Ottoman Empire do not contain as much extreme negativity as in other Balkan countries. After the 1699 Treaty of Karlofça, the perception of the Ottomans as "the Ottomans who left Bosnia defenseless" against Austrian attacks is the first important negative cliché in the textbooks. Although the perception of the Ottomans was negative, it is considered that this situation contributed to the development of Bosnians' consciousness of defending Bosnia. The implication here is a positive impact for Bosnianness (Muhasilović, 2020: 90-92). We can follow Bosnian historiography in the late 20th century through Stvaranje Jugoslavije by Milorad Ekmečić, Historija Bošnjaka by Mustafa Imamović, Dve kulture i ponovo o njima Čarls Snou, Historiografija u Bosni i Hercegovini u službipolitike by Husnija Kamberović (Younis and Beşlija, 2024: 557-580; Duranović, 2024: 581-596).

Genres in Historiography in the Balkans

It is possible to say that the historiography that revived in the Balkans, especially during the Ottoman period, began to form a rich corpus based on chronicles, gazavatnâme-type works, cadastral record books, mukhimma books (notebook for recording important decisions), law books (kanunnames), foundations certificate-charter (waqfname), shar'iyye registers and, of course, public and private political histories. Here, we will explain that the four main genres of Islamic historiography, which were formed in the 10th century and evolved as general, special and city & regional histories, were developed and continued on the continent.

General History

In the pre-Islamic period, general histories in the Balkans were written during the Byzantine Empire, especially as from creation, inspired by the Torah or the Bible. In this context, the oldest surviving Byzantine chronography is Chronograph by Johannis Malalas's which is a general history of events from the creation of the world to the time of Justinian, divided into eighteen books and written before the year 565. Similarly,

the work titled Historia by Dukas, one of the historians of the Byzantine period, is the introduction of the study with the first subtitle, which is based largely on information taken from the Torah and tells from the creation of the world to the Latin occupation of Istanbul in 1204. Manuel Malaxos also presented an example of general history by narrating the events from the creation of the world until 1577 AD (Vasilikiotou, 2024: 45-46; Kayapınar, 2024: 106-109).

In the Islamic period, among general (universal or world history) histories, Behcetü't-tawârîh by Şükrullah-ı Şirvâni, Düsturnâme by Enverî, Mecma'ü't-tevârîh by Matrakçı Nasuh, Künhü'l-ahbâr by Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, Takvîmü't-tevârîh by Kâtib Çelebi, Tenkîhü't-tevârîhü'l-mülûk by Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, Mi'yâr'd-düvel and Misbâhü't-tevârîh by Esîrî Hasan, Târih-i Gülşen-i Maârif Ferâizîzâde Mehmet Sadi Efendi are some of the works discussed from the creation to the period in which the author lived (Özcan, 2020: 22-24,54-56, 108-115, 172-175, 240-242).

Special History

In the genre of special histories, we will deal with Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman (dynastic histories), ruznames (journals), salnames (yearbooks), cadastral record books, kanunnames (law books), mukhimma books (notebook for recording important decisions), shar'iyye registers, fetihname (conquest books), gazavatnâmas, biographical and bibliographical works, memoirs, travel books and periodicals. Of course, there are many other sub-genres within this genre such as şehnâme, münşeât compilations, Selimnâmes, Süleymannâmes, seferatnâmes, monographs, vefeyât (biographical works) and silsilenâmes (the works showing and explaining family trees). Here, we will make an introduction to the explanations of this genre by particularly focusing on the ones directly related to the Balkans. Dynastic histories, the first example of this genre, include the histories written from the foundation of the Ottoman Empire until the author's lifetime. Among these, as they directly concern the Balkans, due to their importance, it is possible to mention chronicles such as History of Âşıkpaşazâde by Âşıkpaşazâde, History

of Hadîdî by Hadîdî, History of Oruç Beğ by Oruç Bey, Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osmân by Ibn Kemal, Tâcü't-tawârîh by Hoca Sâdeddin, Tarih-i Selânikî by Selânikî, History of Solakzâde-by-Solakzâde Mehmed (Babinger, 1992: 60-191; Özcan, 2020: 24, 56-59, 115-119, 175-178).

As a term of history, ruznâme (Pakalın, 1971: 62), which is among the special chronicles, is the name of the works created as a result of the records kept by privy secretaries about the daily lives of the sultans they served. In this sense, ruznâme means 'journal'. In the journals, the daily life of the sultan like how they spent their time every day and their activities are briefly described, as well as the historical events that took place are also recorded. Examples of such works in Ottoman History can be found in the early 16th century, and the Ruznâme by Haydar Çelebi, which describes the events of the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim II, is considered to be one of the most important examples of the 'rûznâme genre' (Emecen, 2003: 1-2). Although it is said that rûznâmes were divided into two, 'one pertaining to the personal and the other to the state affairs of the sultans' and that the personal rûznâmes were classified as internal ruznâmes and the rûznâmes pertaining to state affairs as external ruznâmes (Uzunçarşılı, 1973: 607), it is observed that both state affairs and the private life of the sultan were recorded together in the existing rûznâmes. The rûznâmes kept by the privy secretaries of three Ottoman sultans are an important source for recent Ottoman history. The Ruznâme by Ahmed Fâiz Efendi, the privy secretary, covers Selim III's reign from 25 December 1802 to 26 July 1806; the Ruznâme by Ârif Muhît Bey, the privy secretary, covers Mustafa IV's reign from 21 February 1808 to 26 July 1808 and Mahmud II's reign from 28 July 1808 to 24 January 1809 (Beyhan, 2024: 315-318).

Salnâmes/yearbooks constitute an important corpus for the Ottoman Empire. They are books containing information on the administrative organisation and institutions of the Ottoman Empire, economic, political, military and cultural fields and published every year with new information. Salnames were published in four types: state, province,

official institutions and organisations, and private individuals or organisations. In this context, the first Ottoman provincial salnâme was the Bosnia Sanjak Salnâme published in 1283/1866 (Beyhan, 2024: 321).

Ottoman cadastral record books (tahrir books) are one of the essential source groups for the history of the Balkans, the Balkan nations and the territories within today's national countries, and the Turkish presence in the Balkans. Cadastral record books provide important and irreplaceable information on both the surviving settlements and the implementations of the manorial system, and also demographic and socio-economic structure. We can include mufassal (detailed), summary, timar tevcih (promoting records in manorial system), pious foundations, nomadian, voynuk (a mililtary grade who are like lads), çingane (gypsy), filurci, jizya and raider books in the series of cadastral record books. The series of cadastral record books are mainly found in the collections of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, which include the collections of the financial records (e.g. the Niğbolu Livası mufassal (detailed) book numbered BOA MAD 11 and dated 1516/1517) and the land registry and cadastral record books (e.g. the Çirmen mufassal (detailed) cadastral record book numbered BOA TT 50 and dated 1515/1516) (Kayapınar, 2024: 164-165).

Cadastral record books also contain another type of source. These are lawbooks (kanunnâmes). Law books, especially since they are included at the beginning of the detailed cadastral record books, they provide important information on different population categories based on sanjak, township and district, on the crops produced, livestock and trade. Among the Ottoman kanunnâmes published by Ahmet Akgündüz, especially those concerning the Balkans, the kanunnâmes of the sanjaks of Avlona, Bosnia, Dubrovnik, Gallipoli, Peloponnese, Niğbolu, Semendre, Silistra and Çirmen are included in Volume 3 (Akgündüz, 1991-1994: 3, 369-475). Other kanunnames (law books) of Balkan sanjaks can be found in the 7th and 8th volumes of the same series. These volumes contain laws on the sanjaks of Alacahisar, Albanian Province, Bakriç, Bosnia,

Çirmen, Edirne, Herzegovina, Alexandria, Montenegro, Kırk Kilise, Bitola, Peloponnese, Niğbolu, Salonica, Silistre, Sofia, Tırhala, Vize and Vulçıtrın (Akgündüz, 1991-1994: 7, 401-407; 8, 259, 508). Indeed, many detailed cadastral record books of the sanjaks in the Balkan region have a sanjak kanunnâme (law) at the beginning of the book, usually after the page with the tughra of the sultan who was on the Ottoman throne at the time the book was kept (e.g. the Silistre detailed record book dated 1597 and numbered TKGMA TT 83). Sanjak kanunnâmes (law books) provide vital information on the explanation of many terms used in the cadastral record books and the tax system applied locally (Kayapınar, 2024: 176-177).

Another group of sources containing information about the Balkans are the mukhimma books (notebook for recording important decisions). Mukhimma books contain orders sent to different regions of the Ottoman Empire on various issues. Mukhimma books are also kept in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive. Shar'iyye registers are also an important source group for Balkan historiography. There are also mukataa and iltizam books for tax farming system, which are especially important in economic and financial terms, and a large part of which is kept in the circular collection from the finance department (Günay, 2003: 71-82; Nuro, 2016: 82-91).

The other subgenres that should be considered in the category of special histories are conquestnâme (conquest books) and gazavatnâme. In the conquest book category, we can show the examples of Fetihnâme-i İnebahtı and Modon and Fetihnâme-i Belgrad (Bayrak, 2002: 110, 132; Afyoncu, 2007: 24-29; Özcan, 2020: 43-82). In the genre of Gazavatnâme, Mihaloğlu Ali Bey's Gazavatnâme written by Sûzî Çelebi of Prizren is an exemplary work in terms of its contribution to Balkan history (Levend, 2000).

Some of the authors of biographical and bibliographical works written in the recent Ottoman period are of Balkan origin. For example, the birthplaces of authors such as Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, who wrote valuable

works on Modern Ottoman History, Davut Efendi, the author of Hâtimetü'l-Eş'âr, one of the representatives of the Tezkire (collection of biographies) tradition, and Şemseddin Sâmi, the famous encyclopaedist and lexicographer, are today within the borders of Albania and Bulgaria. Many of the 672 poets as well as statesmen and scholars whose biographies are included in Davut Efendi's Tezkire (collection of biographies), and many of the grand vizier, shayk al-Islam, chief admiral, and ministerial officials whose life stories are described in other biographical sources were born in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Romania. Âyine-i Zürefâ, the famous work of Cemâleddin Efendi, a poet and scholar, which gives information about the lives and works of Ottoman historians, is one of the important examples of this genre.

The memoirs, those related to the Constitutional Monarchy Period and the Committee of Union and Progress, are more specifically related to Balkan History. As it is well known, most of the leaders of the Union and Progress were of Balkan origin and the committee completed its development process in Thessaloniki. The Balkans have an important place in the memoirs of Hüseyin Kâzım Kadri, Cavid Bey, Galip Vardar, Hüsamettin Ertürk, Mustafa Ragıp Esatlı and Kâzım Karabekir. The memoirs of Sultan Abdülhamid II include 'Yıldız Memoirs' by Tahsin Pasha, 'The Diaries' by İzzet Pasha, 'The Memoirs of Küçük Said Pasha; "My Father Sultan Abdülhamid" by Sultan Abdülhamid II's Grand Vizier [Küçük] Mehmed Sa'îd Pasha, and "My Father Sultan Abdülhamid" by Sultan Abdülhamid's daughter Ayşe Osmanoğlu, Memoirs by Atıf Hüseyin Bey who was Abdülhamid's private doctor, Fizan Memoirs by Mahir Said Pekmen, an opponent of Abdülhamid, 31 March Memoirs, A Dissident in the Days of Rebellion. Additionally, there are also Ali Cevat Bey's memoirs; The Proclamation of the Second Constitutional Period and the March 31 Movement, The Memoirs of Ali Cevat Bey who was the privy secretary of Abdülhamid II in the palace, etc. (Beyhan, 2024: 322-324).

In the genre of seyahatnâme (travel books), Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâme-si (The Travel Book by Evliya Çelebi) is one of the most important sources for 17th century Ottoman historiography. Especially within the scope of Balkan studies, Evliya Çelebi's adventure, which started with his first journey to Rumelia in 1651, continued with his repeated visits to the Balkan geography over the years and provided us with very valuable information about the Balkan geography and peoples of the 17th century. In the 3rd volume of his 10-volume work, the traveller describes his first trip to Rumelia and then provides extensive information about the Balkans in the 5th, 6th and 9th volumes (Bakkaloğlu, 2024: 229-248).

As the last example of this genre, starting from the publication of Takvîm-i Vekāyi periodicals such as Cerîde-i Havâdis, Tercümân-ı Ahvâl and Tasvîr-i Efkâr are among the indispensable sources for those working in the field of Balkan history.

City and Regional Histories

These works, which deal with the history, topography, architectural structures, neighbour towns and famous people who grew up in the city or came here, are important works that serve as a source for us about the Balkans today. This is because it is possible to find many things about the sociocultural history as well as the political history of the Balkans in these works. Travel books, which are one of the main works mentioning the historical geography of the Balkans, should be mentioned here. Due to the fact that travel books show the routes of important transport routes passing through the Balkans and the settlements on them, they are the main sources used in understanding the historical geography of the region. In this context, two of the road routes in the Balkans are important as they are frequently discussed in the travel books. One is the Via Egnatia, which connected the Italian peninsula from Brindisium (Brindisi) to Istanbul via the city of Dyrrachium (Drac/Durres) on the Adriatic Sea coast, and the other is the Via Diagonalis or Ordu Road, which connected Istanbul to Central Europe and was used for ages (Cuntz, 1929: 20-99). For both routes there is a travel book, the

Itinerarium provinciarum, which seems to have been prepared in the 2nd century AD during the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius. Antonini Augusti and the Itinerarium Burdigalense/Hierosolymitanum, which lists the stations along the way, should be consulted by a person travelling from Bordeaux to Jerusalem in 333/334 AD. In addition to these travel books, Klaudios Ptolemy, who is estimated to have lived between 100 and 175 A.D., wrote Geographika Hyphegesis (Introduction to Geography) in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. The 4 map sheets attached to his work titled Geographika Hyphegesis (Introduction to Geography) cover Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Illyricum, Dalmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thracia, Macedonia and Arladia regions and Crete (Sayar, 2024: 7-28). On the other hand, in the Expositio totius mundi et gentium (Description of the Whole World and Peoples), whose author is unknown but who is presumed to have lived in the Greek-speaking Eastern Mediterranean, the Balkans are again described between chapters 50 and 53.

One of the historical-geographical works in this genre that we should definitely emphasise here is Tabula Peutingeriana dated to the 4th century AD. In the work, the road connections and distances between the cities of the Balkan geography in ancient and late antiquity, which are included in the Roman road map, are given in Roman miles. The Tabula Peutingeriana, originally thought to have been made in the 2nd century AD for the Roman postal organisation (cursus publicus) and last revised in 435 AD, has survived to the present day thanks to a copy made by a monk named Peutinger in the 13th century. This work, which is preserved today in the Manuscripts section of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, was probably taken from one of the libraries in Istanbul in 1204 as a result of the looting of Istanbul during the 4th Crusade and brought first to Venice and then to Vienna (Weber, 1976). Tabula Pautingeriana is a very important source for the historical geography of the Antiquity since it is the only map surviving from the Antiquity despite the errors in the place names during the copying.

At the end of the 3rd century AD, new administrative units were formed within the scope of the new state system formed with the state reform of the emperor Diocletian in the late antique period. Taking this system into account, cities in the states were also formed at the beginning of the 5th century AD. The relevant chapters in Synekdmos (Road Accompaniment Document) by Hierocles, which deals with this process and was published in the 6th century AD, provide information about the historical geography of the Balkans in the Late Antique Period.

Ottoman cartographers and geographers in the Islamic period started their pioneering works for the Balkans in the 16th century by counting the newly conquered Hungary among the properties of the Ottoman sultan. In 1555 or 1559, the text attached to the margin of the world map drawn by Hacı Ahmed from Tunisia reported that the Ottomans, whom he resembled to the sun, had 'conquered and captured' Hungary, among many other provinces, with their 'courage and bravery'. In this context, Ali 'Hungarian' Reis, who joined the Ottoman administrative system through devshirmeh and found a place for himself in the palace nakkashane (art worksop), was able to make notes on the world map he drew about the expeditions the Ottomans planned to undertake in the Far Eastern waters. Geographical works of this period include Evzahu'l-Mesâlik ilâ Ma'rifeti'l-Büldân ve'l-Memâlik by Sipâhizâde Mehmed, Menâzırü'l-Avâlim by Trabzonlu Âşık Mehmed, Cihannümâ by Kâtip Çelebi, Levâmi'u'n-Nûr fî Zulmet-i Atlas Minor by Gerardus Mercator and Jodocus Hondius, Atlas Maior by Joan Blaeu and Mi'yârü'd-Düvel ve Misbârü'l-Milel by Hasan Esirî. Among these, Kâtip Çelebi, who rolled up his sleeves in 1648 to compile the first systematic work of Ottoman geography, Cihannümâ, included the Hungarian lands first to the south and west, then to the north and east of the Danube in his geographical descriptions in the first composition of his work, which he never completed. In this way, Kâtip Çelebi covered a wider area than Âşık Mehmed. This is because the Ottoman administrative borders in Hungary had expanded relatively over time, and Kâtip Çelebi's ambitious attempt was

the most comprehensive geographical study up to that point (Kolçak, 2024: 191).

In this category, we should also mention the works written by the chroniclers in the Ottoman Empire because of their importance as they may contain details down to the smallest town or village. Thus, it was possible to see political, social and economic issues, especially place names, through these works and to access some continuous data for city histories thanks to the successive series.

Sultan and Historian Relationship in Balkan Historiography

There is no doubt that historiography should be understood together with historical events. We can explain this situation by considering Carr's following assessment: "In my first lecture: I said: 'Before researching history, research the historian.' Now I would like to add the following: Before researching the historian, research his historical and social environment." (Carr, 1990: 44). Accordingly, the historian should be regarded as a part and result of the age and society in which he was born. In the periods of historiography in the Balkans that we have discussed, the sultan's support for the chronicler was expressed in the term 'protectorate' or ''patronage ''. This is essentially 'official or court historiography'. Court chroniclers played the most important role in the historical studies of the period. Many chroniclers used the resources of the state to prepare their works and to develop their own historical narratives. In this respect we can give some examples among the histories written with the assignment or request of the sultans in order to reveal the patronage of chroniclers in the Balkans: Hadîkatü'l-Vüzerâ by Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib Efendi was written with the encouragement of Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha (1717-1730). Cemâleddin Efendi, a poet and scholar, wrote his famous work Âyine-i Zürefâ, which provides information about the lives and works of Ottoman chroniclers in 1843 with the encouragement of Sultan Abdülmecid during his tenure at Takvîm-i Vekāyi.

In addition, the patronage system was also seen as a means of conveying the legitimacy of power to the masses. We can explain this legitimacy through the poems written by Georgios Pissidis for Heraclius (610-641). The poet briefly explains why Heraclius deserves praise as follows: "Heraclius burnt him (Hosroes) in the fire, just as Hosroes brought into the balance and burnt the houses of the people. Thus, justice was resecured, Heraclius became the saviour of oppressed peoples and Byzantine emperors, proving that he could resort to violence, even death, against anyone who did not accept their demands" (Psellus, 1986: 25). Johannes Malalas, in his work entitled Chronograph, was also a supporter of Justinian's absolute monarchy and praised his policies (Vasilikiotou, 2024: 45-46).

The position of official chronicler, which is the equivalent of patronage in the eyes of the state, is expressed by the terms vekâyi'i-nüvîs and vak'anüvis. The profession of vakanüvis (chronicler) is the name of the civil service that took its place in the Ottoman central organization from the beginning of the 18th century and whose duty was to record the events of the period or before. The person performing this duty was called vak'anüvis or vekāyi'nüvis which is the plural form of the word vak'a. Although there had not been such an office before, there were individuals who performed this task and they were called şehnâmeci or şehnâme-nüvis. At the beginning of the 18th century of the Ottoman Empire, the function of the office of vak'anüvis, which was created as a state chronicler in charge of the central organisation, was defined as compiling the previous writings and recording the events of the period in which they lived (Kütükoğlu, 1994, p. 103). To give some examples, names such as İzzî Süleyman Efendi, Seyyid Hakim Mehmed Efendi, Çeşmizâde Mustafa Reşid Efendi, Musazâde Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi, es-Seyyid Behçetî Efendi, Ömerzâde Süleyman Efendi, Sadullah Enverî, Ahmed Vâsıf Efendi, Teşrifâtî Hasan Efendi, Mehmed Edib Efendi, Halil Nûrî Efendi served as chroniclers in the second half of the 18th century. Although chroniclers were generally chosen from among the ulema (pundits), there were exceptions to this generalisation

and some were appointed to this position among other civil servants of the state. Among the modern age chroniclers, Enverî, Edip, Vâsıf, Mehmet Pertev, Mehmet Şakir Efendi, known by the pseudonym Recâî, and Ömer Âmir, Halil Nûrî and Âkif Paşazâde Nâil Mehmet Beys were appointed to this position from bureaucracy. Âsım, Şanizâde, Esat, Lütfi Efendi and Cevdet Pasha were members of the seminary. Although the last chronicler Abdurrahman Şeref Bey was not a member of the madrasah (Muslim theological school), he was considered a member of the seminary class because he was engaged in teaching for a long time (Beyhan, 2024: 297-308).

The Findings

Muslim historiography in the Balkans has accumulated a wealth of experience for both the basin and Muslims and also for European societies. So much so that the Ottoman experience had a great impact on the formation of modern historiography in Europe through the Balkans. However, as of the 19th century, both in the political arena and in historiography, the Ottoman Empire faced a weakening due to the loss of its central position. In this regard, first the weakening of the Ottoman Empire and then the efforts of the nation states established in the 19th and 20th centuries to further this weakness plays a vital role. In this process, the main goal of historiography in the Balkans was to divide the addressee population and atomize history in a systematic way. For this purpose, they created a new and fictional historiography centered on the nations in the Balkans and reduced to these nations by fragmenting the almost seven centuries of background that communities belonging to very different ethnic identities in the Balkans built together. In addition to the fragmentation of the target group, a relationship based on conflict was also created between them. In this fragmentation and conflict, Muslims, especially the Ottomans, were "otherized" in the 19th century and moved to the position of invaders (!) for the Balkans and pushed out of the newly written history of the Balkans.

Although this is the case, when we turn our attention to the period when the Ottomans, i.e. Muslims, dominated the historiography of the Balkans, we can clearly see that Muslims have made very important contributions to the Balkans in terms of content, genre and method in terms of historiography. Therefore, if scientific historiography (i.e. historiography that seeks to understand and explain the past as it was) had prevailed in the Balkans in the last two centuries, all of the specialists in Modern and Contemporary History would have been competent to use Ottoman sources in each Balkan country. In fact, the sources of Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian, Serbian, Macedonian, etc. history from the 15th century to the early 20th century at the latest are Ottoman chronicles, gazavatnâme (conquest books), cadatral record books, mukhimma books (notebook for recording important decisions), law books, official documents and registers such as foundations certificate-charter (waqfname), shar'iyye registers, and of course general and special histories and city-regional histories. Even today, many chroniclers in the Balkans try to write city histories based on travel reports written by a few European travelers, which are based on estimates, rather than using first-hand and very rich Ottoman sources. It is still not accepted by Balkan historiography that one cannot write Balkan history of the Modern and Contemporary Age without Ottoman, just as one cannot write Roman history without Latin or Byzantine history without Greek. For this reason, modern Balkan historiography has not gained a respectable position in world historiography in general.

Based on this study, it should be noted that the history of the Balkans, especially the 6-century period from the 15th century to the 20th century, must be looked at through its own resources, experience and accumulation, and its history must be reconsidered through these. This study is important in that it touches upon the basic points of its follow-up, and noteworthy in that it provides a holistic developmental trajectory of the historiographical process in the Balkans based on the historiographical studies available in Turkish. Moreover, this study is remarkable for showing that Muslims living in the Balkans were important inhabitants of the basin and made vital contributions to the basin through

their historiographical journeys. In this respect, as there is a renewed interest in the Balkans in our country, this study is a candidate to make a contribution to sustain this interest in a healthy and authentic manner. While there are relatively more studies on the Balkans focusing the Ottoman period in our country, there are almost no studies on the historiography of Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians, Macedonians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and the nation states they established. This study promises to provide an important perspective on these issues as well.

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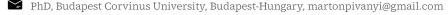
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The "Heretics" Hermeneutics:
Bosnia And Balkan Bogomils In The Mirror Of Modern Hungarian Literature As Potential (Borrowed?) Theaters Of Multidimensional Orientalism

Márton Iványi

Abstract: In Hungary, situated in Central-Eastern Europe, the historical and cultural investigation of its relationship with the Balkans holds particular relevance due to the country's unique and shifting historical position. Hungary has experienced distinct phases in its history: as a medieval middle power, later as a territory under Austrian rule, and subsequently as a state-forming entity within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This progression has shaped Hungary's perception of its neighbors and its role within European ideological currents, particularly those influenced by Orientalist discourses. The portrayal of the Bosnian (primarily identified – and subject to historical debate – as „Bogomils")in Hungarian historical literature is a compelling case in point. While not explicitly tied to imperial expansionist ambitions, such representations reflect European tendencies of "Othering," where the "heretics" – often dismissed as heretics, tribal, or primitive – were situated in opposition to Western or Catholic norms. This dynamic was further complicated by Hungary's intermediary status between Western Europe and the Balkans, creating a cultural and epistemological space that was neither fully "Orientalized" nor wholly part of the Western Occident. Hungary's historical entanglement with the Balkans, therefore, offers a nuanced vantage point from which to examine Orientalist tendencies. These explorations are further elevated by the ideological debates surrounding the continuity between the medieval Bogomils and the later Bosnian Muslim population. The widely challenged notion that the Bogomils would have been „predecessors" of Bosnian Muslims adds another layer of ideological tension, particularly in critiques of Islam, which often bear a degree of ideological saturation. At first glance, Hungary's portrayals of the Bosnian Christians cannot be isolated from broader European perceptions of Islam, where the historical Crusades, medieval animosities, and Enlightenment-era Orientalist narratives intersect. However, the Hungarian corpus itself rarely engages with the Bogomils as proto-Muslims, a narrative more prevalent in earlier Western and later Balkan discourses. Instead, Hungarian representations tend to emphasize the „sect"'s heretical nature, aligning more closely with medieval historiographical traditions than with ideological critiques of Islam. In this context, Hungary's role as both a subject and an actor in these historical frameworks underscores the relevance of analyzing

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its cultural and literary portrayals of the Balkans and the Bosnia's legacy. This dual position allows for critical insight into the hierarchical nature of Orientalism while also accounting for Hungary's unique historical trajectory and its layered relationship with both "East" and "West."

Keywords: Hungary, Balkans, heretics, Bogomils, Orientalism, Literature, Crusades, Islam

Introduction

"[Friar] Julian looked hesitantly at the vault [...] Then he glanced at the Archbishop. He means well, he's right. It is in the country's interest to convert [...] In the south, in Bosnia, the heretical Bogomils, in the east the pagan Kuns and the Halichi Russians, who are troubling the country against the Hungarians. The Archbishop is right" (Kodolányi, 2003: 306).

This quoted lines of an interbellum historical novel, entitled *Julianus barát* (Eng.: *J*ános Kodolányi are intended, as an Auftakt or a prelude, to grasp here that there is a long tradition of some Hungarian intellectuals being intensely preoccupied with the Balkans, and in particular, on behalf of modern literature, with historical episodes related to Árpád dynasty.

In addition, one significant aspect of Hungary's historical relationship with the Balkans is the rejection of the Bosnian Christian movement portrayed as Bogomils during the medieval period.

The Bogomils, now increasingly distinguished from Bosnia by current literature (i.a. Bijedić, 2011; Lorenz, 2011; Lovrenović, 2015; just to mention some contemporary exemplars of a larger cohort of historians who hold comparable or aligned perspectives) in the first place, considered heretical by the Catholic Church, were present in the Balkans and might have been influenced by dualist beliefs. Hungary's historical stance against this sect, whether due to religious or political reasons, also contributed to shaping its perception of the Balkans and its own identity within the broader European context. The narrative surrounding the Bogomils in Bosnia arguably represents a historiographical fabrication that gradually transformed into a myth. This perspective, arising from the intersection of local and regional political aspirations (Lovrenović, 2015) and post-schism Western/Eastern dichotomy, gained significant

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traction during the Austro-Hungarian era (Rady, 2022: 316), when numerous intellectuals embraced and disseminated this interpretation in addition to statesman Béni Kállay himself (Bijedić, 2011: 51). Partly, it served as a countermeasure against the nationalist agendae of the Serbs and Croats, who aimed to assimilate medieval Bosnian history and its cultural legacy into their respective national identities. The historically verifiable independent ecclesiastical institution in Bosnia, largely because of its doctrinal positions, was pejoratively branded as heretical.

Hungary, itself has been subjected to "(demi-)Orientalizing tendencies (Wolff, 1994: 302-3 (299-305) and has traditionally maintained a rather hostile or indifferent relationship with the Habsburgs, with the notable exception of the period following the Compromise of 1867 (cf. Niederhauser 1986; Rady 2022). By acknowledging theoretical foundations laid out by other scholars, i.a Edward Said's Orientalism, André Gingrich's Frontier Orientalism, or Bakic-Hayden's „Nesting Orientalism", current approach adapts them to fit Hungary's unique historical and cultural context.

Having these latter factors in mind, the examination of the Hungarian discourse of Bogomils might shed light on lesser-explored aspects of Central European Orientalism, thus, in parallel, also offering a potential contribution to identifying new angles on multidimensional Orientalism.

Fiction and historiography interact in the analysis to be employed, particularly in the depiction of the Bosnian Christians, predominantly in an asymmetric relation, in terms of the former being inspired and influenced by the latter, but also as fictional portrayals rather reinforce than challenge historical narratives.

With regard to methodology, the interpretive framework is based on a particular hermeneutic approach with close reading, thematic analysis, and intertextual comparison of a corpus consisting of some of the most well-known popular Hungarian authors of literary fiction of the modern 19-20th century aimed at the Medieval Era.

Medieval and "mid-Evil:" Historical connections with Bosnia and the Bogomil sect

During the first centuries following the establishment of the Kingdom of Hungary, there was a notable focus on interactions and territorial expansion southward towards the Balkan Peninsula. Croatia became part of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1102 through conquest, followed by Dalmatia in the 12th to 15th centuries. Hungary gradually assumed the role of the weakening Byzantine Empire in the Balkans from the 13th century onward. In the 12th and 13th centuries, Hungary established numerous banates (bánság) along its southern borders, serving as protective buffer zones against neighboring peoples. As a result of these efforts, the Kingdom of Hungary, considered a mid-sized power at the time, could assert control over northern Bosnia, Serbia, and the northwestern region later known as Wallachia (Kitanics, 2008: 51-58; Pap ve Kitanics, 2008: 219-240).

In tandem with that the triangular, medieval conflicts between Bosnia, Rome and Hungary can be characterized as religious, so typical for crusades, while others, emphasize political and territorial pretensions, as the main motif, describing the Holy war idea as a cover story for the sake of the Papal curia (Dautović, 2020: 63).

In the context of these interactions, nevertheless, contacts were made with a "heretic" sect named the Bogomils, a movement, as Diarmaid MacCulloch (2004: 623) explains, to this day remains a highly stereotyped community across Europe, much like of the Balkans itself. The Bogomil heresy emerged in Bulgaria during Peter's reign, where, despite the Christianization of Bulgaria and the establishment of a priestly class, many Bulgarians retained pagan practices. The movement, traditionally attributed to a priest named Bogumil, had been widely believed, as suggested by scholars such as Fine (1991: 171) and Malcolm (1994: 27). to have gradually spread from Bulgaria into Constantinople and other Balkan regions, including Macedonia, Bosnia, and Serbia. However, it is important to acknowledge that this interpretation has been subject to significant scholarly debate in recent literature, with authors like i.a.

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Lorenz (2011), Bijedić (2011) and the late Lovrenović (2015) offering critical reassessments and challenging the extent and trajectory of this dissemination. Nevertheless here, a religious aspect of the conflicts comes to life, serving as an additional stimulus for critical approaches directed at the epistemological frameworks accompanying historical-political conflicts (Mignolo, 2011). This dimension further enriches the complexity of such conflicts, particularly given the substantial body of literature suggesting that the Bosnian Christians intepreted as Bogomils were, in a sense, "predecessors" of the later Muslim population (Handžić, 1934: 77-80; Solovjev, 1949: 55-60; cf. Aščerić-Todd, 2022: 213-234). This claim, in itself, raises intriguing questions due to its connection to ideologically charged debates surrounding critiques of Islam (Asad, 2004; Massad 2015; Iványi 2022; Iványi 2023b).

Medieval Western despise of „Greek orthodox heretics" is well-documented already during the era of Crusades (Maalouf 1983: 253) and lies beyond the scope of our central focus. In the context of Bosnia, which on the contrary, is a pivotal point of our examination, the late Dubravko Lovrenović (2015) demonstrated that the first denunciations which brought Bosnia in connection with heresy were started by Vukan, the Grand Prince of Dioclea (Duklja), who, having seen that he was losing the political battle for power, in this way tried to get closer to Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and ensure the promotion of the Bar diocese to the rank of metropolitan. Later, this mechanical, ideological and clichéd vocabulary was occasonally taken over tactically by the Hungarian rulers who, allying with the universal program of papacy from the 13th century tried to Latinize the Bosnian Slavic diocese and spread the influence of the Hungarian ecclesiastical structures. It is indicative that in the era of the steady relations with Bosnian rulers, the majority of whom were included in the Hungarian feudal system, there is no trace of such accusations.

The Latin Crusades against the Bogomils in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom were prompted by various popes. In 1200, Pope Innocent III urged King Emeric to combat the Bogomil heretics. Later, in 1216, Pope

Honorius III dispatched a subdeacon named Aconcius to Bosnia to convert the "heretics" through argument, but their influence continued to grow. In response, the Archbishop of Kalocsa led a successful military campaign against the Bogomils in 1222 with the authority from both the pope and the Hungarian king. Pope Gregory IX further incited a crusade against these communities " in 1238, led by Coloman, Ban of Slavonia. Additionally, Pope Gregory IX organized a crusade against Bulgaria in 1241, enlisting the Hungarian king's support, although this campaign never materialized due to Bulgarian maneuvers. These papal-backed crusades aimed to eradicate the Bosnian "heresy", primarily in the Balkans, involving various rulers and ecclesiastical leaders of the Hungarian Kingdom (Brockett, 1879: 72-77; Obolensky, 1948: 230-235; Bozsóky, 1995: 142-143; Lock, 2013: 162).

During the late Middle Ages, Bosnia, where the Hungarian contacts were made with the Bogomils, emerged as an independent kingdom under the Kotromanić dynasty, blending Slavic, Hungarian, and Bosnian cultural influences, while the Bosnian Church, a unique Christian denomination, also flourished. King Louis I the Great's (1342-1382) dynastic marriage with Elizabeta Kotromanić of Bosnia also attests to major interactions. In 1463, Bosnia fell under Ottoman rule after the conquest led by Sultan Mehmed II. This marked the beginning of over four centuries of Ottoman dominance in the region. Under Ottoman rule, Bosnia became an integral part of the empire, with Islam gradually becoming the dominant religion and culture (Dervisevic, 2022: 144). In the late 19th century, Bosnia came under Austro-Hungarian rule following the Congress of Berlin in 1878. These periods brought Orientalisation (Dervisevic, 2022: 144; 146) and especially during the latter era, not only modernization and economic development (Wolff, 2023) but also intensified nationalist tensions among Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats (Rady, 2017; Wolff, 2023) After World War I, Bosnia became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later known as Yugoslavia (Riedlmayer, 1993).

The complex historical legacy of Bosnia's late medieval and early modern periods continues to shape its society and politics today,

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reflecting a diverse cultural landscape marked by centuries of interaction and conflict.

These named series of historical episodes, political trends and conflicts raise the issue of examining the nuances of the West and the East and of considering the respective politically motivated patterns of representation.

Orientalism in globo

In summary, Orientalism, a cultural current in Europe primarily focused on the East, reached its peak during the nineteenth century. Central European scholars during this period began conducting studies independent of direct colonial power relations, aiming to understand oriental languages and primary-source material. Orientalism, as initially conceptualized by Edward Said, denotes the prevalent portrayal of cultures and societies that favor a self-assuredly ‚progressive,' ‚modern,' and ‚rational' Europe, while depicting the Orient as purportedly ‚stagnant,' ‚backward,' ‚traditional,' and ‚mystical.' Unlike Edward Said's (1979) classical model, however, Orientalist thinking in our region presents a more nuanced view of the Orient, with varying perspectives and critiques based on differing positions of strength (Iványi 2022; 2023b).

Edward Said „Orientalism" has had a significant impact on discussions about the 19th century. Born in Jerusalem to a Christian Palestinian family, Said became a prominent advocate for Palestinian nationalism and a literature professor at Columbia University in New York. According to Said, there exists a pervasive and all-encompassing Eurocentric prejudice against Arab-Islamic peoples and their cultures, especially evident in the writings of 19th-century travelers like Chateaubriand, Melville, and Twain. Their works often belittled Arab culture and other Oriental served to justify imperialism (Montefiore, 2014: 19).

This is particularly relevant and illustrative, as historian Montefiore points out in the context of the Middle East and Jerusalem. Accordingly, writers like Gustave Flaubert and Herman Melville followed the

trend of Eastern travelogues. Between 1800 and 1875, approximately 5,000 books were published in England about Jerusalem, many of which shared similar themes: either missionary accounts enthusiastically recounting biblical stories (sometimes with new archaeological findings), or mocking Ottoman ignorance, lamenting Jews, ridiculing Arabs, and criticizing Orthodox believers' banality" (Montefiore, 2014: 406).

Here, vis-a-vis peoples of the East, or other religions (not only Islam but also, for instance, Orthodoxy, which, in the words of Milica Bakic-Hayden (1992: 9), along with „Byzantine" culture or the Balkans, are not included in „Europe" numerous facets of Orientalism come to the forefront, which may also be blatantly visible in terms of European attitudes towards its "neighbors " - both "close" and "distant" ones.

Demi- and Nesting/Frontier Orientalisms vis-a-vis CEE and the Balkans, (dis-) respectively

„Nesting Orientalism," a term coined by earlier quoted Milica Bakić-Hayden, in the Balkans refers to the perception of Balkan countries and cultures within European or Western perspectives. It involves labeling the Balkans as „oriental" or „Eastern," portraying them as a homogeneous group, and oversimplifying their diversity and complexity. This approach distorts historical, political, and social relationships, leading to negative stereotypes and contributing to the dehumanization of the European „other." Furthermore, Orientalism is evident within Europe itself, particularly in the divide between regions under Ottoman rule and those in the West. Terms like „Balkan mentality" or „Balkan primitivism" reflect this hierarchical view, with the West often seen as superior to the East. This symbolic geography creates a hierarchy of cultural representations, where cultures to the south and east are often viewed as more conservative or primitive, perpetuating the nesting orientalisms within European discourse (Bakić-Hayden 1992: 3-4).

We may nevertheless add, following the train of thought of historian Maria Todorova that the "Balkans' predominantly Christian character

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[...] fed for a long time the crusading potential of Christianity against Islam. Despite many attempts to depict its (Orthodox) Christianity as simply a subspecies of oriental despotism and thus as inherently non-European or non-Western, still the boundary between Islam and Christianity in general continued to be perceived as the principal one" (Todorova, 1997: 20).

However, the Balkans are far from being the only entity to be exposed to stereotypes on behalf of the (Western) European mainstream. Also Hungary, both per se and with its Central and Eastern European region, was often misrepresented as the nearest agent of „the Orient" to Western Europe. Understanding this dynamic sheds light on the complex concept of Orientalism, revealing how Western European intellectuals constructed and perpetuated stereotypical images of Eastern Europe during the Enlightenment era.

Larry Wolff's exploration highlights how political, cultural, and geographical factors influenced this portrayal, reflecting biases and perceptions of the Western European elite. The construction of Eastern Europe as a separate and somewhat exotic entity in European consciousness was not a natural or innocent distinction but rather a product of cultural creation, intellectual artifice, and ideological self-interest. This historical tendency traces back centuries, as Enlightenment ideals supplanted those of the Renaissance, shifting perceptions of barbarism and backwardness from the north to the east. The concept of Eastern Europe emerged as a paradox of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion, defining itself in relation to Western Europe much like the Orient defined the Occident. This construction mediated between Europe and the Orient, representing an intellectual project of demi-Orientalization aimed at establishing complementary yet hierarchical concepts of Europe (Wolff, 1994: 4-8; Iványi, 2023b: 60-61).

Probably the most significant, epitomic author embodying these defamatory representation(al) trends are, according to Wolff, i.a. Edward Gibbon, Charles de Peyssonnel and Charles d'Hauterive. for them, the

Scythian factor was indispensable for identifying ethnographically the barbarians of Eastern Europe, predominantly Hungarians and Slavic people in general.

The categories of ancient history that identified the barbarians of Eastern Europe, in Peyssonnel and above all, in Gibbon not only corresponded to the impressions of contemporary travelers, but also entered directly into the emerging social science of anthropology (Wolff, 1994: 286; 288; 293; 299).

Bosnia and the Habsburg Empire's mission civilisatrice

Moving one step further and juxtaposing the Central and Eastern European encounters with those of the Balkans, both the intriguing experiences of the historical Habsburg Empire and the concept of "frontier Orientalism" with the corresponding dichotomy of the "Good/Bad Oriental" introduced by André Gingrich also come into play. All the more so this is relevant because this entity not only directly engaged in anti-Ottoman military encounters but also was involved in civilizing/colonial aspirations concerning the Balkans (i.e. earlier home of the Bogomils) for centuries. After 1867, the portion of the Habsburg Empire occupied by the Kingdom of Hungary, an earlier bitter enermy of Austria, received home rule. Thereafter, the Habsburg Empire was also known as the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Austria-Hungary, or Dual Monarchy (Rady, 2017: 6; 84).

The contradictions and anomalies of historical relations, as well as the fact that the Habsburg Empire by no means intended to remain on the sidelines of contemporary trends in modern imperialism within the limits of its capabilities, are epitomized by none other than Archduke Franz Ferdinand (Rothenberg, 1976: 120), who is widely known to have harbored a pronounced anti-Hungarian sentiment (Obey, 2007: 179; Rady, 2022: 311).The Ottoman Pashaluk of Bosnia and Herzegovina, staying at the center of modern era's rivalries (Rady, 2017: 97) was occupied

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by the Habsburgs in 1878, following a Christian South Slavic uprising against the sultan in Constantinople, and the province was then annexed by Austria-Hungary in 1908. For Emperor Franz Joseph the occupation and annexation constituted his singular venture in augmenting the Habsburg dynastic possessions, his single colonial achievement as other European powers carved out overseas empires in Africa and Asia. Austria-Hungary promptly assumed a civilizing and modernizing mission in Bosnia, laying railroad tracks to Sarajevo, encouraging agriculture and industry in tobacco and in steel (Wolff, 2023). Robin Okey's 'Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg Civilizing Mission in Bosnia, 1878-1914 is a detailed analysis of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy's attempt to integrate and modernise Bosnia into the empire after taking control of the province in 1878. Accordingly, through the narrative of a 'civilising mission', the Habsburgs, were supposed to manage ethnic and relgious tensions, while seeking justification of occupation and to express Western superiority towards other cultures. This was also internalized by an emerging educated local minority with a deep sense of being the sparehead of their people's emancipation (2007: vii, 26, 149).

Aligned with such policies, Austrian intelligentsia, arguably, favoured an Orientalist stance and tone vis-à-vis Bosnia, in the context of which, Bosnia was exposed to exoticized Viennese fantasies. In conformity therewith, the illustrated account of the province in "word and image" (Wort und Bild), published in 1901, showed Bosnians in baggy pants and turbans, with architectural images of the mosque, the medrese, and the Turkish bath in Sarajevo (Wolff, 2023).It needs to added here, that „Traditional" Turkificating (i.e. depicting Bosnians as Turks *per se*) tendencies on behalf of the Austrian élite, whose attention was rather drawn by Early Modern Turks, than Medieval Bogomils, became coupled with a rather naive rescue intention. This is exemplified by Austrian novelist librettist Hofmannstahl's exchange of letters with composer Richard Strauss, in the context of which the former made a reference to the "death prayer of the Bosnian Muslim, heard by no one except the

imperial [Hasburg] prince, who bent back the underbrush and found the lonely Muslim singing his death song" (Strauss ve Hofmannstahl, 1961: 94; Strauss ve Hofmannstahl, 1964: 134; Wolff, 2023).

As we can see, arguablym the Bosnian occupation in 1878 gave rise to a specific type of Orientalism that originated in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Andre Gingrich coined the term "frontier Orientalism" to describe the attitude that constructs a contested border, where the eternal "we," the Austrians, are contrasted with the Oriental "Turk," later transformed into a Bosnian colonial subject: in the Austrian imaginary, the Turks were a metaphor for "the Bad Muslims," the former dangerous invaders and later defeated and humiliated opponents.

Bosnian Muslims, as pointed out by Jitka Malecková (2020: 121; cf. Gingrich, 1996: 110, 1179), in contrast, had by the end of the colonial period "become 'the Good Muslims,' loyal, armed allies, who fought for Austria-Hungary against the Serbs".

Austria, according also to Pieter M. Judson, aimed to civilize Eastern and Southeastern Europe, including the Balkans. Initially, this mission focused on Galicia, emphasizing civilization, economic development, and education as means of unifying diverse populations. In the late 19th century, Austrian orientalists sought to establish stable borders with the Ottoman Empire and delineate boundaries against Turks in newly acquired provinces, rather than using the concept of an „imperial divide" to justify colonial ventures in distant Ottoman territories. They emphasized „shared experiences" and „shared spaces" with Southern Slavs to legitimize their colonial and cultural mission in the region (Judson, 2016: 149, 317, 328; Karner, 2020: 783).Scholarly attention both on the anti-Ottoman (Muslim) stance of the region and its historical framework have been given wide attention (Sabatos, 2020: ix; Iványi, 2022: 8-31). From here the academic question arises, whether an ideologically charged attitude against "proto-Muslim" Bogomils can be identified. Before we get back to that, we must highlight that Johann Heiss and Johannes Feichtinger cite three epigonal examples to

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illustrate the Habsburg-dominated Austro-Hungarian intellectual attitude of the time. Correspondingly, the conservative Austro-Bohemian historian Joseph Alexander Helfert, pro-Compromise Hungarian Diplomat Béni (Benjamin von) Kállay, and German nationalist professor of ancient history Rudolf von Scala "bear witness to the Habsburg form of strategically deployed orientalist discourse, which is characterized by both functions of the Orient: its devaluation in the interests of European self-valorization and the idea of a civilizing mission" (Heiss ve Feichtinger, 2013: 156).

In modern Hungarian literature, numerous reflections of this historical relationship with the broader Balkans can be found. Writers often explore themes related to Hungary's connections with its southern neighbors, sometimes portraying tensions, conflicts, or mutual influences.

As for the Hungarian authors of that time themselves, Baron Zsigmond Kemény (1814-1875) in his 1851 pamphlet entitled *Még egy szó a forradalom után* (Eng.: One more word after the revolution), argues at length (Kemény, 2010: 235-236) for the civilizing transformation of the East, in which Hungarians could play a mediating role.

A similar position is taken by Béni (Benjamin von) Kállay, who assigned a mediatory role to Hungary between the Occident (i. e. influences of Rome) and the Orient (i.e. influences of Byzantine and later the Ottoman Empire) as follows: "The mediation between the two great currents of human development must therefore be our responsibility, because we are the ones who are best called to it. The Orient cannot remain forever in cold isolation. The sum of moral and material forces which constitutes the giant spirit of the Occident will sooner or later break down the remaining barriers. To advance in this great spiritual struggle, to attempt a reconciliation between the millennial antagonisms of two worlds : a difficult but beautiful and rewarding task. And we have a leading role to play in this task, if we want it. Everything points to this" (Kállay, 1883: 69).

Nevertheless, Hungarian intellectual and public life was much more polarized than being able to be retrospectively considered as completely identifiable with Austrian aspirations. Divisions of the Hungarian ruling élite are well documented (Gerő, 2014: 9-11). To sum up, we must conclude that, although the foreign policy after 1867 was basically based on a broad internal consensus, there were serious disagreements[1] and debates on a number of details and on the concretisation of ideas (Galántai, 1985: 228). For instance, a remarkable anti-imperialist trend can also be identified. Mór Jókai, the most popular contemporary author: "The task of Hungary is not to expand but to rise," .

Or, Lajos (Louis) Hatvany's Urak és emberek [Sirs and Men] (1926) grasps nuances of Hungarian intelligentsia's hostile or relationship with Austria.

It is not for us to take a position on the question of how far the contemporary sense of mission civilisatrice can be understood as a specific factor ventilating colonial ambitions. However, it is certain that all of this adds value to the critical analysis of modern fiction that attempts to convey the medieval public mood vis-a-vis the Bogomils of Bosnia.

The romance plot in Mór Jókai's novel *A három márványfej* [*The Three Marble Heads*], published between 1887 and 1889, is rich with scenes of intense battles, complex intrigues, and dramatic events. Within Chapters 13 and 14, Jókai uniquely features the Bogomils, providing a vivid yet interpretive portrayal that blends historical reference with fictional imagination. Jókai presents them as a "band of robbers" with particular beliefs and practices, highlighting their distinctiveness from mainstream religious communities. The author underscores this difference by describing their use of leavened bread, remarking, "that they were a band of robbers, and cruel, it was all just a warlike pace, but that the

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[1] One of the serious differences of opinion was precisely the question of the annexation of Bosnia. What would we do with these domains? - said Miksa Falk, speaker of the foreign affairs subcommittee. Isn't the machinery of this entire monarchy already complicated enough that the inclusion of yet another heterogeneous element could be considered desirable? See Galántai, "*Habsburg,*" 249.

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wafers were made of leavened dough: now that was Manichaeism."
This use of Manichaeism as a descriptor here subtly emphasizes both
an exotic otherness and a departure from orthodox Christian practic-
es, suggesting that their customs were not only divergent but almost
provocatively so in the eyes of outsiders.

A particularly notable element in Jókai's portrayal is the unusual preva-
lence of marriages within Bogomil society. The reference to a leader, or
Knez, allegedly having nineteen wives (Jókai, 2003: n.p.) evokes an image
of excess and nonconformity, hinting at an underlying moral judgment
tied to their social organization.

At the same time, one should also not disregard that an anti-Habsburg
stance of the Hungarian intelligentsia and authors, including the very
same Jókai, is well-documented and attested by a dozen of his histori-
cal novels. This remains even after the 1867 Compromise, exemplified
by Jókai's novel A kőszívű ember fiai (The Barons' Sons - 1869), where
character Alfonsine Plankenhorst is an epitome of the hostile Austrian
side, the aristocrat, i.e. a representative of the oppressors and traitors.
In chapter A bakfis (Damsel), she is being described as one whose gaze
reflects „hate, bitterness, revenge, matricidal cruelty, which cannot be
expressed by words".

Coming back to our main line, through Jókai's characterization, never-
theless, the Bogomils emerge not just as outsiders but as almost carica-
tured in their perceived "primitive" simplicity—gullible, superstitious,
poligamous and ultimately doomed. The tragic fate of the Bogomils, as
slaves later murder them within their own tribal community, under-
scores this idea of a group vulnerable to external forces and internal
discord.

In comparison, philologist and historian Ede Margalits, in his *Horvát
történelmi repertórium* [*Croatian Historical Repertory*], a synthesizing
compilation of summaries of historical essays by Croatian authors,
adopts a distinctly historical approach to the Bogomils. Writing just
over a decade after Jókai, Margalits explores the documented actions of

Hungarian rulers in suppressing Bogomil heresy. His work provides a sober account of medieval policies that reveal a structured and determined resistance to Bogomilism. For example, he records that in 1209, King Andrew II granted the region of Pozsega-Požega to the Archbishop of Kalocsa on the condition that Bogomil heretics be eradicated. Further, he notes how King Charles I tasked Count Paul Breber with eliminating Bogomil influence in Makar, and how the Hungarian monarchy, alongside the Church, invited the Franciscan Order to strengthen Catholic presence in regions like Varasd-Varaždin, directly opposing the spread of Bogomilism (Margalits, 1900: 29-30, 81, 93).

Here, the focus of the sources used by Margalits, is primarily on the political and religious motivations of Hungarian authorities, particularly their commitment to Catholic orthodoxy and the safeguarding of political stability. Unlike Jókai's dramatized depiction, Margalits's account is less about condemning the Bogomils for any specific actions and more about depicting the systematic efforts to counter heretical movements within Hungarian-controlled areas.

Similarly, the narration in Ferenc Herczeg's 1902 novel *Pogányok* [*Heathens*] engages with the Bogomils, aligning them with the Manichaeans as enemies of the Christian Church. Although Herczeg refrains from casting them in a derogatory light, he reflects the medieval ecclesiastical perspective that deemed them highly suspect, if not threatening. This opposition is embodied in the line, "The Christian church persecuted the hydra-headed heresy of the Manichaeans [i.e., Bogomils] more than the infidelity of the heathen" (Herczeg, 2000: 74), illustrating the church's stance toward heresy as more menacing than simple paganism. Here, Herczeg's account hints at the broader medieval condemnation of Bogomilism, echoing the Church's pervasive anti-heretical fervor without the sensationalized overtones found in Jókai's novel.

At the same time, Herczeg's characters at other passages of his oeuvre occasionally challenge German (Austrian) rule. Such is the case also in the novel A hét sváb (The Seven Swabians – 1916) with its anti-Habsburg

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undertone, denounces the *divide et impera* of the Viennese court, which deliberately aggravated relations with Serbs and other nationalities.

It can be argued here that both Jókai and Ferenc Herczeg authored a series of historical novels imbued with patriotic pathos, in which their narrative style and character arcs often center on the major challenges posed rather by other groups or entities, for instance, the Habsburgs. These adversaries serve as focal points in Herczeg's works, embodying the external pressures that tested Hungarian sovereignty and resilience. Through his depictions, Herczeg not only elevates the struggles of Hungarian heroes but also reinforces a sense of national pride, presenting these historical conflicts as defining moments in the nation's enduring quest for autonomy and strength.

In sum, these representations—from Jókai's romanticized portrayal to Margalits's historical recounting and Herczeg's dramatized reference—illustrate varying levels of bias, narrative style, and purpose, each adding a distinct layer to the broader depiction of Bogomil identity and its perception within the nexus of Hungarian and Balkans cultural history.

The Hungarian interbellum perspective and a continuity in portraying

After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which included Bosnia as part of the Habsburg Empire, Hungarian-Southern Slav relations underwent significant changes as the former territories were reorganized. The interbellum peace treaties and the Treaty of Trianon led to the loss of some of the southern territories of the Kingdom of Hungary, which were transferred to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia). This loss of territory deeply scarred Hungary's national consciousness and political stability. In the period between the two world wars, political and cultural relations between Hungary and Bosnia were rather limited due to territorial changes and different political regimes. Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the Yugoslav state,

whose political and cultural identity differed significantly from that of Hungary. In addition, ongoing territorial disputes and instability in the Balkans further complicated relations between the two peoples. At the same time, as Kitanics (2008: 227) points out, cooperation between Hungary and Yugoslavia, which included Bosnia, was also present. While antagonism was a characteristic of this era (1920-1944), in the broader context of Hungarian-Yugoslav relations – highly significant from the point of view of the broader context of present study – mutual aspiration for cooperation emerged as well.

By the 20th century, following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the literary stance transformed: whereas previously conflict and oppression had been the dominant themes, in the interwar period and beyond, many authors viewed the belle époque with a sense of nostalgia, recalling it as a period of stability and a kind of cultural flourishing (although not necessarily sympathizing with the Habsburg-dynasty's or Austria's imperialism as such).

Far from a volte-face, in Chapter 8 of his A fogyó hold [The Waning Moon - 1922] Ferenc Herczeg explicitly presents a scene of peasants complaining that Walloon and German (read: Austrians) Landsknechts are lording over the heart of the country. The general mindset of the era is best reflected in A híd [*The Bridge* – 1925] a historical drama of the same author, in which the common ground between the antagonistic sides of the drama, which contrasts two 19th-century Hungarian historical figures – the thoroughly patriotic Kossuth and the brilliant Széchenyi – as well as their worldviews, is none other than anti-Habsburg sentiment.

To grasp certain distancing tendencies from the Habsburg-dynasty, the characteristic tone of Géza Supka's Habsburg-krónika [Habsburg Chronicle] from 1932 seems to be convincing: „If science […] wanted to set a textbook example of what the system of incestuous intermarriage means for the degradation of the human race, it would have to look at the genealogy of [Habsburg] Philip II. His grandmothers on both sides were sisters Mary and Joanna the Mad. His father Charles V married

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Isabella, his own niece. From this marriage came Philip II, who in turn married his cousin Mary of Portugal as his first wife. His fourth and last wife, Anne of Austria, happened to be the daughter of his own sister. One can imagine what children came from these marriages. From the first came the mad Don Carlos, from the fourth the semi-mystical enthusiast Philip III" (1986: 112).

Still, some like Gyula Krúdy, highlight the lost decades with a sense of melancholic longing, and from his sympathy for the bygone era, the Habsburgs occasionally benefit as well. permeating a toast in the opening scene of Rezeda Kázmér szép élete (The Beautiful Life of Casimir Rezeda – 1933) (Gangó, 2006: 164-165).

Hungarian literature presents a complex perspective on the relationship with the Empire, ranging from ardent resistance and the desire for independence to an increasingly nuanced, ambivalent nostalgia over time.

Once again, the literary trends of this period, as we see, vis-à-vis the Bogomils are not primarily characterized by the conveyance of a civilizing mission, but by a distancing from heretics or even by comedy.

In the novel of Hungarian writer and journalist Gyula Krúdy's *A templárius* [Eng.: The Templar], published in 1926, Roger, a turn-coat Knight Templar recalls his adventures of his past including his interactions with Bogomils here referred to as Paterans. Krúdy depicts the narrator's cynical manipulation of the former's absurd heretical beliefs and practices for personal gain. Roger exploits the Bogomils and incites their violence against priests (Krúdy, 1960: 142-143) Although this portrayal predominantly underscores the twisted and morally bankrupt character of the narrator, while doing so, it also introduces the Bogomils as foolable weirdos in turn. *Nota bene*, it has to be pointed out that the narration of Krúdy neither spares criticism concerning other Medieval communities in the entire book such as the Ismaelites, Templars, Hungarian nobility. With other words, his perspective reveals an overall aversion towards such a troubled period of Hungarian history.

In an early scene of Sándor Makkai's *Táltoskirály* [*Shaman King*, 1934], a character named Zágon disparagingly refers to the Bogomils as "dirty saints" (Hung.: *koszos szentek*), revealing a deep-seated disdain as he recounts King Béla's attempts to expel them (Makkai, 2012: 6). Later in the narrative, Hungarian soldiers encounter a Bogomil preaching what they consider blasphemous beliefs: that the world was created by Satan and that self-destruction would hasten entry into heaven. The Bogomils, referred to as Paterans here, with their seemingly absurd doctrines, openly defy authority (Makkai, 2012: 8). This portrayal weaves together their social rejection and perceived irrationality, framing them as both outcasts and objects of horror. Just like in the case of other works on the Mongol Invasion of 1241-42 described below, however, it needs to be added that the essence of problemization is aimed predominantly, although not exclusively, at the historical threat associated with the latter group.

Alongside the previously mentioned passage from *Julianus barát* (1938) by János Kodolányi, introduced in the paper's introduction, the Bogomils also appear in the novel's concluding part, deepening the theme of ecclesiastical struggle. As the narrative unfolds, we learn: "Paulus had a lot of work to do in the administration of the [Dominican - author] order, but when Archbishop Robertus issued the order to convert the wild khuns of Havaselve [Wallachia - *author*], he took the lead himself. Other friars went to Bosnia to support the work of Archbishop Ugrin in the land of the Bogomil heretics" (Kodolányi, 2003: 332). Here, the determined mission of the Dominican friars to convert the Bogomils underscores the Church's stance on heresy, showing the former group's presence as persistent and challenging within the broader Christian landscape.

In *A vas fiai* (Eng.: *Sons of Iron*), a historical novel that serves as a prequel to *Julianus barát* and was published two years earlier, the Bogomils appear in Chapter 8 of the third part. Here, the narrative recounts a period following King Andrew (Hung.: András or Endre) II's marriage to

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Beatrix, when "another ecclesiastical curse" is invoked. The text notes how King Andrew, during his honeymoon, reluctates to "pay the church the ten thousand marks for salt and that he would exterminate or convert the Bosnian Bogomils (sic!). But he had more pressing matters" (Kodolányi, 2004: 162). This scene reflects the lingering yet often sidelined Church-driven imperative to eradicate Bogomilism, explicitly posited to be present in Bosnia, depicting it as a moral obligation that periodically resurfaces only to be deferred on the monarch's side.

In his 1939 essay *Dózsa György*, journalist and sociologist author Géza Féja further explores the Church's stance on the Bogomils, again taking their Bosnian residence as granted, emphasizing the challenges in dealing with heretical sects. He writes, "In Bosnia, another heresy, the Bogomil sect, has also sprung up. The Church initially tried to calm the movements by gentler methods of conversion, sending Franciscans to Bosnia to calm tempers. But these Franciscans became debauched and led a secular lifestyle. The second step was the Inquisition. It was also urgent for the Church to launch the Inquisition" (Féja, 1939: 27). Féja's account thus paints a vivid picture of the Church's escalating response, showing how early efforts at peaceful conversion gave way to harsher measures, reflecting both the persistence of the Bogomil belief system and the Church's eventual recourse to force. Although Féja grasps tensions and hostile attitudes, his main object of critique remains in exploring anomalies of the Hungarian medieval feudal society alltogether.

All in all, also in the interwar period, Hungarian literature's narrations and characters often depicted the Bogomils in a negative and marginalized light, associating them with hostility or grotesque characteristics. These works typically portrayed the Bogomils as religious fanatics with eccentric beliefs, rendering them as objects of ridicule or as societal outcasts in opposition to Christian authorities. This portrayal reflects the historical traumas and social exclusion of the era, with writers resorting to either comedic tones or hostile to emphasize the separation of these „strange" religious and cultural groups from Hungarian society.

Socialist era: episodes of hostility and grotesque

„The chronicle of relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia saw frequent alterations subsequent to 1945. The swift enhancement of mutual ties was abruptly halted by the intensification of the Soviet-Yugoslav discord in 1948–1949. Only after 1953 did tensions alleviate, commencing a gradual and protracted course of normalization between the two nations" (Vukman, 2020: 9).

Bogomils in the relevant period continued to be of interest to historical novelists, predominantly in a descriptive tone which mostly aims sharing information, with occasional comedy-like traits.

In *Hétszer vágott mező* [Seven times cut field] of László Passuth, published in 1970, both King Emeric of the House of Árpád (reign: 1196-1204) and his sister Margaret [Margaret of Hungary, Empress consort of the Byzantine Empire between 1185-1195 and 1203-1204] were, from childhood, and due to their upbringing, well informed about the presence and credentials of the "heretical" Bogomils, discussing the latter in detail, essentially identifying them with Manichaeism. Later on in the book, the aging King Endre (Andrew II) also makes mention of them in the context of his daughter-in-law Hungarian Queen Mary of Lascaris (1206-1270), to Archbishop Tamás of Esztergom, saying ‚she is drawn to her father's religion. She will secretly defend the Bogomils." At the same time the King also tells the Archbishop about his plans, "as for the Bogomils, it would be good to write to Margaret [Margaret of Hungary, Byzantine Empress] in Banat, which I have also given to her son [Guillaume], the heretics have multiplied in the South. May the Lord help you as Archbishop of Esztergom, Thomas" (Passuth, 1979: 42; 709-710).

In Karczag György's novel Zúgó nyilak (Eng.: Roaring Arrows, 1974), the Bogomils appear indirectly, yet meaningfully, when the resolute Archbishop Ugrin conveys to the protagonist Miklós the strategic importance of Hungary in the Pope's mission: "The land of the Hungarians is dear to the Pope. Only from here can we fight the Byzantines and Bogomils. We can and must!" This portrayal underscores Hungary's central role as a

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bastion against perceived religious threats, highlighting the Archbishop's fervent, militaristic stance on defending Christian interests. Once again, we may add that Karczag mainly deals with other communities in his novel, in the shadow of the events of 1241-42, Bogomils are not depicted (exclusively) as the main enemy of the contemporaries (Karczag, 2008: 91).

In Béla király (King Béla), Magda Szabó delves into the complex interplay of geopolitical strategies, compromises, and conflicts that characterized the medieval period, which needs to be discussed in more length because of its significance lying in its nuanced depictions of power relations. Set on the brink of the Mongol invasion, as the works of Makkai, Kodolányi or Karczag, once again, the third scene of the drama's second part brings the struggle against the Bogomils into focus, intertwining religious and political motives in a manner that critiques the manipulation of faith for strategic ends. Through the character of Pater Petrus, the synodal and papal envoy, Szabó portrays the church's insistence on harnessing King Béla IV's resources for a crusade against the Bogomils, rather than addressing the looming Mongol threat. When Pater Petrus relays the Synod of Lyon's message—urging the king to „destroy the Bosnian Bogomils (sic!)"—he frames this directive as part of Pope Honorius III's „paternal providence." This phrasing suggests a protective facade for an agenda that prioritizes the eradication of heresy over the immediate defense of Hungary. King Béla's response, characterized by disbelief—"Shall we march into Bosnia?"—reflects his struggle to reconcile the urgency of his kingdom's safety with the Church's diversionary mission. Szabó likely intended this incredulity to underscore Béla's moral dilemma, forced to choose between religious obedience and pragmatic rule. When the envoy responds with the papal sanction for the "Archbishops of Chalcis and Esztergom to crush the snake's nest," the vivid imagery of a „snake's nest" not only dehumanizes the Bogomils but also implies an insidious threat that warrants eradication.

In this context, Szabó seems to cast a critical light on the Church's political motivations, exposing a cynical disregard for Béla's pressing concerns over Mongol invasion. Béla's final exchange with his confidant, the Teutonic Father, wherein he expresses frustration at the "dream" of a unified European defense and bitterly acknowledges that "I can go hunting for Bogomils," serves as a culmination of his disillusionment. Here, Szabó appears to question the Church's use of crusading rhetoric to serve its own aims, framing Béla's resignation as both a tragic concession to ecclesiastical pressure and a critique of the broader failure of European solidarity.

Through these exchanges, Szabó not only reconstructs a historical moment but also critiques the broader dynamic in which religious fervor is co-opted for political agendas, leaving leaders like King Béla caught between their duties to their people and the demands of powerful institutions. This layered portrayal adds depth to Béla's character, depicting him as a leader aware of the cynicism around him yet constrained by forces beyond his control (Szabó, 2011: n. p.).

 Péter Szentmihályi Szabó's Édua és Kun László (Eng.: Édua and Ladislaus the Cuman, 1986) situates the Bogomils within the framework of a zealous crusade. In the novel, Ladislaus IV of Hungary, also known as Ladislaus the Cuman, "made a strong vow to exterminate the heretics of the South, and to oblige his mother, who also held the title of Princess of Macho and Bosnia, to do likewise" (Szentmihályi, 1986: 233). This passage presents Ladislaus's mission not only as a personal commitment but as a familial and political obligation, reinforcing the notion of unwavering dedication to eradicating heresy from the region.

Ultimately, the youth novel of Viktor Szombathy, in his *Megszólal a töröksíp* (Eng. Sounding the Turkish pipe) from year 1987, manifests a scene where the travelers encounter a group identifying as Bogomils, who express their uncertainty regarding their own religious beliefs. The Bogomils, displaced and persecuted, seek guidance on whether to adopt Islam, Christianity without acknowledging the Devil as God, or

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remain faithful to their Bogomil beliefs, even worshipping the Devil as God. They recount their ancestral journey through various lands (including Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Adriatic and Black Seas, etc.), searching for their true homeland. Meanwhile, Lopócsi, a character in the narrative, recalls hearing about Bogomils from the Al-Danube region, indicating a shared understanding among travelers about the presence of Bogomil traders in the area. Eventually, in a grotesque manner, the protagonists escape from these people portrayed as eccentric, or even crazed, in order to carry on their journey to Istanbul (Szombathy, 1987: 123-127; 134).

Coda

It is intriguing to introduce a relatively unknown feature of Central and Eastern European intellectual trends, which is mostly unrelated to othering ("nesting" and "frontier Orientalist) othering tendencies described earlier (i.a. Said, Bakic-Hayden, Todorova, Gingrich, Maleckova, Heiss-Feichtinger), namely, that of the portrayal of "heretic" Bogomils in modern Hungarian historical fiction.

Such an effort lays on the premise that Orientalism is multidimensional with multiple subjects, objects and concurrent othering strategies throughout history. In accordance with the corresponding hierarchically organized discourses and ideological currents, Hungary, both a displayer of historical dominance as a medieval middle power and at a certain point, an active part of the Habsburg Empire, while being itself subjected to, in the words of Wolff, "(demi-) Orientalizing" intellectual trends as belonging to the East, manifested a peculiar stance vis-à-vis the Balkans and *a fortiori* the medieval Bosnian Christians introduced as Bogomils.

Colonial experience generally, and the narrower sense of *mission civilisatrice* i.e. a newer generation of orientalizing tendencies, raise the question whether a traditional trajectory of portraying Bosnian Christians as 1) Bogomils and as 2) heretics, robbers, tribal, gullible, awkward etc.

is a compensational consequence of (demi-)Orientalization and/or a form of "borrowed colonialism" (Deringil), or independent therefrom as simple *bona fide* literary traditions.*Prima facie* deploying the concept of "Frontier Orientalism" would clearly seem logical both during the pre-Compromise Austrian Empire, as an occupier of Hungary, and the Habsburg-dominated Austria-Hungary, where certain attitudes, such as that of author Zsigmond Kemény or the diplomat Béni Kállay, do in fact reflect mission civilisatrice. Thus, an epistemological regime can be identified, which either advances Habsburg's colonial venture (Heiss ve Feichtinger, 2013: 157) or, in view of the heterogeneity of the Hungarian intellectual playground (cf. i. a. Jókai or Herczeg), is independent therefrom.

Arguably, Hungarian élite, itself being subjected to Austrian rule for centuries, and later as part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, had complex dynamics with its Balkan neighbors, shaped by historical events and various cultural interactions.

In parallel, "Nesting Orientalism" would not grasp why the Bogomils attract an even larger attention that results in typical components of portraying such as hereticism, puerility, outrageousness, than other groups of the Balkan. Neither Hungary's historically ambivalent relations towards its Southern neighbors, anchored between periods of antagonism and cooperation, as relevant contacts took place at during a relatively specific historical period, namely, between the 13th and 15th centuries, would explain such narrative tendencies Basically, Hungary's position led to a nuanced understanding of the Balkans, which differed from the perspectives of Western powers, reflected by French and Austrian Consuls in the portrayal of The Days of Consuls written by Ivo Andrić. While not always or necessarily driven by expansionist aims, Hungary's historical ties and interactions with the Balkans influenced its cultural, political, and literary landscapes. These latter tendencies, all in all, point to a need to somewhat differentiate Hungarian literary traditions from those introduced by earlier academics *pace* Gingrich, Malečková.

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In Hungarian literature, which did pay, although not necessarily exclusive, but significant attention the Medieval group in question, the portrayal of the Bosnian Christians and Balkanian Bogomils is complex and sometimes reflects a negative image. While this could be attributed to the authors' historical status as subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, such depictions are more likely rooted in historiographical tradition and the transmission of medieval perspectives rather than directly tied to the power objectives surrounding, for example, the annexation of Bosnia. These representations often echo the inherited biases of medieval worldviews, with which narrators tend to identify on patriotic stances.

In the context of 19th- and 20th-century Hungarian intellectual life, and particularly in literature, did emerge a long-standing tendency—likely inherited primarily from the legacy of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy—to identify Bosnian Christians specifically as Bogomils. This perspective seems less aligned with the currently dominant international historiographical viewpoint (Bijedić, 2011; Lorenz, 2011; Lovrenović, 2015). Nevertheless, it reflects a deeply rooted narrative tradition that significantly shaped Hungarian historical and literary thought during this period. At the same time, this tendency and its inherent bias cannot be attributed solely to the often-contentious connection to the Habsburg legacy, suggesting a more complex interplay of intellectual, cultural, and political factors at work.It is important to see that the attitude of modern Hungarian literature toward the Habsburgs often reflects the societal tensions and ambivalent feelings within Hungary toward the political framework of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Within the Hungarian national perspective, even today, opposing interpretations of the Habsburgs coexist. According to **Version A**, they are seen as the "eternal enemy", the colonizers who suppressed numerous freedom movements in blood, disrupted Hungary's historical development for centuries, and ultimately dragged the country into an inherently doomed world war. Moreover, their *divide et impera* policy is believed to have poisoned relations with the surrounding nationalities, exacerbating ethnic tensions

and fragmenting regional cohesion. **Version B**, while accepting certain elements of this schematic portrayal, emphasizes the cultural and economic prosperity following the Compromise of 1867 and views the Habsburg era as a conduit for European intellectual currents *(Niederhauser, 1986: 428–30).*

In the 19th century, during the Reform Era and the 1848–49 Revolution and War of Independence, Hungarian literature largely conveyed anti-Habsburg sentiments. During the period of repression and retaliation, the theme of opposition to the Habsburgs and the literary efforts aimed at strengthening Hungarian national identity played a particularly strong role. After the Compromise of 1867, though there was a decrease in overt resistance against the Habsburgs in literary works, tensions with the Empire continued to surface, often in symbolic form.

Without any intention to employ a *tu quoque*-type reasoning, it has to be added, *nota bene*, that various peoples of the Empire shared such views, i.e. in the words of Selim Deringil, a "borrowed colonialism." As observed by Jitka Malecková, for instance, "Czechs [had] held the view that the Bosnian church had adopted the theology of the persecuted Bogomils, a dualistic religious sect founded in Bulgaria in the 10th century."

This theory helped explain how it was that some Slavs had become Muslims: the Slavic Muslims were considered descendants of Bosnia's former nobility, most of whom were Bogomils, who, in order to preserve their rights and property after the Ottoman conquest, had adopted the faith of their Muslim conquerors en masse. Local rulers' persecution of the Bogomils combined with European states' attitude toward them during the Ottoman conquest made this population more willing to convert to Islam under Ottoman rule, after which the local Muslims became the ruling class, though they did not hesitate to fight with the Ottoman Turks for their privileges (Malecková, 2020: 126-127).

The general attention (Handžić, 1934: 77-80; Solovjev, 1949: 55-60; cf. Aščerić-Todd, 2022: 213-234) paid to such historical precedents raise the relevance of considering a potential inclination to the negative portrayal

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of Bogomils as proto-Muslims, which falls within the Saidian perspective of Orientalist trends. However, such an aspect cannot be explicitly identified in the Hungarian corpus.

Yet, the tendency to depict the Bogomils as one out of many heterodox groups casted in a suspicious or exoticized light, does indeed emphasize the significance of taking into account othering predispositions, especially in view of ambivaent historical settings. Such communities—frequently seen as threatening outsiders — in general are often subject to broader tendencies of exoticization and cultural distancing. Thus, while medieval cultural inheritance plays a central role in Hungarian fiction, the lens of Orientalism offers a valuable framework for interpreting the persistent „othering" of the Bogomils in Hungarian literature.

While a major proportion of the prevalence of innocent comical settings on behalf of certain authors (Jókai, Szombathy) distinctly reflects benevolence, several narrations might have taken the Medieval animosity granted which is represented by the Hungarian characters of several historical accounts, also in order to provide a sense of lifelikeness of historical figures.

An alternative explanation might lie in what Lemberg-born Muhammad Asad identifies in the following: "one has to look far backward into history and try to comprehend the psychological background of the earliest relations between the Western and the Muslim worlds. What Occidentals think and feel about Islam today is rooted in impressions that were born during the Crusades" (Asad, 2004: 5).

Now it is obvious that Medieval Hungary was involved in quasi-Crusades (cf. Dautović, 2020: 63-77) against Bogomils and also encouraged in doing so by the Papal State and Western Europe, the same entities where, as attested by Wolff, since the Enlightenment, perceptions of barbarism and backwardness have shifted from the north to the east.

As Edward Gibbon (n.d.: 321) wrote, "When the black swarm of Hungarians first hung over Europe, about nine hundred years after the Christian

era, they were mistaken by fear and superstition for the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures, the signs and forerunners of the end of the world". This tone not only seems similar to certain attitudes about Muslims and others in the West, but also vis-a-vis the Balkans, Bosnia and Bogomils, once again highlighting the hierarchic nature of Orientalism.

In summary, Hungary, which is itself part of Central-Eastern Europe and has occasionally been the target of Western Orientalism, there are historical traditions of a unique relationship with the Balkans *in globo*. Although this nexus cannot be considered explicitly aimed at imperial expansion, there are definite echoes of European Othering tendencies, particularly in the rejection of the medieval Bogomil sect, at least as reflected in modern literature. Such corresponding representations offer insights into Hungary's complex historical and cultural ties with the "Occident" and "Orient," also shedding light on its unique position within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and broader European context while also displaying the hierarchical organization of Orientalist ideological currents.

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İki Savaş Bir Coğrafya: Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın *Balkanlar ve Türklük İle Değişen Dünyamız* Adlı Eserlerınde Değişen Balkanlar İmgesi

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Özet: 1789 yılında Fransız İhtilali'nin etkisiyle ortaya çıkan milliyetçilik fikri Osmanlı Devleti gibi çok uluslu devletlerin parçalanmasına sebep olur. Söz konusu fikrin Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki en belirgin yansıması Birinci ve İkinci Balkan savaşlarıyla Osmanlı Devleti'nin Balkan coğrafyasının neredeyse tamamına yakınını kaybetmesidir. Bu iki savaşın hemen ardından patlak veren I. Dünya Savaşı, Osmanlı Devleti'nin bu savaştan yenilgiyle ayrılması ve sonrasındaki siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal gelişmeler kaçınılmaz olarak edebî ilginin de savaş sonrası koşullara yönelmesine sebep olur. Dolayısıyla yeni sınırlarla beraber milliyetçilik fikri etrafında beliren Türk edebiyatında Balkanlar'ın ihmal edildiği görülür. Ancak Balkanlar'da yaşanan siyasi gelişmelere bağlı olarak bölgeden Türkiye'ye göçlerin başlaması, Balkan ülkeleri arasında Balkan Konferanslarının düzenlenmesi ve 1934 yılında imzalanan Balkan Antantı ile Türk edebiyatının Balkanlar'a yöneldiğini söyleyebiliriz. Gerek sanat ve edebiyat dergilerinde Balkanlar'a yönelik gezi yazıları, makaleler, şiirler ve hikâyeler gerek müstakil olarak romanlar bu yönelişin somut göstergeleridir. Bu kapsamda Üsküp doğumlu Yaşar Nabi Nayır, Balkanlar'da yaşanan gelişmeler sonrası *Varlık* dergisinde hem Balkanlar'ın hem Balkan Türklerinin mevcut durumlarını anlatan makaleler kaleme alır. Birçoğu Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın Balkan seyahatindeki gözlemlerine dayanan bu makaleler daha sonra 1936 yılında Ulus Basımevi tarafından *Balkanlar ve Türklük* adıyla kitaplaştırılır. II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra değişen yeni dünya düzeninde tekrar Balkanlar'a giden Yaşar Nabi Nayır, bu seyahatindeki gözlemlerini

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birçok farklı dergide yayımlar. Daha sonra bu yazıları 1973 yılında Varlık Yayınları tarafından *Değişen Dünyamız* ismiyle kitaplaştırılır. Söz konusu iki eser incelendiğinde yazarın Balkanlar'a yönelik düşüncelerinin değiştiği fark edilir. Bu makalenin amacı Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın bu iki eserindeki Balkan izlenimlerinin ve düşüncelerinin neden ve nasıl farklılaştığını anlamaya çalışmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Balkanlar, Yaşar Nabi Nayır, *Balkanlar ve Türklük*, *Değişen Dünyamız*.

Abstract: In 1789, the idea of nationalism, which emerged under the influence of the French Revolution, led to the disintegration of multinational states such as the Ottoman Empire. The most obvious reflection of this idea in the Ottoman Empire was the loss of almost all of the Balkan geography by the Ottoman Empire in the First and Second Balkan Wars. The First World War that broke out immediately after these two wars, the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in this war, and the political, economic and social developments that followed inevitably led literary interest to turn towards post-war conditions. Therefore, it is seen that the Balkans were neglected in Turkish literature, which emerged around the idea of nationalism with the new borders. However, we can say that Turkish literature turned towards the Balkans with the beginning of migration from the region to Turkey due to the political developments in the Balkans, the organization of Balkan Conferences between the Balkan countries and the Balkan Treaty signed in 1934. Both the travel writings, articles, poems and stories published in art and literary journals about the Balkans and the novels published independently are concrete indicators of this orientation. In this context, Yaşar Nabi Nayır, who was born in Skopje, wrote articles in *Varlık* magazine after the developments in the Balkans, describing the current situation of both the Balkans and Balkan Turks. These articles, many of which were based on Yaşar Nabi Nayır's observations during his Balkan travels, were later published in book form by Ulus Press in 1936 under the title Balkans and Turkishness. Yaşar Nabi Nayır travelled to the Balkans again in the new world order that changed after the Second World War and published his observations from this trip in many different magazines. Later, these writings were published in 1973 by Varlık Publications under the title Changing Our World. When these two works are analyzed, it is noticed that the author's thoughts on the Balkans have changed. The aim of this article is to try to understand why and how Yaşar Nabi Nayır's Balkan impressions and thoughts differed in these two works.

Key Words: Balkans, Yaşar Nabi Nayır, *Balkans and Turkishness*, *Our Changing World*.

Giriş

I. Dünya Savaşı'nın en önemli sonuçlarından biri, Osmanlı Devleti gibi çok uluslu yapıları milliyetçilik fikrinin etkisiyle parçalayarak daha küçük ulus devletlerin ortaya çıkmasına yol açmasıdır. Daha önce Birinci ve İkinci Balkan Savaşları'nda Balkan coğrafyasını kaybeden Osmanlı Devleti, I. Dünya Savaşı'ndan da yenilgiyle çıkarak Anadolu coğrafyasına hapsolur. Ancak hem yüzölçümünün küçük olması hem de bu küçük yüzölçümü içinde barındırdığı birçok ulusu göz önünde bulundurduğumuzda I. Dünya Savaşı'nda en çok etkilenen bölgenin Balkan coğrafyası olduğu görülür. Özellikle I. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında hiçbir unsur gözetilmeden çizilen siyasi sınırlar toprak başta olmak

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üzere dil, din, kültür ve etnik köken gibi azınlık sorunlarını da beraberinde getirir. Balkan savaşlarına kadar Balkan coğrafyasında hâkim unsur olan Türkler, yeni sınırlarla beraber azınlık durumuna düştüğü için söz konusu problemlerin de hem parçası hem mağduru hâline gelir.

1939 yılında II. Dünya Savaşı'nın patlak vermesi, Balkan coğrafyasının kaderini yeniden belirlerken siyasi anlamda yeni bir dünya düzenin oluşmasını da zemin hazırlar. II. Dünya Savaşı'nda fiziksel olarak Adolf Hitler'in Almanya'sı ile Josef Stalin'in Sovyet Rusya'sı arasında kalan Balkanlar, ideolojik olarak da faşizm ile komünizm arasında sıkışır. Bu nedenle II. Dünya Savaşı, I. Dünya Savaşı'nın aksine Balkanlar'da siyasi sınırlar değil, zihinsel bir yarılma yaratan ideolojik sınırlar çizer. Dolayısıyla II. Dünya Savaşı'nın etkileri ve buna bağlı sorunlar, I. Dünya Savaşı'ndan farklı biçimde Balkan coğrafyasına yansır. Nitekim bu yeni sorunlar kaçınılmaz şekilde Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türkleri de etkiler.

İki savaş sonrası Balkanlar'daki Türklerin yaşadığı sorunlar, Türkiye'de roman, hikâye, şiir ve seyahatname gibi birçok edebî eserde kendine yer bulur. Bu eserlerden biri olan ve 1936 yılında yayımlanan Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın *Balkanlar ve Türklük* adlı kitabı, I. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında siyasi sınırları belirlenen Balkan ülkelerinde yaşayan Türklerin içinde bulunduğu durumu Türk okuyucularına anlatmak için kaleme alınmıştır. Yazarın 1973 yılında yayımlanan *Değişen Dünyamız* adlı eseri ise II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra ideolojik olarak faşizm ve komünizm gibi iki ayrı kampa bölünmüş Balkan ülkelerindeki Türklerin mevcut durumunu yeniden gözlemlemek için yazılmıştır.

Bu makalenin amacı, Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın *Balkanlar ve Türklük ile Değişen Dünyamız* adlı eserlerinden hareketle I. Dünya Savaşı sonrasındaki düşüncelerinin, II. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında nasıl ve neden değiştiğini anlamaya çalışmaktır. Bunun için öncelikle Balkan coğrafyasının Türklerin hâkimiyetine geçmesiyle başlayan ve II. Dünya Savaşı'na kadar devam eden kısa tarihine değineceğiz. Ardından Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın *Balkanlar ve Türklük* kitabında Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türkleri nasıl ele aldığını ve Balkanlar'ı nasıl yorumladığına yer vereceğiz. Son

olarak, *Değişen Dünyamız*'da Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra Balkanlar'a dair değişen fikirlerini ele alacak ve bu değişimin nedenlerini açıklayacağız.

Tarihsel Arka Plan ya da Bir Coğrafyanın Makûs Tarihi

Balkanlar'daki varlığı oldukça eskilere dayanan Türklerin, Balkan coğrafyasında kalıcı olmasını sağlayan gelişmelerin başında 1345 yılında Sırp Kralı Stefan Duşan'ın (1331-1355) hayatını kaybetmesiyle Orhan Gazi'nin (1326-1359) Duşan'ın müttefiki olan Bizans İmparatoru VI. Ioannes Kantakuzanos'un (1347-1354) kızıyla evlenmesi gelir. Çünkü Bizans İmparatorluğu'nda patlak veren ikinci iç savaşta Sırplar ve Bulgarlar V. Ioannes Palaiologos'a destek verirken Orhan Gazi, kayınpederi Kantakuzanos'un yanında yer alır. Oğlu Süleyman Paşa kumandasındaki on bin kişilik askeri kuvvetle Sırp ve Yunan güçlerini mağlup eden Orhan Gazi, Gelibolu Yarımadası'nda bulunan Çimbi Kalesi'ne yerleşir. 1352 yılında kazanılan bu zafer Osmanlı Devleti'nin Balkanlar'a yerleşmesinin de dönüm noktası olur. Çünkü bu tarihten itibaren Balkanlar, Osmanlı Devleti'nin fetih politikasında en önemli coğrafya hâline gelir. İki yıl sonra 1354 yılında Gelibolu Yarımadası'nın fethedilmesi bunun en önemli göstergelerinden biridir (İnalcık, 2008: 232).

Orhan Gazi'den sonra Gelibolu Yarımadası üzerinden fetihlerine devam eden Osmanlı Devleti I. Murad (1359-1389) döneminde 1360 yılında Edirne'yi, bir yıl sonra 1361'de Filibe'yi ve daha sonra 1371 yılında Meriç Nehri üzerinde yapılan Çirmen Muharebesi'nin ardından Bulgaristan, Makedonya ve Sırbistan'ın güney topraklarını hâkimiyeti altına alır. Yeni alınan yerler Osmanlıların bölgedeki hâkimiyetini güçlendirirken yeni yapılacak fetihlerin de hızlanmasına zemin hazırlar. Dolayısıyla 1385'te Sofya'nın, 1386'da Niş'in, 1387'de Selanik'in ve 1389'da Sırbistan'ın fethedilmesi bunun bir sonucudur (Jelavich, 2006: 33).

I. Murad'ın hayatını kaybetmesinden sonra tahta geçen Yıldırım Bayezid'in (1389-1402) 1396 yılında Niğbolu'da Haçlı ordusunu bozguna

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uğratması Osmanlı Devleti'nin Balkanlar'daki hâkimiyetini pekiştirir. Daha sonra Fatih Sultan Mehmed (1451-1481), Bosna'yı fethederek Osmanlı Devleti'nin hâkimiyet alanını Dalmaçya sahillerine kadar genişletir ve yeni fetihler için de İtalya'yı hedef olarak belirler. Sonra Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın (1520-1566) beliren Macar tehlikesini bertaraf etmek için 1521 yılında Belgrad Kalesi'ni alması ve 1526 yılındaki Mohaç Meydan Muharebesi ile Macaristan topraklarının büyük bir bölümünü Osmanlı Devleti'ne katması Balkan fetihlerinin kuzeydoğuya yöneldiğini gösterir (Karpat, 1992: 28). Sultan Süleyman'ın –Fatih Sultan Mehmet gibi– yönünü batıya çevirmesiyle 1529 yılında Viyana kuşatılır. Ancak olumsuz hava koşulları ve ordunun ihtiyaçlarının karşılanmasında yaşanan aksaklıklar nedeniyle kuşatma başarısızlıkla sonuçlanır. Sultan Süleyman dönemi Osmanlı Devleti'nin Balkanlar'da batıya dönük fetihlerinin fiilen sona erdiği bir dönemdir (Jelavich, 2006: 37).

1789 yılında Fransız İhtilali ile ortaya çıkan milliyetçilik fikri siyasi bir karakter kazanarak Osmanlı Devleti gibi birçok ulusu bünyesinde barındıran devletlerin parçalanmasına neden olur. Dolayısıyla Fransız İhtilali, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Balkan coğrafyasında yaşayan ulusların siyasi bir kimlik kazanarak bağımsızlıklarını kazanma süreçlerinin başlangıcı ve "Osmanlı Barışı" denilen 200 yıllık barış ve huzur ortamının da sonunu getirir. Bundan sonraki süreç uzun süreli istikrarların sağlanamadığı yıllar olur.

Milliyetçilik fikriyle birlikte Osmanlı Devleti'ne karşı ilk ayaklanma 1804 yılında Avusturya'nın desteklediği Sırplar tarafından başlatılır. Sırplar bu ayaklanma sonucunda tam bağımsızlıklarını sağlayamamış olsalar da, 1829 yılında imzalanan Edirne Antlaşmasıyla imtiyazlarını genişletme hakkına sahip olurlar. Balkan ulusları içerisinde bağımsızlıklarını ilk kazanan Sırplardan sonra bağımsızlık için isyan edenler Yunanlılar olur. 1821 yılında Mora Yarımadası'nda başlayan isyan, İngiltere'nin desteklemesiyle 1829 yılında Yunanlıların bağımsızlığı ile sonuçlanır (Şenel, 2006: 399-401).

Balkanlar'ın parçalanmasını hızlandıran ve Osmanlı Devleti'nin hâkimiyet alanını zayıflatan ise 1878 yılında imzalanan Berlin Antlaşması'dır. Bu antlaşma sonucunda, 1804 yılında ilk isyan eden Sırplar ile Romanya ve Karadağ tam bağımsızlıklarını kazanırken Bulgaristan'a muhtariyet verilir. Ancak antlaşma tarafların hiçbirini memnun etmez. Bu memnuniyetsizlik öncelikle Balkan Savaşları'na daha sonra da I. Dünya Savaşı'na giden sürecin başlangıcı olur (Şenel, 2006: 401-406).

8 Ekim 1912 yılında Karadağ'ın Osmanlı Devleti'ne savaş ilan etmesiyle I. Balkan Savaşı fiilen başlamış olur. Daha sonra Sırbistan, Bulgaristan ve Yunanistan'ın da savaşa katılmasıyla Osmanlı Devleti, bu devletlerle de mücadele eder. Bâbıâli Baskını ile İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti iktidarı tekrar ele geçirince Balkan devletleri ile görüşmelere başlar. Görüşmeler sonucunda I. Balkan Savaşı'nın sona ermesini sağlayan Londra Antlaşması 30 Mayıs 1913'te taraflar arasında imzalanır (Küçük, 1992: 24).

I. Balkan Savaşında yer almayan Romanya'nın Bulgaristan'ın büyümesinden ve benzer biçimde Sırbistan ile Yunanistan'ın da Makedonya'nın büyük bir kısmının Bulgaristan'a verilmesinden rahatsız olması, ikinci bir Balkan savaşının çıkmasına neden olur. Bulgaristan'ın 23 Haziran 1913'te Sırbistan, Karadağ ve Yunanistan'a karşı savaş ilan etmesi ve bu gelişme üzerine Romanya'nın da 10 Temmuz'da Bulgaristan'a karşı savaş açması, Osmanlı Devleti'ne karşı ittifak eden Balkan devletleri arasında II. Balkan Savaşı'nın çıkmasına neden olur. Mevcut durumu fırsata çeviren İttihat ve Terakki yönetimi dört devletle birden savaşa giren Bulgaristan'ın güçsüz bıraktığı Edirne'yi 21 Temmuz'da Bulgaristan'dan geri alır. II. Balkan Savaşı, Bulgaristan ile Sırbistan, Yunanistan ve Karadağ arasında 10 Ağustos 1913 yılında imzalanan Bükreş Antlaşmasıyla sona erer (Küçük, 1992: 24).

Balkan savaşları henüz sona ermişken bir yıl sonra 28 Haziran 1914'te Saraybosna'da Sırp öğrenci Gavrilo Princip'in Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu Veliahtı Franz Ferdinand ile eşini öldürmesi I. Dünya Savaşı'nın fitilini ateşler. Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu'nun Sırbistan'a savaş ilan etmesiyle başlayan savaş, Rusya, Almanya,

İngiltere ve Fransa gibi büyük devletlerin dâhil olmasıyla dünya savaşına dönüşür. Savaşın başında Avusturya-Macaristan ve Sırbistan dışındaki diğer Balkan devletleri tarafsız kalmayı tercih ederler. Ancak savaş sürecinde 2 Kasım 1914'te Osmanlı Devleti, 14 Ekim 1915'te Bulgaristan, 28 Ağustos 1916'da Romanya ve son olarak 26 Haziran 1917'de Yunanistan savaşa dâhil olmak zorunda kalırlar. Savaş, İtilaf Devletleri'nin lehine gelişince 29 Eylül 1918'de ilk önce Bulgaristan, 30 Ekim'de Osmanlı Devleti, 4 Kasım'da Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu ve 11 Kasım'da Almanya savaştan çekilir ve böylece I. Dünya Savaşı sona ermiş olur. Savaşın sonucunda tarih boyunca bölgede doğrudan ya da dolaylı biçimde hâkim olan Osmanlı Devleti, Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu ve Rusya parçalanarak topraklarında Sırbistan, Hırvatistan ve Slovenya'dan oluşan Yugoslavya, Romanya, Arnavutluk, Yunanistan, Bulgaristan ve Türkiye gibi daha küçük ulus devletler kurulur (Öksüz ve Okur, 2006: 625-639).

Balkan coğrafyası I. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında en çok etkilenen bölgelerin başında gelir. Çünkü Batılı devletler barış antlaşmalarıyla siyasi sınırları yeniden belirlerken kaybeden ülkelere kendi geleceklerini belirleme hakkı vermezler. Bu durum Balkan devletleri arasında toprak başta olmak üzere azınlık sorunlarının ortaya çıkmasına neden olur. Bunun dışında Balkan ülkelerinin çözmesi gereken en önemli problemlerden biri de ekonomidir. Ekonomilerinin tarıma bağlı olması ve hızla artan nüfus, köyden kente göçü zorunlu hâle getirir. Bu yüzden Balkan ülkeleri ekonomik kalkınma için toprak reformuyla beraber önceliği sanayileşmeye verirler. Ancak sanayileşmenin beklenenden yavaş olması, toprak reformuna rağmen ekonominin toparlanamaması ve azınlık sorununun giderek artması Balkanlar'da komünist ve faşist eğilimlerin ortaya çıkmasına zemin hazırlar. Nihayetinde 1929 yılında yaşanan ekonomik buhran daha önce planlanan toplumsal hedefleri arka plana atar. Dolayısıyla 1930'lu yıllara gelindiğinde Balkanlar'da ekonomik sorunlar artmış, parlamenter sistem çökmüş, yönetimden memnun olmayan protesto oyları komünist ya da faşist örgütlere gitmiş ve siyasal istikrar bozulmuştur. Buna karşın Almanya'nın 1930'larda

uluslararası arenada etkin bir güç olarak belirmesi Balkan ülkelerinin birçoğunda faşist diktatörlüklerin kurulmasına neden olur (Akşin ve Fırat, 1993: 97-118).

Almanya'da Nazilerin iktidara gelmesi ve Mussolini idaresindeki İtalya'nın Balkan coğrafyasında genişleme çabası, Balkan devletleri arasındaki sorunların çözülmesini ve çıkarlar konusunda işbirliği yapılmasını zorunlu hâle getirir. Bu doğrultuda ilki 1930'da Atina'da, ikincisi 1931'de İstanbul'da, üçüncüsü 1932'de Bükreş'te ve sonuncusu 1933'te Selânik'te olmak üzere dört Balkan Konferansı düzenlenir. Bu konferansların neticesinde 4 Şubat 1934 yılında Romanya, Yunanistan, Yugoslavya ve Türkiye arasında Balkan Antantı imzalanır (Değerli, 2008: 115-134). Balkan Antantı ile taraflar, sosyal ve kültürel alanda işbirliği yapmanın yanı sıra birbirlerinin sınırlarını karşılıklı olarak güvence altına almış ve başka bir Balkan devletiyle birlikte siyasal bir anlaşma yapmamayı da taahhüt etmiş olurlar (Armaoğlu, 2017: 304). Ancak Balkan Antantı'na Balkanlar'daki tüm devletleri dâhil olmadığı için II. Dünya Savaş ile birlikte fiilen sona erer.

Almanya'nın Polonya'ya saldırmasıyla 1 Eylül 1939'da başlayan II. Dünya Savaşı sırasında Balkanlar, Hitler ile Stalin arasında kalarak önce Alman ordularının daha sonra Sovyet Rusya ordularının işgaline uğrar. II. Dünya Savaşı'ndaki bu işgalin Balkan ülkeleri üzerindeki en önemli etkisi, söz konusu savaş sonrası ülkelerin ideolojik ve yönetim açısından Marksist rejimi benimsemeleridir. Sadece Yunanistan kanlı bir iç savaştan sonra Batı tarzı demokratik rejimi korumayı başarırken Yunanistan dışındaki diğer Balkan ülkeleri Marksist rejimi kabul eder. Ancak Yugoslavya komünizmi benimsemiş olmasına rağmen Mareşal Tito'nun politikaları sayesinde Sovyet Rusya'nın hâkimiyetine girmez. Fakat komünizm Balkanlar'da hiçbir zaman uluslararası bir nitelik kazanmayarak başlangıcından günümüze kadar ülkelerin kendine ait biçimiyle gelişir. Bu nedenle Marksist kuralları sadece ekonomi alanında uygulamışlardır (Karpat, 1992: 32). II. Dünya Savaşı siyasi sınırlar üzerinde büyük değişiklikler meydana getirmemesine rağmen ideolojik

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olarak Balkan coğrafyasını köklü şekilde değiştirmiştir. Dolayısıyla II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonraki dönemde Balkanlar, yaşanan bu ideolojik değişimin sancılarını çekecektir.

Gönül Bağına Yolculuk: Balkanlar ve Türklük

1930 yılından itibaren her yıl düzenlenen Balkan Konferansları ve bu konferansların Balkan Antantı ile siyasi, sosyal ve en önemlisi kültürel bir işbirliğine dönüşmesi, Türk yazarların Balkanlar'a olan ilgisini arttırır.[1] Hem Üsküp doğumlu olması hem de çocukluğunun Balkan coğrafyasındaki trajedilere şahitlik etmesi nedeniyle Balkanlarla en çok ilgilenen yazarların başında Yaşar Nabi Nayır gelir. 1933 yılından itibaren başında bulunduğu *Varlık* dergisinde Balkanlarla ilgili yazılar kaleme alan Yaşar Nabi, ilki 1934 ikincisi 1936 yılında olmak üzere Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türklerin içinde bulundukları durumu yerinde görmek için iki Balkan seyahatine çıkar. Bu seyahatlerin neticesinde herhangi bilimsel ve siyasi bir iddiası olmayan gözlem ve düşüncelerini parça parça *Varlık* dergisinde yayımlar. Daha sonra bu yazılarının büyük bir kısmını 1936 yılında *Balkanlar ve Türklük* adı altında kitaplaştırır.

Balkanlar ve Türklük, "önsöz" ve "giriş" bölümünden sonra "Romanya'da Türklük", "Bulgaristan'da Türklük", "Yugoslavya'da Türklük", "Yunanistan'da Türklük", "Göç Meselesi" başlıklarıyla devam edip "sonsöz" ile biter. Önsözde çocukluğunun büyük bir kısmının Balkanlar'ın en kozmopolit yeri olan Makedonya'da geçtiğini belirten Yaşar Nabi, "[...] bizim için daha yeni kaybedilmiş bu toprakların, hâlâ, yağmur dindikten sonra da bir müddet duyulmakta devam eden taze toprak kokusu gibi, Türk hâkimiyetinin izlerini dipdiri taşıyan havasını teneffüs ettim." (Nayır, 1936, s. 7) diyerek Balkanlar'ın kendisinde uyandırdığı hissiyatı açıklamaya çalışır. Osmanlı Devleti'nin Balkan Savaşları'na kadar Balkan coğrafyası üzerindeki hâkimiyetini göz önünde bulundurduğumuzda Yaşar Nabi'nin duygusal ifadelerinin aslında çok rasyonel

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1   Saadet Çetin (2018), Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın hem varlık dergisinde yayımlanan yazılarının hem de *Balkanlar ve Türklük* kitabının o dönem Türkiye'de Balkanlar'a yönelik ilginin artmasında önemi bir rol oynadığına dikkat çeker.

gerekçelere işaret ettiğini söyleyebiliriz. Bu rasyonel gerekçeler ise Balkanlar'ın neden Türkiye için önemli olduğunu açıkladığı cümlelerde karşımıza çıkar: "Balkanlar... Mevzua en yabancıların bile tecessüs ve merakını tahrik edecek kadar karışık, kompleks, esrarlı ve cazip olan bu meselenin, oraya tarihî, ırkî, siyasî ve iktisadî bağlarla sımsıkı bağlı olan biz Türkler için ne kadar büyük bir ehemmiyet arz ettiği meydandadır." (Nayır, 1936: 8). Yaşar Nabi'ye tam olarak toprak kokusuyla beraber Türk hâkimiyetini teneffüs ettiren asıl unsur, Balkan coğrafyası ile yüzyıllardır kurduğumuz tarihî, siyasi ve iktisadi bağın yanı sıra aynı soydan gelmiş olmamızdır. Çünkü kendisini bu kitabı yazmaya sevk eden sebebi şu kelimelerle ifade eder:

> *Balkan ülkelerinde kalmış ve henüz ana yurda kavuşmamış milyonlarca Türk'ün bugünkü hâllerine ve ne şartlarda yaşadıklarına dair Türk okurlarına kısaca malûmat vermek ve bu münasebetle de, türlü safhalarını ve etrafında gözüme ilişen neşriyatı daima dikkatle takip etmiş olduğum bu mevzu üzerindeki düşünce ve kanaatlerimin Türklükle alakalı taraflarını hülâsa etmek... İşte beni bu eseri yazmaya sevketmiş olan sebeb.* (Nayır, 1936: 9).*

I. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra her ne kadar siyasi sınırlar yeniden belirlenmişse de yeni kurulan devletlerin sınırları içinde milyonlarca Türk yaşamaya devam etmektedir. Bu nedenle Yaşar Nabi, Balkan ülkelerinde yaşayan Türkleri ele alırken din, mezhep, siyasi görüş fark etmeksizin Türklük üzerinden değerlendirmeye çalışır.

Balkanlar ve Türklük kitabının belki de en önemli kısmı Osmanlı Devleti'nin Balkanlar'da baş döndürücü bir hızda hâkimiyet kurup yine aynı hızda ve önüne geçilemeyecek biçimde önce çöküşünün sonra yıkılışının sorgulandığı "giriş" bölümüdür. Yaşar Nabi'ye göre bunun birkaç sebebi bulunmaktadır. Birincisi, Balkan ülkelerinin, halktaki milliyetçilik duygularını hızlandırmak ve bağımsızlıklarını kazanmak için bilerek oluşturulan Türk düşmanlığıdır. Bazı Balkan ülkelerinde Türk düşmanlığının gazete köşelerinde, dergilerde, kitaplarda ve okul müfredatlarında yer aldığını ifade eden Yaşar Nabi, Balkanlar hakkında

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kalem oynatan birçok Batılı entelektüelin hâlâ haçlı zihniyetiyle hareket ederek Balkan halklarına ilim adı altında Türk ve Türklük aleyhine yalan-yanlış bilgiler verdiğini belirtir. İkincisi ise Osmanlı Devleti'nin süreç içerisinde öngöremediği gelişmelere tedbir almayarak yaptığı hatalardır. Yaşar Nabi'ye göre Osmanlı Devleti'nin en büyük hatası fethettiği topraklardaki halkın din ve ırk farklılıklarını dikkate almayıp bir gün bağımsızlıkları için tehlike oluşturacaklarını düşünmemiş olmasıdır. Bu öngörüsüzlük milliyetçilik fikriyle beraber Osmanlı Devleti'nin parçalanmasıyla neticelenir. Ayrıca Hristiyanlar için dini ve hukuki şefliği kabul edilen patrikhaneye müsaade edilmesi diğer önemli hatalardan biridir. Çünkü patrikhaneye gösterilen müsamaha zamanla bir binanın temelini kemiren bir sıçan gibi devleti içeriden kemirerek dağılışa kadar götürür. Osmanlı Devleti'nin patrikhaneden sonra azınlıklara verdiği en önemli ayrıcalık, kayıt ve kontrol yapılmadığı için devlete karşı isyan ocaklarına dönüşen okulların açılmasına izin verilmesidir. Yine din ve millet farkı gözetmeksizin Islahat Fermanıyla azınlıklara verilen haklar, onları devlete bağlayacak yerde bağımsızlıklarını kazanma ümidi verir. Yaşar Nabi, Balkanlar'ın neden ve nasıl kaybedildiğini etraflıca tartışmanın geçmişe takılıp kalmak olarak algılanmaması gerektiğini aksine yeni kurulan devletin aynı hatalara düşmesine engel olmak için önemli olduğunu düşünür (Nayır, 1936: 13-53).

Yaşar Nabi, "Giriş" bölümünde Osmanlı Devleti'nin Balkanlar'ı neden ve nasıl kaybettiğini tartışırken aynı bölümün "Kaçırılmış Fırsat" alt başlığında fetihlerden sonra devletin uygulayabileceği ve her biri yeni bir tarih yazım denemesi olan üç alternatif politikaya değinip bu politikaların muhtemel sonuçlarını tartışır. İlk olarak Yavuz Sultan Selim'in Zembilli Ali Efendi'nin sözünü dinlemeyip[2] padişahın tüm Balkanları Müslümanlaştırması ihtimali üzerinde duran Yaşar Nabi, böyle bir durumda Balkanlar'ın bugün Müslüman olacağını, din ve

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2   Rivayete göre bir defasında Zembilli Ali Efendi, Yavuz Sultan Selim'e "ahkâm-ı şer'iy-yeye mugayir" infazda bulunursa hal'ine fetva vereceğini söylemiştir. Yaşar Nabi Na-yır'ın iması, Yavuz Sultan Selim'in bu sözü dinlemiş olmasıdır (Bkz. Küçükdağ, 2013, s. 248).

milliyetçilik propagandalarının İslam sancağında buluşan halk üzerinde bir etkisinin olamayacağını belirtir. Hatta belki de Avrupa haritasının bile yeniden ve farklı çizileceğini ifade eder. Yaşar Nabi, ikinci olarak Türklerin Anadolu'ya gelmeden önce Hristiyanlığı benimsemiş olmaları ve bu inanç üzerine kurdukları Osmanlı Devleti'nin de resmî dininin Hristiyanlık ihtimali sonuçları üzerinde durur. Böyle bir ihtimalde Türkler, Arap ve Fars kültürü yerine Yunan ve Latin medeniyetine yönelecek; Türkçe, Fransızca ve İngilizce gibi Batı dili hâline gelecek; padişah da Hristiyanların dini başkanlığını şahsında toplamış olacaktır. Hıristiyanlığın resmi dili Yunanca değil Türkçe olacak ve kültür olarak Yunan kültürü yerine Türk kültürünü benimseyecektir. Böylece Balkanlar, Macaristan ve Rusya'nın büyük bir kısmı Türkleşmiş olacaktır. Son olarak Fatih Sultan Mehmet'in İstanbul'un fethinden sonra azınlıklara dini özgürlüklerini vermeyerek bunun yerine duaların Türkçe okunduğu, dini derslerin yine Türkçe yapıldığı Türk kilisesi açmasını varsayan Yaşar Nabi, böyle bir durumda da halkın Müslümanlığı ya da Hristiyanlığı tercih ederek Türkleşeceğini belirtir (Nayır, 1936: 22-29).

Yaşar Nabi, 1934 yılında çıktığı Balkan seyahatinde özellikle üzerinde durduğu nokta dilleri, dinleri, renkleri ve kültürleri farklı olsa da bu coğrafyada yaşan pek çok halkın Türk olduğudur. Türklerin tarihin farklı dönemlerinde Orta Asya'daki yurtlarını bırakarak İskit, Hun, Hazar, Kıpçak Kuman, Peçenek, Bulgar ve Oğuz adı altında Batı Avrupa'ya ve Balkanlar'a geldiğini, Osmanlı Devleti'nin tarih anlayışını Osmanlıcılık ile sınırlandırdığı için yönetimi altındaki Macar, Rum, Arnavut, Bulgar, Sırp, Ulah, Moldovan, Rumen vd. diğer adlarla yaşayan Balkan halklarının Türk olduğunu[3] dikkate almadığını, sadece dilleri ve dinleri farklı olduğu için hem Müslüman hem Hristiyan din adamlarının söylemleri nedeniyle aynı kanı taşıyan aynı gelenek ve göreneklere sahip olan halkların birbirinden uzaklaştığını, Osmanlı Devleti'nin din taassubundan dolayı devletin Hristiyan Türklere yabancı muamelesi

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3   Yaşar Nabi Nayır, sözünü ettiği milletlerin Türk olduğu görüşünü metin içerisinde tartışmaz. Bu makale Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın *Balkanlar ve Türklük* ile *Değişen Dünyamız* adlı eserlerini merkeze aldığı için söz konusu görüş başka bir makale konusudur.

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yaptığını belirten Yaşar Nabi, bu hataların Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan sonra Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde de devam ettiğini ve tek suçları Bizans döneminde Hristiyanlaştırılmış Türk olan Yunanlıları sadece Hristiyan oldukları için Anadolu'dan ve Trakya'dan Yunanistan'a gönderdiğimizi ifade eder (Nayır, 1936: 57-61). Dikkat edilirse Yaşar Nabi'ye göre Balkan halkları ile kuracağımız ilişkinin en temelinde –tarihsel bir gerçekliği de olan– Türklük bulunmaktadır. Ancak burada söz konusu olan Türklüğü sadece etnik bir kavram olarak ele almamak gerekir. Çünkü Yaşar Nabi, birazdan da değineceğimiz üzere seyahat ettiği ülkelerdeki Türklerden söz ederken öncelikle onlarla tarihsel ve kültürel[4] bağlarımıza değinmeye çalışır.

Yaşar Nabi'nin Balkan seyahatinde ilk durağı, bugün Moldovya sınırları içerisinde özerk bir devletleri olan ancak o dönem Romanya sınırları içerisinde bulunan Hristiyan Gagauz Türkleri olur. Yaşar Nabi, Gagauzlar'ın Türklerin Oğuz boyundan geldiklerini ve Gagauz kelimesinin "Gök-Oğuz"dan türediğini belirtir. Hristiyan olmalarına rağmen kültürlerini, edebiyatlarını, oyunlarını, yaşam tarzlarını ve en önemlisi Rumeli Türkçesine benzemekle beraber Anadolu'nun bazı lehçelerine yakın olan dillerini koruduklarını ifade eder. Türk gelenek ve göreneklerini yaşatmaya devam ettiklerini, etnografi bakımından Anadolu ve Rumeli Türklerinden farklı olmadıklarını, Türklere ve Türkiye'ye, özellikle de Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'e büyük bir saygı ve sevgi beslediklerini ekler. Tarihsel ve kültürel örneklerle anlattığı Gagauzların Türklüklerinden şüphe duyulmaması gerektiğini ve bu nedenle Romanya'daki Müslüman Türkler gibi devletlerarası yapılan anlaşmalar gereği en kısa sürede ana yurda göç ettirilmeleri gerektiğini belirtir (Nayır, 1936: 65-114).

Anlaşılacağı üzere Yaşar Nabi, Gagauzların Türk olduklarını yalnızca Oğuz boyundan geldikleri için değil, aynı zamanda kültürel anlamda Türk kültür ve geleneklerini koruyup devam ettirdikleri için de ifade eder. Dolayısıyla onların Türklükleriyle ilgili sadece etnik bir bağ

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4   Sibel Yılmaz (2013), hem *Balkanlar ve Türklük* hem de *Değişen Dünyamız* adlı eserlerde Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın Balkanlar'da Türk kültürünü nasıl ele aldığına odaklanır.

kurmaz, aynı zamanda kültürel bağın da olmasına dikkat eder. Ancak bu noktada yazarın dile getirdiği göç meselesine değinmek gerekmektedir. Bilindiği üzere 1930'lu yıllarda Balkan ülkeleri arasında başlayan dostluk iklimi ülkeler arasında yapılan antlaşmalarla güçlendirilmişti. Bu kapsamda Türkiye ile Romanya arasında 1933 yılında Dostluk ve Saldırmazlık Antlaşması, 1934 yılında da birkaç Balkan ülkesinin de dâhil olduğu Balkan Antantı imzalanmıştı. Bu antlaşmalar Romanya'da yaşayan Müslüman Türkler üzerindeki baskıyı kısmen hafifletse de Romanya'da Müslüman Türk nüfusun fazla olması Türkler üzerindeki baskıyı artırır. Özellikle Romanya'nın Müslüman Türklerin bulunduğu yerlere kendi nüfusunu yerleştirme politikası, Müslüman Türklerin arazilerini neredeyse yok pahasına satmalarına sebep olur. Bu durum sadece tarım ve hayvancılıkla geçinen Müslüman Türklerin zorunlu olarak göç etmelerine neden olur (Nayır, 1936: 116-119). Dolayısıyla Yaşar Nabi, iki devlet arasında bir göç anlaşmasının gerekliliğini dile getirir.

Yaşar Nabi'nin Balkan seyahatinde ikinci durağı Bulgaristan'dır. Balkan ülkeleri içerisinde en zor koşullarda yaşayan Türklerin Bulgaristan'da bulunanlar olduğunu belirten Yaşar Nabi, bu durumun resmî ve gayrı resmî Bulgar siyasetinin bir parçası olduğunu ifade eder. Çünkü Bulgarlara göre bugün Bulgaristan'da yaşayan Türkler, memleketlerini asırlarca işgal eden, Bulgarları en sıkı rejim altında tutarak onların millî benliklerinin ortaya çıkmasını engelleyen ve millet hâlinde medeni hayata karışmalarına engel olan Osmanlı'nın devamı ve mirasçılarıdırlar. Bu nedenle Bulgar tarihinde ve Bulgar okullarında okutulan ders kitaplarında Türk düşmanlığının yapılması normal karşılanır. Dolayısıyla Bulgar milliyetçiliğinin ortaya çıkması için Bulgaristan'da yaşayan Türklerin kaçınılmaz biçimde hedef olması çok da şaşırtıcı değildir. Millî bayramlar ve önemli tarihlerin yıldönümlerinde Türklük aleyhine yapılanları da göz önünde bulundurduğumuzda bu durum meselenin resmî tarafını oluşturmaktadır. Yaşar Nabi, meselenin resmî olmayan tarafını da Bulgaristan'daki matbuatın yaptığını belirtir. Özellikle belirli dönemlerde Bulgar gazete ve dergilerinde kasıtlı

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biçimde Türkiye aleyhine yazılar kaleme alındığını, bunun da Türk düşmanlığını körüklemek için yapıldığını dile getirir. Ancak burada dikkat edilmesi gereken, Türk düşmanlığı propagandasının resmî ve gayrı resmî mercilerle bir siyaset olarak benimsenmesidir. Dolayısıyla Türklerin yaşadığı daha kırsal kesimlerde Bulgar vatandaşların yerleşmesi için topraklarına el koyma, belli Türk mahfillerini yakma, bombalama, Türk evlerini ateşe verme ve en iğrenç yıldırma yöntemlerinden ırza geçme gibi birçok işkence bu propagandanın sonucudur. Türk okullarına konulan vergiler, yine Türk okullarında görev yapan Türk öğretmenlerin casusluk yapmakla suçlanarak yerine Bulgaristan yönetimine yaranmaya çalışan öğretmenlerin getirilmesi ve bazı bölgelerde yeterli şartlar olmadığı için Türk okullarının kapatılması, Bulgar yönetiminin Türk kültürünün yok edilmesi için atılmış sistematik adımlardır. Bu nedenle Yaşar Nabi, Bulgaristan'da oldukça zor koşullarda yaşayan Müslüman Türklerin bir an önce ana yurda gelebilmeleri için Türkiye ile Bulgaristan arasında acil bir göç anlaşmasının yapılması gerektiğini belirtir. Bulgarca konuşan Müslüman bir halk olan Pomaklara ayrıca değinen yazar, Bulgarların, Bulgarca konuştukları için Pomakları Müslüman Bulgar diye tanımladıklarını ve böylece Pomakları, Bulgaristan'daki Türk azınlığından ayırmaya çalıştıklarını ifade eder (Nayır, 1936: 129-183).

Balkan seyahatinin üçüncü durağı olan Yugoslavya'da da Türklerin durumu pek farklı değildir. İlk olarak o dönem Yugoslavya sınırları içerisinde bulunan Makedonya'ya giden Yaşar Nabi'nin doğduğu Üsküp'te ilk dikkati çeken, savaş sonrası değişen koşullarda ekonomik refahın Türk mahalleleri terk edip Vardar Nehri'nin diğer tarafına yani Hristiyan mahallelerine geçmiş olmasıdır. Hristiyan mahallelerinde yeni yollar, caddeler, sokaklar ve modern Avrupai binalar inşa edilirken Türk mahallerinin kendi kaderlerine terk edilmiştir. On beş yıl önce ayrıldığı Üsküp'te mimarinin bu kadar değişmiş olmasına şaşıran Yaşar Nabi, servetin bu kadar hızlı el değiştirmesine vurgu yapar (Nayır, 1936: 187-190).

Balkan Savaşları'ndan sonra Türkiye'nin en yüksek göçü Yugoslavya'nın bir parçası olan Sırbistan'dan aldığına değinen Yaşar Nabi, bunun nedeninin o bölgede yaşayan zengin toprak sahiplerinin, topraklarının devlet tarafından gasp edilmesinden kaynaklandığını belirtir. Yaşar Nabi, Sırbistan'da hâlâ beş yüz bine yakın Müslüman'ın yaşadığını, bunların yarısından fazlasının ırk ve dil bakımından Arnavut olmalarına rağmen Türklüğe meyilli olduklarını ve bu nedenle Türkiye'nin onların bu farklılığını gözetmeksizin ana yurda alması gerektiğini ifade eder. Arnavutluk'un bu durumun farkında olduğunu ve nüfus çoğunluğunu korumak amacıyla Arnavutların ana yurda alınmaması için Türkiye ile görüşmeler yaptığını da ekler (Nayır, 1936: 190-195).

Yaşar Nabi, gittiği Romanya ve Bulgaristan ziyaretlerinden farklı olarak Yugoslavya'da yaşayan Müslümanlara bazı eleştirilerde bulunur. Yugoslavya'da yaşayan Müslümanların gerek Romanya ve gerek Bulgaristan'da yaşayan Türk azınlıkları gibi sistematik bir şiddete maruz kalmadıklarını belirtir. Diğer ülkelerde yaşan Türklere göre daha iyi bir noktada olmalarına rağmen toprakları ellerinden alındıktan sonra kendi haklarını savunabilmek için birlik olmaları gerekirken şahsi çıkarları peşinde koştuklarını ve bu nedenle birlik olamayıp dağıldıklarını söyler. Yugoslavya Türklerine getirilen bir diğer eleştiri, ülkede yüz binlerce Türk olmasına rağmen ne bir Türk gazetesinin ne de Türklerin eğitim alabileceği bir Türk okulunun bulunmamasıdır. Bunun sebebi ise Yugoslavya'nın Türklerin geçim kaynağı olan topraklarına el koyup onları göçe zorlamasıdır. Ekonomik anlamda zor duruma düşen Türkler, eğitim ve kültür gibi hayatın diğer alanlarında da varlık gösterememişlerdir. Ayrıca Yugoslavya sınırları içerisinde yer alan Bosna Hersek Müslümanlarına özellikle değinen Yaşar Nabi, Slav ırkının en temiz ve en güzeli olarak tanımladığı Boşnakların dillerini ve kültürlerini ısrarla koruduklarını, yaşantılarında Slav kültür ve geleneklerine hiç yer vermediklerini belirtir. Anadolu'da bulunan birçok geleneğin Boşnaklar tarafından hâlâ devam ettirildiğini, Türk kültürüne çok yakın bir kültürleri olduğunu, bu nedenle Türklüğe ve Türklere karşı ilgili olduklarını ifade eder (Nayır, 1936: 194-219).

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Son olarak Yunanistan'a geçen Yaşar Nabi, Lozan Barış Antlaşmasıyla mübadele dışında tutulan Batı Trakya Türkleri ile İstanbul Rumlarını karşılaştırır. Batı Trakya Türklerinin hem ekonomik olarak hem de kültürel olarak İstanbul'da yaşayan Rumlardan daha zor durumda olduklarını belirtir. Batı Trakya Türklerinin mübadele dışında tutulmalarının hem Türkiye hem de oradaki Türkler açısından iyi olmadığını ancak stratejik olarak İstanbul Rumlarına karşılık Batı Trakya'da bulunmalarının önemli olduğuna dikkat çeker. Çünkü Yunanistan'ın İstanbul Rumlarını özellikle Türkiye'de tutma arzusunu "Megali İdea" fikri üzerinden yorumlayan Yaşar Nabi, buna karşılık yüz binden fazla Türkün Batı Trakya'da bulunmasını bir denge unsuru olarak görür (Nayır, 1936: 223-231).

Yaşar Nabi, göç konusunu ayrı bir başlık altında inceleyerek, göçün planlandığı bir şekilde gerçekleştirildiğinde felaket değil, aksine faydalı bir sürece dönüşeceğini vurgular. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye'nin acil olarak planlı ve programlı bir göç politikası benimsemesi gerektiğini ifade eder. Balkanlar'da yaşayan milyonlarca Türk'ün, toplu ve planlı bir göç hareketiyle ana yurda gelmelerinin hem ülke hem de Türklük için şu önemli faydalarda bulunacağını söyler: Birincisi, yeni kurulan devlet kendisini modern ve laik ilkeler üzerine inşa etmektedir. Ancak yurtdışındaki Türkler cehalet ve taassup propagandasına maruz kalarak yozlaşmaktadırlar. Bu durum Türkiye'deki Türkler ile yurtdışındaki Türkler arasında gelecekte aşılması imkânsız bir duvar örmektedir. Ayrıca Türkiye kendi soydaşlarını yabancı milletlerin iradesi altında bırakmamalıdır. Çünkü bu durum onların zamanla "çingeneleşerek" kendi benliklerinin kaybolmasına neden olmaktadır. Bu nedenle planlı bir göç politikası izlenmelidir. İkincisi, Türkiye'nin bugünkü şartlarda kalkınması için nüfusunun asgari otuz milyon olması gerekmektedir. Doğum oranını arttırmak ve ölümü azaltarak nüfus arttırılabilir ancak bu uzun zaman isteyen bir planlamadır. Bu nedenle yurtdışındaki Türklerin yurda getirilmesi nüfus açığının kapanmasına doğrudan yardımcı olur. Böylece ülkenin kalkınması için gerekli insan gücü

sağlanmış olur. Ülke kalkınmasının yanı sıra memleketin savunması için de gerekli insan potansiyeli sağlanmış olur (Nayır, 1936: 235-253).

Yaşar Nabi'nin Balkanlar ve Türklük kitabında özellikle iki konuyu ön plana çıkardığını söyleyebiliriz. Bu konulardan ilki, yüzyıllarca Osmanlı Devleti'nin egemenliği altında yaşayan ve bugün Balkanlar'da farklı isimlerle anılan milletlerin, zamanında Orta Asya'dan Batı'ya göç eden Türk toplulukları olduğu, yani Türk olduklarıdır. İkincisi ise, I. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türklerin siyasi ve iktisadi koşulları göz önünde bulundurularak ana yurda, yani Türkiye'ye göç ettirilmeleri gerekliliğidir. Ancak dikkat edilirse Yaşar Nabi, Balkan milletlerinin Türklüğünü sadece etnik köken üzerinden açıklamaya çalışmaz. Aynı zamanda söz konusu milletlerin dillerini, kültürlerini, gelenek ve göreneklerini de inceleyerek onların Türk olduklarını iddia eder. Dolayısıyla Yaşar Nabi, bu yaklaşımıyla etnik milliyetçiliği, kültür milliyetçiliğine dönüştürmeye çalışmıştır.

Toprak Kokmayan Diyar: Değişen Dünyamız

Yaşar Nabi Nayır, 1934 ve 1936 yıllarında gerçekleştirdiği iki Balkan seyahatini ve bu seyahatteki gözlem ve düşüncelerini *Balkanlar ve Türklük* kitabında ele almıştı. Bu iki seyahattin ardından seyahatlerine bir müddet ara verip yeniden Balkanlar'a gitmeyi düşünen yazar, 1939'da II. Dünya savaşının çıkması nedeniyle bu düşüncesini gerçekleştiremez. 1956 yılında Türk sanatçılar grubu ile resmi davetli olarak Yugoslavya'ya, 1958 yılında Brüksel Dünya Sergisi nedeniyle uzun bir Batı Avrupa yolculuğuna ve 1962 yılından sonra da çoğunluğu davetli olarak dünyanın birçok yerine gitme fırsatı bulur. Bu seyahatlerdeki gözlem ve düşüncelerini kaleme aldığı yazılarının bir kısmını *Varlık* ve *Cep* dergileri ile *Cumhuriyet* gazetesinde yayımlar. Daha sonra bu yazılarını 1973 yılında Varlık Yayınları'ndan *Değişen Dünyamız* adı altında kitaplaştırır.

II. Dünya Savaşı ve sonrasında yaşanan gelişmeler tüm dünyada olduğu gibi Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türklerin durumunda da önemli değişikliklere neden olur. Yaşar Nabi, savaş sonrası düşüncelerine yer verdiği

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Değişen Dünyamız kitabının "Balkanlar Bugün" başlığında, II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası Türkiye ile Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türkler arasındaki ilişkinin neden kesildiğini açıklamaya çalışır: "1939 Eylülünde başlayan İkinci Dünya Savaşı ile birlikte Balkan ülkeleriyle aramıza ilkin faşizm, savaş ertesindeyse komünizmin demir perdesi indi. Ortak bir tarihin kopmaz bağlarıyla bağlı olduğumuz Balkanlar ve oralarda yaşayan milyonlarca Türk'le ilişkimiz kesildi" der (Nayır, 1973, s. 168). Yaşar Nabi'nin oldukça önemli olan bu tespitine baktığımızda, gerek milliyetçilik düşüncesinin etkisiyle başlayan Balkan savaşlarında gerekse Balkan coğrafyasının siyasi haritasını yeniden belirleyen I. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra Türkiye ile Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türkler arasında bir kopuş olmamıştır. Hatta dilleri, dinleri ve kültürleri birbirinden farklı olan Türkler bir araya gelmenin koşullarını oluşturmaya çabalamıştır. Yukarıda belirtildiği gibi II. Dünya Savaşı, Türkiye ile Balkanlar'daki Türkler arasında ideolojik bir yarılmaya neden olur. Çünkü 1939'da II. Dünya Savaşının başlamasıyla önce Nazi Almanya'sının işgaline uğrayan Balkanlar 1944'te Almanları bozguna uğratan Sovyet Rusya'nın etkisinde kalır.

Yaşar Nabi, Yugoslavya'nın komünist Sovyet Rusya tehlikesini sezen ilk ülke olduğunu belirterek sosyalizmi benimsemiş olmasına rağmen ulusların bağımsızlığı ve eşitlik ilkesi adına ayaklanan Mareşal Tito sayesinde Yugoslavya'nın yeni kurulan komünist blok ve Varşova Paktı dışında kaldığını belirtir. Yugoslavya'nın geçmişin hatalarından ders çıkararak daha ılımlı ve esnek bir politika izlediğini, sistemde kendi şartlarının gerekliliklerine göre uygun değişiklikler yaptığını ve diğer Balkan ülkelerinin aksine Batı ile daha hızlı ve sıkı ilişkiler kurduğunu ifade eden Yaşar Nabi, bu durumun Yugoslavya'yı Doğu Avrupa ülkeleri içerisinde iyi bir konuma getirdiğini de ekler. Yugoslavya'nın farklı bir sosyalist ülke portresi çizdiğini belirten Yaşar Nabi, en fazla Türk'ün Yugoslavya sınırları içerisinde bulunan Bosna-Hersek ve Makedonya'da olduğunu, buralarda yaşayan Türklerin diğer Balkan ülkeleri içerisinde azınlık haklarına, dil ve kültür özgürlüklerine saygı gösterilen tek imtiyazlı Türkler olduğunu söyler. II. Dünya Savaşı'nda ilköğrenimlerini

bile Türkçe alma hakları olamayan Türklerin, bugün Türkçe öğrenim veren liselere sahip olduğunu, hatta Türkçe gazete, dergi ve kitap çıkardıklarını ifade eder (Nayır, 1973: 189-194).

Balkanlar ve Türklük kitabında, seyahat ettiği Balkan ülkelerinde bulunan Türklerin Türkiye'ye göç ettirilmesini savunan Yaşar Nabi, II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası bu fikrinden vazgeçer.

> *Eskiden kültür özgürlükleri olmayan ya da bu özgürlüğünü kullanacak güçte bulunmayan Balkan Türklerinin anayurda göçmeleri düşüncesini savunurdum. Türkiye'mizin de nüfusa ihtiyacı vardı o sıralarda. Bugün iş tersine dönmüştür. Bir yandan bize fazla gelen ve tehlikeli bir hızla artan nüfusumuzu nasıl besleyeceğimizi bilemiyoruz. Almanya'ya, Kanada'ya, Avusturalya'ya göç edenleri teşvik ediyoruz, bir yandan da Balkanlardan nüfus ithal ediyoruz. Yok olma tehlikesi hiç değilse Yugoslav Türkleri için söz konusu değil şimdi. Onun için yerlerinde kalmalarını, orada eski Türk uygarlık ve kültürünün yadigârı hâlinde yaşamalarını yeğ buluyorum.* (Nayır, 1973: 195)

Ancak Yaşar Nabi'nin Türklerin ana yurda dönmemesi gerektiğine dair düşüncesinin altında yatan neden yalnızca Türkiye'nin içinde bulunduğu iktisadi koşullarla ilgili değildir. Aslında bu düşünce, Türklerin yaşadığı Balkan ülkelerinde kendilerine verilen temel hak ve hürriyetlerle doğrudan ilişkilidir. Çünkü geçmişte kültürel özgürlükleri olmayan Balkan Türklerinin ana yurda göç etmesini savunan Yaşar Nabi, II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra Balkan Türklerinin bulundukları coğrafyada, kültürel miraslarını koruyacak ve geliştirebilecekleri bir ortamın var olduğunu fark eder. Dolayısıyla düşüncelerindeki temel değişim nedeni budur diyebiliriz.

Yugoslavya'da azınlık haklarının tanınması ve buna uygun hukuki düzenlemelerin yapılması II. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında sadece Yugoslavya ile sınırlı değildir. Balkanlar ve I. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında Balkan ülkeleri arasında hem iktisadi hem kültürel hem de azınlık hakları bakımından en kötü durumda bulunanlar Bulgaristan'da yaşayan Türklerdi. Sadece temel hak ve hürriyetlerden mahrum kalmayarak

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sistematik bir politik tutumun neticesinde sosyal ve fiziksel şiddete de maruz kalıyorlardı. II. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında Bulgaristan'ın uygar toplumlarda olduğu gibi özgürlüğün sınırlarını genişlettiğini ifade eden Yaşar Nabi, hâlâ Türklerin çoğunlukta ya da çok sayıda oldukları Deliorman ve Dobruca bölgelerinde baskının devam ettiğini söyler (Nayır, 1973: 230). Daha önce Bulgaristan'da yaşayan Türklerin yurda dönmeleri için acil bir göç anlaşmasının gerekliğini belirten Yaşar Nabi, Yugoslavya Türklerinde olduğu gibi Bulgaristan Türklerinin de –yaşadıkları olumsuzluklara rağmen– bulundukları yerde kalmaları gerektiğini söyler:

> *Bulgarlarla yapılan görüşmelerde sadece göç konusunun konuşulmuş olmasına aklım ermiyor. Türkiye'de anası, babası, kardeşleri gibi yakın akrabaları olan Bulgaristan Türkleri onları görmek için neden ille de Türkiye'ye göç etmek zorunda bırakılsınlar? Bir hafta, bir ay için anayurda gelerek sevdiklerini doya doya kucakladıktan sonra tekrar eski işlerinin başına dönmek kapıları neden kapalı kalsın bu zavallılara?* (Nayır, 1973: 229)

Yugoslavya'da olduğu gibi Bulgaristan Türkleri üzerindeki baskının kısmen azalması ve azınlık haklarının iyileştirilmesi, yazarın Türklerin Bulgaristan'da kalması gerektiği fikrinin temelini oluşturur.

Yaşar Nabi, *Balkanlar ve Türklük* kitabında göç konusuna ayrı bir başlık açmış ve Türkiye'nin belirli bir plan ve program çerçevesinde Balkan ülkelerinde yaşayan Türklerin ana yurda alınması gerektiğini, hatta soy bakımından Türk olmayan ama Türklüğe meyilli olan Arnavutların dahi alınmasını önermişti. Ancak, Türklerin en yoğun yaşadığı yer olan Üsküp'e yaptığı ziyaret sırasında, önceden savunduğu göç politikasının Balkanlar'daki Türk varlığı üzerindeki olumsuz etkilerini gözlemleyen Yaşar Nabi, bu durumu şu şekilde ifade eder:

> *Zaten ne kalmış ki Üsküp'te Türklük namına. [...] Üsküp'ün yarıdan çok Türkleri göçmüştü. Aradan otuz iki yıl daha geçti. Üsküp'ün Türk aslından yerlilerinden pek azı kalmış geriye. Şimdi orada Türklüğü temsil edenler daha çok uzak illerden gelenlerle Arnavutlar. Hepsinin de gözü Türkiye'de.*

> *Bu göç akınını durdurmak için propaganda yapmamışlar. [...] Koymuşlar*
> *bir kere akıllarına Türkiye'ye geçmeyi.* (Nayır, 1973: 44).

Yaşar Nabi'nin Üsküp özelinde sunduğu bu tablo, Türklerin Balkan-lar'daki durumunu anlamak açısından değerlendirildiğinde, diğer Balkan ülkelerindeki Türk nüfusunun da azaldığını göstermektedir. De-vamında, "Bu gidişle beş on yıl sonra Makedonya'da Türk kalmayacak. Hatta fırsat verilse Arnavut da kalmayacak. Bu akına Bosna Müslüman-ları çok üzülüyorlar. Onlar için göç yasak. 'Eskiden Bosna'dan tutun da Türkiye'ye kadar uzanan bir Müslüman koridoru vardı. Hâlbuki şimdi zincirin orta halkaları birer birer kopup gidiyor [...]" (Nayır, 1973: 44-45) diyerek, Türk nüfusunun geleceği hakkında endişelerini dile getiren Yaşar Nabi, özelde Bosnalı Müslümanlar ve genelde Müslümanlar için Türkün ya da Türklüğün Balkanlar'daki önemine vurgu yapmış olur.

Yaşar Nabi (1973), göç politikasının Balkan Türklerine verdiği zarara da değinir:

> *Üsküp'ün hemen [hemen] bütün aydınları Türkiye'ye göçtü. Şimdi Türkçe*
> *ders veren bir ortaokul var ama Türkçe dersler için ehliyetli öğretmenler*
> *yok. [...] Gitgide boşalıyor bu okul. Türkler göçtükçe öğrenciler azalıyor.*
> *Günün birinde kapılarını büsbütün kapatması mukadder. Üsküp, vaktiyle*
> *Balkanlardaki Türk şehirlerinin bu en Türk olanı, Türklükle ilgisini yavaş*
> *yavaş kesmekte.* (s. 52).

Yaşar Nabi'nin bu ifadeleri, nüfusun azalmasıyla birlikte Balkanlar'dan ayrılan unsurun aslında Türklük olduğuna ortaya koymaktadır. Çünkü Türklüğün Balkanlar'dan çekilmesi demek aynı zamanda ilk olarak Türkçenin, Türk gelenek ve göreneklerinin, Türk mimarisi ve sanat-larının vb. çekilmesi anlamına gelir. Türklüğün çekilmesinin ne anlama geldiğinin acı örnekleri Saray Bosna ve Üsküp'te görülür. Çünkü nüfusun yarısına yakını Müslüman olan Saray Bosna'da göçlerle beraber nere-deyse Türkçe bilen kimse kalmamıştır. Artık yaşlılar arasında Türkçe bilenlere rastlanmaktadır. Bu durum göçlerle beraber dilin coğrafyadan nasıl çekildiğinin en acı örneklerinden biridir. Diğer acı bir örnek ise Üsküp'te yavaş yavaş eriyen nüfusla beraber Türk mahallerinin kendine

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özgü görünüşünü kaybetmesidir. Bu durum zamanla Türk mimarisinin Balkanlar'da çekilmesi anlamına gelir. Dolayısıyla Türklerin Balkanlar'daki varlığının ne denli önemli olduğunu gösteren bu örnekler, Türk varlığının azalmasının sadece nüfus kaybıyla değil, aynı zamanda kültürel ve dilsel unsurların da kaybıyla sonuçlandığını göstermektedir. Nitekim Yaşar Nabi'nin fikir değiştirmesinin nedenlerinden biri de göç politikasının böylesine geriye dönüşü zor ya da toparlaması uzun zaman alabilecek olumsuzluklara yol açmasıdır.

II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası Balkan ülkelerindeki hem siyasi hem iktisadi hem de kültürel ortamın I. Dünya Savaşından çok farklı olduğunu gören Yaşar Nabi, *Değişen Dünyamız*'da *Balkanlar ve Türklük*'ten farklı olarak bu ülkelerin daha çok politik, iktisadi, kültürel ve sosyal konularına daha fazla yer vermeye çalışır. Örneğin, Yugoslavya'ya giden Yaşar Nabi, görevlilerin kendisine I. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında kalkınma hamlelerini ve bu hamleler sonucu II. Dünya savaşı sonrası sanayi alanında gelinen noktayı göstereceklerini beklerken, aksine müze, resim, heykel ve mimarlık gibi sanat-kültür atölyeleri ile yayınevleri, galeri ve sanat lokallerini gezdiğini belirtir. Ülkenin kısa zamanda sanatsal açıdan kendisini zenginleştirdiğini ve edebiyat başta olmak üzere diğer sanatsal faaliyetlerin artık bir propaganda aracı olarak kullanılmadığını vurgular. Makedonya'da da durumun farklı olmadığına dikkat çeken yazar, Makedonya'nın en önemli şehirlerinden biri olan Üsküp'ün o eski mütevazı kasaba görüntüsünden çok uzakta olduğunu, üniversitesi, akademisi, tiyatroları ve diğer sanat merkezleriyle canlı bir şehre dönüştüğünü belirtir. Romanya'da da hayatın çok değiştiğine dikkat çeken Yaşar Nabi, refah ve lüksün ülkenin önemli şehri Bükreş'te toplanmadığını, aksine ülkenin her yerinde kendini gösterdiğini söyler. Bu refahı sağlayan en temel faktörün ise savaş sonrası ülkenin potansiyelinin farkına varması ve Batı ile yakın ilişkiler kurma çabası olduğunu belirtir. Romanya'nın yayıncılık faaliyetlerine özellikle değinen Yaşar Nabi, yayınevlerinin yılda bastıkları kitap sayılarına, yıllık kazançlarına, yayınevlerinin kitap ve okur seçimlerine, kitap dağıtım ağlarına kadar bilgi vererek Türkiye ile karşılaştırır. Yirmi milyonluk

Romanya'nın yanında otuz üç milyonluk Türkiye'nin payına utancın düştüğünü ifade eder. Son olarak Bulgaristan'a da değinen Yaşar Nabi, ülkenin politik olarak Sovyet Rusya hegemonyası altında olduğunu, bu nedenle diğer ülkelerle ilişki kurma ve karar alma süreçlerinde daha temkinli davrandığını belirtir. Bulgaristan'ın da II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra hayat seviyesinin yükseldiğine dikkat çekerek ülkenin turizm alanında önemli harcamalar yaptığını, yeraltı ve yerüstü zenginliklerini verimli kullanmaya çalıştığını, tarıma dayalı ekonomiyle beraber endüstriyel ekonomiye geçtiğini ve tüm bu gelişmeler için halkın oldukça ağır bedeller ödediğini vurgular (Nayır, 1973: 130-234).

Yaşar Nabi'nin *Değişen Dünyamız*'da Balkan ülkelerinin iktisadi ve sosyo-kültürel yönlerini ön plana çıkarması, oralarda yaşayan Türklerin durumuna *Balkanlar ve Türklük* kitabındaki gibi fazla yer vermemesi eleştirileri de beraberinde getirir. Yazarın *Cep Dergisi*'nin çıkan ilk sayısında yer alan Romanya gezisini beğenmeyen bir okur, Yaşar Nabi'nin bu seyahatini "politik dostluk" adı altında gerçekleştirdiğini belirterek yazarın Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türklerin olumsuz koşullarına özel olarak değinmediğini iddia eder. Bu eleştiriye yanıt olarak kaleme alınan "Balkan Konusunda Bir Dosta Mektup" başlıklı yazıda Yaşar Nabi, söz konusu iddiaya cevap verir. Öncelikle *Balkanlar ve Türklük* kitabını hangi temel saiklerle yazdığını anlatan Yaşar Nabi, o dönemin şartlarının *Değişen Dünyamız*'da yer alan yazıların yazıldığı dönem için uygun olmadığını belirtir. Çünkü *Balkanlar ve Türklük* yazıldığında birçok Balkan ülkesinin Balkan Antantı'nın bir parçası olduğunu, bugün ise Balkan ülkelerinin iki ayrı kampa bölündüğünü, Kıbrıs sorunu yüzünden Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ın ve çeşitli nedenlerle de Romanya ile Bulgaristan'ın nedeyse çatışma durumuna düşmüş ülkeler olduğunu ifade eder. Politik kaygı ve güvensizliğin olduğu bir ortamda, iyi niyetle yapılmış bir eleştirinin bile yanlış anlamalara sebebiyet verebileceğini söyleyen Yaşar Nabi, bir Türk yazarının bilip bilmeden doğrudan Türk azınlıklarından söz etmesinin doğru olmadığını dile getirir. Yaşar Nabi, Demokrat Parti döneminde yapılan bazı uygulamalara değinerek, Bulgaristan'dan Türkiye'ye göç sırasında Türkçe konuşan birkaç

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Müslüman çingenenin göç edenlerin arasına karıştığını ve bu nedenle Türkiye'nin Bulgaristan'dan göç kabulünü durdurduğunu belirtir. Türk hükümetinin göçü durdurmasındaki asıl nedenin ise, Bulgaristan'dan gelen Türkler arasında o ülkenin ideolojisini, yani komünizmi benimsemiş kişilerin olma ihtimali ve hatta Rus ajanlarının gelenlerin arasına karışmış olabileceğinden duyulan korku olduğunu belirten Yaşar Nabi, bu durumun ülkeler arasında yapılan göç anlaşmasına uymadığını ve Bulgaristan ile olan ilişkilerimizi çıkmaza soktuğunu dile getirir. Ancak bunun da Bulgaristan'da yaşayan Bulgar Türkleriyle tamamen ilişkilerimizin kopmasına ve orada yaşayan Türk azınlığın haklarını koruyamamamıza sebep verdiğini belirtir. Dolayısıyla Yaşar Nabi, Değişen Dünyamız adlı kitabında Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türklerin sorunlarına neden fazla yer vermediğini –ya da veremediğini– açıklamış olur. Politik dostluk eleştirisine de açıklık getirerek hiçbir rejimin bütünüyle kötü ve sakat olabileceğine inanmadığını, her rejimin ve sistemin kendine göre olumlu ve olumsuz yönleri bulunabileceğini ve ülkeler için izlenecek ideoloji ve çözümün tek olmadığına ve ülkeden ülkeye, ulustan ulusa değişiklik gösterebileceğini belirtir (Nayır, 1973: 146-155).

Yaşar Nabi, cevap niteliği taşıyan bu yazısında Balkan ülkelerinde yaşayan Türklerin durumuna yeterince yer vermediğini kabul ederken aslında iki savaş sonrası Balkan coğrafyasının analizini de yapmış olur. I. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında Balkan ülkelerinin içinde bulunduğu ekonomik ve iktisadi şartlar ile II. Dünya Savaşı sonrasındaki şartlar farlılık göstermektedir. I. Dünya savaşı sonrası Balkanlar'da yeni devletlerin ortaya çıkması, birlerinden hak talep etmeleri, ülke ekonomilerinin tarıma dayalı olması, her ülkenin azınlık hakları konusunda benimsemiş olduğu farklı politikalar ve dünyanın yeni bir savaşa doğru gitmesi, belli ittifakları beraberinde getirmişti. Balkanlar ve Türklük de bu ittifakların geçerli olduğu bir ortamda kaleme alınmıştı. II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası yeni düzen ise gerçek silahların yanı sıra ekonominin, hukukun, politikanın, kültürün vb. her şeyin silah olarak kullanıldığı bir dönemdir. Bu nedenle Yaşar Nabi, iki savaş sonrası Balkan ülkelerinin sahip oldukları ya da sahip olamadıkları politik tutumlarını gözeterek Değişen Dünyamız'daki yazılarını kaleme alır.

Sonuç

Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın 1936 yılında çıkan *Balkanlar ve Türklük* kitabının iki konuya odaklandığını söyleyebiliriz. Birincisi, Balkan ülkelerinde yaşayan dili, dini, kültürü ve hatta etnik kökeni farklı olan Türkler-in Türk olduğunu sosyal ve kültürel gerekçelerle açıklamak; ikincisi, bu Türklerin en kısa zamanda ülkeler arasında yapılacak anlaşmalar-la göç ettirilerek Türkiye'ye getirilmesidir. Birincisinde Yaşar Nabi, her ne kadar Balkan ülkelerinde yaşayan Türklerin etnik kimliğine dikkat etmeye çalışsa da konuya daha genel bir çerçeveden bakarak ve Türklüğü de etnik bir noktaya indirgemeyerek geniş kültürel bir alanda açıklamaya çalışır. Bu nedenle Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türkleri sadece etnik kimlikleri üzerinden değerlendirmez. Romanya'da yaşayan Gagauzlar'ın köken itibariyle Türk olduklarını kabul ederken etnik olarak Türk olmadıkları hâlde Arnavutları kültürel bakımdan Türk kabul eder. Dolayısıyla Yaşar Nabi, bu yaklaşımıyla Balkanlar'ın küçük uluslara parçalanmasına yol açan etnik milliyetçilik fikrini aşmaya çalışır. Bu şekilde, Türk kimliğini daha geniş bir kültürel perspektiften ele alarak, Balkan coğrafyasındaki farklı etnik ve kültürel unsurlar arasında bir birlik ve beraberlik oluşturma çabasını ön plana çıkarır. Nabi'nin bu tutumu, onun milliyetçilik kavramının sınırlayıcı etkileri-ni bertaraf etmeye yönelik çabasının da göstergesidir.

Ancak Yaşar Nabi'nin bu yaklaşımının pragmatik bir yaklaşım old-uğunu da göz ardı etmemek gerekir. Çünkü I. Dünya Savaşı'nın en önemli sonuçlarından biri Osmanlı Devleti, Avusturya-Macaristan İm-paratorluğu ve Rusya gibi çok uluslu devletlerin yıkılarak yerine küçük uluslu devletlerin kurulmasıydı. Dolayısıyla siyasi sınırları belirlenen coğrafyada bu küçük devletlerin tam anlamıyla hâkimiyet kurması, bir anlamda o coğrafyadaki nüfus yoğunluklarıyla doğrudan ilişkiliy-di. Bu nedenle Yaşar Nabi'nin Türkler özelinde anlattıkları fakat genel anlamda diğer Balkan ülkelerinde de görülen azınlık sorunlarının – elbette farklı gerekçelerle beraber– bir bakıma temeli nüfus politika-larına dayanmaktadır. Yaşar Nabi'nin milliyetçiği sadece etnik köken

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üzerinden değil, diğer kültürel unsurlar üzerinden tanımlama ve buna bağlı olarak Balkan ülkelerindeki farklı kültürel unsurlara sahip halkı Türklük kimliğinde bir araya getirme çabası pragmatik tavrın bir sonucudur.

Dikkatimizden kaçmaması gereken bir diğer husus da Yaşar Nabi'nin Balkan coğrafyasını gezerken Balkanlar'ı Türkiye'nin herhangi bir şehrinde seyahat ediyormuş gibi anlatmasıdır. *Balkanlar ve Türklük* kitabının önsözünde Balkanlar'ı "Türk hâkimiyetinin izlerini taşıyan taze toprak kokusuna" benzetmişti. Çünkü I. Dünya Savaşı aynı dili konuşan, aynı inanca sahip ve aynı kültürel değerleri benimseyen halkları siyasi sınırlarla ayırırken birbiriyle olan gönül bağını koparamamıştı. Ancak II. Dünya Savaşı, I. Dünya Savaşı'nın aksine ideolojik sınırlar çizer. Artık yeni dünya düzeninde hem ulusların kendi kimliklerini oluşturmaya başlaması hem de Türk nüfusun azalması, Balkanlar'ın Yaşar Nabi'ye yabancılaşmasına neden olur. Bu nedenle Yaşar Nabi, *Değişen Dünyamız*'da toprak kokmayan bir diyarda seyahat etmiş olur.

Yaşar Nabi'nin üzerinde durduğu önemli konulardan biri de Balkan Türklerinin Türkiye'ye göçüdür. Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türklerin içinde bulunduğu zor koşullardan dolayı ülkeler arasında yapılacak göç anlaşmalarıyla Türkiye'ye getirilmelerini savunan Yaşar Nabi, II. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında yaptığı Balkan seyahatinde bu düşüncesinden vazgeçer. 1930'larda kısa vadede olumlu sonuçlar doğuran göç politikasının uzun vadede ciddi sorunlara yol açtığını bizzat deneyimler. Çünkü göçler sonucunda Balkan ülkelerindeki Türklerin nüfusu azalmış ve Türklük nerdeyse bazı bölgelerde yok olma noktasına gelmiştir. İşte göç politikasının uzun vadede yol açtığı en büyük sorun Türklüğün Balkan coğrafyasından çekilmesidir. Dolayısıyla yapılması gereken azınlık haklarının iyileştirilip Türklerin bulundukları yerde kalmalarını sağlamaktır. Elbette bunu da dönemin şartları içerisinde değerlendirmek gerekir.

Değişen Dünyamız kitabında Balkanlar'da yaşayan Türklerin hem iktisadi hem de kültürel yönden durumlarının iyi olduğuna değinen Yaşar Nabi,

Balkan devletlerinin de Türklerin azınlık hakları konusunda olumlu adımlar attığına yer verir. Ancak burada dikkat edilmesi gereken nokta Balkan devletlerinin olumlu yaklaşımları değil, göç nedeniyle nüfusları oldukça azalan ve dolayısıyla tehdit unsuru olmaktan çıkan Türklerin kalmamış olmasıdır. Süreç içerisinde milyonlarca Türk ana yurda göç etmemiş olsaydı acaba azınlık hakları konusunda olumlu adımlar atılır mıydı? Bu nedenle devletlerin olumlu yaklaşımından çok Türklüğün Balkan ülkelerindeki durumuna da bakmak gerekmektedir.

Yaşar Nabi, *Balkanlar ve Türklük* kitabında Türklerin sorunlarına yoğunlaşırken *Değişen Dünyamız*'da Türklerin yaşadıkları sorunlara fazla değinmez. Bunun yerine Balkan ülkeleri ile Türkiye'yi kıyaslar. Yine II. Dünya Savaşı öncesi Balkanlar'dan Türkiye'nin bir parçası gibi söz ederken savaş sonrası duygusal yakınlıktan oldukça uzaktır. Dolayısıyla hem Türkiye'de değişen şartlar hem de Balkan ülkelerinin ve bu ülkelerde yaşayan Türklerin değişen durumları Yaşar Nabi'nin Balkanlar'a bakışını değiştirmiştir.

Two Wars, One Geography: The Changing Image Of The Balkans In The Works Of Yaşar Nabi Nayir Titled *Balkans And Turkishness And Our Changing World**

İlhan Süzgün

This article aims to examine how and why Yaşar Nabi Nayır's views after World War I changed after World War II, within the context of his works *Balkanlar ve Türklük* (The Balkans and Turkishness) and *Değişen Dünyamız* (Our Changing World). To this end, we will first analyze how Yaşar Nabi addressed the Turks living in the Balkans and how he interpreted the Balkans in his book *Balkanlar ve Türklük*. Then, we will focus on his changed views on the Balkans after World War II, as presented in *Değişen Dünyamız,* and analyze the reasons behind this shift.

*   This article is a rewritten version of the paper with the same title presented at the 4th International Balkan Studies Congress held in Sarajevo/Bosnia and Herzegovina on 6-8 September 2024.

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In 1934 and 1936, Yaşar Nabi made two separate trips to the Balkans to observe the socio-economic conditions of the Turks living there. He published his impressions and thoughts from these trips in parts in *Varlık* journal, without any scientific or political claim, and later compiled most of these articles into a book titled *Balkanlar ve Türklük* in 1936

After his short trip to the Balkans in 1934, the first stop of Yaşar Nabi's long Balkan trip in 1936 was the Christian Gagauz Turks. He states that the Gagauz people are descendants of the Oghuz branch of Turks and that the name "Gagauz" is derived from "Gök-Oğuz" (Sky-Oghuz). Emphasizing that the Gagauz, whom he describes with historical and cultural examples, preserve their culture, literature, dances, lifestyle and language despite being Christians, Yaşar Nabi argues that they should be immigrated to Turkey as soon as possible.

The second stop on his Balkan trip was Bulgaria. Yaşar Nabi describes the Turks in Bulgaria as living under the harshest conditions among the Turks in the Balkans. He reports that the Bulgarian administration, aiming to expel the Turks and replace them with Bulgarian citizens, employed methods such as setting fire to Turkish neighborhoods and houses, bombing their houses, seizing their lands, and raping them. He also considers practices such as dismissing Turkish teachers from Turkish schools under accusations of espionage, imposing high taxes on these schools, and closing some of them on the grounds that they do not have adequate conditions as part of the Bulgarian administration's systematic efforts to destroy Turkish culture. In the face of these conditions, he argues that Turkey should urgently reach an immigration agreement and bring the Turks in Bulgaria to the motherland.

The situation of the Turks in Yugoslavia, Yaşar Nabi's third stop, was not much different. Observing the conditions of the Turks living in Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina—regions that were then within Yugoslav borders at the time—Yaşar Nabi notes that, in Skopje, economic prosperity shifted from Turkish neighborhoods to Christian neighborhoods in the changed post-war conditions. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, he states

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that the Bosniaks have never incorporated Slavic culture or traditions into their lives, insisting on preserving their language and culture, and maintaining a lifestyle close to Turkish culture.

In Greece, the final stop of his trip, Yaşar Nabi observes that the Western Thrace Turks—who were excluded from the population exchange under the Treaty of Lausanne—lived under more challenging economic and cultural conditions compared to the Greeks in Istanbul. Although the exclusion of Western Thrace Turks from the exchange was unfavorable for both Turkey and the Turks there, he emphasizes the strategic importance of keeping them in Western Thrace as a counterpart to the Greeks in Istanbul.

In 1956, Yaşar Nabi had the opportunity to travel to Yugoslavia as an official guest with a group of Turkish artists. In 1958, he visited Western Europe for the Brussels World Exhibition, and after 1962, he traveled to various parts of the world through international invitations. He published some of his writings about his observations and reflections from these trips in *Varlık* and *Cep* journals and *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, eventually compiling them into a book titled *Değişen Dünyamız* in 1973. In the book's section "The Balkans Today," he states that the Balkans were occupied by Nazi Germany during World War II and then fell under the influence of Soviet Russia after the defeat of the Germans in 1944. Yaşar Nabi argues that the iron curtain of fascism during the war and the iron curtain of communism after the war descended between Turkey and the Balkan countries, severing the ties between Turkey and the millions of Turks living in the Balkans.

Yaşar Nabi also points out that Yugoslavia was the first country to perceive the threat of communist Soviet Russia, and although it adopted socialism, it remained outside the newly established communist bloc and the Warsaw Pact. Noting that the largest Turkish population in Yugoslavia resided in the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia regions, he observed that Turks in these areas enjoyed more privileges in terms of language and cultural freedom and minority rights compared to those in other Balkan countries.

Yaşar Nabi further observes that after World War II, Bulgaria also expanded its freedoms, yet oppression persisted in the Deliorman and Dobruja regions, where Turks predominantly resided. According to him, like the Turks in Yugoslavia, the Turks in Bulgaria should not abandon their lands despite the hardships they faced. For a decline in the Turkish population in the Balkans would mean the retreat of Turkish identity itself from the region, leading to the withdrawal of the Turkish language, customs, architecture, and arts from the Balkans.

In *Balkanlar ve Türklük*, Yaşar Nabi, who initially advocated for the emigration of Turks in the Balkan countries to Turkey, abandons this view after World War II. The reason for this change is his realization that, unlike during World War I when Balkan Turks were deprived of cultural freedoms, they now had an environment that allowed them to preserve and develop their cultural heritage in the post-World War II period. Thus, he comes to believe that a migration policy might lead to irreversible, long-term negative consequences, and suggests it would be better for Balkan Turks to remain in their current locations.

In his later work *Değişen Dünyamız*, Yaşar Nabi shifts his focus to the economic and socio-cultural aspects of the Balkan countries and gives less attention to the conditions—particularly the adverse ones—facing Turks there, compared to *Balkanlar ve Türklük*. This shift draws criticism. In response, he writes "Balkan Konusunda Bir Dosta Mektup" (A Letter to a Friend on the Balkan Issue), briefly explaining the conditions under which *Balkanlar ve Türklük* was written, emphasizing that these conditions no longer applied when he wrote *Değişen Dünyamız*. He asserts that, given the political tensions and atmosphere of mistrust, even well-intentioned criticism could be easily misinterpreted. He argues that a Turkish author, without sufficient information, should not directly discuss Turkish minorities, thereby tries to explain why he either did not address or could not adequately address the problems of Turks in the Balkans in *Değişen Dünyamız*.

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Based on the discussion so far, it can be said that Yaşar Nabi focuses on two main issues in *Balkanlar ve Türklük*. The first is to explain the Turkish identity of Turks living in the Balkans—whose language, religion, culture, and even ethnic background may differ—on social and cultural grounds. The second is the necessity of facilitating their immigration to Turkey as soon as possible through intergovernmental agreements. Regarding the first issue, although Yaşar Nabi takes care not to overlook the ethnic identity of Turks living in the Balkan countries, he avoids reducing Turkishness to merely an ethnic dimension and instead addresses it within a broader cultural framework. In this way, he aims to counteract the negative effects of the ethnic and exclusionary nationalism that led to the division of the Balkans into small nations and seeks to promote unity and solidarity among the diverse ethnic and cultural elements of the Balkan region.

Another noteworthy aspect is Yaşar Nabi's pragmatic stance on minority issues and identity politics. Following World War I, the establishment of small nation-states in place of multinational empires like the Ottoman Empire made it easier for these states to establish dominance within their territories based on population densities. The minority issues that Yaşar Nabi addresses specifically in relation to the Turks, but which were also experienced in general by other Balkan countries, developed within a strategy centered on population policies. In this context, Yaşar Nabi appears to strive to unite the Turkish people in the Balkan countries - who possess diverse cultural elements -around a Turkish identity, by defining nationalism not on an ethnic basis but through cultural elements.

Furthermore, while Yaşar Nabi initially advocated for the relocation of Turks living in the Balkans to Turkey through interstate migration agreements after World War I, he later abandoned this view after World War II due to the impending disappearance of Turkish identity in certain areas and the significant decline in the Turkish population in the Balkans as a result of migrations. In *Değişen Dünyamız*, Yaşar Nabi states

that Turks living in the Balkans were in relatively good economic and cultural conditions and notes that Balkan states had taken positive steps regarding minority rights. However, it should be noted here that the issue is not the positive attitudes of the Balkan states, but rather the fact that the Turkish communities—whose numbers had dramatically decreased through migrations and were therefore no longer a perceived threat—were almost completely erased from the Balkan region. According to him, it is unclear whether Balkan states would have exhibited such a positive approach to minority rights if millions of Turks had not migrated to the homeland. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to focus on the condition of Turkish identity in the Balkans rather than on the positive attitudes of these states.

Finally, while Yaşar Nabi focuses on the problems faced by Turks in the Balkans in *Balkanlar ve Türklük*, in *Değişen Dünyamız* he is content to compare the situations of the Balkan countries with that of Turkey, rather than addressing these issues. Before World War II, he exhibits an emotional closeness to the Balkans, viewing them as part of Turkey, whereas after the war, he adopts a more distant perspective. In this context, it can be said that the changed conditions in Turkey after the war, as well as the shifts in the circumstances of the Balkan countries and the Turks living there, significantly influenced Yaşar Nabi's perspective on the Balkans.

İlhan Süzgün
İki Savaş Bir Coğrafya: Yaşar Nabi Nayır'ın Balkanlar ve Türklük İle Değişen Dünyamız Adlı
Eserlerinde Değişen Balkanlar İmgesi

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The Political Movement for the Republic of Kosovo - July 2, 1990

Agon Krasniqi

Abstract: The purpose of writing this paper is to provide new information on the political situation in Kosovo during the year 1990, with a particular focus on the political movement in Kosovo for the Republic of Kosovo. The analysis of the July 2nd event holds significant importance for Albanian historiography, marking the first major step by Albanians of Kosovo in opposing the March 1989 constitution, which had revoked Kosovo's autonomy a status initially achieved through the 1974 constitution. As a result, Kosovo was reclassified as a subject under the Serbian Republic. My study's focus on the July 2nd event aims to examine archival sources and interpret them using an analytical method, to offer a perspective on one of Kosovo's most pivotal events in the 1990s. The objectives of the paper will focus on the political situation in Kosovo following the abolition of Kosovo's autonomy, which influenced the political developments in Kosovo during 1990. The focus will then shift to the constitutional declaration of July 2nd, the delegates, the developments during the declaration of the republic, the decisions made during the session, as well as the developments after the July 2nd event and the international reactions. This work relies heavily on archival resources from the State Agency of Kosovo Archives (ASHAK), the Municipal Archive of Kaçanik, the "Sadik Tafarshiku" Library, and the "Rilindja", "Bujku", "Bota Sot" newspapers. In addressing this topic, my focus has been on uncovering archival sources and interpreting them. Based on this approach, I will present various archival documents, including the minutes from July 2, 1990—a historical event symbolizing the declaration of Kosovo's republic within the framework of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). This act demonstrates Kosovo's reaction against the 1989 constitution, which revoked its autonomy, indicating Kosovo's position as equal to the other republics within the SFRY. This reaction was marked in the hall of the Kosovo Assembly on July 2, 1990, with the participation of 114 delegates; by July 3, the final delegate was also present, bringing the total to 115 delegates who signed the declaration for Kosovo to become the seventh republic of Yugoslavia. The reason for the delay of the 115th delegate refers to extraordinary events and difficult conditions for attending the session. Thus, with the 115 signatures of the

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delegates of the Kosovo Assembly, Kosovo was declared a Republic of Yugoslavia, which was a success of the political movement, a success that surpassed even the declaration of autonomy in 1974.Through the use of archival sources and their scientific interpretation, we will draw key conclusions regarding the topic, helping to understand the role and significance of the July 2nd event in Kosovo's history.

Keywords: Autonomy, Yugoslavia, Republic, Kosovo, July.

Introduction

The aim of my work is to address the topic "The Political Movement for the Republic of Kosovo – July 2, 1990." As mentioned above, my research is based on archival sources through which I will analyze the events of July 2nd and examine the role and importance of this event in Kosovo's political history. Considering the course of events, we will raise several hypotheses that will be addressed below, such as: What was the reason behind the constitutional declaration, under what conditions was the July 2nd session held, and how was such an event perceived by the international community?

The July 2nd event was one of the most significant in Kosovo's history during the 1990s, as it marked the unanimous decision of 114 delegates to oppose the revocation of autonomy. In response, they issued a declaration stating that Kosovo was an independent entity within Yugoslavia, thereby declaring Kosovo a republic within the Yugoslav framework. This declaration by the Assembly asserted Kosovo's political self-determination within Yugoslavia, affirming Kosovo's status as an equal entity within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Additionally, Kosovo was seen as a political-constitutional entity, with its population considered one of the largest among the peoples within the SFRY. The July 2nd declaration recognized even the Serbian population residing in Kosovo as a nation with equal rights. This event also represented a unified rejection of the Serbian Republic's constitution (RS) of March 23, 1989, imposed by RS leader Slobodan Milosevic, which revoked Kosovo's autonomy—an autonomy previously granted by Josip Broz Tito in 1974. (Hetemi, 2020: 324). Consequently, the delegates annulled the Kosovo Assembly's decisions of March 23 and expressed support for

the previous Yugoslav constitution. The declaration, consisting of five points and read by Bujar Gjurgjeallo under the direction of Muharrem Shabani, was unanimously accepted by the delegates present.

The July 2nd declaration consolidated internal unity among Kosovo's political structures and society. As a result, Kosovo began reflecting on its past, challenging the last 50 years of its history. Through this decision, the delegates also opposed the 1945 constitution, which had left Kosovo as a unit under Serbia within Yugoslavia. This declaration marked Kosovo's first political step toward the path to independence.

Constitutional Declaration: Kosovo Declared an Equal Entity in Yugoslavia

The early 1990s marked the beginning of events in Kosovo that would lead to a struggle for the fundamental rights of the Kosovar people. This basic right was denied with the revocation of autonomy by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) on March 23, 1989 (*Xheçovi et. al, 2008: 371*). This revocation prompted the Albanians of Kosovo to take the step of declaring the Republic of Kosovo within the framework of the SFRY. Considering the created situation, the delegates of the Kosovo Assembly gathered to declare Kosovo a republic of the SFRY. (Malcolm, 2019: 399). However, this was obstructed by police forces, resulting in the assembly being held under extraordinary circumstances in the courtyard of the Kosovo Assembly, where Kosovo was declared a Republic (Vickers, 2004: 297).

The autonomy that was taken from Kosovo in 1989 reverted it to its political status prior to 1974. The revocation of autonomy marked the denial of Kosovo's fundamental rights within Yugoslavia. The 1974 Constitution granted Kosovo its political status and fundamental rights with its adoption on February 21, 1974. The adoption of the constitution provided Kosovo with autonomy, establishing it as a constitutive element within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Based on the constitution, institutions such as the Assembly of the Autonomous Socialist

Province of Kosovo, the Presidency of the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo, the Council of the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo, and the Executive Council were established. Additionally, the adoption of the constitution enabled Kosovo to create administrative bodies such as the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, the Public Prosecutor's Office, the Unified Labor Court of Kosovo, and the Social Self-Governance Advocate. With the adoption of the SFRY and Autonomous Province constitutions, Kosovo was guaranteed equal rights with other entities within the Yugoslav Federation. (Imeraj, 2021: 109-111). The 1974 Constitution also stipulated that the Albanian language would be used equally alongside Serbo-Croatian. Furthermore, the judiciary operated independently of the Serbian Supreme Court. The People's Bank of Kosovo also held significant importance, symbolizing the special emphasis placed on the financial autonomy of the province. (Gjeçovi, 2008: 353).

The revocation of this autonomy in 1989 led the Albanians of Kosovo to begin their movement for a republic within the framework of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. (Statovci, 2023: 675-676).

After the revocation of Kosovo's autonomy[1], a new political situation emerged in the political landscape of Kosovo, as Serbia aimed for supremacy over all of Yugoslavia, which was now in decline. To oppose this constitution, the delegates convened on July 2, 1990, where agenda items were discussed as a step toward declaring Kosovo as an equal entity in the Yugoslav federation. Among other points, the agenda on July 2, 1990, in the meeting chaired by Bujar Gjurgjealo[2] included: "***Point 1:*** *Review of the Draft Amendments from XLIX to LXXII for the Constitution of*

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1   The abolition of Kosovo's autonomy occurred with the adoption of the new constitution on March 23, 1989. With the abolition of autonomy, Kosovo returned to the status it held before 1974, specifically to the position of the 1945 constitution, at which point Kosovo was recognized as a subject under Serbia. The delegates' opposition was for equality within Yugoslavia, where their demand was that Kosovo should be an equal unit within Yugoslavia.

2   Bujar Gjurgjealo was the leader of the meeting on July 2, 1990, regarding Kosovo's constitutional declaration and was part of the delegation for promoting the constitutional declaration, alongside Muharrem Shabani and Skënder Skenderi.

the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. **Point 2:** *Review of the proposal from the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to initiate amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with the enactment of the New Constitution, for approval.* **Point 3:** *Review of the proposal from the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia for the enactment of a new Constitution for the Socialist Republic of Serbia, to give an opinion,... Further,* Points 4 and 5 of the agenda continue with...*, **Point 4:** Initiative for the enactment of a new Constitution for the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.* **Point 5:** *Constitutional declaration on Kosovo as an independent and equal unit within the Federation (confederation) of Yugoslavia as a subject equal to other units in the Federation.''* (ASHAK, 2.VII.1990/2 korrik 1990: 1). These agenda points were the first step taken by the delegates from Kosovo before the reading of the constitutional declaration, which would be read by Bujar Gjurgjealo.

After reviewing the agenda points, the assembly also debated the constitutional project amendments during a transitional period in the SFRY. The assembly made decisions, stating that: *"The Assembly supported amendments XLIX to LXXII for the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with the proposals, opinions, and suggestions contained in the Report of the Commission of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo on constitutional issues. The Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, supporting the Report of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, did not give approval for the Proposal of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to amend the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with the introduction of a new Constitution [...]. The Assembly of the Socialist Province of Kosovo approved the Report of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and did not support, thus giving a negative opinion on the proposal of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia for the adoption of a new Constitution for the Socialist Republic of Serbia." (*ASHAK, 2.VII.1990/2 korrik 1990: 2).

Thus, there was complete unanimity among the delegates from Kosovo, with 111 present, as four of the signatories among the total 115 signatories were part of the Assembly of Serbia. From this situation, the constitutional declaration was announced, which would be read by Bujar Gjurgjealo and subsequently continued by Muharrem Shabani.[3] These two, along with Skënder Skenderi, would be part of the delegation to proclaim the constitutional declaration of Kosovo after July 2. According to reports from the daily newspaper "Rilindja," it was emphasized that: *"The constitutional declaration of the delegates of the Kosovo Assembly is a declaration of the people for equality and full subjectivity of Kosovo and the Albanians in the Federation or Confederation of Yugoslavia; it is a victory, a historic act of expressing the democratic will of the entire population, and the beginning of the end of inequality and injustices." (*ASHAK*,* Rilindja, July 3, 1990, 1.

After the discussion of the agenda and the approval of three amendments, the reading of the constitutional declaration began outside the assembly hall, as Serbian forces had prevented entry into the Kosovo Assembly. (Imeraj, 2021: 186). As a result, the delegates who arrived before 10:00 in the outdoor area of the assembly gathered, and delegate Muharrem Shabani read the declaration with the following text: *"Based on the resolute will expressed throughout Kosovo by the majority of the population of Kosovo, this will sublimated in the Declaration of the Assembly of Kosovo for the new constitutional position of Kosovo, and based on the reality and position of the Kosovo Assembly as the highest representative and constitutional authority of power and self-governance in Kosovo, the Assembly of Kosovo solemnly proclaims: The Constitutional Declaration on Kosovo as an independent and equal entity within the Federation of Yugoslavia as an equal subject with other units in the federation." (*ASHAK*,* 2.VII.1990/2 korrik 1990: 3). After the reading of the declaration, five points were presented,

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3   Muharrem Shabani was a delegate of the constitutional declaration of July 2, 1990, and the reader of the declaration. In addition, Muharrem Shabani also served as a deputy of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija (KSAK) during the years 1989-1990. As a result of being part of this significant legal act for Kosovo, he was forced to live abroad during the 1990s.

which defined the legal status of Kosovo, a status declared by the delegates as an equal entity in Yugoslavia, where the assembly held in Kaçanik would later declare Kosovo a Republic of Yugoslavia.[4] Below are the five points of the constitutional declaration of July 2:

1. This declaration expresses and proclaims the original constitutional position of the population of Kosovo and of this Assembly as an act of political self-determination within Yugoslavia.

2. This Assembly, declaring Kosovo as an equal unit in Yugoslavia, based on the principles of authentic democracy respecting the will of people and human and national collectives, awaits the confirmation of this constitutional act in the Constitution of Yugoslavia with full support from democratic opinion in Yugoslavia and the international community.

3. This Assembly confirms Kosovo and its new constitutional position as a political-constitutional community and common political-constitutional position of the citizens and equal nationalities of Kosovo, where Albanians, as the majority of the population of Kosovo and one of the most numerous peoples in Yugoslavia, along with Serbs and others in Kosovo, are considered a people-nation and not a national minority.

4. Meanwhile, until the definitive legal application of this Constitutional Declaration, the Assembly and the governing bodies of Kosovo will base their relations in the constitutional order of Yugoslavia on the existing Constitution of Yugoslavia and not on the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia from 1989, thus also annulled is the decision of the Kosovo Assembly dated March 23, 1989, regarding the approval of these amendments.

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4   The Assembly of Kaçanik was held on September 7, 1990, where the location of the meeting in Kaçanik was a result of the delegates being persecuted by Serbian forces. Thus, they decided that the meeting would take place in Kaçanik, due to its proximity to the border with Macedonia. The Assembly of Kaçanik adopted the new constitution of Kosovo, which would be known as the Constitution of Kaçanik.

5. The Assembly of Kosovo, until the new Constitution of Kosovo is ad-
    opted, will communicate publicly with this name, simultaneously
    referring to the social-political community of which it is the organ,
    only as Kosovo. (ASHAK, 2 korrik 1990, Dokumenti Nr. 010-22/90: 1-2).

As a result of the situation created by the constitutional declaration, we
see significant opposition from Serbian authorities to obstruct the work
of the delegates. This is also evident from the president of the Kosovo
Assembly, Gjorgje Bozhoviç[5], who attempted to hinder the work of the
delegates, even preventing them from entering the internal premises
of the Kosovo Assembly. Reports from the newspaper Rilindja empha-
sized the following regarding the created situation: *"Yesterday, in the
courtyard in front of the building of the Kosovo Assembly, the joint meeting
of the three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province
of Kosovo concluded. With the decision of 114 delegates, later also signed by
Ali Shabani, chairman of the Federation of the Municipalities of Kosovo, this
meeting was chaired by delegate Bujar Gjurgjealo..., and the declarations were
made around the four points of the agenda from the previous meeting that had
also been interrupted under extraordinary conditions and based on the arbi-
trariness of the chairman of the assembly, Gjorgje Bozhoviç."* (ASHAK, Ril-
indja, July 3, 1990, 1). This kind of treatment was also observed after July
2, where the majority of delegates would be forced to flee due to perse-
cution by Serbian forces.

Anti-Constitutional and Anti-Democratic Measures of Serbia Against Kosovo Delegates

With the constitutional declaration, we also have the abolition of the
suppression of autonomy, where regarding this event, the newspaper

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5   Gjorgje Brozhoviç was the chairman of the Assembly of Kosovo. He attempted to obst-
    ruct the work of the delegates from Kosovo, as observed on June 20, when he interrup-
    ted the Assembly meeting twice in succession in a non-democratic manner. He also
    tried to prevent the meeting on July 2, declaring that the meeting should be held on
    July 5, since July 2 was the date of the Serbian referendum. Nevertheless, the delegates
    unanimously rejected the decision of the chairman of the Assembly of Kosovo and
    held the meeting on July 2, 1990, outside the hall of the Assembly of Kosovo.

Rilindja emphasized that: *"Muharrem Shabani read the constitutional declaration of the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo..., Kosovo is declared an independent and equal subject of the future Yugoslav federation or confederation, and dialogue is accepted only on the basis of equality with all other peoples of Yugoslavia. With this, the decisions of the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo of March 23, 1989, are annulled."* (ASHAK, Rilindja, July 3, 1990, 2). However, despite this, the decisions of July 2 would not be recognized, marking the beginning of a new period in the political sphere in Kosovo.[6] This led Serbia to act with anti-democratic measures against the democratic decisions of the delegates from Kosovo.

The created situation also resulted in measures against delegates from Kosovo. This led to anti-constitutional and anti-democratic measures from Serbia. As a result, the Assembly of Kosovo was suspended, and measures were taken to suppress the Albanian-language education. Thus, we see that: *"Following the declaration of the constitutional declaration by the 114 delegates of Kosovo on July 2, 1990, anti-constitutional and illegal measures continued that have no support or legitimacy in any legal act of Serbia or Yugoslavia. The measures for the suspension of the Assembly of Kosovo, the Executive Council as the legitimate government of Kosovo, and other provincial bodies, as well as the takeover of media in the Albanian language, are a scandalous act that cannot be done in any legal state in the world, much less in a European state that is also a signatory of the United Nations Charter and international declarations that guarantee the rights of people and nations. Yet, as you all know, the Assembly of Serbia undertook these measures, and what is even worse, it was supported by the Presidency of Yugoslavia, thus committing a shameful act that should cause embarrassment not only to the legal circles of the Federation but also to all its residents, even the*

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6   After the decisions of July 2, measures against the Albanians in Kosovo began. As a result, this constitutional declaration would not be recognized, and Serbia would occupy Kosovo. This led Serbia to implement further measures in Kosovo, such as ethnic cleansing, involving the killing and expulsion of Albanians from Kosovo. Additionally, expulsions from schools began, with classes being held in private homes. This period would also be known as the period of the parallel system in Kosovo.

future generations." (AKK, BFI e Deklaratës Kushtetuese: 1). This created situation led to a new period, a period manifested by political destabilization in Kosovo, as well as in other spheres such as education, health, and generally in all social strata in Kosovo. This destabilizing situation would last until 1999. However, despite the anti-constitutional measures, the delegates gathered again in Kaçanik, drafted the constitution of Kosovo, which adopted the decisions of the constitutional declaration of Kosovo and declared Kosovo a republic of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Situation Created After the Decisions of July 2

After the decisions of July 2, we have the support for the constitutional declaration from political movements or parties in Kosovo, which were established at the end of 1989 and the beginning of 1990. This is also observed in the Democratic Movement of Kosovo and the Peasant Party, which welcomed the constitutional declaration. Reports from the newspaper Rilindja emphasized that: "The LDK[7] and PF[8] of Kosovo support the constitutional declaration for Kosovo as an independent and equal unit within Yugoslavia, as an expression of the will of the people of Kosovo and an act of its political self-determination." Furthermore, it was stated: *"We salute the historic decisions of the Kosovo delegates. With this phrase, the LDK of the village of Xerxe, the PR of the village of Besi, the leadership of the LDK of the Muhaxher neighborhood in Pristina, the workers of the SP of the Museum of the Revolution of Nations and nationalities of Kosovo, the SP of OEA «Ivo Lola Ribar» in Pristina, the SP of NP of KBI of Peja, and many individuals extended their congratulations." (*ASHAK, Rilindja, July 4, 1990, 4-5). As a result, we see a coordination of political ideas among political structures in Kosovo.

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7   **LDK:** was founded on December 23, 1989, initially as the Democratic Movement of Kosovo and later as the Democratic League of Kosovo. Ibrahim Rugova was elected its president, coming from a group of writers from Kosovo.

8   **PF**: The Peasant Party of Kosovo (PP in Albanian short meaning PF – Partia Fshatare) was a party formed in 1990, during the period of the establishment of democratic parties in Kosovo.

Support for the decisions of July 2[9] is also evident among the independent journalist unions. From this, we see that: *"The Independent Union of Journalism NSHG Rilindja accepts the constitutional declaration of the Assembly of Kosovo, proclaimed on 2.07.1990, in Pristina,... we consider this constitutional declaration the best solution for the status of Kosovo in the Yugoslav Federation or Confederation." (ASHAK, Rilindja, July 3, 1990, 5).* However, we will see a counter-reaction from Serbia, which decides to close the newspaper Rilindja, as a result of its positions regarding the issue of Kosovo, where Rilindja supports the decisions of July 2 and all national aspects. On the other hand, we also have the Student Union of Pristina, which supports the decision of the constitutional declaration, stating: *"The Independent Union of Students of UP warmly welcomes the historic decision of the delegates of the Assembly of Kosovo, who, respecting the legitimate demands and will of the People, annulled the constitution of tanks and simultaneously declared Kosovo an independent community equal to other units in the federation and confederation of Yugoslavia." (ASHAK, Rilindja, July 3, 1990, 1).* The same can be observed from the Islamic Community[10], which was fully in agreement with the constitutional declaration, as seen in a report from the Imam of Prizren, stating: *"The Imams of Prizren of Albanian, Turkish, and Muslim nationality support the popular demands for full subjectivity of Kosovo in the Yugoslav Federation (Confederation) and for the recognition of the status of the Albanian nation in Yugoslavia." (ASHAK, Rilindja, July 4, 1990, 1).* Thus, the agreement among political structures, society, education, and religious communities was an ideal coordination of Kosovo's steps toward realizing their aspirations.

On the other hand, there were also oppositions to the constitutional declaration of July 2 in Kosovo from the LSPP of Kosovo, which stated: *"The*

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9   Support for the constitutional declaration of Kosovo was evident in almost all municipalities of Kosovo. This declaration was seen as democratic and equitable, and citizens sent various telegrams to the delegates after July 2. This was observed in municipalities such as: Deçan, Shtime, Gllogovc, Dragash, Podujevë, Serbicë, Prishtinë, Kaçanik, Lipjan, Ferizaj, Klinë, Rahovec, Vushtrri, and Mitrovicë.

10 The role of the Islamic Community, in addition to supporting the constitutional declaration of July 2, would also be for Albanian education. This is evident as mosques were opened for classes for students whose schools had been closed by Serbian forces.

Provincial Conference of the LSPP of Kosovo condemned today the yesterday's attempt by a group of delegates from the Provincial Assembly to proclaim Kosovo's independence on the streets. In a special statement from the conference, transmitted by Tanjug, it is stated that this is a shameful act, a betrayal, and an attempt of an unusual parliamentary coup and an assault against the constitutional order of the country and its integrity and sovereignty. Such an attempt is illegitimate and should be annulled, as it is directed against the integrity of Serbia, Yugoslavia, and against the common life in Kosovo," the statement says. *(*ASHAK, Rilindja, July 3, 1990, 1*)*. Thus, we see that the Serbian mobilization was organized against the constitutional declaration of July 2, through its loyal factions in Kosovo, which proclaimed that this declaration was a violation of the Yugoslav constitution, while in fact, Serbia had distanced itself from the principles of the Yugoslav constitution, which it abandoned on March 23, 1989.

Expectations After the Decisions of July 2 in Yugoslavia and the International Sphere

The created situation brought about a new scenario, as the Balkans began to destabilize and Yugoslavia started to disintegrate. As a result of this, we would later see the secession from Yugoslavia of countries like Croatia and Slovenia. However, how this act was viewed by foreign countries can be seen in reports from Reuters, which stated:

> *"In the declaration of the provincial assembly, it is stated that Kosovo will be independent and equal within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation (Reuters),... This step toward independence represents a provocation to Serbia's efforts. However, the legal status of this document is unclear since it was adopted after the delegates were not allowed to enter the building of the Assembly of Kosovo." (*ASHAK, Rilindja, July 4, 1990, 1)*. It is noted that Kosovo's legal status[11]

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11 The legal and constitutional status of Kosovo has undergone numerous changes since 1945. In the 1945 Yugoslav Constitution, Kosovo was a subject within Serbia, known as Kosmet. In the period of the 1963 Constitution, the name Kosmet was removed, and it was designated as a province without autonomous rights, remaining under Serbia. With the start of constitutional changes in 1967, following the overthrow of Ranković

was still unclear as a result of the legal transitions it was under-going during the period of legal-constitutional changes in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, on July 2, 1990, the situation in Kosovo was also discussed in Slovenia regarding Kosovo's constitutional declaration, where it was noted: *"Exactly half of the deputies of the Slovenian Assembly, 120 of them, decided that, with 55 votes against and 16 abstentions, the agenda of today's meeting should include the debate on the proposal of the declaration of complete sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia, a proposal from a group of delegates from DEMOS." (*ASHAK, Rilindja, July 3, 1990, 4). This situation was a point of discussion as it was a situation created within the SFRY, where Slovenia was also present.

The created situation also led to a new political stance in other republics of the SFRY. Republics such as Macedonia and Montenegro welcomed the decision of the constitutional declaration of July 2, noting:

> *"Congratulations and best wishes for the decisions of the delegates of the three chambers of the Assembly of Kosovo are coming from all sides of Kosovo, from Montenegro, Macedonia, and many countries around the world, besides the warm words they had, they contained a message: Kosovo should move cautiously toward complete sovereignty in the Yugoslav federation-confederation, and the path should be democracy." (*ASHAK, Rilindja, July 5, 1990, 1). This is an important element that demonstrates that Kosovo was on the right path toward democracy and constitutionalism, and the decision to suppress autonomy was unconstitutional and anti-democratic from the leadership of Slobodan Milošević.

Support for the decisions of the constitutional declaration is also evident among Albanians who were in exile. This was observed in the city of Wetingen in Switzerland, where Albanians organized a meeting in

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in Brioni in 1966, the policy of homogeneous Yugoslavism began, during which Kosovo became part of the constitutional changes, receiving autonomy in 1974. Finally, on March 23, 1989, autonomy was revoked, and Kosovo lost the autonomy it had gained in 1974.

support of the decisions of the constitutional declaration. Among other things, it was noted: *"The day before yesterday in Wentingen, Switzerland, a gathering of our compatriots, who are temporarily working in this canton, was held, where about 500 people gathered […] In their gathering, which lasted four hours, they signed a supportive letter to the Assembly of Kosovo, which among other things states: 1. We boycott the referendum proclaimed by Serbia on July 1 and 2 of this year to begin drafting the constitution of the RSS, which takes away even the little autonomy from Kosovo, 2. We support the ASHA Declaration of Kosovo, 3. We strongly condemn the blocking of the work of the delegates of the KK by Serbia, 4. We invite the delegates of the KK to approve the decision for drafting the constitution of Kosovo at the decisive meeting of July 2."* (ASHAK, Rilindja, July 4, 1990, 5). The determination in the three points, such as the rejection of the Serbian referendum, the support of the declaration, and the condemnation of the blocking of the delegates work, was evidence of the social organization of Albanians in exile for the interest of the national cause.

This event would also be commemorated a year later by the newspaper Bujku, as a result of the closure of the newspaper Rilindja, where among other things Bujku noted the points declared in the constitutional declaration, which it referred to as: *"The document that opened the way for the declaration of the Republic of Kosovo."* (ASHAK, Bujku, September 7, 1991, 2).

This event would be remembered even years later by the newspaper Bota Sot, where it was noted: *"On July 2, 1990, by adopting the Constitutional Declaration, the sublime act, constitutional for the independence of Kosovo, which was carried out with commitment and high political responsibility, and with skill, bravery, and patriotism, I would like to congratulate you once again for the work you did through this letter."* (ASHAK, Bota Sot, June 25, 2002, 25). This led to the commemoration of this event even years later in the Albanian press.

Conclusion

In addressing the topic " **The Political Movement for the Republic of Kosovo – July 2, 1990**" the essential element was the establishment of archival sources for interpretation concerning the mentioned topic, as a result of which the event of July 2 stands out as one of the most significant events in the 1990s in the history of Kosovo. Thus, we arrive at several conclusions about July 2:

1. The event of July 2 resulted from the new constitution adopted by the Assembly of Serbia, and subsequently by the Assembly of Kosovo, which revoked the autonomy granted to Kosovo in 1974. This meant that Kosovo's autonomy was suppressed, and this was voted on in the Assembly of Kosovo with the approval of the Assembly's president, Gjorgje Brozhović.

2. July 2 marked the beginning of the movement for independence, resulting in the political mobilization of delegates from Kosovo, who unanimously decided that Kosovo should be an equal unit within Yugoslavia. Out of 111 delegates present, all signed the constitutional declaration read by Muharrem Shabani. This meeting was chaired by Bujar Gjurgjalo, who, along with Muharrem Shabani and Skënder Skenderi, would be part of the delegation to promote the constitutional declaration.

3. The Constitutional Declaration of July 2 contained five points, declaring the constitutional status of the population of Kosovo, proclaiming Kosovo as an equal unit within Yugoslavia, confirming Kosovo as a political-constitutional community with a political-constitutional status, while also being based on the 1974 Constitution of the SFRY, rejecting the decisions of March 23, 1989, and recognizing these decisions and names until the announcement of the new constitution.

4. The holding of the Assembly meeting was obstructed by the mayor, who did not allow delegates from Kosovo to enter the assembly. He declared the assembly meeting for July 5, on the pretext that on

July 1 and 2, 1990, a Serbian referendum was taking place, which was boycotted in Kosovo. In these circumstances, the Assembly was held in external premises, where, in the presence of 111 delegates, chaired by Bujar Gjurgjalo, the constitutional declaration of July 2 was read, declaring Kosovo as an equal unit within Yugoslavia. After the reading of the constitutional declaration, the signing by the 111 delegates followed, and later four others, who were part of the Assembly of Serbia, would also sign. The last signatory of the constitutional declaration was Ali Shabani, who became the 115th delegate to sign the declaration. This made the actions of the delegates constitutional and democratic, as out of 186 seats in the Assembly of Kosovo during the time of the SFRY, 115 voted in favor of Kosovo being an equal unit within Yugoslavia, while rejecting the constitution of March 1989, which was proclaimed by Slobodan Milošević.

5. The proclamation of the constitutional declaration was welcomed by the LDK and the Peasant Party, which, in a joint statement, congratulated the delegates of the Assembly of Kosovo for the act of the constitutional declaration. In addition, the merger of the SP and the newspaper Rilindja supported such an event, and as a result of this stance, the closure of Rilindja occurred, certainly influenced by the internal centralization of Serbian politics, including newspapers and televisions. Support for the decisions of July 2 also came from the Student Union of the University of Pristina, which welcomed the event of July 2 as a culminating act in the realization of the legal-constitutional rights of Kosovo. The event was also supported by expatriates, as evidenced by a case in Switzerland, as well as by states like Macedonia and Montenegro. Additionally, it was discussed in the Assembly by Slovenia and reported on by international media, such as Reuters.

6. The act of July 2 was strongly opposed by Serbia, which viewed it as an unconstitutional decision. The LSPP of Kosovo emphasized that the constitutional declaration of Kosovo was an act that undermined

the integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia, and the people of Kosovo should distance themselves from such a decision.

7. The situation created after July 2 led to harsh measures from Serbian forces, which halted the work of the Assembly of Kosovo and its Executive Council, and began persecuting the delegates who signed the constitutional declaration.

Overall, the constitutional declaration of July 2, 1990, was one of the most significant events in the last years of the 20th century in Kosovo and marked the initiative for the independence of Kosovo.

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Appendix

Table 1: Delegates of the Constitutional Declaration of July 2nd. **(**ASHAK, 2 korrik 1990: Dokumenti Nr. 010-22/90: 2-5).

1. Bujar Gjurgjealo	23.Shemsedin Bytyqi	45. Hysni Salihu	67.Hanife Elshani	89.Skender Aliu
2. Refik Raka	24. Adem Vitia	46.Valentin Domniku	68.Kadrije Ismajli	90.Ethem Bekeri
3. Zymer Lulaj	25.Adem Mikullovci	47. Xhevat Pllana	69.Leonora Zajmi	91.Gani Vula
4. Osman Nuhiu	26.Hilmi Muhaxheri	48.Jusuf Konjufca	70.Besa Basha	92.Xhemajli Bajra
5.Muhamet Shabani	27. Halim Demaj	49. Rifat Rifati	71.Gjyljeta Mulla	93.Nezir Prokshi
6. Halit Kryeziu	28. Naser Gashi	50.Selim Krasniqi	72.Selvije Xhinaj	94.Veton Shala
7. Nazmi Kelmendi	29.Raif Ramabaja	51. Tafil Salihu	73.Gjemajl Dirdari	95.Nikoll Shabani
8. Milazim Vitia	30.Burim Muhaxheri	52.Ramadan Kelmendi	74.Nijazi Hoxha	96.Halil Maxhari
9. Nazif Berisha	31. Fetije Shala	53. Remzi Maliqi	75.Kadrija Dajqi Gashi	97. Isa Shefkiu
10. Maliqe Bajoki	32. Ilirjana Jusufi	54.Avdi Grajqevci	76. Imer Gashi	98.Zijadin Salihu
11. Agush Balaj	33. Adem Ademi	55. Isak Restelica	77. Mikereme Nishliu	99. Ali Shahini
12. Daut Jashanica	34. Veli Haxha	56.Fehmi Nallbani	78. Enver Pula	100.Gëzim Haklaj
13. Ismail Sahiti	35. Azem Neziri	57.Ruzhdi Bakalli	79.Sanije Çitaku	101.Jakup Bullatovci
14. Selami Gashi	36.Qamil Bajraktari	58. Bajram Arifi	80.Gani Miftari	102.Adnan Zhelta
15. Agim Morina	37. Ramiz Bacaj	59. Flamur Xhina	81.Jahir Bekteshi	103.Tafil Berisha

16. Ukë Gashi	38. Sabit Berisha	60.Gëzim Lipoveci	82.Maxhun Shala	104.Basri Bajrami
17. Feti Broçi	39. Lucia Laqi	61.Shemsi Hajdini	83.Gafur Kiseri	105.Mehmet Sahatçiu
18. Baki Krasniqi	40.Muharem Shabani	62.Feride Hyseni	84.Ilaz Ramajli	106.Bahri Abazi
19. Nezir Sallahu	41.Mehmet Ibrahimaj	63.Qefsere Boshnjaku	85.Sabri Hashani	107.Muhamet Ahmeti
20. Nazif Matoshi	42.Sokol Prokshi	64.Afijete Azizi	86.Skender Skenderi	108.Xhevat Zejnullahu
21.Nebih Abdullahu	43.Hysen Bashota	65.Refika Belegu	87.Qemajl Sahatçiu	109.Shaban Hashani
22. Islam Gashi	44.Murtez Rrahmani	66.Binaze Jashari	88.Qazim Kelmendi	110. Fatos Pula 111.Nazmi Fejzullahu

book
review

GÖRKEM AKGÖZ, "IN THE SHADOW OF WAR AND EMPIRE: INDUSTRIALISATION, NATION-BUILDING, AND WORKING-CLASS POLITICS IN TURKEY"

Brill, Leiden, 2023, 374 pages

Reviewer: Ivana Hadjievska

It seems that the field of labor history is gaining new influence in the academic and cultural debates, this time through the studies of *global labor history*. The last time the field was burgeoning was in the 1980s, when labor history was entangled in the ideological and mnemonic discourse of the countries in the Eastern bloc during the Cold War's bipolar division. Today, discussions in this branch of historical discipline tackle phenomena from modernity (and post-modernity), but the epistemological

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difference from other fields of historical thought resides in the focus on the material base of societies and the conflictual character of class rule. I found inspiration for this assertion in Görkem Akgöz's book, *In the Shadow of War and Empire: Industrialisation, Nation-Building, and Working-Class Politics in Turkey*. The author is aligned to the generation of researchers who belong to the 'global academic diaspora'. This professional community is generally characterized by few shared features: turn towards the global world and critical challenging of national master-narratives; and precarious academic engagements, rather than stable working positions. These are important assumptions to understand the epistemic positioning of the title in front of us: it belongs to the academic turn towards cross-disciplinary, comparative perspective, as well as viewing local/national phenomena through the global reflector of economic processes and social movements. Although Akgöz's primary field of study is sociology and social sciences, her work in the past decade left a mark through research projects in global labor history, political economy, and women and gender history, particularly within the context of the history of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey. What intrigued me in the book was precisely how research grounded in labor history, in contrast to the still dominant military-political historiography, can influence the understanding of the construction of modern (capitalist) states, taking into account both the ideological and the memory component of the process. This question is exactly my point of departure in the review.

The main topic in the book are the site-specific developments in the Bakırkoy Cloth Factory - a textile company in Istanbul, in a broad economic and political context from the 1840s until the 1950s. This industrial complex, known as the "Turkish Manchester", was built on the northern shore of the Marmara Sea in the 1840s, and taken over by the republican state in 1923. The main social relationship under exploration is the relationship between nation-building and workplace conditions under Turkey's state-led industrialization. The key-spot where the relationship materializes is the factory shop floor. The author contextualizes

state factories as emerging key sites of entanglement, where questions of nation- building, class formation, and modernization were intimately tied together.

Audience wise, apart from the field specialists, the book should be of interest to readers curious about post-colonial processes, readers of entangled histories and to those searching for tangents of women's history. Due to its methodological exercises and the range of sources that the reader offers, it should be useful reading for students in the relevant fields.

The body of the book has two layers of observation, thus, the narrative structure is divided in two parts. The first part uptakes the macro-level. It leads the reader through the dense elaboration of the historical context and spatiality of industrialization, the changing urban landscape of Istanbul, the impact of the Labor Code (1936), and the key policies of the political elites that eventually shaped the ideology of the "worker-patriot". The second part uptakes the micro-level. It follows the labor habitus in the factories on the shop-floor scale and the ruptures in the building of class identity among the industrial workers, in the network of the etatist labor politics.

The theoretical and methodological framework used by the author, reveal itself as a meta-historiographical text – a case in deeply considered writing process. Akgöz combines a long-term political economy approach with a shop-floor-level analysis of industrial relations. Interdisciplinarity is embedded in the working process, thereby, the tools of economic history are engaged with experience-based sources. Akgöz's theoretical positioning is the true strength of the book's originality. In the introductory part, she familiarizes the readers well with the state of the art of research in the western academic centers, as well as with the development of the same in the global south; she zooms in also in the framework of Turkish national historiography and tackles the main topical challenges. The originality resides in the fact that she's still not approaching this under-researched geographical space as a meadow

for source-harvesting to be used in trendy case studies in an academic center; on the contrary, through her own discursive analysis, field research and experiential approach, she develops theoretical thesis herself. One excellent example is the application of the concept for the factory as "contract zone". This concept allows her to focus on workers' everyday practices that are replete with agency in the specificities of the Turkish modern state, and then, to reconnect worker agency to the wider societal structures.

The book is polyphonic, in terms of the representation of a variety of perspectives and voices, both the official and celebratory narratives as well as the critical counternarratives on etatism: bureaucrats, intellectuals, foreign and local industrial experts, employers, managers and workers themselves. Behind this representation, lies the plethora of sources, including state documents, inspection reports, travel writing, memoirs, workers' files, oral interviews, and periodicals.

According to the main argument stated in the introduction, the reality of shop-floor relations simply did not square with the contemporary representations of state factories and their workers, usually represented as passive. Therefore, the author indicates the need for re-embedding agencies at the workplace level. According to her, in workplaces where the state plays the role of both employer and regulator, worker agency is key to understanding the making of working-class citizenship, as well as its interrpelation to state formation and nation-building.

The first part consists of three chapters: (1) *The "Turkish Manchester". Factories in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul;* (2) *A "Home-Grown Plant". State-Led Industrialisation between Ideology and Empiricism;* (3) *Smokestacks of "Atatürk's Minarets" Industrialisation and the Politics of National Space.*

The first chapter opens with the painful modernization processes that the Ottoman Empire went through. Spatial associations are often used to capture change: the ornate imperial edifices were replaced with factory chimneys. Behind the new urban landscape, the perception of industrialization as an economic policy changed, and instead of being a method

for reducing import dependency for military requirements, local industrial production became a goal in itself, as well for the creation of local capitalist elites.

The second chapter deals with Turkish industrialization in the context of national, regional and world ideas of a planned economy. Readers learn that Turkey was the first country after Soviet Russia to introduce a planned economy. The conclusion of this chapter supports the thesis of postcolonial strategies of etatism. Etatism was used as a quick remedy for underdevelopment, but with great attention not to allow socialist ideological winds in the Republic. A solution to prevent class antagonisms from leading to the emancipation of workers was the adoption of the 1936 Labor Code. The chapter ends by detailing the ways in which the Code influenced economic and social policies.

The third chapter deals with the spatial development of industrialization. The author elaborates on the 'uneven development' and the consequences for communities, villages, in the coming decades: the gap between Istanbul, as the old industrial center, and Anatolia, its hinterland, as the new industrial center.

After reading the first part, one can formulate the conclusion about Turkey as an interesting example of suspending class conscience, while etatist industrialisation *de facto* became the *raison d'etre* of the Kemalist Republic. The elites found ideological solutions in a nationalist narrative of industrial work, mobilizing a work ethic that concealed the unequal and coercive relations of production and, thus, subordinating class divisions in service to the nation.

The second part consists of three chapters: (4) *The View from the Factory. State- Led Industrialisation as Myth and Ceremony; (5) Voices from the Shop Floor. Politics, Law, and Workplace Industrial Relations; (6) Textures of Struggle. Worker Politicisation from the Shop Floor to the Trade Union.* The reader is gradually introduced to the everyday working life in the factory and the creation of a class identity among the workers. The focus is on the interactions between the two poles of the "politics in production" between labor and

capital: the relations of cooperation and conflict on the inside, and the interventions of the state, employers', and workers' organisations, from the outside.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to social experiences of the factory: recruitment and promotion, gendering of labor, discipline etc. It reads in the mechanisms that workers have found to resist or maneuver around strict factory rules, to negotiate their labor rights. The chapter is also interesting in terms of methodology: the author introduces experience-near level of analysis (the author designates them as biographical snapshots of Bakırkoy workers), following sources such as workers' petitions, worker files and employment records among the most used. The image of the practicalities of workers' everyday life has also been reconstructed: the condition of hot meals, clothing, sports facilities, and medical treatment.

The fifth chapter is significant for the testing of the argument posed in the introduction. Through sources that reconstruct the lives and relationships on the factory shop-floor, the author successfully debunks the image of the helpless, complicit worker that prevails in the literature on this period. One of the examples is the worker housing crisis, which represented an opportunity for the (political) radicalization of industrial workers. The chapter also covers the main political processes of forming labor organizations and unions, the position of their leaders on the political spectrum and how they were intertwined with the lives and struggles of factory workers.

The sixth and final chapter is contextualized in state liberalization after the Second World War, which led to state recognition of industrial workers as a social and political group. However, there were examples when workers raised discussion on salary increase, employers resorted to abstracting the discussion into the categories of national identity, belonging, and citizenship. The chapter focuses on the interactions between shop-floor politics and the wider trade union politics. In this

constellation, workers' politics were not confined to the fragile structures of trade unions, but shaped by their experience on the shop floor.

Finishing the book, I came to the conclusion about the ease with which national master-narratives - subtly devoted to the romantic parts of the state-and nation-building, can obscure the understanding of the foundations of the material base of societies. This, in turn, leads to the marginalization of the political subjectivity and historical experiences of subjects who are active or passive 'stakeholders'. Perhaps this is precisely where the true potential of researchers of labor history lies: with their constant focus on the material base of society and social relations, they act as the 'inner judge' of national historiographies. They can also be useful theoretical designers for a substantive understanding of modernization processes in industrial societies on the fringes of Western-centric epistemic interest. Akgöz's forensic approach to archival sources and the discursive discussion she develops through original theses reinforce this claim.

SEDAD BEŠLIJA, HERCEGOVAČKI SANDŽAK U 17. STOLJEĆU (17. YÜZYILDA HERSEK SANCAĞI)

1. Baskı, Saraybosna Üniversitesi Tarih Enstitüsü, Saraybosna, 2023, s.330

Reviewer: Enes Turbic

Sedad Bešlija'nın 2023 yılında kaleme aldığı *Hercegovački sandžak u 17. stoljeću* (*17. Yüzyılda Hersek Sancağı*) adlı eser, Saraybosna Üniversitesi Tarih Enstitüsü tarafından yayımlanmış olup, 330 sayfa hacmindedir ve Boşnakça dilinde yazılmıştır. Bu kitap, yazarın 2015 yılında Saraybosna Üniversitesinde savunduğu doktora tezine dayanmaktadır. Kitapta işaret edilen tarih yazımında da vurgulanan temel husus, 17. yüzyıl Bosna Hersek tarihinin en az araştırılan dönemlerden biri olduğudur.

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Özellikle Hersek bölgesi ve Hersek Sancağına dair bu döneme ilişkin tarihî araştırmaların sınırlı olması, tarihçilerin kaynak yetersizliği gibi önemli sorunlarla karşılaştığını göstermektedir.

17. yüzyılda Hersek Sancağı, Bosna Eyaleti'nin bir parçası olup, kuzeyde Ivan Dağı'ndan güneyde Adriyatik Denizi'ne, güneydoğuda Risno ve Novi'den kuzeybatıda Makarska kıyılarına kadar uzanan geniş bir coğrafyayı kapsamaktaydı. Bosna Hersek'in en önemli bölgelerinden biri olan Hersek bölgesi, tarihî önemiyle araştırılmayı hak eden bir bölgedir. Bu coğrafya, geniş Balkan bölgesini, özellikle kuzeybatı kesimini şekillendiren dinamik kültürel, ticari ve siyasi bağlantıların merkezinde yer almaktadır. Stratejik önemi haiz yolların kesişim noktasında bulunan Hersek, bilhassa Dubrovnik Cumhuriyeti ile kurduğu ticari ve kültürel ilişkiler sayesinde Bosna'nın iç kesimlerini Adriyatik kıyısına bağlama görevini üstlenmiştir. Bu ulaşım ağı, yalnızca ticaretin değil, aynı zamanda fikirlerin, bilginin ve kültürel etkilerin akışını da sağlamış, Hersek'i Akdeniz ile Balkanlar'ın iç kesimleri arasında vazgeçilmez bir köprü hâline getirmiştir. Tam da bu tarihsel işlevleri nedeniyle, Hersek bölgesine dair yapılan araştırmalar, Balkan tarihinin daha geniş bir perspektiften anlaşılmasına ve halklar arasındaki etkileşimlerin derinlemesine kavranmasına önemli katkılar sunmaktadır.

Kitabın yazarı Dr. Bešlija, araştırmasının temel amacını, Hersek sancağı ile İstanbul'daki merkezi hükümet ve vilayet merkezi Saraybosna arasındaki ilişkileri ayrıntılı bir biçimde irdelemek olarak belirlemiştir. Ayrıca, çalışmanın amaçları arasında dış faktörlerin Hersek Sancağı üzerindeki etkilerini ortaya koymak da bulunmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, Hersek sancak beylerinin Osmanlı yönetimindeki konumu ile savaş ve barış zamanlarındaki ekonomik koşulların belirlenmesi, bu eserin önemli hedefleri arasında yer almaktadır. Kaleme aldığı eserinde Dr. Bešlija, Hersek Sancağının genel kentsel ve kültürel gelişimini de kapsamlı bir şekilde ele almıştır.

Metodoloji, her türlü ciddi tarihsel araştırmanın temel unsurlarından biridir ve geçmiş olayların kendi bağlamları içinde anlaşılması için

vazgeçilmez bir araçtır. Doğru şekilde seçilmiş yöntemler, araştırmacının kaynakları nesnel bir biçimde analiz etmesine, verilere eleştirel bir yaklaşımla değerlendirmesine ve anakronizmden kaçınmasına imkân tanır. Tarih çalışmalarında metodolojik çerçeve, sonuçların netliği ve inandırıcılığını sağlayarak okuyucunun argümanların mantıksal sırasını takip etmesine ve tarihsel süreçlerin karmaşıklığını anlamasına olanak tanır. Bu eserin metodolojisi olarak yazar, tarihsel karşılaştırmalı yöntemin uygulanmasıyla tematik-kronolojik bir yaklaşım benimsemiştir. Dr. Bešlija, kaynak yetersizliği gibi doğan sorunlara rağmen, titiz bir yöntem kullanarak 17. yüzyılda Hersek Sancağı'nda meydana gelen en önemli olayları okuyucuya başarılı bir şekilde sunmuş, çoğunlukla Güney Slav dillerinde yazılmış tarihi kaynaklar arasında büyük fayda sağlayabilecek bir eser ortaya koymuştur.

Birinci bölümde yazar, 17. yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nin genel durumunu detaylı bir şekilde analiz ederek, Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki siyasi olayları dönemin Avrupa'sında meydana gelen siyasi en önemli olaylarla karşılaştırmıştır. Osmanlı Devleti'nin 17. yüzyılda çok sayıda isyanla karşı karşıya kaldığına, ilk defa iki cephede savaş yapıldığına dikkat çekmektedir. Bu bağlamda, I. Ahmet (1603-1617), 1. Mustafa (1617), II. Osman (1618-1622), I. Mustafa (1622), V. Murat (1623-1640), İbrahim (1640-1648), IV. Mehmet (1648-1687), II. Süleyman (1687-1691), II. Ahmet (1691-1695) ve II. Mustafa (1695-1703) dönemleri titizlikle incelenmiştir.

Yazar, Köprülü Mehmet Paşa'nın (1575-1661) Osmanlı tarihindeki öneminin altını çizmekte, devletin karşılaştığı enflasyon, gümüş paranın devalüasyonu ve toprak fethinin azalması gibi sorunların yüksek vergilerin uygulanmasına neden olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Yazar özellikle 1632 yılında tımar sistemindeki reform ve bu reformların Hersek Sancağı üzerindeki etkisini arşiv kaynaklarından somut örneklerle ele almaktadır. Osmanlı Devleti 1683 Viyana Savaşı ile başlayan ve 1699 Karlofça Barışı ile biten süreçte büyük toprak kaybına uğramış, yazar da bunun Babıali'ye etkilerini eserinde yazmıştır. Buna ek olarak, yazar bu dönemin Püritenizmin güçlendiği bir zaman dilimi olduğunu ve

coğrafyacı Mehmet Âşık ile astronom, mühendis ve matematikçi Takiyüddin gibi bilim insanlarının ön plana çıktığını da belirtmektedir. Yazar, Osmanlı Devleti'nin sürekliliğini sağlayan radikal bir dönüşüm dönemi olarak tanımladığı bu süreçte, 17. yüzyıldan itibaren Osmanlı Devleti'ne dair analiz ve yorumlarıyla Osmanlı tarihine dair geniş bir bakış açısı sunmuş, Bosna Eyaleti'ni etkileyen siyasi, sosyal ve dinî şartlar konusundaki bilgisini aktarmıştır. Bu bağlamda, kitabın ikinci bölümünde 17. Yüzyıldaki Hersek Sancağı ile ilgili siyasi ve sosyal konular ele alınarak, iyi bir analiz edilmiş, başarılı bir şekilde okuyucuya sunulmuştur.

İkinci bölüm, en uzun ve en kapsamlı kısım olarak, yazarın Dubrovnik ve İstanbul arşivlerinden elde ettiği literatür ve arşiv kaynaklarıyla zenginleştirilmiş analizler sunmaktadır. Yazar, öncelikle 17. Yüzyılın başından itibaren 1737 yılına kadar Hersek Sancağının bir uç beylik sancağı olduğunu, 1580 yılından itibaren ise İstanbul Divanı'nın Adriyatik Denizi'ne yönelik askeri, siyasi ve diplomatik faaliyetlerini yürüttüğü merkez haline geldiğini ifade etmektedir. Bu çerçevede, sancağın coğrafi sınırlarını detaylı bir şekilde açıklayarak, sancak beylerinin önemli şahsiyetler olduklarının altını çizmektedir. Yazar, bu sancağın iki önemli bölgeyle sınır komşusu olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Bu bölgelerden Poljica'dan Makarska kıyısı boyunca Herceg Novi ve Risno'ya kadar uzanan hat üzerinde yer alan Venedik Dalmaçya'sı, diğer yandan Trebišnjica Nehri boyunca Hutovo'dan Novi'ye kadar uzanan Dubrovnik Cumhuriyeti ile sınır teşkil etmekteydi. Ayrıca yazar, söz konusu sancağın kadılık ve nahiyelerinin bir listesini sunarak, sancak beylerinin Osmanlı Devleti ile ilişki kurma, İstanbul'a gitmek isteyen Avrupalı temsilcilerle diplomatik ve siyasi temaslar kurma konusundaki rollerine dikkat çekmektedir. Bu geniş yetkiler, sancağın hassas bir bölge olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır; zira bu alanda birçok önemli yol bulunmakta, Venedik ve Dubrovnik ile komşu konumda olması, ayrıca Gabela ve Novi'deki Osmanlı ve Dubrovnik tuz madenlerine dair kontrol yetkisine sahip olmaları gibi nedenlerle, sancak beyleri ara sıra komşu limanlarda trafiğe yasaklar getirebilmekteydi. Yazar ayrıca 17.

yüzyıldaki Hersek Sancağı beylerinin adlarını okuyuculara sunmuş, bunun yanında 1833 yılına kadar sancağın merkezi konumunda küçük bir kasaba olan Taşlıca'daki saray ve divan hakkında ayrıntılı bilgiler vermiştir.

Hersek Sancağı'nın kentleşmesi Osmanlıların bölgeye gelişinden sonra (1490'lardan sonra) gerçekleşmiştir. Bu süreçte Mostar, Taşlıca (Boşnakça: Pljevlja) ve Foça (Boşnakça: Foča) gibi şehirler önemli ölçüde gelişim göstermiştir. Yazar, Roma İmparatorluğu'nun yıkılmasından günümüze kadar Avrupa'da yolların bakımına Osmanlı Devleti kadar önem veren bir devlet bulunmadığını vurgulamakla birlikte, bu iddialara ihtiyatla yaklaşmak gerektiğini, Bosna Hersek topraklarında karayolu ulaşımının -özellikle 19. yüzyılda- oldukça zayıf olduğunu belirtmektedir. Bölge 1878 yılında Avusturya-Macaristan yönetimine geçmeden önce, karayolu ulaşımı coğrafi sebeplerden ötürü zayıf durumdaydı. Bosna Hersek'te esas olarak ordunun, ticaretin ve yerel halkın ihtiyaçlarına hizmet eden sınırlı bir yol ağı mevcuttu. Ana yollar, Saraybosna, Travnik ve Mostar gibi stratejik noktaları birbirine bağlıyor olsa da, genellikle kötü durumdaydı; iklim koşulları ile nehirler ve dağlar gibi doğal engeller nedeniyle çoğu zaman geçilemez hale gelmekteydi. Daha iyi korunan az sayıda yoldan biri, Bosna'yı önemli bir ticaret merkezi olan Dubrovnik'e bağlayan yoldu. Belgrad ve İstanbul gibi Balkanlar'ın iç kesimleriyle ulaşım ise zordu. Ticaret, sınırlı ölçekte mevcut olmakla birlikte, ekonomik kalkınma zayıf altyapı nedeniyle sekteye uğramıştı. Avusturya-Macaristan dönemine kadar yolların modernizasyonuna, demiryollarının inşasına ve ulaşımın iyileştirilmesine yönelik önemli yatırımlar yapılmamış, bu durum ileriki yıllarda ülkenin daha hızlı kalkınmasına engel olmuştur. Yazar, Hersek Sancağı'nın merkezî ulaşım noktasının çoğunlukla Mostar olduğunu, ana yollar arasında Dubrovnik yolu, Saraybosna-Metković, Mostar-Imotski, Mostar-Trebinje (Trebin), Stolac-Bileća ve Mostar-Nikšić yollarının öne çıktığını belirtmektedir. Ayrıca, o dönemde Hersekli taşımacılar için en karlı rotanın Sofya'ya giden ulaşım hattı olduğunu vurgulamak gerekmektedir. Gacko ile Bileća arasındaki Cernica Meydanı da sık sık alışveriş ve geçiş

bölgesi olarak öne çıkmaktaydı. Bu sancaktaki başlıca ekonomik faaliyetler arasında ticaret ve zanaatkarlık bulunmaktaydı; burada Mostar özellikle dikkat çekmektedir. Bu sayede, Mostar, güneyde Dubrovnik ile ve kuzeyde Saraybosna ile, aşağı Neretva bölgesinin savunma merkezi olarak Taşlıca, Foča ve Gabela ile bağlantı sağlamaktadır. Tüm ticaret ve zanaat Müslümanların elindeyken, 1633 yılından itibaren gayrimüslim tüccarlar da faaliyet göstermeye başlamıştır. Bu yüzyılın ilk yarısında Mostar'da çok sayıda Yunan, Yahudi ve Ermeni yaşamaktaydı; bir arşiv belgesi, bu tüccarların ticaret yöntemlerindeki düzensizliğe işaret etmekte, sebebi de dükkanlarda satış yapma şekline saygı duymadıkları, bunu oturarak gerçekleştirdikleri gözlemlenmekteydi. Zarar gören diğer Mostarlı tüccarlar da bu eylemlerle ilgili yetkililere şikayette bulunmuşlardır. Bu son derece önemli tarihi kaynaklar, kitabın yazarının eserinde alıntı yaptığı, 20. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Bosna Hersek'in en önemli tarihçilerinden biri olan Hamdija Kreševljaković'in çalışmalarından edinilmektedir.

Bilindiği gibi Osmanlı Devleti'nin sakinleri olan Ermeniler ve Yunanlar Bosna'ya doğudan, Yahudiler ise -Sefaradlar- batıdan, özellikle İber Yarımadası'ndan gelmişlerdir. Aşkenazi Yahudileri ise daha yoğun olarak Avusturya-Macaristan döneminde ülkeye yerleşmişlerdir. Günümüzde Bosna Hersek'teki Yahudi nüfusu, yaşanan dünya savaşları, İsrail'in kuruluşu ve 1992-1995 Bosna Savaşı gibi etkenler nedeniyle son derece azalmıştır. Yazar eserinde 17. yüzyılda Neretva'nın Hersek bölgesindeki Yahudi ihracat ticaretinde önemli bir nokta olduğu da belirtmiştir. Ayrıca yazar, Mostar Yahudileri, mali açıdan Saraybosna'dakiler kadar güçlü olmadığını, ancak o dönemde Hersek Sancağı'nın bir parçası olan, yetenekli tüccarlar olan ve aynı zamanda Boka Kotorska ile Arnavutluk'taki fırsatlar için Venedik istihbarat ajanları olan Novi'deki Yahudiler de dikkate değer olduklarını öne sürmüştür. Tarihi kaynaklarda Venedik için istihbarat ajanları olarak çalışan Moshe Habil ve Eliezer Trinke'nin isimleri geçmektedir.

Bilindiği üzere, kahve ve tütün, Osmanlı döneminde ve daha sonraki zamanlarda da Bosna Hersek'in sosyal yaşamında son derece önemli bir rol oynamıştı. Kahve, günlük ritüellerin ayrılmaz bir parçası haline gelen bir içecek olarak salt keyiften fazlasını yansıtmaktadır. Kahve, misafirperverliği, sosyal ilişkileri ve kültürel geleneği sembolize eder. Kahve içmek, bilgi alışverişi, siyasi tartışmalar ve iş anlaşmalarının merkezleri olarak hizmet veren kahvehanelerde hala önemli bir sosyal gelenektir. Bu gelenek yalnızca seçkinlere özgü olmamıştır, toplumun her katmanında kök salmıştır. Benzer şekilde Osmanlı döneminde de tütün, önemli bir ekonomik ve kültürel rol oynamıştır. Nargile veya tütün içmek günlük yaşamın bir parçası olmuş, tütün üretimi yerel ekonominin önemli bir parçası haline gelmiştir. Bosna Hersek'ten, özellikle Hersek'ten gelen tütün kalitesiyle tanınmakta olup, Osmanlı Devleti'nin her yerine ihraç edilmiştir. Kahve ve tütün tüketimine ilişkin ortak ritüeller, sosyal bağların güçlenmesine ve günümüzde de varlığını sürdüren belirli bir toplanma kültürünün oluşmasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu gelenekler, aynı zamanda Osmanlı mirasının Bosna Hersek'in günlük yaşamındaki geniş kültürel etkisini de yansıtmaktadır. Hersek'te tütün ekimine ilişkin ilk veriler, yazarın belirttiği gibi, 17. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren bize ulaşmış, 1676 ve 1691 yıllarında bu bölgede tütün kaçakçılığı vakaları kaydedilmiştir. Yazar, kitapta kahvenin Hersek şehirlerinde kendine yer bulmasına ve 1600 yılında Foça'da kayıtlara geçmesine de değinmektedir.

Ticaretle birlikte ikinci en önemli ekonomik dal zanaatkârlıktı. 17. yüzyılın ilk yarısına ait Mostar kadısının mühürlerinde berberler, kunduracılar, kasaplar, boyacılar, demirciler, kahveciler, kılıç ustaları ve saatçilerden bahsedilmektedir. Yazar bu bölümde ayrıca Hersek Sancağı ile Dubrovnik Cumhuriyeti arasındaki ilişkileri de analiz etmekte, Dubrovnik'in Hersek ticareti açısından önemine dikkat çekmektedir, ancak 17. yüzyılda bu cumhuriyetle ticari arabuluculuğun yoğunluğunun azaldığının altını çizmektedir. Bu bölümün devamında yazar, sancak bölgesindeki vakıflar hakkında ayrıntılı bilgi vermekte, bu yüzyılda 58'i inşa edilen camilerin sayısı, yaptıranları, mescit sayıları

hakkında detaylı bilgi vermektedir. Bunlara ek olarak, 16 âdeti bulu-nan, 3'ü 17. yüzyılda inşa edilen tekke ve Halveti gibi derviş tarikatları ile beraber 22 mektep, medrese, hamam olduğu bilgisini vermektedir. Söz konusu asırda inşa edilen köprüler, yeni hanlar, saat külleri, su sis-temi, çok sayıdaki Katolik ve Ortodoks kiliseleri hakkında da okuyucu-ya bilgi verilmektedir.

Diğer bölümlere kıyasla hacmi daha az olan üçüncü bölüm, yazarın Girit Savaşı (1645-1669) sırasında Hersek Sancağını inceleyerek, Os-manlı Devleti'nin 17. yüzyılın ortalarına kadar yürüttüğü askeri-siya-si ve diplomatik faaliyetlere dair ayrıntılı bilgiler sunmaktadır. Yazar, 1606 yılında imzalanan Zitvatorok Barışı'nın Osmanlı Devleti ile Avru-palı devletler arasında gerçekleştirilen ilk barış antlaşması olduğunu vurgulayarak, bu antlaşmanın uluslararası ilişkilerde yeni bir dönem başlattığını belirtmektedir. Ayrıca, Bosna Eyaleti'ndeki Hristiyan nü-fusun ayaklanmasının planlanması sürecine, Katolik ve Ortodoksların ortak çalışma ve planlarına, Fransiskenlerin bu bağlamdaki rolüne ve Venedik Cumhuriyeti'ne hizmetlerine de değinilmektedir. Ancak, 17. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Bosna Eyaletinde ve Hersek Sancağında Osmanlı yönetimini devirmeye yönelik tüm çabaların başarısızlıkla sonuçlandı-ğı gözlemlenmektedir. Bu dönemde Senj'den gelen, Osmanlı toprakla-rından Dalmaçya'ya kaçan, Katolik olan ve saldırılar gerçekleştiren Us-kok'ların ve Hajduk (Türkçe: Haydut) saldırılarının yaşandığı da ifade edilmektedir. Bölümün devamında, yazar Girit Savaşı'nın başlangıcını ve gidişatını detaylı bir şekilde ele alarak, bu savaşın en önemli sonu-cunun bölgelerdeki demografik yapı ve güç dengelerindeki değişim ol-duğunu vurgulamaktadır. Özellikle çok sayıda Müslüman nüfusun Dal-maçya sınır bölgelerini terk ettiği dikkate alınmalıdır.

Bu kitabın son bölümü olan dördüncü bölümde yazar, Viyana Kuşat-ması ve Mora Savaşı'na dair detaylı bir inceleme sunmakta, ayrıca bu dönemde Hersek Sancağında meydana gelen olayları ele almaktadır. Viyana Savaşı'nın Hersek üzerindeki etkileri, bölgedeki siyasi durumu ve 17. yüzyılın seksenli yıllarında Hersek cephesindeki gelişmeler

üzerinde durulmaktadır. Özellikle 1680'lerin ortalarında, Hersek ve Dalmaçya'daki Müslüman nüfusun Hristiyanlaştırılmasında rahiplerin, özellikle Makarska Piskoposu Nikola Bjanković'in rolü dikkatle analiz edilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Hersek'i itaatsiz devlet adamları için bir tür hapishane olarak kullandığına da vurgu yapılmaktadır. Yazar, bu yüzyılın sonlarına gelindiğinde Habsburg kuvvetlerinin Bosna'da oluşturduğu büyük işgal tehlikesinin, Hersek Sancağı için de bir tehdit teşkil ettiğini ve bu durumun yoksulluğa yol açtığını belirtmektedir. Bu bölüm, dönemin karmaşık sosyal ve siyasi dinamiklerini ortaya koyarak, Hersek Sancağının Osmanlı yönetimi altındaki durumunu derinlemesine ele almaktadır.

Yazar, eseri akademik bir dille kaleme almıştır. Bosna Hersek, Sırp, Hırvat, Türkçe, İngilizce ve Osmanlı Devleti kaynakları üzerine sahip olduğu bilgi birikimi, ona kapsamlı bir analiz yapma imkânı tanımaktadır. İstanbul, Hersek, komşu Dalmaçya ve Dubrovnik'in siyasi ve sosyal koşulları titizlikle incelendiğinde, eser dikkate değer sonuçlar ortaya koymaktadır. Hersek Sancağına dair sağlanan bilgiler, 17. yüzyılda Balkanlar'ın daha geniş jeopolitik bağlamını anlamanın anahtarıdır; zira bu sancak, ticaret yollarını ve bölgesel çıkarları bir araya getirerek önemli bir rol üstlenmiştir. Saraybosna'daki yerel seçkinler ile merkezi hükümet arasındaki gerilimlerin, siyasi ortamın değişmez bir özelliği olduğu göz önüne alındığında, Bosna Eyaleti'ndeki koşullar ve siyasi gelişmelere dair daha kapsamlı bir açıklamaya ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, yazarın sunduğu analizler, bölgenin karmaşık dinamiklerini anlamak için önemli bir zemin sunmaktadır.