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PRESA UNIVERSITARĂ CLUJEANĂ

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Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai
Presa Universitară Clujeană
Director: Codruța Săcelean
Str. Hasdeu nr. 51
400371 Cluj-Napoca, România
Tel./Fax: (+40)-264-597.401
E-mail: editura@editura.ubbcluj.ro
<http://www.editura.ubbcluj.ro>

CONTENTS

Foreword	7
The Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies of Babeş-Bolyai University	9
DYACHRONICS OF CULTURE.	
SYNTHESES, SYMBIOSES AND INTERFERENCES	13
<i>D.F. Zagidullina,</i>	
Modernism in Tatar Literature at the Beginning of the 20 th Century:	
General and Particular	15
<i>Tasin Gemil,</i>	
The Ottoman Cultural Symbiosis	25
<i>Esmira Fuad (Shukurova),</i>	
Common Values in the Azerbaijanian Poet Shahriyar's and Romanian Poet	
Mihai Eminescu's Activities	39
MINORITARIES AND MAJORITARIES.	
STATES, ETHNICITIES AND CONFESSIONS	53
<i>Catalina Hunt,</i>	
"Seeing Like a State": Romanian Policies in Northern Dobruca	
and the Muslims, 1878–1914	55
<i>Aydogdy Kurbanov,</i>	
The Hephthalites Disappeared or Not?	87
<i>Laura-Adina Fodor,</i>	
The Tatars in the Collective Memory of the Szekely Inhabitants	
of the Sic Settlement, Transylvania	95
STEPPE CIVILIZATIONS.	
ARCHETYPES, TRADITIONS AND INNOVATIONS	115
<i>V.A. Ivanov, M.I. Ivanova,</i>	
Funeral Ceremony of Nomads of Eastern Europe of the 13 th –14 th Centuries	
in a Context of Ethnic Structure of the Golden Horde	117
<i>Nuriya Akchurina-Muftieva,</i>	
Architectural Traditions of Crimean Tatar Dwellings	131
<i>Hasan Bahar,</i>	
The Motap Project; Bilge Khagan Memorial Complex Excavations	
of 2001, 2003	147
RIVERS AND SEAS.	
COMPETITION, INSTITUTIONS AND ACTORS	171
<i>H. İbrahim Gök,</i>	
The Slave Trade and its Routes in the Mediterranean Region	
in the Middle Ages	173

<i>Sergiu Iosipescu,</i> Autour du Khanat Tatare de Crimée. Cosaques et Ottomans dans la Mer Noire (milieu du XVI ^e siècle – 1648) (I)	193
<i>Gabriel Felician Croitoru,</i> Quelques aspects concernant la frontière entre la Valachie et la <i>kaza</i> de Giurgiu pendant les siècles XVI–XIX	207
POWER GAMES. DISPUTES, MIGRATIONS AND DEPORTATIONS	225
<i>D.P. Ursu, E.H. Seydametov,</i> Reemigration Attempts of Crimean Tatars from Dobrudzha to Their Historical Motherland in 1920s	227
<i>Adolat Rakhmankulova,</i> Deportation of Koreans, Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks in Uzbekistan (1937–1944) and Their Comparative Social and Legal Status	233
<i>Ilmur Mirgaliyev,</i> On the Question of Recognition of Tokhtamysh Khan's Supreme Authority in Moscow	241
INSCRIPTIONS AND SOURCES. ANALYSES, INVESTIGATIONS AND IMAGES	245
<i>S.G. Klyashtornyj,</i> The Yenisei Runic Inscriptions and the Possibilities of Their Historiographic Assessment	247
<i>M.N. Sdykov,</i> Medieval Urban Settlements in the West Kazakhstan	253
<i>T.M. Sakarya Bozalioğlu,</i> Some Notes on Perception of Turks in Books I–VII Historia of Niketas Choniates	263
<i>I.G. Konovalova,</i> Печенеги в контексте рассказа Константина Багрянородного о «северных народах»	269
<i>Shahin Mustafayev,</i> Views on Supreme Power and Law in Medieval Nomadic Society (Case of “Oghuzname” by Yazicioglu Ali)	277
<i>Călin Felezeu,</i> Images de l'Empire Ottoman dans l'historiographie transylvaine du XVIII ^e siècle	287
<i>Margareta Aslan,</i> From the Correspondence between Géza Kuun and Ármin Vámbéry. Documents	295
NOTES AND REVIEWS	319

Foreword

The journal *Studia et Documenta Turcologica* is the first specialty publication in the field to appear in Romania. The Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies was inaugurated on 30 October 2009 within Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca. The goal of this Institute is to bring closer the Turkic world through knowledge, with a view to consolidating and developing the relations between Romania and the states and communities that form this wide and complex world. At the same time, the Institute aims at contributing to the extension and thoroughness of the research done in the field of Turkic studies.

Studia et Documenta Turcologica appears annually, as a scientific publication of the Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies. On its pages, there will be published with precedence the results of meticulous scientific research, based on inedited sources or which brings forward to the scientific circuit of Turkic studies unknown documentary sources. In our opinion, *Turkology* represents everything pertaining to the Turkic world, namely the independent states: Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, the turcophone autonomous republics and regions, as well as the larger or smaller similar communities within many other countries. The Turkic world consists today of almost 200 million people who speak similar languages and dialects and report themselves to common or analogous cultural and historical traditions.

We believe that *Turkology* comprises not only notably the history, language, culture, and civilization, as an ensemble and particularly (for each people and community) of the Turkic world but also the geography, economy, geopolitics, state structure, and past and present politics of this consistent part of the humankind. Despondently, there are still a plethora of clichés, misconceptions, and unfounded conclusions regarding the Turkics, all coming from the depths of history. We believe that a correct and deeper awareness on this world, on its connections with other peoples and states, is meant to provide a more realistic perspective on the current and future cooperation with all the peoples and communities of the Turkic world.

We look forward to receiving, from renowned specialists in the field and from young researchers seeking their scientific affirmation, materials which could clarify the less or wrongly known aspects of the complex history, culture, and civilization of the Turkic peoples. We are also interested in studies that undertake the current

situation and perspectives of a country, people or community belonging to the Turkic world, so diverse, yet so connected to common values.

We wish *Studia et Documenta Turcologica* to be a prestigious scientific publication, capable of internationally drawing the attention and support of the specialty scientific world.

Prof. Dr. Tasin Gemil
Director
of
The Institute of Turkology
and Central-Asian Studies

The Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies of Babeş-Bolyai University

After the war and the European acceptance of the national independence of Romania, as well as the reintegration of Dobrudja within the Romanian political frontiers in 1878, a new discipline starts to distinguish itself within the national historiography: Turkology.

The origin of the Romanian preoccupations in regards to Turkology – Oriental Studies was very diverse. Initially, there was a continuity of the Romanian historiographic tradition which had its foundation in the chronicle writings that date back to the age of Stephen the Great (1457–1504). Then, on the background of rediscovering the Middle Age past within the national emancipation process of the 19th century, the elaboration of scientific research projects on bilateral relations between the Romanians and Turks was witnessed. The Romanian historians, particularly the orientalist and turkologists started taking interest in the relations of the Romanian principalities and the Ottoman Empire, alongside the intensification of the research on the cohabitation for a long time between the autochthonous Romanians and the old Turkics (Pechenegs, Oghuz, Cumans, Tatars) and than Turk-Ottomans. The chief focus of the research was mainly reported to the status of the relations between the Romanian principalities and the Ottoman Porte.

Within these preoccupations, there were two main directions of approach: a scientific research direction and a second didactic one on graduate and post-graduate education. It is remarkable that these fundamental directions were exposed for the first time by Constantin Giurescu in 1915, being resumed with perseverance and consistency by the great historian Nicolae Iorga who would emphasize the Oriental and Turkic studies. In his opinion, these researches were indispensable for approaching the medieval and modern Romanian history. The initiative of the great historian was based on the research of the political-economic reports and the political-diplomatic relations and had positive effects as they led to the elaboration of studies by Aurel Decei, Nicoară Beldiceanu, Andrei Veress, Maria-Mathilda Alexandrescu Dersca-Bulgaru, H.Dj. Siruni, Biro Vencel, Georg Müller, A.G. Golimas or Ştefan Pascu. These studies demanded the constitution of a profile that ensured the formation of young generations primarily specialized in the Turkish history and philology. Hence, in the forth decade of the 20th century (1935), Nicolae Iorga invited the

German Turkologist Franz Babinger to Bucharest and hired him as a professor and scientific researcher in the field of Turkish historical sources concerning Romanian history. After the period in Bucharest, since 1940 Franz Babinger continued his turkological activity at the University of Iassy. In the two university centres, the German turkologist taught courses of Ottoman history, language, Turkish-Osman diplomatics and palaeography to a limited number of students, out of which Mihail Guboglu was to assert himself. In conclusion, under Nicolae Iorga's wand, the inter-war period resulted in an Institute for South-East European Studies 1913–1947 in Bucharest and an Institute of Turkology in Iassy that functioned between 1940 and 1945. Although it had modest results, the Institute of Iassy was endowed with a rich library and it created for the first time in Romania the didactic and scientific climate favourable to intensifying the turkological preoccupations in our country.

After the last great war, due to the same necessity of the Turkology research, facilities were created for the young Romanian researchers to study on the scene (in Turkey) the Turkish-Osman history and the language. Among the scholarship holders we mention Aurel Decei, Nicoară Beldiceanu and Ion Matei. Continuing the lines traced by Franz Babinger, Mihail Guboglu will introduce the Turkology research at the University of Bucharest, his efforts materializing in 1959 when a monumental volume of Turkish-Osman palaeography and diplomacy was published. Mihail Guboglu and Mustafa A.Mehmed were the first Romanian researchers in the post-war period that entered the Ottoman archives; they published the first scientific volumes on Turkish-Osman sources in Romanian. This marked the beginning of the process that was to place on firm bases the research on the Ottoman period in the Romanian history. In the '60s–'70s of the past century, the Turkology researches were revived both in Bucharest and Iassy, allowing the formation of a constellation of young researchers that have become referential names in the meantime: Tasin Gemil, Mihai Maxim, Valeriu Veliman, Virgil Ciocâltan, Anca Gheată.

Even under these circumstances, the disparity between the Romanian Turkology and the universal one is substantial. Therefore, in the middle of the '80s, at the initiative of the University of Bucharest, a Laboratory of Ottoman Studies was created, under the direction of Professor M. Maxim. Subsequently, after 1990 the laboratory will transform into the Centre for Turk-Osman Studies within the Faculty of History of the University of Bucharest. But this centre would only serve the Bucharest University, the other fundamental academic institutions in Romania, in Cluj and Iassy being deprived in this field. Consequently, in a historiographic context favourable ever since the end of the '90s, the need for establishing similar institutes in the universities of Cluj and Iassy starts being felt. After a long ex-

ploratory period, these initiatives will eventually be materialized at the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca when, on 30 October 2009, the *Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies* was created. We find ourselves in front of the first institute with this profile within Romania. Wishing to grant the institute the appropriate prestige, the Cluj University appointed as director of the new institute one of the most renowned Romanian Turkologists, Professor Tasin Gemil. With an impressive scientific activity and, not least, diplomatic experience, Professor Tasin Gemil would give the necessary prestige to the new institute which proved to be an active presence in the academic life of Cluj-Napoca, Transylvania, Romania and Europe.

Ever since its establishment, through the programme and research directions proposed by Professor Tasin Gemil, the Cluj institute developed its range of activities in more ample directions than the exclusively turkological ones. Thus, another necessity perceived was the approaching of a more vast geo-political space that was to comprise Central Asia, as well. The initiative was not arbitrary but well placed on the research and deeper knowledge of an immense space that became emergent during the past two decades. As a result, the Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies became for Babeş-Bolyai University the spearhead in the development of bilateral relations with similar institutions in Turkey, the Caucasus and Central Asia. Hence, in 2010 the Institute launched the relations between our university and famous universities in Turkey so that in 2011-2012, it continued the contacts with universities from Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan.

Along its four years of existence, the Institute organized more than ten international colloquia and symposia together with partners from Turkey, Crimea, Azerbaijan and Central Asia, in conjunction with scores of scientific reunions with similar institutions in the above mentioned territories. At the same time, within this Institute were taught in each academic year different especially courses on the field (18 until now). As an international recognition of the prodigious activity developed, the Institute rejoiced consistent financial and material endorsement mainly from the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Turkey.

Until now, eight specialized books were published under the aegis of the Institute, of which the most representative are the two volumes referring to the history and heritage of the Tatars. All these endeavours are now embodied in the apparition of this prestigious journal *Studia et Documenta Turcologica* which is to become, in our opinion, a referential name in the Romanian turkological and orientalist research, with large international visibility. The Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies is a branded one within Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, and we

believe that through its rich didactic and scientific activity it will be able to further represent not only our University, but also the progress and connections of this specialized field in Romania.

Academician Prof. Dr. Ioan-Aurel Pop,
Rector of Babeş-Bolyai University

DYACHRONICS OF CULTURE.
SYNTHESES, SYMBIOSES AND INTERFERENCES

Modernism in Tatar literature at the beginning of the 20th century: general and particular

D.F. Zagidullina

Modernism had an enormous impact on the artistic process of the 20th century. It attracted talented artists and led to changes in the code of moral values. Therefore, each nation tried to apply this phenomenon to their culture and literature.

Tatar people started treating modernism as a phenomenon which was a characteristic of European and Russian literature in 1913–1914. At that time they reconsidered modernism as a consistent part of contemplation of the prospects of national culture development. The beginning of the 20th century was the dawn of a new Tatar literature as soon as Tatar periodicals and publishing appeared, education was turned into a secular one as well as cultural orientation was aimed to the West. All these became a starting point of creating new tendencies in an artistic consciousness. By the beginning of next century Tatar society brought up a pleiad of well-educated young people who often continued their studies at universities. They knew Russian and European languages, they were open to new ideas in literature striving to bring their own culture to European levels, and they set a task to reform Tatar community, social and philosophical, aesthetic and scientific ideas. Cultural and educational activities of the national intelligentsia, which contributed to the transformation of Tatar culture, took various forms.

Western literature as well as many Eastern peoples “searching for something new” rejected the paradigm of enlightenment in favor of romantic one. For Tatars educational literature became the basis for unique national cultural development. That was due to several reasons.

Tatar secular educational literature was composed relatively late, in the second half of the nineteenth century, in the making of people’s national consciousness. In the forefront Tatar secular educational literature put social transformation of a particular nation. Enlightenment movement coincided with the process of secularization; therefore there were sudden changes of genre and style structures which became more European. In general, characteristics that prevailed in Tatar secular educational literature were assertive pathos and main characters’ motivation of

aspiration and deeds. Following motives were dominated: interrelated moral perfection and enlightenment, the importance of family in the process of social reformation, women liberation from family and spiritual oppression and etc. Those features were not in conflict, but coincided with young Tatar intelligentsia aspiration that appeared on the literary scene in the beginning of the 20th century. Recent studies showed that educational paradigm of Tatar literature remained its importance up to 1917, instead of 1905, and did not lose its national cultural values during the 20th century.

In the beginning of the 20th century Tatar literature could be divided into two phases: 1905–1911 and 1912–1917. Up to 1912 educational paradigm was a leading one, and G. Ibragimov named that period as a “period of the first fruits of a pen”. The second period represented the struggle for aesthetic perfection and “for artistic merit” in literature, that once drew Tatar critics’ attention. From 1912 “Consciousness” („Аң”) magazine became the “trendsetter” in the development of literature. The magazine focused on philosophical content and prepared a theoretical basis for modernist literature.

M. Kaibyshev, the author of “Life and Philosophy” (1913) article, a famous writer (his pen name was M. Hanafi) and a student of the Kazan Imperial University, said it was time to find a new philosophical and spiritual compass, not to be limited by Muslim philosophy. The process of religious believes demythologization started. As a philosopher Kaibyshev was drawn towards A. Schopenhauer, F. Nietzsche and M. Stirner’s point of views. Philosophy was treated as a fine line between traditional and new cultures.

Tatar critics revealed some features of a new literature as well. N. Halfin called to “take off the ground”; A. Mukhitdin held European modernists’ creativity as an example to young Tatar writers.

Simultaneously a reader became familiar with new trends. In 1913 “Yoldyz” newspaper published an article under the titled “Futurism” calling it a literature genre of the future. In response to F. Saifi, Kazanli inveighed against “such speculation”. In 1915 the same newspaper published an article by N. Dumavi “A Judgment” in which he defined modernism (decadence) as a natural form of artistic thought evolution. Dumavi drew attention to enrichment of romanticism and realism in Tatar literature with a help of modernist techniques. However, the author stressed out the necessity to preserve national traditions while applying new phenomena: national ideas, eastern emotionality should be expressed in a traditional way, in a national form. According to him, if national literature was able to retain its own characteristics, only then it would be of interest to other nations and become a part of world literature. National peculiarity of literature is in its national form. The same thought was the keynote of the following article “A Judgment of Philosophy” (1915) by

Dumavi, in which he warned about the threat to lose cultural identity due to the influence of the West. In response to that statement, J. Validi gave formidable arguments in favor of “orientation to the West,” which he considered to be “historical and social inevitability” and he wanted his opponent not to limit himself to literature only in that matter. Replying to that Dumavi wrote an article bringing the discussion to the field of literature stating that literature of romanticism, symbolism and modernism gave a writer an opportunity to show a reader the greatness of spirit, imagination, love and beauty. However, he believed that new phenomena should appear on the basis of national traditions.

In 1915–1916 “Tormysh” newspaper released a series of articles retelling lectures on modernism in literature given by P.S. Kogan, a privat-docent of Petrograd University. All articles shared a similar view on modernism as a synthesis of European rationality and Eastern emotionality. Also, an idea that modernist phenomena did not exist in Tatar literature in its “pure” form was created. Those phenomena became means of enrichment of romantic and realistic works.

Indeed, the development of modernist literature in any culture correlates with other spheres of art focusing on philosophical and psychological achievements. In the beginning of the 20th century Tatar literature and Russian symbolism achieved semantic content of an image through synthesis of literature and art, and literature and music. The cornerstone of these experiments was theoretical works of Russian writers, who formed Silver Age literature. For instance, A. White, considering mutual influence of different kinds of art on each other, wrote that “elements of more perfect form penetrating less perfect spiritualize it”. In the same way Tatar literary artists, of the beginning of the 20th century, accepted art interaction within a single text.

For example, when “Ang” appeared as a magazine F. Amirkhan published a verse “East sleeps ... (relative to an image)” (1912) next to the illustration of the painting by Leconte de Nohl “Dream of the East”. The painting depicted a serene sleeping man of the East. He lies on a luxurious soft bed in a poor hut there is a hookah waiting for a sleeper to wake up. The picture was given the following explanation: a sleeper represented Islamic East dreaming of paradise and hours. Meanwhile those who are awake divide his kingdom and loot the wealth of his country trying to enslave him. They are eager to learn, engaged in trade and feel free to implement all their plans. The juxtaposition of two allegoric images (sleeping and awaking) expressed the author's anxiety and concern about the fate of his people. An allegoric image of “sleeping East” was directly connected with the author's assessment of the current state of Tatar nation. In this way, the synthesis of visible (picture) and imaginary (text) worlds created a new cultural-historical meaning.

Every work of art that was published in “Ang” magazine was accompanied by famous artists’ illustrations. However, there were other approaches. For example, in the story under the title “They sing” (1917) by Faizi Valeeva, on the one hand, a folk song served as the basis for depicting art situation, on the other hand, it became the means of large-scale generalizations. The song turned into a symbol: in the trenches of World War I, during cold, hunger and darkness Tatar soldiers met, and when they unexpectedly happened to hear a Tatar folk song, their internal state was changed in no time. The song became a symbol of the nation rallying people by ethnic identity, “by blood” in critical moments of life and during historical upheavals. In another story “Namaz” (1916) by the same author, Muslim prayer performed the same functions. Folklore or religious inserts, thus, were used not only to create images or add details, but to represent ethnic forming concepts, national identity and identification.

Mythologized literature, stylized folk myths, fairy tales and legends flourished in Tatar literature in the beginning of the 20th century, could also be set as an example of an external synthesis in literature. Trying to comprehend current events in their historical perspective, in their past and future projection, writers of those times referred to mythological images and plots. In 1913, F. Amirkhan creates “Tatar girls” cycle, which consisted of three short stories: “Zohra on the moon”, “Syuyumbike”, “Lost at cards Zulhabira”. Relying on folk tales and legends, the author revealed the concept of life’s unity: there is no feud between spiritual and physical principles, because they exist as an indissoluble unit. Therefore, the only way to tackle acute social-historical problems at that time was to unite ideal and real, divine and earthly concepts. That idea corresponded to poetics; the latter was focused on an interaction between romantic and modernist principles.

In addition to an “external” synthesis, intra-literary synthesis manifested itself during the period avant-garde’s new genres formation. Genres merging, Eastern and Western artistic traditions intertwining, philosophical-artistic synthesis and poetics of different artistic styles combining were treated as an opportunity to represent new artistic thinking with the utmost accuracy and expressiveness. Mix of styles was a distinctive feature of Tatar literature in the beginning of the 20th century.

„The combination of styles”, or synthetism manifested itself in European culture in the second half of the 19th century. Artists tried to “synthesize” three concepts in their works: visual environment or background of the scene painted; personal feelings and emotions towards the depicted scene; aesthetic of a line, color and shape of the image. Similar tendencies were also noticeable in literary works of Tatar writers. Creators of new Tatar literature were combined by a keen interest in an inner life of a person, the world of his feelings, peculiar to him

perception of the world, memory, and relation between consciousness and sub-consciousness. Certain representatives of Tatar literature depicted the development of thoughts, impressions and memories with a help of “the stream of consciousness” and “psychological impressionism” techniques, which were characteristic features of avant-garde phenomena.

In this respect, Sh. Kamal, F. Amirhana, G. Ibragimov and G. Iskhaki's rhapsodies are of greatest interest. In 1909 – 1910 Sh. Kamal, a founder of Tatar psychological prose, in his short stories strived to reveal complex mental processes that took place in people's conscious and subconscious. Main characters depicted by him were ordinary people at a borderline state while undergoing ordeals and being enlightened. Historical-social determinism, inherent in his stories (the main feature of realism), was the transfer of human existence tragedy to his nation's representation. These works went beyond the scope of realism. Unconscious phenomena and psychological depths which were difficult to access became the subject of artistic images. Sharif Kamal's realistic artistic system was enriched by impressionist aesthetic techniques: he used the “stream of consciousness” as a method of psychological depiction, fragmentariness, composition assembling, and symbolization as a way of generalization. A “borderline phenomenon” emerged, which linked together psychologism, impressionism and realism.

Thus, Sh. Kamal's story “Awakening” (1909) described a tragic love story of Musa, a simple toiler, working at the mill, and his wife Gafify. The son of wealthy parents, Musa lived in the poor neighborhood of the city. However, the author did not stress out the reasons which ruined the family: he paid attention to difficulties Musa and Gafifa had to confront as stroke of fate. Because of life difficulties the man turned into a drunkard, he became brutalized and furious blaming and beating his wife. Gafifa tried to support for her weak-willed husband up to her last breath.

Realizing that by beating his wife he killed her, Musa went crazy. The author reconstructed in retrospect the story of Musa' love as a stream of consciousness of a mad person, who became aware of the crime he committed. And at that moment the murder of his wife appeared to him as the murder of love. Torn off buttons, as a symbol, reminded Musa his wife's eyes.

Spontaneous movement of nature was parallel to chaotic motion of thoughts and feelings, and Musa' remorse after the realization of his guilt: cold wind and autumn's dampness came to peals of thunder and thunderstorms. The category of love turned a tragic story of Musa and Gafify into a universal story which reflected patterns of life: the loss of love was equal to the loss of happiness and future. A train of thoughts of a mad man sounded in unison with natural movement, deepening semantic meaning of a text.

And in the other stories of the same writer main characters were depicted in an “awakening” state. In another story “Blizzard” (1909), Mustafa, who had forgotten about the existence of his mother and had not seen her for twenty years, hurried up to his home village to ask for her forgiveness. Four motion flows: bad weather conditions with a strong wind and the blizzard blocking the road; cry of a small child, Mustafa’s friend’s son; emotional moaning of the main character who understood his mistake but vaguely realized that it could be rectified; and his dying mother’s agony who waited for her son – layered on the top of each other and deepened the main character’s state of mind. All motion flows were chaotic; the author reconstructed them in detail making a reader experience every moment.

In some stories, nature and its movement were catalyst that arose emotional feelings. Thus, in the story entitled “A Faded Flower” (1909) the beauty of nature evoked false hopes in 19years old Qamar. The awareness of her own situation, revealed by the stream of consciousness, conveyed the tragedy of all young girls who were married off to old men and became second wives. Personal experiences of an individual were dependent on general national life in all Kamal’s works. This specific feature provided synthetism at the level of artistic movements.

The interaction of romanticism and impressionism techniques in F. Amirkhan’s works also wins over by a special emotional style and the beauty of the described moment. One of the first works of his in that style was “Love is Humiliation” (1908); the author added an explanation to the title of the book: “From a romantic friend’s life”. The story starts as a description of inward sufferings of a young man named Salih who woke up “unhappy” after he had made the declaration of love the day before: his love Farida confessed to him, that his love was a shame for her. A young man in love hoped that the feelings were mutual and finding out truth he went through the torments of hell. He woke up in a state of sickness searching for an answer to his question “why”. His was not interested in the real reason, but the loss of illusion and hope for reciprocal feelings were of his concern. The writer followed the change of various internal emotions on the behalf of a young man. And his writing style turned sad moments into beautiful ones. The moments that everyone can experience once falling in love and looking forward for happiness in the future. They are associated with youth, pursuit of happiness and ability to love. The author and a reader come to the realization that one day Salih would reminisce about that experience as the most beautiful and important moments in his life.

The main character of the story named “Aged!” (1909), 29 years old Mustafa, seems to gain everything he desired when finished school and entered the university. But Mustafa anguish was gnawing at his heart; he did not feel himself happy and was disappointed and dissatisfied with his life. The main character

underwent an acute and agonizing spiritual crisis and the reasons for that were complex and varied: difficulties that he confronted on the way to his goal, deprivation that fell to his lot, lack of his trade the one could devoted himself to, awareness life's transience and shortness of human beings' happiness on this earth, and doubts about the absoluteness of higher spiritual and moral values and social ideals. Mustafa was on the verge of despair, as he felt old and tired of life: "Give me back my youth, my innocent youth! I'll give you everything I have achieved in my life in return!"— Exclaims the main character. "Premature soul aging" could be explained by universal values like the confrontation of high gusts of a soul and youth that had gone never to return. Thus, the writer blended motivations of different levels. When re-establishing the main character's psychological state he used impressionistic principles of obscure, vague and uncertain mood, the movement of which was subjected to momentary gusts and concrete historical situations.

The same principle remained in an apical work of prose written by F. Amirhan in the story entitled "Hayat" (1911). The writer took into consideration a psychological drama of a young girl facing opposition of principles in her soul: mind and heart, a developing sense of identity, a new attitude towards the world and moral precepts of old Tatar society. The core of the impressionist emotional plot of the story was the main character who desired to bring her reality into harmony. For Hayat love was a tool to fulfill her plan into actions. F. Amirkhan used techniques of psychological generalization with a prevailing impressionist principle which established a united emotional complex and let us see in the story of her life the reflection of the entire Tatar youth and nation in general. The controversy in feelings, the desire for sublime, the desire to find happiness and incessant awareness that were impossible to reach, were held up as pain of Tatar's young generation and as a general problem of being (Hayat). Fragments of steam of consciousness, movements of thoughts, feelings, sensations and associations always set up into a united physiological image of a person and created second emotional, impressionistic plot to which Amirhan gave more prominence than to romantic or realistic ones.

In a different way the psychological state of a person was described by G. Ibragimov: he was interested in a borderline state of sleep, illness and mental imbalance. Topical flight was often aimed to estimate outward reality and was of minor importance: it performed the role of clarifying socio-cultural characteristics of a person and life situations. For example, the story under the title "A page from young people's life" (1909) describes how Salim, a young man, visited Kazan three times. The first visit he paid in 1901 when Salim was a nationalist, "a young man with an ardent national idea in his head." In a few years, "he came out of narrow

bounds of “nationalism” to a “universal” sphere. Leaving nationalism behind Salim turned into a populist he denied “my nation ... my Tatars ...” ideas and began to believe in “my homeland is an entire world ... my nation is all human kind” theory. When the main character came to Kazan for the third time he freed himself from such thoughts and he started putting his personal interest above all. The author consistently traces his train of thoughts in all three cases. Thus, studying the life story of a man as an example Ibragimov recreated three types of Tatar youth belonging to the beginning of the 20th century by describing various stages of their growing up. He explained their philosophical point of views and ideas.

At the end of the story Salim again underwent some transformation: with certain sadness he recalled those days when he was full of nationalistic ideas and dreamt to return those times. The main thing in his life was to serve a particular idea. Revealing the main character’s point of view Ibragimov referred to lexical elements that could be interpreted as signs of love for God. That is how the character of a man of the first half of the 20th century, who believed that serving an idea he served to God. Helping to recreate the main character’s thoughts psychological inserts participated in historical-social determination.

Inserts like that won brilliant reputation in “Young Hearts” (1912) novel, which was admitted by his contemporaries as a beautiful piece of romantic literature. The main characters’ stream of consciousness, their numerous dreams and descriptions of their delusional states created an impressionistic layer of the novel: the present mingled with their memories, the past was inserted in a description of a rural landscape as some fragrance recreating feeling experienced once. Besides that, a certain pride of place must be given to mental conversations of a protagonist with Allah. They consolidated the universal truth that Allah is the beginning and the end of everything and that everything in life is predetermined in advance. But this idea is involved into the main conflict of the novel: the confrontation of a man and his environment. Throughout the novel a writer constantly mentioned the word “environment” (mohit), reflected on a complicated relationship between a man and his environment. According to the author’s concept, despite the fact that everything is determined from above, the human heart and mind always try to overcome difficulties, always want to gain the best and tend to reach unattainable. A man can not be free from the environment philosophy determined the stories of each protagonist: they wanted to get rid of predestination and to defeat it. At the same time, this philosophy was described in the main characters’ flurry of speculation and the author’s philosophical digressions. The writer emphasized that neither fate nor environment is equal to God; divine spark in a human heart makes him fight against the environment.

Like this, the author wrote about people's desire to reach new horizons (for example, Gubaidullin defined Zyi as a type that had been formed in our country and in Tatar society) against a large-scale picture of life of all Tatar social classes at the turn of the century background. The impressionistic plot, therefore, became the key to its understanding. "Young Hearts" represented people who desired to change reality for the better.

Ibragimov projected Zyi's life on the destiny of Tatar people, evaluating it as "the movement in the direction to the twilight of the nation". Zyi found a way to change his destiny with a help of music. According to Ibragimov it was possible to change the destiny of a nation due to fine arts like science, art and literature. In this way differently motivated parts of the novel could be combined.

In Gayaz Iskhaki's works psychological motives also expressed in an impressionistic way. The movement of constantly changing and exciting in its renewal cycle nature also was in tune with his main character's emotional conflicts within themselves. In Iskhaki's novels, likewise G. Ibragimov's, usually the stream of thoughts and feelings was of minor importance while depicting the reality of Tatar society. However Iskhaki had a series of purely impressionistic works. One of them was the verse entitled "A painting" (1913). It lacked the movement of events; the author described a road early in the morning in winter which a coachman named Ahmadi and yesterday's shakird, who was going to become a mullah, took to get to the countryside. The author described all anxieties, thoughts and feelings of a young man who decided to change his life. He found himself at a transition point changing his status from one to another. This status was interpreted as a symbol as transition from reality to transcendence and from youth to adulthood. And on his way a future mullah determined the necessity to stick to traditions as the most important thing for himself.

The development of Tatar literature in the beginning of the 20th century was determined by such a complicated phenomenon as artistic synthesis of all manifestations. The dialogue between Tatar literature and philosophy, mutual artistic penetration of prose and poetry became a solid basis of modernist quests.

We highlighted various mechanisms of intra-literary synthesis in literary works. For the national literature the most significant one is blending of methods and techniques of different artistic systems (realism, romanticism and modernism). This interaction was accompanied by "musical" (above all, the use of meter and rhythm in prose) and "artistic" (psychological parallelism and impressionistic devices) quests which was reduced to the same denominator, to the process of meaning making. It is obvious, that Tatar writers tried escape traditional aesthetics, using artistic works as a mechanism to reconsider multi-directed life's benchmark. In Tatar literature

the category of psychology performed a role of a clamp between techniques belonging to different creative movements. In our opinion, the mechanism of text synthesis occurs in two ways. The first method is entailed to reconstitute emotional and impressionistic plot of the second one. The second method includes text space symbolization through psychological inserts. Both first and second methods make a story more musical, the ability to make an emotional impact on a reader increases when the system of Fine Arts craves for capturing the motion of moods, thoughts and feelings as well as an instant shades of subjective perception. Unrevealed dénouement, reticence and ambivalence are characteristics of a new model of artistic representation.

The Ottoman Cultural Symbiosis

Tasin Gemil

In one of the oldest Ottoman-Turkish writings called *Garibname* (The Book of the Wandering Man), drawn up in the 1330's years by Aşıkpaşa, none other than the grandfather of the famous Ottoman chronicler from the fifteenth century, Aşıkpaşazade, there is a suggestive parable for the topic discussed today: four poor travelers, an Arab, a Persian, an Armenian and a Turk, traveling together, decide to stop on the way to a bazaar to satiate their thirst and hunger. As each one of them knew only his native language, they could not understand each other, so that each addressed the merchant in his native language. The merchant knew all these languages, so he served each of the travelers. It was then they saw that, in fact, they had all wanted the same thing – grapes. Aşıkpaşa concludes that although people are different, they all come from the “same house” and are guided by the same divine power¹. Beyond the educational purpose of the author to demonstrate the oneness of God, we also find in this story evidence that Anatolia at that time was a place of tolerance and coexistence among many ethnicities and religions. Additionally, the tale makes a case for the idea that the same living conditions and environment can cause similar suffering and desires, which exceed the ethnic and religious differences, facilitating harmony among people.

The great transformations that came afterwards and decisively influenced the historical destiny of a large part of the humanity, mostly the evolution of Eastern Europe and the Near East and Middle East took place in the thirteenth century. Historians who do not want or can not keep up with the development of knowledge still persist in clichés and preconceptions when they refer to the 13th century, which was indeed filled with quick and massive movements at intercontinental scale.

I do not think it's an exaggeration to state that the twenty-first century, which historically actually began in 1990, is repeating in other dimensions and other ways the global mutations of the 13th century, which virtually started later, with the rise of Genghis Khan, if we were to consider the historic events in Eurasia. It was then that Asia, namely Central Asia started to shift towards Europe and towards the

¹ Aşıkpaşa, *Garipnâme*, Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara, 2001, p.149.

highly civilized areas of the eastern Mediterranean, in order to overpower them and then imprint them with a course of historical development at a global scale.

Apart from the huge material damages and the many human tragedies, the terrible Mongol-Tatar attack of the 13th century also opened the paths for communication and connections across Eurasia, leading to an unprecedented consolidation of the political and legal stability and to the productive security of the trade routes. The long-distance trade was enhanced and it significantly developed, primarily throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea basins. The latter – which F. Braudel called “the Mediterranean pocket” – become indeed “the hub” of world trade, not thanks to the skilful Italian merchants, as George Brătianu thought, instead thanks to the initiative and under the protection of the Golden Horde’s Tatar khans, as demonstrated by Virgil Ciocîltan². The idea of some American and British historians, that in fact, it was during that period from the 13th and 14th centuries, that the economic globalization of the whole space of Eurasia was created, is gaining evermore support from other researchers.³ The global economic and the imperial political factors have stimulated and supported the coexistence and the cultural influences between nations and people of great diversity, living in the huge Eurasian spaces of the Golden Horde. The situation was not different in the Ilkhanid State, which was the Near and Middle East Division of the Great Mongol Empire. Even after these genghiskhanide states officially accepted the Islam, their leaders have consistently continued to promote a broad religious tolerance, which was unusual in those times of deep Middle Ages. The Russian historian Aleksandr Yurcenko (St. Petersburg) recently launched the idea that, by showing respect to all religions, by supporting culture and educated people and by encouraging debates, the Golden Horde could be considered the first “enlightened monarchy” or “laic state” (*svetsko gosudarstvo*) in history⁴. Certainly, these political conduct principles didn’t remain without consequences throughout the huge Eurasian space controlled, during the 13th and 14th centuries, by the states that soon became Turkic (Tatar) – Golden Horde, respectively Persian – the Ilkhanid.

Most of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean and almost all of Anatolia were part of the Ilkhanid State, which was governed by Genghiz Khan’s heirs, but it was

² Virgil Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2012.

³ See Marshall G.S.Hodgson, *Rethinking World History. Essays on Europe, Islam and World History*, Cambridge University Press, 1993; John M.Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation*, Cambridge University Press, 2004 (turkish translation by E.Ermert, YKY, Istanbul, 2006).

⁴ Idea supported during the 3rd Golden Horde International Forum, organized by the Academy of Sciences of the R.Tatarstan (Kazan, 19 to 20 March, 2013), and reaffirmed in a TV documentary transmitted by THB channel in Kazan, on the 19/03/2013. According to the expectations, this idea of Al. Yurcenko provoked a heated talk especially among the Russian historians.

inhabited and administered by a variety of peoples and populations, having just as varied religions and traditions. Anatolia had become once again part of the Levantine economic system, based on long-distance maritime trade. At the end of the 13th century, in Anatolia were functioning over one hundred caravanserais, the equivalent of today's tourist complexes along the highways⁵. At that time, Egypt and a large part of the Levant were led by the Mamluk dynasty, whose Cuman-Tatar origins constituted a powerful motive to promote political alliances and sustainable cultural ties with the Golden Horde and the Ottoman state. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the Levant was under the influence of the same political, economic and spiritual factors. In later extending their dominion over the Eastern Mediterranean, Ottomans found there an ethnic and cultural basis that already was in a mixture process.

The last years of the 13th century or the early years of the 14th century are regarded as the beginning of the Ottoman state, which will then raise the size of a tri-continental empire, increasingly appreciated – even overtly in recent times – as the third Roman Empire. If Byzantium was accepted as a “new Greek – Christian Rome,” a synthesis between Hellenism, Roman, Oriental and Christianity, it is only natural – suggests the Turkish historian Tokalak Ismail and not only him – that the Ottoman Empire be seen as the “new Turkish-Muslim Rome”⁶.

This was also a synthesis of central-asianism, Islamism and roman-Byzantinism. The patriarch of the ottomanism, Professor Halil Inalcik is convinced that state, and then the Ottoman Empire represented a system originated both in the East and in Byzantium⁷. In fact, Halil Inalcik recognizes the merits of Nicolae Iorga's research, which identified, before others, the Byzantine origin of some military, juridical and economical ottoman institutions. Generally, Turkish historiography has not yet overcome the old nationalist political limits which dismissed any Greek-Byzantine influence in the formation and development of the state and the Ottoman Empire⁸.

⁵ See Janet Abu Lughod, *Before European Economy: the World System, A.D.1250–1350*, New York, 1989.

⁶ Ismail Tokalak, *Bizans-Osmanlı Sentezi. Bizans Kültür ve Kurumlarının Osmanlı Üzerinde Etkisi* (The Byzantine-Ottoman synthesis. The influence of Byzantine culture and institutions on the Ottomans), Istanbul, 2006, p.37 and so on.

⁷ Emine Çaykara, *Tarihçilerin Kutbu: Halil İnalcık kitabı* (The historians' Pole: the Book of Halil Inalcik), Istanbul, 2005, p.355.

⁸ See N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance. Continuation de l'histoire de la vie byzantine*, Bucarest, 1971; Fuad M. Köprülü, “Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar” (Some considerations on the influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions), *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, I (1931), p.165–313; idem, *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris, 1935. I want to add here a significant incident that took place in September 1991, during the official visit in Romania of the Turkey's President, Turgut Özal. I was then a member of the Romanian Parliament, representing the Democratic Union of Turkish-Muslim

But lately, Turkish historians and readers began to be more responsive to the views that do not coincide with the official or traditional ideology regarding the national history and culture⁹.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, a gifted and charismatic Turkmen tribal chief, bearing the name of Osman, native from Central Asia, has settled with his people in an area of Bithynia, at the borders of the Byzantine Empire. Shortly, Osman Bey managed to attract the locals and progressed very rapidly, primarily at the expense of the Byzantines. Osman Bey not only took lands and settlements from the Byzantine state, often without even fighting, but also many skilled people who went willingly into his service. During the 14th century – as during the two centuries that followed – inside the Ottoman borders took place not only a cultural symbiosis, but also a deeper ethnic one.

Besides, Turkmens had found in Anatolia a true cultural and ethnic mosaic. In the same way as in the Balkans of the Byzantine 11th century was noted the emergence of a new ethnic group called *mixobarbaroi*, consisting of a mixture of locals and nomadic Turkic origin, in the 14th and 16th Ottoman centuries a new population of *mixobarbaroi* emerged, which found its equivalence in the language of the Ottoman financial ledgers of the time under the term *ahriyan*. It referred to those people who, even though had Islamic or Turkish names were not accepted, however, as good Muslims and were considered crypto-Christians¹⁰. The Ottoman state and religious authorities saw that the *ahriyani* become in time full members of the Ottoman-Islamic communities in the regions in which they lived. Michel Balivet is one of

Tatars in Romania. At the request of the Romanian Presidency Protocol Department and then the Turkish Ambassador in Romania, Tugay Uluçevik, I participated effectively at developing the program of the official visit of President T.Özal in Romania. On the eve of the visit, the Turkish Ambassador invited me to the Embassy, as there was a serious matter that had to urgently be addressed, he said. Once there, I saw that the Ambassador was irritated and alarmed. He handed me the draft of the toast that the Romanian President Ion Iliescu will give at the official dinner given in honour of the distinguished Turkish guest. After I read it, I told the Ambassador that it was a very well written speech, and it transmitted a clear message of friendship. How could this be friendship? – replied the Ambassador with anger – your President is saying without a shadow of doubt that the Ottoman Empire is the successor of Byzantium and you well know that we can not allow such a thing. I have to make clear – I replied – that President Ion Iliescu is not the one making this claim, but the great Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga. I tried to explain the Ambassador the importance of N.Iorga's work in knowing the Ottoman history. It was in vain. Finally, I had to call Cotroceni Palace to ask for the removal from the presidential speech of the Iorga's quote.

⁹ See Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State*, The Regents of the University of California, 1995 (the book was translated into Turkish and published in Ankara, 2010); Taner Timur, *Osmanlı Kimliği* (Ottoman Identity), 4th edition, İstanbul, 2000; İsmail Tokalak, *op.cit.*; Bozkurt Güvenç, *Türk Kimliği. Kültür Tarihinin Kaynakları* (Turkish Identity. Sources of the cultural history), İstanbul, 2008.

¹⁰ See Starvo Skendi, "Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans", in *Slavic Review*, XXVI (1967), no. 2.

the historians who have researched the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural interpenetration of the Ottoman period; he demonstrated – as his already quoted Turkish colleague Ismail Tokalak – that the mixing process in the “Ottoman melting-pot” was much greater and deeper than previously thought. In this blend, both the “romei” of Christian faith and the Muslim Turks went through equally profound transformations. This also explains the term *Rum*, which was adopted by the Ottomans too¹¹. The conclusion drawn from the timar registers of the 15th and 16th centuries is that the Ottomans did not practice a policy of annihilation and replacement of the Christian population – as has been said and written before – but one of gradual integration. The new rulers of Anatolia and the Balkans were not interested in losing workers and taxpayers on their new lands, so they had to pursue a policy of tolerance and protection of their native Christian subjects (Greeks, Armenians, Slavs, etc.). Many of these people eventually became Muslims. The 15th century Ottoman chronicler Ruhi, noted that no day would pass without thousands of Christians switching to Islam. In 1354 St. Grigorie Palamas, the Archbishop of Thessaloniki, expressed the concern that God abandoned the Greeks, which could lead us to think – suggests Professor Halil İnalcık – that the high hierarchy was considering a mass conversion of Greeks to Islam. More so, it is known that the Patriarch of Constantinople sent a letter to the residents of Nicea, in order to prevent the phenomenon of conversion to escalate¹². The same distinguished scholar Halil İnalcık who researched many Ottoman census records, reports a visible decline in Christian population in Anatolia and Rumelia, especially after the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans¹³. The 16th century chronicler Mustafa Ali, a well known scholar and dignitary of the Ottoman State, was convinced that “many of those living in Anatolia (*sükkân-ı vilâyet-i Rum*) had mixed ethnicity; from all the leaders today, few are those who do not have at least one of his ancestors newly converted to Islam”¹⁴. At the same time, “the Ottoman melting pot” was fueled by numerous slaves, especially of Christian faith, both from wars and slave markets and from the human taxation called “devşirme” forcing Balkan Christian families to give young boys to the Ottoman state; they were educated and trained in the Turkish-Islamic spirit, in order to become soldiers or officials in the state administration.

¹¹ Michel Balivet, *Romanie Byzantine et pays de Rum turc, histoire d'un espace d'imbrication Greco-Turque*, Istanbul, 1994.

¹² Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlılar. Fütühat, İmparatorluk, Avrupa ile İlişkiler* (The Ottomans. Conquests, Empire, Europe liaisons.), Istanbul, 2010, p.253–254.

¹³ Idem, *Doğu Batı. Makaleler I* (East and West. Essays I), 3rd ed., Ankara, 2006, p.302–303.

¹⁴ Cornell H. Fleischer, *Tarihçi Mustafa Ali – Bir Osmanlı Aydın ve Bürokrati (1541–1600)* (Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541–1600), trad. A.Ortaç, Istanbul, 1996, p.263.

It is thought that each year were taken approximately 3 000 children through “devşirme”, plus an estimated 20 000 prisoners produced annually as a result of wars and predatory raids¹⁵. The “devşirme” system was in place for 300 years, and that of the war enslavement lasted even longer. It is not difficult to estimate the proportion of this population inside the Ottoman subjects. It is necessary to remind that the vast majority of these slaves were integrated into the Ottoman society, many among the elite, both military („servants of the Gate”) and administrative; the latter category even came to hold control over the whole state apparatus. For instance, only four of the 34 great viziers over the period 1453–1600, were of Turkish origin¹⁶. Moreover, the Ottoman dynasty itself had become mixed since its inception, in the first half of the fourteenth century. Over the centuries, thanks to the different ethnic origins of the women, the Turkish blood running through the Ottoman sultans’ veins had been decreasing. Besides Muslims, the Ottoman army also had units exclusively formed of local Christians (*martolos*) or a non-Muslim majority, at least until the end of the fifteenth century; such was the famous Balkan *akindji*. The latter were led from the beginning to the end (1595, Giurgiu) by true dynasties of commanders, former Byzantine *akritai* or Serbian nobles. Their Greek and respectively South Slavic origin results clear even from their surnames, which they kept even after having converted to Islam: *Mihaloğulları*, *Evrenosoğulları*, *Malkoçoğulları*.

With the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman state could raise the size of a large centralized empire with claims of universal supremacy. The young sultan Mehmed II was named *Fatih* (the Conqueror) as he had accomplished what every other Muslim sovereign had failed before – the conquest of the Roman Empire, which was the symbol of world power. Prince Mehmed hasn’t been educated and trained as a “conqueror shepherd”, as opposed to his ancestors that had come from Central Asia; he received instead an education suitable to the European spirit of his time, even a bit renaissance. He was careful not to destroy the great city of Constantinople and the legacy of Byzantium. *Fatih* didn’t destroy the Byzantine throne, instead he took it over. Once installed in the capital of the Eastern Caesars, Sultan Mehmed II acted as a Roman-Byzantine sovereign. Surely, he primarily had to be a Kagan (khan) and a Turkish Muslim sultan, as were his predecessors. Above the main gate of the palace that he quickly built in his new capital Mehmed *Fatih* insisted to have the Arab inscription of his imperial title: *Sultanu’l-berreyn wa Hakkanu’l-bahreyn* (Sultan of the two continents and Kagan of the two seas).

¹⁵ Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlılar*, p. 252–253.

¹⁶ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ottoman history), cilt II, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1943, p.11.

But Fatih immediately proclaimed himself also *Kayser-i Rum*, meaning “Roman Caesar”, with all that entails of this title, the imperial obligations and rights. The real creator of the Ottoman Empire was Mehmed II, who was able to unite under his centralizing hand the Central Asian traditions, the Islamic experience and the Roman-Byzantine heritage¹⁷.

After the year 1453, the Ottoman state became something other than it had been before. There were changes and advances not only inside the state institutions but even in court life and the official protocol. For the establishment and consolidation of a state with Roman imperial ambitions, Mehmed II needed experienced councilors and senior officials.

Turkmen nomads had created a small Central Asian like state (Khanate or Beilic) and then they developed it to reach the dimensions of a consolidated state, following the example of the proximal Islamic states and having the help of military and administrative Byzantine provincial officials. Immediately after the conquest of Constantinople, Sultan Mehmed tried to take under his realm both the Byzantine intellectual elite and the members of the former administrative system. In order to do so, he made a public appeal and he offered 1,000 *akces* (about 25 gold ducats) for each Byzantine prisoners from these categories. And there were many who joined him: first it was Patriarch Gennadius Scolarios, then the chronicler known as Kritobulos of Imbros, who became an Ottoman court historian (an other famous historian of the Ottoman court in that time was the Persian Shukrullah), then Katabolenos, Thomasios, Kyritzes, who were counselors of the Sultan, then the Greek scholars Sophianos, Dokeianos, Harmonios, Georgios Trapezuntios, who were accepted at the Ottoman court and even imperial family members such as Palaiologos, Anghelos, Cantacuzins, Comnens, who converted to Islam and served Mehmed II faithfully, having the highest administrative and military ranks. Even two nephews of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XII Palaiologos converted to Islam and were remembered in the Ottoman history as Has Murat Pasha and Mesih Pasha. The latter became also a Grand Vizier, even twice, the same as his relatives Rum Mehmet Pasha and Mahmut Pasha. Zaganos Pasha, Ghedik Ahmet Pasha, Şehabeddin Pasha and Ishak Pasha can also be included among the renegades with important positions that have truly contributed to the construction of the Ottoman Empire, alongside sultan Mehmed II. Among the new Ottoman officials there were not only Greeks, but also many other Balkans, among which prevailed those with administrative experience, obtained in the Serbian state with imperial ambitions. One of them was Hersezkade Ahmet Pasha, who was the son

¹⁷ More details in Tasin Gemil, *Romanians and Ottomans in the XIVth–XVth Centuries*, Enciclopedia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, p.170 and so on.

of Duke Stjepan Vukcic Kosaca. Mahmud Pasha was another famous character from the time of Mehmed II and he held twice the Grand Vizier seal. He descended from the Anghelos despots, from Thessaloniki and from an important Serb family; his brother Mihail Anghelos was great *voyvod* of Serbia and it was more than once that the two brothers managed to avoid an Ottoman-Serbian conflict, by coming to an agreement, such the one in 1457. Their mother lived in Istanbul and did not change in the slightest way her Christian religious customs and beliefs. American Professor Heath Lowry proved that in 1462, the Sultan gave the Anghelos mother the Prodomos Petros Monastery, in Istanbul¹⁸. Moreover, Mehmed's II stepmother, *despina* Mara, continued to live undisturbed, near the Sultan and even having her own princely Christian entourage. The Ottoman sultan, in his quality of heir to the Byzantine throne, made several significant donations for the Orthodox monasteries in the Balkans, primarily those of Mount Athos.

Mehmed II also brought to his court important Italian artists and humanists, confirming his considerable openness. Actually, until the nineteenth century, Mehmed II remained the only Ottoman sultan who commissioned portraits, even though Islam forbids face reproduction. As a young boy, the Sultan had Italian mentors, such as the humanist Ciriaco Pizzicolli. Painter Gentile Bellini is the best-known Renaissance artist who worked at the court of Mehmed II. Italian Moisis Di Costanzo is the author of a medal dedicated to the same sultan, in which he is portrayed as a "Byzantine Emperor". It is possible that the inscription on the medal might have been commissioned by the Sultan himself or by those around him, who really perceived him as a Byzantine emperor. Besides, the model used was the medal fashioned by Pisanello, in 1438–1439, impersonating the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos. Surely there were other Italian artists who contributed to the restoration, construction and decoration of imperial buildings in the new Ottoman capital. However, large Western communities, primarily Italian ones, thrived in the Ottoman cities, primarily in Istanbul and in the Levant.

Among the primary concerns of Mehmed II, as of his descendants, were the reconstruction, the population and the good supply of the new capital, Istanbul. The Byzantine decline and the Ottoman danger depopulated Constantinople. In 1453, the great city had less than 10 thousand scared inhabitants. The conqueror Sultan immediately took steps to guarantee the life and property of all inhabitants, regardless of religion, if they recognized the authority of the Sultan and paid their taxes. At the same time, he encouraged and even forced the repopulation of the

¹⁸ Heath Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, State University of New York Press, 2003, p.124. See also Franz Babinger, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed ve Dönemi* (Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror and his time), trad.D. Körpe, Oğlak Yayınları, Istanbul, 2002, p.113–148.

capital and of its hinterland with people from Levant and the Balkans. Istanbul became then and has remained for centuries a space of coexistence and understanding between people belonging to all ethnic and religious groups inside the boundaries of the vast Ottoman Empire. Soon, Istanbul's population increased at about 100,000 people, representing all the nearly 30 ethnic groups existing in that period in the Ottoman space. Muslims made up about half of the residents of Istanbul and the other half was composed of non-Muslim communities, who enjoyed local autonomy, with their own living neighborhoods (Greek, Armenian, Hebrew, Frank (Western), Gypsy and so on).¹⁹

It is obvious that, first in Iran and in the Arab lands that came under the rule of the Seljuk Turks, in the 10–13th centuries, then also in Anatolia, in the same period, there was also a process of amalgamation of the newly arrived Turkmen populations with the local Islamic populations. If Turkmen conquerors adopted the natives' religion, a significant part of the latter adopted the Turkish language. Undeniably, the Turkish language was a very dynamic factor of political unification and of cultural symbiosis in the area later known as Turkey. It was not the performance itself of the Turkish language of that time – which was far from the literary and scientific achievements of Persian, Arabic or Greek languages – that ensured it a strong appeal, but the political-military and economic-social successes of the Turkish language speakers. The *meritocracy* principle, consistently applied by the Ottomans, at least until the mid 16th century, must have been a tempting prospect for all those marginalized by the strict medieval rules, which prioritized social origin over individual skills. In the same time, Ottomans brought in the conquered regions not only the severity in the maintenance of public order, but also respect for local traditions, wisdom in Islam practicing and flexibility in the application of Muslim laws, which obviously contributed to attracting the goodwill of the subjected indigenous populations. “The Turkish empire undoubtedly ensured peace, order, justice, advancement on merit, without which people would not have tolerated it the day after the defeat's confusion,” said Nicolae Iorga.²⁰ And Fernand Braudel noticed, in turn, that “in front of the Turks, a social universe collapsed, partially on its own, and once again we think how true it is, in all cases, the consideration of Albert Grenier: <<to be conquered, a people must have acquiesced in its own defeat>>,”²¹.

¹⁹ Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. I, Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 59–60. See also Tasin Gemil, *Romanians and Ottomans*, p. 276.

²⁰ N. Iorga, *Istoria statelor balcanice în epoca modernă*, (The History of the Balkan States in the Modern Age), Vălenii de Munte, 1913, p.37

²¹ Fernand Braudel, *Mediterana și lumea mediteraneană în epoca lui Filip al II-lea*, (The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Time of Philippe II), vol.III, Meridiane Publishing House, Bucarest, 1986, p.312.

Obviously, Muslim or convert people who did not belong to the Turkish population brought to the Ottoman society important elements of their cultural identity, religion included. Islam practiced by the Ottomans, first by the old Turkmen tribal aristocracy, and also by the superposed layers of former slave converts, was a moderate one compared to the one common in the Arab and Iranian territories. Central Asian nomadic tradition was cosmopolitan and tolerant, including and especially in matters of religious beliefs. Great Muslim thinkers of Central Asia and Anatolia in the 12–13th centuries, who also had the role of missionaries, including in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, encouraged an Islamic religion connected both to the fears and expectations of the shepherd-warrior nomads, and to the traditions of the sedentary farmers and townspeople communities on the edge of empire. Unlike the conquering Muslim Arabs, the conquering Muslim Turks or Turkics did not impose Islam by force. First Ahmet Yesevî, and then Yunus Emre, Mevlana Rumi Celaleddin, Hacı Bektashi, Ahi Evran, Sarı Saltuk etc. preached wisdom and harmony, and even addressed insistent calls to fraternal love between all people regardless of faith and actions. These mystics of the 12–13th centuries, were the basic sources of long-lasting spiritual currents and have left deep traces not only in the Turkic peoples' religious ideology, but also in their whole culture.

The founder of the Empire, Mehmed II, had to act above all as a Muslim sovereign, as the state he rebuilt and strengthened had an Islamic character, as the Byzantine Empire was a Christian state. The Islamic mark put by Mehmed II on this imperial state was dominant, but not absolute. The Code of Laws (Kanunname) of Mehmed II was based on the Sharia, but was also inspired by the Roman-Byzantine law, as well as by the Central Asian tradition. This code of laws remained a basic model for the whole medieval Ottoman legislation. Although the Moslem religious laws are based on the Quran, the Ottoman code had not complied with them exactly, making significant changes, especially as far as punishments were concerned. Thus, for instance, if for adultery the Moslem religious law provided for the execution by stoning or by beating with bats, the code of Mehmed II provided for the same offense just a fine between 40 and 1,000 akces, depending on the social status of the accused. This provision was even milder than the *Ecloga* of the Emperor Leo III, of 740, which is believed to have inspired Mehmed II. In the Byzantine code, adulterers were punished with 20 lashes and a fine. Also, if the Sharia provides for the hand cutting for the man who stole a good of more than 10 silver dirhems, in the Ottoman code, theft was punishable by just a fine; only in

case of horse theft the Islamic punishment was applicable, but the judge was free to replace it with a fine.²²

Mehmed II's grandson, Sultan Selim I (1512–1520) extended the Ottoman rule in the entire Levant, including Egypt. First, by radical measures, which had come down to mass murder, Sultan Selim I sought to end the resistance against centralization and Ottomanization of the Turkmen tribes of eastern Anatolia. This led to a separation of the political, military, economic and administrative Ottoman elite, mainly formed of converts, from the Turkmen tribes, who had constituted the base of the state and had formed the substance of the initial Ottoman power. Turkmens close to the Turkish Central Asian traditions passed en masse to the Alevism promoted by the shah of Iran, Ismail, also of the Turkmen Safavid dynasty. The Safavid Iran was defeated by the Ottomans, but Iranian culture played an important role in the development and consolidation of what was called the Ottoman culture. Then, in 1517, Selim I marched triumphantly into Cairo. The Abbasid Caliph, housed there only as a symbol of the spiritual supremacy over the Muslim world, and the relics belonging to the Prophet Muhammad and the first four caliphs were brought to Istanbul, along with thousands of scholars and artisans of the area. The Ottoman Sultan took over the formal prerogatives of leader of the entire Islamic world (*khalifa-i kubra*). The process of ethnic-cultural mix between the Turkish-Islamic-Byzantine Ottomans and the newly conquered Iranian-Arab-Islamic populations extended this way. And Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566), better known as the Legislator (*Kanunî*), through his concrete policy of world domination, gave this process a European dimension, also by taking from the Inquisition ruled Spain tens of thousands of Sephardic Hebrews.

The classic epoch of the Ottoman history was the period when the fundamentals of the Ottoman culture formed, born of the complex symbiosis of many cultural organisms of different natures, including virtually all aspects of daily life. It is evident even today in the Ottoman architecture, which is an original Byzantine-Islamic synthesis, in the Ottoman and Turkish music where we can encounter different influences, especially Iranian and Greek, but also in gastronomy, decorations, family relationships, etc. But the Ottoman culture, despite its heterogeneous composition, was formed and evolved as a culture with an authentic Turkish mark. We have to take into account also the fact that beginning with the last two decades of the sixteenth century, when the role of Islam had increasingly grown in the state, the

²² Neşet Çağatay, "İslam hukukunun ana hatları ve Osmanlıların bazı uygulamalarını değişik uygulamaları" (Guidelines of Islamic legislation and their modified application by the Ottomans), *Belleten*, cilt II, nr.200, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1987, p.632–634

Ottoman spirit became more and more secluded and rejected the new and the external influences.

As a strange historic coincidence, between the 11th and the 15th century, at both ends of the Mediterranean, considered then the world axis, two processes, similar, but in opposite directions, took place. While in the Levant took place the process of development of the new Islamic power of the Seljuk Turks, then Ottomans, together with the consolidation of an original high culture, in the Iberian Peninsula took place the reverse process of downscaling and then of defeating of the flourishing Islamic civilization with a Moorish core. If the Muslim Ottomans ended in 1453, through the conquest of Constantinople, the millennial existence of the Christian Byzantine Roman Empire, the most Christian kings of Spain conquering in 1492 the Caliphate of Granada, put an end to the nearly 800 year Islamic domination of the Iberian Peninsula. But none of these high civilizations disappeared without leaving deep traces in the evolution and culture of the successors, even if they had a different religion and formation.²³ But unlike the vindictive Christian reconquering Spain, the Moslem Ottoman power has not shown the same religious intransigence. Long-term political stability and public safety guaranteed by the Ottomans undoubtedly favored the ethnic and cultural coexistence and cohesion, which eventually led to what we define as the phenomenon of *Ottoman cultural symbiosis*. As we have tried to sketch, this phenomenon was extremely complex and influenced the historical becoming of all peoples in the Balkans and in the space called, as a cultural concept, Levant, including and especially of the Turkish people today.

There are authors of studies, including and especially in Turkey, which support the idea that the current Turkish people is made to a greater extent of those defeated in Anatolia and the Balkans, than of the Turkmen conquerors who came from Central Asia.²⁴ In fact, a walk in the center of any major city in Turkey of today suffices to notice the diversity of the locals' physiognomies. Specific traits of Central Asia, and therefore of the old Turks, are rare and faded. A great Kazakh poet, Oljas Suleymanov, welcoming to Central Asia the President of Turkey, Turgut Özal, during the first high-level Turkish official visit in the area, in March 1991, expressed in verses the essence of transformations suffered by the Turks who left long ago their places of origin: *A thousand years ago you went away on horse back, with slanting eyes. Now you're back on planes, with round eyes.*

Undoubtedly, the Ottoman subject and everything this political and cultural phenomenon meant is a topic of scientific research which is still far from being fully

²³ See Cemal Kafadar, *İki cihan aresinde. Osmanlı devletinin kuruluşu*, (Between Two Worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State), translated by C.Çıkın, Ankara, 2010, p. 25–29

²⁴ See Bozkurt Güvenç, *Türk kimliği*, p. 43, 47, 121, 162 and so on.

elucidated. In this matter, there are answers to many current problems, especially of the peoples of the Balkans and the Levant. Exaggerated nationalisms prevented for a long time the finding of the truth about the identity, the place and the destiny of these peoples, including and especially of the Turkish people itself. I think the time has come to overcome the fears and distortions that characterized not only the writing of the histories of the two regions, but also the current relations between the peoples and states here. *Ottoman cultural symbiosis* can be a reference point to take into consideration in the cooperative efforts of any nature of states in the Balkans and the Levant.

**Common values
in the Azerbaijanian poet Shahriyar's
and Romanian poet Mihai Eminescu's activities**

On the basis of “Sahandiyya” and “Luceafărul”–“Morning star” poems

Esmira Fuad (Shukurova)

Literature based and developed on national and moral spirit, common values, high artistic merits are of social content. The ideology of dominate and non-dominate classes, strata contrast with each other, as they live in contrary living conditions. Literature can not look indifferently at these contradictions, because it reflects the lives of the societies in itself. So, master and literature, that propagate the ideology of each class grows up. Genius Shahriyar who holds a great place at the pick of the Azerbaijani poetry of 20th century, as well as Mihai Eminescu, a significant representative of Romanian nation, student of Romanian literary school of 19th century were the masters grown up by the period and society when and where they lived and traditional subjects naturally came into sight in different positions in the activities of both poets. However, there are several sources, origins, beginnings that made morally closer, made think these poets, who were the mediators of strong and national spirit who approached the traditional subjects differently. To approach the same subject differently is one of key features of literature. First of all, both of them were bright-minded, born in the families in which education was of special significance, besides these, they were surrounded with books from childhood, addicted to books and reading separated from serious reading by avoiding superficial interests, being devoted to the *faiths, beliefs, inclination* for learning the languages of other nations and so on... This inclination diverts them to nourish morally and to derive advantage from the mythological and folklore sources, eastern and western literature, “Divan” by Hafiz in creative way... Shahriyar has learned the French romantic literature in French language, and Mihai Eminescu learned some samples of Eastern literature, such as “Ramayana”, “Makhabkharata” and Hafiz’s gazals (a type of eastern poem) from the translations into German, as well as from “Eastern divan” that was written under the influence of Hafiz’s bright and wise gazals and great Nizami’s (famous Azerbaijan poet) literary heritage by great German poet I.V. Goethe... Johan Wolfgang Goethe refers

to Khaje Hafiz Shirazi as an extraordinary Persian, immortal and eternal master, estimates him as an ideal poet and ideal man of genius. He confirmed that he was helpless to get out from strong influence of Hafiz's great gazals and wrote: I will get crazy if attempt to write gazal for calming my heart and excitement. Penetration on influence of this extraordinary man who came into my life was so strongly that, I can't bear it¹.

Shahriyar considered the rich heritage of Hafiz, whom he deemed a mirror showing him a new world and skies in the world, pure and bright universe, that a man's mind is helpless in raising on it, the remedy of all troubles and derived advantage from this heritage. The first guides and of both poets in the way they moved towards the creation – towards self and sod recognition were their moral fathers. Mihai Eminescu's way was lightened brightly by Aron Rumnu and his library with rare books, but Shahriyar's way by "Qurani-Karim", Hafiz and his famous "Divan" consisting of gazals and Sadi's "Gulistan" and "Bustan" works. Of course, We will talk not about the his deriving an advantage from the literary heritage created by other classic poets like them by saying "as a poet I am doubtful to Sabir's spirit", "What opportunities do Turkish, Persian and Arabian languages have making born such poet like Fuzuli", but the common values bringing Mihai Eminescu to the same space and benefiting from the love to the Khaja Hafiz's art heritage referring to the same source.

Let's note that Shahriyar who apparently confirms that what I achieved are of the wealth of Hafiz, finally gains the object living in his heart along years, to visit eternal Hafiz's grave becomes available for him. On that day, very strange feelings cover him, he doesn't sleep, makes prayers before the grave of his master and wants power and strength in order to reach new success of his activity from his master and while the moment for leaving comes he recites his ghazal called "Hafiz, Khudahafiz" and declares his respect and esteem and eternal love to him:

*You released me from the well and showed me the way,
You were both "Hablul-matin" and "hurul-huda" for me, Hafiz.
I put my sad chest onto your gravestone,
And our soles talked to each other in silence, Hafiz.
My heart cannot leave you, just come and see the guest off,
I say to you "good-bye" in deep sorrow, Hafiz, goodbye!²*

An event like this happens in Eminescu's hard life. However, Aron Pumnu, great scholar, the person who exerted great influence to start the literary activity and to determine his own way in the art and who gave a shelter to young Midai as

¹ I.V. Goethe, *Eastern Divan*, translated in Persian, II edition, Tehran, Iran, 1965, p.10;

² Mihai Eminescu, *I won't share from stars*, Baku, 2001, p. 62;

the member of his family suddenly passed away. The death of the lovely teacher shakes the romantic teenager who was taught by Aron Pumnu, lived in his house at the same time had opportunity to learn European and world literature, therefore, as well as Romanian folklore at the rich library of the scholar. A large grief arising out of an unexpected loss tunes the lute of Mihai Eminescu's soul in a mournful poetic spirit and it stimulates him to take his first steps in poetry. "He dedicates his first poem to his teacher and the very poem becomes the elegy of Romanian literature"³

*Bukovina, wear on black, you're in mourning!
The green cypress is covered by mist.
You lost the son of sunny morning,
That star lit and turned down in the sky.
It turned into nothing and suddenly disappeared...
Sad sound of whistle is spread everywhere,
And that of shaking copper thinkle.
Oh my God, a genius, kind person
Left for eternity and will never return,
He will never return to sunny morning⁴.*

(The translations from Mihai Eminescu belong to Mrs. Farida Hajiyevea)

Although both poets grew up and formalized in different conditions, they almost aimed at a single idea from time to time, key subject of their works were the depiction and praise of the feelings of national fighting and liberty, internal world of the human, world of feelings and thoughts. Sometimes they hadn't found a place within the boundaries of the Earth, thought to find their moral and mental conveniences at the deepest expenses of the sky, at the endless of the universe and named themselves "the poets of heaven".

These points were more vividly reflected in the novel "Luchefarul"-Morning star which is estimated as a masterpiece of Mihai Eminescu activity and was completed with long intervals in light years:

*I don't like the Earth,
Nobody understands me.
Even if I come to you,
Oh, angel of my soul,
My mother is the sea,
And my father is the firmament.
...Coming down from my world,
I appeared calmly, in silence.*

³ Mihai Eminescu, *I won't share from stars*, Baku, 2001, p. 5;

⁴ Muhammedhuseyn Shahriyar, *Selected poems*, Baku, Elm, 2000, p. 57;

*My father is the sun,
And my mother is dark night*⁵

And Shahriyar considers the terrestrial globe where injustice and unfairness as well as obscurantism and fanaticism exists, eternal struggle lasts between virtue and evil, a narrow cage, calls the human for staying away from bad affairs and approaching critically to their actions by giving a large place for wise thoughts and opinions. The poet expresses the idea of the existence of eternal happiness in Arshi-Alada-heaven, at the deepest endness demonstrated deep humanism in the work, at the same time, he wishes the removal of deceitful boundaries in the Earth, national and racial discriminations among nations and people, differences among states:

*The Earth is a narrow cage for us,
We're bored of living in this cage!
Let's remove the false boundaries,
And feel the integrity of the Heavens.
Let's rise to stars and the moon,
At look at the world from a high pick...
The Space is square for human flight,
A man is falcon of mind of the space...
The clouds are our opened wings,
The Milky Way is our rising abilities*⁶.

He takes one more step in his works such as "Artist", "Mumified man" and "Reply to Mr. Mammad Rahim" put forward the idea of management of the mankind who is the perfect one among alive beings in the Earth, overall all the humanity under a single state and single law, their unification and humanization under a single religion, single flag, flag of love and brotherhood:

*We are human beings and should like the mankind,
We are the same nation and should join together,
Just forget this ruling and ordering reign,
Presentlyu a nation should turn into mankind,
One nation cannot have hundred reigns.*⁷

Shahriyar wishes the existence of love, feeling of humanism without any racial, religious and national discrimination between the population of the Globe in his novel "Peygam to Einstein" as well... He asks to protect the world from geniouness of science, to turn the universe to the empire of conscience, to the heaven and

⁵ İ.Tunchay, *Red rooms, Portrait of Dorian Grey*, Baku, 2010, p. 87;

⁶ Muhammedhuseyn Shahriyar, *Selected poems*, Baku, Elm, 2000, p. 46;

⁷ Ibidem, p. 343;

ecclesiastical world, the wants that the people differed from each other only for heart, knowledge and humanism:

*We need neither national nor racial difference,
Even the religion shouldn't divide the nations,
Let the love help the mankind living.
Let the man to remember humanity,
Let the world join under the same banner*⁸

Shahriyar realized that it is the best happiness not to make much of frail world, to reach to the idol moment by gaining wisdom morally. He expresses his deep feelings and senses referring to the motives of sufizm, wahdat-al-wujud, tasawwuff and the world of metaphor and symbols in his works, as well as he thought that past is a mirror on the way to the future, it is a bridge the pier and foundation of which is made of granite. The poets of modern period should think that common features of our masters being engaged in creative activities have been the provider and supplier of their eternity and morally aliveness. The main reason of the eternity of Mihai Eminescu is that, he opened his own way in the literature, at the same time he eccentrically derived advantage from the heritage of his predecessors. He created literary view of the holy process resembling pilgrimage and expressing his own world and the search of previous unity of the mankind violated since his birth – since the moment of his disconnection from the space, as well as expressing his ceremonies against standard rites realized through the penetration of mystical features and external meanings to human being in the monumental works that he wrote during his short life. He gave a new value to mythological characters, mythology, ancient European literary motives (“The old and the young”, “Devil and angel”, even the miracle of resuscitation performed by Christ with his breath), woman’s charm and beauty that is the bright witness of the way leading him-the protagonist to the existence, tenderness of a woman, actually considered a woman the personification of divine creature and angelized them... Real and mystical woman characters draw attention in the creative activity of Mihai Eminescu. Dan Mănuță they – Venus and Madonna – have strong bright features, in most cases they represent the closest characteristic of the protagonist⁹. So, womankind – the beauty and charm of a woman are of dual character in Eminescu’s thought and he lights up and gives a deep meaning firstly the drama and then the tragedy in his works. Although sometimes, the inclination for secularized compromise is seen in his works, woman’s beauty and her charm makes him take radical decisions. And that is key reason leading to dual and intensive expression of the womankind in his activity. At the

⁸ Ibidem, p. 428;

⁹ Mihai Eminescu, *Poezii*, Îzdatelstvo Kurçavte, Buxarest, 2000, p. 7;

same time, these women, womankind in general, possesses vigilance and watchfulness as well as bright thought that lacks in their opposite partners. That's why, they are always named in their works and sometimes such onomastics turns the natural characters into symbolic ones.

It is so interesting that the followings are of symbolic nature and tale in his novel "Miron and bodiless woman": central character of the novel is baptized as soon as he is delivered; his godmother reads prayers to his ear during that process; suddenly the walls of the house are separated and three nymphs enter the house from all sides under the flow of light; they say on his cradle that he will be strong as a horse, bright as a light, wealthy and handsome, will occupy the hearts of others and make his way to the world of fairy-tales at the sledges of shahs in the future; and thereafter he grows up very rapidly, comes to the shah's palace as wind, falls into love to very beautiful princess. While being eager to come together with his lover of divine beauty, he sees that the girl is not an ordinary person, but a star-like goddess – an icon, a cold ghost, so he becomes upset and is shaken by this fact and comes back to his house. However, nothing enjoys him in his native land as before, everything becomes ugly in his eyes in return of the divine beauty that he saw, remembers the joy and feast in his house and his friends in hatred, his heart becomes a nest of deep sorrow and his life loses its meaning. At last, the protagonist of Mihai Eminescu – Miron gives himself in death – eternity and joins to the eternal world that is evaluated as immortality by the poet...

Shahriyar, who suffered from the policy of chauvinism, national discrimination and forcible assimilation in the Southern Azerbaijan conducted by Pahlavi dynasty, was peace-keeper master with love of freedom, he wanted to see each corner of his motherland the garden of roses, he did not wish his nation, as well as other nations of the world to be oppressed by the dominate regime and to be deprived of national rights and obligations, but to live freely and luxurious, he could find a room for love deep as oceans for the globe, humanity in his small heart. The poet called for all the mankind with the thought that the paradise and the hell are created by the man himself: The world is paradise if it is lived in peace, but hell if lived in war. When Mihai Eminescu, who was born 50 years before him, was a schoolboy, he witnessed his nation subjected to national tyranny, persecution and humiliation, the prevention of national thinking and cultural development under the dependence of the empire of Austria and Hungary and thereafter the wave of protest raised in his heart against these injustice and unfairness. The influence of that wave of protest brought the spirit of fighting to his activity and revolutionary themes began to hold a special place in his literary works. He saw the sharp side of the life from his very young ages and became wise prematurely and realized the essence of the damned

world which was established on “fright, hatred and lie”¹⁰, wherein the virtue and evil are always in struggle, and expressed his sureness for the this world’s taking a turn for the better in his works such as “Monster”, “How much, my lover”, “Queen of tale”, “Pages from the tale”, “What I wish to you my native land?” Eminescu tried to open deep contradictions formed by the modern society through the appearance of the human in his poetry and achieved to discover this fact in the Romanian literature... Dan Menuke, great Romanian investigator investigated the evolutionary-developmental way of the poet towards the truth in his article under the title of “Eminescu’s way towards the existence” and comes to the conclusion that M. Eminescu’s activity, especially his poetry expresses the deep gap – incompliance, the contrasts between the human and society. “Eminescu is the first Romanian writer trying to discover this deep gap-incompliance without being supported by the others’ help (i.e) without referring to writings before him.” This contrast appears as the “paradoxical synthesis” (N.A. Sadıgova PHD) of oppressors and oppressed people, competent officials leading the country and brave and courageous people being ready to the death for their motherland, country and being proud of its history and glorious past, and makes the readers think in this direction in the range works named “Letters” that draws attention with its social content and reflects scientific and pedagogical, literary and critical views of the poet. So, as Oscar Wilde said: “The art is not the mirror of life, but people looking at it from the view of essence.”

Besides prose works of serious nature such as “Poor Dionis”, “My shadow”, “Chezaro”, lyric and romantic feelings of Eminescu, the author of the tales loved by children and adults such as “Fet Frumos created from the tears”, “Indian tale” (N.A. Sadıgova, Ph.D.) was reflected in the works “Venera and Madonna”, “That’s all, darling”, “Monsters”, “How much, lover?”, “In strange land”, “Ondina”, “Mortua est!”, his philosophical thoughts based on mythic views in “Morning star”, “Tale about the magician travelling among the stars”, “Miron and bodiless woman”, “Mushat and predictors”, “Mureshanu”, struggle of freedom of his nation and revolutionary feelings were reflected in the novels such as “Angel and Devil”, “Emperor and proletarian” and the mastery literary image of the pessimism occurred after the defeat of famous revolution of 1848 in the work “Epigone”. Eminescu’s attempts to penetrate into internal, moral world by breaking the visible surface”, the wish of risk and deciphering of the symbols (O.Wilde) is challenging in the named works...

However, the activity of novel writing of the poet who brought a new breath and new spirit to the Romanian literature, especially the novel “Wild spirit” is considered as a failure by the critics and it is deemed to be connected with his

¹⁰ Mihai Eminescu, *I won’t share from stars*, Baku, 2001, p. 6;

flight on the wings of romantic feelings, to say more exactly, being under the strong influence of literary trend of romanticism in that period. Eminescu writes the followings about this stage of his activity in his memories: “My thoughts were surrounded completely by romantic mood, devils and angels during that period. My characters visually resembled the beautiful characters of Byron.” Again, it is time to remember the thoughts of Oscar Wilde: “If the work of art makes a disputes and discussions, so, there is something new and compound and significant in it.”¹¹

Shahriyar, the author of couplets prevailed by lyric and romantic style such as “Legend of the night”, “Moth’s spirit”, “Moth and candle”, “To my nephew Hushang” was mostly an idealist, of course, in the way of truth. The poet was the salesman of the world of mysteries and symbols. In his literary and critical writings he stated that love sees us as the school of mysteries and ecclesiastical one, joins us with the world of symbols. A poet is a person belonging to the rank of prophets. The poet, work written with love whereof and who needs inspiration is a real master. If the poet writes any poem or any work without love, his work is not a poem, but a simple artistic event. As more we get familiarized with Eminescu’s works raised as an appearance of his ecclesiastical love, as more we become aware of his being a man of great intellect and thought and his knowledge of mythological and philosophical sources. It is the proof of his deep knowledge that the poet created the characters – Angel and devil with great mastery and considered immortality and eternity human’s fortune. “The metaphor of matter does not prevail in his poems, briefly, human stands in the watershed between the spirit and matter.” (J. Yusifli Ph.D.). Eminescu stresses this thought at the end of the novel “Luceafărul – Morning star”, the masterpiece of his activity, not strange to “Mefistofel-Devil” of Lermontov (M. Eminescu), he prefers to be a Morning Star and to be eternal and join the God without going out and changing in order not to be equal with the people being born and living and dieing as the son of water or the son of fire. Eminescu wants to say that the existence of human (essence) is not inside this body, but outside:

*Look at the fate which is vain,
Our destiny is endlessness.
I belong only to myself,
Our victory is immortality*¹²

Actually, the theme of Demon – Devil established on the basis of the “ascetic-angel and devil-Satan” cult established by Eminescu, but sometimes not accepted in the first period of his activity, was new neither for Azerbaijan literature nor the

¹¹ İ.Tunchay, *Red rooms, Portrait of Dorian Grey*, Baku, 2010;

¹² İ.Tunchay, *op.cit.*, p. 19;

world literature. The character of Satan-devil, sometimes, was covered with religion in some belles-lettres and samples of folklore, and or submitted as a visible and invisible real force, sometimes even a creature in the image of human or animal in the literatures of several nations of the world. Satan is principally given as symbol of evil forces, harms bringing disaster upon the people and the persons misleading the others in the samples of Azerbaijani folklore. Devil is presented from this point of view in some works written by Mihai Eminescu and the attempt of the poet to divulge the venomous Devil is seen apparently in that case:

*Maybe, I'm right and you're the Demon,
And your kind sight is covered by poison.
The soul is hidden from the fire of Hell,
Sometime... sometime, sometime believe,
Your sight used to protect me*¹³ (4. p.19).

Although Shahriyar glorified the satanic looks of a coquettish beauty – a woman that seduces her lover standing before her –“ the victim falling into a trap of her charming eyes”, as the traditional themes of his ghazals, master Shahriyar depicted and criticized, Rza shah and his officials, who lost the right way and exerted oppression, torture and endless moral trouble upon the nation and dragged disasters to the people, and their foreign supporters, imperialism and evil forces, in general, by the image of myth of “Satan or devil” that preserved its place in the bloody memory and mythological thought of the nation and people:

*The Satan changed our way of pray,
And made us forgetting the God,
It turned us into well full of snakes,
And says that we do not have end,
And waters are like poison for us*¹⁴

However, the attitude of the humanist poet, who wanted to see only the triumph of love and beauty in the world, towards the traditional theme – eternal struggle of the evil, which is mostly introduced as a Satan, with virtue and the triumph of virtue on evil, is vividly reflected in his novel named “Heroes of Stalingrad”.

Zohra described not as Satan, but an angel and coquettish beauty by Shahriyar is “Morning Star” – “Luceafărul” of Eminescu. As his predecessor, Shahriyar also approaches to the characters related to legend or rumors, as well as tahkiyas regarding the characters from different points depending on his objective and literary ideal and illuminates one or another feature of the legend, or its meaning. **Harut and Zohra**, Yusif and Zuleycha, Suleyman and Bilgeyis, Mahmud and Ayaz, Musa's

¹³ I.Tunchay, *op.cit.*, p. 19;

¹⁴ Muhammedhuseyn Shahriyar, *op. cit.*, p 57;

staff, Shaggulgamar, curse of the prophet Nuh, Kalila and Dimna, Veys and Ramin, Alif Leyli, Bahram's crown apple, Simurg's trick etc. may apply to that range. The poet touches upon the characters and events related to this legend, rumour and myths, in most cases, the ground and references are to the point; serves to the deciphering of the goal and objective set forth with its simplicity and freshness. Let's refer to the novel "Sahandiyya":

*The fortress of Zohra (Venus) is diamond, and fense is pearl,
The castle is magic, the builders are Harut and Marut,
Mani stays there, surprised by those faces,
And the doorman Harut¹⁵.*

According to the legend, the star Zohra (Nahid) (Zohra is also known as the planet Venus, is depicted as the goddess of beauty, music and magic in mythology and literature – E.Sh.) was merry and happy woman having no equal for her beauty. She used to play the tambourine ver well. Harut and Marut, two angels sent by the God fell in love with pretty Zohra, as they saw her. As they taught magic to Zohra by being amazed at her and philandered to her, both of the angels are punished by the God and are deprived of their wings and are hung inside the Babil well upside-down. The God punishes Zohra for philandering to the angels and drives her out of the Earth to the Heaven with tambourine in her hands and so, she turns into the goddess of beauty, music and magic – planet Venus, star Zohra. Harut, Marut, Babil are widely used as a symbol of magic and sorcery in classic poetry. According to the other legend from the comment written to the Nizami's works by A.Jafar, this woman rose into the Heaven through the magic taught by the angels and turned into the star Zohra there. «Star Zohra» is considered as a musician of heaven in the mythology of Iran, she is called Nahid in Persian¹⁶

Of course, Shahriyar glorifies Shirvan, the place of poets, situating at the northern part of Azerbaijan, the motherland of genius Sabir, as a unique Garden of eden with amazing beauty where was visited by Zohra star (Venus) and great Hafiz, by giving life to these mythical characters again in the work "Sahandiyya". Shirvan is such a land of the world that, here brave men like Javanshir formed a line with a glass of red wine in their hands, fish shining as stars in the seas, silver light of the Moon adorns at nights, and gold rays of the Sun in the daytime. Beautiful girls swim in the lake of milk as angels, poem and music is babbling as spring, sazs are agitated, coquettish star Zohra (Venus) shows off herself in the dress of goddess at the mysterious balcony of the castle built of diamond, ruby, and gold by the angels

¹⁵ Ibidem;

¹⁶ Nizami, *Lyrics*. "Treasury of Mysteries", Sharafnama, Baku, 2001, p. 581;

Harut and Marut. The poet, realizing this world with all its enthusiasm creates his legends of “Alif Leyli” (tales of “Arabian nights”).

*When Zohra is seen on the balcony in appearance of angel,
Hafiz is also seen there in a lot of jewels,
You'll like it!
Sometimes they stay on balcony with Hafizi-Shiraz,
Sometimes they sit there and talking.
Sometimes they play music and sing songs,
They like to be drunk.
Then Khadja says a poet everybody stops working,
And even angels fall asleep abng get awake,
The poppies gain color of fire and was as if burning,
Burning with drunk eyes.¹⁷*

Famous artist Mani is amazed at the mysterious and enigmatical world of beauty – ideal world, so his brush falls down from his hand. Shahriyar's high and flaming patriotism, warm love of motherland babbles ones more. He acts as a poet of unique and entire Azerbaijan. Patriot poet depicts his flaming love for Shirvan, as if he was born or grown up in that land and refers to the pearls of folklore, epos, tale and legends created by our great nation and people while glorifying his feelings and derives an advantage from these characters.

Although both poets, the works whereof is shadowed by “sorrow” – Shahriyar and Eminescu loved deeply their Motherland, they left their Motherland for some reasons, especially for study, were obliged to live in abroad and to live in a strange country left a track of deep sorrow in their spirit. They faced with malices, injustices and evil forces in the abroad, in spite of their successful study and at last, they came back to their motherland. Shahriyar generalized all the reasons of his visit “From West to East” and his return to Tabriz due to evil forces and devils in this couplet of his poem “Baker boy”.

*Tehran does not dare to keep Shahriyar,
I left for Tabriz, let good and bad be evident¹⁸*

He depicts the beauties of the native land on the background of the memories from his childhood, but he doesn't avoid making verses on his problems, deprivations in his novel “Greetings to Heydarbaba”. This feelings were not alien to his brother of poetry – Eminescu who lived half century before him.. Despite of the existence of joy and happiness around him, his severely aching heart doesn't stop worrying, searches any way for running to his motherland, returns to his land

¹⁷ Muhammedhuseyn Shahriyar, *op. cit.*, p. 36;

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 59;

mentally and wants to greet his ordinary people, peasant cabins, to join pure people of the village and present in good and rainy days of the village, to built an ordinary house as the others in the village and to see the clouds in the sky and lightning while looking out of the window. He is eager to naughty as in the childhood, to hear the babbling of the voice of independent childhood, pleasant babbling of springs, rustling of leaves and songs of the birds and wishes to make wreath of love from the flowers blooming in the meadows:

*When the flowers blossom and all people are glad,
When it becomes festive and shining like a sun,
The heart is crying, deep of sorrow,
Don't reproach me if I leave for my home.*

*I' would be happy if my dream is real,
I wish I were in my land and home.
I wish I retured to the former times,
Living with burning thoughts in my soul¹⁹*

Mihai Eminescu also returns to his Motherland many years later. He comes back to Bucharest in 1874... and comes together with his Motherland that he often remembered in the abroad, dedicates poems to it, but the deprivations doesn't leave him alone even in his native country that he loved most of all. He is appointed to the post of the chief of library in Iași city. Some time later, anarchy and chaos exerts its influence and he is drawn away his job and transferred to the post of inspector at a secondary school. Young poet was an independent person inwardly and preferred democratic methods of educating from the point of the upbringing of the children. He couldn't accept the punitive methods subjected to the pupils at schools, tried to apply the methods of Denis Diderot and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. He published articles related to these subjects at the key pages of the newspaper "Timpul" and this action was caused to his next dismissal. Eminescu comes back from Iași to Bucharest, now neither his new job, nor amazing beauties of the nature makes him happy. He becomes struck with incurable disease and passes away very early in his 39. However, he turns into a Luceafărul – a Morning star in the hearts of his nation and people.

Master Shahriyar and Eminescu who draws the picture of the internal world of human being by words had the strange fortune. The devotion runaway of their fortune, neither of them get married to their fist lovers, they were not happy. But the divine lover protected their loves till the end of their life. Shahriyar lived longing for Surayya and Eminescu for Veronica, both of them suffered from lung disease,

¹⁹ İ.Tunchay, *op.cit.*, p. 55;

each of their lovers came to hospital to visit them. Even, the devoted Veronika Mukle showed endless mercy to Eminescu that was the verge of death, took care of him till the end of his life....

Poetry was not simply graphic description of the observed events, external indication, chronological order of happened phenomenon for Shahriyar and Eminescu. Poetry is very strict and serious in comparison with history for them (Aristotel) Poetry describes the events, as well as expresses the objective laws and relations between them and so that it has great effect to the morality and internal indication of human being and clears the world from unnecessary sense, transient feeling (“Catharsis”– Aristotel), shortly, poetry services to improve-become perfect human morality and prosperity and development of humanity at last. The poetry was an object for divine lovers, the meaning of their love was hidden in their poetry specially. After falling in pure love, they understand that the net feast was the time that the plaintive man of sorrow passed together with their lover’s dream. They thought that it was possible to introduce the writer as the net writers by this way and they passed from this way by their youth energy for a long ago and they improved the poetry at the next stage.

While going to the depth of their activity, unwillingly you can draw a parallel between them and consider this idea very true: All the poets of the world were born from the same uterus and cordially they are the mediators of common values. But Mihai Eminescu “Human (poet or writer-E.SH.)” every time must be the sun of his century”²⁰

²⁰ Mihai Eminescu, *Poems*, Moscow, Governmental publication, Art literature, 1958, p. 3.

**MINORITARIES AND MAJORITARIES.
STATES, ETHNICITIES AND CONFESSIONS**

“Seeing Like a State”: Romanian Policies in Northern Dobruca and the Muslims, 1878–1914*

Catalina Hunt

Introduction

The most significant change in the status of Dobruca’s Muslim population occurred after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the war against imperial Russia in 1878. In the aftermath of this conflict, which lasted from 1877 to 1878, the northern part of Ottoman Dobruca – previously known as the Sancak of Tulça – was granted to Romania by a decision of the Treaty of Berlin (July 1878). This territorial addition came at a significant cost for the Romanians, who lost Southern Bessarabia to Russia. Given these dire circumstances, Romanian officials had the daunting task of making Dobruca and its diverse population part of the “national” domain. Contradictory visions regarding this task, which emerged from a deeply divided Romanian political spectrum, on occasion produced unfortunate consequences, including the emigration of a large number of Muslims from Dobruca to the Ottoman Empire after 1878. The Muslims who remained in Romania became intimately involved in the process of nation-building by learning quickly how to invoke the “nation” (or to “speak and act national” to use an already known expression in the field of nationality studies) when personal and community projects required state assistance.

On November 14, 1878 in the city of Brăila, located on the left bank of the Danube River across Dobruca, Prince Carol I of Romania (1866–1914) addressed the Dobrukan population comprised of more than a dozen different religious and ethnic groups, the largest of which was the Muslim. The speech was given moments

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before Romanian military forces occupied Dobruca and put an end to more than five hundred years of Ottoman rule in this particular region of the world.¹

The text – read in Romanian, Bulgarian, and Turkish – began with the statement that the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin had annexed Dobruca to Romania. The annexation, according to Prince Carol, enabled the return of Dobruca to its mother-country, thus ushering in an era of justice, peace, and prosperity for all Dobrucans irrespective of their religious or ethnic background.² One of the most striking characteristics of this proclamation was the manner in which the Prince emphasized the civilizational nature of the Romanian mission in Dobruca. Romanian authorities arrived in the province with the task to end past suffering, to defend the life and property of the entire population, and to develop the moral and material condition of all people. Muslims were promised equal treatment with Christians and placement of personal affairs under their own religious leaders. The Prince further ensured people that Dobruca's Ottoman past characterized by "arbitrary will," "painful trials," and war would be replaced with a just regime determined to begin an age of fraternity among the "sons of the same country."

¹ A brief Russian administration functioned in Dobruca, more precisely in the former Ottoman sancak of Tulça, from June 1877 to June–July 1878 (Adrian Rădulescu, Ion Bitoleanu, *Istoria Dobrogei* (Constanța: Editura Ex Ponto), 343–46. By the end of November 1878, the Russian archives regarding Dobruca were handed in to Romanian officials (Romanian National Archives, Bucharest Branch, The Ministry of Internal Affairs Collection-The Administrative Division, 223/1878 (Köstence/Constanța) and 224/1878 (Tulça/Tulcea).

² The proclamation read as follows: "The Great European Powers have united your country to Romania by virtue of the Berlin Treaty. We do not enter in your country and in your frontiers drawn by Europe as conquerors, for, as you yourselves know, much blood had been spilt for the deliverance of the peoples from the right bank of Danube. Inhabitants of every nationality and religion, Dobruca, the old possession of Mircea the Old and Stephan the Great, belongs to Romania from now on! You now belong to a state where no longer arbitrary will, but the law, debated and approved by the nation, will decide and rule the most sacred and cherished goods of humankind, life, honor, and property, [which] are now placed under the shield of a Constitution that many foreign nations look forward to be implemented. Your religion and family will be protected in the same manner as the Christians'. The affairs of your religion and family will be entrusted to the *müftis* and the judges chosen from among your nation and religion. Christians and Muslims, receive thus the Romanian authorities with trust. They come with the mission to put an end to your painful trials, which you had experienced previously, to cure the wounds of the war, to defend your person and your lawful interests, and finally, to develop your moral and material condition. The Romanian army that enters Dobruca has no other wish than to maintain order and protect your living in a disciplined fashion. Salute then the Romanian flag with love [because] it will be for you the flag of liberty, justice, and peace. [...] We wish that this day will become for you and for this part of Romania the beginning of a future of peace and blossoming, the beginning of a good livelihood and of fraternity among the sons of the same country." (G.D. Petrescu, "Războiul pentru independență și anexarea Dobrogei" (The War for Independence and the Annexation of Dobrogea), in *Dobrogea. Cincizeci de ani de viață românească* (Dobrogea. Fifty Years of Romanian life), (Constanța: Ex Ponto, 2003), 345–46). See the complete text of the proclamation also in *Voința Dobrogei*, October 28, 1928, 3.

Decades later, the ambitious plan that Carol I laid out in the November speech had failed to materialize. On November 14, 1910, Vasile Kogălniceanu, a former member of the Romanian Parliament and the son of historian and politician Mihail Kogălniceanu who designed Dobruca's first laws, bluntly stated that in terms of general development the province still lagged behind the rest of the country. For over thirty years, the corruption and incompetence of local administration triggered regional underdevelopment and exposed people to the arbitrary will of state officials. Dobrucans, he concluded hopelessly, were not yet full members of the nation because Romanian legislators denied them political rights.³

This particular line of criticism emerged not only from within the body of Romanian intellectual elite writing in local media but also from official and non-official circles at local, national, and even international levels. In conjunction with a number of other factors, local corruption and incompetence in administering such a diverse territory constituted integral parts of the difficult and often contested transition of this region from empire to nation-state in the post-Ottoman period.

This article examines Romanian state policies and ideologies that had a direct impact on the evolution of Dobruca Muslims between 1878 and 1914. To include Dobruca and Dobrucans in the "national body," Romanian authorities first formulated and then implemented specific laws and regulations meant to render local society "legible."⁴ According to James Scott, states that attempt to make a society legible also seek "to arrange the population in ways that simplified the classic state functions of taxation, conscription, and prevention of rebellion. State policies created, for instance, the framework for the emergence of national citizenship by turning former Ottoman subjects into citizens of a nation-state. Following 1878, Muslims were no longer identified by their belonging to the larger body of Ottoman subjects. Rather, their identity as Romanian citizens assigned them a new yet secondary place in society. As I argue elsewhere, Romanian state policies, the reaction of Muslims to these policies, and the inclusion of Muslims in transnational networks (such as the Young Turks), led to the dramatic transformation of the national identity of Dobruca Muslims."⁵

The formulation of Romanian policies in Dobruca depended heavily on several factors that reflected Romanian efforts to convince the Great Powers of Romania's

³ *Dobrogea Nouă*, November 14, 1910, 1.

⁴ This argument was formulated by James C. Scott in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 2. I have used Scott's expression "seeing like a state" in the title of this article because it reflects the efforts of Romanian authorities to make the state "legible" in Dobruca.

⁵ Catalina Hunt, "Changing Identities at the Fringes of the Late Ottoman Empire: The Muslims of Dobruca, 1839–1914," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, in progress.

significant role in Europe, to reconstruct the country in the aftermath of war, and, finally, to include the newly acquired population into the fabric of the nation. These policies were formulated under the equal pressure of outside and inside political forces which stressed the importance of the application of international treaties, the integration of Dobruca into the national economy, and the Romanianization of the region along national guidelines. Shortly after 1878, Romanian officials regarded the integration of Northern Dobruca into Romania as the second stage in the creation of a national and unitary Romanian state, after the 1859 union of Wallachia and Moldavia.

The geographical position of Dobruca and the legacy of the Ottoman Empire also played significant roles in the creation of Romanian policies for this particular region. Situated in the southeastern corner of Romania, Dobruca constituted “a dynamic frontier zone for expanding the national economy and the country’s ethnic boundaries.”⁶ As Kerem Oktem and Dimitar Bechev argue, “the border (be it territorial, cultural, religious, linguistic, or even gendered) is essential to the concept of nationalism and to the workings of the modern nation-state. Therefore, in the eyes of nation-builder and nationalizing elites the borders that delineate the perimeter of the state should coincide with the nation’s supposed social and cultural borders.”⁷ To incorporate the eastern frontier, Romanian authorities designed policies to facilitate the implementation of ethnic colonization with Romanian nationals, cultural homogenization, and economic modernization. Relying on the model for interpreting social change in peripheral regions formulated by sociologist Michael Hechter in the 1970s, Constantin Iordachi characterized the Romanian regime in Dobruca as “internal colonialism.”⁸ Indeed, for reasons of national security between 1878 and 1913, Dobruca functioned under a “separate, extra-constitutional administrative” regime “characterized by administrative distinctiveness and excessive centralization supported by claims of cultural superiority by the core region, intense ethnic colonization, and uneven regional economic development tailored to the needs of the metropolis.”⁹ For several decades following the annexation, all Dobrucans lived under a restrictive type of citizenship that excluded them from participation in national politics and impeded their acquisition of immovable property in Romania proper. The incorporation of Southern Dobruca into Romania in 1913 did not change

⁶ Constantin Iordachi, “Internal Colonialism: The Expansion of Romania’s Frontier into Northern Dobrogea after 1878,” in *National Borders and Economic Disintegration in Modern East Central Europe*, Uwe Müller, Helga Schultz, eds. (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2002), 77.

⁷ Kerem Oktem and Dimitar Bechev, “(Trans) Nationalism in Southeast Europe: Constructing, Transcending and Reinforcing Borders,” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 4(2006): 479.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 77–105.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 77.

this situation. According to the nationalist discourse, Romanian officials were unable to fully integrate the entire province into the Romanian territory due to the advent of World War I. In fact, such incorporation necessitated skill and will rather than time, which Romanian authorities seemed to not have had in that period.

Drastically diminished by emigration, the Muslim population was constantly alert to the challenges posed by new regulations as well as the nature of diplomatic relations between Romania, the home state, and the Ottoman Empire, the kin state. In the years after the annexation, the Muslims of Dobruca – who stayed in the province or returned from various Ottoman locations providing temporary shelter during the Russo-Ottoman war – became participants in the convoluted process of Romanian nation-building. Their national inclusion, however, initially took the form of administrative, social, and cultural integration, while political integration and thus citizenship rights remained limited. The new status of Dobrucans as “internal colonists” of Romania differentiated them from the mainstream society.¹⁰ During the period under study, Romanian officials regarded cultural rather than political integration as a vital element of national policies towards the Muslims. For these officials, this type of integration constituted an essential element for national progress. Romanian authorities argued that lack of unified culture around the core principles and values of Romanian nationalism could eventually lead to social and political fragmentation. This specific view from the center generated in the Dobruca Muslims from the periphery a resilient desire to reclaim their religious and cultural identity in an effort to preserve a degree of autonomy for their respective communities.

This article looks at Dobruca and its Muslim population from the perspective of the state, leaving aside the reaction of Muslims to official policies. This particular reaction will be detailed in forthcoming papers focusing on two distinctive responses to state policies: emigration and adaptation. The state is represented in this article by a number of central and local institutions in Bucharest (the Romanian capital that served as the seat of government), as well as Constanța (Köstence) and Tulcea (Tulça) (the main administrative centers of Romanian Dobruca). The executive and legislative branches of the Romanian regime, embodied in Prince Carol I and the Parliament, both resided in the capital. At the local level the government was represented in both Constanța and Tulcea by prefects, who the Minister of Interior appointed to supervise the affairs of *județe* (counties) and village communes. The prefects possessed extensive powers at the local level, and these powers reinforced

¹⁰ In the post-colonial context, the Bengali population of British India shared the same restricted status (Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 24).

even further the high degree of control the central bureaucracy exerted over local government during this period.¹¹

The article begins with an examination of the annexation of Dobruca to Romania, as well as the Romanian nationalist discourse regarding the integration of the province in the period prior to and following the annexation. In order to provide an explanation for the impact laws had on Dobrucan Turks and Tatars, the legislation that Romanian elites formulated for the province is emphasized. This particular section scrutinizes the four major legislative periods defining the “exceptional administrative regime” that Romanian authorities designed for and implemented in Dobruca between 1878 and 1914. It includes an examination of regulations which created the conditions for the cultural integration of the Turks and Tatars in Romanian society. Beyond governmental policies, the Romanian perception of Muslim communities emerges from a closer examination of archival evidence, contemporary accounts of Dobruca, and debates arising from within the Romanian intellectual and political environment in the period under study.

This article refers to Dobrucan Muslims (comprising mostly Turks and Tatars) as minority groups, despite the anachronistic usage of the term “minority” coined only in the twentieth century. In this particular context, “minority” refers to groups of individuals who were religiously, ethnically, linguistically, and culturally different from the majority of the population. Both outsider groups (majority groups or state authorities) and members of the minority groups acknowledged the existence of the minority-majority dichotomy.¹²

Dobruca from Ottoman Frontier to Romanian Territory

Prior to 1878, Dobruca constituted an integral part of the Ottoman northern frontier that stretched across diverse territories connecting Hungary in the west with Iran in the east, while separating the Ottomans from their centuries-long foes, the Hapsburgs and the Russians.¹³ Geographically, Dobruca represented the western continuation of the Eurasian plain known as the *Desht-i Kipchak* (Steppe of the Kipchaks). The Danube Estuary bordered this steppe in the north, the Black Sea in the east, the Deli Orman forest in the south, and the Danube River in the west. The

¹¹ Keith Hitchins, *Rumania, 1866–1947* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 95.

¹² Yonca Köksal used this definition to study minority policies between 1878 and the 1940s in Bulgaria (for the Turks) and Turkey (for the Kurds) (Yonca Köksal, “Minority Policies in Bulgaria and Turkey: The Struggle to Define a Nation,” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 6 (2006): 502).

¹³ Victor Ostapchuk and Svitlana Bilyayeva, “The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier at Akkerman Fortress: The View from a Historical and Archaeological Project,” in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, A.C.S. Peacock, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 137.

Danube River turns and flows south to north in this region, separating the steppe from the rest of Romania.

In 1878, the Treaty of Berlin changed the regional *status quo* when the European Powers decided to divide Dobruca's surface of approximately 22,272 square kilometers between Romania and Bulgaria. This arrangement added 15,536 square kilometers to the Romanian territory and 6,736 square kilometers to the Bulgarian territory. Therefore, Romanian Dobruca or Northern Dobruca (*Dobrogea* in Romanian) represented more than double the size of Bulgarian Dobruca, also called Southern Dobruca (*Dobrudzha* in Bulgarian).¹⁴ The new territorial changes were plainly explained in two distinctive articles included in the treaty. Article two established the border between the two states on a continuous line connecting Silistra in the west with a point situated to the south of Mangalia in the east.¹⁵ Article forty-six listed the territories granted to Romania: the islands of the Danube Delta, the Serpent Isle of the Black Sea, and the *kazas* of the *sancak* (district) of Tulça (formerly part of Tuna Vilâyeti or the Danubian Province), namely Kili (Kilia), Sünne (Sulina), Mahmudiye (Mahmudia), Isakçı (Isaccea), Boğazköy (Cernavoda), Tulça (Tulcea), Maçin (Măcin), Babadağı (Babadag), Hırsova (Hîrşova), Köstence (Constanța), and Mecidiye (Medgidia).¹⁶ Romania also received a small part of Southern Dobruca "as far as a line starting from the east of Silistra and terminating on the Black Sea, south of Mangalia."¹⁷ Romanian officials would divide this territory into three and then two counties, namely Constanța and Tulcea. The entire territory of Southern Dobruca (also called the *Cadrilater* in Romanian) with a population of 280,000 individuals, the majority of whom were Turkish, entered into the possession of Romania at the end of the Second Balkan War by a decision of the Treaty of Bucharest (August 1913).¹⁸ The new frontier between the two states rested on the line connecting Turtucaia (in the west) with Balçık (in the east) until

¹⁴ Nicolae Ciachir, "Contribuții la istoria Dobrogei (aprilie 1877-noiembrie 1878)," *Revista Arhivelor* 1 (1962): 175. In 1914, after the Great Powers decided the annexation of Southern Dobruca to the Old Kingdom of Romania (proclaimed as such in 1881), the country increased its size to 137,903 square kilometers. In 1918, it reached 295,049 square kilometers after the annexation of Bessarabia from Russia, Bukovina from Austria, and Transylvania from Hungary (this particular year is the year of the formation of Greater Romania). In 1919, 18,057,028 inhabitants populated Romania; see Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, & Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 8.

¹⁵ Sir Augustus Oakes and R.B. Mowat, eds., *The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1918), 332.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 354.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 355.

¹⁸ Friedrich De Yong, "The Turks and Tatars in Romania – Materials Relative to Their History and Notes on Their Present Day Conditions," *Turcica* 18 (1986): 170. For the text of the Treaty of Bucharest, see Sir Augustus Oakes and R.B. Mowat, eds., *The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century*, 362.

September 1940, when Romania complied with the Treaty of Craiova by returning Southern Dobruca to Bulgaria.

According to statistics compiled prior to the annexation of the province, 225,692 individuals lived in Northern Dobruca, north of the Köstence (Constanța) – Boğazköy (Cernavoda) railroad line which divided the region into two unequal parts.¹⁹ These statistics contained no information about the population living in the area situated at the south of the railroad line, although presumably almost all of it was Muslim. They indicated, however, the existence of both a Muslim majority and a heterogeneous population. Tatars (71,146), Turks (48,783), Romanians (46,504), Bulgarians (30,177), Russians (12,748), Circassians (6,994), Germans (1,134), and other less populous groups such as Italians, Greeks, and Armenians inhabited the northern part of Romanian Dobruca. Reflecting this ethnic heterogeneity, there was a wide variety of religious faiths, including Sunni and Kızılbaş (Shiite) Muslims, Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant Christians, Jews, and others. Sixty percent of the population (126,923) was Muslim, including Turks, Tatars, and Circassians.²⁰

The demographic characteristics of Dobruca constituted one of the most significant legacies of the Ottoman Empire. As Maria Todorova notes, “the fundamental consequences of the establishment of the Pax Ottomana in the Balkans was the abolishment of state and feudal frontiers, something which facilitated or enhanced population movements and the interpenetration of different population groups within a vast territory.”²¹ Population shifts occurred mainly due to the implementation in the region of various Ottoman policies, created to reach specific military, political, and economic objectives. First, the sultans settled Muslims in Dobruca from Asia Minor and Southern Crimea to strengthen the military character of their northern frontier. Secondly, they allowed a sizable number of individuals from Romanian provinces, Southern Crimea, and the Balkans to settle in the province to increase the overall economic productivity of the region.²²

Throughout centuries, these populations tended to settle in villages and towns in compact groups comprising individuals with similar ethnic and religious characteristics. For example, Tatar agricultural workers settled in central Dobruca; Lipovan

¹⁹ Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 199.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Maria Todorova, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” *Études Balkaniques* 4 (1994): 72.

²² For details regarding the settlement of Crimean Tatars in Dobruca, see Kemal H. Karpat, “Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration to Dobruca and the Founding of Mecidiye, 1856–1878,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1984–1985): 1–25; Idem, “The Crimean Emigration of 1856–1862 and the Settlement and Urban Development of Dobruca,” in *Passé Turco-Tatar Présent Soviétique. Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, G. Veinstein, S.E. Wimbush, eds. (Paris: Éditions Peeters, 1986), 275–306.

fishermen (Slavic Old Believers) in the Danube Delta; Balkan Bulgarians in northern Dobruca; Romanian peasants on the right bank of the Danube; German colonists from Southern Russia in central Dobruca; and Turkish, Italian, Jewish, Greek, and Armenian merchants in urban locations throughout the region. The northern part of Northern Dobruca was dominated by Bulgarians, while a Turkish and Tatar majority inhabited the central and southern parts.²³ There is little doubt that these groups lived in isolation. Urban settlements allowed for more interaction, but villages, too, afforded a platform for people to interact on the streets, in markets, in courts, as well as in any other instances of everyday life. Nevertheless, by the turn of the century, the non-Romanian majority of the population would gradually lose ground to a growing Romanian majority spurred by state policies aimed at strengthening the southeastern frontier with Romanian nationals.

Romanian Nationalism and the Integration of Dobruca into Romania

Nationalizing states constitute in Brubaker's view "states that are conceived by their dominant elites as nation-states, as the states of and for particular ethnocultural nations, yet as 'incomplete' or 'unrealized' nation-states, as insufficiently 'national' in a variety of senses."²⁴ During the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, Romania corresponded to Brubaker's definition. Since the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, Romanian elites representing populations who lived for centuries in Transylvania, Bukovina, Banat, Crişana, Maramureş, Bessarabia, Wallachia, or Moldavia imagined strategies for creating a Romanian national state.²⁵ At the core of their vision rested a number of ideas including those of Latinism, the French-inspired concept of constitutionalism, the desire for political independence, and the praise of "national heroes." However, apart from a commonly shared vision with profound national undertones, there were conspicuous differences between the national goals of this composite elite body.

The nationalist bourgeoisie from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, and Maramureş fought for equal rights, social reforms, political rights, and the emancipation of the

²³ Constantin Iordachi, "The California of the Romanians": The Integration of Northern Dobrogea into Romania, 1878–1913," in *Nation-Building and Contested Identities: Romanian and Hungarian Case Studies*, Balázs Trencsényi, Dragoş Petrescu, Cristina Petrescu, Constantin Iordachi, and Zoltán Kántor, eds. (Budapest, Iaşi: Regio Books and Editura Polirom, 2001), 123.

²⁴ Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 9.

²⁵ Stephen Fischer-Galaţi, "Romanian Nationalism," in *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, Peter F. Sugar and Ivo J. Lederer, eds. (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 1969), 373–395.

peasantry within the confines of the Habsburg Empire (Austria-Hungary after 1867). Transylvanians, in particular, sought to reach a compromise with the Habsburgs in order to obtain equal rights with the privileged nationalities of the province, the Magyars, Szeklers, and Saxons.²⁶ It was not until the end of World War I when the Romanian-speaking elites of these provinces decided to leave behind their aspirations regarding the Habsburgs and support unification with Wallachia, Moldavia, and Dobruca.²⁷ In contrast, the aristocratic elites (*boieri*) of Wallachia and Moldavia, the majority of whom owned large plots of land, advocated the idea of union by overlooking the uneven socioeconomic development of their provinces that jeopardized the feasibility of such a union. What united these elites, however, was an equal resentment for Ottomans, Greeks, Russians, and Jews resulting from extensive periods of foreign occupation (the Phanariote Regime in the eighteenth century and the Russian administration between 1828 and 1834), two failed revolutions in 1821 and 1848, and major problems with the Jewish oligarchy. Invoking similarities in terms of origin, language, historical past, traditions, and religious beliefs, Wallachian and Moldavian elites advocated independence from the Ottoman Empire and, alternatively, hoped for political union with the other Romanian provinces. The initial stage of political unification came to fruition in 1859, when Wallachia and Moldavia united under Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859–66). The final stage occurred about half century later, in 1918, when the rest of the Romanian provinces joined them in forming “Greater Romania.”

In between these two significant events in the nation-building process, political independence was achieved in 1878 under Prince Carol I of Hohenzollern.²⁸ Although conservative and pro-German, Carol I participated initially in the nation-building project on the side of the National Liberal Party, the ruling party (1876–88). Led by the Brătianu brothers, the party drew support from the landowners and promoted the motto “through ourselves alone,” which referred to the rejection of ongoing foreign involvement in economic projects throughout the country. Its members supported a state-led economic development focused on industrialization that “advertised a Listian economic program from which Liberal-affiliated industrialists

²⁶ This idea was clearly expressed in *Supplex libellus Valachorum*, a document addressed to the Habsburg Emperor Leopold at the end of the 18th century, see D. Prodan, *Supplex libellus Valachorum* (Cluj-Napoca, 1948), 243–73.

²⁷ Stephen Fischer-Galați, “Romanian Nationalism,” 390.

²⁸ Carol I (1839–1914), born Prince Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen from the German dynastic house with the same name, was the ruler of Romania from 1866 to 1914. He became Prince of Romanian Principalities on April, 20, 1866 following the overthrow of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, and king on March 26, 1881. The Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen dynasty ruled Romania until the proclamation of the republic in 1947 (Paul Lindenbergh, *Regele Carol I al României* (King Charles of Romania) (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2010).

and financiers stood to profit.”²⁹ Their opponents, the Conservative Party, although in favor for the unionist idea, emphasized the necessity of investing in agriculture and creating avenues for the development of free trade with Western states.³⁰ These two distinctive political visions affected to a large degree the policies that the government designed for Dobruca at the turn of the century. From an economic stand point, these policies specifically emphasized industrial development when the Liberals governed and rural expansion when the Conservatives held power.

The period after 1866, when Carol I was installed as Prince, and before 1918, when national unity was achieved, were years of relative political instability and ambiguity. Ten liberal and conservative governments switched administrative positions in the short span between 1866 and 1871. The two main governmental parties continued to struggle for dominance until the end of World War I, when new political forces challenged their traditional share of power in the political realm.³¹ Besides having split affinities for the French and German models of civilization, Romanian officials needed to figure out “how to set in motion a patriarchal and authoritarian system, and a society overwhelmingly rural, dominated by landed property, in which the modern stimulating factors of capitalism and democracy were almost completely absent.”³²

Another pressing issue was that of synchronizing modern institutions borrowed in the 1860s from Western Europe (Constitution, Parliament, legal codes, university, and academy) with the traditional mentality of Orthodox society. Denis Deletant argued that the conflict between tradition and modernity constituted a consistent feature of the debate on Romanian national identity after the formation of the

²⁹ Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania*, 22. The German economist, Friedrich List, advocated in his book *National System of Political Economy* (1841) the idea that the duty of the government is to support the economic national development, especially in what industry, technology, and education are concerned. He considered that local industries should limit imports from more advanced industrial economies in order to protect themselves from falling into the hands of the outsiders, Friedrich List, *National System of Political Economy*, Book 4, Translated by Sampson S. Lloyd (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909).

³⁰ This interplay of economic policies placed 80% of all industrial shares in the hands of foreign investors, which resulted in a surprisingly high income per capita that was higher than that of any other contemporary Balkan state, except Greece. Joseph L. Love gives the amount of \$307 for the year of 1910 in *Crafting the Third World: Theorizing Underdevelopment in Rumania and Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 29.

³¹ The Liberal Party dominated political life between 1878–1888, 1895–1899, 1901–1904, 1907–1910, and 1914–18. The Conservative Party governed between 1888–1895, 1899–1901, 1904–1907, and 1910–1914.

³² Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), 35.

Romanian state in 1859.³³ In the words of Titu Maiorescu, Romanian literary critic and conservative politician of the time, the challenge was to find a traditional indigenous “foundation” to modern alien “forms without substance.”³⁴ John Plamenatz named this process Eastern nationalism. This was a process common to peoples “recently drawn into a civilization hitherto alien to them, and whose ancestral cultures are not adapted to success and excellence by these cosmopolitan and increasingly dominant standards.”³⁵ Such people compromised to “re-equip” the nation culturally by blending alien with indigenous cultural standards.

In 1878, minorities including the Turks and Tatars of Dobruca became part of a ragtag society struggling to find its own identity and place in Europe. After the annexation, Romanian elites had to be persuaded by the representatives of the leading party “to urge and undertake action to promote the language, culture, demographic preponderance, economic flourishing, or political hegemony of the core ethnocultural nation” in order to precipitate the nation-building process in the periphery.³⁶ Prince Carol I adhered to an inclusive approach to the minority issue in Dobruca, best illustrated in the November 1878 proclamation in which he stated the support of the monarchy for the nondiscriminatory inclusion of minorities in Romanian society. Diplomatic documents released after the Congress of Berlin indicate that European powers had a crucial influence in the formulation of this particular vision. For instance, in a letter dated June 28, 1879, the French Ambassador in Berlin, Comte de Saint-Vallier, mentioned that European powers requested Romanian authorities to substitute Article seven from the 1866 Romanian Constitution with Article forty-four from the 1878 Treaty of Berlin in order to appease foreign criticism regarding the unfair treatment of the non-Christian population living in Romania.³⁷ Article seven stipulated that only foreigners of Christian Orthodox faith were able to acquire citizenship in Romania. Article forty-four stated clearly that Romanians should treat people of different religious and ethnic backgrounds equally through according them citizenship rights and providing them with freedom of expression. The Prince complied, the Parliament voted in favor, and the substitution was formally adopted as a part of the Constitution by the end of 1879.

³³ Dennis Deletant, “The Debate between Tradition and Modernity in the Shaping of a Romanian Identity,” in *The Literature of Nationalism. Essays on East European Identity*, Robert B. Pynsent, ed. (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1996), 14.

³⁴ Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*, 35.

³⁵ See quote in Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 2.

³⁶ Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*, 9.

³⁷ *Documents diplomatiques. Question de la reconnaissance de la Roumanie* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), 7–8.

Willing to avoid further diplomatic complications, the Prince favored compliance with the Treaty of Berlin not only with respect to the issue of citizenship, but also regarding approval of the annexation of Dobruca to Romania. Carol I understood the economic importance of the new territory and strongly believed that many Romanian officials underestimated it. For the Prince the only danger in the region was posed by Russian forces, which occupied the province in the summer of 1878 and refused to withdraw in a timely fashion, thus impeding a peaceful installation of Romanian authorities there.³⁸ Carol I found solid support for the incorporation of Dobruca in high-ranking officials, including Prime Minister Ion C. Brătianu (July 1876 – March 1881), Radical Liberal C.A. Rossetti, and Foreign Minister (April 1877 – November 1878) and Minister of Internal Affairs (November 1878, July 1879 – April 1880) Mihail Kogălniceanu.³⁹ The Prince's father, German Prince Karl Anton of Hohenzollern, also provided encouragement and advice in this direction.⁴⁰ After Southern Bessarabia was ceded to Russia, Karl Anton advised the Prince to focus his attention on Dobruca rather than persist in his obsession for the lost territory.⁴¹ The painful loss of Bessarabia, Karl Anton wrote in a letter, could be cured through “skilled medication” and the only way to obliterate “the cut that Europeans have made into Romanian flesh” would be to fulfill the mission of organizing Dobruca economically and politically.⁴²

However, the majority of Romanian officials refused to accept the annexation when it became clear that Dobruca would be handed to Romania in exchange for Southern Bessarabia promised to Russia. Southern Bessarabia became Romanian in 1859 when Moldavia and Wallachia joined to form the Romanian Principalities. Moldavia had acquired the region in the aftermath of the Crimean War (1853–56) through a decision of the Treaty of Paris (1856). According to statistical data compiled by Romanian Leonida Colescu, in 1878 Southern Bessarabia had a territory

³⁸ This opinion was expressed in a letter addressed to Mary of Flanders, Carol's sister, dated July 6, 1878 (Romanian National Archives, Bucharest Branch, *Fond Casa Regală Carol I – Personale* (The Royal House Carol I-Personal Collection), Dossier VB-431/1878).

³⁹ *Memoriile Regelui Carol I al României de un martor ocular*, Volumul IV (1878–1881), Stelian Neagoe, ed. (București, Editura Machiavelli, 1994), 142.

⁴⁰ Karl Anton of Hohenzollern (1811–1885) was the Prime-Minister of Prussia between 1858 and 1862, prior to Bismarck. Prince, later king, Carol I found in his father the most reliable adviser in matters of domestic and foreign policy. Karl Anton received the most number of letters sent by Carol I to any family member from 1866 onwards (This correspondence was included in several volumes published in Romania, such as Sorin Cristescu, *Carol I. Corespondența privată* (Bucharest: Tritonic, 2005) and *Carol I și politica României (1878–1912)* (Bucharest: Paideia, 2007), as well as in the Memoires of King Carol I (*Memoriile Regelui Carol I al României de un martor ocular*, vol. I–IV (Bucharest: Editura Machiavelli, 1992–1994).

⁴¹ Southern Bessarabia comprised the Moldavian districts of Bolgrad, Cahul, and Ismail.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 152.

of 8,355 square kilometers and a population of 163,000. Northern Dobruca, in contrast, had a territory of 15,536 square kilometers and a population of 169,000.⁴³

The annexation of Dobruca was advantageous to the state of Romania from a statistical viewpoint. Nevertheless, prior to the Treaty of Berlin, Romanian officials argued vigorously for the preservation of Southern Bessarabia and demanded its unconditional restitution to Romania once the province was ceded to Russia. Southern Bessarabia represented an integral part of Romania and fulfilled an important role for the national economy with its access to the Black Sea. Despite its size and exit to the Black Sea, Dobruca became in that context “the very symbol of an onerous bargain, and its refusal – a way of defending the integrity of the country.”⁴⁴ This particular argument was raised in Berlin by Romanian officials Ion C. Brătianu and Mihail Kogălniceanu during their brief hearing in front of Congress participants. The hearing, nonetheless, was in fact granted to Romanian diplomats after persistent requests since their official participation to Congress sessions had been denied. The final decisions of the Congress regarding Romania, including the acquisition of independence and of Northern Dobruca, as well as the loss of Southern Bessarabia, confirmed the unsuccessful defense of the Romanian case in Berlin in regards to the preservation of the latter territory.

At a national level, the refusal of Dobruca’s annexation became official on June 28, 1878 when a parliamentary majority signed a resolution explaining the reasoning behind this decision: “Inasmuch as an annexation of territory beyond the Danube is not in the interest of Romania; inasmuch as the least annexation would bring about infallibly future troubles and complications, the Chamber does not accept the annexation of Dobruca to Romania, whatever may be the form and the basis of the annexation.”⁴⁵ The annexation was thus deemed dangerous and unfeasible for Romanian interests due to the geographic location and ethnic diversity of the province. Romanian deputy N.B. Locusteanu voiced these concerns in the session: “A swampy land in the lower part, without water in the upper part, insalubrious, uncultured, expensive, impracticable, inhabited by shepherds, nomads, and thieves, according to what our illustrious writers and officials say: this is Dobrogea. Partisans

⁴³ Leonida Colescu, *Analiza recensământului general al populației României dela 1899 (The Analysis of the 1899 General Census of the Romanian Population)* (București: Institutul Central de Statistică, 1944), 29. Statistics for Dobruca are often biased and inaccurate. The number provided by Colescu for the population count for Dobruca was not correlated to a census. The number provided by Karpát was significantly larger (225,692 inhabitants), Kemal Karpát, *Ottoman Population: 1830–1914*, 199.

⁴⁴ Constantin Iordachi, “The California of the Romanians,” 125.

⁴⁵ Vasile M. Kogălniceanu, *Dobrogea, 1879–1909: Drepturi politice fără libertăți* (București: Editura Librăriei Socec and C-ie, 1910), 22. D.A. Sturdza and P.P. Carp signed against the annexation (*Memoriile Regelui Carol I al României de un martor ocular*, vol. IV, 164).

of annexation, here is your acquisition. We do not congratulate you and the people will not bless you [for it].”⁴⁶

This negative perception among the majority of Romanian politicians stemmed obviously from biased depictions of the region and its inhabitants. For instance, orientalist representations of the lands and peoples of Dobruca plagued Romanian literature and fine arts. Romanian authors of fiction with remarkable reputation within national literary circles, such as Ioan Pillat, Mihail Sadoveanu, and Grigore Sălceanu, repeatedly evoked stereotypical images of Dobrucaan Turks and Tatars as backward people indulging heavily in coffee drinking and pipe smoking.⁴⁷ Well-known painters including Alexandru Satmary, Iosif Iser, Gheorghe Petrașcu, Ion Theodorescu-Sion, and Ipolit Strâmbu brought these stereotypes to life in their canvases. Muslims would often be portrayed as exotic beings consuming coffee, displaying colorful clothing, and living in dilapidated houses. Muslim women holding their children, sitting in front of their houses in traditional clothing, or posing as half-naked odalisques also became part of the romanticized version of everyday Muslim life in the province.⁴⁸

Even the most serious histories of Dobruca published after 1878 carried on biased perceptions of Dobrucans. Grigore Gr. Dănescu, the author of the impressive *Dicționarul geografic, statistic, economic și istoric al județului Constanța* (Geographic, Statistic, Economic and Historic Dictionary of the Constanța County), described the life in one of the county’s small towns in the following words: “During days of rest, the Wallachian or Romanian workers danced their national dances, the *horas*, while the Russian, the Cossack, and the Bulgarian drank *raki* abundantly until they fell together, some of tiredness, others of drunkenness. The

⁴⁶ *Apud* C.C. Giurescu, *Din istoria nouă a Dobrogei*, (București: Cartea Românească, 1928), 17. Kogălniceanu had mentioned the same line of thought in his Parliament interventions from September 28 and 30, 1878. However, he used it in both instances to show how narrow was the vision of his fellow dignitaries in judging the useless addition of Dobruca to Romania. He used the report of governmental officials on the state of Dobruca from July 1878 in order to emphasize the importance of this province for the economic growth of the country. (A committee of experts appointed by the indigenous government in July 1878 researched the state of Dobruca’s land and peoples for a month in order to estimate Romania’s future investment in the area, Tudor Mateescu, “Date privind situația românilor dobrogeni în momentul revenirii Dobrogei la țară,” *Revista Arhivelor* 2 (1992): 187. The European powers entrusted this province to Romania, Kogălniceanu said, so that the country “fulfills its European mission at the mouths of the Danube,” and “defend and preserve in its hands this major European interest, which is to assure the liberty of the Danube” up to where it empties into the Black Sea. Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Opere IV: Oratorie II (1864–1878), Partea a IV-a (1874–1878)* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1978), 618, 620–21; *Opere V*, 163.

⁴⁷ Mehmed Ali Ekrem, *Din istoria turcilor dobrogeni* (Bucharest: Editura Kriterion, 1994), 135–38.

⁴⁸ Doina Păuleanu, *Balcicul în pictura românească* (Balçic in Romanian Painting) (București: Editura Arc, 2007).

Greek, the Jew, and the Armenian mingled in this crowd looking, as usual, for some profit. The backward Tatar smoking tobacco looked like he regretted the severity of the Prophet, while the Turk sitting with crossed legs in front of a coffee house preserved his indolence from which he never departed.”⁴⁹ Despite his scientific background, Dănescu contributed heavily to the perpetuation of these unfortunate stereotypes. The Romanian nationalist discourse labeled as backward both the habits and the appearance of Dobruca’s Muslims whose collective features became associated by officials with lack of civilization. In spite of such biased attitudes, Romanian officials had never regarded the Muslim way of life as an affront to “Romanianess.” The situation was different in other Balkan regions. In her work on Bulgarian Muslims, Mary Neuburger has shown that, after 1878, Bulgarian officials aimed to eliminate both Muslim symbols of womanhood (veil and baggy pants or shalvaris) and manhood (fez, turban, and circumcision). For these officials, such symbols constituted reminders of a backward Ottoman past and were thus considered to be an affront to progress in general and “Bulgarianess” in particular.⁵⁰

Although numerous Romanian officials accepted these biases and therefore became frustrated with the attention paid to Dobruca by the Prince and the government, the new province had its defenders.⁵¹ Mihail Kogălniceanu, the architect of governmental policies for Dobruca, and also a famous historian, publicist, theater critic, editor and organizer of cultural life,⁵² fought constantly to correct the misinformed opinion of officials about this territory. Kogălniceanu succeeded in taming the opposition through building a strong case for the province, the role of which for the nation was emphasized on various occasions in Parliament or elsewhere. He underlined that European powers did not regard Dobruca as compensation for the loss of Southern Bessarabia. Rather, the annexation of the province was supposed to strengthen Romania in front of Russian expansion at the mouths of the Danube. A stronger Romania would also keep Bulgaria weak and would ensure the separation

⁴⁹ Grigore Gr. Dănescu, *Dicționarul geografic, statistic, economic și istoric al județului Constanța*, (București: Tipografia și Fonderia de Litere Thoma Basilescu, 1897), 280.

⁵⁰ Mary Neuburger, *The Orient Within: Muslim Minorities and the Negotiation of Nationhood in Modern Bulgaria* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 14.

⁵¹ On September 29, 1878, the former president of the Council of Ministers, Dimitrie Sturdza, concluded his speech in the Senate with the following words: “How long is it since on account of the Dobruca Old Rumania no longer deserves any attention? What will become of Galați, Brăila, when we construct in Küstendje a new port by a special line for the direct traffic of Rumanian and foreign goods? Have you the right to ruin these two most important parts of the country in order to make a new port and that in a territory that you yourself do not know how long we will be able to hold it?” Milan G. Markoff, *The Political Lot of the Dobruđja After the Berliner Congress* (Lausanne: Librairie Centrale Des Nationalités Rue Caroline, 1918), 8.

⁵² Monika Baár, *Historians and Nationalism: East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 40–45.

of northern from southern Slavs.⁵³ The most successful strategy to strengthen the country was, in his view, to nationalize the province through the implementation of appropriate legislation throughout its territory.⁵⁴ In addition, Dobruca offered rich lands, good climate, fertile agricultural grounds, natural resources, and three ports at the Black Sea. Furthermore, the province could support itself economically and would not require additional funds for the modernization of the newly acquired territory.⁵⁵ “Thus, gentlemen – Kogălniceanu stated in the Senate – I believe that what is best to do in this matter is to subject ourselves to the decisions of Europe, take Dobruca, rule it well, make it ours, make it one with Romania, make it the patrimony of our children [...], prove Europe from the very first day that we take it for Romanians and that we understand not to sell it to Bulgarians.”⁵⁶

This task was a national endeavor that had to be undertaken in stages, Kogălniceanu detailed. During the first stage, Dobruca needed to be populated and civilized. Only upon the successful completion of this particular task, during the second stage of development, Dobruca would be able to receive a transfusion of Romanian “character, soul, and sentiment.” Kogălniceanu hoped that eventually the Muslims, who constituted the religious majority in Dobruca, would become Romanian to such an extent that the only difference in the population of the region would be that one group attended mosques, while the other attended churches.⁵⁷ This idea resembled the enlightened vision of Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39), who reportedly stated that he distinguished among his subjects “Muslims in the mosque, Christians in the church, Jews in the synagogue,” but that there was “no difference among them in any other way.”⁵⁸ Mahmud II’s statement paved the way for the notion of Ottoman equality formulated in the Tanzimat period, in the same way that Kogălniceanu’s vision helped to consolidate the more inclusive approach to minority policies in Dobruca.

However, analysis of the activity of the Romanian Parliament in the aftermath of the Treaty of Berlin demonstrates that Kogălniceanu’s progressive ideas, though supported by liberal politicians and the Prince, did not translate easily into laws.

⁵³ Senate Session, September 28, 1878 (Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Opere IV: Oratorie II (1864–1878), Partea a IV-a (1874–1878)* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1978), 618–20; Senate Session, September 30, 1878 (*Ibid.*, 628).

⁵⁴ Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Opere V*, 163.

⁵⁵ Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Opere IV: Oratorie II (1864–1878), Partea a IV-a (1874–1878)*, 621.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 622.

⁵⁷ Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Opere V: Oratorie III (1878–1891), Partea a II-a (1881–1883)* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1986), 164; speech held by Kogălniceanu on February 27, 1882 in the Chamber of Deputies and reproduced partially in Vasile M. Kogălniceanu, *Dobrogea, 1879–1909*, 29.

⁵⁸ Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 31.

Conservative politicians embraced visions of nation-building starkly different from those popular within the leading body of liberal politicians to which Kogălniceanu belonged.

Temporary Administrative Regime in Dobruca (1878–1880)

Following a series of hard-fought debates in the Romanian Parliament between the politicians favoring the annexation and those opposing it, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies sanctioned the annexation on two separate occasions on September 28 and September 30, 1878. Four major legislative periods marked the interval between 1878 and 1914. These included the “regulatory period” when the government issued ad-hoc regulations (1878–80); the period when Dobruca functioned on separate citizenship and property legislation (1880–1909); the interval when provincial legislation was harmonized with that of Romania (1909–13); and the period when new legislation was formulated to serve the incorporation of Southern Dobruca to Romania (1913–14).⁵⁹ During this time, new laws trailed old ones with a whirling speed, aiming to either correct or adjust previous legislation particularly between 1884 and 1912. The multiplicity of these changes demonstrated the difficulty Romanian officials had in fathoming a viable plan for the administration of a territory with a profoundly Ottoman character. The monarchy and the Parliament sanctioned a number of measures designed to organize the territory administratively, clarify citizenship status, reform property principles, enforce the use of the Romanian language, and create new provincial elites loyal to the state. These policies coincided with the consolidation of Romania’s national frontier in southeastern Europe in the aftermath of the acquisition of state independence. The connection between nation-building and ethno-cultural expansion was to become one of the most significant features in the evolution of Dobruca in this period.

The “regulatory period” began in 1878 with a series of regulations regarding the province’s juridical organization, administrative division, and taxation.⁶⁰ In 1879, an additional regulation concerning the administration of customs, state domains, forests, and local treasury was issued. The Muslim population acquired a series of rights during this particular period. The *Regulation for the Administrative Division*

⁵⁹ For a good contemporary analysis of these laws, see Ioan N. Roman, *Dobrogea și drepturile politice ale locuitorilor ei* (Constanța: Tipografia Ovidiu, 1905).

⁶⁰ More specifically, these regulations were the following: “Regulation Regarding the Public Administration of Juridical Organization in Dobruca” (November 11, 1878); “Regulation for the Administrative Division and Organization of Dobruca” (November 13, 1878); and the “Regulation for the Establishment and Collection of Taxes” (November 14, 1878). The “Regulation for the Administration of Customs, General Treasury, and Administration of State Domains and Forest” was issued on November 7, 1879.

and *Organization of Dobruca* (November 13, 1878) allowed them to vote and run for the mayor's office and local council positions. In 1878, for example, Ferhat Emin became mayor and city councilman of Mankalya (Mangalia), while brothers Mustafa and Mehmed Vartoğlu became members in the city council of Isakçı (Isaccea).⁶¹ Local elections for village councils resulted in an overwhelming majority of Turkish and Tatar councilmen in 1880.⁶²

The *Regulation Regarding the Public Administration of Juridical Organization in Dobruca* (November 11, 1878) established Islamic courts in the provincial counties of Köstence (Constanța) and Tulça (Tulcea). These courts had jurisdiction over disputes between Muslims regarding marriage, divorce, tutelage, succession, and estate proceedings.⁶³ Any other disputes, as well as those involving Muslims and non-Muslims, were resolved in Romanian courts. Each Islamic court included the *imam* (religious leader) of the county and two members elected by the Muslim community and confirmed by the Romanian Ministry of Justice at the recommendation of the county *müfti* (religious head of the community). The first two *müftis* elected by Muslims and confirmed by the aforementioned ministry for both Constanța and Tulcea were Hacı Mustafa Şerif and Enis Efendi.

In addition to regulating the province from a juridical, administrative, and financial viewpoint, state officials began to seriously consider improvements in the economy of the territory. A plan for the economic development of Dobruca prioritized investments in local industry and communications. Steps were taken towards the construction of railroads, roads, and the main harbor in Köstence (Constanța). In particular, the inauguration of the "King Carol" bridge over the Danube River in 1895 was extremely important in terms of connecting not only Dobruca to Romania proper but also Western Europe to Asia Minor. At that time the bridge constituted the longest bridge in Europe and the second longest bridge in the world. The harbor of Constanța also benefitted from official attention. Major construction projects led to the creation of an infrastructure that gave an impulse particularly to exports. A series of administrative regulations helped to urbanize the province. It is worth noting that while the urban population increased in number, Romanian nationals gradually replaced the non-Romanian professionals. Romanian legislators made sure to issue laws after 1880 supporting the settlement of the Romanian element in the province in an effort to consolidate the national frontier in this region.

⁶¹ Mehmed Ali Ekrem, *Din istoria turcilor dobrogeni*, 76–77.

⁶² *Farul Constanței*, August 24, 1880, 2–3 and August 31, 1880, 2–3.

⁶³ Mehmed Ali Ekrem, *Din istoria turcilor dobrogeni*, 80–82.

Citizenship and Property Legislation in Dobruca (1880–1909)

The application of a separate administrative regime in Dobruca was reinforced by the decision of the Romanian Parliament to implement two additional laws in 1880 and 1882, namely the *Law Concerning Dobruca's Administrative Organization* (March 1880) and the *Law Concerning Immovable Property in Dobruca* (April 1882). The two laws were meant to solve the pressing notions of citizenship and property as well as to encourage Romanian nationals to settle in the new province.

The *Law Concerning Dobruca's Administrative Organization* (which Kogălniceanu named “The Constitution of Dobruca”)⁶⁴ stipulated that “all the inhabitants of Dobrogea, who, on 11 April 1877 were Ottoman citizens, have become Romanian citizens” (article 3). Most importantly, the inhabitants of Dobruca who became Romanian citizens were equal before the law, enjoyed all civic rights, and could be appointed to public offices, regardless of their ethnicity or religion (article 5). Dobrucans could practice any faith, but the Christian Orthodox denomination was recognized as “the dominant religion in Dobruca” (article 15).

Muslims thus received Romanian citizenship and could enjoy certain civic rights. In particular, the law granted them freedom of religion, education, expression, and the right to petition, as well as the opportunity to establish Islamic schools with financial help from the government.⁶⁵ However, these advantages came at a very high cost for the Muslim community. The government made sure to extend the model of state-supported education and religion to include Islam, and ultimately turned Muslim education into a state project and Muslim clergy into a class of civil servants. Turkish and Tatar children, for instance, obtained free education, but the Romanian Ministry of Public Instruction reserved the right to control the school curriculum and include Romanian as the language of instruction in addition to Turkish (article 20). The Muslim Medrese (Seminarul Musulman) from Babadağı (Babadag), the most prestigious Ottoman school in Dobruca prior to 1878, had to function under such restrictions. The purpose of the school was to train *hocas* (teachers) and *imams* (religious leaders) for the local Muslim community, yet its administration and curriculum were closely controlled by the aforementioned ministry (article 21). The Muslim religion was monitored by the state, which undertook

⁶⁴ Dobruca was not included in the revised version of the Romanian Constitution of 1879. The only “organic” law concerning this province was the 1880 law. For this reason Kogălniceanu called it a “Constitution” (Ioan N. Roman, *Dobrogea și drepturile politice*, 25)

⁶⁵ For the text of the law, see *Arhiva Ministerului Român de Afaceri Externe* (AMRAE) (The Archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Paris Collection, Vol. 8, 1–32. For the detailed analysis of this particular law, see Adrian Rădulescu, Ion Bitoleanu, *Istoria Dobrogei* (The History of Dobrogea) (Constanța: Ex Ponto, 1998), 353–55.

the payment of salaries for the religious and administrative personnel functioning in the main mosques of the province (article 17).

This legislation allowed for the establishment of several Muslim cultural associations and newspapers, which constituted real foci of cultural advancement for both Tatars and Turks. Tatar intellectuals like Mehmed Niyazi, Hakkı Hafız Veli, and Müstecib Hacı Fazıl participated habitually in associations which they founded for the purpose of increasing the cultural level of their coreligionists.⁶⁶ Such associations generally published books, newspapers, and journals, but also funded promising Muslim students and organized public lectures to educate the population. The Young Turk activists from the Balkans, who found in Dobruca propitious conditions for their underground movement against Abdülhamid II, also established associations and newspapers while in the region.⁶⁷ Enjoying full support from Romanian officials, Ibrahim Temo, Kırımzade Ali Rıza, Ibrahim Naci, M. Racib, Hüseyin Avni, Mahmud Çelebi, and Vehihullah Çelebi published a number of periodicals up until Abdülhamid II pressured the Romanian authorities to demand their closure.⁶⁸ Some of the Young Turks became the intellectual leaders of Dobruca Muslims thanks to their impressive organizational skills and important contribution to the cultural advancement of the Muslims through education. Ibrahim Temo, for instance, became a teacher at the Muslim medrese in Babadağı (later moved to Mecidiye) and contributed to the establishment in 1911 of the Association of Graduates of the Muslim Seminary (*Mecidiye Müslüman Seminarsı Mezunları Cemiyeti*), the frontrunner of activities advocating the cultural autonomy of Dobruca Muslims.

In spite of providing facilities for Dobruca Muslims in the cultural realm, Romanian officials extended their control over the community through introducing compulsory military service and introducing special regulations for Muslims who emigrated to the Ottoman Empire during and after 1878. The 1880 law stipulated that Muslims should constitute special military units equipped with kitchens whose cooks were instructed to prepare traditional Muslim food. Muslim soldiers could, if they wished, preserve their Ottoman headgear (fez or turban) (article 68).⁶⁹ State officials had also tried to repopulate the Dobruca territory deserted by thousands of people during the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877–78. According to the law, Muslim emigrants could return home and enter into the possession of their belongings (article 73). The return period was established within a framework of three years,

⁶⁶ Tahsin Gemil, "Asociația din România a Junilor Turci," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie "A.D. Xenopol"* VII (1970): 180; M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902–1908* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 152–54.

⁶⁷ Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution*, 152.

⁶⁸ Tahsin Gemil, "Asociația din România," 181–82.

⁶⁹ AMRAE, Paris Collection, Vol. 8, 22.

but the count started retroactively with October 23, 1878. If the emigrants would not return within this timely framework, the state reserved the right to confiscate any belonging they might have left behind.

In terms of the status of Dobruca's immovable property, the law kept intact the Ottoman legislation operating prior to 1878. Specifically, individuals could keep, transfer, and lose property according to the Ottoman law until new Romanian legislation would replace it. The law specified that the Romanian state had the same rights as the Ottoman Empire with regard to landownership (article 11).⁷⁰ The state became thus the owner of the entire cultivable surface, which amounted to little over one million hectares (almost two and a half million acres).⁷¹

This particular law did not grant Dobrucans any political rights. Article 4 stipulated that "a special law will determine the conditions under which Dobrucans will be able to exercise their political rights and buy immovable property in Romania proper. Another law will stipulate the representation of the inhabitants of Dobruca in the Romanian Parliament."⁷² The scope of the law was therefore meant to serve the gradual incorporation of the province into Romania. Dobrucans were practically excluded from the political process and had little input in what was happening at the national level. According to Kogălniceanu, the law "was made for nothing else but for Dobruca to become part of Romania, and its inhabitants to slowly assimilate and become Romanians."⁷³ A sizable body of officials, charged with extensive executive powers, was assigned to implement the legislation (articles 25–35).⁷⁴ But in the early 1880s numerous complaints emphasized the corrupt nature of the work of these officials who used their absolute power to inappropriately enforce the law in the region. Critics overlooked, however, the fact that these administrators enjoyed a similar amount of power as their counterparts in Romania proper. By law, the prefects represented the authority of the Ministry of the Interior at provincial levels, and thus enjoyed the right to supervise and validate the entire administrative work in all Romanian counties (*județe*).⁷⁵ The micromanaging of county affairs was, therefore, a standard practice of the Romanian regime in all provinces, not only in Dobruca.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷¹ In 1880, landowners by *tapu* in Dobruca possessed 208,113 hectares of land, representing 26 percent of the entire surface of cultivable land available in the province which amounted to 785, 734 hectares. The remainder of the surface up to 1,562.362 hectares (total area of Tulcea and Constanța counties) represented bodies of water, forests, swamps, and unfertile land. (Adrian Rădulescu, Ion Bitoleanu, *Istoria Dobrogei*, 357–58).

⁷² AMRAE, Paris Collection, Vol. 8, 2.

⁷³ Ioan N. Roman, *Dobrogea și drepturile politice*, 42.

⁷⁴ AMRAE, Paris Collection, Vol. 8, 8–12.

⁷⁵ Keith Hitchins, *Rumania, 1866–1947*, 95.

The so-called “Constitution of Dobruca” triggered criticism from the Conservative opposition, who argued that Liberal legislators turned Dobrucans into a “herd of slaves” by denying them access to public life.⁷⁶ Conservatives supported the Dobrucans’ acquisition of full constitutional rights rather than their gradual integration in Romanian society. Nothing was mentioned about the striking similarities between the status of Dobrucans and that of the inhabitants of Romania proper. The bulk of the population living in Romania proper, including peasants and the urban working class, was underrepresented in national politics. As Hitchens explained, the voting strength of the peasantry “was diluted by high income qualifications for the ballot,” while the urban workers lacked representation in the Chamber of Deputies. The income requirements for voting, the system of electoral colleges, and government manipulation restricted participation to a very small percent of Romanians in political life.⁷⁷ The national political system “gave the majority of citizens little, if any, experience in managing their own affairs.”⁷⁸

In the following period, Romanian policy makers focused their attention on the agrarian problem. In 1882, Parliament issued the *Law Concerning Immovable Property in Dobruca*, which was meant to replace the 1858 Ottoman Land Code (*Arâzî Kânûnnâmesi*) applied in Dobruca during the Tanzimat period. The Ottoman law granted individuals rights to possess property along the lines of the Hanafi doctrine that distinguished between ownership of the substance (*rakabe*) and ownership of the usufruct (*tasarruf*).⁷⁹ Prior to 1858, the Ottoman land tenure system acknowledged the state’s right to land ownership, the peasant’s right to land cultivation, and the tax farmer’s right to collect revenue.⁸⁰ The Land Code of 1858 eliminated the intermediary role of tax farmers (*mültezims*), thus allowing peasants to pay fees directly to the state.⁸¹ Five categories of land existed in Ottoman Dobruca: *miri* (state property), *mülk* (private property), *vakıf* (lands entrusted to Islamic pious foundations), *metruk* (lands used collectively), and *mevat* (wastelands).⁸² Certain plots, which were converted into orchards or vineyards, located within or near villages, in addition to houses and vegetable gardens, represented *mülk* lands and

⁷⁶ Ioan N. Roman, *Dobrogea și drepturile politice*, 41.

⁷⁷ Keith Hitchens, *Rumania, 1866–1947*, 93.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁷⁹ Anton Minkov, “Ottoman Tapu Title Deeds in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Origin, Typology, and Diplomats,” *Islamic Law and Society*, Vol. 7, 1 (2000): 71.

⁸⁰ Carter Vaughn Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity. A History, 1789–2007* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2010), 55.

⁸¹ Aristachi Bey, *Législation Ottomane ou Recueil des Lois, Réglements, Ordonnances, Traités, Capitulations et Autre Documents Officiels*, vol. 1 (Constantinople, 1873), 61.

⁸² For a detailed presentation of these categories as stipulated in the 1858 Ottoman Land Code, see Aristachi Bey, *Législation Ottomane*, 57–65.

they could be inherited or donated.⁸³ In contrast, *miri* lands belonged to the state. Peasants could cultivate state property in exchange for a fee (“tenth,” *öşür*) or any other taxes requested by state officials. In order to keep their plots, peasants were not allowed to leave the land uncultivated for more than three years. The acquisition of cultivation rights on *miri* lands or possession of *mülk* and *vakıf* properties were certified by title deeds (*tapu*).⁸⁴ The Land Code of 1858 no longer limited the passing of inheritance rights to sons, while other blood relatives of the landowner could inherit cultivation rights on the condition that they paid land taxes.⁸⁵

Through the 1882 property law, Romanian authorities aimed to convert the former *miri* lands into private property. Current or prospective landowners were required to pay the state one-third of the total price of the plot they wished to possess. The amount represented, in the Romanian view, the equivalent of the former Ottoman annual tithe (*öşür*) (article 11).⁸⁶ But Romanian officials tied nationality to landownership by allowing only Romanian citizens to become landowners (article 2). A Romanian citizen could be a former Ottoman subject or an ethnic Romanian from Romania proper or from the diaspora who considered settling in the province for good. One way to provide land for the newcomers was to award plots that formerly belonged to Ottoman citizens who emigrated to the Ottoman Empire. The law warned emigrant landowners who possessed *tapu* lands to return within a period of one year if they still wished to be recognized as proprietors in the province. State lands were divided into lots of three to ten hectares and further allotted to individuals unable to prove land ownership in Dobruca or willing to increase their estate up to ten hectares. A fee of 55 lei (equivalent to 55 francs) per hectare had to be paid in yearly installments of 2 lei. These plots were mostly assigned to peasants seeking to settle in the province as colonists. According to one official from the Romanian Ministry of Agriculture and Public Domains, the law aimed to populate the province with as many ethnic Romanians as possible.⁸⁷ Additional laws issued in 1884, 1888, 1889, 1903, 1910, and 1912 provided facilities in obtaining properties up to 150 hectares to war veterans, army officers, and state officials of Romanian origin.⁸⁸

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 59–60.

⁸⁴ On the function and role of *tapus* in Ottoman society, see the excellent contribution of Anton Minkov, “Ottoman Tapu Title Deeds in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” 65–101.

⁸⁵ Aristachi Bey, *Législation Ottomane*, 100–104.

⁸⁶ Article 11 from the Land Law issued in 1882.

⁸⁷ Toma Ionescu, “Asupra proprietății și colonizărilor din Dobrogea,” in *Dobrogea. Cincizeci de ani de viață românească* (Constanța: Ex Ponto, 2003), 268.

⁸⁸ M. Stanciu and V. Ciorbea, “Aspecte ale problemei agrare în Dobrogea de la sfârșitul sec. XIX și începutul sec. XX,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie “A.D. Xenopol,”* XVII (1980): 411–13.

Through a consistent effort of establishing favorable legislation for prospective colonists of Romanian origin, the government intended to solidify the Romanian character of the national border. Surprisingly enough, there were a few pieces of legislation that undermined these very colonization efforts. The 1889 law, for example, legitimized state confiscation of properties from individuals who missed paying the fees associated with landownership for two consecutive times. The threat of property confiscation was also present in the 1910 law, which stipulated that owners of plots up to 25 hectares could lose their properties if they did not pay the required fees for three consecutive years. These legislative additions disadvantaged the low-income population, but the fatal strike was applied to the emigrants whose properties had been subjected to repeated campaigns of land confiscation in the years following the promulgation of the property law in 1882.

The manner in which Romanian officials dealt with the agrarian problem in Dobruca raised serious concerns within official circles in Istanbul. Ottoman authorities protested against the unfavorable terms stipulated for Dobruca Muslims, especially for those who emigrated to the empire during the devastating war of 1877–78. The drastic regime of land confiscation that Romanian officials initiated after 1882 was virulently condemned in Istanbul.⁸⁹ Indeed, despite the validation in 1882 of title deeds (*tapus*) belonging to former Ottoman subjects for a surface area of 195,738 hectares, Romanian officials launched an intensive program of land confiscation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁹⁰ In 1901, for example, on the basis of the same article, the state confiscated an additional 89,403 hectares that belonged to a total of 8,340 emigrants, most of whom were Muslim.⁹¹ In total, during a period of over two decades (1889–1912), the state confiscated 127,483 hectares, of which 82,127 hectares were further redistributed to ethnic Romanians to ensure the growth of this particular population in the state's eastern frontier.⁹²

⁸⁹ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) (Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives), Hukuk Müşavirliği İstişare Evrakı (HR.HMŞ.İŞO) 164/43 (March 28, 1882); 218/23 (December 31, 1886); 112/25 (October 14, 1908).

⁹⁰ In 1889, for example, a number of 6,265 proprietors of *tapu* lands lost properties due to failure to pay tithe to the state as specified in article 14 of the 1882 law. Toma Ionescu, "Asupra proprietății și colonizărilor din Dobrogea," 266–67.

⁹¹ *Dobrogea Nouă*, January, 28, 1910, 1. In 1910, another 20,823 hectares were confiscated in Constanța County and 8,840 hectares in the Tulcea County, this time on the base of article 26 from the 1910 law. The article specified that Romanian officials were entitled to confiscate properties from landowners who did not yet settle in Dobruca, did not reside on their properties, or preferred to rent instead of laboring the estate personally (Toma Ionescu, "Asupra proprietății și colonizărilor din Dobrogea," 269).

⁹² *Ibid.*, 274. For the break-up of the land surface which was confiscated in this period, see M. Stanciu and V. Ciorbea, "Aspecte ale problemei agrare în Dobrogea," 416.

Due to this policy, more arable land came into the possession of ethnic Romanians. In 1882, Romanians owned only 40,638 hectares from Dobruca's cultivable surface of 175,075 hectares. The Turks and Tatars owned almost 50 percent of it (87,753 ha), while Bulgarians, Russians, and Lipovans together possessed much less than Romanians. In 1900, however, from a total of 609,059 hectares of arable land in Dobruca, Turks and Tatars owned only 49,895 hectares, while Romanians possessed almost ten times more land (429,933 hectares).⁹³ These policies obstructed the natural development of the Muslim community in Dobruca, and this situation created further tensions between the Romanian and Ottoman governments.

Ottoman officials condemned the Romanian regime for eliminating from the 1882 property law the clause entitling emigrants to financial compensation for the loss of their properties. Moreover, the Ottoman government qualified the stipulation for land confiscation present in the law as "a punishment for a crime that emigrants did not commit by choosing to establish their residence outside of Dobruca" and further pledged to protect the rights of Muslims.⁹⁴ The latter commitment was kept. Ottoman officials had indeed conditioned the signing of treaties or conventions with Romania with the reiteration of the importance of fixing the property issue in Dobruca.⁹⁵ Ottoman diplomats requested that Romania should compensate Muslim landowners with an amount of 70 million lei (equivalent to 70 million francs). Even though Muslim landownership had been recognized in Romanian courts and legislation, representatives of the Romanian government deemed impractical the compensation of emigrants with such a large amount, or any amount for that matter.

In addition to the property issue, Ottoman officials criticized Romanian authorities for adopting the date of April 11, 1877 as the deadline for the retroactive application of citizenship and property-related legislation in Dobruca. How could they use this particular date, the Ottomans rightly argued, when the province was still Ottoman in that period? The Ottomans maintained that the claim was contrary to the situation on the ground and could not be taken as a landmark for the granting of citizenship and property rights. Therefore, Romanian authorities were to validate transactions completed by Ottoman Dobrucans until the promulgation of the Treaty of Berlin.⁹⁶

Protests concerning property legislation also emerged from within Romanian official circles. Vasile Kogălniceanu, a former member of Parliament, and Scarlat Vârnav, a former *prefect* of Constanța, decried the arbitrariness of land confiscation.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 415, 418.

⁹⁴ BOA, HR.HMŞ.İŞO 164/43 (March 28, 1882), s. 1.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ BOA, HR.HMŞ.İŞO 164/43 (March 28, 1882), s. 2.

Both officials found it absurd that such an enormous amount of land was taken away from the population. Kogălniceanu blamed it on the corrupt administration that functioned in the province and criticized the existence of an administrative authoritarian regime in Dobruca, where petty functionaries did whatever they wished to enhance their personal revenues. Vârnav likewise condemned the narrow vision of administrators who went so far as to seize properties when owners were not found at home during the process of land inventory.⁹⁷ Despite such protests Romanian legislators continued their activity in the province, contributing in particular to the fields of citizenship rights and economic development.

Harmonizing Provincial with National Legislation (1909–1913)

Following decades of controversy around the issue of whether Dobrucans should receive political rights, Liberal Romanian legislators issued a series of laws that conferred these privileges unevenly. According to the first law from April 19, 1909, only Ottoman citizens who resided in Dobruca until April 11, 1877 and their descendants, as well as ethnic Romanians (regardless of their place of birth, but owners of rural properties in the province) and their descendants would receive full political rights. An additional law issued on April 14, 1910 granted similar rights to individuals who owned urban property. A third law, promulgated on March 3, 1912, this time under the Conservative regime, awarded political rights to a larger array of people. Among the beneficiaries were former Ottoman subjects, ethnic Romanians with or without property, and foreign colonists with rural property.⁹⁸ The only category left out was that of urban non-ethnic Romanians (i.e., Jews, Greeks, and Armenians) who settled in Dobruca after April 11, 1877.

Although the legislation proved to be more inclusive as time passed, many individuals were confused about how they could prove continuous residence in the province prior to the date of April 11, 1877. None of these laws contained specifics about the types of papers that would guarantee the recognition of residence in Dobruca by that particular date. Whenever Ottoman identity papers (*tezkere-i Osmâniyye*) were used to argue continuous residence in the province, Romanian officials rejected them by invoking that Ottomans used the term “subject” rather than “citizen” to define Dobrucans prior to 1878.⁹⁹ The Ottoman Citizenship Law of 1869 defined indi-

⁹⁷ *Dobrogea Jună*, November, 14, 1910, 1.

⁹⁸ The category of former Ottoman subjects included only those individuals who resided in Dobruca by the date of April 11, 1877, and those emigrants who returned from places where they had emigrated during and after the last Russo-Ottoman war at least two years before the time of the promulgation of this particular law (Constantin Hamangiu, *Codul General*, vol. 4 (1910–1912), 936–38).

⁹⁹ *Dobrogea Jună*, January 30, 1911, 1.

viduals living in the Ottoman Empire (except for foreigners or their protégés) as Ottoman subjects (*tebaa-yı Osmâniyye*) by employing the term for “subject” in combination with a dynastic qualifier *Osmanlı*.¹⁰⁰ As Ariel Salzmann argued, this formula was used because “the law merged the principles governing Islamic religious heredity with political affiliation by residence and birth (effectively, *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* via paternal descent).”¹⁰¹ The wrongful interpretation of Ottoman citizenry legislation in Dobruca led to cases when only one member per family received full citizenship rights, while the others did not.¹⁰² Due to numerous protests in the press and at the royal court, King Carol himself urged the president of the committee in charge of the recognition of full citizenship rights to “make as many citizens as possible.” When the president of the committee informed Prime Minister P.P. Carp that seven to eight thousand petitions for full citizenship rights had been rejected, he received the answer that by rejecting so many papers he made as many enemies of Romania.¹⁰³

A closer examination of the first electoral statistics from 1912 points out the insignificant representation of Dobrucans in national politics. Just 12,872 individuals out of a population of 368,189 had received political rights following the application of the above-mentioned legislation.¹⁰⁴ The population of Dobruca could only send eight representatives to the Parliament. This situation was starkly different from the other two Romanian provinces, which together could dispatch over one hundred and fifty representatives. In this way Dobrucans continued to be of peripheral importance in national politics. They seemed to have failed to capture the benevolence of Romanian legislators, who were more interested in maintaining central control in the province rather than empowering its population at the national level. This situation could be explained by the fact that Dobruca was administered by a majority of bureaucrats recruited from outside the province who were mostly looking to enhance their personal fortunes. In addition, Romanian laws had completely changed the composition of the provincial elite body. No longer did Muslim landowners, administrators, military officials, and urban professionals occupy the dominant position in society. A vigorous body of colonists, mostly ethnic Romanians, replaced them after 1878.

¹⁰⁰ Aristachi Bey, *Législation Ottomane ou Recueil des Lois*, 7–8.

¹⁰¹ Ariel Salzmann, “Citizenship in Search of a State: The Limits of Political Participation in the Late Ottoman Empire,” in *Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States*, Michael Hanagan and Charles Tilly, eds. (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1999), 45.

¹⁰² *Dobrogea Jună*, September 1, 1911, 1.

¹⁰³ *Dobrogea Jună*, May 8, 1911, 1.

¹⁰⁴ Constantin Iordachi, “The California of the Romanians,” 143.

Some of the new elites condemned the forceful involvement of central authorities in local affairs. For example, in his 1905 study devoted to Dobrucaan affairs, Transylvanian jurist Ioan N. Roman criticized the exceptional administrative regime in the province that led to numerous abuses and limitations in the role citizens had in local and national affairs. Others, however, supported state efforts to strengthen the Romanian element in Dobruca even further. Bessarabian historian Constantin Brătescu went so far as to suggest the change of names for all geographic entities, which were heavily Turkish and Tatar, with Romanian names.¹⁰⁵ He was hoping that by supporting such an initiative, Romanian authorities would finally erase the “Turkish and barbarian” character of the region.¹⁰⁶ However, due to financial difficulties the government did not fully endorse the translation process, and little progress had been made during the first two decades of the twentieth century in having foreign names translated into Romanian. Lack of government support and local activism left a void that was filled by Romanian elites such as Brătescu who furthered government policy while at the same time serving their own interests.

Incorporation of Southern Dobruca (1913–14)

In August 1913, the Treaty of Bucharest concluded the Second Balkan War and granted Romania the territory of Southern Dobruca with a population of approximately 280,000 individuals and a surface area of 7,780 square kilometers, divided unevenly between the districts of Durostor (headquartered in Silistra) and Kaliacra (headquartered in Dobrici or Bazarcik).¹⁰⁷ According to the treaty, the new frontier between Romania and Bulgaria was established on a continuous line linking Turtucaia in the west with Balçık in the east. The stipulations of the Treaty of Bucharest

¹⁰⁵ Constantin Brătescu, “Populația Dobrogei,” in *Dobrogea, Cincizeci de ani de viață românească, 1878–1928* (Constanța, 2003), 253–57, and “Dobrogea regelui Carol I și colonizările dobrogeni,” *Analele Dobrogei* III (1938): 95.

¹⁰⁶ Constantin Brătescu, “Două probleme dobrogene: colonizare; toponimie,” *Analele Dobrogei* I (1921): 130. With little support from language experts, Brătescu managed to translate some Turkish names into Romanian, while deciding to replace others with the names of Romanian personalities or with the old names of cities or villages during the ancient Greek and Roman periods. For instance, the village of Yeniköy (“New Village,” Ottoman and Turkish) became Mihail Kogălniceanu, while the village of Yenısala (“New Hall”) became Heracleea. The translation of terms was not always accurate, and Brătescu complained about the government’s lack of support in providing language experts to verify the correct spelling of words. Historian Nicolae Iorga found the new names “ridiculous and meaningless” and labeled the entire project as “bizarre.” “Why bizarre?” Brătescu replied, “if we, the inhabitants of Dobruca, desire it; if we feel that it is necessary; if this issue has become a matter of consciousness?” (Constantin Brătescu, “Noile numiri de sate din Dobrogea-Veche,” *Analele Dobrogei* V–VI (1924–25): 202).

¹⁰⁷ Constantin Tudor, *Administrația românească în Cadrilater (1913–1940)* (Călărași: Editura Agora, 2005), 70.

sanctioned the existence of a sizable military and civil administration that Romanians had already established in this territory, which they called New Dobruca (*Dobrogea Nouă*), back in June 28, 1913. In April 1914, Romanian legislators issued the *Law Concerning the Organization of New Dobruca*, the goal of which was to legitimize various practices applied in the past throughout the province as well as to implement new ones. The law contained regulations about the division of the land, the administration of justice, the organization of the army, the rights of the citizens, and the nature of landed property. One important shortcoming, however, was the fact that the nature of this law was similar to that of the legislation implemented in Northern Dobruca after 1878. The law did not aim to fully include the population and the territory into Romania, but to ensure a gradual incorporation into the Romanian nation of the inhabitants of this territory along with their properties and personal loyalties.¹⁰⁸ The population did not obtain full citizenship rights and could not participate in national politics. The law had been amended several times by September 1940, when Southern Dobruca was re-annexed to Bulgaria.

In regard to the Muslim majority living in this territory, the law stipulated the establishment of Islamic courts in Silistra, Turtucaia, Bazarcik, and Balçik. Like in Northern Dobruca, the courts had jurisdiction only over disputes between Muslims regarding marriage, divorce, tutelage, succession, and estate proceedings. Most importantly, according to the law, Muslims could become Romanian citizens if they wished to do so. The law specified that “all Bulgarian citizens, who, on 28 June 1913 resided in the New Dobruca, have become Romanian citizens” (article 3).¹⁰⁹ Those who did not wish to obtain Romanian citizenship should inform the authorities within a period of one year. Very significant was the specification that all inhabitants would enjoy full civic and political rights (article 7). But World War I impeded both the conclusion of the work of the committee granting Romanian citizenship to Southern Dobrucans and the organization of elections at the local level. Neither political meetings nor elections were held locally between 1914 and 1918. Most of the Romanian officialdom was appointed temporarily until people would vote for their own candidates.

The efforts of Romanian officials to regulate the regime of land property failed as well. Despite the fact that the law postulated the creation of local committees in each district of Southern Dobruca to verify the Muslims’ title deeds (*tapus*) and turn them into Romanian titles, these committees were unable to complete the task due to the beginning of World War I. Land ownership of the Romanian state over

¹⁰⁸ D. Stoicescu, “Organizarea Dobrogei Noi și principiile de justiție,” *Analele Dobrogei*, 2 (1938): 169–170.

¹⁰⁹ “Legea pentru organizarea Dobrogei Noi,” *Monitorul Oficial*, nr. 1 bis, 1/14 April 1914.

most of the region was acknowledged during this period, but the population could not receive the recognition of property rights since this would have entailed a process lasting for a year or more.¹¹⁰

The Romanian government made sure to introduce in Southern Dobruca the same model of state-supported education and religion to include Islam as in the northern part of the province. Muslim education and religion were closely controlled by the state. For example, Romanian became the main language of instruction in Muslim schools, as was the case for all educational establishments irrespective of their ethnic or religious background. Turkish schools, as well as their Bulgarian and Armenian counterparts, used both Romanian and either Turkish, Bulgarian, or Armenian on a daily basis.¹¹¹

A significant point of departure from practices implemented in Northern Dobruca was the fact that colonization did not represent a state project in this region. Several hundred peasants emigrated to Southern Dobruca for personal reasons rather than following precise governmental instructions. In the 1920s, some voices argued for the colonization of this territory with Romanian nationals by pointing out the missed opportunity of the government in strengthening the frontier in this part of Romania.¹¹² Due to the imminence of World War I, Romanian authorities in Bucharest argued that they could not find the proper environment to initiate similar nationalizing policies in Southern Dobruca after 1913 as it did in the northern part of the province beginning with 1878. Such efforts would be deemed as failures due to lack of support from both central and local authorities in this part of Romania.

Conclusion

The nationalization of the Muslims of Dobruca by the young nation-state of Romania and the impact of this process on the two ethnic groups (Turkish and Tatar) under study provide important insights into the issue of national minority integration into “incomplete” societies caught in a nation-building project. Romanian nationalizing policies aimed at integrating the Muslims administratively, socially, and culturally as a result of the implementation of the Treaty of Berlin, but also verged on assimilation and ultimately nationalization. The colonization of Northern Dobruca with Romanian nationals, in conjunction with citizenship and property legislation, may be seen as measures to achieve complete nationalization. Complete political integration was left aside for decades after the annexation, however, which

¹¹⁰ Constantin Tudor, *Administrația românească în Cadrilater*, 95–96.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹¹² I.N. Roman, “Drepturi ce trebuiesc valorate,” *Analele Dobrogei* 2 (1921): 162–164.

resulted in the exclusion of minorities in the policy-making process and their withdrawal from the cultural sphere. Nevertheless, the laws that granted the Muslims citizenship, freedom of religion, free education, and land ownership showed certain benevolence towards the minorities but did still allow for abuses, occurring mainly at the local level. The hardship of nationalization (or Romanianization) was reflected in the dramatic drop in the number of Muslim population of Dobruca, from 60 percent in 1878 to 11 percent in 1913.

In order to avoid social fragmentation and assure national cohesion, the Romanian government invested efforts aimed at preserving of the cultural life of the two minorities. In addition, it allowed for the establishment of schools, newspapers, and cultural associations in their native languages. To a certain extent, the government allowed for the involvement of the Young Turk activists from the Balkan area in the cultural progress of Dobruca's Muslim population. However, the support of the Romanian government and Muslim elites for ethnocultural transformation did not prevent large numbers of Muslims from departing to the Ottoman Empire during and after the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877–78.

The Hephthalites Disappeared or Not?

Aydogdy Kurbanov

Introduction

Central Asia and neighbouring countries have very old and rich history. A poorly studied and complex period of that region is Early Medieval time (4th–6th centuries AD). During that time, took place the “Great Movement of Peoples”, a migration of nomadic peoples (Huns) from Asia to Europe. In the South and Central Asia existed great empires, including Sasanian Iran, Gupta India and several smaller states. Across Central Asia, appeared mysterious new peoples: Hephthalites, Kidarites and Chionites, among others. Their origin is still debated. Some scholars suggest that they were a part of a Hunnic confederation, while others propose that each of them had different origin.

On the Central Asian historical stage, of the new peoples the biggest impact was made by Hephthalites (also known in Byzantine sources as *White Huns* – the name they used themselves is unknown). They are important in the development of the Turkic and later Islamic character of the Central Asia – though primary sources are lacking. In the 5th–6th centuries AD, Hephthalites founded a great empire in the territories of the modern states of Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and China. They dominated that region and political history for two centuries. The Hephthalites repeatedly defeated the Sasanian Iran, a most powerful empire of the period. Besides that, they overthrew the Gupta Empire in India, and conquered a large part of that area. A true study of the Hephthalites must include both archaeology and historical analysis of written sources. Such a study, incorporating modern data on the archaeology of the Hephthalite sites from Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and Central Asian republics with the historical data from written sources, has not been done. This work is intended as a contribution to historical understanding of that aspect in the specific character of the modern Central Asia.

Research History

Generally, the early research on the Hephthalites was based only on written sources. For the first time, Hephthalites were mentioned in AD 361 at a siege of Edessa (modern Urfa in south-eastern Turkey).¹

The Hephthalites are mentioned in the sources under different names, depending on one or another aspect of their name in different languages:

- Armenian – *Hephthal*, *Hep't'al*, *Tetal*, but Armenian sources also identify them with the *Kushans*.
- Greek – *Εφθαλιται* (Hephthalites), *Αβδελαι* (Abdel/Avdel), or *White Huns*.
- Syriac – *Ephthalita*, *Tedal*.
- Middle Persian – *Hephtal* and *Hephtel*; the Zoroastrian source “Bundahišn” calls them – *Hēvtāls*.
- Indian – *Hūna*.
- Bactrian – *ηβοδαλο* (*ebodalo*).
- In Chinese sources the Hephthalites appear as *Ye-da*, *Ye-dien*, *Idi*, *Ye-ta-i-lito*
- Arabic – *Haital*, *Hetal*, *Heithal*, *Haiethal*, *Heyâthelites*.² In Arabic sources the Hephthalites, though they are mentioned as *Haitals*, are sometimes also referred to as *Turks*.

In the 4th–6th centuries AD, the territory of Central Asia included at least four major political entities, among them Kushans, Chionites, Kidarites, and Hephthalites. Discussions about the origins of these peoples still continue. Suggestions vary from the Hephthalites being a part of the Hunnic confederation to other different origins. It is also uncertain whether Hephthalites, Kidarites, and Chionites had a common or different origin – that is, are they three branches of the same ethnic group or are they culturally, linguistically, or genetically distinct from one another?

This is explained by the fact that the written sources referring to that period are very scanty and fragmentary in nature. The archaeological material is also very limited and the dating is often approximate and inexact. The numismatic discoveries in some measure reveal interesting aspects of the history, particularly about monetary circulation. But, in spite of the aforesaid, the collection of available facts allows reconstruction of a more or less clear picture of the political and socio-economic

¹ Altheim 1960-II, 258; Other researchers give another date – AD 384: Гумилев 1959, 129; Ртвеладзе 1999, 271.

² According to Z. Togan, the name of the Hephthalites in the first period of Arabic-Persian sources should be *Haital* instead of the name *Haytal*, because the letter *b* in the Arabic script was wrongly written sometimes as *y* due to the similarity of the former. Togan 1985, 59.

life of that region. This is primarily due to the limited number of sources, which are sometimes too contradictory to be harmonized. The literary evidence is not decisive, since reports by the Chinese pilgrims and records by Indian authors are at times ambiguous; and the statements of the Roman and Greek historians, who hardly knew how to deal with the various Hunnic people of the remote eastern lands, are vague. In the absence of authentic evidence, the coins issued by the leaders of those people constitute one of the most reliable primary sources for the history of the Hephthalites. It must be emphasized that our knowledge of these Central Asian nomads is, to a certain extent, still vague; and the hypotheses on their history remains controversial.

After collapse of their own state, Hephthalites were probably assimilated by other peoples, but they have left traces in some modern peoples of Central Asia. It is considered that Karluks, Khalachs, Abdals and Rajputs are descendants of the Hephthalites or are related with them.

Karlucs

According to the report of Muhammad ibn Najib Bakran (13th century AD), author of “Jakhan-name“, those Karlucs who resettled in the region of Zabulistan and Gazni (Ghazni) were later identified as Khalach.³ V. Minorsky suggests that the Karlucs were called Khalach because of close graphic of their names in Arabic.⁴

In the opinion of Z. Validi, for the first time on a historical arena Karlucs appeared in Tokharistan, in Badakhshan, as a part of the Hephthalites.⁵ According to Abu Said Gardezi (11th century AD) the relations between Karlucs and Hephthalites were friendly.⁶

Khalachs

Al-Khorezmi wrote: “Al-Hayātila are a tribal group (ğīl min al-nās) who were formerly powerful and ruled over Tuxaristan; the Xalağ and Kaṅğīna Turks are remnants of them”. Kaṅğīna was one of Saka tribes, which later became part of the Hephthalites. Ptolomey also mentioned the Saka tribe Kōmēdoi.⁷

³ Ghirshman 1948, 106.

⁴ Hudud al-Alam 1980, 348.

⁵ Кармышева 1976, 186.

⁶ Литвинский/Соловьев 1985, 145.

⁷ Bosworth/Clauson 1965, 6–8; Alam and Lo Muzio (2006, 134–135) give samples of two bronze coins (one from a private collection and the other one from the Bibliothèque National de France) with Bactrian legend that could be restored as *xalasgano* or *xalassano* and which could be coins of the Khalachs. These coins have very close stylistic links to the Hephthalite silver imitations of Peroz coins which circulated in Tokharistan and are chronologically not very distinct from each other (6th century AD), so Al-Khorezmi may be right in his statement.

Khalachs are mentioned in connection with the campaigns of Yakub ibn Saffar against Zabul in the second half of the 9th century AD. Istakhri mentioned the Khalachs in the Kabul area. Yakut says: "The Khalachs are a kind of Turks. They came to the land in ancient times. They are owners of the land and Turkish in appearance, dress and language".⁸ According to Frye and Sayili the Khalachs were descendants of the Hephthalites and have Turkic origin.⁹ Bivar writes: "A tribal element with a claim to Hephthalite descent was the medieval *Ḳalaj* (q.v.). There are indications that sections of this group were originally Turkish-speaking, though federated in the earlier Middle Ages with Pashto-speaking tribes."¹⁰ Contrary to this, some researchers think that Khalachs were Turks who moved westwards before the collapse of the Hephthalite state in the third quarter of the 6th century AD.¹¹

In the Persian anonymous source "*Hudud al-Alam*" (10th century AD) we find the information that the Khalachs lived on the area of Gazni and were Turks. It is also possible to meet Khalachs in the areas of Balkh, Tokharistan, Bust and Guzgan.¹² One branch of the Khalachs established their rule in Kabul and Zabulistan in the later half of the 7th century AD and continued to rule there until the 9th century AD.¹³ Thereafter the Khalachs changed ethnically and became one of the Afghan tribes named Ghilzai.¹⁴

Jelal-ad Din Firuz from the Khalachs took power in the Delhi sultanate in 1290 and established a dynasty of Khalachs. Another Khalach dynasty ruled in Central India (Malwa) in 1436–1531. The Lodi dynasty in the Delhi sultanate (1451–1526) originated from the Khalachs.¹⁵ It should be noted that Khalachs cannot be found among the Turkmen tribes, but in Iran and Turkey.¹⁶

Sims-Williams gives information that in one of the Bactrian documents, in a sale contract dated AD 678, there is a name of Khalach, slave-boy. This is for now one of the first mentions of the Khalachs. In other document, dated AD 710, a princess Khalas is mentioned. According to Sims-Williams these facts do not support the theory that Khalachs were actually the last descendants of the Hephthalites.¹⁷

⁸ Frye/Sayili 1943, 206.

⁹ Frye/Sayili 1943, 207.

¹⁰ Bivar 2003, 200.

¹¹ Verardi/Paparatti 2004, 99.

¹² *Hudud al-Alam* 1980, 111; Vogelsang 2002, 186–187.

¹³ Inaba 2004, 108.

¹⁴ Minorsky 1940, 433; Bosworth/Doerfer 1978, 917.

¹⁵ Minorsky 1940, 433.

¹⁶ Bivar 1983, 216–217.

¹⁷ Sims-Williams 1997, 20; Симс-Вильямс 1997, 9; Sims-Williams 2002, 234–235.

From the 10th century AD onwards the Khalachs were mentioned in the area south of the Amudarya, especially in northern India and the eastern section of the Iranian plateau.¹⁸

Abdals

Many researchers see the descendants of the Hephthalites in the Turkmen tribe Abdal. G. Vasileva thinks that some names of Turkmen tribes indicate that such names as Abdals, Yazyr, Olam indicate that pre-Oghuz people, like the Hephthalites and others, took part in the ethnogenesis of the Turkmen.¹⁹

The Abdals were included in the medieval Chowdur association, but occupy an isolated position within his and do not link with the other subdivisions.²⁰

Few Abdals remained on the territory of Turkmenistan, a large part of them now living in the Astrakhan area of the Russian Federation, where they were be resettled together with a part of the Chowdurs from north-eastern Pricaspia in the second half of the 17th century because of oppressions of the Kalmyks and the Khiva khan. This process lasted until the first half of the 18th century. In 1802–1803 some Turkmen tribes, amongst which the Abdals, were resettled in Astrakhan province. Later, in 1813 in Astrakhan another 606 Turkmen-Abdals arrived. The Russian emperor Alexander I gave the Turkmen-Abdals of Mangyshlak a document accepting them in citizenship of the Russian empire. Astrakhan Turkmen-Abdals subdivided into Kurban, Menglikhoja, Ogry and Burunjik. Besides this, Abdals entered in the composition of the Stavropol Turkmen-Soinaj.²¹ A sort of Abdals exists in composition of other Turkmen tribes: Saryk, Ata and Ersary.²² Some Turkmen-Abdals live in the Manghistau region of Kazakhstan.²³

According to V. Vostrov and M. Mukanov: “It is probably that Kazakh and Turkmen Abdals are the remainders of the Hephtal (the Hephthalites), split on two parts, from which one entered the Turkmens, and then through Turkmens the Kazakhs”.²⁴

Some Abdal elements can also be found in the composition of Bashkirs, Uzbek-Lokays, Azerbaijanians and Turks. In Eastern Turkestan we find further Abdals, known

¹⁸ Inaba 2005, 16.

¹⁹ Васильева 1964, 2.

²⁰ Джикиев 1963, 197–198.

²¹ Курбанов 1993, 159–160; Курбанов 1995, 28–29, 33, 35–38.

²² Джикиев 1991, 275; Атаниязов 1994, 112.

²³ Аманиязов 2004, 16.

²⁴ Атаниязов 1988, 11.

under name “Adana – Abdallar”.²⁵ Amongst the Bulgarian tribes formed on the Volga (the state of Volga Bulgars) Savirs, Avars and Abdals are mentioned.²⁶

The Hephthalites may also have participated in the origin of the Afghans. The Afghan tribe Abdal is one of the big tribes that has lived there for centuries. Renaming the Abdals to Durrani occurred in 1747, when descendants from the Sadozai branch Zirak of this tribe, Ahmad-khan Abdali, became the shah of Afghanistan. In 1747 the tribe changed its name to “Durrani” when Ahmad-khan became the first king of Afghanistan and accepted the title “Dur-i-Duran” (the pearl of pearls, from Arabian: “durr” – pearl).

During the rebellion in northern Iran in 1814 of the Astrabad governor Muhammed Zaman-khan, Abdal-Meliks cavalry participated in the composition of the governmental troops. The Abdal-Meliks were originally in Dereghez (north-eastern Iran) and were then resettled in Shiraz, from where, after a string of new transmigrations, in 1855 they were definitively settled on the shore of the Caspian Sea between mouth of the river Nika and the peninsula Miyan-qala. In 1883–1884 the Abdal-Meliks dwelt together with the Lur tribe of Khojavends in Kudjur.²⁷

Rajputs

Together with the Hephthalites in India, the Gujars also appeared²⁸, who were settled in Punjab, Sind and Rajputan, but a part of them afterwards moved into Malwa, an area later named after them – Gujarat.²⁹

As a result of the merging of the Hephthalites and the Gujars with population from northwestern India, the Rajputs (from Sanskrit “rajputra” – “son of the rajah”) formed. According to the Rajput tradition, the Hunas were included as one of the 36 Rajput clans.³⁰ One of the Rajput clans still keeps the name “Hun”.³¹

In the 8th century AD the Rajputs moved into the rich area of the Ganges valley and Central India and created the large state under the name Gurjara-Pratihara. The Rajput rulers of the Tomars in AD 736 built the city Dhillika (modern Delhi) as capital of their state.³² These conquests have transformed them to one of the decisive factors of the politics in India from the 8th century AD on. The Rajputs, during

²⁵ Карпов 1939, Manuscript of the Central scientific library of Turkmenistan.

²⁶ Гундогдыев 1998, 105.

²⁷ Карпов 1939, Manuscript of the Central scientific library of Turkmenistan.

²⁸ McGovern 1939, 418–419.

²⁹ Bivar 2003, 200; According to Bivar (2003, 200) the Gujars are ancestral also to the Gujar pastoralists who today frequent the higher elevations of the North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir; Smith (1909, 61) notes that coins in 6th century of the Hephthalites and the Gujars were close each other.

³⁰ Banerji 1962, 57–58.

³¹ Литвинский 1996, 165.

³² Smith 1907, 927–928; Медведев 1990, 134.

several centuries, remained in India as an united ethnic unit. In spite of the fact that Rajputs have adopted the religion (though special importance is added Sun) and language of local people, they were able to preserve their mentality and military customs. The Rajputs noticeably differ from their neighbours by nature, according special value to soldierly valor.

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The Tatars in the Collective Memory of the Szekely Inhabitants of the Sic Settlement, Transylvania¹

Laura-Adina Fodor

In a multicultural environment such as Transylvania where identities and otherness have been shaped by the interethnic contacts and relations, a new minority pinned on its map makes little difference. However, when a minority constructs or emphasizes its identity in relation to a rather brief interaction of their predecessors with another identity, the subject starts to raise interest. This is the case for the Protestant community of the village of Sic, Cluj County, Romania, which suffered a deplorable invasion by the Tatars in 1717 that left deep marks in the collective memory of this event. The marks resulted in the building or altering of the identity and fortification of its unity. According to the latest census², there is no Tatar minority in Sic, the 10 Tatar people of the Cluj County being concentrated in Cluj-Napoca. However, the Tatars have a strong presence in the collective memory of the inhabitants. The present study focuses on presenting the commemoration of the 1717 invasion and the identity elements appropriated or displayed as a consequence of this violent contact, elements that range from changes in the popular costume of the inhabitants to the insertion of religious customs belonging to other confessions.

Historical context

After the five Russo-Turkish wars that had taken place between 1568 and 1711 and the restrictive treaties that the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate had to sign in 1681 (the Treaty of Bakhchisaray), 1699 (the Treaty of Karlowitz), 1700

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² The 2011 Census of the Population and Households, <http://www.recensamantromania.ro/rezultate-2/>, *Rezultate definitive_RPL_2011, Tab8. Populația stabilă după etnie – județe, municipii, orașe, comune*, accessed on 20 August 2013, at 22:10.

(the Treaty of Istambul) slightly appeased by the more advantageous one signed in 1711 (the Treaty of Pruth), the Ottomans and their Tatar allies were heading for the Austro-Ottoman and Venetian-Ottoman confrontations. It is in the midst of the 1716–1718 war between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, which was to end with the Ottoman defeat sealed by the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, that the events we focus upon will occur. The attack we shall discuss is partly caused by the Ottoman attempt to crush the Habsburg opponents through and with the help of its allies. The Crimean Khanate impoverished by the Karlowitz Treaty that forbade the raids in the Polish and Russian territories and seriously unprofitable transactions for the slaves already in their possession coming from the mentioned territories. This rendered the Crimean Tatars more dependent on the Porte and forced them to focus on new areas to pillage. According to the report of the French consul in Gdank, the Tatars who had participated in the trotting of the Austrians from Wallachia, in March 1717, the Tatars had enslaved 17,000 [sic!] people from theis Romanian principality³. Furthermore, the Ottoman Empire had had a reliable ally in the Moldavian prince Mihai Racoviță (1703–1705; 1707–1709; 1715–1726) who had managed to crush the pro-Habsburg groups in Moldova and particularly Transylvania during the 1717 raid, with the Tatar help and also in the Wallachian one, Nicolae Mavrocordat (January–November 1716; 1719–1730), also the first in the longue line of Fanariot rulers in Moldavia in 1711, after the Ottoman victory in Stăniliești. Racoviță, particularly appointed by the Porte for his deemed hatred against the Austrians, was in good relations with the Crimean Khanate and the Nogay Tatars.

In the second decade of the 18th century in Transylvania, wars and invasions were amplified by thwarting natural phenomena such as floods that alternated with periods of severe draught, locust invasion or epizooties that would intensify the hunger of the Transylvanian inhabitants. Additionally, the plague would ravage Eastern Europe along the 14th–19th centuries, also hitting between 1717 and 1720, reiterated by the Austro-Ottoman war of 1716–1718. The epidemics would affect “a considerable part of the inhabitants of the Cluj, Turda, Dăbâca, and Solnic counties”⁴.

The political games and natural disasters above would result into a string feeling of fear and restlessness that was to cause severe population decreases. The latter were a consequence of either variously triggered deceases or the depopulation though the migration into the neighbouring principalities or the kidnapping.

³ Apud T. Nicoară, *Sentimentul de insecuritate în societatea românească la începutul timpurilor moderne: 1600–1830*, Cluj-Napoca, 2006, p. 487.

⁴ Paul Binder, *Epidemiile de ciumă din Transilvania în secolul al XVII-lea (1622–1677)*, București, 1984, p. 176.

Multiculturalism and collective memory in the 18th century Transylvania

In his study on the Tatar invasion of 1717 in the Rodna Mountains, Virgil Șotropa stated that the interethnic conflicts had been so acute that the Romanians had even set the Tatars on the Saxons, furthermore driving the plunderers through the forests so that they could pillage the riches hidden there⁵. A utopian model for such inter-ethnic interaction is presented in the *Cronographia Moldaviae* written by Giorg Reichersdorf, Ambassador to the court of Petru Rareș, a report that revealed alongside a large number of religious denominations a high degree of religious tolerance among the authorities: “*Ruthenians, Poles, Serbians, Armenians, Bulgarians, and Tatars and even Saxons from Transylvania live here and there under the sceptre of the Moldavian Prince and they all, without any persecution, follow the customs and doctrines of their own religions, each with their secte or kin.*”⁶ This has hardly ever been the model for the western Romanian principality of Transylvania where religious conflicts have always been present in the quest for identity. However, in the Reformed church of Sic, a sum of the religious symbols of the community can be found: the eight-star Calvin cross, the Roman-Catholic cross and the orthodox cross⁷, in what is perhaps an unspoken acceptance of the other confessions.

The inhabitants of Sic or even people who had scientific interest in the region claim no conflicts were registered, an example given as proof was the fact that in 1940 when parts of Transylvania were ceded to Hungary after the Dictate of Vienna, only two Romanian families decided to move out of the village thus not deeming ethnical persecution or intolerance⁸. Nevertheless there are rumours that the inhabitants of the village could not even marry people from a different street from 15th century and onwards. These three streets in which Sic is divided, Felszeg, Forrószeg and Csipkeszeg, each had their own traditions, as if they were completely distinct settlements. The explanation may lie in the post-Tatar invasion need for repopulation of the town. As the salt mine still needed to be exploited, the baron of Transylvania decided to follow the Roman model of settling an area and repopulate the Sic town

⁵ Virgil Șotropa, „Tătarii în Valea Rodnei”, in *Arhiva Someșană*, nr. 28, Năsăud, 1940, p. 41, „*că Românii ar fi asmuțat pe Tătari împotriva Sașilor, ba chiar i-ar fi și condus în pădurile ledenilor, ca să le jăfuiască avutul și odoarele ascunse aci*” (that the Romanians would stir the Tatars against the Saxons even leading them into their forests so that they could spoil the riches and valuables things the Saxons had hidden there).

⁶ Giorg Reichersdorf *apud* Dimitrie Braharu, „Chestiunea română în Italia” în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională*, Tipografia „Cartea Românească din Cluj”, Sibiu, 1944, p. 90.

⁷ Szabó Márton, *Szék község monográfiája: néprajz és néphagyomány*, Stúdium, Kolozsvár, 2010, p. 15;

⁸ Interview with Dr. Szabó Márton, author of the most recent Sic monography, 13 August 2013.

with Szekelies brought from Hungary of other parts of the Romanian principality or Romanians. Each community was settled in different areas of the town. The orthodox Romanians, for example, went to the south-east part of the town, in the region called Jeler.

According to what is the most recent study in the area, the commune now has 2,459 inhabitants of Hungarian ethnicity, 88 Romanian inhabitants and 10 gipsies⁹. In a Hungarian dominated Transylvania, the town had a rather similar ethnical constituency in 1717 when the Tatar pillaging takes place. In 1850, of a total of 3,321 inhabitants 2,576 were Hungarian and 652 Romanian¹⁰.

Saint Bartholomew in Sic

Brief history of the Sic settlement

Sic or Szék as we can find it in documents was an autonomous royal town in the principality of Transylvania. The first written document mentioning the settlement of Sic (*Zeek*) dates back to 1291, but it must have existed long before that as the town appears in studies on ancient history due to its salt mine which was exploited ever since the Roman domination on the Dacian territory. Given the salt mine and the labour force necessary, as well as the implicit development, the settlement continues as a town until 1884, when it is demoted to the status of commune after the decrease caused by the mine's closing in 1812.

The reformed church of Sic played an important role not only in the 1717 Tatar invasion as we shall see but in the history of the settlement. During the Protestant reformation launched by Martin Luther at the beginning of the 16th century, the Roman-Catholic community of Sic chose to adopt the Reformed-Calvinist confession. What is more, in 1555 an important Protestant synod was held in Sic and the church was even repeatedly a siege of the Protestant bishopric of Transylvania. The church construction was begun in 1241 coincidentally during the first resounding Tatar invasion in Eastern Europe and its construction lasted fifty-two years raising questions on the time necessary for building it as the church was a Cistercian model, without a steeple. It has been destroyed or damaged during the numerous invasions in the rich town and hence rebuilt or refurbished until 1770 when the painted ceiling was accomplished. New elements had been added with each renovation.

⁹ According to the census carried out by the National Statistics Institute, the 2011 Census of the Population and Households, <http://www.recensamanromania.ro/rezultate-2/>, *Rezultate definitive RPL_2011, Tab8. Populația stabilă după etnie – județe, municipii, orașe, comune*, accessed on 20 August 2013, at 22:10.

¹⁰ According to the census statistics on mother tongue and nationality made by Varga E., *Erdélyi etnikai és felekezeti statisztikája (1850–1992)*, <http://varga.adatbank.transindex.ro/?pg=3&action=etnik&id=5798>, accessed on 30 August 2013, at 10:48.

The Tatar invasion of Sic in 1717. Reasons and deployment

Since salt mining and its royal town privileges made Sic a rich and fairly well known settlement, it is hardly surprising that it has been invaded numerous times and even burnt or depopulated. In 1667, the troops of Kőkényesdi György invaded and burnt the town. Recorded under the name *Funesta tragedia*, the Szekely territories will imprint in their memory another painful moment in 1694 when out of 1,000 people in the Ciuc settlement only 7 people remained alive or the last memorable attack of 1717.¹¹ One decade later, it was again the pillaged by the Austrians led by General Heissler who was battling the Transylvanians allied with the Wallachians. In 1705, during Rákóczi's War of Independence (1703–1711) the *kuruc* and *labanc* troops invade and plunder the town, taking even the religious containers in the church, later on recovered by the inhabitants.¹²

In 1717, continuing to endorse Racoviță in his Ottoman requested yet unachieved mission to support the mutiny of Francisc Rákoczy against the Habsburgs, and mostly as they were unhappy with the poor booty they obtained in a Moldavia impoverished by the disastrous natural phenomena of that year¹³, the invaders continue their incursion into Maramureș, whence they continue descending along the Someș River, taking on the Roman road from the Oituz Straits. Testimonies say that the Tatars entered Sic along the Someș valley, determining the people in the north to run for the church placed in the centre of the town, as those in the south headed for Vama Căian. The people surprised in church were either killed or taken prisoners, while those fleeing south were followed, confronted and defeated on the field near Sărmaș. The rest probably remained hidden in the woods until they felt safe to come out weeks later, as testimonies claim. The number of the people taken into slavery was as high as 700 (again according the testimonies). Since there are no registers left or documents that can testify for this number¹⁴, this number may

¹¹ Margareta Aslan, „Percepția elementului turco-tătar în manuscrisul lui Nagy Szabó Ferencz” and „Nagy Szabó Ferencz” in *Elzaymasında Tatarların Algınaması*” in T. Gemil and N. Pienaru (eds.), *Moștenirea istorică a tătarilor*, vol. II, Editura Academiei Române, 2012, pp. 604-605 and 624-625.

¹² Náđai Aina, Sándor László Zoltán, *Szék Város Rövid Története. Birtalan*, 2002, [*unpublished document belonging to the Reformed parish of Sic*], p. 7.

¹³ In the chronicle attributed to Amiras, we can find information on Moldova's catastrophic state in 1717: „*fost-au multe ploii și adesă cât într-acei an nice pânele nu s-au făcut, nice mălaiu, nice poamă de vie nu s-au făcut de răcele ce-au fost toată vara; numai pâne și fân și ordzu s-au făcut și puțină miare iară alte poame nemica nu s-au făcut.*” [there were many rainfalls that year, so that the bread could not be made, the corn did not grow, nor the vines because of the cold weather that summer; only little bread, and hay and barley grew and some honey, but no other crop; our translation], *Cronica anonimă a Moldovei 1661–1729 (Pseudo-Amiras)*, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, București, 1975, p. 74.

¹⁴ The church archives had been destroyed repeatedly during the various invasions in the 18th and subsequent centuries, according to the pastor Sallai Márton, interviewed on 12 August 2013, 12.00.

have represented the amount reached also after some of the numerous invasions in the area in the 17th–18th century, such as 1664 or 1705. If we add the victims of the plague that infested the area to what remained known as the Tatar invasion, the town will only count 100 inhabitants, probably most of them cripple or too old to serve as merchandise for the invaders. Given the economic importance of the town where salt was exploited¹⁵, following the pattern of 1242 when nowadays Hungary and Transylvania were devastated by the invasion of the Golden Horde, the baron of Bonțida decides to resettle the town with Szekelies and Saxons from Hungary who were to continue the mining activities. Orthodox Romanians were also brought and placed in the south-eastern part of the town, an area that remained known under the name of Ujváros or Jeler¹⁶. Ujváros meant “new town” in Hungarian and *jeler* (*zsellér*, Hungarian) represented a free peasant that had no or very little land and would work the fiefs of the noblemen.

Ever since 1715 when the Tatars were in Khotin as part of the Ottoman army that had come to win the fortress, the Transylvanians start being concerned by a possible new attack. Therefore, the Baron George Heller voices his concerns in 1716 to the mayor of Bistrița so that the civil governor of Transylvania, the Baron Sigismund Kornis de Goncz-Ruszká (1713–1731) will order a stricter guarding at the straits¹⁷. Apparently there was more at stake than the merely habitual pillaging raids that the Tatars would start wherever they were camped. The larger venture was envisaged where the Tatars were to attack together with the Moldavians and the partisans of the former Transylvanian prince and Habsburg opponent Francis Rákóczy II. The army that was to attack Transylvania was composed of 9,000 Tatars of the khan, 700 people led by the Hungarian outcast Colceag aga and 3,700 Moldavians who had their own ruler to lead them, voivode Mihai Racoviță. To this there was another troop added, that of approximately 300 Zaporozian Cossacks. On 17 August they pass the Moldavian frontier and attack Rodna then moving along the Someș valley through Rebrîșoara and Năsăud as they were heading for the fortress of Bistrița.¹⁸ Since they did so, villages were burnt down and people enslaved. This was also part of the Tatar agreement with the Moldavian ruler, since the latter could not pay them for their support, he decided to let them plunder the lands owned by the noblemen and capitalize the booty thus acquired. The Tatars were in fact following the ancient salt road built by the Romans that went from the Blue Salt Mine situated east of Sic until Beclean. The road was meant to reach Bistrița but it had

¹⁵ The salt mine had been exploited since the Roman times until 1812 when the exploitation was abandoned because of salt impurity.

¹⁶ Márton Szabo, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁷ Virgil Șotropa, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁸ Toader Nicoară, *op.cit.*, p. 488.

its construction had been stopped at Beclean¹⁹. Therefore, the Tatars enter the town through its north side. Although the general impression is that the inhabitants had been surprised in the protestant church²⁰, the day of Saint Bartholomew (or Bertalan/Bartal as he is called in the Hungarian protestant calendar) is and was not, in fact, celebrated *per se* with the classical duties of a protestant believer (such as attending the mess). Therefore, the inhabitants in the northern part of the town surprised in the field, in their households or elsewhere would run for the town centre hoping to safely reach the church. Apart from the divine protection and the fear appeasement they sought there, the people of Sic were aiming at reaching the legendary tunnel believed to link the church to the fortress. In 1242, after the first passage of the Tatars on the Transylvanian territory, the construction of the nowadays reformed church had begun. It was started as a Roman-Catholic church according to the then prevailing religion of the Hungarian kingdom. The construction of this Cistercian church with no steeple lasted 52 years, the folklore stating that such a long time for church with no steeple was caused by the building of this secret tunnel which was supposed to link the church to the fortress thus providing a safe hidden passage in the case of a new barbarian invasion. The fortress had been erected in 1001 by Saint Stephen and called Szék. The multiple reconstructions mentioned above were accompanied by diggings, none of which revealed any argument for the existence of this tunnel, the very existence of this fortress being questioned nowadays.

In 1758, upon the new invasion of the Budjak Tatars who had allied with the Crimean khan Kırım Ghirai(1758–1764) and pillaged the Moldavia ruled by Scarlat Ghica (1757–1758) because the latter had refused to pay the exaggerated tributary requests of the Crimeans, a new rumour is launched about a heathen invasion in Transylvania. To the local authorities of the now only formally Transylvanian principality, who had taken in their opinion all the necessary precautions after the 1717 invasion, this constant fear and impulse of the inhabitants to gather their belongings and flee was incomprehensible²¹.

The Tatars in the collective memory of the Sic inhabitants. Case study

Traditions

We recall here in just a few lines the fact that Saint Bartolomew's name is not linked for the first time to such bloody inter-religious conflicts. On the night preceding

¹⁹ Márton Szabo, *op.cit.*, *passim*;

²⁰ In order to accentuate the dramatic effect of this event, both the oral tradition and the authors writing on this event deemed the invading troops surprised the inhabitants while they were gathered in the church for a religious service.

²¹ Toader Nicoară, *op.cit.*, p. 489.

this saint's day, 23/24 August 1572, in the capital of France, there is the climax of the Catholic persecution on the French Huguenots (Calvinist Protestants), resulting in a massacre of thousands. As any other historical confrontation, this event will be imprinted distinctly in the collective memory. For instance, Saint Bartholomew's night was celebrated annually in Dreux until 1787 as a glorious day by the Catholic victors.

In Sic, if we consider the actors involved, the opposition is not eminently one based on the Christian-heathen dichotomy but on the one of invader-invaded. Yet, if we attempt to abide by the rule of writing history from the perspective of the analysed society and not of the one contemporary to the historian analyzing it²², we can unconditionally consider this event a religious one to the same extent. The Tatars were considered by the 17th century inhabitants of Transylvania as heathen *par excellence*, not merely as invaders, the latter being attributed to the Austrians, Hungarians, or any other nation that invaded the principality.

Up until 2011, the event was considered an occasion for celebrating and gathered important personalities of the area and of the Romanian political arena, the local authorities encouraging as much as possible a large participation of foreigners so that they could learn about the local traditions and customs. Starting with 2012, subsequent to the intimation of the elders and the decision of the Local Council and the Protestant Parish of Sic, Saint Bartholomew's day became once more a commemoration, being the only day when the people of Sic preserve the promise to fast made by those who survived the shattering invasion²³.

The annual commemoration was sworn immediately after the slaughter but its custom was settled in 1759, when subsequent to a rumour that was circulating in the end of 1758 about a new possible Tatar invasion, the inhabitants decide to undertake again the fast and prayer promised in order to avoid the scarring rewriting of such events. The service is officiated in Hungarian, comprising two stages and dimensions. The first stage happens on the morning of August 24th. The parishioners dressed in the costumes modified 296 years ago, as we will discuss below, come to church together with their families²⁴ in order to participate to the prime, the first mass of the day. The service is officiated by a pastor invited from another church who is assisted by the pastor in function. After the prime, the church-goers retire back to

²² Al. Duțu, *Dimensiunea umană a istoriei*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1986, pp. 140–154.

²³ The customs of the Protestant church do not impose among the believer's duties any fasting or food restrictions. Nevertheless, probably as an emphasis of the gravity of this event, fastening was included in the religious traditions of the commemoration.

²⁴ Most of the inhabitants consider this event an opportunity to reunite with their families. The services and, up until recently, celebrations were also attended by foreigners interested in the traditions or folklore of the area.

their homes to continue the fast and prayers which will prevent calamities from striking again. In fact, they spend their time with their families reunited for the day.

The second mass, one hour later, serviced by the pastor in office is dedicated to the lecture of a brief history of the settlement as a former royal town, of the Reformed church and of the 1717 event. The emphasis lies on the testimonies of the 18th century inhabitants who escaped the Tatar slavery. The lectures, put at our disposal by the Pastor Sallai Márton, are found in a folder containing nine pages in Hungarian, accounting the three histories above. These were elaborated by Nádaï Aina and Sándor László Zoltán on 1st of August 2002, when Sic was celebrating its millenary existence, based on the town monographies and other existing documents, and have been used for the past decade during this second service of the day, imprinting their words in the memory of the church-goers.

The third mass, the complin, is dedicated to the memory of the 1717 victims and the heroes who have fallen during the two world wars. During this, the parishioners sing Psalm 79, a lamentation on the destruction of Israel. "This is a recent addition to the initial memorial service installed in the second half of the 18th century, as it is considered appropriate from the point of view of its content."²⁵ One of the twelve psalms of Asaph, it emphasizes the role that prayer plays when amidst tragedies. Referring to the destruction of Jerusalem in the 6th century B.C. by the Babylonian army, psalm 79 talks of hope despite recent calamities (*"Remember not against us the iniquities of former times"*), hope of receiving divine support. Indeed, there are numerous elements therein that can be seen as congruent with the event. For instance, the verses *"How long, LORD? Will you be angry forever? How long will your jealousy burn like fire?"*, *"O God, the nations have invaded your inheritance; they have defiled your holy temple"*, *"We are objects of contempt to our neighbours, of scorn and derision to those around us."* may be seen in reference to the invasion of the disrespectful and heathen Tatar neighbours after the wrath of God was unchained on the sinful inhabitants. The promise to honour God, the memory of the fallen and try not to lose again the right path is reiterated in the last verse: *"Then we your people, the sheep of your pasture, will praise you forever; from generation to generation we will proclaim your praise."* The fact that the society of Sic did not only survive this attack but also managed to revive itself from the 100-people seedling is another sign that divine will decided that, after having destroyed the vine, it is brought back to (a better) life. The repeated calling of divine mercy is intertwined with the promise not to cause wrath again by forsaking the Christian values.

After the religious service, the local authority representatives lay crowns of flowers at the monument erected in the memory of the 1717 victims and of the two

²⁵ Pastor Sallai Márton, during the discussion with the author of the study, on 13 August 2013, in Sic.

world wars. Short speeches are uttered by the Mayor and vice-mayor, as well as the two pastors with a view to accentuating the importance of the event in the Sic community. Also, young people dressed in the traditional costumes recite poems that are related to this day or remind elements correlated with it. An example is Kányádi Sándor's poem *Fekete-Piros*, written in 1972 and an epitome of the identity and grace of the Sic women and the particularities of their costume. Here there is reference to the Tatar invasion:

„Sír a csizma, sír
a szédítő táncról:
tatár öröm, magyar bánat,
megszöktették a rózsámat.”²⁶

The commemoration day ends with the mayor inviting all the participants to eat boiled corn. This is the only foodstuff traditionally allowed during this day. Nevertheless, as this day acquired a more flexible character nowadays, the inhabitants of Sic choose to eat according to the fasting rules in the Orthodox Church, rules that exclude meat and dairy products. It is not uncommon for the Christians to temporarily claim renouncing their faith and adopt traditions that are meant to preserve them in fact, in times of sorrow. In Maramureș, for example, people would even resort to changing the cross on the steeple with a crescent so that it would deceive the heathen attackers and the church would not be burnt down.

The people of Sic consider 1717 an unfortunate year not only because of the Tatar invasion but also because of the plague epidemics. Together, these brought the death of three pastors during one year. Corroborated with drought, famine and fiscal impoverishing taxes, this year proves to be a trial one for the Sic resilience. Therefore, in February 1759, the habit of this commemoration is inaugurated, when because of a series of raids made by the Tatars on the banks of the Bitrița river in Moldova, the inhabitants of Sic, fearful of another invasion, remember the oath made by the 1717 survivors and they fast and pray *continuis semper temporibus*. This is stated in the memorial elaborated by the notary public of 1759, Stephanum Győri and initiated by the pastor Szentsimoni János.

Collective memory traces

The testimonies recorded in 1791

The words “The Tatars are coming!”, so well known to the inhabitants of the Romanian principalities and particularly to the Moldavians, must have resounded on the morning of 24th August 1717 when the inhabitants who were most certainly

²⁶ Kányádi Sándor, *Legszebb Versei*, Albatrosz Könyvkiadó, 1974, p.72. Translated as: *The boots were crying, /crying the dizzy dance/of the Tatar joy, Hungarian sorrow,/My rose was abducted.*

working the fields saw the Tatar hordes accompanied by the Moldavian and Cossack ones storm into the town from the north. Some of the historiographic works have adopted the oral tradition stating that the Tatars had surprised the entire community in the church. The dramatic cote of this version is, nevertheless, slightly different and appeased, since in the Protestant church St Bartholomew is not celebrated as any other saint, so no mess is held in the church on that day.

Among the documents that the Reformed parishioner uses in his commemorative mass, there is a collection of eleven testimonies that were gathered in 1791 by the protestant priest of that period from those who managed to find their way back home from the Tatar enslavement. Those caught had succeeded in coming back along 40 years. They were women, men and children.

Among the papers of the Protestant church in Sic that we mentioned above there are also the 11 testimonies of the people who escaped Tatar slavery as long as 40 years after the invasion and returned home, testimonies collected in 1771 by the pastor Torjai Kasza József. These testimonies belong both to women and men, abducted as children or adults aged between 2 and 70 years. Hamvai Igó György, pastor of the church between 1719 and 1723, the first to write about the event, would state: "In that miserable and bleak year, until the month of November, more than a hundred thousand died of our sinful race, the number of those deceased in our town reaching 267. But by God's grace we did not all die."²⁷ Indeed, 100 people remained in the town, certainly mostly women and old or sick people.

The eleven inhabitants that liberate themselves from the Tatar enslavement will remain quoted in few words that render their impression on the attack and the way they were captured or succeeded in escaping. Both Balog György and Sós Pál declare that more than six hundred inhabitants were kidnapped. Havadi András even claims to have a list of these people, eighty of whom remained forever in the Tatar slavery.²⁸ Some manage to flee after a few days, e.g. Csorba Benedek or Árkosi Borbála, others after having spent almost a lifetime there. Unfortunately, the nowadays inhabitants, even those that come from families which stayed in the village after the raid or had relatives taken into slavery, have no proof or data on this event, being unable to deliver more details than what they hear each year in the commemorating ceremonies. This is hardly unusual, oral tradition preserving only certain stereotypes which, chiselled along the centuries, provide a general image that is conventional and draws its sap from the same trivialized and at times trivializing elements.

²⁷ Nádaï Aina, Sándor László Zoltán, *Szék Város Rövid Története. Birtalan, [unpublished document belonging to the Reformed parish of Sic]*, 2002, p. 5.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

Therefore, still regarding the 1717 Tatar invasion, we find consistent testimonies recorded by the Hungarian ethnologist Gazda József in 1980 and published in his book²⁹. He carried out a series of interviews with the inhabitants in the village on the topic of this invasion and their recollection of it. Among the stories told by the women of the village, we find similar accounts as the ones of the Tatars who invaded Maramureş during the incursion we discuss here, but also those who raided Moldavia. The topic in the stories uttered by the women of the village proves to be common to all the areas where the Tatars left deep traces in the collective memory and particularly in the social imaginary. We thus find the same legends in the Maramureş or Rodna regions devastated by the Tatars as in Moldova³⁰. The same stories of a beautiful young woman kidnapped by the Tatars and then tricking her assailants into escaping and setting other hostages free are encountered³¹. These hostages risked more than remaining slaves, but also being devoured by the cannibal barbarians³². Recurring themes such as cannibalism, astuteness, cruelty, the lack of any scruples or feelings of duty towards the members of their own species will be well imprinted in the villagers' memory.

The painting

Given the emphasis that the Reformed church in Sic places on this holiday, the painter Joski Sándor, originary from Sic currently living in Hungary, offered the church a painting that he had created. The painting represents the capture of the priest in function at that fatal time by the Tatars. The reverend Gidófalvi Péter (1708–1717) is said to have been caught while he was changing in the church. The writer of the most recent and complex monography of Sic, Szabo Marton advances the hypothesis that the priest could not have been surprised in his indispensables in church but at the parochial house. A solid hypothesis if we consider both the position of the parochial house in the town not on the hill where the church was and the above-mentioned fact that Saint Bartholomew was not celebrated. What made us stop on the issue of this painting is the fact that the painter used for his models only inhabitants of Sic, even for the Tatar characters depicted. Inarguably, rape is one of the most common practices of war and ever since ancient times “*female flesh was a legitimate spoil of war*”.³³ Therefore, although there is no

²⁹ Gazda József *apud* Szabó Márton, *Szék község monográfiája: néprajz és néphagyomány*, 2010, pp 243–245.

³⁰ I.A. Rădulescu *apud* Cornelia Călin Bodea, *Români şi otomanii în folclorul românesc*, 1998, pp 183–184.

³¹ *Ibidem*; Gazda József, *Igy tudom, így mondom : a régi falu emlékezete*, 1980, pp 178–179.

³² Gazda József, *op.cit.*, pp 178–179.

³³ Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature. Why violence has declined*, Viking Penguin Publishing House, New York, 2011, p. 16.

proof that there remained any Tatars in Sic after the 1717 moment, the Tatar characters portrayed relied on Sic inhabitants whose mongoloid features can still be observed today. Nevertheless, this descent was not rigorously followed by the owner of the Tatar genes and there are no proofs that discriminations were made against them or that this semi-ethnicity was assumed. The offsprings resulted from these abuses and their descendents were considered protestant inhabitants of Sic, automatically taking their mother's religion and last name. Since the church registers had been destroyed in the repeated invasions and there are no documents to attest the family names in the immediate history following the event, we can only deduce the existing names, which we shall treat below.



Picture 1. *Tatar invasion at Sic in 1717* (Joski Sándor)

The costumes

The costumes of the Sic inhabitants always admired with amazement suffered alterations after the 1717 invasion. That moment imposed the preponderant usage of black and to a less extent red, as a sign of eternal mourning for those who had been killed or kidnapped then. The colours that have changed their significance³⁴

³⁴ In the beginning, the colours pinned in the town emblem were in reference to the millenary mining activity of the settlement: red meant life, black evoked the hammer blows and death, while blue

easily make the connection between the costume and the fatidic day. The red and black which we mentioned above have gone from being a colour representing the hardships of working in the salt mine³⁵ to those that remind the blood and darkness that covered the Sic territory on 24 August 1717. The black and red are present in the flag of the town ever since its settlement in 1002.

The blue colour of the waistcoats that the men of Sic wear is a reminder of the sky, suggesting the eternal truth. The blue and golden are considered the colours of the Szekely people, reminding the truth and the nobility of their diligence and commitment in fulfilling their duties³⁶. No wonder the villagers confess in a proud tone that they would wear this very costume even when working abroad, as stated by the parish clerk.



**Picture 4. Mourning costume
of a Sic young woman**



**Picture 5. Costume
of a Sic male inhabitant**

was the sky after which the miners hankered. See more on the significance of the colours in Szabó Márton, *Szék község monográfiája: néprajz és néphagyomány*, 2010, *passim*.

³⁵ Szabo Márton, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

Other examples of these *lieux de mémoire*, as P. Nora called them³⁷ can be found in other Transylvanian or Maramureş settlements. These traces remained imprinted in the collective memory of the areas and inhabitants. For instance, in Căvnic in 1736 an obelisk was erected, with the inscription “*Anno 1717 usque hic fuerunt tartari*”, namely “This is how far the Tatars came in 1717.” The symbol is in sign of respect for those who stood up to the invading Crimean Tatars, hindering them from penetrating further in the Romanian territory. This obelisk is known under the name the Pillar or the Stone of the Tatars.

Investigation

The study is meant to reveal the perception on the Tatars safeguarded in the collective memory of the inhabitants of Sic nowadays. Although Saint Bartholomew's day is mentioned in the local papers (fewer and fewer each year) and the Hungarian historiography has to a certain extent taken interest in this issue, the approach is usually a strictly historical one, with no incursion in the social psychology and collective memory. Alongside our two participations in the commemorating services of 24 August 2012 and 2013, respectively, we have also interviewed 27 inhabitants with ages ranging from 34 to 77 years with a view to seeing what remained in the villagers' memory in regards to the violent event of 1717. After the first few interviews, we realized, in fact, that the inhabitants can hardly render more on this topic than what they hear each year spoken during the second mass of the day, namely the testimonies of those who managed to escape the Tatar enslavement and come back home. Who the Tatars were or why they had come does not preoccupy the mind of the inhabitants outside the religious explanation attached to the massacre, i.e. the divine punishment cast upon the sinful residents. Nevertheless, the commemoration is a good reason for the inhabitants to feel they accomplish their Christian duty in honouring the memory of their heroic predecessors, as well as a reason to dress their high day costumes, in which they take such pride.

Not even the members of the families that had themselves relatives who were kidnapped by the invaders find more details in their memory. For example, Tamás Rozália (65) whose great-grand aunt had been kidnapped confesses to an inevitable compliance in following the costume as it was set by her ancestors and no longer to an inner drive “We fast because this is what we learned from our parents.”³⁸

³⁷ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire”, in *Representations*, no. 26, *Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory*, pp. 7–24.

³⁸ Tamás Rozália (65) during the interview taken on 24 August 2013, at 15h.

Although there seems to be very little – if any – resentment towards the Tatars, we can find blunt refusals of the alterity in an unintentional manner.

“No Tatars remained here. It is easy to see because there are no villagers with dog heads³⁹”, says Sóos Mihály (66).

“But the name of Tatar exists in the commune.”

“Ah, yes, but that one is a gipsy!”, the respondent would conclude.

Hence, at a subliminal level, similarly to the contemporaries of the invading Tatars, the first reaction *vis-à-vis* the Tatars is one of rejection, of denying their very existence, of refuting the sufferance caused. These are the effects of a shock that – although blotted out – persists. Still, since the historical proofs attest their passage through the area but their traces cannot be seen, one may prefer this denial.

Conclusions

As it resulted from the interviews, the inhabitants confuse the 13th century invasion with the 18th century one, preserving the same image of the invaders propagated by the church of forceful dog-headed heathens who were the devil’s riders. Thus, the Tatar image set in 1717 and carried on until nowadays had been, in fact, built on the representation that the Transylvanian and Hungarian society had made of the 1241–1242 invaders, namely the Tatars lead by two commanders Cadan and Buri who pass the carpathians through Bucovina and attack Rodna, Bistrița, Dej, Cluj, Zalău, Oradea, and Brașov⁴⁰. *Deisidaimonia* (the use of the fear of the devil and superstition) is one of the key-factors that contributed in the preservation of the Tatar alterity as such. The Tatars do not have a gradually progressive image along the centuries but an image constantly perpetuated in the collective memory⁴¹. Indeed, this image remained unaltered. There is however a dim line as this image becomes more and more blotted out since the ages, a diffusion caused by forgetting and multiculturalism. The church no longer perceiving the Tatars as its main enemy ceased using them as an example of divine punishment, Transylvania for example turning to the *other* that was closer and cohabited with the *self*. Given its changing position in the mirror or representations, the Hungarian community, although an overwhelming majority in Sic, passed easier over the Tatar alterity, therefore, *sine ira et studio*, the inhabitants of nowadays Sic continue their mourning, projecting their hope that history will no repeat itself. It is remarkable how the Sic community

³⁹ Reference to the cynocephaly attributed to the Tatar people in the Middle Ages.

⁴⁰ I.A. Pop, *Românii și maghiarii în secolele IX-XIV. Geneza statului medieval în Transilvania*, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Fundația Culturală Română, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 162.

⁴¹ Călin Felezeu, *Imaginea otomanului și a civilizației otomane în cultura românească*, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, *passim*.

projected this not new but altered identity in relation, or rather in contrast, with the Tatar otherness.

How did this tradition persist for three centuries if those who remained were in such a small number? Knowing that the town was repopulated with Szekelies and Orthodox Romanians, why did they choose to adopt the customs imposed in 1759 based on the 1717 oath? In both cases, it was probably the same powerfully shaped image the inhabitants of the Romanian principalities and Hungarian kingdom had of the Tatars, an image outlined ever since the 1241–1242 resounding invasion. Moreover, for the Szekelies, who were placed very close to the Tatars, it was probably the frequent interaction with the latter and the damage they suffered during the Tatar raids. They had even begun developing coping strategies for survival or for minimizing the damages caused by these surprise-attacks⁴². This ethnical perspective was also corroborated with the religious one, making the distinct communities cohabit in the mining town and preserve the same traditions. Even nowadays, the Orthodox Romanians in Sic attend the festivities, the event being considered a historical one more than religious. The adversity against the Tatar alterity faded because of the tolerant precepts of the Reformed church and the lack of Tatar minority inhabitants, allowing an acceptance attitude, of decent mourning, where the passion against the different human loses in front of the pragmatism of the survivors who move forward in their history.

“Tell me about your different human so that I tell you who you are.”⁴³ Indeed, to the nowadays inhabitants of Sic, the Tatars represent their essential different human, the *alter*, who is even antithetic. The enemy, who defines the identity contours of the inhabitants, outlines inherited and uncontested by the descendents. The same identity landmarks are set in other regions of Transylvania, where the heroes who dared face the belligerent eastern neighbours or the victims of their kin are either celebrated or commemorated on particular days. We can exemplify here with the village of Micula where the 29th of August will become a holiday that marked the liberation of the noblemen enslaved during the 1717 invasion.

⁴² The Szekely testaments written while bearing in mind the reasons for the enslavements and killing done by the Tatars. The testament owners would carefully elaborate lists with the inheritance resulted from such happenings. Margareta Aslan, *Atitudini civice și imaginea Imperiului Otoman în societatea transilvăneană, în perioada Principatului: 1541–1688 [teza de doctorat]*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, p. 164–165.

⁴³ Lucian Boia, *Între înger și fiară: mitul omului diferit din Antichitate până astăzi*, Editura Humanitas, București, 2004.

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Interview with A.A., 58, 20 August 2012;

Interview with S.M., 94, 13 August 2013;

Interview with S.M., 24 August 2012 and 2013;

Interview with T.R., 24 August 2013;

Interview with T.I., 24 August 2013;

Interview with S. J., 24 August 2013;

Interview with S.A., 12 and 24 August 2013.

STEPPE CIVILIZATIONS.
ARCHETYPES, TRADITIONS AND INNOVATIONS

Funeral Ceremony of Nomads of Eastern Europe of the 13th–14th Centuries in a Context of Ethnic Structure of the Golden Horde

V.A. Ivanov, M.I. Ivanova

Occupying the huge territory from Ural to Carpathians Mountains, the Golden Horde absorbed the various tribes wandering in steppes of Eastern Europe on the eve of the Mongolian invasion in the structure. We traditionally unite them in one ethno-cultural group of kypchakov-polovets. Though from written sources we know that at the XII beginning of the XIII centuries of a half-sheep of the East European (South Russian) steppes represented a conglomerate of hordes, each of which took the certain place in the steppe: Dnieper, Zaorelsky, Lukomorsky, Azov, Donetsk, Precaucasian, Nizhnevolzhsky (Saksina) and other polovetsky hordes.¹ Unfortunately, despite more than century history of researches of polovetsky antiquities, the polovetsky archaeological culture appears at us in rather amorphous look from which it is absolutely not clear, than, for example, the Dnieper half-sheep differed from Azov, and Precaucasian – from Nizhnevolzhsky polovtsev-saksinov. Though, on the other hand, G.A.Fedorov-Davidov convincingly showed variety of types of funeral monuments of medieval nomads of Eastern Europe (including – and polovetsky time) behind which also any ethnographic (and can be – and ethnic) features of polovetsky culture for certain are.²

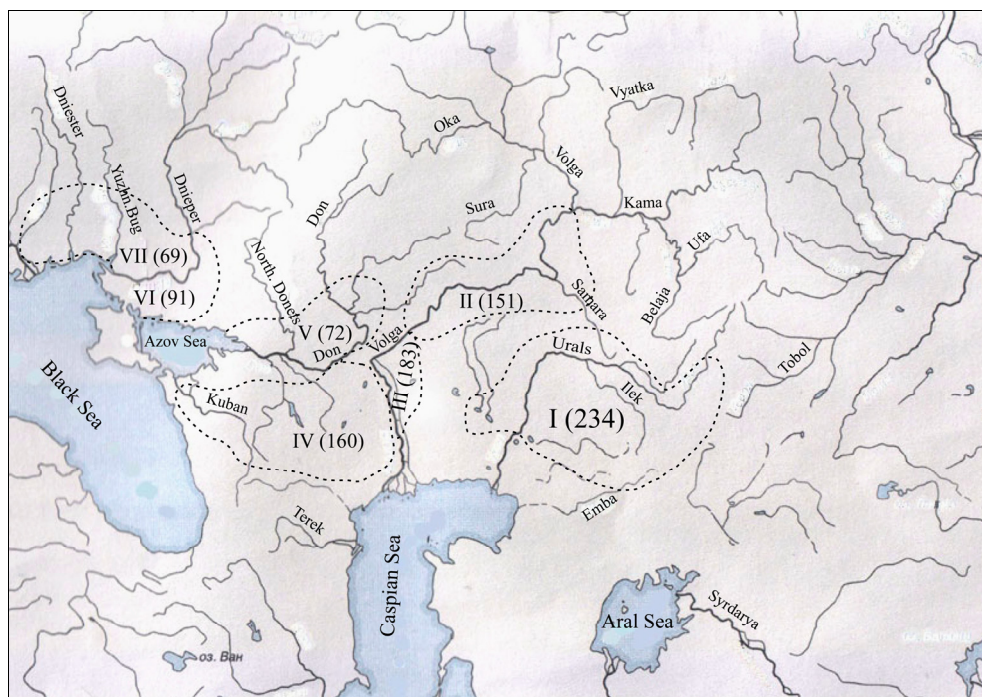
However, in this case for us the most important is that circumstance that in the administrative policy the first zolotoordynsky khans in fact didn't change ethno-cultural structure of nomads of the East European steppes, having turned them into object of direct economic and political exploitation.³ In an archaeological context it gives the grounds to assume that morphological signs of funeral monuments of the Golden Horde have to reflect most adequately ethno-cultural structure of the nomadic population of this state. In this case we proceed from two factors: 1 –

¹ Pletneva S.A. Kochevniki Juzhnorusskikh stepei v epohu srednevekovja IV–XIII veka. Voronej, 2003. P.156

² Fedorov-Davydov G.A. Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy pod vlastju zolotoordynskih hanov. M., 1966. Chap. III.

³ He also. Obshestvennyi stroi Zolotoi Ordj. M., 1973. P.41.

pagan funeral rite, as steadiest and reliable sign of ethnic specifics; 2 – noted in sources and researches of toleration of ordynsky governors owing to what the paganism long enough remained among ordinary ordynsky nomads, as found the reflection in types of archaeological monuments of a steppe strip of Eastern Europe of the 14th century.



**Figure 1. The boundaries of the local groups of mounds
nomadic era Golden Horde in Eastern Europe (in brackets the number of known burials)**
I – The Southern Urals; II – Middle Volga; III – lower Volga; IV – Between the Volga and Don rivers (including the North Caucasus); V – Don basin; VI – Left-bank Ukraine; VII – Right-bank Ukraine.

Geographically (though with some share of convention, but Golden Horde most approached to administrative-territorial division, established by researchers)⁴, funeral monuments of nomads of the Golden Horde share on seven local groups, not equivalent by number of the revealed and studied burials:

- Cis-Ural (234 burials or 24.3% of all considered burials);
- Region of the Bottom Volga (183 burials = 19%);
- Region of Central Volga (151 burials = 15.7%);
- Volga–Don Entre Rios (160 burials = 16.6%);

⁴ In the same place.

- Don (72 burials = 7.5%);
- Left-bank Ukraine (91 burials = 9.5%);
- Right-bank Ukraine, including Prikarpatye (69 burials = 7.4%).

All these selections are casual and on the volume they allow to establish the minimum threshold of the importance, with high degree of probability (0.9 or 90%) reflecting set of morphological signs of a funeral ceremony for each of the listed local groups of zolotoordynsky monuments.⁵

According to number of the revealed burials, in each of the allocated local groups there is the threshold of the importance. For local groups of monuments of Southern Cisural area (steppe regions of the Chelyabinsk, Orenburg areas, the Trans-Ural Bashkiria, the Aktyubinsk and Ural areas of the Western Kazakhstan), Nizhny (Astrakhan, the Volgograd Zavolzhye) and the Average (The Saratov, Samara areas, the Republic of Tatarstan) the Volga region is 3%. For local group of Volga–Don Entre Rios – 5%, for Podonya – 7%, Left-bank Ukraine – 5% and Right-bank Ukraine – 6%.

The total characteristic of signs of a funeral ceremony of zolotoordynsky nomads of the specified territories is presented in table 1.

Table 1. Indicators of representative signs of a funeral ceremony of nomads of the Golden Horde on local groups of monuments (in %%)

Category of a sign	Maintenance of a sign	Region of South Ural	Region of the Bottom Volga	Region of Central Volga	Volga–Don Entre Rios	Don	Left-bank Ukraine	Right-bank Ukraine
DESIGN OF AN EMBANKMENT OF BARROWS	Embankment from the earth	67	89.6	86	94.4	81.9	73.6	91.3
	Earth mixed up with a stone	6	-	-	3.1	-	9.9	-
	Heap of stones	-	-	-	-	5.5	-	-
	Stone “armor”	6	-	-	5.6	-	-	-
	The stone calculation over a grave	25	-	-	-	-	10.9	-
	Fencing from the pieces of a stone laid by a ring	5	-	-	-	-	10.9	-

⁵ Gening V.F., Bunjatjan E.P., Pustovalov S.J., Rychkov N.A. Formalizovanno-statisticheskie metody v archeologii. Kiev, 1990. P.64.

Category of a sign	Maintenance of a sign	Region of South Ural	Region of the Bottom Volga	Region of Central Volga	Volga–Don Entre Rios	Don	Left-bank Ukraine	Right-bank Ukraine
	Rectangular fencing from pieces of a stone	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Fencing from a syrtsovy brick	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Brick construction – “mazar”	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Graves have no barrows	-	7.6	7.3	-	6.9	10.9	-
	Fire traces in an embankment	2.1	2.7	5	-	5.5	-	-
	Separate pieces of coal in an embankment	-	2.2	5	3.7	-	-	-
	Bones of animals in an embankment	10.7	13.1	15.2	13.1	6.9	8.8	-
	Fragments of clay vessels in an embankment	2.5	-	4	-	-	4.4	-
	Wooden design in an embankment	-	-	4.6	-	-	6.6	-
	Ditch round an embankment	3.8	14.7	5.3	13.7	-	5.5	-
THE NUMBER OF BURIALS IN THE MOUND	One thing	87.6	92	88.7	91.8	84.7	90.1	94.2
	Two or more	12.4	7.6	11.2	8.1	15.3	9.9	5.8
	Buriall inet	7.7	8.7	-	21.8	20.8	24.1	24.6

Category of a sign	Maintenance of a sign	Region of South Ural	Region of the Bottom Volga	Region of Central Volga	Volga–Don Entre Rios	Don	Left-bank Ukraine	Right-bank Ukraine
THE DESIGN OF THE TOMB	Simple pit with vertical walls and a flat bottom	70	57.4	65	72.5	52.7	53.8	70
	The walls of the tomb are narrowed to the bottom	-	3.3	-	-	-	-	-
	Hardwood floor to the grist grave	20.5	24	10.6	-	11.1	20.8	11.6
	Overlap based on one step	2.5	3.3	6	-	-	-	-
	Overlap based on two steps along the long walls	4.7	4.9	8.6	-	13.8	-	-
	Step left of the human	6	7.6	10.6	-	-	-	-
	A step to the right of human	-	2.7	-	-	-	-	-
	Two steps along the long walls of the tomb	5.5	9.3	9.3	3.7	11.1	8.8	-
	Walls lined with stone graves	-	-	-	3.1	-	-	-
	Brick vault	-	4.4	2.6	-	-	-	-
	Niche-shot down in a long wall	3	6.5	-	5	-	-	-
	Niche-knocked out with a ledge at the entrance	4.3	8.2	-	3.1	5.5	17.6	-
	Niche-blocked shot down a tree	2.5	5.4	-	-	-	9.9	-
	The design of the grave is not defined	8	6.5	8.6	31.6	9.7	15.4	17.4

Category of a sign	Maintenance of a sign	Region of South Ural	Region of the Bottom Volga	Region of Central Volga	Volga–Don Entre Rios	Don	Left-bank Ukraine	Right-bank Ukraine
TYPE OF RITUAL BURIAL HORSE	Skin Horse (skull and leg bones) stacked on the left of human	3.4	7.1	5.3	3.7	-	-	8.7
	Skin Horse on a person to fill the grave	-	2.7	-	-	-	4.4	-
	Carcass of a horse (full skeleton) to the left of the man	5.5	2.1	-	-	-	4.4	11.6
	Carcass of a horse (full skeleton) lies on the stair	3.8	3.8	-	-	6.9	-	-
	Carcass of a horse (full skeleton) is in a separate pit	-	3.8	-	-	-	4.4	5.8
	The horse is also intended as a person	9.4	18	9.9	8.7	12.5	13.2	20.3
	The bit in his teeth a horse (horse bridle)	5.1	14.7	7.3	5.6	9.7	13.2	18.8
	Stirrups on a horse (horse saddled)	9.4	14.2	6.6	5.6	8.3	13.2	15.9
	Laid in the grave only harness	20	18.6	13.9	24.3	41.6	25.3	24.6
POSTURE AND ORIENTATION OF BURIED	Pose on her back with legs extended	91.9	94.5	90	90.6	91.6	70.3	94.2
	Arms stretched along the body	70.9	68.3	61.6	78.7	75	58.2	82.6
	Arms bent at the elbows. hands on stomach	6	9.3	13.2	6.2	6.9	6.6	-

Category of a sign	Maintenance of a sign	Region of South Ural	Region of the Bottom Volga	Region of Central Volga	Volga–Don Entre Rios	Don	Left-bank Ukraine	Right-bank Ukraine
	The right arm is bent at the elbow	7.7	8.2	7.3	-	-	5.5	-
	Left arm bent at the elbow	6.4	7.6	5.3	5	-	-	-
	Pose buried could not be determined	6	4.4	9.3	5.6	8.3	28.5	5.8
	Buried Westernized	40.1	49.7	55.6	35	30.5	28.5	36.2
	Buried toward the East	3	5.4	7.3	9.4	5.5	4.4	10
	Buried focuses on North	10.2	2.1	4.6	8.1	22.2	13.2	-
	Buried south oriented	6.4	5.4	-	-	-	-	-
	Buried focuses on North West	9	7.1	4.6	3.1	-	6.6	24.6
	Buried focuses on Southwest	15	18	6	13.1	-	-	-
	Buried focuses on Northeast	9.4	7.6	14	16.8	25	12	10
	Buried focused on South-East	-	-	-	-	-	--	
	The orientation of the deceased is not defined	5.1	2.1	7.3	10	5.5	26.4	7.2
DETAILS OF THE FUNERAL RITUAL	Buried in a wooden coffin laid	13.6	28.4	30.4	21.2	23.6	18.7	37.7
	Laid buried in the stocks. hollowed out tree	5.5	12.5	12.6	-	-	11	5.8
	Laid buried in the frame of the boards	2.1	2.2	-	-	-	4	-

Category of a sign	Maintenance of a sign	Region of South Ural	Region of the Bottom Volga	Region of Central Volga	Volga–Don Entre Rios	Don	Left-bank Ukraine	Right-bank Ukraine
	Lies buried on a bed of grass or reed	2.5	3.8	-	-	-	-	-
	Lies buried on a bed of tree bark	6.8	5.4	6.6	8.1	9.7	-	-
	Bedding material is not defined	-	-	5.3	-	8.3	-	-
	Funeral food – sheep bones	8.5	17.4	9.3	21.2	25	12	-
	Breed of animal is not defined	6.4	-	3.3	4.3	-	-	-
	Animal bones lie in the head of the grave	8.5	10.4	7.9	13.7	20.8	6.6	-
	Animal bones lying near the feet of man	3.8	6	4	6.8	-	-	-
	Animal bones lie in filling the grave	3.8	3.3	-	6.2	5.5	7.7	-
	Earthen vessel in a tomb	-	-	-	3.1	-	-	-
	Coals in filling the grave	2.5	-	7.3	-	-	-	-
Number of burials		234	183	151	160	72	91	69

The statistics in Table 1, clear and without comment: Each of the above groups, local nomadic burials 13th–14th centuries, is characterized by a set of attributes of the funeral rite. Among them are common to all groups – buried under earthen mounds, perfect for simple holes rectangular or oval shape, the position of the deceased in a pose on the back with outstretched arms and legs, his head orientation to the west, north-east or west, the presence of the grave of a horse harness, etc.

However, there are signs of ritual specific to any one of the local group or several groups. For example, burial under mixed stone and earthen mounds for the region of the Southern Urals, the Volga-Don interflaves and the Left-Bank Ukraine. Buried under a heap of stones – for Don, and disposal under the stone, “armor” – to

the South Urals and the Volga-Don interfluvies. Hardwood floor, based on the step, arranged to the left of human burials characteristic of the South Urals and the Volga, and the tomb, whose walls are lined with stones – for the Volga-Don watershed, etc. It is possible that these differences conceal a cultural and ethnic differentiation of nomads who left buried under consideration of local groups.

This assumption can be checked by using the calculation of the coefficient of typological similarity comparison groups of monuments (complex ceramics, jewelry types, etc.). This method has been developed at the time by G.A. Fedorov-Davydov⁶ and are actively used in Russian archeology, including the author of this article. It consists in a statistical ratio of features common to the groups being compared to the number of features characteristic of each of them. The higher the ratio, the more similar to each other discover compare.

Table 2 shows the values (C_3) of typological similarity, calculated from 70 alternative grounds of the funeral ceremony, describing mounds nomads 13th–14th centuries in Eastern Europe.

**Table 2. The coefficients of the formal-typological similarities
funerary monuments Golden Horde nomads in the steppes of Eastern Europe**

	Region of South Ural	Region of the Bottom Volga	Region of Central Volga	Volga-Don Entre Rios	Don	Left-bank Ukraine	Right-bank Ukraine
Region of South Ural	-						
Region of the Bottom Volga	0.71	-					
Region of Central Volga	0.62	0.66	-				
Volga-Don Entre Rios	0.60	0.56	0.37	-			
Don	0.56	0.55	0.55	0.53	-		
Left-bank Ukraine	0.57	0.60	0.47	0.43	0.55	-	
Right-bank Ukraine	0.38	0.44	0.40	0.41	0.44	0.52	-

⁶ Fedorov-Davydov D.A. Statisticheskie metody v archeologii. M., 1987.

The results show that the greatest typological similarity found between a burial regions in the Southern Urals, Middle and Lower Volga ($C_3 = 0.62 - 0.71$). First of all, they bring together the complicated design of the grave: with wooden beams, steps along the long walls, the coals in the mound mounds.

This is logical, since these territories were personal domain Batu Khan and his descendants, and were inhabited by tribes that are close ethnically and culturally. They are dominated by Kipchaks-Cumans, and tribes were present at the Turko-Mongol origin, who came from the steppes of Central Asia. The latter, probably left buried under the stone structures. As suggested by archaeologist and historian V.P.Kostyukov among them could be Kangly, Naiman, Kerayit and other kindred tribes, which in the process of formation of Golden Horde formed the ethnic core of the Ulus Shibani – the younger brother of Batu Khan⁷. To judge by the geographical distribution of burials under the stone structures – steppes of Southern Trans-Ural – this assumption is likely to meet the historical reality (Fig.2).

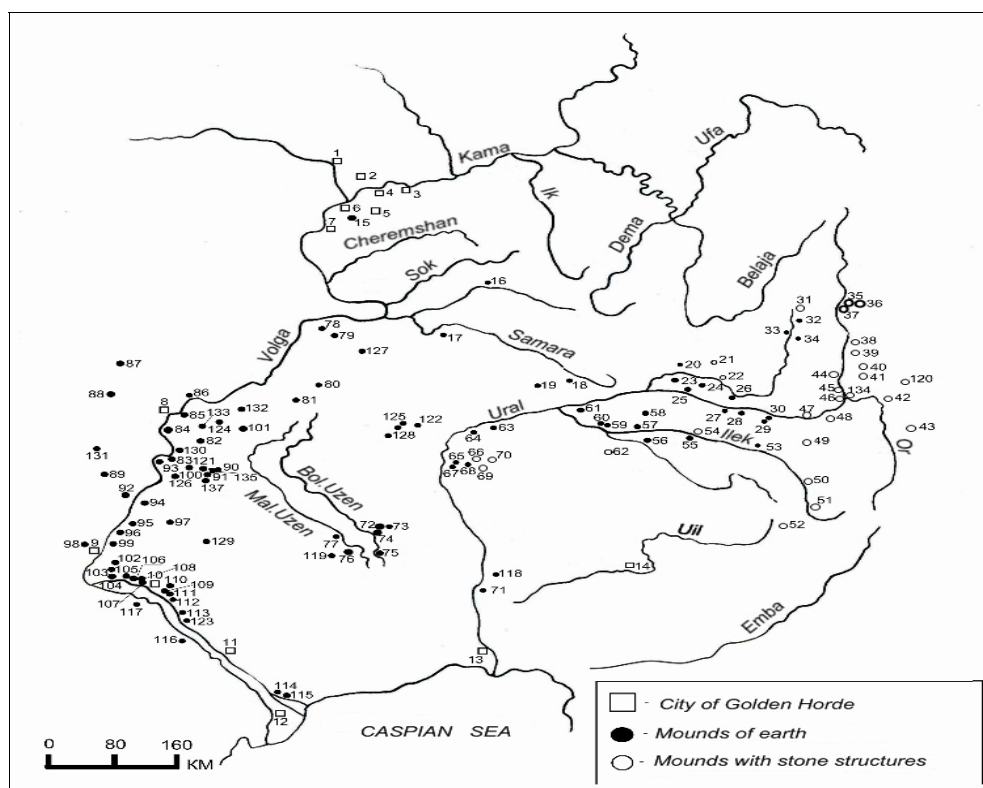


Figure 2. Burial mounds of the Golden Horde in the Ural-Volga region

⁷ Kostyukov V.P. *Ulus Shibana Zolotoi Ordy v XIII-XIV vv.* Kazan, 2010.

Burial of the South Urals show a fairly high rate of typological similarities with burials steppes between the Volga and the Don ($C_3 = 0.60$). In particular, only in these regions are localized buried under mixed stone and earthen mounds and a stone “shell” (Fig. 3). It is likely that G.A.Fedorov-Davydov was right, when it is expected that the presence of burial rite with common features in the Volga and North Caucasus is connected “with the Mongols who came here and attendant Central Asian tribes”⁸ (Fig. 3).

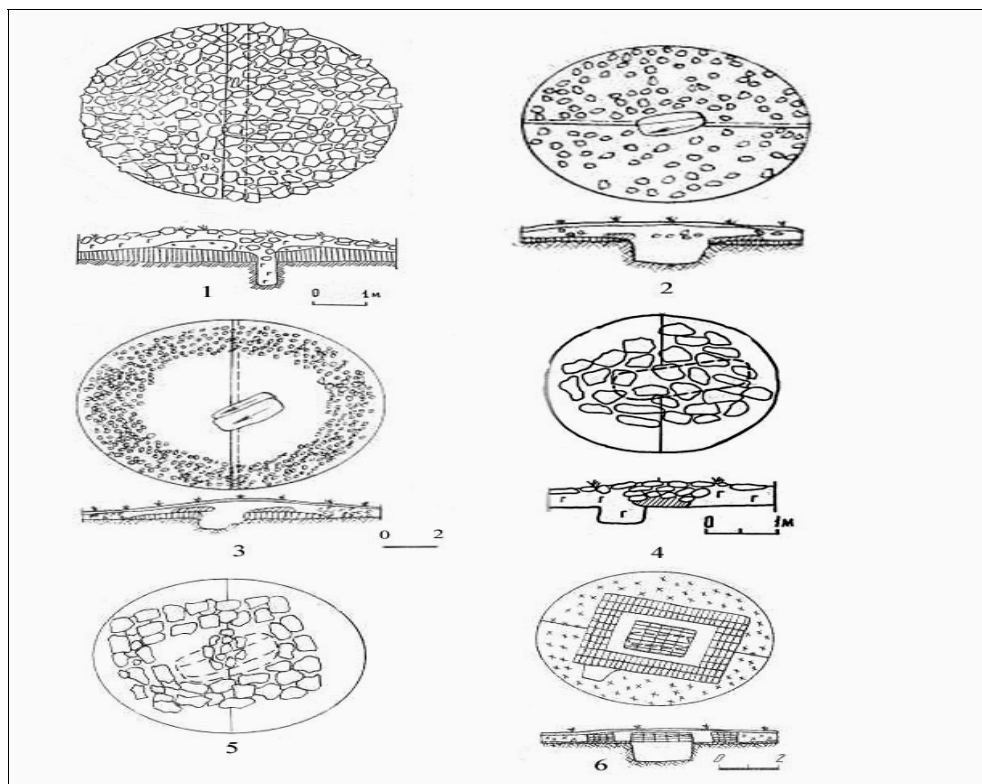


Figure 3. Mounds with stone structures of the South Urals

1 – Stone “armor” (Mounds near the village “Bolshevik”); 2 – Mixed mound of earth and stone (Novy Kumak); 3 – Stone Ring around the grave (Novy Kumak); 4 – Stone laying out the grave (Ishkulovo); 5 – Stone fences rectangular (Urta-Burtja); 6 – Fences of mud brick („Mazars”) (Lebedevka VIII).

Attracts attention and a relatively high coefficient of typological similarities burials of the Lower Volga and the Left-Bank Ukraine ($C_3 = 0.60$). Only in these regions are more likely than others, there are skeletons of horses, stacked to the left of a person or in a separate well (cenotaphs?), and the room was buried in the

⁸ Fedorov-Davydov G.A. Obshestvennyi stroi Zolotoi Ordy. M., 1973. P.62.

frame of the board (Fig. 4). In our opinion, such similarity is the result of administrative policy first khans of the Golden Horde: relocation to the east of “extra” nomads Polovtsian-Torchesk associations from the region of the Dnieper⁹.

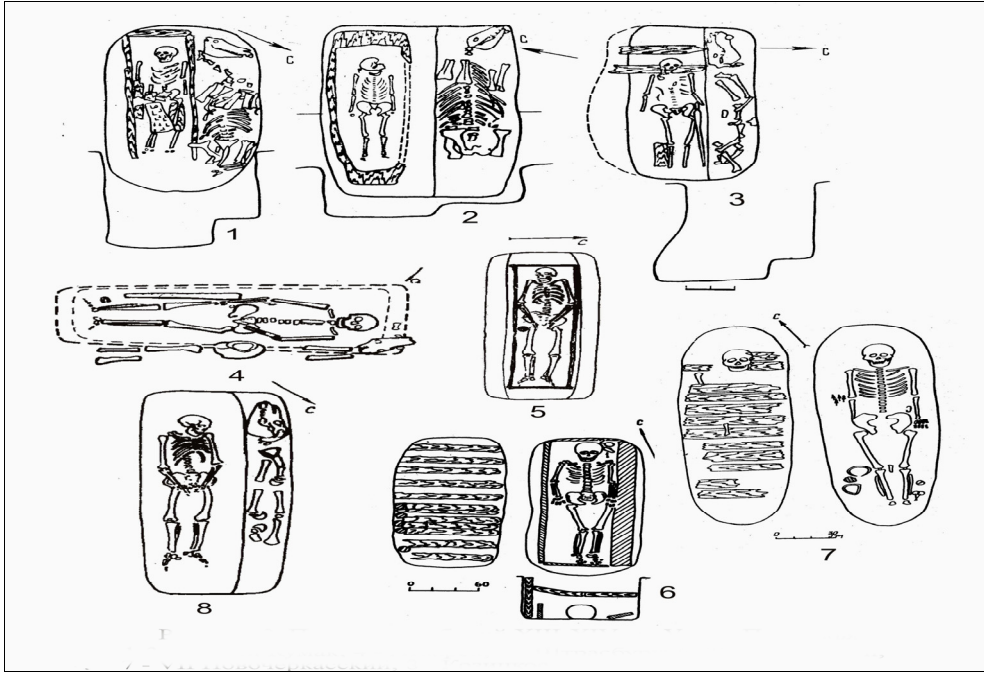


Figure 4. Types of burials 13–14 centuries from the Ural–Volga region

1–3 – Novy Kumak; 4 – Atkarsk; 5 – Shtrassburg; 6 – Tljavgulovo;
7 – Novocherkassky VII; 8 – Kozickoe.

A special place in the ethnocultural map steppes of Eastern Europe in the Golden Horde occupy burial Bank Ukraine (northwestern Black Sea, pool Dniester). They display very low typological similarity with burials of Ural, Volga, Don and even the Left-Bank Ukraine. At the time, drew attention to this G.A.Fedorov-Davydov, who outlined the Dnieper and Transnistria as local versions of nomadic culture Golden Horde¹⁰. This is confirmed by our analysis.

Summarizing these results, we can safely say that there are in the 13th–14th centuries in the steppes of Eastern Europe, at least two groups of nomadic populations of different ethnic origins. First, wandering in the South Urals and the Volga is a conglomeration of tribes, which, in addition Polovtsy-Kipchak tribes attended

⁹ Fedorov-Davydov G.A. Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy pod vlastju zolotoordynskih hanov... P.238.

¹⁰ He also. Obshestvennyi stroi Zolotoi Ord. M., 1973. P.61.

Central (Turko-Mongol origin). They came here as part of the Mongol invasion and brought with them the elements of the funeral ceremony, which had no roots in the Polovtsian culture of pre-Mongol period – buried under the stone structures and the tomb complex shapes (with steps or niches-red lining) (Fig.4).

Second, living on the far west of the steppes of Eastern Europe, consisted of nomads whose ancestors were part of the Polovtsian-Torchesk ethno-political association. They kept in their funeral rites are the elements that were present here in the pre-Mongol period: inlet burial space horse carcasses left on the person, the eastern and north-western orientation of the deceased (Fig.4).

As for the local groups of monuments identified between the Volga and the Dnieper, they include both the burial-Polovtsian Torchesk and with Central Asian features rites. The latter include a stone burial mounds or under the stone calculations in the Volga-Don steppes and Left-Bank Ukraine, under a stone mound “shell” in the Volga – Don rivers, red lining, covered tree on the left-bank Ukraine, skeleton of a horse, lying on a ledge of the step-by Don. These symptoms are quite clearly show how far to the west of the steppes of Eastern Europe could move tribes of Central Asian (Turko-Mongol) origin.

Architectural Traditions of the Crimean Tatar Dwellings

Nuriya Akchurina-Muftieva

Development of the Crimean Tatar art in the mainstream of universal Muslim culture

The Crimea possesses the richest architectural heritage. Being situated on the intersection of the most important transcontinental routes of Eurasia it became the meeting point of many cultures. That promoted active processes of ethno-cultural synthesis which was developing on the basis of mutual adaptation of Iranian speaking, Turkic and Slavonic peoples. Alongside with that every nation residing here has created its spiritual and material culture, high and original in its own way.

In addition, presence of big centers of various civilizations in the Crimea – Khersones, Pantikapaion, Kaffa (Feodosia), Bakhchisaray, Simferopol, etc. provided conditions for inclusion of the Crimean territory in the context of a certain (ancient, Byzantine, Italian, Turkish, all-Russia) artistic process in the periods of development of each of these cities. The cities were places of origin of new creative ideas that promoted development of the Crimean architecture, and at the same time were sort of “relay stations” for the achievements made in the biggest cities of ancient Greece, Roman State, Byzantium, Turkey and the Middle East. Besides, they were places of dissemination of almost all world religions and tribal beliefs, ancient cults, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. In a varying degree they influenced the development of the Crimean Tatar art and architecture, molding their form and content.

In the Golden Horde period the Crimea enters the common civilization space of Islamic world. With cultural relations with Khorezm becoming stronger, original Crimean Tatar art starts forming on Islamic basis.

Islam put forward ideological and aesthetic tasks associated with the formation and development of the culture of feudalism, strengthening its system, ideology, introducing to people Iranian-Arabic culture, which was the most advanced in era of the formation of medieval society. Spiritual orientation to the Muslim East contributed to the development of Crimean Tatar art in the mainstream of universal Muslim culture. That found its expression in the common stages of evolution of artistic ideas and aesthetic criteria of art and in the established universal canons of creative work, principles of artistic representation.

In the 13th–15th centuries, with Islam gaining ground in the peninsula, the Crimean Tatar culture makes a new turn in its development and comes to the Eastern European scene as a Muslim culture. It differs from neighboring cultures (Slavic and also Romanian, Greek, Armenian, Jewish, etc) and is moving towards Turkic culture and cultures of peoples belonging to Islamic area of Russia (Northern Caucasus, Volga region). Simultaneously, the architectural look of the Crimea and the decor are greatly influenced by Seljuk style which had become here widely popular.

The Crimea starts seeing building of caravansarais with features of fortifications, mosques with their magnificent carved doorways and austere, quiet and solemn layout. Mosques were often combined into a single architectural complex with the building of educational institution – madrasah. It becomes popular the type of a slender and thin minaret, built into the corner of the mosque from the façade side, which was to establish basic design of architectural ensembles and characteristic look of religious building for many centuries to go.

Surviving unique monuments of the stone architecture of 14th–15th centuries unfold principles of decoration and spatial design solutions typical to Muslim architecture and having parallels in Asia Minor and Transcaucasian architectural schools of Seljuk times.

They found their expression in the principles of “*Eastern classicism*”¹ with its method of centric composition and geometrized arrangement of architectural masses, as well as components of architectural and structural concepts of the Crimean Tatar buildings – domes, vaults, tent structures, conical and pyramidal tromps, column arches, “Mameluke” sections (triangular bevels).

Surviving monumental complexes – madrasah-mosque of Khan Uzbek (1314) in the Old Crimea, dervish tekie in Evpatoria, mosque of the Tatar period (16th century) in Chufut-Kale, bear the features of the Seljuk style. These features can be traced in materials, construction, decor – fine-grained limestone on the stone walls, stalactite Conch-semispheres, ornamented portals. In ornamented pattern of the portal and mihrab of Uzbek madrasah there are embossed cancerous palmettos completed with the lancets, spear-shaped lily leaf curling at its end into round-hole. The architecture of the mosque in Chufut-Kale uses lancet forms of arches, capitals, decorated with stalactites, Seljuk ornaments on the portal rosette and keystone of the dome.

Significant role in the formation of the stylistic unity of Islamic art played spreading of Arabic calligraphy with its total whole of artistic handwritings. Epigraphic ornament evolved on this basis was used in the decoration of monumental architecture, gravestone monuments and works of decorative and applied art.

¹ Zasipkin, B. (1931).

Arabic inscriptions were the first evidence of Muslim influence in the Crimean region.

Culture, art, town-planning in the Crimea reached a high maturity and splendid bloom during existence of the Crimean Khanate, art became quite comparable to the European Renaissance and, by analogy with it, was often called the “*Muslim Renaissance*”².

The present-day house building in the Crimea

In the 20th century cultural heritage of the Crimean Tatar people underwent the process of destruction and ravaging which resulted in its almost complete annihilation.

Coercive resettlement, factually acting long-term prohibition on national life and development, loss and destruction of material articles and documents, influence of local cultures in the areas of deportation have resulted in deficiency of ethnical memory of the Crimean Tatars. With people returning to their historic homeland revival of the national cultural heritage has become still more burning issue. While the repatriates settle down, the present-day house building in the Crimea very often demonstrates either following patterns of modern Central Asian dwellings or merely external and decorative imitation of the local architecture. This puts forward the task of a profound study and use of the national Muslim traditions in the Crimean architecture so that to apply them in the mass house building and in the development of the resort and cultural-ethnographical complexes in the historical areas of towns.

Medieval settlements in the Crimea

It is clear that not all monuments of the Crimean Tatar art have lived to our days. However, those surviving are interesting and extremely important for studying the history and ways of life of the region.

Most of the medieval settlements in the Crimean mountain and foothill areas were located on the remains of former sites of ancient settlements and fortresses of Tauri, Scythians and Greeks.

This, as well as the mass adoption of Islamic religion in the Crimea in 13th–14th centuries had a significant impact on the structure of settlements and organization of dwelling houses of Crimean Tatars.

Settlements were formed from dwelling quarters, with each quarter having a tiled stone mosque. Minaret with gilded crescent presented the main decoration of the mosque. It was seen from any point of the quarter.

² Chervonnaya, Svetlana (1994).

Each village had a coffee house where Tatar men came together to talk, relax, sip coffee, listen to music, and take a bath, the female half served as a kind of club for Tatar women.

A well-known researcher of the Crimean Tatar dwelling B.A. Kuftin identifies four main regional types of the Crimean Tatar dwellings³:

- Dwelling of the Southern Coast Tatars, which in its archaic forms reveals initial connection with the Caucasus and Asia Minor;
- Dwelling of the steppe area Karasubazar and Simferopol, manifesting elements of the ancient dwelling of the Black Sea steppe plains;
- Village houses of Bakhchissaray district with their distinctive traditional features;
- The Crimean Tatar dwelling of Bakhchisaray city center, which served as a conductor of the Ottoman culture.

Planning, design and interior decoration of all types of dwellings were forming under the influence of the traditions of the peoples inhabiting various areas of the peninsula, religion, cultural introductions and natural environment.

Villages of the Southern Coast Tatars most often were located far from the sea in the ascending mountain slopes, on the sides of springs running over the stones and forming the main streets of the village.

They were built usually in two floors and piled on each other on the slope of the gorge, forming a continuous multilevel structure. Instead of streets there were stone staircases, placed in the narrow spaces between houses. Flat clay plastered roofs, served as courts for houses standing above. Cross-shaped mutual disposition of the rooms, having an exit to common veranda, and exploited flat roofs, according to B.A. Kuftin, carry Caucasus and Asia Minor features. *“Houses from a distance seem to be some giant honeycombs, clinging to the slopes and ravines. Curved streets end below, yet at the foot, and to get up in the village, it is necessary to climb the narrow stone staircases literally from roof to roof... Each house is a one- or two-story oblong rectangular building of “wild stone” on clay. Sometimes the back wall is a natural rock, while the front wall, with doors and windows, is made of clay-plastered wattle”*⁴. From the outside of the house to the hearth often adjoined the domed oven for baking bread.

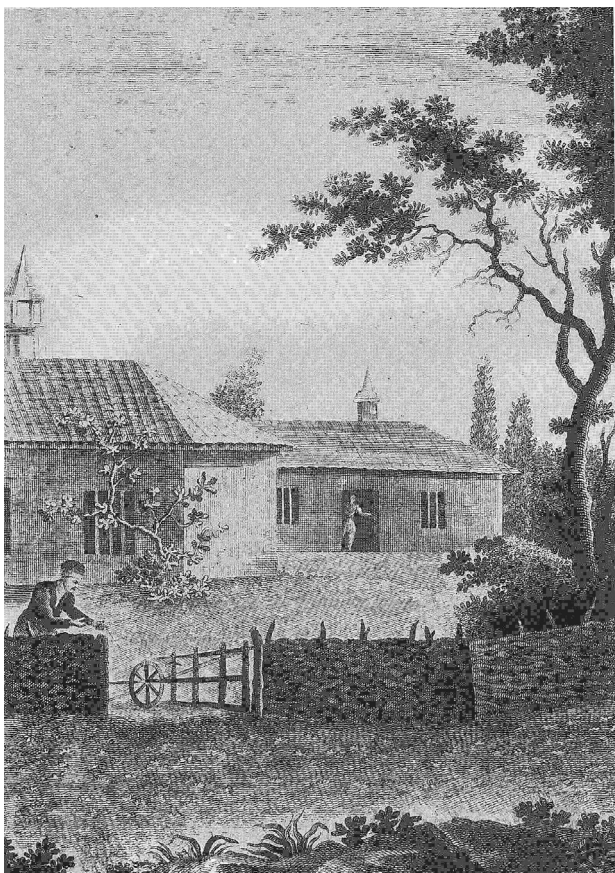
On earth roofs the Crimean Tatar women dried tobacco, nuts, onions, garlic, etc., during holidays roofs were used for dancing, which made the soil on them more solid. Floors were plastered with color clay and carefully covered with felt.

³ Kuftin, B. (1925: 23).

⁴ Kuftin, B. (1925: 245).

However, at the beginning of the 19th century in the Yalta region and to the west of it this distinctive ancient type of a dwelling was quickly replaced by dwellings with tiled gable roofs which appeared there under the influence of more northerly urban cultural centers. Dying out of flat roofs led to changes in village planning, bringing along streets and courtyards with gardens. In the two-storey dwellings ground floor was usually used as a room for cattle and storeroom. Accommodations were located on the top floor, with outside or inside staircase to ascend⁵.

Dwellings of the steppe regions Karasubazar and Simferopol were typically disorderly located, had empty yard, surrounded by a low fence. Single-storey dwellings were built of clay-plastered wattle or bricks. Consisting of two or three rooms, they were covered with a tiled gable roof, had no attic. Stable also was placed under the same roof (ill. 1).

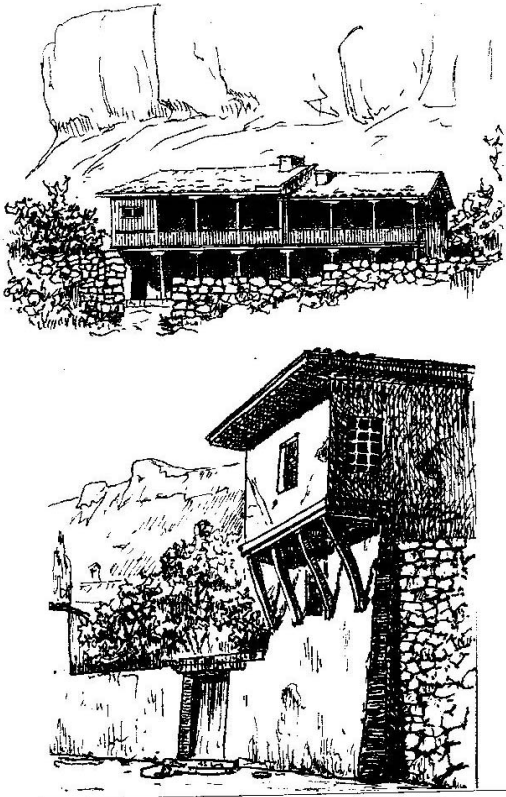


Ill. 1. *Dwellings of the steppe regions. Engraving of 18th century*

⁵ Kuftin, B. (1925: 245).

In the area of the watershed of the rivers Kacha and Belbek **village dwellings** were built of wood and presented a sort of log houses built from massive oak planks. Such log house was raised on the ground floor built out of stones or placed directly on the ground on a low stone foundation. Ridge roofs were made of massive hewn beams, ceilings were absent. Much more complex constructions presented wooden two-storey dwellings in the mountain villages of Ozenbash, Stile, etc., borrowing, according to B.A. Kuftin, their original designs from wooden frame dwellings of northern newcomers – Goths.

Houses in the town of Bakhchisaray had more regular location. The yard was adjacent to the house from the front side and consisted of two parts at different levels. Adapted to its given relief, each house had an asymmetrical design and constructive and functional difference of the floors: bottom floor, made out of stone, was intended for household purposes; upper floor – wooden framework structure – residential and was divided, as a rule, into male and female halves. On the street side the second floor was projected over the first one, recalling the old Byzantine house; the yard, at the junction of the male and female halves, had a commonly used veranda with a ladder descending to the terrace (ill. 2).



**Ill. 2. Crimean Tatar houses
in the town of Bakhchisarai. 19th century**
(pictures of E.V. Krikun)

Single storey houses were rectangular in shape, built out of rough stone with clay mortar, with gable or three-sloped roofs. Roofs usually came down as a broad canopy which created shadow and also protected clay walls from the rain. Resting on the columns with carved capitals, the broader roof slope turned into a canopy over the gallery. Lower part of the canopy was often decorated with small planks forming patterns (ill. 3).



III. 3. *Eaves*

Besides, as a type of nomadic dwelling, in the steppe regions, beginning with the conquest of the Crimea by the Golden Horde, for a long time there had been tents or yurts of Nogais who settled here. However, forcing nomadic tribes into settled life, induced them to adopt the accumulated local construction experience.

According to the Polish envoy to the Crimea M. Bronevsky [1578], Nogais of the Northern Crimean steppes lived in winter settlements and partly had huts, which were built “*from thin trees, coated with slime, mud or manure and covered with reeds...*”⁶.

By the 19th century the felt yurt of Nogais inhabiting the steppe area of the Crimea, was replaced by a rectangular one-storey dwelling of adobe sun-dried brick.

Simultaneously mass adoption of Islam religion and settling of the nomadic Turkic peoples influenced the formation of the inner space of the local Tatar dwelling.

⁶ Bronevski, Martin (1867: 337–338).

Thus, planning, structure and interior decoration of all types of dwellings were formed under the influence of traditions of the peoples inhabiting various areas of the peninsula, religion, cultural introductions and natural environment.

Despite the variety of types of the Crimean Tatar dwellings, composition of inner quarters and their functions in all houses were identical. In both single- and two-storey dwellings residential area consisted of two or three rooms. Hall and kitchen were main rooms. The third room served as a living room and was not usually heated.

In rectangular houses accommodations were arranged in a row. From the hall, located in the center, one or two doors led into the kitchen and living room. Usually it was not accepted to keep in the entrance hall anything but hand loom for weaving, on which women wove shawls, towels, etc.

Peculiarity of the dwelling of Southern Coast Tatar was the absence of lateral lighting and cruciform disposition of rooms, as well as the presence of the internal room, intended for sleeping and which had only one way to come in – through the great room (kitchen). If necessary, a living room without main walls and with a separate entrance was attached on the front side of the dwelling.

In other types of dwelling houses, the main accommodation was kitchen – a place for installing hearth which looked like a large fireplace with a chimney and funnel at a height of about one meter from the floor, so that the whole family could settle under it in cold winter evenings warming by the fire made on the floor. Inside the hearth chamber, on a chain hang the boiler. On the sides of the hearth were placed iron tripods and jugs, or a huge copper pot to warm water and coffee. In old buildings a stone couch, where were all sorts of utensils put, was by the opposite wall, and nearby was a large oval basket for grain. Later, by the wall with windows in place of the couch came the wooden bench. At the end of 18th–19th centuries pottery and copper utensils were arranged on open shelves, fitted under the ceiling.

Most often the whole family spent nights in the same room. Also it was often used to receive close friends that took their places by the fire on small felt mats and kept conversations, especially in long winter evenings.

Distinctive feature of the interior of the Crimean Tatar dwelling was a special niche inside the walls used for keeping the chest with a pile of blankets and pillows towering above. On the floor, along other walls, on low elevations of clay, were spread mattresses and pillows for seating. In one of the corners of the room some small space was enclosed and a used for ablution (hamam).

Living room had no fire and was remarkably clean. Floors were covered with color or black felt pieces or wool carpets. On the crossbars or beams, which, owing to absence of the attic, remained open hang festive clothes of the whole family and color shawls; here also rested “Holy Koran” and other types of spiritual books.

Accommodations were decorated with embroidered towels, table-cloths, napkins, curtains. Decorative homespun linen towels with geometric patterns decorated the walls of dwellings and shelves for kitchenware. On broad and low couches along the walls, there were mattresses and pillows to rest back on (ill. 4).



III. 4. *Interior of the Crimean Tatar home*

In some houses (very rare) the walls were decorated with paintings, consisting mainly of images of the *tree* or straight color streaks. Probably, in their drawings,

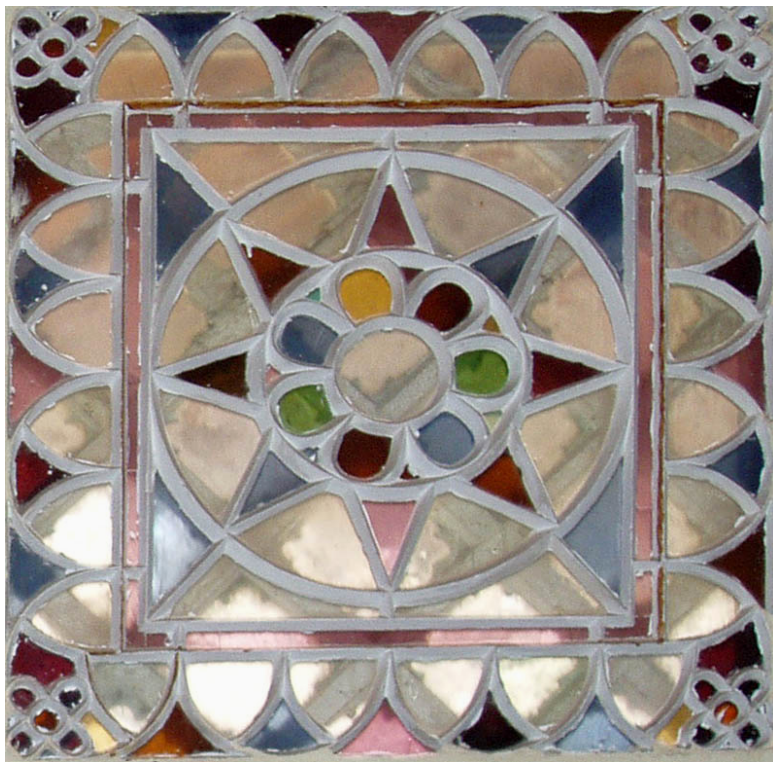
Tatars expressed their ideas about Eden and growing there “Tree of Happiness” (*Tuba Tree*), which “*shall spread its branches upon shelter of every holy man and be burdened with all sorts of fruits and birds*”⁷.

In town dwellings of Bakhchisaray walls inside rooms were plastered smoothly with clay and whitewashed. The hearth, in the shape of fireplace, was built on to the wall with the front door. The fire was kindled right on the floor, sometimes on the elevation of clay, extending along the walls at the height of about 0,5 meters.

The hearth was carefully decorated, often was painted, reminding fireplaces in the old Turkish houses of Istanbul. On both sides of the hearth were placed wooden cabinets for storing utensils and for washing. The cabinets did not reach the ceiling; usually on their tops were fruits for home use. Low wooden platform of about one meter width and the whole wall length stood by the wall opposite to the fireplace and served for storing blankets and pillows for the day. The space above the platform was closed by the curtain, attached to the wooden cornice, hanging down in the form of a vault. Niches used as cabinets were arranged in stone walls. Mattresses for seating were put on the raised floor along the walls of the room. Felt, and top rugs or *kilims* were laid in the middle of the room. Embroidered towels, calligraphic inscriptions with sayings from the Koran or the names of Muhammad and the caliphs – Fatima, Ali, Asana and Hussein hung on the walls. Shelves, which housed various copper utensils, made by local craftsmen, serving rather for decoration of the rooms and for demonstration of well-being and prosperity of their owner than for household purposes were nailed along the walls above windows. Benches, mirrors, a short, rectangle (or hexa-, octahedral) table, bearing Arabic name *safra* (or Turkish – *kursu*) which was laid with viands on tray during meals and which some other time stood somewhere by walls served as the furnish.

The windows were small, square, with iron or wooden vertical bars; from the outside, they were closed with double shutters and, as a rule, looked into the yard. In addition, a small square window was cut into the rear wall so as to observe everything that was happening on the street. In affluent dwellings above normal windows, near the ceiling were arranged, only as decoration, ornamental windows of colored glass inserted into artistically molded plaster frames in the form of rosettes, cypresses, etc., like those that enjoyed wide popularity in the East – in Persia and Central Asia (ill. 5). These windows with shutters under semicircular arches and the same decoration of the fireplace were urban impacts revealing influence of the Ottoman artistic style. Dwellings of rich people had a special room for guests, which was the storage of all the best thing: carpets, kitchenware, books.

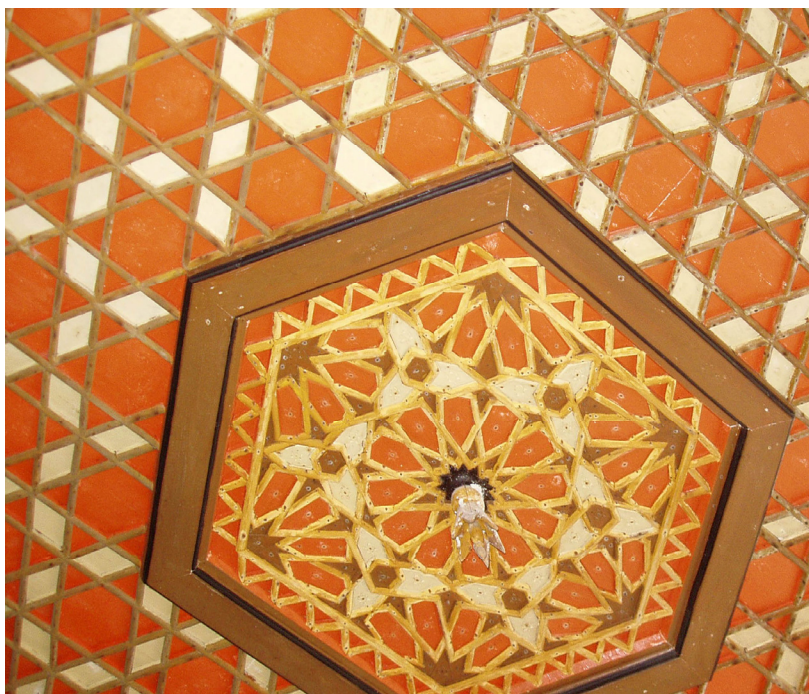
⁷ Radde G. (1856–1857: 311).



**Ill. 5. A small ornamental windows of colored glass
in apartment house 18th–19th cc. (reconstructions)**

In affluent houses of urban type in the late 18th–19th centuries inclusion of fabrics and items from soft materials into the interior was reduced to the floor, couches and walls, at the same time ceilings were made of wooden planks and nailed to the cross beams. The ceiling usually painted blue or orange with patches of white was decorated with wooden appliqué (nailed patterns) of semicircular black or gold bars, producing a reticulate, star-shaped or floral geometric pattern. Rosette-plafond with diverging outgoing rays of relief geometric ornament or paintings was often placed in the center of the ceiling. The carved hanging cornice was fitted along the perimeter. Wall cornices were also decorated with painted bouquets of tulips and flowers in vases. Old town dwellings with sheathed ceilings had survived till the early twentieth century in Bakhchisaray and Evpatoria.

Reconstructed ceilings of old Tatar dwellings in Bakhchisaray are used at present in the interiors of Bakhchisaray Museum. Such technique of making ceilings was also used in mosques, with the only difference that plafond there was larger in size and richer ornamented (ill. 6). Eaves were sheathed similarly.



III. 6. Ceiling boarding

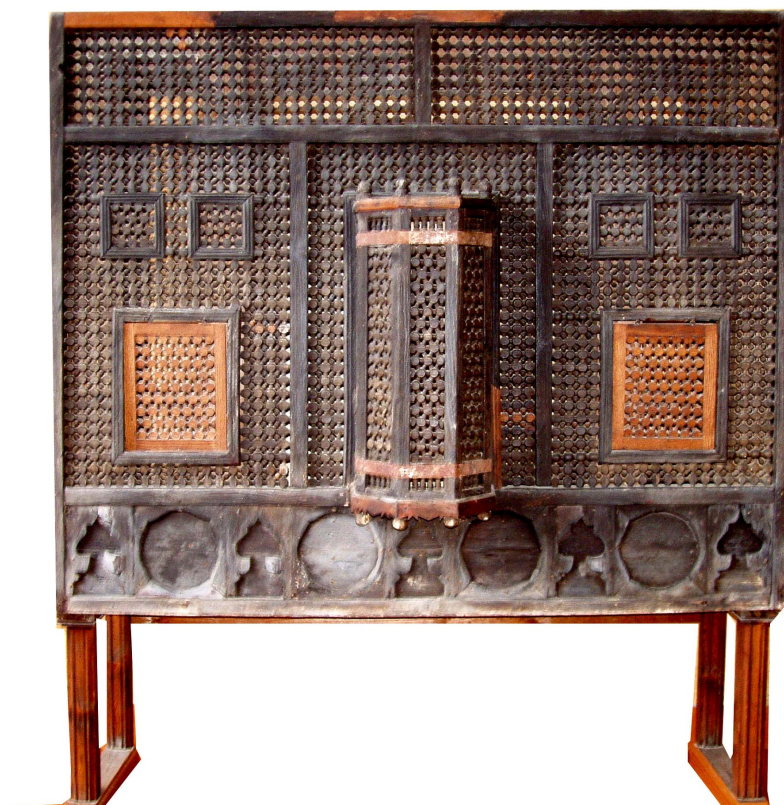
Reviewing traditions of ceiling decoration of both residential and public houses, one can observe an interesting mix of motives of the Ottoman era with the older techniques associated with the ornamentation of Persia⁸.

Windows, niches and balconies were frequently closed with laced *kafes* grids made from small flat wooden slats, fastened together by means of grooves and other junctions without nails and nailed perpendicularly or diagonally to the frame. They are of Turkish origin and most frequently were used in women's halves of private dwellings (ill. 7). *Kafes* adorned niches inside premises, and were also used as sliding screens.

Principles of organization of the interior space in the Crimean Tatar traditional dwelling show various forms of interaction of objects within the interior thus providing basis for emerging certain ensembles. Small ensembles are built on the basis of functional relationships of objects. For example, a set of items for the hearth or groups of items constituting decoration of the niche. Relationship of material objects and interior space, architecture creates larger ensembles. Things fill the interior in a certain sequence and create there certain material environment turning

⁸ Zasipkin, B. (1927: 166).

real space into aesthetic. Interior, in its turn, functionally and artistically joins things from different materials and serving various purposes. No less important is connection of the world of objects with the spiritual, emotional, aesthetic nature of man, which results in creating household things and their well-considered organization in the interior of the dwelling.



III. 7. *Wooden niche-partition – Kafes*

The whole ensemble of the dwelling has appeared on the basis of these forms of relationships and reflects a stable, traditional life of the Crimean Tatar people. Objects differing in shape, color, decorative design, size are united into a single expressive composition, responding to aesthetic ideas of the Crimean Tatars. The core of this composition is stylistic unity between the environment of material objects and architectural space.

The mentioned features unfold complex structure of the artistic image of the interior of the Crimean Tatar popular dwellings. It combines simultaneously such features as the diversity and synthesis, dimension and ornamental, coherent ratio-

nality and emotional content, enclosed character of composition and width of artistic content.

Reconstructions of the lost Muslim traditions in the Crimean architecture

Watching the modern house building in the Crimea in the process of resettlement of returnees it can be seen that people want to escape from the clutches of dull, faceless building solutions. Both mass builders and resort developers in Crimea today need more knowledge of traditions and skill in their tactful use, which has always been a sign of deep culture and saved from misconceptions. And, therefore, the burning issue of the day is to restore the lost Muslim traditions in the Crimean architecture. It is necessary to give all possible support to the revival of national arts and crafts, to stimulate artistic creativity of the people, to support and develop their great natural aspiration for the beautiful.

Culture, folk art, traditions and spiritual world view of the Crimean Tatars returning to their homeland are attracting increasing interest of local multi-ethnic population of the peninsula, and especially tourists visiting the peninsula to get acquainted with the cultural heritage of the Crimea.

The “Regional Program of Ethno-Cultural Tourism Development in the Crimean Autonomous Republic” which has the purpose to revive and preserve the cultural heritage of the peoples of the peninsula, proposes creation of ethno cultural complexes, contributing to the development of an effective service basis in the tourism sector.

In this regard, we have made proposals on the necessity to recreate the cultural and historical traditions of the Crimean Tatar people with their characteristic ways of working and living in the historic areas of towns Bakhchisaray, Evpatoria, Feodosia.

It was proposed that in the reconstructed and restored architectural monuments were established museums with cultural and ethnographic complexes, recreational areas, restaurants with national cuisine, a network of mini-hotels in national style, artisan crafts, exhibition halls, etc. around them.

In 2006 the plan provided for land allocation in the town of Feodosia and project proposal for establishment of the cultural and ethnographic complex, including ethnographic Crimean Tatar village, hotel, exhibition and sports area was approved.

Dwelling buildings with workshops and trading stalls will recreate life, activities and traditional handicraft of the Crimean Tatars. Here tourists as well as local people will have opportunities not only to observe but also partake in the process of manufacture of products of weaving, embroidery, jewelry and blacksmithing, stone and wood carving, etc., to purchase products from local craftsmen as souvenirs.

The same buildings may provide accommodations reflecting the Crimean Tatar local color and showing traditional organization of the interior.

The complex territory includes organically blended together demonstration areas of national music, fashion, art exhibitions, national cuisine and traditional national sports games. There are specially allotted sites for theatrical representations of various rites of the Crimean Tatars, demonstrations of and training national children's and youth games, theatrical fashion shows, performances of national music.

It seems that revival and development of cultural oases in the Crimea, creation of ensembles with a touch of folk architecture will contribute to the rise of the cultural and spiritual level of people, better understanding of Muslim culture and provide a favorite tourist attraction for leisure and sightseeing.

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The Motap Project; Bilge Khagan Memorial Complex Excavations of 2001, 2003

Hasan Bahar

The Historical Geography Of The Region

Mongolia is landlocked country in East and Central Asia and one of the important centers of Steppe Civilizations. The Steppe Civilizations of Hiung-nu, Sien-Pi, Cucen, Gokturk, Uighur, Kitan ve Mongol emerged here. So the geography of this region takes the inheritance of many civilizations. Some inscriptive monuments were inherited from the The Gokturk civilization. One of the noteworthy monument was Bilge Khagan Monument that was known as Khoshoo Tsaidam I in archeological literature. This monument was located 400 km west side of Ulaanbatur between Khoshoo Tsaidam Lake and Orkhon River. In addition, a monumental grave complex of Kultigin and grave monuments of Gokturk family were situated in this region. Many different sized Kurgans belongs to the Bronze Age, Iron Age, Hiung-nu, Gokturk, Uigur and Mongolian Periods. This region located 50 km west side of Karakorum, the ancient capital city of Mongolia was a sacrificied center with its many Kurgan graves from the Bronze Age to the Mongolian Periods(Sinor 2000, Roux 2001)

Today, the Mongolian population is estimated at 2.5 million and many of them have a step-nomadic life dependent on stockbreeding and they live in tents called “ger”. Approximately 50% of the population live in Ulaanbatur, the capital-city of Mongolia and in cities like Bulgan, Darhan, Erdenet and Bayanulgei (population under 100 thousand). Some of these people, live a nomadic life in the step in the summer time..

This step way of life in Mongolia, has been depicted on rocks. In these cave paintings, scenes related to hunting of wild animals are dense. Wild deers and goats are the most used animals. Therefore, these wild animals have not only been drawn in cave paintings but in other Mongolian remnants such as grave tombs called “balbal”. Balbals with deers artifacts found later in the Göktürk period, turned into grave monuments. In the 2001 Bilge Khagan Complex Excavation, we found two deer statuettes which showed its step tradition(Bahar 2010).

Since 1997, the two countries, Turkey and Mongolia have been carrying out joint projects concerning the revealing the Turkish Era Monuments in Mongolia as they have similar historical roots in this region. A Project was carried between 1997–2003 including Tonyokuk monument (known as Bain Tsokto) situated in Nalakh 90 km south of Ulanbatur. The archeological excavations were carried out in 2000–2003. In this paper, I'll present the 2001 and 2003 excavations that was conducted by myself as a chairman of the excavation team.¹

Bilge Khagan Memorial Complex Excavations of 2001 and 2003

Bilge Khagan was a regent of the II. Göktürk period. His fame comes from the memorial monuments with Turkish inscription in Göktürk rune alphabet. These are to be found about 50 km from the old capital city of Karakurum, which is situated about 400 km west of Ulaanbatur.

In 734, the unexpected death of his brother Kültegin, had affected Bilge Khagan tremendously that he brought Chinese artisans and rose up a memorial grave for his beloved brother. Bilge khagan was poisoned by his advisor a year later with the unfinished immortality memorial for himself, latter the unfinished immortality memorial and the complex were then completed by his son (Gömeç 1999). Over the period these monuments were abandoned.

Ten years later Gokturk empire was defeated by Uigur Empire which the city was damaged badly later a new capital city called Karabalgasun rose up for the Uigur Empire which is about 25 km from the Bilge Khagan Complex(Gömeç 1999).

Cuveyni, an Arab historian, in the 13th century was the first person who mentioned the existence of Kok Turk Inscription and then Johann Philipp Strahlenberg (1676–1747), captured by the Russian army during the Battle of Poltava in 1709, is the one who found these inscriptions during the surveys carried out in 1711–1721. He published his geographical and anthropological surveys in 1757 in French as “Description Historique de l’Empire Russien (Historical Description of the Russian Empire)(Ligeti 1986).

The Archeological Union of Finland published the runic alphabet in an atlas in 1889. In the same year, Yadrintsev, a Russian scholar of Irkutsk, found new runics around Orkhon River and Khoshoo Tsaidam Lake. The importance of these findings attracted the interests of the scholars around the world then a person called as Heikel under the auspices of Finogric Union published in 1892 by copying all of

¹ I would like to express my thanks to all the professional colleagues who represent both of the countries especially Prof. Dr. Sadettin GOMEÇ, the coordinator of 2001 and 2003 excavations (MOTAP).

the monuments and took the photographs of the figurines. In addition to these fragment inscriptions, the recent, lengthy, mystic inscriptions were added and astonished the scholars. These two monuments stated in Chinese sources gave information on the memories of Kultigin and his elder brother Bilge Khagan (Mai-Tsau 2006).

In these years a competition was started among the scholars to decipher these inscriptions. In 1893, Thomsen a scientist, surpassed the other scientist and decoded the Orhun Runic alphabets (Thomsen 2002). W. Radloff conducted some excavations in 1891 in Bilge Khagan Complex and published an atlas called as “*Atlas Der Alterhümer der Mongelie*” including the excavations studies in 1892. A team from the Czech under archaeologist Jisl excavated the grave in the Kul-Tigin complex (Jisl 1963, Nowgorodowa 1980)

The recent activities started in 1996 and aimed to research and preserve the remains in the region. This work was a collaboration between Turkey and Mongolia. In the beginning of the work, 60 x 30 x 10 m. large museum-store building formed of steel warehouse was built. A similar building was built in Nalakh (90 km. south of Ulaanbatur) where the Tonyukuk Monument was situated.

Since 1997, the two countries, Turkey and Mongolia have been carrying out joint projects concerning the revealing the Turkish Era Monuments in Mongolia as they have similar historical roots in this region. These projects are supported financially by the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA).

Excavations of 2001

On June 20, 2001 we went to Orkhon (*Khoshoo Tsaidam*). Our group visited Bilge Khagan and Kul Tigin Memorial Complex and observed the place of them. In the wake of observations Turkish and Mongolian scholars met all together and decided to excavate at the Bilge Khan Memorial Complex (Pic. 1, 2).

The excavation group started its digging performance on June 21, 2001. As we planned, our excavation started with the 5 x 10 m. rectangular trenches on the direction which combines the Turtle Pedestal, Bark (Barque) and Altar parts, previously the owner of the first inscription that forms the main axis of the Bilge Khan Memorial Complex. These trenches were fitted on the square plans that had been prepared before by the support of the geodesy team. According to these rectangular plans our plan is from the west view or altar view (Pic. 3) considered as the following: NG 262 A, NG 263, ANG 264 ANG 265 ANG 266 A, 267 A, 267 B, 268 A, 268 B and 65 m. NH 273 and NI 273 trenches at the mud-brick wall in the east side (Pic. 4).

The plan of trench works had been carried out increasingly during our performance. We went on at the trenches of NG 261 A, NG 261 B, NG 262 B, NG

267 A,NG 267 B,NG 268 A-B,NH 273 A,NI 273 A and Anonyme III Memory Complex (Pic. 2).

In this performance totally 15 trenches were opened. Although our trenches were usually 5 x 10 m, NG 261 A,NH 273 and NI 273 trenches were 5 x 5 m and NG 268 A-B trenches were 2 x 5 m. Our another performance is aimed at designating the culture layer through the axis of east and west by a 1 meter cross section trenches covering all of the trenches (Pic. 3)..

According to this, all of the Memorial Complexes were covered with grey clay ground with a thickness of 5 x 10 cm and the upper surface of the ground was encrusted with brick plates (Pic. 6). But with devastation of the brick plates just only a few plates survived. Some pieces of the bricks pressed closely under the ground by the flood effect at the NG 261 trenches at the west side of the Memorial Complex. This incidence implies that the river of Orkhon's overflows stretching here. Bark part, exist in the middle, the same instance was noticed. The ruins of sun-dried brick of Bark became slime by melting and was collapsed towards east slopingly with the roof piece of roof tiles (Pic. 8). The revealing of a piece of statue made from cracked marble between the Bark and the Turtle Pedestal shows us the existence of the statues and their destruction at the entrance place in which the Bark and the Turtle Pedestal placed (Pic. 4).

After these works the thick fire layer, horse head presented as an offer, discarded brick, pieces of roof tiles and stones in the west side of Memorial Complex's altar indicates that this Memorail Complex (probably after the Uighors Period's Damage had been used as a cult religious place (Turkish obo. Mongolian: Owoo) till nowadays. (Pic. 10–11).

The statues of rams placed at the eastern part of the entrance and the place of Turtle Pedestal has been converted a destroyed place by means of archeologist or the authorizes of Mongolian whose aim is to protect these places. We discovered that there had been an excavation at the Bark place, in the middle of the construction (Pic. 7). In the following years, these activities will be performed towards north and south by creating the new parallel trenches and a general plan of the construction will be disclosed. But during the excavation process not only the imitation works but also the architectural place should be protected. It is also praiseworthy to enclose the complex with a fence in order to protect the excavation area and for the achievement of the excavation process.

These activities started on June 21, 2001 and continued on September 9, 2001. We reached 100 cm depth with the trenches. During the excavations carried out around the altar, a memorial grave was disclosed 1.5 m. away from the altar towards the North(Pic. 10).

The following 4500 items made of gold and silver that might had been the possessions of Bilge Khagan found under the basement between altar and grave (Pic.11); Golden crown (Pic.21) and belt (Pic.19) which might had belonged to the Bilge Khagan, two silver deer figurines, golden water beaker, hollow wares and broken pieces of a silver chest (Pic. 13) used as a storage of the mentioned items (Pic. 12–20).

The place was covered with a nylon not to damage for the bad weather conditions and some earth was put on it. This closing process had been done during the excavation process.

The two statues of rams (Pic. 25) at the opening of NG 268 A, NG 268 B and Turtle Pedestal at the NG 267 A transported to the Museum Building.

In order to restore and preserve those findings, a team was created by the Turkish and Mongolian participants supported financially by TIKa in 2001 based on my suggestions. This team carried out the restoration and conservation activities in the Art Gallery in Ulanbatur (Pic.18,20,21).

TIKA contributed to the 50 km. road between Karakorum- Khoshoo Tsaidam and restoration of the monuments following the 2003. Then an exhibition hall in the National Museum of Mongolia was designed to display these findings. Crown, one of the findings of them was displayed in many countries as the “Inheritance of Cengiz Han”.

Finds and Datas

The surrounding of the Turtle Pedestal in which the inscription is situated encircled with a rectangular structure and covered with a roof system. The dense roof tiles on the wall basis reflect its existence. Also in this area the statues over the complex were garnered, tried to prevent from destruction with the wooden pillars but unfortunately the archaeological structure was damaged (Pic. 4, 8). This region was protected with an iron fence by the Mongolian Government but the post of these fences engraved over the complex and was cemented. So the floor bricks were destroyed. Also, under the structure of the Turtle Pedestal was reached at the end of 2000 excavation term and concluded that the base founded over a 60 cm (approximately) wide clay floor. We noticed clay floor all over the area. The thickness range from 3 cm to 6 cm and formed a thin structure. As it was considered earlier, Bilge Khagan Memorial Complex wasn't covered not only the clay floor but also the floor bricks (Pic. 6). We can observe them at the NG 266 A and NG 266 trenches' passages and the brick floor stones discovered at the NG 261 A.

Broken Inscription pieces were found out at the trenches of NG 267 A and NG 267 B, –30 cm deep. On the hand the first devastation of the Bilge Khagan Memorial Complex might be occurred during the reign of the Uighurs (Pic. 10–11).

The pieces of the inscription belongs to this period found out in the altar during the cleaning activities (–78 cm deep)(Pic. 6). The text of this piece had no connection with the previous ones that had been read before by the epigraphy team.

A city wall leaning north and south was discovered at the NH 273 A and NI 273 trenches dug out about 65 m east of complex and sun-dried brick architectural traces were seen on the east of this city wall (Pic. 3). The city wall, constructed for the control of the entrance of the complex (we assume) is nearly 20 m length according to the geophysics datas. The small rooms placed in the east side of the city walls might be the small houses that added to the city wall subsequently. In addition to these architectural datas, many roof tiles and bricks were discovered. Bricks and clay mounds indicate that there could be a construction preparation. Unfortunately, the sand layer formed as a result of flood and overflowing of the rivers suppressed these activities.

This means that the activities carried out here were interrupted. The bricks and roof tiles brought from the complex. The excavation activities performed at the Bilge Khagan Memorial Complex implies that the bricks and roof tiles were gathered. After these collections and devastation a thick sand layer was discovered. This sand layer is contemporary with the stratigraphical surface. The next year we will widen the NH 273 A and NI 273 A to disclose the structure of these areas.

We researched how we could prevent the devastation over the Bilge Khagan Memorial Complex by means of natural disasters or excavations. In our research we discovered that the clay which is the raw material of the brick and the roof tiles and the sun-dried brick clays used over the floor of Bilge Khagan Memorial Complex were brought from the Khoshoo Tsaidam Lake. Therefore, during our restoration activities we will use the same clay. The clay of Khoshoo Tsaidam is also used for crockery.

It is possible to make conclusions about the general condition of the structure through the undamaged. Bricks ,the roof tiles ,the fronton roof tiles decorated with palmet (Pic. 8). Also the manufacture technique of these bricks stated, classified at the museum's archive various types of ceramics among the mixed materials emerged after the devastation of the complex.. The cultural materials accumulated from the excavation place and this area can be used for the following years and be a source by storing into the chests .This classification will be very helpful for the researchers who study the Orkhon Region.

But we need more surface research and connection with the other archaeological excavations in order to compare the findings discovered at the excavations with the other historical centers and their excavations , collecting and researching of the materials.

Sealed Balbal

An unknown Balbal was discovered hidden under a motorway, at the east part of Bilge Khan Memorial Complex to the point which follows the Balbal chain. The Balbal which cross the road through the south and north direction found out as a broken condition as result of the cars on the motorway (Pic. 9). On this Balbal there is a figure of butterfly and a chamois. This awfully devastated Balbal moved to the museum and protected from any possible damage. And its place cited with the cement blocks not to be forgotten (Tica 2001)

The other significant findings were statues. Two ram statues (Pic. 25) made from marble which were discovered at the NG 268 A-B moved to the museum. These statues are displayed outer side of the building in which the Turtle Pedestal Inscription is situated. Another statue is made from white limestone which was discovered in the west part of NG 266 A opening.

The bricks flooring as brick position at the entrance passage between the Bark and the Turtle Pedestal discovered at the excavations carried out in the east of NG 266 A opening shows us the distinguished flooring of these areas.

Gradually ascending position of the bark and pressed grey clay formation of it is noticed at the trenches of NG 265A, NG 264 and NG 263 A.

This year's another significant finding is Memorial Grave (Symbolic), situated 2 m away from the north of Altar (Pic. 11). The Stones of the coffins, situated at the trenches of NG 262 B and NG 261 B were probably devastated during the reign of Uighur period. The figures on the grave stone, broken at the level of clay flooring, remained undamaged and its art stumpage was taken. The other parts were taken by digital photographs.

A robbery happened during the first devastation period and opened by digging the around .The stones, covering the surface scattered around.. The findings (at the –112 cm deep from the surface) which belongs to the Bilge Khagan gradually emerged in this excavation in which we can find the relation between the holy grave and the altar (Pic. 11–21) (Tica 2001).

Excavation of Anonym III Grave Complex

It is 3.5 km to the North of Bilge Khan Memorial Complex. The monuments placed in the Orkhon Khoshoo Tsaidam region cited as Bilge Khan Memorial Complex (Khoshoo Tsaidam I) and Kul Tigin Memorial Complex (Khoshoo Tsaidam II) in literature (Pic. 2).

After the Turkish researchers' visit, the grave complexes called as Khoshoo Tsaidam III and Khoshoo Tsaidam IV described as Anonym I and Anonym II. According to the new description the complex called as Anonym III must be the

Khoshoo Tsaidam V. A 10x10 m. opening had been dug out for appropriateness of the square plan. These trenches were placed in the AO 266 and AO 267 squares.. These squares are to be called as A and B. In the following stages the width of the trenches lowered into 5 x 5 m. The triangulation point identified as 609 called as +1384.28 m.

At –56 cm depth, we found out stone pieces scattered indiscriminately, these stones could be in the Mongolian Period within the oboy tradition.

The two 2.5 meter-wide and length trenches towards east and west at the 5.5 m area in the AO 266 B and AO 267 A were dug out to enclose the stones of coffins of the complex. In these trenches we discovered a horse head skeleton in the –64 cm depth at the North West corner of the broken coffin stone. Also one of the horse head skeleton was discovered in the –50 cm depth of NG 262 A opening of Bilge Khan Complex.

In addition to the work of Bilge Khagan Memorail Complex, the burnt wooden pieces in the coffins and the figures on the coffins at the excavation activities we had done in the Anonym II Memorial Complex feed us with information about the grave tradition of Turks. The stones of coffins of the Anonym I and Anonym II grave complexes which were ready for devastation and located over the surface for many years and the stones of coffins of Anonym III were sent to the museum with the cooperation of restoration team (Pic. 2) (Tica 2001).

Excavations of 2003

The aim in the 2003 works, was a preparation for the restoration of the Bilge Khagan complex. We wished to enlighten the main features of the complex and later say that we have attained and successfully completed this goal (Pic. 26) The length of the complex was 72 m, the wide 36 m and the bark in the middle 15 x 15 m (Pic. 7) and the building where “ Bengu Tash” inscription was protected was 14 x 14 m (Pic. 24) and the ditches’ wide and the depth were 6.5 m and 3.5m (Bahar 2009, Pic.11).

The whole complex was covered with grey clay and brick plates. The complex was surrounded by a high mud-brick wall about 225 m.. The inside and the outside of the wall, were Pictured with red or black pen on a white surface. The upper part of the walls was covered with bricks. On one of them is a war scene depicted. On the surface of the protecting wall of the bilge Kagan inscription, similar Pictures were present. These Pictures were voluminous, but after the wrecking they broke into pieces and dissolved, so it was difficult to complete them. Balbals were set up with certain gaps between the complex and the rain ditches. On the balbals signs of the ruling clan were present. In addition the starting point of the 550 balbals from

the complex's east entrance to 3 km eastward has been determined (Tica 2003, Bahar 2009).

Also during the 2003 excavations, the required data were prepared for the restoration team for the architecture and measurement of the complex. A horseman figure in the battle area on a tile base used for the environment wall is an interesting figure to depict the Gokturkish art (Bahar 2009, Pic.10).

After the 2003 excavation studies were completed, the trenches were covered with nylon canvas. The excavation studies were interrupted to keep on the restoration activities. The 50 km. road between Karakurum- Khoshoo Tsaidam was financed by the Turkish Republic in order to preserve and share the cultural heritage to the world and became ready for the visitors.

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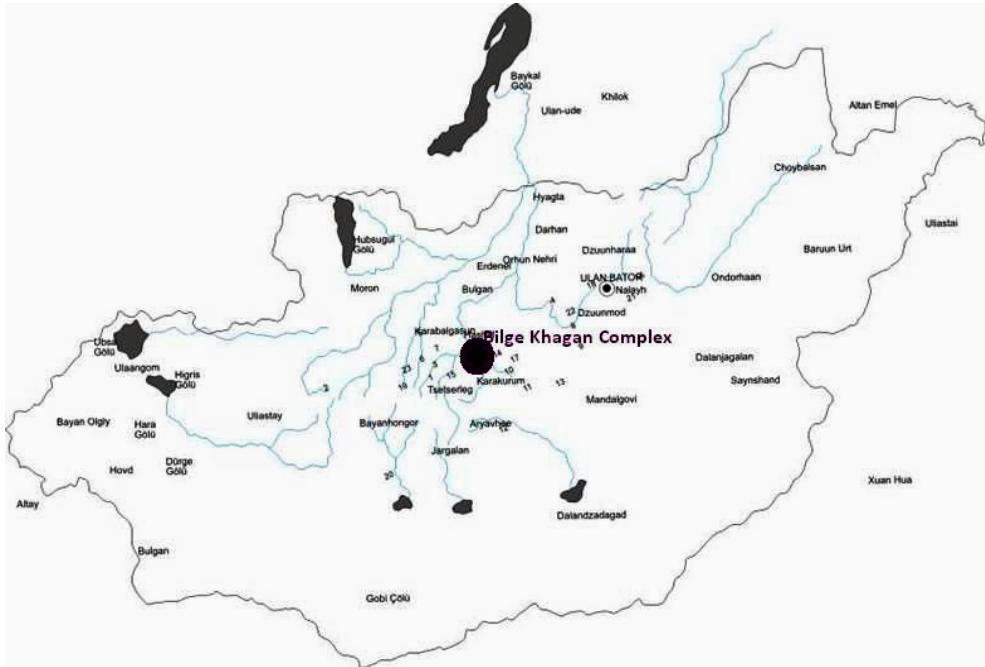
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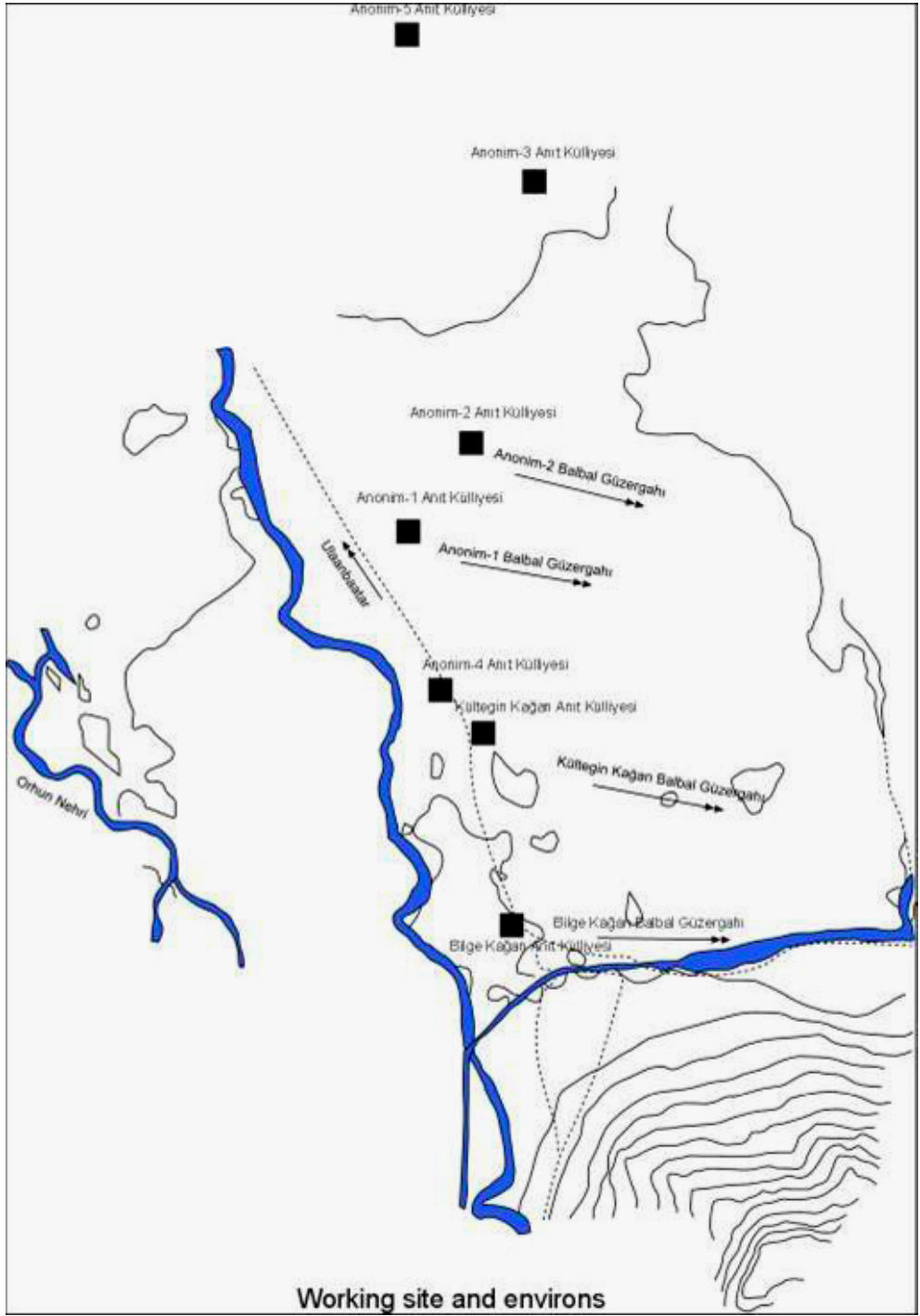
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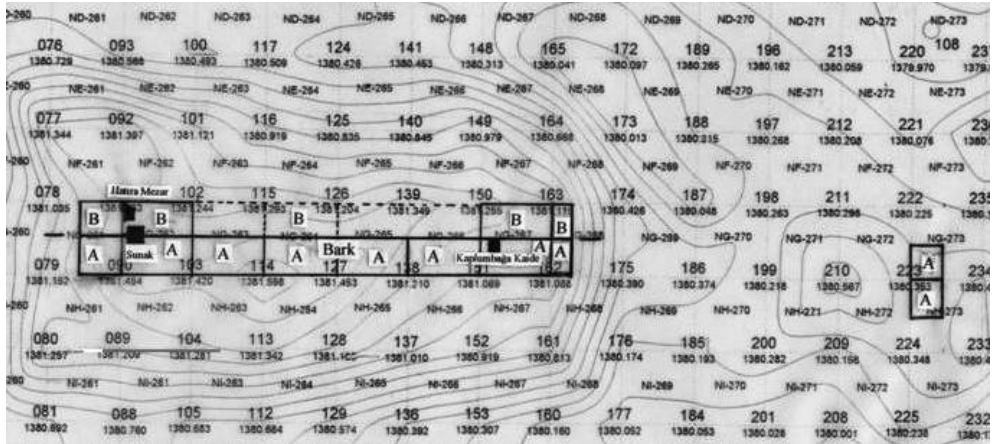
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Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3



Picture 4



Picture 5



Picture 6



Picture 7.



Picture 8



Picture 9



Picture 10



Picture 11



Picture 12



Picture 13



Picture 14



Picture 15



Picture 16



Picture 17



Picture 18



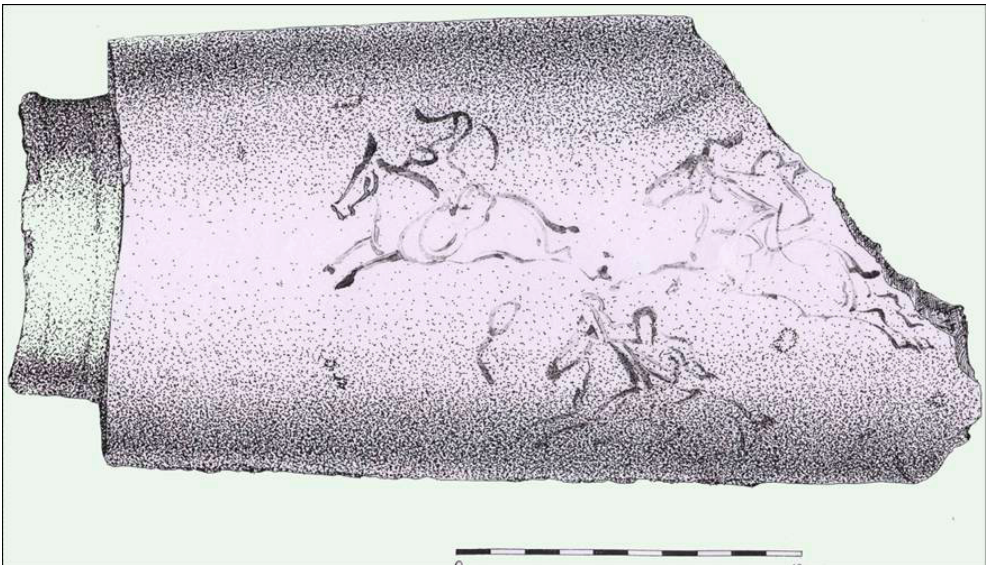
Picture 19



Picture 20



Picture 21



Picture 22



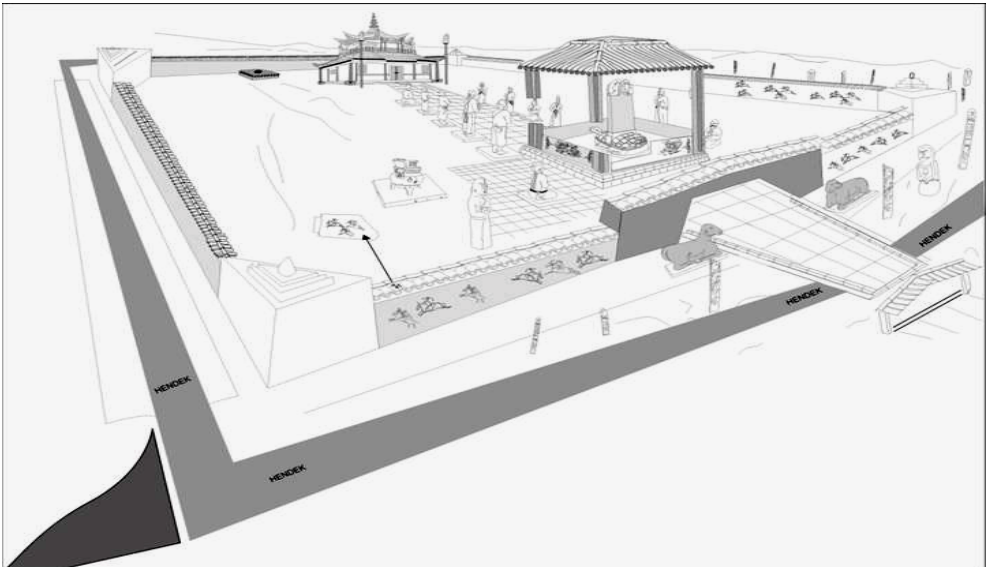
Picture 23



Picture 24



Picture 25



Picture 26

RIVERS AND SEAS.
COMPETITION, INSTITUTIONS AND ACTORS

The Slave Trade and its Routes in the Mediterranean Region in the Middle Ages

H. İbrahim Gök

Introduction

An Italian historian says:

“Whenever someone mentions slavery, people directly visualise the slaves in the Roman and Greek civilizations of the ancient world or tend to think of the African slave trade that originated in the early 16th century shipping off slaves from the coast of Africa to America... Even though the common message of the Christianity and Islam focussed on ‘the brotherhood and equality of people’, slavery continued to exist even after the ancient world, particularly for political, social and economic reasons, as a form of human trade and ownership both in the Muslim societies living in the south of the Mediterranean Sea and in the Christian Europe to the north.” (Bono 2003: 22–23).

From the ancient world on, slavery was a tragic phenomenon in the social and cultural life of human society. The question why people needed slaves could require socio-psychological answers. However, it can be put forward that slavery in the pre-modern times apparently resulted from ‘wars and trade’. Greek philosophers think that enslaving prisoners of war is for prisoners’ own sake. For instance, according to Aristotle, the society is composed of two classes: the rulers and the ruled; and the ruled are comprised of slaves and those who cannot use their brains (Aristo 2010:2; Lewis 2006:14). He thinks that slavery is a political component of the social base.

This political component also became a military one in the Roman world. As a matter of fact, slave rebellions were a prolonged trouble for the Romans. In the ancient Rome, there were times when the number of slaves was three times as high as that of the free people (Özel 1995:382). Seneca’s records reflect the impact of slavery on the Roman community (Al-i Aynī 2010:25)¹.

¹ “Bringing a new bill into Senatus concerning the slaves to wear same colored and styled dresses but it was refused. The Cause of this opposition to this bill was that it might be cleared the number of the free and master men was low. And it also could lead to the slaves to revolt”, cited from Seneca, see, Al-i Aynī p.25.

As for the Mediterranean basin, one can see many factors for slavery such as greedy, piracy and above all, financial capital concerns. In this respect, slavery can be seen as a concept pertaining to the Mediterranean region since there is enough evidence to describe it as one of the common cultural references of the Mediterranean world, bringing about similarities in the social and cultural life of the Mediterranean world.

Fernand Braudel points out that slavery was a passion in the Mediterranean region rather than in other places. He says it was a passion for luxury of the Mediterranean people and a slave was an expensive article (Braudel 1990:71). At just this point this 'expensive article' changes into a trading object, which leads to a tragedy. That is why the title says "the tragedy of merchandise" meaning "the tragedy of slaves".

Essential Approaches

In the study, the samples have mostly been taken from Islamic regions. One reason for this is that there is not enough data about the slavery system in Europe. Another reason is that there are more examples of slavery issues in Islamic countries. One other reason is that there is more academic research in modern history studies into slavery in the Islamic world, and finally the Ottomans, who carried slavery into modern times as a social reality, kept legal and official records about slavery

In Muslim countries, the attitude towards slaves is basically determined by Islamic laws. Islam did not prohibit slavery. However, the teaching of Islam encouraged liberation of slaves (Braudel 1990:71). The releasing of slaves decreased the number of the slaves in Muslim communities, yet this did not lessen the need for slaves. Paradoxically there were even more slave markets for more slave trade. But the slaves offered up for sale in these markets were all brought from abroad.

According to Islamic principles, only non-Muslims can be purchased as slaves (Lewis 2006:16–17). It is forbidden to enslave Muslims. Muslim parents are not allowed to sell their children as slaves. Unlike the ancient Rome, the Islamic system does not allow enslaving a man for his debt. Slaves have certain rights: they can have possessions (Juynboll 1993:111–113); they can get married with the permission of the master; they can purchase slaves and go into business (Erdem 2004:21–22); when they are ill, the master has to have them treated; a slave is like a member of the family. If h/she is mistreated, h/she has the right to go to court (Juynboll 1993:113; Lewis 2006:17).

In Islamic literature, one can come across various terms related to slavery. Male slaves were called *abd*, *hâdim*, *tawashî*, *memlûk*, *ghulâm*, *raqîq*, *zanci* while female ones were usually named *câriya*. The Abbasids, the Seljuks and the Mamlûks

called soldiers descended from slaves *gulām* and *memlūk*, meaning *boy* and *something or someone possessed* respectively (İnalçık: 1079–1091).

Slave trade was one of the characteristics of the Middle Ages. This was a period when the density of the consumption and trade of the slaves was very high. It was more complicated and special in the Islamic world. This can clearly be understood when the route for the slave trade is followed. This route extended down the Christian Europe, the Turkish steppes and the Black Africa. There was a slave market almost in any big town (Lewis 2006: 25). To free people, Slaves were *merchandise*. According to the economic system of the medieval Islamic world, slaves were only a kind of goods, called “*māl-i nātık*” meaning *talking merchandise*. They were bought and sold the same way as the other goods were. No extra procedure was needed (Sahillioğlu 1983: 220).²

In Europe also, the slave trade was common, and Muslims, Jews, pagans and even Orthodox Christians were sold in the slave markets (Lewis 2006: 22). However, there were important differences between the slavery system of the Muslim countries and the slavery system of Europe and America. A Dutch orientalist says: “*Europeans made wrong judgements about the slavery system in Islam due to mixing up the conditions in the east and in America. So the praises for the statutes the English put into effect to prohibit slave trade are not very relevant...*” (Juynboll 1993: 113).

Types of Slavery

The slaves in the Mediterranean basin were usually employed as *concubines* and *odalisques* in houses, *workers* at plantations and as *soldiers* in the military. In European countries, slaves were employed as concubines and workers more commonly while in such Muslim countries as al-Andalus in Spain, the Abbasids, the Seljuks, the Mamlûks, and the Ottomans, they were also used as soldiers regularly. In the Mediterranean basin, slaves employed in houses were mostly Tatars, Russians, Circassians and Bulgarians (Bono 2003:23).

Military slavery was very common in the medieval Muslim countries. These slaves were employed in the military as mercenaries especially between the 9th century and the 17th century. The Janissaries and Mamluks are two notable examples of this kind (Toledano 1994:6).

The main sources for slave soldiers in the Abbasids were such places as Turkistan and Fergana in the Central Asia. Slaves collected from this region were sold in Baghdad or sent to the Abbasid Palace as tax (Juynboll 1993:111). It was the

² But, when he was sold by his owner, not by a merchant, then the sales contract would have being affirmed by the court.

Abbasids who first purchased Mamluks in the first half of the 9th century (Ayalon 1988: 323). Russians played an important role in this business as they sold fur and slaves (Ibn Fadlān 1995:70)³, to Bulgarians and Arabs in the Bulgarian markets. The Volga River and the Caspian Sea regions were remarkable places in this business (Heyd 2000: 69–70, 83). According to Ibn Khordādbih, the Russian merchants, who travelled in caravans to Baghdad, also sold eunuchs among other things (Ibn Khordādbih 1889:154).

Then Mediterranean merchants were involved in this business. Italian merchants from such towns as Venice and Amalfi sold even Christians to Spain, Africa, and Syria as slaves. During the reign of Charlemagne and after him, some of the popes tried to prohibit this business; however they were unable to stop Venetians buying male and female slaves from Rome. According to the records, the Italian merchants from Venice and Amalfi would bring the slaves they bought to Rome (Heyd 2000:105). In fact, the real merchant groups who traded slaves in the Mediterranean basin in the beginnings of the Middle Ages were Jews. Speaking Arabic, they could easily find connections in the Muslim geography (Heyd 2000:137). Ibn Hurdādbih says that Jewish merchants took eunuchs (*hadem* خدم) concubines (*cāriye*), male slaves, silk, fur and swords from Europe to the east and brought back musk, aloe, camphor, cinnamon and so on from the east (Heyd 2000:138; Ibn Hurdādbih 1889:153–154).⁴

The term *sakālibe* in the Islamic sources was used to call people of Slavic origin (Golden: 872). In Al-Andalus in the 10th century, many slaves brought from inner Europe served in the military and civil service and they were known as *sakālibes*. The leaders of them held influential positions (Watt 1965:86). In the region, these statesmen of slave origin were called “*sakālī*”. The Slavic slaves were brought from France, Spain and Crimea to the Mediterranean region. These slaves were sold by Italian merchants in the Spanish and North African slave markets (Lewis 2006:23; Al-i Aynī 2010:118).⁵ The *Sakālibes* were also employed as *harem* attendants after being castrated. According to the records, they were castrated in Verdun in France and Becâne by Jewish merchants (Lévi-Provençal:90; Kentaro 2000:29).

Eunuchs

Eunuchs are probably the most tragic part of the slavery system. As a popular slave kind, eunuchs were the foundation stones of this tragic story. The word *eunuch*

³ Ibn Fadlān points out that the Russians had brought cariya to the city of Itil for sale.

⁴ According to Ibn Khurdādbih these were the Radanīte Jews.

⁵ There were five thousands Slavs in the palace of Cordoba during Hakam b. Hishām.

in western languages comes from the Greek word *eunukhos*: meaning “*he who has the charge of the bed*”; however, Penzer says the word fails to describe the physical situation (Penzer 1936:141).

As a matter of fact, eunuchs deserve a whole study as they had very important responsibilities in the palace in the Islamic countries. For instance, if you have a look at the Mamluks, you can see that young slaves, brought from central Asia, were purchased by the Sultan and freed as grownups after completing the training period in the military quarters. The military schools mostly had eunuch staff called *tavashī*, who were brought from Abyssinia, Takrur, Anatolia (Greek part) and India (Kortantamer 2009:110) and employed in the palace (Köprülü 1993b:46; Kortantamer 2009:110; Uzunçarşılı 1998:319). The eunuch administrative staff members of these military schools were responsible for the education and discipline of young *mamlūks*, who were kept apart from grownups against the risk of homosexuality (Kortantamer 2009:111).

However, eunuchs were first used as slaves in ancient times. It is believed that Assyrian Queen Semiramis (B.C. 811–808) was the inventor of castration (Pakalın 1983:423; Penzer 1936:134). The practice passed from Assyrian, Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations to Greeks, Romans and Franks (Uluçay 1971:117).⁶ There are many eunuchs who achieved great success in history (Pakalın 1983:423). Herodotus tells stories of such men in Ancient Greece and Persia in his books (Herodotos 2009:662–663; Penzer 1936:138).⁷ The old Testament also includes similar stories (Penzer 1936:135).

Eunuchs are called *tavashī* and *hasī* in Islamic literature, as we said before. However the word *hadım* in Turkish derives from the Arabic word *khādim* (Koprulu 1993b:46; Taneri 1997:1)⁸ meaning *servant* (Wensinck:899). Therefore it would not always be right if one thought that *khādim* (servant) means the same thing as *tavāshī* (eunuch). It would be better to think that *khādim* refers to the servants of the state and the ruler (Koprulu 1993b:44)⁹ since there were many *khādims* with families who held important positions in the state.

Eunuchs in medieaval Islamic world are thought to have been brought from Al-Andalus (Pakalın 1983:423). Ibn Havkal says that there were, among other things, *rakīks*, *cāriyes*, *gulāms* and *khādims* as merchandise of the merchants who travelled to Egypt and Khorrasan from Andalus. He points out that the male ones

⁶ Firstly we meet in Assurian palaces. In the temple of Artemes, the monks of Sybel were eunuchs.

⁷ Also see, David Ayalon, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans A Study of Power Relationships*, Jerusalem 1999.

⁸ Köprülü claimed that Bayhakī, Ghaznavīd historian, first had used the word *khādim* in the meaning of eunuch.

⁹ In fact, one of the titles of the Ottoman sultans was “*Khādim al-Haramayn al-Sharīfayn*”.

of these slaves were castrated by Jewish merchants in Andalus, adding that they were actually the members of the Sakālibe (Ibn Hawqal 1939:110; Al-i Aynî 2010:212).¹⁰

The Ottoman Palace had hadims from the first half the 15th century and they were of Hungarian, German, Slavic, Georgian, Armenian, and Circassian origin (Uluçay 1971:127). During the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror, black hadims of Abyssinian origin were added (Orhonlu:1092; Taneri 1978:127; Uzun 1998:116–117). *Harem Ağası* (the chief eunuch harem attendant) was the most important functionary in the palace (Uzunçarşılı 1988a:354). It is believed that there was the influence of the Byzantines over the Ottomans in employing eunuchs (Penzer 1936:134).

In the Ottoman Archives, there is information about the origins of eunuchs, when and how they were brought and their responsibilities, yet there is no information about where, when and at what age they were castrated (Toledano 1984:381–282). Even though castration is forbidden in Islam, why so many eunuchs were employed in Muslim countries was probably because it was just a continuation of an old tradition (Köprülü 1993a:46).

Castration was also used for other purposes in history. For instance, in early church records, some Christians are praised since they had themselves castrated to be able to keep away from earthly pleasures. In Italy, it was used for another purpose. Some opera singers had themselves castrated to keep their voices. They were called *castrati*. Children in some papal choruses were castrated for the same purpose. Though some popes were against it, the practice lasted until Leo XIII abolished it in 1878 (Pakalın 1983:423; Penzer 1936:136).

Castration Centres

There is no clear information about castration in mediaeval Islamic countries. Who was castration executed by in the Middle Ages? Some claim that slaves were castrated in countries other than Muslim ones by Christian and Jewish people (Kortantamer 2009:109). According to some sources, the city of Verdun in France was one of the castration centres in the Middle Ages (Pakalın 1984:423; Taneri 1997:1). In Verdun, Slavic children were castrated in operating rooms run by Jews and then sold to Spain and Eastern countries for high prices (Köprülü 1993a:46; Taneri 1997:1).

Ehud Toledano, who studied history of eunuchs in the Ottomans, found no records of castration within the Ottoman lands (Toledano 1984:383). Apparently

¹⁰ There were 3350 eunuch slaves who were Slavs origin in the palace of Andalus during Abd al-Rahmān.

the castration operations were carried out, mainly in Upper Egypt¹¹ outside the Ottoman lands (Pellat:1089).¹² In fact, there are records indicating that black eunuchs were castrated in Upper Egypt (Orhonlu:1093; Toledano 1984: 383).¹³ A recent study again shows that most of castration operations were carried out in Upper Egypt and Darfur (Toledano 1984: 383; Pellat: 1089).¹⁴

Labour Force and House Slavery

Until the 19th century, slaves were employed as labour force on farms, plantations and in industries as well as in houses as servants. In the 16th century, slaves employed in Bursa could make contracts with their masters called *mukātaba*. The contract allowed them to be freed after a certain period (İnalçık 2000:341).

In the Ottomans, slaves who were not employed in the government or military were called *ortakçı kullar* meaning sharecropper subjects, who worked on farms. During the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror, such slaves were settled in 163 villages nearby Istanbul and they were given land, seeds, and necessary equipment for farming to enable them to contribute to the subsistence of the city (Erdem 2004:26, 27–28).

Adult male war captives were employed as galley slaves or in shipbuilding (Erdem 2004:47). All along the Mediterranean coast, in addition to the male slaves in houses, female ones were employed by wealthy people as *odalisques*. One may mistakenly think that female slaves had a more tragic life; they did not, especially compared to eunuchs, for women were mostly employed in womanly jobs.

In the Ottomans, house slavery was the most common way of employment for slaves (Toledano 2010:13). Black house slaves were brought from Egypt, North Africa, Persian Gulf, and from Sudan and Sub-Saharan Africa through Iraq while

¹¹ According to a report, which is dated 1802, this operation was being made in Abu Tig village in the Upper Egypt. For Dr. Louis Frank's report, see, Toledano, "The Eunuchs", 383.

¹² According to *Hudūd al-‘ālām* Sudan was one of these centers. The Egyptian traders would sell the kidnapped black children buying and getting them castrated then would sell in Egypt. It is recorded that one or two hundreds children were being castrated in Abūfīdj south of Asyūt in the Upper Egypt, in Hadya in Abyssinia in the XIIth century; Asyūt in the Upper Egypt; and again in the XIXth century. At the same period the Borgo district and Zāwiyat al-Dayr were also ones of these centers.

¹³ Sultan Ahmet III sent a letter to the governor of Egypt and ordered him to put an end to the castration of Ethiopians in Egypt and the surrounding area. However, his order was never executed because of dying the vizier.

¹⁴ According to J. L. Burckhard, the Swiss traveller, who visited the Upper Egypt in 1813–14, the children between 8–12 ages were being castrated by the Coptic monks. These were being sent to Hidjaz after sold in Asyut. Muhammed Ali Pasha bought them and sent 200 eunuchs to the Ottoman sultan. There were a few ways of castration. Makdisī witnessed one: "First of all, his testicles were removed; then his penis was cut off and finally a tube made of lead was installed for urination, cited from Makdisī (*Ahsenu’l-takāsīm*, 242–243), see Taneri, "Hadım", 1. For different castration ways, see, Toledano, "The Imperial Eunuchs", 382.

white ones were purchased from the Black Sea region (Toledano 1994:6–7; Toledano 1984:381).¹⁵ However, during the rising period of the Ottomans, most of the concubines (*cāriyes*) were Christian Europeans (Schick 2005:51).

The Areas where Slaves were Acquired and Routes for Slave Trade

The routes for slave trade generally corresponded to the common trading centres. Main source of slaves for Mediterranean countries were the Black Sea region and Africa.

Black Sea Region: Crimea–Caucasia

The Black Sea region was one of the areas to provide slaves for the Mediterranean countries from the early Middle Ages. Venetian and Genoese traders were permitted by the Mongols to build a marketplace in Crimea in 1261. These Italians, who were professional slave traders, took the slaves to Kaffa, Tana and other colonies and then sold them to agencies in Italy. According to al-Omerī the geographer, people sold their own children as slaves because of poverty in the era of Golden Horde (Di Cosmo 2005:398).

Venice ranked first in slave trade in the Middle Ages (Bono 2003:25). But the need for slave labour of the *Memlūkids*, which was provided from Central Asia and Caucasus, was not met as a result of the Mongol invasion, so another group of Italians took the lead in the trade. The Memluks allied with Genoese traders as an alternative solution to this problem. Thus, slaves that Egypt needed were provided by Genoese traders (Di Cosmo 2005: 337).

In 1485, a war broke out between the Ottomans and the Memluks and did not end until 1491. The Ottomans imposed an embargo on slave trade in this area (Erdem 2004:59),¹⁶ so the Genoese, the main slave traders and providers for the slave markets in the Black Sea region, were restricted by Mehmed the Conqueror (İnalçık 2000:341).

Crimea and Caucasia also provided slaves for the Ottoman markets (Turan 2009:242). The Crimean Tatars were notable slave traders from Crimea. Through plundering raids, the Tatars captured slaves from Poland, Russia and Caucasia

¹⁵At the ends of the XIXth Century, there were about 500 women slaves in the Ottoman Haram. Most of them were Caucasus origin. See, Toledano, “The Imperial Eunuchs”, 381.

¹⁶ When the Mamlūk originated rulers came to power in the XVIIIth Century, the Ottoman government forbidden slave trade to Egypt. Arnold Toynbee also had signified this. See, Erdem, p.59. There are a lot of Ottoman archive documents on forbidding of slave trade to Egypt between 1789–1850. For example, see this document: BA/Cevdet/ Dahiliye/4622, Zi’l-ka’dē 1200/August-September 1789.

(Lewis 2006:24; Turan 2009:243–244).¹⁷ Most of the slaves were originally Russian, Circassian, and Hungarian. Venetian diplomat and traveller Josofat Barbaro (1413–1494) had joined such a Mongolian group that attacked a Caucasian caravan (Di Cosmo 2005:398).

Caucasia, where slaves for Mediterranean basin were provided, was also the area where ruling class of slaves of the Egyptian Memluks were acquired (Ayalon 1988:324). As a result of Russian invasion, thousands of slaves were brought from Caucasias to Istanbul especially in 19th century, either by being kidnapped or being deceived by vain promises of marriage. There were also people selling themselves with the hope of a better future (Pakalın 1983:554).

Especially, the tragedy of Caucasian female slaves (*cāriye*) is rich enough to create a literary genre. Many of these women were often sold by their own families (Toledano 1984:380; Erdem 2004:69). English ambassador Sir H. Eliot points out that, in 19th century, Circassian families sold their children in order to “improve their standard of living” (Erdem 2004:70).

Moreover, the 13th century geographer Yākūt al-Hamavī indicated that Khazars sold their children as slaves (*rakīk*) (Yākūt al-Hamavī 1977:368). Therefore, it can be argued that selling children as slaves in the Caucasias was considered to be a proper behaviour according to the cultural codes of the society. The sea routes for white slave trade from Caucasian area was through Sohum–Batum–Trabzon, Samsun–Sinop to Istanbul, İzmir, Thessaloniki, Egypt and East Mediterranean cities; from Kaffa to Istanbul.

Africa

One of the regions to provide slaves for Mediterranean area was Africa. Black slaves were imported from Africa. The following were the routes used in slave trade from North Africa (Toledano 1994:17–19):

1. On foot and by camels from the Sahara to Tripoli, Tunis or Morocco coasts. From sea towns of Tripoli-Benghasi through Malta–Crete–Rhodes–Aegean islands to Istanbul, İzmir, Thessaloniki and East Mediterranean harbours;
2. From Nile, Kordofan, Darfur, Dongola, Bagirmi district to the South-east of Lake Chad to the Red Sea harbours. From Massawa and Suakin to Alexandria–Cyprus–Istanbul–İzmir–South Anatolia and East Mediterranean harbours;

¹⁷ For these plundering raids, see, Turan, 243–244. It is claimed that the Russian *rabota*, which is in the meaning of working or job, had been derived from *rab* (slave) word. See, Turan, 246.

3. Through Red Sea – Pilgrims route – Jeddah, Mecca, Medina – Damascus to Beirut – Mediterranean harbours – İzmir, (Smyrna) – and Istanbul;
4. Red Sea – interiors of Persian Gulf.

Gondokoro and Khartoum along the Nile, Kebabo, Marzuk, Fezan in the Sahara were like *entrepots* (Penzer 1936:139–140). Hejaz was a warehouse for slavery (Erdem 2004:83, 84). According to the records, in the 16th century, many ships carried slaves from Alexandria to Antalya harbours. Black slaves from Egypt were sent to Anatolian cities such as Konya and Bursa; white slaves from Black Sea were sent to Syria and Egypt (İnalçık 2000:342).

The rise in African slave trade through the Mediterranean region in the 19th century was due to some external factors. The blockage of white slave trade because of the Russian invasion of Caucasia, which increased the demand for black slaves, was one factor. Advancement in steam powered ships, which caused a boom in trade, was another (Erdem 2004:78–79). Finally a decrease in the trade with America made the slave traders steer towards the Mediterranean and the Ottoman cities (Toledano 2010:10).

Slave trade in East Africa was handled by Arabs and the Yemenī; in the Mediterranean basin by Turks, Albanians and Arabs; white slave trade was organized by Circassians, Georgians, Laz people and Turks. Maltese traders were involved in the slave trade in 19th century as well (Toledano 1994:49).

The Wars and the Piracy

Most of the famous people who wrote their memories of slavery had been enslaved either through wars or piracy. Johannes Schiltberger (1310–1440?) (Schiltberger 1997:11; Schick 2005:11; Lewis 2006:20)¹⁸ is one of these people who wrote his memories after being freed. History is full of stories about war prisoners who were used as slaves when the battle was lost. Piracy was the common way for enslavement in the Mediterranean basin for both Muslim countries and Christian Europe. There is a literary genre composed of thematic stories of “*Being a slave for Turks*” written by slaves having been enslaved by pirates and then freed during the times when the Ottomans were powerful in seas (Schick 2005:14).

¹⁸ While he was at 16 years old under the service of Magyar King, Sigismund, he was taken prisoner by the Ottomans at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396. He served in the Ottoman army. Then, he started to serve the Timurids, after Yıldırım Bayezit had been taken prisoner by Timur at the battle of Ankara in 1402. He did military service in many countries such as Asia Minor, Central Asia, Crimea, Caucasia, Egypt, India and Sibiria, until returned to his hometown in 1427. Johannes Schiltberger, *Türkler ve Tatarlar Arasında (1394–1427)*, Turkish trans. Turgut Akpınar, Istanbul 1997, 11 and so forth.

On the other hand, enslavement through piracy was not considered to be legal at all times. For instance, in 16th century, Christian pirates enslaved Christian and Jewish subjects on the Aegean islands but the Ottoman rulers punished the offenders and restored the slaves (Erdem 2004:40). Ottoman pirates, who had base camps in Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli, attacked a lot of ships and captured many passengers and seamen and sold them as slaves. According to a Portuguese source, 20.000 slaves, at least half of whom were Christians, lived in Algeria. Interestingly, Cervantes (1547–1616) was one of them (Schick 2005:11)¹⁹.

In Europe, there was a negative publicity about the slaves captured by the Berber pirates that they were made to do hard jobs, kept under systematic persecution, abused, and forced to convert. But this was negated by Western writers themselves. According to them, to the contrary what was said in Europe, the slaves in Maghrib were alive, healthy and cherished (Schick 2005:14–15).²⁰ There are stories of slaves in Morocco in the 18th century telling about their lives, families, jobs as tradesman and organizations (Schick 2005:14). In the letters of Lady Montagu (the letter dated 1718), the tragic story of a Spanish female slave, who was captured by Turkish pirates is told through the slave's words (Schick 2005:31). Slavery by kidnapping took place in the areas which had borders to slave camps (Erdem 2004:65–66).

Slave Markets

There were special slave markets in big towns where slaves were sold. Some of them were rather big and professional. There were also small markets. In the Middle Ages there were slave markets in Spain of Al-Andalus and Italy. In the 8th century, Venetians established a market in Rome. This market was closed by Papa Zacharias in 748 and Civitavecchia harbour became important in slave trade (Juynboll 1993:111). The big slave markets providing slaves for the Mediterranean basin were in Cairo, Mecca, Baghdad, Kaffa and Istanbul. Sivas must have been one of the important centres for slave trade in the 13th century. As a matter of fact, Sivas became an important place for exchange as Anatolia was an important route for the trade between Crimea and Egypt (Heyd 2000:328–329). Most of the slaves constituting the military force and statesmen, who were of Kipchak and Caucasian origin, were sold in Sivas. Sultan Baybars, a Memluk Sultan, was one of these slaves

¹⁹ Cervantes was captured in 1575 while he was returning to Spain from war of Inebahti and was kept as slave for five years. Later the writer wrote his experiences in his work titled as "Don Quijote".

²⁰ Cited from E. G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in Nort Africa in the Early Modern Age*, Madison 1983, II, 798–802.

(Köprülü 1993a:357–363; Turan 1993:119–120).²¹ In this popular market, the Genoese opened a consulate (Turan 1993:120). Travellers such as Pegolotti, G. Rubrouck, and Marco Polo did pass through Sivas, as there were not only slaves in these markets but also spices, textile products, precious metals, leather products and so forth.

Algeria was not only a base for pirates but it was also a slave market (Schick 2005:14). Aleppo, one of the richest cities in the 15th century, had a great deal of income from slave trade besides silk trade (İnalçık 2000:93). It was actually one of the markets for white Caucasian slaves (Gibb 1950:304). Aegean slave market in the 17th century was Uzunada²². Black slaves and female slaves of Circassian origin as *cariye* were sold here.

There were secret slave markets where there was no inspection, no audit or no registry about the origins of the slaves. Moreover, no tax was collected from such markets. For example, in 1760 when it was revealed that there was a slave market in Kastamonu, a *dellalbaşı* was appointed to this city (Erdem 2004:53). Crete was known as an important slave market. The island was a slave market and a centre for slave trade in the Ottoman period (Toledano 2010:47).

The Slave Market in Istanbul

The slave market in Istanbul is probably the one we know the most about. It had a good organizational structure and the origins of the slaves were all known. The sale of the slaves and the way they were treated was all in control (Erdem 2004:53).

Istanbul had a definite fixed place for the slave market. There were officers and laws regulating the sales. The name of the place was “*Esir Pazarı*”, which was in the place of old Byzantium slave market near *Grand Bazaar* (Fisher 1978:151), close to Nurosmaniye Mosque in a place called *Tavukpazarı* (*Chicken Market*). It was an inn with 300 rooms where slaves were accommodated (White 1846:II/280; Pakalın 1983:I/553; Koçu 1971:X/5270).²³ The slave traders were called *esirci* and they were organized in tradesman guilds.²⁴ Moreover, they had a *nizāmnāme*, that is rules and regulations to obey and *muhtesibs* who supervised their trade (Erdem

²¹ Baybars, the fourth Mamluk sultan who was born in Qipchak, and was captured here, then sold in Sivas by the slave traders.

²² Uzunada is an island located near Izmir. Only slave traders could have permission to land on the island. Now, it remains the marble column and the marble court from the slave market building.

²³ For an interesting description of slave market in Istanbul in XIX th. century, see Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople or Domestic Manners of The Turks in 1844*, London 1846, II, 280 and so forth.

²⁴ According to Evliya Çelebi, there were 200 slave traders (*esirci*) during the period of Murat IV. Koçu, *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, X, 5271–2.

2004:52). In general, these slave traders mostly consisted of males, but there were also some female traders. Evliya Çelebi listed some of the traders' names (Fisher 1978:157).²⁵

Some of the officers who worked in these slave markets were *esirciler şeyhi*, *esirci kethüdası* and *esirci emîni*, who were all appointed by *fermân* (monarch's command) (Pakalın 1983:553). Tariffs, called *pencik resmi* and *üserây-ı zenciye*, were imposed on the sale of slaves (Koçu 1971:X/5276). The tax rate was one-tenth of the price. Famous Turkish musician İtri Efendi had also worked as an *esirci kethüdası* (Koçu 1971:X/5275; Toledano 1994:49).

The Slave market in Istanbul was closed in 1847 (Pakalın 1983:553–554; Koçu 1971:X/5278; Erdem 2004:53).²⁶ But it was not possible to put an end to slave trade. The slave trade in the Ottoman Empire, including female slaves, ended in 1908 (Pakalın 1983:554, 555; Erdem 2004:125; Toledano 1994:45). The Ottoman government tried hard to prevent illegal slave trade and slave abuse by punishing people who forced slaves to theft, prostitution and beggary (Koçu 1971:X/573; Erdem 2004:52–53).²⁷ This proves that an organized slave market in order to prevent abuse like the one in Istanbul was necessary (Erdem 2004:125). The inn does not exist now (Koçu 1971:X/5276).

Bursa

Bursa was an important centre in the history of slavery. In fact, Bursa was well-known for its silk trade and textile products but it was also a significant slave market. Slaves were taken to Bursa through Aegean Sea and from the Black Sea coasts (Sahillioğlu 1983:218), and in 1493; the population of the city was 33.000 and 6500 of the population consisted of slaves (Erdem 2004:31–32).²⁸ When French traveller Bertrandon De La Broquiere visited Bursa in 1433, he witnessed that slaves were sold in markets as well as silk, cotton, textile, gemstones, and pearls (*De La Broquiere'in Denizaşırı Seyahati* 2000:202).

In the early 16th century, Bursa was a warehouse for slaves and also a slave market. In this period 6000 slaves were sold per year. It is known that many traders came to the city to buy slaves. The number of the slaves was about 7700 in 1600s (Erdem 2004:31–32). Most of the slaves brought to Bursa continued their lives there, but some were sold to the Mamlūk Sultanate in Egypt and Persia. Most of

²⁵ For these names, see, Fisher, "The Sale of Slaves", 157.

²⁶ To Erdem, the slave market was closed in 28 December 1846. See, p.124. But Toledano claims that it was closed in 1847. See, Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade*, 53 and *Osmanlı Köle Ticareti*, 45.

²⁷ Koçu had referenced many juristic texts in this case. See, *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, X, 5273 and so forth.

²⁸ According Fisher fifteen percent of the population of Bursa were being constituted manumitted slaves at the end of the 15th century.

the slaves belonging to the Sultan were sold in Bursa (Sahillioğlu 1983:218; Uzun 1998:105).

The slaves sold in Bursa were of Russian, Balkan, Caucasian, Indian, and African origin (Sahillioğlu 1983:218). According to the records of the *Kadi* (court), there were 1111 cases in 1491 and 176 of them were directly related with slaves. 16 % of these cases were brought to court by slaves themselves and in all these cases, a total of 219 slaves were involved and among them, there were slaves who had been freed (Sahillioğlu 1983:219).²⁹ The slaves in Bursa were different in that they managed to take part in industrial and commercial life along with the other civilians, before and after they were freed. As stated in a document of June 6th 1456, slaves were employed in textile industry through *correspondence* (*mukātaba*). Textile was an advanced business in Bursa in the 15th century, which created a convenient atmosphere for the slaves to have jobs as well as to attain their freedom (Sahillioğlu 1983:220–221).

Tax and Price of Slaves

In the Ottomans, during the years when one-fifth of war slaves were collected as tax (i.e. *pencik*), in the event of fewer slaves than five, 25 *akçes* were levied on per slave. This was almost one-fifth of the approximate price of a slave (Erdem 2004:34). We know a lot about the prices and taxation of the sale of slaves thanks to the records kept by the Ottomans. For example, in 1580, according to the *kanun-name* (law book) made for slaves coming through Akkerman harbour, 78 *akçes* were levied on a slave bought from Kaffa (Fisher 1978:164). One-tenth of the price was taken as tax on the sales in slave markets.

As for the prices in the west of the Mediterranean region, according to the records of Napoli notary, the price of a black male slave was 36 *dükas*; and the price of black female slave was 35 *dükas*. With the conquest of Tripoli in 1510, many slaves were taken to Sicily. The price of these slaves went down to 3–25 *dükas*. Most of them were used as *forsa* (Galley slaves) in *kadırgas* (ships) (Braudel 1990:71).

The price of a female slave in Egypt was 20 *dinars* in the Middle Ages. This amount was equal to 266 *dirhems*. Black slaves cost 200–300 *dirhems*; black

²⁹ In the description of a slave in the court, it is cleared his/her own name, father name, nationality, skin and eye colour, beetle-browed or not, height, age status. Then, it was necessarily registered if he/she was a Muslim or not. This registration is an indication that the slave was free in his/her religious choice. It is recorded that the slaves generally converted to Islam in this case, the term “Ibn Abdullah” is used in the place of father name. See, Sahillioğlu, 219.

eunuchs cost 600–900 *dirhems*; black female slaves cost 500 *dirhems*; trained dancers and singers 10.000–20.000 *dirhems*.

Regarding white slaves, a Turkish slave cost 300 *dirhems* in the market of Central Asia. This price might go up to 400–500 *dirhems* in Baghdad. White female slaves sold as *cariyes* cost 1000 *dinars* or more.

The tax amount per slave from Kaffa in the North of the Black Sea was 4 golden *dükas* in the 16th century. A slave was sold for 25–30 golden *dükas* in the Ottoman cities (İnalçık 2000:339). The most extensive slave trade in the Ottoman centres took place in the 17th century. From 1500 to 1650, there were more than 10.000 slaves delivered per year. The price of these slaves ranged between 20 and 40 golden *dükas*. This amount was the approximate expenditure of a person for two or three years (İnalçık 2000:342; Turan 2009:244). 100.000 slaves were shipped through Kaffa from Russia to Anatolia from 1606 to 1617 (Turan 2009:244).

According to a report prepared by Germans in the 19th century, in Istanbul, a strong black slave cost 4000–5000 *ghurush* (200–300 dollars); white female slaves cost 50.000 *ghurush* or more. Eunuchs good enough to be *Harem Ağası* were more expensive than the others; young slaves were more expensive than older ones; female slaves were more expensive than male slaves. In 1627, a young butler of a monk, who had been kidnapped with his family from Iceland, first sold for 700 dollars and then 1000 dollars (Lewis 2006:25).

What Changed in Modern Ages?

In modern ages, there was almost no improvement in slave trade in the Mediterranean basin. It is known that up until 19th century, slavery in England was legal. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603), slavery was encouraged and the Queen imported 47.000 slaves from Africa. A law dating back to 1685 in England requires execution of a slave who rebels his/her master. Runaway slaves were killed (Uzun, 1998:24).

In France, the law of *Loi Salique* in the Middle Ages, forbids the marriage of a free civilian and a slave. In the early modern ages, the laws introduced in France brought harsh conditions for slaves. They were not allowed to be baptized; no permission for selling products in markets; they were to be executed when they committed a crime against a civilian; those who tried to escape were to be stigmatized; they were not allowed to carry guns; no permission to come together; they could be chained and be whipped (Uzun 1998:25).

In Italy, there are records showing that house slavery lasted until the end of the 17th century. Similarly, public work slavery increasingly continued until the mid-18th

century, and there were many galley slaves (*forsa*) in this period. In the Mediterranean countries, galley slavery increasingly went on between the years 500 and 1800 (Bono 2003:25–26, 29, 30). In 1539, a Turk who did not have a master was charged with theft and then sold as a slave to a notary in Roussillon (Braudel 1990:71).

In 18th century there were Turkish slaves working as galley slaves (*forsa*) in Papal navy. So, it can be argued that European researchers dealing with the situation of the Christian slaves working for Muslims ignored the situation of Muslim slaves in the Mediterranean basin. Including Italy, many European countries ignored the existence of thousands of Muslim slaves (Bono 2003:24, 27, 29, 30).³⁰

Similarly, in Modern Ages, Spain and Portugal employed many African black slaves, Berber people, and Turks especially in the navies. It is recorded that Malta had more Muslim slaves than any other nations. According to the records of the French court, Turkish prisoners were condemned to working as galley slaves (*forsa*) in the late 17th century. German world was no exception. From the 16th century till the 18th century Muslim slaves from Balkans were employed as house slaves and they converted to Christianity (Bono 2003:33–34). And this list can be extended. According to F. Braudel, the rise of slavery in Modern World was a result of shortage of labour force needed for mines and agricultural plantations (Braudel 1990:71).

Conclusion

Slave trade was legal in the Middle Ages and it had a legal infrastructure. It is important to note that, although European world and Muslims had a different understanding of slavery, there was a similarity in the understanding of slave trade among Christian, Jewish and Muslim slave traders. So, Mediterranean Sea was a convergence point where European and Muslim societies came together around slavery

The European world led the way to end this tragedy probably because the practice of slavery in Western countries was harsher. Or the reason why the Europeans made the first steps to abolish slavery and slave trade is probably because it was the policy to prevent manpower in the colonized countries from changing hands. Most research on the slavery in Mediterranean basin deals with the Ottoman Period. It is because the Ottomans, who carried on the practice up until the beginning of the 20th century, kept legal and official records about slavery, which are of great value now.

³⁰ Bono, in this case, depends on a court record that shows the slavery continued in Italy in 19th Century. This record is a decision of court of Palermo given in 1812. See, Bono p. 24, 27.

Main sources to study slavery in the Ottoman Empire are official and private records, especially the records of courts (*Sharīa* and *Nizāmiya*). Official correspondences are saved in the archives (Toledano 2010:31). Why slavery was legally abolished later in Muslim countries is that they had a solid social and legal infrastructure about it. Unlike the ancient Rome and the United states, there was no prejudice against slaves in the Islamic world. It is probably because slaves held every important position in the palace, in the military and in the society as free people or as parents of free people including rulers (Lewis 2006:28).

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Autour du Khanat Tatare de Crimée. Cosaques et Ottomans dans la Mer Noire (milieu du XVI^e siècle – 1648) (I)

Sergiu Iosipescu

Dans une relation directe avec la capacité de riposte et de coopération entre le Khanat tatar de Crimée et la Porte ottomane, la question des cosaques avait préoccupé depuis longtemps les historiens de l'Ukraine, de l'*Institute for Ukrainian Studies* de Harvard, sans doute aussi en liaison avec l'identité nationale après 1989. Mais la revue "Harvard Ukrainian Studies" a publié également des études historiques consacrées aux questions des cosaques¹.

Parmi les historiens roumains intéressés par la question des cosaques il faut citer premièrement Bogdan Petriceicu-Hasdeu², Nicolae Iorga, et puis, tout près de nous MM. Mihnea Berindei³, Andrei Pippidi⁴, Ștefan Andreescu⁵ et récemment, Mme Ileana Căzan⁶.

Et parce que d'abord fut le nom, Mathieu de Michow (Matjei Miechowita) donna le premier une explication : "kazak tartaricum est nomen, kosak vero ruthenicum,

¹ Władysław A. Serczyk, *The Commonwealth and the Cossacks in the First Quarter of the Seventeenth Century*, 2(1) March 1978, pp. 73–93; Victor Ostapchuk, *An Ottoman Gazanama on Halil Pasa's Naval Campaign against the Cossacks (1621)*, 14(3/4) December 1990, pp. 482–521; Marshall Poe, *The Zaporozhian Cossacks in Western Print to 1600*, 19, 1995, pp. 531–547.

² V. Ion-Vodă *cel Cumplit*, éd. II, București, 1894.

³ Mihnea Berindei, *Le problème des « Cosaques » dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle*, dans "Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique", 13, 3(1972), p. 339; idem, *La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues, 1600–1637*, dans « Harvard Ukrainian Studies », 1(1977), pp. 273–307. Ses études, très importantes, parus pendant l'exil de l'auteur, n'ont pas été utilisées par l'historiographie roumaine.

⁴ Andrei Pippidi, *Cazacii navigatori, Moldova și Marea neagră la începutul secolului al XVII-lea*, dans *Marea Neagră. Puteri maritime – Puteri terestre (sec. XIII–XVIII)*, coord. Ovidiu Cristea, București, 2006, pp. 260–282.

⁵ Ștefan Andreescu, *Din istoria Mării Negre (genovezi, români și tătari în spațiul pontic în secolele XIV–XVII)*, București, 2001; idem, *Izvoare noi cu privire la istoria Mării Negre*, București, 2005

⁶ Ileana Căzan, *Moldova între imperiali și cazaci. O mărturie contemporană*, dans *Aut viam inveniam aut faciam. In honorem Ștefan Andreescu*, eds. Ovidiu Cristea, Petronel Zahariuc, Gheorghe Lazăr, Iași 2012, pp. 145–154.

valens in lingua latina servilem stipendiarium, grassatorem, seu reyclronem”⁷. Nom d’origine turque, qozaq/cosaque, existe dans le *Codex Cumanicus*, désignant un homme libre, aventurier ou voleur, aussi bien que des tribus ou communautés vivant en dehors des grandes hordes⁸.

Plus tard, le terme couvrait les troupes de chevalerie légère ou des avant-gardes⁹. Sous l’année 1469 Jan Długosz écrivait à propos de cosaques tatars de Volga qui n’avaient pas de khan et qui ont ravagé la Podolie. A la fin de XV^e siècle les cosaques apparaissent sur la frontière sud du royaume et du Grand Duché, dans les starosties de Kamenets, Bar, Braclaw, Čerkassy, Kanew et Kief et plus tard vers le Sud-est sur le Dniepr inférieur (Nizovia), aux précipices, en consolidant le système de fortifications de la frontière – у крайне/у kraine.

L’appellatif de cosaque pour les troupes de frontière apparut peut-être à l’occasion de la conquête de Bielgorod. En 1518 la Diète de Petrikov leur accordait une certaine solde à la condition de garder la frontière de Volhynie et Podolie envers le Khanat de Crimée. Suivant une décision de la Diète de 1529 les sommes pour leurs soldes étaient perçues dans les provinces voisines¹⁰.

Les grands propriétaires des terres menacés par les raids tatares, les Ostrog (Ostrogsky), Wiśniewecki, Daškiewiç, Pronsky, Rużinsky ont été intéressées par la fortification de cette frontière.

En 1517, Siegmund von Herbertstein, envoyé par l’empereur à Moscovie, retrouvait des cosaques à la frontière du khanat de Kazan. En même temps, étaient signalés des cosaques tatars des forteresses d’Özü et Aqkirman, provenant de la Grande et de la Petite Horde de Nogay, au service de la Porte ottomane pour exercer une pression sur la Pologne et en même temps sur le Khanat de Crimée¹¹.

Dans les chroniques russes les cosaques étaient sujets de la Horde („Ordynskie Kazaki”) et, plus tard, étaient des cosaques de Perekop, Aqkirman, Azov.

Une mention ancienne des cosaques de Don sur les terres des Nogays d’autre fois se trouve dans une lettre de 1521 de Khan Mohamed Giray I au sultan Suleyman le Magnifique¹².

⁷ Matthias a Michow, *Descriptio Sarmatiarum*, cap. XII, apud C. A. Lesur, *Histoire des cosaques*, t. I, Paris, 1815, p.186.

⁸ Chantal Lemerrier –Quelquejay, *Un condottiere lithuanien du XV^e siècle: le prince Dimitrij Višneveckij et l’origine de la Seč Zaporogue d’après les archives ottomanes*, dans ”Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique”, 10, 2 (1969), p.269.

⁹ Mihnea Berindei, *Le problème des « Cosaques » dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle*, p. 339.

¹⁰ Lesur, *op. cit.*, p.201.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 340.

¹² Alexandre Bennigsen, Pertev Naili Boratav, Dilek Desai, Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay, *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, Paris, 1978, pp.110–117 (Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay).

Loin dans les steppes pontiques, vers nord-est, à la limite des forêts, le grand duché de Moscovie il y avait une ligne de défense entre Bolhov et Tambov pour arrêter ou au moins de retarder les raids tatars.

Quoique à la proximité de cette frontière brûlante dans la chronistique slavo-roumaine des Principautés danubiennes on ne trouve pas des traces du mot cosaque¹³.

En ce qui concerne les troupes de Dumitrașco Wișnowe – dont nous nous occupons plus loin – la Chronique d’Azarie leur donne seulement la définition “guerriers armés, des males brigands” („voin vîorîjenîh, mîjin isikarie”)¹⁴, sans doute désignant les cosaques. Par revanche, le terme propre abonde dans l’histoire du grand comte de la cour moldave de Grigore Ureche (premier moitié du XVII^e siècle)¹⁵.

Avec l’émigration des autres tatars Nogays en Budjac à cause de la famine (1559–1560), le potentiel des cosaques de cette région devenait explosif et, vers 1564, d’ici commençait la série des attaques contre les frontières polonaises.

La Porte utilisa les cosaques de cette région pour aider le prince Jean Sigismond Zápolya contre les impériaux et ceux d’Aqkirman pour étouffer la révolte du prince Jean de Moldavie (1574). A ces occasions le terme de cosaque signifiait soldat irrégulier de la frontière, vivant de sa proie¹⁶.

Le mélange de slaves, ruthènes, polonais, roumains et même des turcs et tatars, qui composait la milice frontalière des précipices de Dniepr (za poroje) ne conférait pas aux cosaques une nationalité. Au 15 septembre 1576 le roi Etienne Báthory écrivait au sultan au sujet de “illa colluviae hominum, quae in deserta campis, ex damnatis rei capitalis Polonis et Lituaniis, ac item Moschis, Valachis et alijs, collecta versantur, sese coniunxisse, sub perturbationem regni”¹⁷.

Le même langage utilisait en 1577 Andrzej Taranowski, envoyé polonais au Khan de Crimée : “colluviem hominum nullo imperio cuiusquam teneri, collectam esse ex Moschis, Valachis et nostris quoque subditis capitis damnatis qui eo metu mortis profugerunt”¹⁸, donc des Polonais, Lituaniens, échappées à la peine capitale, des Moscovites, Roumains et autres, qui d’après l’opinion du roi de Pologne composaient cette multitude, appelé cosaques.

¹³ V. *Cronicle slavo-române din sec. XV–XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan*, éd. P.P. Panaitescu, București, 1959.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 133, 144.

¹⁵ *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei până la Aron vodă (1359–1595) întocmit după Grigore Ureche vornicul, Istrate logofătul și alții de Simion Dascălul*, éd. Const. Giurescu, București, 1916 sub voce.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 343.

¹⁷ N. Iorga, *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor adunate din depozitele de manuscrise ale apusului*, vol. I, București, 1895, p.25.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

Sans doute, il faut voir ici une tentative du roi de Pologne de persuader la Porte et le Khan de son innocence quant aux attaques des cosaques polonais contre les frontières de l'Empire ottoman.

Très bon connaisseur des cosaques de Dniepr dans le second quart du XVII^e siècle, l'ingénieur normand Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan mentionnait les noms usuels des cosaques: Ivan, Feodor, Demitre, Voitec, Mitič¹⁹.

Le grand rôle des cosaques sur les frontières du Khanat tatar de Crimée et dans la mer Noire commençait avec la fondation de leur base fortifiée sur le Dniepr inférieur, aux précipices, la *seča* de *za poroje*, d'habitude liée au nom de prince Wiśnowecki.

Le premier véritable historien des Roumains, Miron Costin (1633–1691), qui avait vécu en Pologne pendant le soulèvement de Bogdan Hmelnicki (1648), dans sa *Chronique de la terre de Moldavie* (*Letopiseșului Țării Moldovei*) parle aussi de cosaques: "ils habitaient d'une part et d'autre de Dniepr, sujets des rois polonois, libres, sans servitude, vivant comme les guerriers avec des proies sur le Dniepr ou chassant ou avec des pêcheries jusqu'aux précipices de Dniepr /.../ jusqu'au temps du roi Auguste"²⁰.

Ce roi, les voyant comme des guerriers adroits, leurs donna des soldes et des capitaines avec l'obligation de s'organiser de leur propre gré en troupes contre les tatars à fin d'être une défense du royaume polonois, parce que les tatars attaquaient la frontière à ce temps la /.../.

Puis, Étienne Báthory organisa plus solidement les cosaques avec des hetmans élus par eux, avec du drapeau, des tambours, des trompettes. Et il leur permit et leur octroya de faire des navires sur la mer Noire, de devenir des cosaques enregistrés dans des registres, jusqu'à 40 000 d'hommes et avec un chef-lieu, une île sur le Dniestr, dans laquelle il y a un grand monastère et plusieurs autres églises plus petites, à Trechtemyrow"²¹.

Le grand dignitaire et historien roumain Miron Costin évoquait aussi l'aire d'action des Cosaques dans le bassin de la mer Noire : « Par ces temps beaucoup de peine faisaient les Cosaques à la Crimée et au pays des Turcs et ils arrivaient aussi en Anatolie. Les grandes cités de Sinope et de Trébizonde ont été prises par eux plusieurs fois et d'autres villes plus petites de ces côtes de la mer Noire et d'ici,

¹⁹ Guillaume Le Vasseur Sieur de Beauplan, *Description de l'Ukraine...*, Rouen, 1660, p. 62.

²⁰ Zygmunt II Auguste, roi de Pologne (1548–1572), le dernier Jagellon.

²¹ Miron Costin, *Opere*, éd. P. P. Panaitescu, pp. 123–124.

Varna, Messembrie, Anchialos et jusqu'à Aidos et Provadia, ont été ravagées par eux. Et ils ont atteint jusqu'à Yeniköy, près de Tsarigrad, sur le Bogaz »²².

A son tour Nicolas Iorga, d'après les sources publiées par Hasdeu dans sa „Arhiva istorică a României” et par lui même, cueillis dans les dépôts des manuscrits de l'Occident, éclaircit plusieurs étapes de l'évolution des cosaques.

L'organisation des cosaques de Dniepr comme une “secte” dont les membres furent recrutés des serfs fuyards et des réfugiés de partout, fut conçue par le second hetman connu, Ostafie (Eustatius) Daškiewiç, nommé commandant de Čerkassy grâce à l'intervention du cnéze Constantin de Ostrog

Le hetman Daškiewiç proposa la création d'une flottille avec des bases dans les îles de Dniepr, flottille capable d'embarquer 2000 fantassins et 400 chevaliers, engagés pour des modestes soldes, avec lesquels il espérait d'arrêter les incursions des tatars²³.

Ostafie Daškiewiç se couvrit de gloire en défendant Čerkassy, mais ayant été capturé par ses ennemis il ne se sauva qu'en 1523 en Moldavie²⁴.

Deux décennies après commençait l'ascension de Démétrius (Dimitri, Mitru ou Dumitrașco) Wiśnowecki. Sa famille était apparentée avec celles des grands-ducs de Lituanie et, peut-être, de la dynastie régnante en Moldavie²⁵. Avec celle-ci les liens furent consolidés par le mariage de l'oncle paternel de Démétrius Wiśnowecki, Theodore, avec Marie, la fille d'Etienne le Grand de Moldavie²⁶.

Débutant vers 1550 comme staroste de Čerkassy et Kanew, le prince fit un voyage dans l'empire Ottoman en 1553, jusqu'à Constantinople où au moins à Aqkerman (Cetatea Alba), bien reçu par les dignitaires de la Porte. Le motif de ce voyage reste couvert par le mystère, expliqué à tort et à travers par les historiens Russes, Ukrainiens, Polonais et soviétiques, suivant leurs orientations politiques. *La cause du voyage de Wisnowiecki doit être cherché dans la tradition moldave de sa famille et dans les révolutions politiques survenues dans cette principauté après 1552, qui lui ont donné des espérances pour le trône d'Étienne le Grand.*

En juin 1556, en profitant de l'expédition des troupes de grand duc de Moscovie Ivan le Terrible sur le Don et le Dniepr contre le khanat de Crimée et l'Empire ottoman, Dimitri Wiśnowecki avec ses hommes attaqua, d'ailleurs sans succès, les

²² *Ibidem*, p. 124. Les ports et les localités sont Varna, Mesembria/ Nasebăr, Anchialos/Pomorie, Aitos, Provadia, Yeniköy, et Boaz est le Bosphore.

²³ Lesur, op. cit., p.202.

²⁴ N. Iorga, *Legăturile românilor cu rușii apuseni și cu teritoriul zis « ucrainean »*, dans AARMSI, s. II, t. XXXVIII, pp. 752–753.

²⁵ La parenté était due au mariage de Jerzy cnéze de Nieswizki († 1467) avec une Anastasia, fille de Iliș voïvode (v. genealogy.euweb.cz/poland), chez nous inconnue.

²⁶ Cf. Constantin Rezachevici, *Enciclopedia domnilor români. Cronologia critică a domnilor din Țara Românească și Moldova. 1324–1881*, I, *Secolele XIV–XVI*, București, 2001, pp. 661–662.

forteresses Islam Kirman et Özü. Toujours durant l'été de 1556 il s'empara de Malaja Hortica, petite île en aval des dernières précipices et 60 kilomètres en amont de l'île de Tomakovka, où plus tard les cosaques ont organisé leur camp fortifié – la Seča. De Malaja Hortica fortifié il déclencha à l'automne une attaque contre Islam Kirmanului, qui, cette fois fut ravagée et plusieurs canons pris par les cosaques. En 1557 furent nécessaires deux expéditions du khan Devlet Giray, la deuxième aidé par le prince Alexandre Lăpușneanu de Moldavie et par des janissaires de laPorte, pour déloger les cosaques et Wiśnowecki de leur île. La Pologne en guerre avec la Moscovie pour la Livonie, ne put aider le prince Dimitri Wiśnowecki, retiré à Čerkassy. Celui-ci ne tarda pas à passer au service du tsar pour participer aux expéditions moscovites contre le khanat de Crimée (1558–1560), époque depuis laquelle les sources ottomanes font état des exploits de “Dimitraș”²⁷, abrégé du nom roumain Dumitrașco. Il se remarqua au printemps de 1559 à l'assaut de la forteresse d'Azaq (Azov), défendue seulement par 200 janissaires, ce que détermina la Porte d'envoyer, pour secourir la place, une escadre de six grandes galères (kadryga) et plusieurs autres bâtiments (kalita, goélettes ?). Avec Caffa, Taman et Kerč, l'Azaq était un des grands ports d'exportation vers Constantinople. La guerre au nord de la mer Noire provoqua des graves perturbations dans l'approvisionnement de Constantinople avec les produits de ces pays dont grains, légumes sèches, beurre, bois, pour la construction des galères, et aussi la famine parmi les Nogays de l'interfluve Volga-Don²⁸. Leur migration vers le Budjaq moldave, au nord des bouches du Danube fut accompagnée de pillages et dévastations²⁹.

De plus en plus chef de guerre pour son propre compte, Dimitri Wiśnowecki attaquait les territoires d'Azaq, Taman, Kerč, Caffa. Par la coopération des garnisons des forteresses avec les troupes apportés par des galères de Kefe (Caffa) le commandement ottoman de Crimée réussit à repousser les attaques contre Azaq et de Taman vers Kerč.

Au printemps de 1560 une escadre ottomane de sept galères devait secourir Azaq et en même temps les forces réunis du beglerbeg de Silistrie, des princes de Valachie et de Moldavie intervenaient contre les hommes de “Dimitraș”³⁰.

Car ses troupes, composées de Polonais, Lithuaniens, Circassiens, Nogays etc. auraient changé leur base de la mer d'Azov pour s'établir entre les cours inférieures d'Aqsu (Boug) et Dniepr, aux alentours d'Özü, pendant que Dimitri Wiśnowecki était appelé à Moscou où ses traces disparaissent. Une ambassade moscovite arrivée

²⁷ Cf. Chantal Lemerrier-Quellejay, *op.cit.*, p. 269 (pense que c'était une sobriquet injurieux).

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p.271.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 271 n.5.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 274 et n.7.

à Caffa déclarait au beg ottoman le total désaveu du grand duc pour les actions de Wiśnowecki et la volonté de maintenir de bonnes relations avec la Porte. Ça explique aussi le refus du sultan Suleyman le Magnifique d'accéder à la demande du khan Devlet Giray de lancer une attaque contre Moscou³¹.

Suite à cette politique qui ne prônait rien de bon pour lui, au mois de septembre 1561, Dimitri Wiśnowecki revenait en Pologne et était de nouveau reçu dans les grâces du roi Sigismond II et réinstalle dans ses propriétés et dignités.

Cependant, en Moldavie, l'étrange aventurier Jacques Héraclide, devenu prince – Despote voïvode (1561–1563) – pensait également d'utiliser Dimitri Wiśnowecki dans ses nébuleux plans de Croisade. Dans une lettre à l'archiduc Maximilien, Despote incitait l'empereur Ferdinand I^{er} à attaquer la Transylvanie le plus tôt possible car il préparait la conquête de la Valachie et puis le passage général des armées croisées au sud du Danube contre les Turcs, en laissant en Moldavie son parent, le cnéze Dimitri Wiśnowecki, avec ses cosaques³².

La chute et la mort du Despote ont incité Dimitri Wiśnowecki à essayer sa chance, mais vaincu dans un combat à Vercicani sur le Prut (1563) par son rival Étienne Tomşa, il fut capturé et livré au Grand Turc. Suleyman Kanuni voyant en lui un des plus redoutables ennemis de la Porte, le fit périr dans des atroces tourments: "et l'empereur – le sultan dans le récit du chroniqueur roumain – fit accrocher Wiśnowecki et Pisacenskii³³ au tour de Galata, et ils ont survécu jusqu'au troisième jour, en prononçant beaucoup de blasphèmes et d'insultes contre Mahomet; et puis les Turcs ont pris leur corps comme cibles et ils les ont bourrés de flèches, et comme ça ils ont fini leur vies"³⁴.

La succincte relation de la carrière et de la vie du cnéze Dimitri Wiśnowecki représente, en fait, une connexion entre la fondation de la Seča cosaque et la géopolitique de la mer Noire.

Réorganisés par le grand roi Etienne Báthory, les cosaques étaient inscrits dans six régiments („polks”), chacun de mille combattants sous un colonel („polkovnik”). Chaque régiment était divisé en détachements de cent guerriers („sotnia”) sous un sotnik et de sudètes (juges). Le commandant en chef des cosaques – l'hetman était

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 275–276, et n. 1 de p. 276.

³² *Deux vies de Jacques Basilicos seigneur Samos, Marquis de Paros, comte Palatin et Prince de Moldavie*, éd. Emile Legrand, Paris, 1889, pp. 237–239.

³³ Piasecki.

³⁴ Le chapitre „Sur la mort de Dumitraşco Vişnoveţki et de son beau-frère Pisacenskii” dans *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei până la Aron vodă (1359–1595) întocmit după Grigore Ureche vornicul, Istrate logofătul şi alţii de Simion Dascălul*, p. 200. Voir aussi *Cronica moldo-polonă*, dans *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV–XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan*, p.175, 185.

secondé par un général de l'artillerie – *obozny* –, un *pisar*, chef de la chancellerie. Le chef lieu de l'organisation des cosaques était la bourgade de Tečitimirov avec une forteresse et le monastère et le diocèse du rive droit de Dniepr. La solde annuelle de chaque cosaque était d'un ducat or et d'une pelisse. On avait prévu aussi l'organisation d'un corps de quarante mille hommes pour les gardes des frontières de Volhynie et Podolie, établis dans un territoire capable d'attirer les paysans pour la mise en œuvre des terres désertes ou ravagées³⁵.

Depuis ce temps la les documents ottomans font une différence entre les cosaques des steppes nord de la mer Noire: *Leh qazaqlari* – directement subordonnés à la Pologne, *Rus qazaqlari* – du bassin du Dniepr inférieur, *Mosqof qazaqlari* – à la solde du grand knez moscovite. Au début du XVII^e siècle on parlait de cosaques d'Oceakov (*Özu qazagi*), du bas Dniepr et de Don (*Ten qazagi*).

Nous devons à Guillaume Levasseur de Beauplan la description des grandes embarcations des cosaques, des chaïka : “des bâteaux d'environ 60 pieds de long, de 10 ou 12 pieds de large et profonds de 12 pieds; ce bateau est sans quille basti sur un canot de bois de saulx ou tillet d'environ 45 pieds de longueur et est bordé et rehausse des planches des 10 à 12 pieds de long, large d'environ un pied qu'ils cheuillent et clouent les unes sur les autres à cline ainsi qu'on bastit les bâteaux des rivières, tant qu'ils soient parvenus à la hauteur de douze pieds, et de longueur de soixante pieds, en eslargissant à mesure qu'ils haussent; la chose se comprend mieux dans le dessin que j'ay crayonné grossièrement, l'on y remarque les cordons de roseaux gros comme un baril assemblez ensemble bout à bout tant qu'ils atteignent d'un bout à l'autre du bateau, bien liés avec des cordes de tillet ou de merisier, et les bastissent ainsi que nos charpentiers ont accoustumé avec des membres et travers puis les goudranent et se servent de deux gouvernails à chacun bout en la manière que le dessein vous le représente, à cause que leurs bâteaux estans d'une grande longueur ils perdroient trop de temps pour virer lors qu'ils est besoin de retourner fuyant en arrière, ils ont d'ordinaire dix à quinze rames des chacun bord et vont plus viste que les galères des Turcs à la rame, ils ont aussi un mast ou ils mettent une voile assez mal faite, et ne s'en servent que de beau temps, et aiment mieux ramer de grand vent, lesdits bâteaux sont sans tillac, et quand ils sont pleins d'eau les roseaux qui sont attachez au bateau tout autour les empeschent d'enfoncer en la mer, leur biscuit est dans une tonne/au/ longue de dix pieds et quatre pieds de diamètre, bien liée, et prennent leur biscuit par la bonde, ils ont aussi un ponçon de millet bouilli, et un ponçon de pâte deffaitte avec de l'eau qu'ils mangent meslée avec le millet estant ensemble, dont ils font grand cas, et cela leur sert de manger et de boire, il a le goust aigret: ils l'appellent Salamake,

³⁵ Lesur, *op. cit.*, pp. 210–212.

c'est à dire, manger délicieux, pour moy je n'y ay trouvé de goust exquis, et quand j'en ay usé en mes voyages ç'a esté pour ne trouver mieux : ces peuples sont fort sobres, et s'il se rencontre un yvrogne entre eux le général le fait jeter hors, aussi ne leur est permis porter aucune eau de vie estimant grandement la sobriété en leurs entreprises et aux occasions ».

D'habitude, cinq à six milles cosaques reunis dans la seçe préparaient les raids. Des groupes de soixante hommes construisaient chacun une chaika et en deux ou trois semaines on pourrait achever la mise à l'eau d'une flottille de 80 à 100 embarcations.

Sur une chaika étaient embarqués 50–70 cosaques, habillés d'une vareuse, un pantalon, une veste et un bonnet, armés chacun de deux fusils et d'une épée et six livres de poudre et plomb pour des balles. Chaque chaika était munit de 4 à 6 falconets et d'une boussole. Habituellement la durée des expéditions était de Saint-Jean au début d'août. Descendre vers l'estuaire du Dniepr, attendre entre les roseaux à quatre lieues d'Ociakov une nuits sans lune pour sortir dans la mer sans pouvoir être arrêté par les galères turques qui étaient en patrouille à l'embouchure de la rivière était la tactique parfaite des cosaques. Grâce à leur mobilité, n'utilisant que de 36 à 40 heures pour se déplacer de bouche du Dniepr à la côte anatolienne, les cosaques étaient en état d'affronter les meilleures villes d'Anatolie. Laissant leurs embarcations à la garde de quelques, ils étaient prêts à battre la terre jusqu'à une lieue à l'intérieur, de retourner rapidement avec le produit de leurs rapines et de s'embarquer de nouveau pour une nouvelle cible. Les galères et navires turcs étaient attaqués par surprise, d'habitude après le coucher du soleil, une moitié de l'équipage de la flottille cosaque des chaikas se jetant à l'abordage. Ils emportaient tout ce qui pourra être pris, y compris des canons en fonte qui pourraient servir, puis les navires capturés étaient sabordés avec les équipages ennemis. A leur retour, quand la garde de la bouche du Dniepr était trop puissante, ils abordaient une baie à 3–4 lieues sud-est d'Oceakov et ils traînaient leurs bateaux chargés de butin par terre vers le haut de la vallée, 200–300 cosaques par embarcation, en les donnant de nouveau à l'eau sur le fleuve Dniepr à trois lieues en amont. Dans le cas de force majeure si la région du bas Dniepr leur restait inabordable, gardée par des ennemis trop puissants et la flottille de cosaque était réduite à 20–25 chaikas, ils prenaient une route longue et tortueuse par la mer d'Azov, voyageant par le fleuve Don jusqu'à la confluence de Mius et en amont par ce dernier et par terre ils traînaient leur bateaux dans la rivière Tačïavoda, affluent de Samara, par laquelle ils revenaient dans le Dniepr une lieue sous Kudak.

Surprises en plein jour par les escadres ottomanes, les flottilles des chaikas cosaques ne pourraient pas, – même avec tous leurs rafales incessantes de mousqueterie,

alimentées par une partie de l'équipage et malgré le tir, plus lent, des falconets -, d'éviter de lourdes pertes, jusqu'à deux-tiers des hommes et la moitié de l'embarcation. Mais malgré tout, le butin – thalers espagnols, sequins, tapis, tissus en or, cotons, soieries et autres – justifie les sacrifices et perpétue les raids chaque année³⁶.

Il faut mentionner que depuis la fin du XVe siècle, très probablement pendant l'expédition de l'armée de Jan Olbracht contre la Moldavie d'Étienne le Grand en 1497, un moreote, Elias, proposait au grand vizir de détruire avec des explosifs les précipices de Dniepr pour la pénétration de la flotte ottomane sur le fleuve en amont des rapides et la conquête de Kiev. La carte avec le texte explicatif, conservé dans les archives du Palais de Top Kapi à Istanbul (E. 12090), dépeignait plausiblement le cours du Dniepr, avec les forteresses Čerkes Kirmân (Tcherkassy), Man Kirmân (Kiev), Yeni Sarâyî (Ozu/Oceakov, Djan (Yeni) Kirmân, en tatar), et Qale-yi Yabu, une citadelle entre Ociakov et Aqkerman³⁷.

Face aux attaques navales des cosaques, les Turcs ont premièrement utilisé les vaisseaux de ligne, les galères de la flotte impériale (*donanma-i hûmâyûn*), de l'Arsenal du Corne d'Or, quartier de Qasim Pacha (*tersâne-i amire*), puis les galères de la flotte de la mer Égée et de la flotte du Danube (*Tuna gemileri*), assimilé avec les chaïkas du Danube (*Tuna şayqalari*)³⁸.

La Porte avait construit ou refait les fortifications pour contrôler la route militaire des steppes du Nord de la mer Noire et surtout les débouchés des grands fleuves dans le Pont: sur le Danube à Ismail, à Bender (après 1538), sur Nistru (Dniestr), à Özü/Oceakov et Djankirman (aujourd'hui Kahkovka), aux côtés de ceux qui existaient déjà à Cetatea Alba/Aqkerman et Chilia.

Dans la péninsule de Crimée il y avait une garnison ottomane à Caffa/Kefe et Azaq et une autre à l'embouchure du Don dans la mer d'Azov.

À sa limite ouest, le Khanat de Crimée disposait sur le Dniepr/Özü des forteresses de Kysy-Kirman (aujourd'hui Berislav), construite en 1450 et l'Islam-Kirman (aujourd'hui Aslan Gorodok) bâtie en 1492, des points de départ des invasions vers la Pologne et villes de refuge en cas de contre-attaques des Polonais.

³⁶ Guillaume Le Vasseur Sieur de Beauplan, *op.cit.*, pp. 25, 54–62. Cf. Stefan Andreescu, *Izvoare noi cu privire la istoria Mării Negre*, Bucureşti, 2005, pp. 206–208, ou sont reproduits quelques textes extraits de l'édition de prince Galitzîn de 1861.

³⁷ V. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, *Staraja tureĭkaja karta Ukrainu s planom vzruva Dneprovskih porogov i ataki tureĭkogo flota na Kiev*, dans *Vostočnoe Istočniki po istorii narodov Jugo-Vostočnoï i Centralnoi Evropu*, Moskva, 1969, pp. 76–94. Le livre est un don de la famille de mon professeur Mihail Berza.

³⁸ Victor Ostapchuk, *An Ottoman Gazanama on Halil Pasa's Naval Campaign against the Cossacks (1621)*, p. 496, n. 61, 62.

Dans les premières décennies du XVI^e siècle la défense ottomane de l'embouchure du fleuve Dniepr et l'interdiction du passage étaient réalisées par les fortifications de Kisikerman et Tawangorod, prévus avec de l'artillerie et même des chaînes pour arrêter les navires³⁹.

Face au refus du roi Henri de Valois de faire enrôlements en Pologne, en 1574 le prince de Moldavie Jean le Terrible (1572–1574), quoiqu'il n'a pas utilisé les cosaques, avait été rejoint en mars 1574 par des détachements des petits nobles de la szlachta polonaise⁴⁰, mais « il a ouvert au cosaque la route de butin en Moldavie, ils qui savaient seulement celle de la steppe tatar et d'Oceakov »⁴¹. Simultanément avec les combats de Moldavie entre les forces de Jean voïvode et celles de Valaques, puis avec les Ottomans et les Tatars (Avril-Juin 1574), les chaïkas des cosaques pillaient Tighina, Chilia, Cetatea Albă⁴². Les cosaques se sont retirés, cependant, et l'expédition de répression avec le khan lui-même avait eu comme point de départ Cetatea Albă.

Suivant, avec des variations dans l'intensité, les batailles dans la steppe des confins de la Moldavie entre l'Empire Ottoman et le Khanat de Crimée contre les cosaques deviennent endémiques. Pour la Porte ottomane la mise était multiple : le contrôle de l'ancien « couloir de la steppe », la sécurité de la route et du commerce avec la Pologne, le maintien dans son giron du khanat de Crimée et la garde des ressources de la mer d'Azov.

Le 16 Juillet 1575 la présence du capitaine d'Orhei dans le conseil princier de la Moldavie de Pierre le Boiteux, remarqué par Nicolae Iorga, signifiait l'importance de cette position pour la défense contre les cosaques⁴³.

De Thorn (Torun), le 22 Janvier 1577, le roi Étienne Báthoryse disculpait devant le sultan de l'attaque de bandits de Nisovie, contre lesquels le beg de Cetatea Albă avait déposé plainte à la Porte ottomane ; d'après le souverain polonais les attaquants étaient des moscovites, roumains et même hors la loi polonais et leurs actions étaient seulement une réponse individuelle aux invasions tatars en Pologne⁴⁴. En riposte, le 19 mars 1577, de Inowladislaw le roi va se plaindre au sultan et au grand vizir Sokoli, de l'agressivité et des pillages des Tatars de Dniepr, d'Azaq et de Crimée et de Cetatea Albă⁴⁵.

³⁹ Lesur, *Histoire des Cosaques*, t. I, Paris, 1815, p.197.

⁴⁰ Mihnea Berindei, *Le problème des « Cosaques » dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle*, p. 346–347.

⁴¹ N. Iorga, Préface à *Hurmuzaki/Iorga*, vol. XI, p. XXIV.

⁴² N. Iorga, *Chilia și Cetatea Albă*, p.200.

⁴³ N. Iorga, Préface à *Hurmuzaki/Iorga*, vol. XI, p. XXIX.

⁴⁴ *Hurmuzaki/Iorga*, XI, Appendice I, p. 591(XX).

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 595 n. 1.

D'ailleurs, dans les audiences de 26 Juin et 4 Juillet 1577, l'envoyé polonais à la Porte ottomane Jan Sienski mentionnait les captures faites en Pologne en 1575 et surtout en 1576 par les tatars de Cetatea Albă et du Dobroudja, sous les capitaines Baki et Eze Hogna, qui avaient transité par la Moldavie et par le Dniestr, en dévastant et brûlant le fort Zala et les villages environnants, pendant la diète d'élection du roi ; on réclamait leurs châtimement par l'intervention des sandjaqs-begs de Cetatea Albă et Silistra⁴⁶. En Septembre, Novembre-Décembre 1577 et Février 1578, les actions des cosaques de Nisovie avec Jean « le Bouclé », Jean (Nicoară Potcoavă), voïévode éphémère, et puis de son frère Alexandre ont interrompu plusieurs fois le règne de prince Pierre⁴⁷.

L'instabilité dans la Moldavie avait provoqué la fin tragique de Michel Cantacuzène "Şeitanoglu" (3 Mars 1578), mis à mort par le sultan, à cause de l'incapacité de son protégé, le prince Pierre, d'assurer la défense de la Moldavie⁴⁸.

Depuis ce temps la situation politique dans le bassin pontique fut conditionnée par la guerre de l'Empire ottoman avec la Perse (1578–1590) et aussi par la dernière phase de la guerre de Pologne avec la Moscovie pour la Livonie (1578–1581).

En Mai 1578 une escadre ottomane essaya de conquérir le château polonais de Czapczakli sur le Dniestr pour réprimer les cosaques⁴⁹.

Dans une lettre de 17 novembre 1578 le grand vezir Mehmet Sokoli écrivait au roi de Pologne que l'escadre ottomane remontant le fleuve au dessus de Ćankerman avait détruit un camp des cosaques et 1000 shaiques⁵⁰.

Le roi Étienne Báthory était intéressé à ce moment à obtenir un ordre de la Porte afin que les Tatares n'aideront pas les Moscovites (avril-juin 1578)⁵¹. Le grand vizir rétorqua avec l'accusation de la destruction par les cosaques d'Islam Kerman, forteresse construite par feu Devlet Giray khan⁵². Dans l'espérance d'un apaisement et d'une bonne réception de ses demandes le roi n'hésita pas à sacrifier Nicoară Potcoavă, décapité à Lemberg (Lwów), le 16 Juin 1578.

La disparition du grand vizir Sokoli, les grand nombre de bourses mises en jeu par le prétendant Iancu Sasul, fils de Petru Rareş, les intrigues du dulcignote Batolomeo Brutti, ont amené la déchéance de Pierre le Boiteux, remplace par le

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p.597 (XXV).

⁴⁷ La lettre, autrefois dans les archives de Königsberg, publiée dans *Hurmuzaki/Iorga*, vol. XI, p. XXXV, n.10. Ureche donne 300 cosaques.

⁴⁸ *Hurmuzaki, Supl. I*¹, pp. 43–44; *Hurmuzaki*, IV², pp.103–104.

⁴⁹ *Hurmuzaki/Iorga*, XI, Appendice I, p.617.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 629.

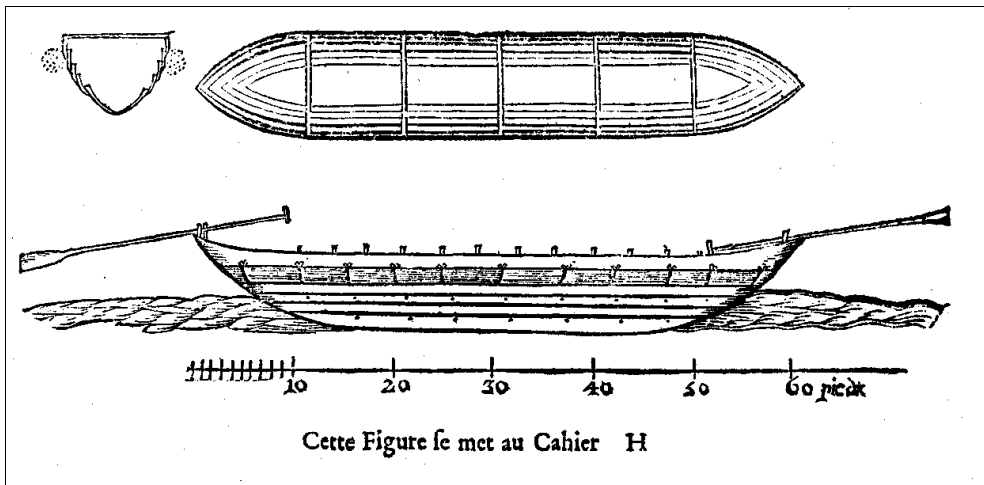
⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p.613 n. 2.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p.614 note.

prétendant⁵³. Cette années même (1579) les cosaques avaient attaque seulement Očeakov et Cetatea Albă.

D'après un rapport du noce impérial von Sinzendorf (Avril 1581), dans les circonstances très difficiles pour la Porte ottomane dans sa guerre avec la Perse, le khan tatar essaya de marchander sa coopération militaire à côté du sultan par la cession de la Moldavie, de Caffa, l'occupation de Derbend sur la Caspienne et du Širvan, ou du moins les revenus des premières deux pour payer ses troupes. Très circonspect, le sultan promettait d'abord l'argent et les vêtements pour les tatars, pour renoncer, a la fin, a toute coopération tatar et préférer d'envoyer seulement ses propres soldats par la Géorgie et par le chemin d'Erzeroum vers Širvan contre les Persans⁵⁴.

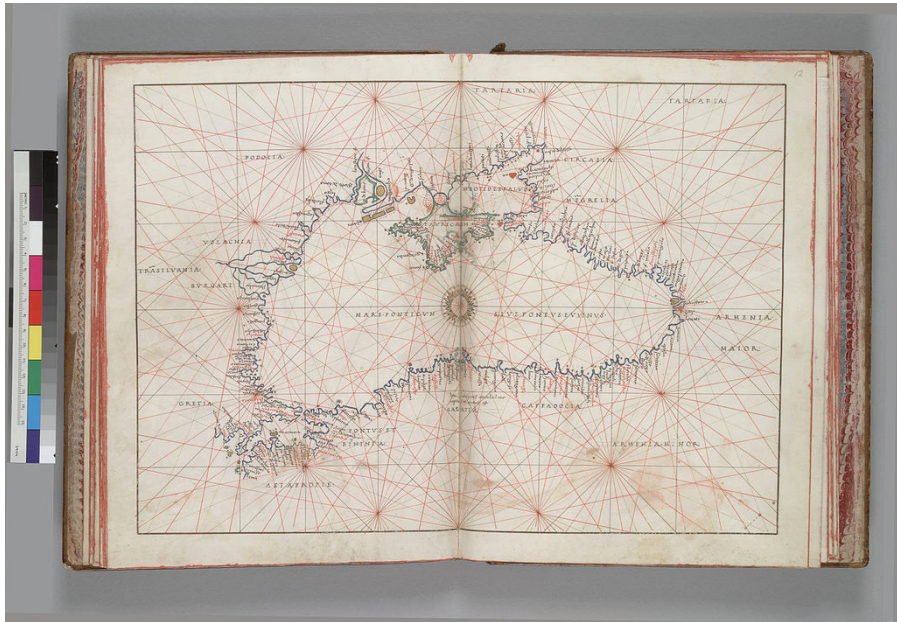
Mais les prétentions du khan sont extrêmement importantes. C'était en effet une résurrection de la grande tradition de la Horde d'Or, de ses anciennes conquêtes jusqu'aux Carpates et dans le Caucase, dispute autrefois avec le khanat Ilkhanide de Perse.



*Bateau cosaque,
d'après Guillaume Levasseur de Beauplan, L'Ukraine, Rouen, 1660*

⁵³ Hurmuzaki, IV², pp.107–108; Hurmuzaki, III¹, p. 24.

⁵⁴ Hurmuzaki/Iorga, XI, Appendice I, p.649 et n. 2, 650 et n.3.



La mer Noire (Atlas Blaeu)



Carte de la Pologne (fragment de la carte perdue de Bernard Wapowski)

Quelques aspects concernant la frontière entre la Valachie et la *kaza* de Giurgiu pendant les siècles XVI–XIX

Gabriel Felician Croitoru

Dans l'historiographie roumaine, les sujets liés aux modalités de délimitation des territoires n'ont pas été évités ; toutefois, ils sont plus fréquents à l'époque moderne et contemporaine. En ce qui concerne la période médiévale, l'étude des frontières a été faite de manière séquentielle, sans une compréhension exhaustive des territoires habités par les Roumains.

À l'origine de ce fait se trouve, d'un côté, le manque ou la petite quantité des sources documentaires, et, de l'autre côté, la ligne idéologique imprimée par le gouvernement de l'État, parce que le sujet des frontières, séparatrices en soi, venait en contradiction avec la ligne officielle de l'historiographie, de l'unité de la Valachie, de la Moldavie et de la Transylvanie, et ceci depuis le Moyen Âge.

Dès le début il s'impose une définition des termes. Ainsi, conformément à l'acception générale actuelle, on comprend par *frontière* la ligne tracée entre différents points de la superficie du globe, séparant le territoire d'un État du territoire d'un autre État, au large par la mer libre, en hauteur par l'espace cosmique, et en profondeur jusqu'à la limite où les moyens modernes permettent son exploration. La frontière entre les États voisins est établie d'habitude par des traités, et la frontière de la mer territoriale par des déclarations unilatérales des États. Aussi, les frontières se divisent-elles en plusieurs catégories: naturelles, géométriques, astronomiques, terrestres, fluviales, maritimes et aériennes¹.

En grandes lignes, dans le langage courant on comprend, par *frontière*, *confins* ou *borne*, la ligne de démarcation séparant un pays de l'autre, une propriété de l'autre ou une localité de l'autre.

Même si au Moyen Âge le terme de frontière avait un sens sensiblement différent du sens actuel, il est indubitable le fait que, même à l'époque, il y a eu entre les États des frontières bien délimitées, dans l'acception militaire et politique. Dans le cas de la cité de Giurgiu, sa fondation, son existence et son évolution historique

¹ *Dicționar diplomatic [Dictionnaire diplomatique]*, collectif de coordination: Petre Bărbulescu ..., Editura Politică, Bucarest, 1979, p. 446.

ont été profondément influencées par sa qualité de cité fortifiée ou de ville de frontière, à celle-ci s'ajoutant, de manière progressive, la fonction économique.

Sur le fond de l'expédition dirigée par le sultan Mehmet I, déroulée, selon certaines sources, en 1417, sinon pendant l'automne de l'année 1419, ou, selon d'autres sources – aspect bien plus probable dans notre opinion – au printemps de l'année 1420, la cité fortifiée de Giurgiu a été conquise par les Ottomans, les murailles d'enceinte étant profondément affectées, nécessitant des réparations substantielles et d'envergure.

De la perspective des Ottomans, la cité de Giurgiu a été perçue comme un véritable avant-poste, destiné à assurer un segment de la frontière danubienne, par un contrôle du gué de passage, et à surveiller le port et les produits provenus de la Valachie. De même, comme il résulte des recherches récentes concernant les frontières médiévales de la Valachie, l'attention spéciale des Ottomans consacrée à la cité de Giurgiu a été déterminée, à l'origine, par des raisons d'ordre stratégique², parce que, de point de vue militaire et stratégique, la cité fortifiée – bien protégée par des îlots de différentes dimensions et par les bras du Danube, et très proche de la rive gauche du fleuve – pouvait constituer une excellente tête de pont pour les futures campagnes de conquête des territoires du nord du Danube ou pour les expéditions de pillage des bandes d'*akindji*³.

Compte tenu des facteurs mentionnés, les Ottomans ont été directement intéressés par la domination directe de la cité de Giurgiu, et, plus tard, du territoire agricole limitrophe, en imposant un appareil administratif très strict, d'ailleurs spécifique à l'entier Empire, marqué par la tolérance envers les ghiaours, dans une perspective de l'ordre, d'une bonne gestion et de la rentabilité fiscale⁴.

D'ailleurs, toutes les sources connues relèvent exclusivement la conquête de la cité de Giurgiu par les Ottomans, et non pas d'un *hinterland* de celle-ci. Néanmoins, le modèle des actions ottomanes nous engage à soutenir que ceux-ci ont occupé, au début, seulement la cité fortifiée de l'île, qu'ils ont refaite et consolidée ; ensuite, par un processus lent, mais certain, et sur le fond de l'inaction des princes régnants de la Valachie, les Ottomans ont assuré l'avant-poste constitué par la cité fortifiée par un *hinterland*, de plus en plus étendu (constitué, à l'origine, le plus probablement, par la ville seule), qui, vers la moitié du XVI^{ème} siècle, a rendu nécessaire

² Marian Coman, *Frontierele medievale ale Țării Românești* [Les frontières médiévales de la Valachie], résumé de la thèse de doctorat, Université de Bucarest, 2011, p. 27.

³ En turc: *akıncıs*, soldats chargés de razzier les territoires ennemis et utilisés comme éclaireurs.

⁴ Nicolas Vatin, *Ascensiunea otomanilor (1362–1451)* [L'ascension des Ottomans (1362–1451)], in *Istoria Imperiului Otoman* [L'histoire de l'Empire Ottoman] (coordonnateur Robert Mantran), Editura All, Bucarest, 2001, p. 40.

l'élaboration d'un document écrit par lequel soit fixée la frontière entre la cité de Giurgiu et la Valachie.

Les Ottomans ont procédé de manière tout à fait similaire en ce qui concerne le développement de leur tête de pont en Europe, à la moitié du XIV^{ème} siècle, et c'est de la même façon qu'ils ont réussi la colonisation – lente et progressive –, des nouvelles possessions balkaniques, tout le processus se déroulant sur le fond d'une politique centraliste unitaire, mais aussi de la supériorité de l'administration ottomane par rapport aux administrations locales balkaniques⁵. À cela s'est ajoutée la tolérance religieuse, importante à l'époque, parce que les Ottomans avaient réalisé que, par une politique conciliante par rapport aux chrétiens orthodoxes, ils pouvaient étendre plus facilement leur domination et, de manière implicite, leurs sources de revenu⁶.

Par conséquent, au niveau des données actuelles détenues, il est impossible de préciser si l'*hinterland* de la cité de Giurgiu a été conquis *en même temps* que la cité, ou s'il a été obtenu *ultérieurement*, par l'intermédiaire d'une entente ou d'une paix entre l'Empire Ottoman et la Valachie. Mais la théorie selon laquelle les Ottomans auraient conquis seulement la cité, qu'ils ont assurée (dans le sens de sa fortification), est bien plus plausible, leur préoccupation principale étant concentrée vers la vallée de la Moravie, vers le Danube moyen, afin de soumettre intégralement les territoires serbes et puis l'Hongrie. Ultérieurement, après la conquête de la cité, les Ottomans ont progressivement accaparé un petit territoire aux environs de celle-ci, destiné à l'administration de la garnison, selon le système des marques de frontière, territoire qui a été progressivement étendu jusqu'à une limite nécessaire. Non dernièrement, il faut prendre en calcul le fait que l'administration et l'approvisionnement de la cité de Giurgiu et de sa garnison pouvaient se faire plus facilement de la rive gauche du Danube que de la rive droite, en rapportant la situation inclusivement à la réalité géographique de l'époque.

Ainsi peut-on expliquer l'inclusion de Giurgiu et de ses «dépendances»⁷ parmi les cités fortifiées de la frontière de l'Empire Ottoman dans les traités conclus entre celui-ci et l'Hongrie en 1479, 1503 et 1519.

Une attestation, indirecte, de l'existence d'une délimitation de la frontière entre Giurgiu et la Valachie se retrouve dans une des épîtres de Vlad l'Empaleur, datée 11 février 1462, écrite à même de Giurgiu, où le prince régnant décrivait les tenta-

⁵ Halil Inalcik, *Imperiul Otoman. Epoca clasică (1300–1600)* [L'Empire Ottoman. L'Époque classique (1300–1600)] Editura Enciclopedică, Bucarest, 1996, p. 55.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

⁷ Apud Paul I. Cernovodeanu, *Cetatea Giurgiului. Studiu istorico-militar* [La cité fortifiée de Giurgiu. Étude historico-militaire], in „Studii și materiale de muzeografie și istorie militară”, Muzeul Militar Central, no. 2–3/1969–1970, p. 85.

tives des Ottomans de le capturer, moment qui aura pratiquement marqué le début de sa campagne anti-ottomane⁸.

La création, par les Ottomans, d'une entité territoriale claire à Giurgiu peut être mise sur le compte des initiatives du sultan Soliman le Législateur (*Kanuni*) ou le Magnifique (1520–1566), qui, afin d'imposer une conception centralisatrice de l'Empire, a introduit un système territorial-administratif unique, devenu ensuite classique (*eyelet, sançak, kaza, nahiye*)⁹.

La première attestation de l'existence d'une délimitation de la frontière entre la Valachie et la possession ottomane de Giurgiu date de l'année 1544, de la période du règne de Radu Paisie (ou Petru d'Argeș, fils de Radu cel Mare [le Grand], prince régnant, de manière intermittente, entre 1535 et 1545), une des chroniques anciennes de la Valachie spécifiant le fait que «(...) pendant son règne les Turcs se sont emparés de Brăila, de Giurgiu et de Turnu »¹⁰. Dans la délimitation mentionnée de la frontière, le Prince régnant a été représenté par une commission à laquelle appartenaient, parmi d'autres, le *grand palatin* [*mare vornic*] Constantin Coadă et le *grand ban* d'Olténie¹¹.

Un argument supplémentaire sur le fait que la délimitation de la frontière a été réalisée en 1544 et non pas en 1546, tel qu'on a accredité l'idée jusqu'à présent, consiste dans le fait que le boyard Constantin Coadă a détenu la fonction de *mare vornic* [*grand palatin*] entre le 10 janvier 1542 et le 28 février 1545¹², étant présent à Giurgiu justement dans l'exercice de cette dignité ; de même, le *grand palatin* Constantin Coadă a fait partie de la même commission lors de l'établissement de la frontière de Brăila¹³, étant réputé comme une personne appartenant au cercle des personnes de confiance de Radu Paisie.

⁸ Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri. Scrisori de domni* [Épîtres de boyards. Épîtres de princes régnants], III^{ème} édition, Așezământul tipografic și legătoria de cărți „Datina românească”, Vălenii de Munte, 1932, p. 167.

⁹ Anca Popescu, *Vestigii ale organizării Dobrogei preotomane într-un defter din anul 1530* [Vestiges de l'organisation de la Dobroudja pré-ottomane dans un defter de l'année 1530], in *Vocația istoriei: prinos profesorului Șerban Papacostea*, volume paru par les soins d'Ovidiu Cristea et de Șerban Lazăr, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila, 2008, p. 506. [*Defter* – turc: *tefter* – registre de recensement cadastral de l'Empire Ottoman.]

¹⁰ *Istoria politică și geografică a Țerei Românești, de la cea mai veche a sa întemeiere până la anulul 1774* [L'Histoire politique et géographique de la Valachie, depuis sa fondation la plus ancienne et jusqu'en 1774], București, Typographia Națională a lui Stephan Rassidescu, 1863, p.136.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² Nicolae Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (secolele XIV–XVII)* [Dictionnaire des hauts fonctionnaires d'État de la Valachie et de la Moldavie], Editura Enciclopedică, Bucarest, 1971, p. 45.

¹³ Dans un document datant de 1643, au sujet de Șerban d'Izvorani, Grand Ban pendant la période comprise entre le 30 août 1535 et le 18 mai 1539, on affirme que celui-ci serait mort à Istanbul, « quand il a comparu en justice avec Coadă Vornicul [le Palatin] pour avoir rendu la cité fortifiée

À son avènement au pouvoir, Mircea Ciobanu [le Berger] (1545–1552, 1553–1554 et 1558–1559) n’a fait que reconnaître, en 1546¹⁴, les nouvelles frontières, et sur le fond des hostilités des boyards contre lui, il s’est servi de la délimitation de la frontière de Giurgiu pour faire exécuter le *palatin* Coadă, trouvé comme le principal responsable du rapt territorial, après seulement deux semaines depuis sa montée sur le trône de la Valachie¹⁵ ; l’opinion concernant la culpabilité de Co mètres¹⁶.

L’exposition est renforcée, sinon par des arguments clairs, par un enchaînement logique, d’autant plus que la frontière, dans la mentalité féodale, représentait une limite de démarcation naturelle, tel un courant d’eau, une chaîne de montagnes ou des dystrophies du relief¹⁷. Et ceci parce que la notion de limites, de bornes, a exprimé – aussi bien dans le monde occidental que dans le monde oriental – des réalités vagues et mouvantes, très différentes du *limes* romain¹⁸, ce qui a fait que la frontière, avec sa relative mobilité, ne soit pas une ligne, mais plutôt une zone¹⁹.

Il est intéressant de rappeler aussi le fait que toutes les rectifications de la frontière entre la cité de Giurgiu et la Valachie ont été faites à l’est et à l’ouest, mais non pas au nord, où la frontière suivait la délimitation de la sous-terrasse danubienne.

La frontière « initiale » entre Giurgiu et la Valachie peut être identifiée, en grandes lignes, par l’intermédiaire du firman du sultan Sélim II (1566–1574), accordé, en 1574, au prince régnant Alexandru Mircea (1668–1577), par lequel on reconfirmait la frontière établie trente ans auparavant.

Quatre ans plus tard, par un autre firman, datant du 7 juin 1578, le sultan Mourad III (1574–1595), à la demande de Mihnea Turcitul [le Turcisé] (1577–1583, 1585–1591), reconfirmait la délimitation de la frontière, « faite sur le site par une com-

de Brăila aux Turcs » (N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători...* [Dictionnaire des hauts fonctionnaires d’État...], p. 95).

¹⁴ Ion Heliade Rădulescu, *Elemente de historia românilor sau Dacia și România* [Éléments d’histoire des Roumains ou la Dacie et la Roumanie], II^{ème} édition, Tipografia Statului, Bucuresci, 1869, p. 187.

¹⁵ Le *Stolnic* [Sénéchal] Constantin Cantacuzino, *Istoria Țării Românești* [Histoire de la Valachie], édition parue par les soins de Mihail Gregorian, Editura Minerva, Bucarest, 1984, p. 111.

¹⁶ Constant Nițescu, *Monografia regiunii sud-estice a județului Vlașca. Contribuțiuni la cunoașterea caracterului agricol-tehnic și social-economic al regiunii* [La monographie de la région de sud-est du département de Vlașca. Contributions à la connaissance du caractère agricole-technique et socio-économique de la région], supplément du périodique „Buletinul agriculturii”, II, 1928, Bucarest, 1928, p. 10.

¹⁷ Ioan Marian Țiplic, *Hotar, graniță și/sau frontieră în Evul Mediu timpuriu* [Borne, confins et/ou frontière pendant le Haut Moyen Âge], in „Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis”, II, Editura Economică, Sibiu, 2003, p. 156.

¹⁸ Jacques Le Goff, Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Dicționar tematic al Evului Mediu occidental* [Dictionnaire raisonné du Moyen Âge occidental], Editura [La Maison d’édition] Polirom, Iași, 2002, p. 138.

¹⁹ Dan Horia Mazilu, *Lege și fărâdelege în lumea românească veche* [Loi et infraction dans le monde roumain ancien], Editura [La Maison d’édition] Polirom, Iași, 2006, p. 295.

mission spéciale »²⁰, à l'époque du sultan Sélim II. Aussi, exigeait-on que la délimitation de la frontière, « conclue à une date plus ancienne »²¹, soit respectée par les autorités ottomanes de Giurgiu, ce qui prouve l'existence de certains litiges, mais aussi les limites de la *kaza*, résultant du document mentionné. Afin de « fixer les confins et mettre des bornes de frontière (*direk*) »²², se sont déplacés sur le site des représentants du prince régnant, tels le fonctionnaire de rang inférieur²³ Ștefan, des représentants des autorités ottomanes centrales : Behram bin-i-Abdullah, Kasım voïvoda, bin-i-Kasım, Sinan bin-i-Mustafa, Mehmed bin-i, Behram bin-i-Yusuf et de l'administration ottomane de Giurgiu : Ali bin-i, Yahya bin-i-Ali, Hasan bin-i-Ali, Elias bin-i-Piri, Davud bin-i-Hâdâr, le jugement étant prononcé par le *cadi* de Cernavodă, Ahmed Efendi.

La fixation de la frontière a commencé « au côté oriental de la cité fortifiée de Giurgiu, devant le Danube, à partir de l'embouchure qui s'appelle Talambăcu-Bogazi²⁴, parmi les roseaux, sur la colline nommée Küçük Hissarlık [en turc : Küçük Hisarlık]²⁵ ; ensuite on a placé une borne sur la colline Beliclerbaşı²⁶, nommé aussi Straja²⁷ [la Sentinelle] ; ensuite on a placé une borne sur la colline voisine ; en se retournant de cet-endroit-là, on a placé des bornes au lac nommé Chiriva-Gölü²⁸, et on a placé une autre borne sur le chemin public (*tarik-i-am*), qui commence depuis l'extrémité de ces bornes-là et se dirige vers Marotin²⁹ ; ensuite on a placé une borne à l'endroit nommé Suniia³⁰. On a acquiescé que le poisson qui sera pêché dans le lac de Chiriva soit concédé à la cité de Giurgiu, de sorte que la Valachie ne s'y mêle point, tandis que les lieux déserts se trouvant sur le côté roumain du lac de Chiriva, appartenant aux villages de la Valachie, a été laissé à ces villages-là en tant que pâturage. Et les petits lacs liés au lac de Chiriva, étant plus près des villages

²⁰ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești* [Le catalogue des documents turcs], I, Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, Bucarest, 1960, doc. 86, p. 43.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² H. Dj. Siruni, *Acte turcești privitoare la hotarele dunărene ale Țării Românești* [Documents turcs concernant les frontières danubiennes de la Valachie], in „Revista arhivelor”, V, no. 1, 1942, p. 144.

²³ En roumain : *ceaș*, du turc : *çavuş*.

²⁴ Non-identifié ; peut être Talămbaciu ou Glămbocelul, ruisseau, affluent de la rivière Argeș (H. Dj. Siruni, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–165).

²⁵ Non-identifiée.

²⁶ Non-identifié.

²⁷ Le nom de la colline pourrait être donné par l'existence d'un point permanent de garde de la frontière de la Valachie (Nicolae Stoicescu, *Curteni și slujitori. Contribuții la istoria armatei române* [Courtisanes et serviteurs. Contributions à l'histoire de l'armée roumaine], Editura Militară, Bucarest, 1968, pp. 316–317).

²⁸ Le lac de Criva.

²⁹ Aujourd'hui, la localité de Frasin, du département de Giurgiu.

³⁰ Non-identifié.

roumains, ont été laissés à ceux-ci et l'on a acquiescé que l'on n'empêche point les sujets valaques de faire abreuver leur bétail dans le lac de Chiriva.

En se retournant ensuite des bornes qui ont été placées sur le chemin public qui se dirige vers Marotin et dans l'endroit nommé Șulni³¹, on a placé une borne dans la vallée qui se trouvait à côté du village de Cosova³² de la Valachie, les lieux du côté roumain de cette vallée-là appartenant aux sujets valaques, et les lieux se trouvant du côté de la cité de Giurgiu appartenant aux habitants de Giurgiu, on a ordonné que les champs appartenant aux deux parties ne se mêlent pas et que les lieux restent en possession de leurs anciens propriétaires ; on a placé une borne dans l'endroit où la vallée de Cosova s'unit avec le chemin nommé la Voie du Ban³³ ; on a encore placé des bornes sur cette Voie du Ban et aux bouts du chemin ; ensuite on a placé des bornes aux villages Ului³⁴ et Paraipani³⁵ et Yenige Kõi³⁶ de la Valachie et sur le chemin qui se dirige vers ce dernier village ; en se retournant ensuite de la borne placée à la fin de ce chemin vers le lac connu sous le nom de Mihri gölü³⁷, on a placé des bornes au dessus des signes anciens ; ensuite on a placé des bornes au bord de ce lac Mihri et sur le chemin qui va d'ici jusqu'au Danube ; on a ordonné que le poisson qui serait pêché dans le lac susmentionné revienne de droit à la cité de Giurgiu »³⁸.

En 1669, pendant le règne d'Antonie Vodă de Popești (1669–1672), on a réalisé une nouvelle délimitation de la frontière, afin de « rétablir la frontière ancienne »³⁹,

³¹ Non-identifié.

³² Le plus probablement il s'agit de Coșoveni ou d'Onceasca, hameau qui appartenait au village de Bălănoaia, « situé sur les ondulations de la colline danubienne, du côté de Stănești » (P. S. Antonescu-Remuși, *Dicționar geografic al județului Vlașca* [Dictionnaire géographique du département de Vlașca], Stabilimentul Grafic I. V. Socec, Bucarest, 1890, p. 82).

³³ Parce que le chemin (ou la voie) du Ban apparaît comme élément de frontière dans le cas des délimitations de la frontière à Turnu, Giurgiu et Brăila, on a émis l'hypothèse, que nous partageons, que le Grand Ban d'Olténie avait fait partie de la première commission qui avait délimité les frontières des *cazas* danubiennes (N. A. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 71). Le Chemin du Ban apparaît également comme élément de frontière dans un document ottoman datant de 1819, sous la même dénomination, mais en langue turque: *Eski Ban Yolu*.

³⁴ Non-identifié.

³⁵ Hameau, qui, depuis 1872, a changé de dénomination en Arsache, selon le nom du propriétaire de la grande exploitation foncière qui incluait le hameau (P. S. Antonescu-Remuși, *op. cit.*, p. 226). Aujourd'hui, il fait partie de la commune de Vedeia, du département de Giurgiu.

³⁶ Peut être Enichiom ou Zlatum, « taillis de saules à côté du village de Gostinu » (P. S. Antonescu-Remuși, *op. cit.*, p. 116).

³⁷ Le lac ou l'étang de Mahăru, à côté du village de Slobozia, du département de Giurgiu, de dimensions relativement grandes (au début du XX^{ème} siècle, il avait une superficie aquatique de 890 hectares, selon Grigore Antipa, *Regiunea inundabilă a Dunării. Starea ei actuală și mijloace de a o pune în valoare* [La région inondable du Danube. Son état actuel et les moyens pour la mettre en valeur], Bucarest, 1910, p. 15.)

³⁸ H. Dj. Siruni, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–145.

³⁹ Apud N. A. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

dans les conditions où « les grandes propriétés foncières du pays qui se trouvent autour de la cité de Giurgiu, étaient confrontées à des ennuis à cause des traversées illégales de leurs confins par les habitants de la cité de Giurgiu »⁴⁰. À la réalisation de la nouvelle délimitation de la frontière ont participé Gheorghe Băleanu, ancien grand ban d'Olténie, Gheorghe, *grand palatin*, Radu Crețulescu, ancien grand chef de la Chancellerie du prince Régnaant [*mare logofăt*] et Șerban Cantacuzino, le *maréchal général des camps et armées du prince régnaant* [*mare spătar*], accompagnés par d'autres boyards et hauts fonctionnaires d'État, de la part du Prince Régnaant de la Valachie, et Hussein Selam-Agasi, délégué autorisé du sultan, Mehmed Efendi Endreneli, le *cadi* de Roustchouk, accompagnés par les *cadis* de Giurgiu, Haselim Efendi Ghiumulgalini, et de Rușava. Ainsi, a-t-on commencé depuis « les grandes propriétés foncières du Monastère Radu-Vodă, Paraipanii et Recenii, qui se trouvent vers le côté supérieur de la cité de Giurgiu, de la rive du Danube jusqu'à la grande propriété foncière d'Odivoiaia, où l'on a placé une borne en pierre ; et de là jusqu'au delà du lac du pays⁴¹, à la Colline appelée la Colline de Mihnea Vodă ; et de là jusque dans la vallée où passe le chemin du ban, aux extrémités des grandes propriétés foncières nommées Stepănești (Stănești?), Gurbanul, Oțești (Oncești), Cossoveni, Frătești et Șirmănești (Daia) jusqu'à Știubeiul qui se trouve près d'un lac, et de là jusqu'au Danube, à la confluence de l'eau appelée Cumasca⁴², où l'on a placé une borne de pierre à même la rive du Danube ; et jusqu'à ces bornes-là on a établi le droit de propriété de chaque grande exploitation foncière du côté du pays. Et que les habitants de la cité de Giurgiu ne s'étendent plus au delà des bornes susmentionnées, par où le jugement des nommés *Cadis* a attesté la vérité du futur emplacement des bornes de frontière »⁴³.

Même dans ces conditions-là, il paraît que la délimitation de la frontière de 1669 a cessé d'être observée immédiatement après l'évincement du trône de Constantin Brâncoveanu [Brancovan] (1714), lorsque, « selon les dires des vieillards de ces lieux-là, les habitants de Giurgiu se sont étendus et ils ont traversé la frontière aussi bien du côté oriental que du côté occidental, en se faisant faire des documents de propriété⁴⁴ et des *tchiftliks* »⁴⁵. D'ailleurs, à partir du premier règne de Nicolae

⁴⁰ *Istoria politică și geografică a Țerei Romanesci...* [L'histoire politique et géographique de la Valachie...], p. 98.

⁴¹ Probablement l'étang de Mahâru.

⁴² Petit bras du Danube, qui se détachait du fleuve au bout de l'accumulation alluvionnaire et de la forêt de Penciu, et qui passait aux environs des villages de Băneasa, Meletie et Pietrele (Ion Boldescu, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

⁴³ *Istoria politică și geografică a Țerei Romanesci...* [L'histoire politique et géographique de la Valachie...], pp. 98–99.

⁴⁴ En roumain : *senet*, acte, document, quittance, police.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 90.

Mavrocordat (1715–1716, 1719–1730) se sont multipliés les cas de pénétration des Ottomans ou des sujets ottomans des *kazas* danubiennes en Valachie, de plus en plus nombreux, soit en qualité officielle, soit comme soldats, soit comme de simples particuliers⁴⁶.

Une autre délimitation de la frontière, rendue définitive le 13 juillet 1764 et rappelée aussi dans un document ottoman datant du juillet 1802⁴⁷, a été adoptée pendant le règne de Ștefan Racoviță (1764–1765) : « de l'amont de Gura Gârlii [L'embouchure du Ruisseau], qui était bouchée par Constantin Vodă Brâncoveanu avec des pilons, la frontière se dirige du village qui appartient de nos jours aux habitants de la cité de Giurgiu, qui s'appelle Braniștea, vers Știubeii, vers la grande propriété foncière de Șerbătesci⁴⁸ près d'un lac ; et de là elle croise le chemin du Ban à Zăgazu [le Barrage], où se trouve la borne de la colline d'Odivoiaia, dite la Colline de Mihnea Vodă, par le lit du Ruisseau [Pârâul] jusqu'à l'Étang [Baltă], et de l'Étang elle va tout droit jusqu'à la rive du Danube »⁴⁹.

La dernière délimitation de la frontière connue a été réalisée en 1796, ayant une moindre ampleur, avec la participation, de la part du prince régnant de la Valachie, du *grand échanson* [*mare paharnic*] Vintilă Prejbeanu et Alexandru, ancien *grand serveur* [*mare medelnicer*] de la table du prince régnant, étant visés seulement les confins d'ouest de la *kaza*, dans les limites de la grande propriété foncière de Paraipani.

En dehors des délimitations de la frontière qui visaient tout le déploiement des frontières entre la cité de Giurgiu et la Valachie, il y a eu aussi des délimitations mineures de la frontière. Ainsi, de la correspondance entre Mustafa Pacha, le *muhafiz*⁵⁰ de Giurgiu, et le prince régnant de la Valachie, Alexandru Șuțu, du décembre 1819, il résulte que les deux parties se sont accordées sur la question de l'assainissement de quelques lacs voisins, il y ayant des délimitations pour (ou plutôt entre) la grande propriété foncière de Daia, de la Valachie, et le village Oinak Köy (Oinac) de la *kaza* de Giurgiu⁵¹.

Par conséquent, en grandes lignes, jusqu'en 1829, les limites de la *kaza* de Giurgiu sont restées identiques à celles que l'on avait fixées au milieu du XVI^{ème} siècle : la frontière commençait à Arsache, passait par Hodivoiaia, Stănești, Bălănoaia,

⁴⁶ M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *Despre regimul supușilor otomani în Țara Românească în veacul al XVIII-lea* [Sur le régime des sujets ottomans en Valachie au XVIII^{ème} siècle], in „Studii”, 14, no. 1/1961, p. 3/89.

⁴⁷ Mustafa A. Mehmed, *Documente turcești privind istoria României* [Documents turcs concernant l'histoire de la Roumanie], III (1791–1812), Editura Academiei, Bucarest, 1986, doc. 106, pp. 164–165.

⁴⁸ Probablement Șerpătești, aujourd'hui la localité de Daia, département de Giurgiu.

⁴⁹ *Istoria politică și geografică a Țerei Romanesci...* [L'histoire politique et géographique de la Valachie...], pp. 89–90.

⁵⁰ *Muhafiz* (*muhafiz*) – celui qui garde, protège, veille ; le commandant d'une cité fortifiée.

⁵¹ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești*, I, doc. 1381, pp. 272–273.

Frătești, au nord d'Oinac et de Braniștea, arrivant au Danube, au delà du ruisseau Comasca, près de Gostinu⁵².

D'ailleurs, deux repères des limites de la frontière de Giurgiu sont également données par le fait que, pendant toute la période médiévale, à Daia et à Hodivoaia (Odivoia)⁵³ il y a eu des Compagnies de garde de frontière⁵⁴, qui avaient l'obligation de surveiller les frontières de la Valachie mais aussi d'exécuter les ordres du prince régnant dans le cas des campagnes militaires⁵⁵. C'est toujours à Daia et à Hodivoaia, suite à leur rôle de localité marginales (« trouvées à deux heures de marche environ de la cité de Giurgiu »⁵⁶), que l'on prenait des mesures d'institution des quarantaines, destinées à protéger les habitants de la Valachie contre les maladies contagieuses, telle que la peste, comme il a été le cas en 1825⁵⁷.

Il faut préciser que certaines localités des environs de Giurgiu, mentionnées dans les délimitations de la frontière ou en d'autres documents, n'ont pas fait partie du territoire de la *kaza*. Ainsi, le village de Marotin (Frasin) n'était-il pas inclus dans le territoire de la *kaza*, c'est ce qui résulte d'un document datant du 19 mars 1779 de la Métropolie de l'Ungro-Valachie, où l'on avait jugé un procès de divorce entre Stana et son mari, Istrate, les deux de la localité⁵⁸ ; si le village de Marotin avait fait partie de la *kaza*, la situation aurait été réglée par le *cadi* de Giurgiu⁵⁹.

⁵² Scarlat A. Stăncescu, *Din trecutul orașului Giurgiu [Du passé de la ville de Giurgiu]*, Institutul modern de arte grafice „Unirea”, Bucarest, 1935, p. 28.

⁵³ L'importance de la Compagnie de gardes de frontière de Hodivoaia est également donnée par le fait que, pour de causes de petite ampleur, son capitaine avait le droit d'exercer le pouvoir judiciaire dans le département de Vlașca (*Istoria politică și geografică a Țerei Romanesci, de la cea mai veche a sa întemeiere până la anul 1774 [L'Histoire politique et géographique de la Valachie, depuis sa fondation la plus ancienne et jusqu'en 1774]*, p. 35).

⁵⁴ À la moitié du XVIII^{ème} siècle, dans le département de Vlașca il y avait 10 Compagnies de garde de frontière, desservies par un total de 120 personnes, à Căcaleți (Izvorul), Călugăreni, Podul Doamnei, Baciul (les deux près de Videle), Frăsinești, Găești, Hodivoaia, Izvor, Udeni et Meri (près de Găești). La Compagnie de garde de frontière de la Hodivoaia était desservie par 32 personnes (Olga Cicanci, *Informații despre organizarea administrativă și fiscalitatea în Țara Românească (1764–1765) în opera lui Atanasie Comnen Ipsilanti [Informations sur l'organisation administrative et sur la fiscalité en Valachie (1764–1765) dans l'œuvre d'Atanasie Comnen Ipsilanti]*, in „Studii”, 19, no. 2/1966, p. 11/353–12/354).

⁵⁵ Nicolae Stoicescu, *Organizarea pazei hotarelor în Țara Românească în sec. XV–XVII [L'Organisation de la garde de frontière en Valachie pendant les siècles XV–XVII]*, in „Studii și materiale de istorie medie”, IV, 1960, p. 218.

⁵⁶ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești*, I, doc. 1999, p. 401.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 1999, p. 401; doc. 2234, pp. 447–448; doc. 2235, p. 448.

⁵⁸ Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *În șalvari și cu ișlic. Biserică, sexualitate, căsătorie și divorț în Țara Românească a secolului al XVIII-lea [En chalvars et ichlik. Église, sexualité, mariage et divorce dans la Valachie du XVIII^{ème} siècle]*, Editura Humanitas, Bucarest, 2011, p. 401. [*Chalvars* : pantalons bouffants traditionnels turcs ; *ichlik* : couvre-chef traditionnel d'origine orientale.]

⁵⁹ Il y a aussi des opinions, basées sur des sources orales, qui soutiennent que les villages de Daia et de Marotin (Frasin) faisaient partie de la *kaza* de Giurgiu (Ion Boldescu, *Monografia orașului*

De manière semblable, les villages de Prundu, Puieni ou Pietrele se trouvaient sur le territoire de la Valachie, étant, à la fin du XVIII^{ème} siècle, de grandes exploitations agricoles appartenant aux monastères (Puieni appartenait au monastère Sf. Gheorghe, tandis que Pietrele appartenait au monastère de Cotroceni, les deux de Bucarest) ou aux boyards (Prundu appartenait au *palatin* Racoviță).

Pendant les siècles XVI–XIX, les infractions de toute nature commises par les autorités et les sujets ottomans sur les territoires considérés comme étant à l'intérieur des « confins » de la Valachie étaient considérées comme des abus et punies en tant que tels. D'ailleurs, les Roumains se considéraient en droit de demander aux sultans et aux grands vizirs ottomans « la protection » du territoire sur lequel ils se considéraient maîtres, par rapport à toute infraction perpétrée par les sujets ottomans (qu'ils soient musulmans ou chrétiens, Turcs, Tatares ou appartenant à d'autres ethnies). Afin de contrecarrer des abus pareils, qui sont attestés assez souvent, les sultans ottomans ont émis fréquemment des ordres aux autorités des *kazas* danubiennes afin de mettre fin à des activités de ce type⁶⁰.

Par exemple, le prince régnant Mihai Racoviță (1730–1731, 1741–1744) demandait, en 1744, au Grand Vizir Seyyid-Hassan Pacha, d'émettre un ordre impérial concernant l'interdiction des violations de la frontière de la Valachie par les fonctionnaires ottomans, tout comme de leur accès non-autorisée aux lacs (étangs) formés sur le territoire valaque, après les crues du Danube⁶¹.

Beaucoup de ces infractions étaient engendrées par les travaux agricoles, comme il est arrivé en 1768, lorsque, par un *firman* du 17–26 juin, le sultan Mustafa III (1757–1774) a ordonné au *vali*⁶² d'Ochakiv (Özü), Mustafa Pacha, et au *nazir*⁶³ de Silistra, de trancher les conflits de frontière entre les habitants de la Valachie et ceux de la *kaza* de Giurgiu, parus au sujet des semailles. Dans le même *firman*, le sultan attirait l'attention au pacha d'Ochakiv, que, vu le mal-fondé de la réclamation des habitants de Giurgiu, il leur était défendu de semer, de faucher, de couper des bois et de causer des ennuis de n'importe quelle nature aux paysans de la Valachie⁶⁴. L'arrêt du sultan a été aussitôt mis en application, et la population de la *kaza* que

Giurgiu [La monographie de la ville de Giurgiu], Institutul grafic „Ulpiu Stănculescu”, Giurgiu, 1912, p. 67).

⁶⁰ Viorel Panaite, *Pace, război și comerț în Islam. Țările Române și dreptul otoman al popoarelor (secolele XV–XVII)* [Paix, guerre et commerce à l'intérieur de l'Islam. Les Pays Roumains et le droit ottoman des peuples (siècles XV–XVII)], Editura All, Bucarest, 1997, p. 349.

⁶¹ Valeriu Veliman, *Relațiile româno-otomane (1711–1821). Documente turcești* [Les relations roumano-ottomanes. Documents turcs], Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, Bucarest, 1984, doc. 110, p. 278.

⁶² *Vali* (*vali*) – gouverneur ; dirigeant d'une province (*vilâyet* ou *eyalet*).

⁶³ *Nazir* (*nazir*) – surveillant, intendant, commandant de cité fortifiée.

⁶⁴ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești*, I, doc. 254, p. 77.

les habitants de Giurgiu, nommés *raialı*⁶⁵ ou *serhatlı*⁶⁶, n'ont pas la permission de semer, de faucher ou de couper des bois en Valachie⁶⁷.

Quand même, en 1774, la Chancellerie du prince régnant attirait l'attention aux autorités ottomanes que les habitants de Giurgiu avaient progressivement accaparé un nombre de 17 grandes propriétés foncières des environs, propriétés qui avaient antérieurement appartenu à la Valachie⁶⁸.

Même si, de manière générale, le droit d'entrée en Valachie avait connu bien des restrictions pour les sujets ottomans des *kazas*, pendant la période des princes régnants Alexandru Moruzi (1793–1796) et Constantin Hangerli (1797–1799) on avait signalé le fait que les habitants de Giurgiu allaient et venaient dans les villages roumains du département de Vlașca, prenaient de force des produits des paysans ou labouraient des terrains qui appartenaient de droit à ceux-ci. En mai 1796 on a démoli 15 chaumières faites par les sujets ottomans du *tchiftlik*⁶⁹ de Hadji Minus-aga sur le territoire de la Valachie, et Constantin Hangerli donnait des ordres aux préfets (*ispravnic*) du département de Vlașca d'empêcher les *serhatlı* de Giurgiu de traverser la frontière⁷⁰.

En 1801, le représentant diplomatique⁷¹ du prince régnant roumain à Istanbul montrait dans un mémoire (*takrir*) datant du 15 avril, adressé le plus probablement à la Chancellerie du Grand Vizir, que les *serhats* de la Valachie du côté de Giurgiu sont en permanence traversés illégalement par les habitants de la *kaza* ; à l'appui de ses griefs, le dignitaire rappelait le fait que, en dépit des ordres donnés pour la délimitation de la frontière, ceux-ci n'étaient pas observés⁷². En juillet 1802, c'est toujours le représentant diplomatique du prince régnant qui communiquait au sultan Sélim III (1789–1807) les traversées illégales et répétées des frontières de Valachie par les habitants de Giurgiu, en sollicitant la sortie des archives des copies des ordres antérieurs relatifs à la délimitation de la frontière et l'émission d'un nouvel ordre, pour mettre fin aux malentendus : « Quelque conseils terribles que

⁶⁵ De *raia* (turc : *re'âyâ*), qui signifie, littéralement, troupeau. Jusqu'au XVII^{ème} siècle, [par ce terme] on désignait, dans l'Empire Ottoman, seulement les contribuables non-musulmans. Après cette date, par le terme de *raia* on comprenait aussi bien les contribuables musulmans que les contribuables non-musulmans.

⁶⁶ De *serhad* (*serhat*) – confins, frontière, borne. *Serhatlı* – les marginaux, les habitants de la région de frontière.

⁶⁷ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești*, doc. 255, p. 77.

⁶⁸ M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *Despre regimul supușilor otomani în Țara Românească în secolul al XVIII-lea* [Sur le régime des sujets ottomans en Valachie au XVIII^{ème} siècle], in „Studii”, 14, no. 1/1961, p. 17/103.

⁶⁹ En turc : *çiftlik*, grande propriété foncière.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 13/99.

⁷¹ En roumain : *capuchehaie* ; en turc : *kapikahâya*.

⁷² *Ibidem*, doc. 669, p. 158.

l'on donne, par l'émission d'un ordre illustre, afin d'empêcher et d'éloigner ceux qui attaquent les habitants des confins de la Valachie et qui occupent leurs grandes propriétés foncières, en passant illégalement les frontières devant le Danube, c'est-à-dire des *serhats* impériaux, se trouvant sur le territoire de la Valachie, pourtant, il est certain, au moment présent, que certains habitants de la cité de Giurgiu, traversant de manière illégale la frontière établie exclusivement pour la cité de Giurgiu, pensent à traverser la frontière afin d'occuper des parties du territoire de la Valachie et que cette infortune cause des ennuis aux *raias* de la Valachie et aux propriétaires des grandes exploitations foncières. Aussi, est-il clair et évident que, même si dorénavant on continue d'émettre et de donner des ordres illustres, on ne mettra toujours pas fin aux malentendus, si on n'extrait pas des registres [les documents attestant] les frontières qui ont été établies entre Giurgiu et la terre de la Valachie (...) »⁷³.

En guise de réponse, le 18–27 octobre 1802, Selim III a accordé un *hatt-i shariff*⁷⁴, où, parmi autres, on stipulait aussi le fait que, ayant en vue les actions néfastes des *serhatli*, on arrête que personne n'aura plus la permission d'entrer en Valachie que sur la base d'une *tezkire*⁷⁵ émise par un *zabit*⁷⁶, mais sans causer des ennuis aux *raias* valaques. Aussi, a-t-on attiré l'attention, aux *aïans*⁷⁷ danubiens de Turnu, Giurgiu et Brăila, qu'ils n'avaient plus la permission d'envoyer des *mubaşirs*⁷⁸ en Valachie afin de causer des ennuis aux habitants de celle-ci⁷⁹.

En août-septembre 1806 le représentant diplomatique du prince régnant est revenu avec un nouveau mémoire, qui contenait les mêmes griefs⁸⁰.

Il convient de rappeler le fait que les autorités ottomanes centrales, tout comme celles de Giurgiu, assuraient constamment les princes régnants de Bucarest qu'elles veilleraient au respect des délimitations de la frontière établies. Par l'ordre du sultan Ahmed III (1703–1730) du 18–27 novembre 1714, on commandait aux autorités ottomanes danubiennes d'assurer l'observance de l'inviolabilité des confins de la Valachie⁸¹. Un autre exemple en ce sens est la lettre de 1751, signée par Mir Mustafa, Musa, Hasan et Selim, *voïevodes*⁸², *aïans* et *agas*⁸³ de Giurgiu, qui promettaient que, en temps de paix, les soldats ottomans ne passeront pas en territoire

⁷³ Mustafa A. Mehmed, *Documente turceşti privind istoria României*, III, doc. 106, pp. 164–165.

⁷⁴ Édit irrévocable ; en roumain : *hâtîşerif*.

⁷⁵ En roumain : *teşcherea* (*tezkere*, *tezkire*) – lettre, permis, document attestant la permission.

⁷⁶ *Zabit* – celui qui domine, officier, chef, commandant.

⁷⁷ *Aian* (*a'yan*) – notable, leader d'une localité ou d'une région.

⁷⁸ En roumain : *mubaşir* (*mübaşir*) – fonctionnaire dans l'exercice d'une mission officielle de la part de l'État ou des dignitaires.

⁷⁹ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turceşti*, I, doc. 705, p. 166.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 752, p. 175.

⁸¹ Valeriu Veliman, *op. cit.*, doc. 16, pp. 94–96.

⁸² *Voïvode* (*voyvoda*) – intendant, administrateur d'un fief de vizir.

⁸³ *Aga* ou *Agha* (en turc moderne : *ağa*) – chef militaire.

de la Valachie et ne provoqueront pas des dommages aux habitants de celle-ci⁸⁴. Il en a été de même en 1822, lorsque dans un rapport (*inha*) du 14 octobre, Mehmed Salih, *muhafiz* de Giurgiu, communiquait au prince régnant Grigore Ghica, d'avoir reçu et lu l'ordre impérial devant tout le monde ; conformément à cet ordre, le passage en Valachie allait être interdit à tout le monde, à l'exception des marchands *kapanlı*⁸⁵, munis des *firmans* et des *tezkires*, tandis que la population de la cité de Giurgiu devrait s'en abstenir, au cas contraire, les contrevenants étant susceptibles d'être punis⁸⁶. De manière similaire a procédé, aussi, es-Seid Mustafa, *mollah* de Roustchouk, ce qui signifie que non seulement les habitants de Giurgiu passaient en Valachie sans autorisation, mais aussi les Ottomans du sud du Danube, notamment ceux de Roustchouk⁸⁷. Deux années plus tard, le 13 septembre 1824, le *naib*⁸⁸ de Giurgiu, es-Seid Feizullah, communiquait à la Porte qu'il avait reçu le firman impérial qui ordonnait que, sauf les marchands *kapanlı* et *serhatlı*, plus personne ne passe en Valachie, parce que l'on causait des dommages aux semailles des paysans d'ici-bas. Aussi, le *naib* assurait-il que l'on prendrait des mesures pour empêcher le passage non-autorisé en Valachie des habitants de la *kaza* de Giurgiu⁸⁹.

Il convient de remarquer le fait que chaque nomination d'un nouveau dignitaire ottoman à Giurgiu était suivie par l'envoi, de la part de celui-ci, des lettres de recommandations adressées au prince régnant de la Valachie, toujours accompagnées par des dons, sur la ligne de la tradition orientale. La même procédure a été adoptée, aussi, par Mehmed, l'*aga* des *janissaires* de Giurgiu, qui, le 28 mars 1824, envoyait à Grigore Ghica une lettre où il exprimait ses meilleures pensées tout comme ses promesses de collaboration et de bon voisinage⁹⁰. Aussi, après la nomination comme *muhafiz* de Giurgiu, Hussein Pacha envoyait-il une lettre à Grigore Ghica, le 27 janvier 1825, avec toutes ses promesses de bon voisinage⁹¹.

Aussi, les relations entre les autorités ottomanes de Giurgiu et les princes régnants de la Valachie ne se sont-elles pas réduites à des divergences : elles ont connu également des moments réels de bon voisinage. Ainsi, le 19 février 1826, le *muhafiz* de Giurgiu, Mustafa Pacha, envoyait-il une lettre à Grigore Ghica, où il

⁸⁴ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești*, I, doc. 173, p. 59.

⁸⁵ Marchands de *Kapan* (halle), chargés de l'approvisionnement des marchés de la capitale impériale et des cités fortifiées danubiennes avec des produits divers (Mustafa A. Mehmet, *O condică domnească din a doua jumătate a veacului al XVIII-lea scrisă în limba turcă, privind Țara Românească* [Un registre de la cour du prince régnant de la deuxième moitié du XVIII^{ème} siècle rédigé en langue turque, concernant la Valachie], in „Revista arhivelor”, no. 2/1958, p. 249).

⁸⁶ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești*, I, doc. 1462, p. 291.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 1470, p. 292.

⁸⁸ *Naib* – aide du *cadi*. [*Cadi*: juge; en turc: *kadı*.]

⁸⁹ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești*, I, doc. 1919, p. 385.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 1827, p. 367.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 1983, p. 398.

disait à celui-ci d'avoir appris la nouvelle de son arrivée dans le village de Daia pour sortir à la rencontre de son représentant à Istanbul, et, en signe d'amitié, il a envoyé à sa rencontre le *cumbaragi-bacha*⁹² Mehmed aga et Ahmed aga, un des *agas* ordinaires des fortifications de la cité⁹³. Quelques jours plus tard, le 25 février, le *muhafiz* de Giurgiu invitait le prince régnant « à daigner venir passer quelques jours à Giurgiu, afin de consolider leur amitié »⁹⁴.

Les autorités ottomanes de Giurgiu se sont confrontées, elles aussi, à des passages illégaux des frontières de la *kaza* par les sujets du prince régnant de la Valachie, pour des raisons diverses. Ainsi, par exemple, en 1826, signalait-on la fuite de quelques tziganes de Valachie à Giurgiu, d'où, « après avoir commis quelques vols dans la cité », ils sont partis ailleurs, même si le prince régnant de la Valachie exigeait leur retour⁹⁵. Aussi signalait-on, au XVIII^{ème} siècle, la « fugue » d'une série de couples à Giurgiu, où il y avaient, certes, moins de restrictions pour la perfection des mariages difficilement acceptables en Valachie, mais qui était perçu aussi, probablement, comme un bon lieu de refuge par rapport aux autorités de Bucarest. Ainsi, au début du XVIII^{ème} siècle, Maria Cantacuzino, une parente du prince régnant Nicolae Mavrocordat (1715–1715, 1719–1730), est partie à Giurgiu afin de pouvoir épouser Constantin Zaguriano, un boyard grec de l'entourage du prince régnant⁹⁶. De même, en 1786, Gheorghe et Maria, du village de Ștefanda, département de Vlașca, sont partis à Giurgiu où ils se sont mariés et où ils ont habité pendant cinq ans⁹⁷ ; de manière similaire, Petco et Neaga, du village de Singureni, se sont enfuis, eux aussi, à Giurgiu, où ils se sont mariés et ils ont eu un enfant⁹⁸, ce qui indique le fait que pour les habitants de la Valachie il n'y avait pas de problèmes à passer dans la cité de Giurgiu.

Par conséquent, cité administrée par les musulmans, mais habitée majoritairement par des chrétiens, Giurgiu a exercé pour les habitants de la Valachie une série de tentations, une des plus grandes étant constituée par une liberté majeure d'un point de vue de la vie privée. Aussi, de manière indirecte, résulte-t-il le fait que, pour les habitants de la Valachie, il n'y avait aucune restriction d'arriver dans la *kaza* (le long du temps il y a eu même des propriétés des Roumains à l'intérieur de la cité), à la différence des *serhatli* de Giurgiu (fussent-ils chrétiens, musulmans ou

⁹² *Kumbaradji-başı* – de *kumbara* (grande bombe, obus) et *baş* (*bachi*, chef); le chef des canonnières d'une garnison.

⁹³ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești*, I, doc. 2161, p. 434.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 2163, p. 434.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 2171, p. 436.

⁹⁶ Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 365–366.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 366.

Juifs), pour lesquels il y avait une série d'interdictions de libre passage dans le territoire du nord du Danube.

Du point de vue des princes régnants de la Valachie, la frontière danubienne de la zone des possessions ottomanes (Turnu, Giurgiu et Brăila) était un espace des violences, des excès et de la délinquance, dans les conditions où elle était faiblement défendue et dépourvue en bonne mesure de l'autorité exercée dans l'espace central⁹⁹. Pour cette raison, afin de ne pas engrener des abus qui auraient pu rendre leur mission plus difficile, les autorités ottomanes de Giurgiu veillaient à la bonne entente avec l'autorité du prince régnant, mais aussi au respect des firmans des sultans. Ainsi, par une adresse du 30 novembre 1822, l'*aian* de Roustchouk, es-Seid Mustafa, transmettait-il au prince régnant Grigore Ghica qu'il avait pris toutes les mesures ordonnées afin qu'à aucun individu suspect, surtout des Grecs, Bulgares, Serbes et Albanais, il ne soit permis de passer sur le territoire roumain. Aussi, dans le même document, es-Seid Mustafa sollicitait-il au prince régnant de dépêcher la désignation d'un représentant consulaire à Giurgiu, qui l'aide à veiller sur la sûreté de la frontière¹⁰⁰.

Une année plus tard, le *muhafiz* de Giurgiu, Salih Mehmed, transmettait à Grigore Ghica qu'il avait pris des mesures coercitives contre les 30 *nefers* musulmans et contre les 4–5 Serbes, tous de Giurgiu, qui ont fait paître 100 chevaux sur le territoire de la Valachie, en épouvantant les habitants des villages de la frontière¹⁰¹. En 1826, on mentionnait le vol de quelques chevaux de la Valachie, qui ont été amenés à Giurgiu et vendus¹⁰².

Évidemment, on a signalé, aussi, des abus des Roumains contre les habitants de Giurgiu, tels qu'ils résultent d'une lettre d'Ahmed, le chef des gardes [*staroste de portari*] du *muhafiz* de Giurgiu, du 25 août–3 septembre 1826, adressée au prince régnant Grigore Ghica. Dans le document on montrait que le capitaine de Hodivoaia, Iorgu, harcèle les habitants musulmans de Giurgiu, qu'il insulte, bat et blesse, en les renvoyant à Giurgiu. Le signataire de la lettre montrait au prince régnant que, de son point de vue, l'attitude du capitaine Iorgu était inexplicable, dans les conditions où il imposait aux musulmans qui voyageaient en Valachie la règle de bien traiter les habitants du pays¹⁰³. nstantin Coadă est partagée par le *ban* Mihail Cantacuzino [Cantacuzène], qui considérait que « (...) c'est toujours le *vornic* Coadă qui a détaché et a délimité ces cités-là [Brăila, Giurgiu et Turnu] lorsqu'elles ont été

⁹⁹ Dan Horia Mazilu, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

¹⁰⁰ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești*, I, doc. 1512, p. 302.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 1637, pp. 328–329.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, doc. 2171, p. 436.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, doc. 2293, p. 459.

remises aux mains des Turcs. L'histoire raconte aussi qu'il serait l'un des traîtres qui ont travaillé ensemble pour la réalisation de ce rapt »¹⁰⁴.

Dans ce contexte, il convient de mentionner le fait que la fixation par écrit des limites de la *kaza* de Giurgiu s'inscrit dans un contexte plus large, dans lequel, avec le règne de Soliman le Magnifique (1520–1566), les lignes directrices de la politique extérieure des Ottomans ont connu un changement radical d'orientation, par l'inauguration d'une ligne politique d'expansion vers le centre de l'Europe¹⁰⁵. Ce n'est pas par hasard que l'établissement de la frontière entre la possession ottomane de Giurgiu et la Valachie coïncide, comme intervalle de temps, avec la conquête de Tighina [Bendery] (1538) et l'occupation de Brăila (1538–1540) tout comme avec leur transformation en *kazas*, mais aussi avec la formation du Pachalik de Buda (1541), une vraie ceinture de sécurité militaire et économique étant ainsi réalisée le long du Danube.

Il est impossible de préciser quelle était l'étendue de la *kaza* de Giurgiu, établie par la commission concernant la frontière de 1544, mais nous sommes d'accord avec l'opinion de N. A. Constantinescu, selon laquelle les Ottomans ont poursuivi et ont imposé la frontière entre la possession de Giurgiu et la Valachie le long de la sous-terrasse danubienne ou de la plaine du Danube, qui se trouvait à environ 15–20 kilomètres distance du fleuve¹⁰⁶. La largeur de la plaine a varié le long du temps, et son hauteur dépassait le niveau du fleuve d'environ 60–65.

[Traduit du roumain par *Mădălin Roșioru*]

¹⁰⁴ *Istoria politică și geografică a Țerei Romanesci, de la cea mai veche a sa întemeiere până la anulul 1774* [L'Histoire politique et géographique de la Valachie, depuis sa fondation la plus ancienne et jusqu'en 1774], Bucuresci, Typographia Națională a lui Stephan Rassidescu, 1863, p.136.

¹⁰⁵ Tasin Gemil, *În fața impactului otoman* [Devant l'impact ottoman], in Petru Rareș (rédacteur coordonnateur Leon Șimanschi), Editura Academiei, Bucarest, 1978, p. 136.

¹⁰⁶ N. A. Constantinescu, *Întinderea raielor cu deosebită privire la raiua Giurgiului* [« L'étendue des raies concernant notamment la raia de Giurgiu »], in „Anuar de geografie și antropogeografie”, an II (1910–1911), Atelierele Grafice SOCEC&Co, Bucarest, 1911, p. 70.

POWER GAMES.
DISPUTES, MIGRATIONS AND DEPORTATIONS

Reemigration Attempts of Crimean Tatars from Dobrudzha to Their Historical Motherland in 1920s

D.P. Ursu, E.H. Seydametov

In the twenties of the 20th century the population of Dobrudzha, mostly Muslim, greatly suffered from political instability and economic dislocation caused by the consequences of the First World War. Stability and calmness prevented the various extremist organizations from functioning that aimed to achieve different goals, such as: the cession of all Dobrudzha to Bulgaria and proscription of both Romanians and Muslims (Turkish Tatars); the creation of the Balkan Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, and so on¹. Moreover, the situation was worsened by the constant presence of large military contingents, intensification of lawlessness. Most these troubles affected peaceful, hardworking Tatar peasantry which was loyal to the legitimate authorities. The sources do not contain any single case of Muslim participation in extremist movement. Unfavorable situation in the region again made them emigrate. This time a fervent appeal to return to the motherland and start a new life “without a tsar and landlords” came from the patriotic organization “Milli Firka”, supported by some Crimean national communists. This article aims to investigate insufficiently explored question of reemigration of Dobrudzha Tatars.

According to the memoirs of A. S. Ayvazov, the idea of reemigration of compatriots from diaspora was formulated in 1917 by the leaders of the national liberation movement in order to increase their numbers in the Crimea to 600 thousand and, thus, change their proportion in the population. It was supposed to move 200 thousand people from the Russian provinces, 70 thousand from Romania and 35 thousand from Poland and Lithuania². In the “Report of Crimean CEC and UNC on the reemigration of the Crimean Tatars from Bulgaria and Romania into the Crimea...” “the number of the people willing to be back to their motherland

¹ State Archive of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (SAARC) – F. P – 1. – Op. 1. – C. 382. – P. 219, pp. 384–385..

² Sabri Ayvazov’s last manuscript. Case of the Party “Milli Firka.” From the series “Declassified Memory.” Crimean Edition, V. 1 / compiler A.V. Valyakin, R.I. Hayali. – Simferopol, 2009. – C. 45 –.P. 350,

made up from 65,000 to 70,000³, and that information corresponded to Ayvazov's opinion. These figures seem too exaggerated for us, as Crimean Tatar national-communists did not possess exact data about the number of Dobrudzha Crimean Tatars. According to the general 1930 population census in Dobrudzha the number of Tatars was 22,092⁴. However, the idea itself about the necessity to correct century-long injustice and return to their historic homeland all deported people kept on its course. It was supported and made more concrete by the leaders of "Milli Firka" party; they tried to implement it as they believed in the Bolshevik slogan of the liberation of all oppressed classes and nations. The final indictment in the case of this organization issued in December 7, 1928 said: "Due to the establishment of Bolshevik government and involvement of the Tatars to the Soviet development, the requirement for the allocation of land for reemigrants from Turkey and Romania becomes one of the most important ones"⁵.

However, the question of Turkey soon fell away, mainly because of opposition from the kemalists. The proposal of migration of the Tatars from the interior territories of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland stood no longer as well. Thus, the only countries of the outcome were Romania and Bulgaria. This issue was hotly discussed at all-Crimean non-governmental meetings in 1921 and 1922 as well as at a meeting of the Crimean Tatar Bureau of the regional committee of the party. After a long and persistent struggle of national communists and millifirks it became possible to persuade, as it seemed, the Soviet party's leaders of the Crimean Autonomous Republic. So, at the end of 1924 during the preparation of the work plan of the regional committee of the party it was supposed to discuss the issue "Reemigration of the Crimean Tatars from Bulgaria and Romania to the Crimea". For its realization it was necessary to examine the actual material and prepare solutions according to the eight parameters. In particular, the number of expected reemigrants, the required area for people, the settlement pattern, the necessary amount of funds and sponsorship⁶. The necessary legislative base for its realization was already established. The Founding convention of the Council of the Crimean ASSR, which was held in November, 7–12, 1921 in Simferopol, adopted the law that meant a primary land allotment to landless and land-poor population of the Crimea as well as to the Crimean Tatar emigrants coming back to the Crimea. Secondly, it was necessary to

³ Report of the Crimea CEC and CTC about the the remigration of the Crimean Tatars from Bulgaria and Romania into the Crimea and about the reasons of Tatars emigration / ed. G. Bekirova – <http://www.kirimtatar.com/Archive/doklad1925.html#BK22>.

⁴ Sabin Manuilă and D.C. Georgescu, *Populația Dobrogei* (The Population of Dobrudzha) M. O. Imprimeria Națională, București, 1937, p. 14.

⁵ SAARC. – F. P – 1. – Op. 1. – C. 382. – P. 93, C. 378. – P. 162–163.

⁶ SAARC. – F. P – 663. – Op. 1 – C. 320. – P. 261.

satisfy the needs of the newly-come agricultural population that settled in the Crimea after February 18, 1918, and only then, non-agricultural population of the Crimea, mostly natives⁷.

Gradually, the question became urgent at a meeting of the Presidium of the CEC of the Crimea in January 1925. A report on the re-emigration from Romania and Bulgaria was made by national commissar of Justice R. Nogaev. Suggested by him a seven-point solution offers: "To petition the USSR Central Executive Committee to permit the Tatars immigrants leave for the Crimea from Bulgaria and Romania, firstly, 20 thousand people [...]. To satisfy firstly reemigrants Tatars using the reserve fund of the Crimea and allocate the newcomers the required amount of land, to be more exact, 100 thousand dessiatina [...]. To obtain long-term 1.3 million credit for pecuniary aiding from the Supreme Central Executive Committee to reemigrants for their initial necessary facilities and acquisition the needed equipment". Finally, it was decided to ask the union authorities to provide free transportation of the reemigrants and their possessions from the ports of Romania and Bulgaria⁸. It was supposed that the reemigrants would be able to settle not only in the steppe regions, but also on the South Coast of the Crimea, and for this reason the Secretariat Regional Committee passed a special resolution on February 14, 1925: "Considering the acute shortage of land reserves on the South Coast because of resettlement it is necessary to refrain with the exception of reemigrants Tatars from Romania"⁹. This brief but meaningful document requires clarification. It did not include the authorities and individuals who declared that resettlement on the South Coast needed to be refrained. Today we have enough sources to remove the brackets and to name people who strived to block the reemigration of Crimean Tatars. By this time within the central government a "Jewish lobby" was formed that proposed an idea of resettlement to the Crimea the "working Jews" from the overpopulated places of the western regions and their transformation in the agricultural proletarians. The second goal of the "Jewish project" was no less important than the social and political one. It aimed to 'bury' remigration. The main ideologist of the new campaign became a native-born of Simferopol Y. Larin (M.Z. Lurie), propagandist of Trotskyite theory of the forced formation of socialism, overcentralization of economic management and elimination of Lenin's "new economic policy". His collaborators and accomplices were no less odious individuals: Y. Yakovlev (Einstein), the theorist of the forced collectivization

⁷ Ozenbashli A. The Crimea's tragedy: the memoirs and documents / Transl. D.Kononenko. – Simferopol: Dolya, 2007. – P. 213.

⁸ SAARC. – F. P – 1. – Op. 1. – C. 616. – P. 24.

⁹ SAARC. – F. P – 1. – Op. 1. – C. 378. – P. 13.

who was hated by millions of peasants- workers, and soon he became a Commissar for Agriculture of the USSR G. Yagoda (E.G. Ieguda) – the actual head of the powerful police GPU. Within the Central Committee of the politburo this grouping was supported by Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev. They were opposed by the chairman of the CNC Rykov, the Commissar of Agriculture of the RSFSR, which included the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic as well, A.P. Smirnov, who became national commissar in July, 1923. In this matter he considered a danger of strained relations in the places of supposed settlement. Stalin was likely to hesitate.

After a considerable struggle behind the scenes within the government the supporters of “Jewish project” won. There was a question why the government decided to act this way exactly. There were some reasons: project’s support of Jewish settlement would give the Soviet government an opportunity to influence positively Jewish and pro-Jewish general opinion in the world as well as to better relationship with the west and the USA. Besides, it would allow the Soviet Union to gain considerable financial assistance from rich Jews and foreign Jewish organizations. All these factors would help to solve some economical difficulties of the Jews of USSR.

In June 22, 1925 the Presidium of the Supreme Central Executive Committee decided to transfer to “the land management committee of the working Jews” (Komzet) almost 32 thousand dessiatinas of land, that was “convenient for the settlement of the Jews from other parts of the USSR”. However, according to the petition of the CPC of the Autonomous Republic the CEC of the Crimea refused to discuss the matter, thus, it did not get subordinated to the central government¹⁰. The regional committee newspaper issued on the Crimean Tatar language “Yeni Duniya” made an attempt to appeal to the “sacred” Lenin’s name, and thus, it published an article which regarded the remigration as a beneficence of Soviet government: “Tatar refugees (in Romania and Bulgaria – U.S.) think only about the matter: either to return to the Crimea or perish [...]”. They hoped that the disciples of the leader – Lenin – of the oppressed of the world would pay attention to them and meet their expectations¹¹. The Communist faction of the CEC of the Crimea, which was headed by Veli Ibragimov, decided “[...] to prove the government the impossibility of the resettlement of the Jews” because of the lack of “free land”¹². In the newspaper “Red Crimea” Ibragimov himself stated directly: “the Jews migrate to the Crimea on the native population’s account”¹³. Soon at the Crimean congress

¹⁰ SAARC. – F. P -663. – Op. 1 – C. 1921. – P. 99.

¹¹ SAARC. – F. P -663. – Op. 1 – C. 368. – P. 107.

¹² SAARC. – F. P -663. – Op. 1 – C. 320. – P. 261.

¹³ Report of the Crimea CEC and CTC about the the remigration of the Crimean Tatars from Bulgaria and Romania into the Crimea and about the reasons of Tatars emigration / ed. G. Bekirova – <http://www.kirimtatar.com/Archive/doklad1925.html#BK22>.

OZET (Land management society of Jewish workers) the main lobbyist of the company Y. Larin attacked him, and because of it he was soon punished by the Central Control Commission of the Party¹⁴. Earlier the Crimean Regional Committee of the party approved the charter of the “Society for the reemigration and resettlement of the Crimean Tatars Koch-yardim”, which actually turned out to be a rival and antithesis of Larin’s “Komzet”¹⁵.

The consequences of this conflict became the most dramatic since the beginning of 1928; when Stalin decided to force collectivization of agriculture and destroy physically the opposition in the national republics. Veli Ibraimov was arrested and after a mock trial he was shot (May 9, 1928), return migration supporters were repressed, and this phenomenon itself was declared as “the intrigues of counter-revolutionaries” and “anti-Semites”; it was forbidden even to remember about it for decades. Reemigration movement of the Crimean Tatars from Romania to their historical homeland – to the Crimea serves as a vivid example illustrating a strong genetic link between the diaspora and the parent ethnic GROUP which has been manifesting itself for the centuries up to the present day.

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¹⁴ The national question in the Balkans through the prism of the world revolution in the documents of the central Russian archives: two volumes /Ed.-in-Chief R.P. Grishina. – M., 2000. – Part 2. – p. 688.

¹⁵ Ozenbashli A. The Crimea’s tragedy: the memoirs and documents / Transl. D.Kononenko. – Simferopol: Dolya, 2007. – P. 213.

Deportation of Koreans, Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks in Uzbekistan (1937–1944) and Their Comparative Social and Legal Status

Adolat Rakhmankulova

Due to the repressive policies of the Soviet state, millions of people have become victims of political arbitrariness on the political, religious, social-class, and other grounds. Repression policies were directed not only against certain individuals and social classes, but also against entire nationalities. A huge number of people were illegally deported from their homes and most of them suffered quite innocently. Central Asian republics as well as Western Siberia and Kazakhstan, were chosen as places of settlement and special-purpose settlements for the deported peoples and special settlers (Russian term '*spetspereselentsy*'). A large number of them were resettled in Uzbekistan.

It should be noted that foreign scholars were the first to pay attention to studying the history of the deportation of some of the Soviet peoples, who in their special studies and publications devoted to national policy in the Soviet Union, published statistical data concerning the number of people deported during the war and post-war years, and information on participation of the special settlers in social production¹. In the post-Soviet period, the above-mentioned problems based on analyzing the official documents were discussed in a growing number of articles and research papers that have been published since the late 1980s up to date². The scholars, who dealt with the study of the problem of deportation of peoples in the

¹ Conquest, R.: *The Soviet deportation of nationalities*. London: MACMILLAN & CO LTD; New York: ST MARTIN'S PRESS, 1960; Nekrich, A.M.: *The punished peoples*. New York, 1978.

² Bugai, N.F.: *Iosif Stalin – Lavrentiyu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'..."*. Moskva: Druzhba narodov, 1992, 288 S; Bugai, N.F.: *Narody Ukrainy v „Osoboy papke Stalina“*. Moskva: Nauka, 2006, 271 S; Pak, B.D., Bugai, N.F.: *140 let v Rossii. Ocherk istorii rossiyskikh koreytsev*. Moskva: Institut vostokovedeniya RAN, 2004, 464 S; Berdinskikh, V. A: *Spetsposelentsy: Politicheskaya ssylka narodov Sovetskoy Rossii*. Moskva: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2005, 768 S; Polyan, P. M., Pobol', N. L. (Sost.): *Stalinskiye deportatsii. 1928–1953*. Moskva: MFD: Materik, 2005, 904 S; Eisfeld, A., Herdt, V. (Hrsg.): *Deportation, Sondersiedlung, Arbeitsarmee: Deutsche in der Sowjetunion 1941 bis 1956*. Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1995, 555 S; Pohl, J. Otto: *Ethnic Cleansing in the USSR, 1937–1949*. Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1999, 179 P; Williams, Brian G.: *The Crimean Tatars. The Diaspora Experience and the Forging of a Nation*. Leiden, 2001, 488 P; Zemskov, V. N.: *Spetsposelentsy v SSSR, 1930–1960*. Moskva: Nauka, 2005, 306 S. and others.

Soviet Union, did much, namely, a considerable complex of sources was introduced in the scientific circulation, the data derived from state archives, serious history works were issued by historians on the state-sponsored terror of the 1930s, on the deportation of people in the 1930s and 1940s, and the causes, extent and mechanism of the deportations and categories of repressed peoples were studied. While extensively covering the very course of the forced relocation, the authors paid more attention to the regions from which the deportation was carried out. The consequences of these actions for the regions to which the people were resettled were explored only partially. Despite the large number of scholarly writings on the deportation of peoples, few scholars drew attention to the study of the state policy aimed at familiarizing the special settlers with the state and public life of the country, adaptation specificities of the deported population to new places of residence. The issues of the legal situation and social status of the deported peoples are also poorly understood and little studied³. Some aspects of social and legal situation of the deported peoples in Uzbekistan, by the example of Koreans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks are discussed below.

Thus, a large wave of forced displacement has become a so-called '*kulak*' deportation related to the accomplishment of forced collectivization. The mass dispossession of the *kulaks* commenced in January 1930. If the main directions of the first wave of dispossession were the Northern Territory, the Ural area and Western Siberia, in 1931–1932, the center of resettlement moved to Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and Western Siberia. In 1932, 71,236 people arrived in areas of special settlement, with most of them (39.4%) having been sent to Central Asia, including Uzbekistan⁴.

The *kulaks* were resettled as small colonies in the so-called "labor settlements" ('*trudposelki*' in Russian). For them, there existed also a SAZLAG⁵, a branch of the Gulag. As of 1 January 1941, according to the data of the Administration Office for the correctional labor camps of the NKVD of the Uzbek SSR, dislocation of *trudposelki* (labor settlements) was as follows: the number of *trudposelki* – 14, consisted of families – 3328, people – 12,078, including children up to 3 years old – 1215, aged 3 to 8 years – 1063, children and adolescents from 8 to 14 years old –

³ Belkovets, L. P.: *Administrativno-pravovoe polozhenie rossiyskikh nemtsev na spetsposelenii 1941–1955 gg.: Istoriko-pravovoe rassledovanie*. 2–e izd. Moskva: Rossiyskaya politicheskaya entsiklopediya (ROSSPEN); Fond Pervogo Prezidenta Rossii B. N. Eltsina, 2008, 359 S; Bruhl, V.: *Deportirovannyye narody v Sibiri (1935–1965 gg.)*. *Sravnitel'nyi analiz v: Repressii protiv sovetskikh nemtsev. Nakazannyi narod*. Moskva: „Zven'ia“, 1999, 95–117; Sabanchiev, Kh.-M.: *Pravovoe polozhenie i sotsial'nyi status balkartsev na spetsposelenii* in: *Gosudarstvo i pravo*. Moskva: no. 12 (2005), 89–96

⁴ Polyan, P. M.: *Ne po svoey vole... Istoriya i geografiya prinuditel'nykh migratsiy v SSSR*. – M., 2001, S. 77.

⁵ SAZLAG – Central Asian Branch of the Main Directorate of the forced labor camps of the USSR.

1,952⁶. *Trudposelentsy* (people living in *trudposelki*) were representatives of 23 different nationalities. They were placed for ‘labor employment’ under the command of the People’s Commissariat of Soviet farms, People’s Commissariat of the Food Industry, the People’s Commissariat of Agriculture and the NKVD of the UzSSR.

The Koreans from the Russian Far East were among the first nationalities, who underwent total deportation in 1937. The Council of People’s Commissars (SNK) of the USSR and the Central Committee of the VCP (b) (Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of USSR) adopted the Resolution “On the eviction of Koreans from the border areas of the Far Eastern region” on 21 August 1937, after that 74,500 Koreans (16,307 families) arrived in the Uzbek Republic in October and November 1937⁷. In 1940, the following nationalities fell under total deportation: Germans, Kalmyks, the peoples of the North Caucasus (Karachais, Chechens, Ingush, Balkar), the peoples from the Crimea (Crimean Tatars, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians and foreign subjects), the peoples from Georgia (Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, Khemshils or Khemshins) and other nationalities. Thus, 151,604 Crimean Tatars were settled in the Uzbek SSR in 1944, yet, 8,045 former kulaks and 231 Germans were registered in the Department for Special Settlements of the NKVD of the Uzbek SSR. By early 1945, Uzbekistan received for residence 53,163 people from Georgia, 538 Kalmyks, 757 natives of the North Caucasus, including 419 Balkar, 175 Chechens, 159 Ingush and representatives of other nationalities⁸.

The Directive of the NKVD “On Excluding Special Settlers from the Armed Services and Confiscation of Their Military Cards” was issued on 26 February 1944 and on 30 July of the same year the Directive “On the Registration by Special Settlements of the Demobilized from the Red Army Kalmyks, Karachais, Chechens, Ingush, Balkar, Crimean Tatars, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians Coming to Families Residing in Places of Settlement” was issued. Special orders were issued and sent to the fronts of dismissal from the Red Army of Chechens, Ingush, Karachais, Balkar, Crimean Tatars, Kalmyks, and other nationalities. They were sent to special settlements. The same fate was suffered the rank and file, and most of the junior military officers. Curiously, the senior military officers, who were not political workers, as a rule, were not dismissed from the army but continued to fight at the front lines, and senior military officers – political workers were sent to special settlements⁹.

⁶ GARF (*the State archives of the Russian Federation*), f. P-9479, op. 1. d. 62, l. 111.

⁷ TsGA RUz (*the Central State archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan*), f. 837, op. 32, d. 593, l. 139.

⁸ See: Rakhmankulova, A. Kh.: *Ob ispol'zovanii trudovogo potentsiala deportirovannykh narodov v Uzbekistane v kontse 1930-kh – 1940-e gody* in: *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*. Moskva: no. 5 (2006), S. 151.

⁹ Zemskov, V. N.: *Spetsposelentsy v SSSR, 1930–1960*. Moskva: Nauka, 2005, S. 109.

Thus, as of 1 January 1953, the number of special settlers deported to the Uzbek SSR made up 188,689 people¹⁰.

Due to the deportation policy in Uzbekistan, as well as in other regions of the country, the range of ethnic minorities was forcibly expanded. While in socio-economic terms, Uzbekistan was not ready to accept such a large number of immigrants at that time. The Republic had to solve many difficult of accomplishment tasks. In the mid-1930s, Uzbekistan was one of the lowest in the country on its socio-economic development and was unable to provide normal living conditions not only for the deported people, but also for its population. There was a shortage of housing and food products, because building materials, bread, and meat were imported in Uzbekistan from other republics. In addition, there was a shortage of medical staff workers, large amounts of medicaments were required, as at that time, malaria was rampant in the country. Thus, the number of doctors per 10 thousand people made up only 4.7 doctors¹¹.

With the arrival of the deported people from the Crimea and the Caucasus, new problems arose: how to provide economic conditions and job placement, and to solve new social problems. However, the Uzbek government and the people did the maximum possible in that difficult situation in order to receive, accommodate and render employment assistance to all resettles. Nevertheless, the consequences of deportation were very heavy. The forced resettlement of the nationalities led to the separation of many families, to immense human losses, demographic changes among the deported peoples in the regions where they had been resettled. Thus, 74,500 Koreans were deported in Uzbekistan from the Far East, then according to the 1939 Census, their number accounted for 72,944, i.e. the number decreased by 2,556 people. According to the archival data (here is given statistical data not only of the Crimean Tatars, but also of all those, resettled from the Crimea), 151,609 people from the Crimea came to special settlement to the Uzbek SSR in May and June 1944¹², from the time of their arrival up to the end of the year 16 052 people died (10.6% of the total number of special settlers), and 13,183 people (9.8%) died during 1945¹³.

In all official documents of that period, for the deported peoples the term “*spetspereselentsy*”, was used, which meant, in addition to strong oversight, a number of measures to limit the civil rights of the deportees. But some of the deported peoples, in particular, the Koreans, were not categorized as the special settlers (“*spetspereselentsy*”).

¹⁰ Milova, O. L.: *Deportatsiya narodov SSSR (1930–1950-e gody)*. Materialy k serii. “Narody i kul’tury. Vypusk XII, Chast’ 1. Moskva, 1992, S. 204.

¹¹ Kim, P. G.: *Koreysy Respubliki Uzbekistan*. Tashkent: „Uzbekiston“, 1993, S.15.

¹² GARF, f. 9479, op. 1, d. 248, l. 81.

¹³ Ibid. l. 84.

It should be noted that the question of the question has been still controversial on the legal status of Koreans who were evicted from the Far East to Kazakhstan and Central Asia in 1937. Their status was not clearly defined. The Koreans were formally considered in status as administrative expelled and were not part of the special settlers, although were to a large extent limited in their rights. At the end of the Second World War, the threat of transfer to the position of special resettlers hung over the Koreans. The requests to share their views on this were sent from Moscow to the NKVD of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan. The NKVD of the Kazakh SSR declared it inexpedient to register the Koreans in the special settlements¹⁴, and, on the contrary, the NKVD of the Uzbek SSR declared it as appropriate¹⁵. The NKVD of the Kirghiz SSR could not confirm the fact of the Koreans residing in the Republic. As a result, in early July 1945, the NKVD of the USSR decided to extend the status of the “*spetspereselentsy*” only to Koreans working temporarily for labor mobilization in the coal industry in the Tula province. In July 1945, 1,040 mobilized Koreans in the Tula region were registered as having the status of special settlers¹⁶.

As for Koreans lived in Kazakhstan and the Central Asian region, they were not special settlers. On 2 August 1946, it was decided to issue passports without restriction to those Koreans. But according to the Directive of S. N. Kruglov, the Minister of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, of 3 March 1947, authorizing the issuance of new passports to the Koreans, but only with the right of residing within the confinement of Central Asia, excluding, of course, the near-border areas. They were forbidden to reside in the regions of the Far East¹⁷. They were free to move only in Central Asia, and throughout the country from 1953.

As is known, immediately after the liberation of Crimea on 13 April 1944, the NKVD and KGB started “cleaning” the territory from the anti-Soviet elements. According to the Resolution of the State Defence Committee of 11 May 1944 (№ 5859ss) “On Crimean Tatars”¹⁸ it was authorized “to evict all the Tatars from the territory of the Crimea and to settle them permanently as special settlers in areas of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic” and “to establish commandant offices of the NKVD in areas of special settlement”. On 16 May 1944 (№ 00577) the Order was issued of the People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR “On Establishing the NKVD Commandant Offices in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic”, according

¹⁴ GARF, f. 9479, op. 1, d. 186, l. 16.

¹⁵ Ibid. l. 18.

¹⁶ Ibid., l. 18.

¹⁷ Zemskov, V. N. Ibid. S. 137

¹⁸ RGASPI (Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History), f. 644, op. 1, d. 252, l. 137–142.

to which, in June 1944, 76 NKVD special commandant offices were established only to serve the special settlers – the Crimean Tatars¹⁹.

In the USSR, on a countrywide scale, the legal position of special settlers, the Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks and other deported peoples, their conditions of residence and employment in areas of forced settlements were defined by the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars – SNK (№ 35 dated January 8, 1945) "On the Legal Status of Special Settlers"²⁰ and according to the "Regulations on the NKVD Commandant Offices"²¹ adopted by the SNK of the USSR on 8 January 1945 (№ 34–14, classified as "secret"). According to the Resolution of the SNK (№ 35 dated January 8, 1945) the special settlers legally retained all the rights of the USSR citizens. There were the following limitations:

- special settlers were not allowed without the permission of the commandant of the special NKVD commandant office to leave the boundaries of the district of settlement served by this commandant. Absence without leave outside the area of the settlement served by this commandant office was considered as an escape and was criminally liable.
- the exiles were required to strictly adhere to the established regime for them and the public order, obey all orders of the NKVD during the three-day period to inform the commandant office of all changes that occurred in the family (birth, death of a family member, escape, etc.) .
- every month all family members had come to the NKVD commandant office and put their signatures in the book of record. For violation of the regime fines up to \$ 100 or arrest for up to 5 days were imposed on the special settlers.
- in conditions of the special regime, the rights of special settlers were regulated mainly by the commandant offices. Locally, the subdivisions of commandant offices were set up at the local NKVD departments. On 21 January 1947, 49,253 families (179,368 special settlers) were under the supervision of the 120 commandant offices, which were established in the provinces, cities and districts of Uzbekistan²².

Special settlers enjoyed the formal right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets of the Workers' Deputies, but only up to the district level. They could be awarded orders and medals of the USSR. Nominally, many other rights were recorded on paper. However, in reality it was often different. The fate and the lives of many of

¹⁹ GARF, f. 9479, op. 1s, d. 180, l. 9.

²⁰ TsGA RUz, f. 314, op. 7, d. 18, l. 404

²¹ GARF, f. 9408, op. 1, d. 2, l. 55.

²² Rakhmankulova, A. Kh. Ibid. S. 159.

the special settlers often depended not on the law, but on the personal character traits of the district chief of the NKVD. The special settlers were not drafted into the army until 1956. After 1956, there was a list of branches of the armed forces, to which it was impossible to draft the representatives of deported peoples. The prohibitions remained in force on training of the deported individuals and their children in many universities.

During the deportation years, there were many cases of escaping of exiles from places of special settlements. All cases of escaping were thoroughly investigated, the detainees were returned back to the places of settlement, following the investigation, special measures were taken to action. The end of the 1940s was characterized by a maximum tightening of the regime for special settlers. An especially sorrowful part in the life of the deported peoples was played by the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "On Criminal Liability for Escaping from the Place of mandatory assigned and permanent residence of persons deported to remote areas of the Soviet Union during World War II" of 26 November 1948, adopted to follow the development of the Resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the VCP (b). It was the first legal act of the representative supreme body of the country, which on the state level regulated the position of the deported peoples. The Decree actually stated that the Germans, Karachais, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Balkar, Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks and members of other peoples deported to places of special settlement during the war should remain in this status forever, without the right to return to their ethnic native land²³. Their departure from the registered settlement without special permission from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR was punished with hard labor for a term up to 20 years. Furthermore, the persons guilty of harboring those, fleeing from places of binding settlement or facilitated their escape, as well as those responsible for the authorization of deportees to return to their former places of residence, and persons assisting them in settling in their former places of residence, were subject to criminal liability and punishment by imprisonment for five years.

Changes in the lives of special settlers throughout the entire country came from the mid-1950s. The Resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Removal of Certain Restrictions in the Legal Status of Special Settlers" was adopted on 5

²³ After the deportation of peoples their national-state formations were liquidated. There were eliminated the Autonomy of Germans of the Volga Region (28 August 1941), the Karachai Autonomous Region (12 October 1943), the Kalmyk ASSR (27 December 1943), the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (7 March 1944), and Kabardino-Balkaria SSR was renamed the Kabardian ASSR (8 April 1944). The Crimean Autonomous Republic was eliminated on 30 June 1945 and the Crimean Autonomous Region within the RSFSR was established instead.

July 1954. The NKVD commandant offices stroke off the register children under 16 and over 16 years of age in the event that they were enrolled in the educational establishments. On 13 July 1954, the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of 26 November 1948 was repealed. Henceforth, in case of their escaping, the special settlers were condemned to three years in prison. The Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of April 28, 1956 (№ 135/142) “On the removal of banishment restrictions from the Crimean Tatars, the Balkar, the Turks – citizens of the USSR, the Kurds, Khemshils and their families who were evicted during the Great Patriotic War” provided that the commandant offices stroke off the register the Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks and other peoples and freed them from administrative supervision of the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Although, at that time it did not give them the right to return to their native land and the right of returning the property confiscated during deportation. Only in the late 1980s, the Crimean Tatars gained the right to return to their homes, but for the Meskhetian Turks, this problem has remained unsolved, yet.

Thus, the study of the deportation policy of people suggests that the policy of the totalitarian regime was aimed at limitation and denial of personal, social, political and civil rights of forcibly evicted people. Existence in an alien civilization, ethnic and religious environment had a significant negative impact on the life of the deportees, their educational and cultural level, led to the loss of the native language by the significant segment of the deportees. But later on, the Koreans, Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks and other ethnic minorities adapted in Central Asia, and contributed to the development of the economic and cultural potential of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. For instance, for years of residing in Central Asia more than 200 Koreans were awarded the title of the Hero of Socialist Labor for outstanding achievements in agriculture. Yet, they formed significant social strata in industry, construction, science, healthcare and other areas. “Taking into consideration the nature of the Stalinist national policy against Koreans and their status of “non-privileged” ethnic minority in the Soviet Union, this phenomenon of such significant achievements, despite all the obstacles, is simply amazing and is a cause for admiration. None of the Korean diasporas in the world (Japan, China, the USA, Canada and other countries) was not able to reach such a high status in the social hierarchy of their countries, as did the *koryo saram* in Central Asia”²⁴.

²⁴ Khan, V. S.: *Koryo Saram – kto my? (Ocherki istorii koreytsev)*. Bishkek: Its “ARXI”, 2009, S. 127.

On the Question of Recognition of Tokhtamysh Khan's Supreme Authority in Moscow

Ilnur Mirgaleyev

In the late summer 1380 Tokhtamysh Khan took control of the eastern regions of the Ulus of Jochi and began to operate in the western direction, adjoining to his possessions such cities as Haji-Tarkhan and Majar with the surrounding areas. Only Emir Mamai remained disobedient to him. After the Battle of Kulikovo, Emir Mamai headed for his ulus with a small military retinue as he feared the new and legitimate Tokhtamysh Khan.

The rout of Tokhtamysh Khan's troops began in the city of Azak. Judging from the Russian chronicles, Mamai tried to organize resistance. Only the "Chronicle of Lithuania and Žemaitija" reports that following the defeat on the Kulikovo field Mamai fled to Kafa, where he was killed¹. But the rest of the chronicles tell about the meeting of the Mamai's and Tokhtamysh's troops on the river of Kalka and argue that the "Princes of Mamai dismounted and begged Tokhtamysh to pardon them and swore allegiance to him"².

As early as at the beginning of 20th centuries V.G. Lyaskoronsky quite convincingly proved that the river of Kalka mentioned in Russian chronicles was the Kolomak, a tributary of the Vorskla (Bursykly) River³. He came to the conclusion that Mamai was defeated by Tokhtamysh close to the Lithuanian border, which at that time passed exactly on the Vorskla River.

¹ PSRL. T. 32. [Complete Collection of the Russian Chronicles. Vol. 32. Chronicle of Lithuania and Žemaitija and the Bychowiec Chronicle. Annals of Barkulabov, Averka, and Pansyrny]. M.: Nauka, 1975. P. 60.

² PSRL [Complete Collection of the Russian Chronicles]. T. 8. SPb. tip. Je.Praca, 1859. P. 41. See more details about the Mamai's defeat by Tokhtamysh in our work: Mirgaleev I.M. «Chernyj chelovek» Mamaj [Mamai, the "Black Perso"] // Mamaj. Opyt istoriograficheskoy antologii. Sbornik nauchnyh trudov [Mam. Essays on Historiographical Anthology. Collected Papers] / Pod red. V.V. Trepavlova, I.M. Mirgaleeva. Kazan': Izd-vo «Fjen» AN RT, 2010. P. 183–197.

³ Ljaskoronskij V.G. Russkie pohody v stepi v udel'no-vechevoe vremja i pohod kn. Vitovta na tatar v 1399 g. [Russian Military Campaigns in the Steppe in the Times of Demesnia and Veche Order and Prince Vitovt Campaign against the Tatars in 1399] // ZhMNP. 1907. V. Sankt-Peterburg: Senatskaja tipografija, 1907. P. 9.

Tokhtamysh sent envoys to the Russian Ulus with notification of his victory over Mamai⁴. Throughout 1381 Tokhtamysh was busy rebuilding the central authority across the Ulus of Jochi. The new Khan conducted active domestic and foreign policy.

Everyone felt a strong hand of the Khan. Jogaila began to pay tribute for those Russian lands⁵ that he conquered during turmoil in the Golden Horde. In the western parts the border was moved. Italian colonies in the Crimea as well recognized the authority of the new Khan.

By the end of the summer 1381 the institution of authority was restored throughout the Golden Horde. In 1381 Tokhtamysh Khan sent envoys to the Russian princes, demanding that the princes came personally to Sarai. However the envoy "reached Nizhny Novgorod and returned but did not go to Moscow"⁶. Probably Tokhtamysh Khan wanted to discuss the situation in the Russian Ulus in general and increase the size of the tribute. Also an urgent was the question of repayment of debt over the past year⁷. The princes of Nizhny Novgorod and Ryazan accepted demands of the Khan, but envoy's negotiations with Dmitry of Moscow failed. In our opinion the reason for this was that the Khan demanded from the prince of Moscow inter alia not to interfere in the affairs of other principalities, especially of Ryazan and Nizhny Novgorod. Indeed, Moscow had been purposely exalted by former Tatar khans for more effective control over the entire Russian Ulus. Perhaps this time as well the special status of Moscow was considered by new Khan as a very important issue, because after had put a stop to discord in the Golden Horde Tokhtamysh adhered to the old ideology of great khans and with all his forces longed to return to the great times.

Due to the weakening of the Tatar control the prince of Moscow led a decisive offensive against neighboring princes imposing on them unequal treaties and relegating other princes in the role of the "younger brothers". Without doubt the requirements of Tokhtamysh Khan were of the anti-Moscow orientation. This explains the fact that the princes of Ryazan and Nizhny Novgorod supported the Khan, as this did later the prince of Tver. The prince of Moscow for his part refused to fulfill the requirements of the new Khan. Tokhtamysh Khan acted decisively. In order to carry out the campaign unexpectedly the Tatars arrested Russian merchants trading in the

⁴ PSRL [Complete Collection of the Russian Chronicles]. T. 11. SPb.: tip. I.N.Skorohodova. 1897. P. 69.

⁵ Grekov B.D., Jakubovskij A.Ju. *Zolotaja Orda i ee padenie* [The Golden Horde and Its Downfall]. Moskva-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1950. P. 324.

⁶ PSRL [Complete Collection of the Russian Chronicles]. T. 8. SPb. tip. Je.Praca, 1859. P. 42.

⁷ Gorskij A.A. *Moskva i Orda* [Moscow and the Horde]. Moskva: Nauka, 2001. P. 109.

Volga region. After that “their whole army moved imperceptibly and suddenly”. Russian chronicles states that Tatar army was moving very quickly⁸.

Having learned about this campaign, Prince Dmitry hastily left Moscow and moved to Kostroma, where the Tatars could not overtake him in a short time. The Tartars took Vladimir, Suzdal, Pereyasavl, Moscow and several other cities⁹. According to some Russian chronicles, Prince Ostei, the grandson of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Algirdas, arrived in Moscow with the aim to organize the defense of the city. But when the Muscovites learned that “the tsar came to execute his serf Dmitry” and that Tokhtamysh Khan “came not to lose his ulus but to protect it and wanted to enter it”¹⁰, the defenders allowed the Tatars to enter the city. As we can see, there was no a serious defense.

According to sources, Dmitry did not come to the Khan. Probably everything was settled through the ambassadors of the Prince of Moscow. Dmitry was able to return to Moscow only after the fulfillment of all of the Khan's requirements. Indeed, after this campaign of Tokhtamysh Khan the size of tribute was doubled¹¹. In the Novgorod Chronicles IV even the specific figure is identified: “he brought to the tsar 8000 silver rubles”¹².

Undoubtedly, after the 1382 a tribute from the Russian Ulus began to flow into the treasury of the Horde regularly and in the amounts established by Tokhtamysh. In addition, in 1382, the Orthodox diocese of Sarai was moved to Moscow¹³. Most likely, the bishop of Sarai became an authorized representative of the Tatar power in Russian Ulus. He was supposed to control the activities of Russian princes and especially of the princes of Moscow. The son of Prince Dmitry in turn, became a hostage being kept for a long time in the retinue of the Khan. True in the future, he managed to prove his loyalty to the Tatar power and preserve the special status of Moscow.

⁸ PSRL [Complete Collection of the Russian Chronicles]. T. 23. – SPb.: tip. M.A.Aleksandrova, 1910. P. 127.

⁹ Solov'ev S.M. *Istorija Rossii s drevnejshih vremen* [History of Russia from the Ancient Times]. Kniga II. Toma 3-4. – M.: Izd-vo soc.-jek. lit., 1960. P. 289–290.

¹⁰ PSRL [Complete Collection of the Russian Chronicles]. T. 15. SPb.: tip. L.Demisa, 1863. P. 442.

¹¹ Safargaliyev M.G. *Raspad Zolotoj Ordy* [Disintegration of the Golden Horde] // *Na styke kontinentov i civilizacij... [On the Junction of Continents and Civilizations]*. M.: Insan, 1996. P. 393.

¹² Gorskiy A.A. *Moskva i Orda* [Moscow and the Horde]. Moskva: Nauka, 2001. P. 109. Some modern scholars have suggested that these 8000 rubles was a tribute for two years (from the territory of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir). See: Gorskiy A.A. *Moskva i Orda* [Moscow and the Horde]. Moskva: Nauka, 2001. P. 24.

¹³ Belozеров I.V. *Religioznaja politika Zolotoj Ordy na Rusi v XIII–XIV vv. Avtoreferat dissertacii kandidata istoricheskikh nauk* [Religious Policy the Golden Horde in Rus' in the 13th–14th centuries. Abstract of PhD Thesis]. Moskva, 2002. P. 24.

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List of abbreviations

- AN SSSR – Akademija Nauk SSSR [Academy of Sciences of the USSR]
- ZhMNP – Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshhenija [Journal of the Ministry of Public Education]
- PSRL – Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisej [Complete Collection of the Russian Chronicles]
- SPb. – Sankt-Peterburg [Saint Petersburg]

INSCRIPTIONS AND SOURCES.
ANALYSES, INVESTIGATIONS AND IMAGES

The Yenisei Runic Inscriptions and the Possibilities of Their Historiographic Assessment

S.G. Klyashtornyj

Chinese chronicles mention the Qyrgyz people under their own name between 202–200 B.C. However only the persistent work of several generations of Russian archaeologists allows to reconstruct, at least to some extent, the earliest history of the Qyrgyz state and people, who dwelt in the Upper Yenisei region, to study their culture, which reached a very high level by the standards of that time. Cattle-breeders and plowmen, warriors and builders, the Yenisei Qyrgyz took active part in the political and cultural life of Central Asia. But only a thousand and three hundred years ago the Qyrgyz began to speak to their descendants in their native language, which survived over the steppes and mountain valleys of South Siberia and North Mongolia. At present we know over two hundred inscriptions engraved on steles and rocks, carved on silver vessels and their utensils, though it is only a small part of what has once been written¹.

Time has not spared many of the inscriptions, but those which survived preserved to us the stories of their heroes and episodes of their lives. Only few of the inscriptions contain historical data. Two of them were found in the Minusinsk basin near the lake of Altyn-köl (Golden Lake)². The steles of the Golden Lake preserve the story of the Qyrgyz khan Bars-beg and his brother. Bars-beg's brother went to Tibet with an embassy to seek a military alliance against the Qagan of the Turks, whose growing power worried Bars-beg. Another ambassador, the prominent military leader Chabysh Ton-tarqan, was sent by Bars-beg to Qara-khan (Uibat I

¹ In the article the following editions of the Yenisei Runic Inscriptions are used: Васильев Д.Д. Корпус тюркских рунических памятников бассейна Енисея. Ленинград, 1983; Малов С.Е. Енисейская письменность тюрков. Тексты и переводы. Москва-Ленинград, 1952; Кормушин И.В. Тюркские енисейские эпитафии. Тексты и исследования. Москва, 1997. For general characterization of the Yenisei inscriptions see also: Щербак А.М. Енисейские рунические надписи. К истории открытия и изучения // Тюркологический сборник 1970. Москва, 1970. С. 111–134; Bazin L. Les premières inscriptions turques (VI^e – X^e siècles) en Mongolie et en Sibérie méridionale // Arts Asiatiques. T. XLV, 1990. P. 48–60.

² Кляшторный С.Г. Стелы Золотого озера. О датировке енисейских рунических памятников // Тюркологический сборник 1976. Ленинград, 1976. С. 258–264.

inscription)³. Whom the Qyrgyz knew under the name of Qara-khan is made clear by another inscription, carved on the back of a stone monument⁴. The next in the name of the memoriant tells that he was a turgesh and *ičreq*, i.e. a person empowered to act for Qara-khan. The khans of the Qara-türgesh dynasty, whose official title was «the qagans of the (people) of ten arrows» are mentioned in the Yenisei inscriptions under the name of Qara-khans⁵, so Chabysh Ton-tarqan was sent to look for allies on the banks of the Chu river in Suyab.

The runic monuments of Mongolia, especially the inscription of Tonyuquq, tell that the diplomatic activities of Bars-beg did not remain unnoticed by the Turkish qagan. Although Bars-beg was married to a niece of the ruling Turkish qagan Qapagan, it did not stop the violent raid of the Türks across the Sayan mountains in winter of 710–711⁶. Bars-beg was killed in this uneven combat, as well as his brother, who has not returned from Tibet. Both were eulogized by their congeners in the epitaphs on the steles of the Golden lake. Chabysh Ton-tarqan also perished abroad.

One more Yenisei epitaph tells of the same events (Kyzyl Chyraaa I)⁷. Its hero, whose name is lost, was killed in battle against the army of Beg-chor. But Beg-chor was the «male (warrior's) name» (*er aty*) of Qapagan-qagan. Chinese dynastic chronicles mention him under that very name Mo-ch'uo, i.e. Beg-chor. In the last line of the inscription the memoriant is mourning not over his own death, but the death of his elder brother, the khan of the Qyrgyz, i.e. Bars-beg. Even the age of Bars-beg is mentioned – he was forty two. Let us remember that the epitaph of Bars-beg (Altyn-köl I) tells us of four «noble brothers» who were «separated by Erlkig», the god of the underworld⁸.

Other inscriptions of historical value belong to a different epoch, when the Qyrgyz state flourished and dominated the whole Central Asia. A hundred and thirty years had passed after the death of Bars-beg and a hundred years after the fall of the Turkish qaganate, when the Qyrgyz state, now firmly established, crashed the Uighur qaganate, the former predominant power of the steppes, in 840. The Qyrgyz empire at that time extended from the Angara and the Baikal to the Altai and Semirechye, from Siberia to the Great Wall of China. Till recent time the only

³ Малов. Енисейская письменность. С. 58–59; Кормушин. Тюркские енисейские эпитафии. С. 92–94.

⁴ Малов. Енисейская письменность. С. 66–67.

⁵ On the Türgesh dynasty of Qara-khans see: Klyashtornyj S.G. The date of the ancient inscriptions of Semirechie // *Altaica Osloensia Proceedings of the 32 PIAC Conference*. Ed. By B. Brendenmoen. Oslo, 1990. P. 219–221.

⁶ On this raid see: Кляшторный С.Г. Древнетюркские рунические памятники как источник по истории Средней Азии. Москва, 1964. С. 137–139.

⁷ Кормушин. Тюркские енисейские эпитафии. С. 198–200.

⁸ Кляшторный. Стелы Золотого озера. С. 261.

known monument of that imperial epoch (840–918) was the Suja inscription discovered at the beginning of the 20th century by Finnish scholar G. Ramstedt in North Mongolia⁹. It was inscribed by the order of Boila Qutlug-yargan «the son of Qyrgyz», who took part in the victory over the Uighurs in 840. The first line of the inscription mentions Yaylaqar-khan, whom the investigators first took for the khan of the Qyrgyz and the prototype of Manas. Later it was found that the Yaylaqars was the Uighur khan family. The Suja inscription tells of their defeat and exile. Qutlug-yargan moreover tells about his part in the victory over the Yaylaqar dynasty.

One more Yenisei inscription tells about the defeat and destruction of the Uighur qaganate (Uibat VI). Its hero, Tirig-beg, «was like a wild boar on the field of battle when the land of the powerful Uighur khan was conquered». Thus he is praised in his epitaph, and then a sorrowful lamentation follows – the late hero has left his retinue «of forty men-warriors»¹⁰.

The Qyrgyz did not stop after the conquest of North and North-West Mongolia, the principal territory of the Uighurs. Their power spread to the Altai – one of the inscriptions (Ujuk-Oorzak III) mentions the Qyrgyz ruler of the new yurt – the jabgu of the Altai¹¹. Most interesting evidence is preserved in the inscription from the Begre river, the right tributary of the Bij-khem. Its hero, mentioned not under his own name but by his title – the *ičreq*, i.e. the officer of Tör-apa, tells in the epitaph: «in my fifteen I went against the Chinese khan. Due to my valour as a man-warrior, my heroism, I captured gold and silver, camels and wives!» The memoriant, who died when he was 67, laments over the separation with his wife, whom he took when he was 15, i.e. at the time of his campaign in China¹². This narrative could have been left an isolated one and incomprehensible, if it were not for other ones, not directly connected with the story of the Chinese campaign.

In 1960 in Tuva, at the site of Kherbis Baary a previously unknown Qyrgyz stele with a runic inscription was discovered. It was twice published by A.M. Shcherbak¹³. The inscription contains an epitaph to a noble warrior named Külüg Iige. His greatest exploit was a campaign against the Tatars: «in my twenty seven, for the sake of my country, I went against the Toquz-Tatars». In 1976 L.R. Kyzlasov discovered one more stele with a short inscription by the Uibat river (Uibat IX). It mentions «the hostile *el* of the Tatars» and the tribute paid by them¹⁴.

⁹ Кляшторный С.Г. Историко-культурное значение Суджинской надписи // Проблемы востоковедения. 1959. № 5. С. 162–169.

¹⁰ Кормушин. Тюркские енисейские эпитафии. С. 120–122.

¹¹ Ibid. С. 167–270.

¹² Ibid. С. 270–274.

¹³ Ščerbak A.M. L'inscription runique d'Oust-Elegeste (Touva) // UAJ, 1964. Vol. 15. P. 145–149.

¹⁴ Кляшторный С.Г. Девятая надпись с Уйбата // Советская тюркология. Баку, 1967. № 1. С. 33–36.

Where and when the Yenisei Qyrgyz could wage successful wars against the Tatars? The Tatars are mentioned in the Uighur and Qyrgyz runic inscriptions in 732–760 in connection with different episodes of the rebellions and wars of the 7th–8th centuries. In all cases the Tatars figure as enemies or rebellious subjects first of the Turkic and then of the Uighur qaganates, as immediate or eventual allies of the Qyrgyz, with whom they had no common border but had common enemies¹⁵.

Finally, in connection with the events of 842, when the Qyrgyz were firmly established in North Mongolia, the Tatars are first mentioned in a Chinese chronicle, but this enemies of the Qyrgyz. And they are mentioned in connection with the Qyrgyz raid to Tien Shan. The matter is that the main direction taken by the defeated and retreating Uighurs was the Gansu-Tarim direction, the northern Tien Shan branch of the Great Silk Route. There, in the upper course of the Etsin-gol river and in the Tarim basin survived separate western enclaves of the Uighur empire. There the Uighurs expected to find a refuge and to restore their state. But not later than the early 9th century one of the tribal groups of the Tatars has settled there. At least their leader, Tatar apa teqin, is mentioned among local dignitaries in the Pehlevi Manichaean treatise «Mahr-namag» (825)¹⁶. By the time when the Qyrgyz pursued the Uighurs retreating to the west, the political situation there became rather complicated. Numerous local domains, among them city-states of the Tarim basin, were ruled either by the Tibetans, who, however, lost much of their former authority, or by local chiefs, among them the leader of the Tatars. To some extent the situation is made clear due to surviving letters and reports by a prominent Chinese official Li De-yu, who maintained relations with the Qyrgyz suddenly appearing by the frontiers of the T'ang Empire¹⁷.

In 842 in the frontier fortress T'ien-te, Li De-yu negotiated with a Qyrgyz embassy headed by «general» T'apu Ho-tsu. From this Qyrgyz dignitary Li De-yu learned about his campaign to the west, of the subjugation of the «old Uighur land», the conquest of Kucha, Beshbalyq and the Tatars. The subjugation of the Tatars is a special topic. It is the first and the only passage which mentions a military conflict between the Qyrgyz and the Tatars somewhere in Gansu or East Turkestan, the outcome of which was the subjugation of the Tatars. Now the context of the Kherbis

¹⁵ On the early Tatars see: Klyashtornyj S.G. Old Turkic Runic texts and History of Eurasian steppe. Bururești-Braila, 2008. Eds. by Victor Spinei and Cristina Spinei. P. 399–407.

¹⁶ For details see: Кляшторный С.Г. История Центральной Азии и памятники рунического письма. Санкт-Петербург, 2003. С. 447–459; Klyashtornyj S.G. Die Geschichte Zentralasiens und die Denkmäler in Runenschrift. Berlin, R. Schletxer Verlag, 2007. S. 423–434.

¹⁷ Супруненко Г.П. Документы об отношении Китая с енисейскими кыргызами // Известия Академии наук Киргизской ССР. Серия общественных наук. Т. 5. № 1. Фрунзе, 1963. С. 67–81; Drompp M.R. T'ang China and the collapse of the Uighur empire. A documentary history. Leiden. Brill, 2005.

Baary inscription mentioning a campaign against the Tatars and of the Begre inscription telling about the Chinese campaign becomes clear. Next year, in 843, T'apu Ho-tsu became the head of the first Qyrgyz embassy to the imperial court of China.

In 1975, in Nort-West Mongolia, in the Tes valley I discovered a runic rock inscription¹⁸. It contains a name which after the revision of the inscription in 1989 I surely read as Töpek Alp Sol. The name is repeated twice, in an abbreviated version with tamgas and in a full version with no tamgas:

1. alp sol (tamgas)
2. töpek alp sol bitidim «I, Töpek Alp Sol, wrote this»

The fact that in the version with family tamgas the first part of the name is abbreviated testifies that Töpek was more likely a family name than a personal one; the presence of the tamgas makes it excessive.

Due to the consultation of S.E. Yakhontov it was established that the Chinese inscription of the general's name T'apu Ho-tsu was a corrupted version of the Turkic name Töpük (Töpek) Alp Sol.

The context of the inscription dating to the middle of the 9th century shows that it marked the center of the new estate owned by a Qyrgyz dignitary, military commander and diplomat, which became his yurt after the conquest of North-West Mongolia including some part of the Altai. Thus the evidence from the report of a Chinese diplomat and from the narratives by the participants of the Qyrgyz campaign to the south agree even in minor detail¹⁹.

Now we can be sure that the only «great campaign» of the Qyrgyz to China took part only in 842–843, at the down of the «Qyrgyz Empire», and that it was headed by Alp Sol, Qyrgyz military commander, whose estates (yurt) were in Tuva and the Altai. Many centuries have passed, but that campaign was not forgotten – it became mixed with many other events, its hero received a new name among the Altai Qyrgyz – Alp Manash. When in the 16th century the Qyrgyz people migrated from the Altai to Tien Shan, the story of the great campaign and its principal hero Manas became transformed in their new land into heroic folk epic, which embraced the memory of the numerous other events of the Qyrgyz history. Now we can clearly see that thousand year old thread of memory which starts from runic rock inscriptions of the Yenisei Qyrgyz and brilliantly develops in the works of the Tien Shan manaschi.

¹⁸ Кляшторный С.Г. Наскальные рунические надписи Монголии // Тюркологический сборник 1975. Москва, 1978. С. 151–159.

¹⁹ For other evidence of Runic inscriptions about the «western raid» of the Qyrgyz see: Кляшторный С.Г. «Второй памятник из Тувы» (Е-50). Интерпретация и дата // Тюркологический сборник 2006. Москва, 2007. С. 207–211.

Medieval Urban Settlements in the West Kazakhstan

M.N. Sdykov

The interest towards the Golden Horde period is growing from year to year. It happens due to more intensive studying of historical processes in Kazakhstan. For the researcher who wants to understand the history and culture of one of the most powerful and developed state of that time the period of existence of the Golden Horde is not a limit. The time of generation of ethnic and political structure prior to the Golden Horde, period of its development and existence and time after its collapse are of great importance as well.

Such an approach allows us to find explanation for development of the urban settlements in the Volga-Ural Region in the times of the Golden Horde. The historians know about the ancient towns along the Volga. However, the only confirmation of existence of urban settlements along the Ural (Yayik) River, in 18th–19th centuries, were separate references in some European and Oriental written sources, not supported by real facts from historical or archeological surveys.

In the book of Egorov, a famous researcher of the Golden Horde, published in 1985, there is the scheme showing **only one town situated at the Ural, called Saraichik (Saraishyk)**.

So one of the main directories of work of our Centre became search for the urban settlements in the Ural River basin. We presume that the Ural with its rich water resources and favorable climate could be considered a good place for settling down. The numerous burial mounds state about the presence of nomadic people here in the past. There were also the trade and caravan routes, described in the written sources, e.g. the Silk Way Route was going across the area. These routes presumably could not function without permanent trade locations, although the nomads could be the main consumers of the transported traded goods.

At the same time, the nomadic civilization is supposed to have constant contacts with the urban settlements. The nomadic life style assumes existence of towns as the centers of handcrafts and trade, and shelter during the winter time or under other conditions.

The first references about the urban settlements in the West Kazakhstan refer to the pre-Mongol times, when the Oguz and then Kipchak confederations existed. The work of Akhmad ibn Fadlan “Travel to the Volga Bulgaria” (10th century) and

the work of Abu Khamid al-Garnati "Travel to Eastern and Central Europe" (12th century) describe the towns, trade and caravan routes going through the West Kazakhstan.

Akhmad ibn Fadlan, Arab traveler and writer, was with the embassy of the Khalif in Volga Bulgaria in 921–922. And his route was going along the Ural River. Later when his work was translated and studied by A.P. Kovalevskiy, Soviet explorer and orientalist, the map of their travel was developed. Kovalevskiy, interpreting ibn Fadlan, shows the point where the embassy crossed the river from the left to the right bank, from Asia to Europe. And this point was at the place of junction of the Ural and Chagan Rivers, where the old part of Uralsk is situated now. According to ibn Fadlan in the 10th century there was an urban settlement.

In the beginning of the second millennium the contacts between the Arab countries and people of the Ural and Volga basin became constant. In 1154 al-Idrisi, Arab geographer, described the Ruza River, mostlikely mentioning Zhaik or Ural. Although there is an opinion that Ural was named Daranda at that time. Some snatches about the towns are given in the works of Rashid ad-Din, Abu al-Fida and other Arab and Persian authors. About settlements and life style of people in the 11th century Makhmud al-Kashgari was writing in his work "Compendium of the languages of the Turks" („Dīwānu l-Luġat al-Turk”).

In the times of the Golden Horde the European explorers and travelers were crossing the Zhaik River quite often and mentioned it in their notes. One of the most remarkable travelers was the Ambassador of the Pope Innokentii IV, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine (1249), and the Ambassador of the French king Louis IX, Guillaume de Rubrouck (1253).

The road from Crimea through Zhaik and to the East is described in the work of Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (La Pratica délia Mercatura). He writes about some peculiarities of the travelling from Tana to Saraichik, about goods and money which are used by the local population. In 1333, Ural was crossed by ibn Battuta, famous Arab traveler from Morocco.

In the 14th century in the period of bloom of the Golden Horde, the territory of the West Kazakhstan was visited by several embassies performing their missionary activity and establishing commercial contacts. There was the embassy headed by Giovanni de'Marignolli (1338–1353), also the region was visited by the priest Paskhalia (1335–1339), merchants Francisco and Dominico Picigini (1367). As follows from their writings there were two towns in the Ural River. Paskhalia in 1336 says about Saraichik and one more town to the north without name. The same towns were 30 later described by two merchant brothers, saying again that the nameless town was situated to the north from Saraichik.

The well-known map of Anthony Jenkinson dated of 1562. On the map in the lower stream of Ural on the west right coast one can see the town of Saraichik (Sherachick) and to the north from it another town, called Shakafni. The Academician B.A. Ribakov has studied the notes of the Englishman about his travel and the map and came to the following conclusion. The map of Jenkinson is one of the versions of the older map of 1497, and both towns are marked similar on the map as “Tatar stone mosques”. So it means in the 14th century the northern town was already known and had not less significance than Saraichik.

As follows from other research works and notes of the travelers, merchants and missionaries of the 10th–14th centuries, the number of urban settlements in the area between Volga and Ural and along Ural counts from 8–30. And the notes say about another town to the north from Saraichik, which had stone buildings and was situated in the place of the modern Uralsk.

The research works done by the Russian scientists of 18th–19th centuries prove existence of the medieval urban settlements along Ural.

One of the first Russian maps, known as the Big Plan («Большой Чертеж») was compiled in the end of the 16th century and was showing the territory of the whole state. With time the map became useless and it was decided to make a new plan with the same scale and with detailed description. As a result “The Book to the Big Plan” was prepared. The map itself didn’t survive, but the Book was saved in few pieces and at the moment it is the only pre-Peter I book about Russia.

Both the Plan and the Book were not complete and had some discrepancies. Besides they were used for copying and amendments. And each new copy with amendments gave new discrepancies. So the northern and eastern coasts of Caspian Sea were not identified correctly. On some copies the Ural River was marked as a big river with multiple inflows, on others – as a small river. Some copies showed an unknown town of Rizan’ and another town Shikashik to the north from Rizan’. Saraichik was shown in times when it was already destroyed.

On one of the latest copies, prepared by Avril and published in 1692, a settlement Metzhet is shown on the place of Uralsk, and to the north from Medzhet where Ilek and Ural join each other another settlement, called Solyanskoe, is marked. In the description it was said that to the right from Ural the Nogai and Golden Horde are settled, and to the left the Kalmyks are living. No words about Kazakhs. The same picture gives the map of Dedil, French astronomer, published in 1700. In total, despite the incompleteness of “The Book to the Big Plan”, one can say it was describing most of the settlements of that time in the West Kazakhstan.

P.I. Richkov in his famous “Topography of Orenburg Oblast” («Топографии Оренбургской губернии»), written in 1748 given numerous facts of existing of

towns along Ural. In particular, he writes: “1. In the Kirgiz-Kaisak Horde, from the Ilek defense wall where the salt is crushed, in one day travel, on the other side of the Ilek River, one can see not a small brick structure; 2. From that structure in one day travel along the Big Kobda River, at the Baitak tract, there are traces of old town with channels, arable lands and gardens. Here there is one ancient building with arches; 3. From those lands in one day travel along the Ati-Uil River in the tract which Kirgizs call after the saint Mavlyum-Berdi, there are remains of another old ancient town. There are still from 30 to 40 brick buildings, channels, fields and gardens can be seen; 4. Thence in one day travel along the Sagyz River again one can see old constructions, also in the Bakchi Tract, which is in two days travel from Sagyz, also from the Bakchi Tract to the upstream of the Zina River, which goes out of the Mugaldzhar River, there are also many old towns, channels, mounds. From the mounds often people take out human bones of big sizes and gold, silver and different tools; 5. If go along the Khiva Road to the tall mountain called Irnyak, at the Guruk Tract, one can see long graves, there also two big mounds, very high, and big stones are put on the top of them. One stone only 10 to 15 people can lift hardly; 6. On the same mountain, in the Bilyuli-Atai Tract, there is still the yard with a big portal or gates, inside there is a mosque and several big chambers. Everything is made of brick. Next to the gates there is a well with 30 to 40 fathom water level. About this place people say a long time ago from Astrakhan’ the ships were coming to this place via the Caspian Sea, they were unloading here and were going further by land to the Aral Sea where they were loading the ships and going to Khiva and other places to trade”.

The value of these notes is unquestionable. P.I. Richkov says about the range of towns, very well developed. The buildings were made out of brick, irrigation system was in place. The towns were situated at the rivers. And presence and character of the cult structures says about the oriental character of these towns. We may make a conclusion the towns were the centers of trade and settled culture. The towns, if to follow the author, were situated in 1–2 days travel from each other (approximately 30–40 km of modern time, according to the experts). The quantity and location of the towns says about interconnections between them, making us think of the common state. One can presume such a state in the past could be the Golden Horde.

P.I. Richkov points another source of information as well. This was the interpreter of the chancellery of the Orenburg Governor Yakov Gulyaev, “who was many times in the both Kyrgyz-Kaisak Hordes and further.” Besides, he was using the official data from the Chancellery, from travelers, merchants and newly arrived people. Richkov himself could witness a lot, knowing his accuracy with the facts

and exact sources of information he was looking for, it is possible to say the data represented in his research is highly reliable.

Among other Russian scientists we can also name P.S. Pallas. He was in this region three times, visited places along Ural from Guriev to Uralsk, studied the northern part of the region, Bokei Horde. Pallas included the collected materials into his work called "Journey to the different provinces of the Russian state" („Путешествие по разным провинциям Российской империи”), where he gives the full description of the area, its ethnography and history.

In his work Pallas describes two ancient settlements discovered by him. The first one was the remains of the ancient fort, which he marked as follows: next to the Kindeli River's orifice, in 12 versts (1 verst = 1.067 km) from the Kindelinskiy fort. The fort consists of the double wall situated in the form of the Greek letter Π; the outside wall is stretched along for more than half-verst, but hardly one elbow high. And the inner wall is opposite almost 20 fathoms in around, at least 2.5 elbows high and is surrounded with the 1 fathom deep dike. Inside the walls there are no traces of buildings, but the land is completely flat”.

The second settlement is situated between the Big Uzen' and Small Uzen' in the narrowest place of their junction. Here Pallas found numerous traces of irrigation channels, several feet deep, quite many mounds and remains of buildings, which allowed him make the conclusion these places were inhabited some time ago. E.g. one of the ruins consisted of five brick buildings.

Besides, the researcher pays attention to the big number of more ancient monuments. Between the Kushum and Big Uzen' there are also big mounds and stones with people's faces carved on them, but seems the stones belonged to another people”, writes Pallas in his “Journey”.

So, we can say, Pallas paid attention, as well as other explorers before him, to the numerous monuments of the past referring them to the urban culture materials.

Unfortunately, neither in the pre-revolutionary Russia nor in the Soviet Historical Science, these data were not used. In the school books it was written about uninhabited “no one's” territories along the Ural River which attracted runaway peasants, bandits as magnet.

Until recent there were no exact facts confirming the existence of the towns. It was giving the life to the guesses and prescientific discussions. The latest archeological findings and discoveries, starting from the 90s of the last century, strongly state the rightness of observations of our precessors. Many years of search had a successful result when in 2001 the scientists of Uralsk and Almaty found the settlement not far from Uralsk. The archeological surveys have been taking place here for 8 years already and they confirm the settlement refers to 13th–14th centuries.

So the information of the medieval authors and scientists of 18th–19th centuries who wrote about a settlement at the Ural River, were true. And the opinion of the G.A. Kushaev, archeologist, about the more ancient age of town-ancestor of Uralsk was proved.

In the beginning of the 21st century the author of this article was proving the existence of the ancient town next to Uralsk in mass media and was asking for archeological expertise along the Aksai-Atyrau pipeline. Exactly on the Uralsk part of the pipeline was discovered the ancient town, the biggest finding in the region during the last period. The first results of the surveys were published in the magazine “The Questions of History and Archeology of West Kazakhstan”, published by the West Kazakhstan Centre of History and Archeology. The scientists of the Institute of Archeology after Margulan, K.I. Baipakov, E.A. Smagulov and G.A. Akhatov prepared the special edition called “The Medieval Settlement “Zhayik”.

The fact that the notes of medieval authors were truthful are confirmed by the modern time discoveries of the scientists of Uralsk and Almaty. During the last three year the Zhayik settlement, south from Uralsk along the Ural River, and two more settlements, “Uzeni” in Zhangalinskiy region and Zhalpaktal in Kazatalovskiy region, were discovered. They are dated 13th–14th centuries.

The Zhayik Settlement

From south and south-east the territory of the settlement is boarded with the natural slope of the river terrace, and from other sides – natural creeks. There are no traces of artificial boarding around the place. The area with traces of some constructions comes to 8 hectares. One the surface some separate small hills of 0.3 to 6 meters high can be seen. They have different leveling and sizes.

Two km west from the Svistun mountain there was an urban cemetery-necropolis, that's where the archeologists found multiple burial places related to the settlement. However, there are some older monuments as well.

The findings and observations of house building at the Zhayik Settlement can be generalized as follows. The living houses were made of sun-dried earth bricks of rectangular or square shape. Additionally, in the “big premise” and one of the “smaller premises” there are furnaces of rectangular form, made of burnt bricks. The living rooms have N-shaped sufas, the housekeeping areas have the storage pits, pits for garbage and waste water collector (tashnau). The main walls are 70–80 cm thick, the bricks are laid. The small height of the walls doesn't allow identifying if the walls were made of sun-dried earth bricks to the full extend. The studies of the Golden Horde period buildings in the Volga Region determine the “Mongol type” houses. As

usual these houses have a square plan, sun-dried earth bricks basement 50–70 cm high with the wooden framing on it. In view of absence of wooden dust and pieces of wood, the walls of the Zhayik Settlement houses were made of bricks only.

Comparison of the plans, technical methods of construction of the Volga Region and Zhayik Settlement houses show that the architectural culture of the Ural River basin was under influence of the architecture of the Khoresm and Syrdarya oases. The plans of buildings are similar to those of Urgench, Otrar, Turkestan of the 13th–14th centuries. The difference is in some interior details: sufas, heating systems, construction techniques and materials.

Participation of Khoresm and South-Kazakhstan craftsmen in formation of syncretical urban culture of the Golden Horde was described by many researchers. May be the continued studies of Zhayik will allow to identify and characterise the “Syrdarya stream” in details. As for now, it is necessary to pay attention to the extraordinary similarity of the houses planning of Otrar of the 14th–15th centuries and Zhayik. The same enfilade type of joining of three premises, N-shaped sufas in the living rooms, heating systems (can), furnaces (tandyr), waste water collectors (tashnau) inside the buildings.

However there are some quite significant differences. The heating in Zhayik was done with the help of two channelled cans, assembled along the one side of each sufa. In the post-Mongol houses of the South Kazakhstan the heating systems called cans are very far from what one can see here. The premises had yards with some smaller constructions (wooden, wattle).

So the archaeological surveys showed the Zhayik Settlement is the remains of the developed town of the Golden Horde epoch.

The Zhalpaktal Settlement

It is situated on the border of Kaztalovskiy and Zhangalinskiy Regions of West Kazakhstan. The instrumental survey of the settlement showed its area approaches 68 hectares. In the central part of the settlement there are several hills up to 2 meters high and 50 meters in diameter. Several dozens of smaller hills can be seen in other parts of the settlement.

In 2010 in the central part an exploring excavation was done. It was 10x10 meters and showed the existence of the cultural layer. The part of a building made of sun-dried earth bricks appeared in this excavation channel. Most likely, the building is a house. Around 2000 fragments of red clay ceramic with rippled and linear decoration (only one piece of moulded ceramics) were found. Also the researchers found about 2,000 pieces of bones of animals, some of them with treatment.

Special interest is paid to the silver coin of the 13th century found on the surface layer of the settlement.

The question of the Golden Horde settlement between the Big and Small Uzen Rivers was raised a long time ago. In the work of P.S. Pallas there is some information about the remains of a medieval town and channels. As we know, the region between Volga and Ural was the domain of the Golden Horde and must have been developed at that time. The confirmation of this idea comes from the numerous necropolises belonging to the Golden Horde around the Zhalpaktal Settlement.

The most investigated burial complex is Mokrinskiy I, situated 7 km north from the settlement. Most of 32 burial mounds appear to be the raw blocks fencing quite common in the surroundings of big towns of the Golden Horde. Absence of burial tools of nomads tells about the settled style of housekeeping.

Some excavations were done at the Mokrinskiy III Complex situated not far from the settlement and at the necropolis found close to the Zhanakazan village. Both refer to 14th century.

At the moment it is difficult to say what was the reason of destroy and desolation of these towns. Were there natural or political reasons? Presumably, it can be the result of the crusade of Timur in 1391 which put an end to the Golden Horde towns.

We cannot exclude the natural and geographic factors as well. Perhaps, at some period of time the location was found not suitable for living and people moved to another place. It was quite a usual thing for the Ural region. The documented history of the towns of Ural proves it. As it is known, such towns as Orenburg and Uralsk changed their locations three times each until they occupied the places they are now. One needs to notice that during the river floods the terrace on which the Zhayik Settlement is situated could be easily covered with water.

The end of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century are characterised by the researcher as the years of stability and prosperity of the urban culture. Some trade and economic centers, destroyed during the conquest, came to live again. New towns and big settlements appear. This period of intensive growth comes to the time of Uzbek and Dzhaniyibek Khans (1312–1357). The old towns increase their territories and lead to appearance of new towns. Quite often not significant settlements take the leading positions in the economy and policy. And older towns lose their significance.

The central Volga region is covered with new settlements and towns. They form peculiar micro-regions with the appropriate internal hierarchy. So one can presume the favourable conditions of that time could lead to the appearance and growth of the settlements in the Ural River region. And the example of it is the Zhayik Settlement, which is the historical ancestor of the Yayik town – Uralsk.

During the excavations in the modern Uralsk we found several times the square bricks, which are similar to those of the Zhayik Settlement and mausoleum of necropolis. So it is possible to say the later settlers, Kazaks, were using the bricks from the Zhayik settlement and necropolis which led to their destruction. As a result for many years the history of our region was first forgotten and then distorted.

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Some Notes on Perception of Turks in Books I–VII *Historia* of Niketas Choniates¹

T.M. Sakarya Bozalioğlu

There is no doubt that the Byzantine sources are incredibly valuable for Turkish History researches. For 12th century one of the crucial sources is Niketas Choniates' *Historia*. *Historia* has been widely studied by number of scholars since the 16th century and regarded as a very rich account for the era. Especially for being the only Byzantine eyewitness narrative of the fall of Constantinople to the Latins and the following events². With respect to all the scholars who studied Choniates' *Historia*, presumably some more notes can be added on the account related to Turks.

Choniates' perception of Turks may enable a different understanding of the text since the account has been treated as a whole by modern scholars, in general. As an eyewitness to most of the account that he narrates, Choniates' perception of Turks is based on the events that he has experienced or based on the things he heard which represents the perception of the community. In either case, an unusual critical perspective for the use of Byzantine texts as a source in Turkish History researches may be reached by a study on Choniates' perception of Turks.

We have very little knowledge of Niketas Choniates' life. It is suspected that he was born in mid twelfth century in Chonai³ of Phrygia, as it is understood by the name Niketas Choniates⁴. We learn from the works of his brother, Michael Choniates, the archbishop of Athens that Niketas came to Constantinople⁵. According to his own account, Niketas served as *logothetes ton sekreton* in the reign

¹ This paper is derived from the author's unpublished Master's degree dissertation, 'Image of Turks in Niketas Choniates' Work *Historia* (1118–1206) (Ankara University- Ankara 2008). For this paper, only Books I to VII are selected, unlike the dissertation.

This paper is based on Niketae Choniatae, *Historia*, ed. Immanuel Bekkeri, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Bonn, 1835.

² A.J., Simpson, Before and After 1204: The versions of Niketas Choniates' *Historia*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* Number Sixty, 2006, p.189

³ A.P., Kazhdan, "Chonai", *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* Vol. 1, p.427. Nearby contemporary Honaz.

⁴ I. E., Καραγιαννοπουλος, *Πηγαι της Βυζαντινης Ιστοριας Ε' Εκδοσις*, Εκδοσεις Π. Πουρναρα, Θεσσαλονικη, 1987, p. 355.

⁵ G., Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica I–II, Die Byzantinischen Quellen Der Geschichte der Türkvolker*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1958, p.444–445.

of Emperor Isaakios II Angelos (1183–1195) then in 1189 he became the governor of Philippopolis⁶. He was dismissed from service in the reign of Emperor Aleksios V. Mourtzouphlos⁷. After the capture of Constantinople in 1204, Niketas resided in Selymbria, Constantinople and Nicaea temporarily⁸.

Choniates left us theological works, a poem on the marriage of Isaakios II Angelos, eighteen orations and eleven letters besides his very important historical account, *Historia*.⁹

Consisting of twenty one books, *Historia* covers the events between 1118–1206. The text is subdivided according to imperial reigns and usually narrated chronologically¹⁰. However the composition date of *Historia* is unclear and modern scholars have different views. Depending on internal evidence and a close study of the manuscripts it is thought that Choniates has revised and expanded his work¹¹. Because of the political uncertainty in the beginning of the 13th century, Choniates lived in Selymbria and Nicaea, therefore it is very difficult to ascertain definitely when and where it was revised¹².

Historia was first published along with the Latin translation by Hieronymus Wolf in 1557; In 1647 *Historia* was published for the second time by C.A. Fabrot's edition and presented to Cardinal Mazarin; J.P. Migne's edition with the reproduction of H. Wolf's text in *Patrologia Graeca* was published in 1857–66; Immanuel Bekker's edition was published in *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*, 1835; in 1958 F. Grabler's edition was published in German; Jan Louis van Dieten's critical edition in *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* was published in 1975; In 1984 the first English translation based on J.-L. Van Dieten's edition of 1975 and I. Bekker's¹³ edition of 1835 by Harry J. Magoulias was published with the title of "*O' City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*". We owe the Turkish translations of *Historia* to two Turkish scholars; Fikret Işıltan and Işın Demirkent. The translation of the books I–VII containing the reigns of John II Comnenus and Manuel I Comnenus (years 1118–1180) is made by Fikret Işıltan based on Grabler's German translation, published in 1995¹⁴. The rest of the Books of *Historia* are published in two books; first book including years 1195–1206, published in 2004 and the second

⁶ G., Moravcsik, *ibid.*, p. 444.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

⁸ A.J. Simpson, p. 191.

⁹ G. Moravcsik, *ibid.*, p. 444–445 : Καργιαννοπουλος, *ibid.*, p. 355.

¹⁰ A.J. Simpson, *ibid.*, p. 190, cit. 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205, cit. 51, 52, 53.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

¹³ Harry J. Magoulias, *O' City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, Detroit 1984, p. xxix.

¹⁴ F. Işıltan, *Historia (Ioannes ve Komnenos Devirleri)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1995, p. XI.

book including years between 1180–1195 in 2006. The translation of these books is made by Işın Demirkent in comparison with Grabler's German translation, Magoulas' English translation and based on I. Bekker's edition¹⁵.

In addition to these editions and translations of *Historia*, there has been many valuable studies on the account by several scholars.

As most of the 13th century Byzantine historians, Choniates was educated in Constantinople; consisting of grammar, rhetorics and philosophy¹⁶. Choniates as a government official was depended to the Byzantine court¹⁷. Therefore expressing himself freely was not possible for him, although complex rhetorical constructions, ancient and biblical allusions and fictitious speeches were not only complex devices used in the history writing tradition but also methods of veiling the real thoughts¹⁸. As a consequence, one must try to look further then the actual meaning of the complex devices and even verbs, adjectives and nouns may tell us more then their literal meanings.

In *Historia*, Choniates deals with many different kinds of “other” in his account and one of these are Turks. Some of the nouns, names and word groups related to Turks in the Books I–VII are as followed¹⁹:

- Πέρσας²⁰: Persian.
- Τοῦρκοι²¹: Turks.
- Περσαρμενιοις²²: Armenians of Persia.
- Περσαρμένιοις Ταϊσμάνιοις²³: Danishmend of Armenians of Persia.
- Ταϊσμάνιον²⁴: Danishmend.

¹⁵ I. Demirkent, *Niketas Khoniates'in Historia'sı* (1195–1206) İstanbul'un Haçlılar Tarafından Zaptı ve Yağmalanması, Dünya Yay., İstanbul, 2004, p.XXI; I. Demirkent, *Niketas Khoniates'in Historia'sı* (1180–1195) Komnenos Hanedanının Sonu ve II. İsaakios Angelos Devri, Dünya Yay., İstanbul, 2006, p. XVIII-XX.

¹⁶ J. R., Macrides, “History-Writing in the twelfth century” in *The Perception of the Past in the Twelfth century Europe*, ed. P. Magdalino, London 1992, s. 117–118.

¹⁷ A.Simpson, p. 203.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 203.

¹⁹ The order of the list is compatible with the appearance of the words in the text of I. Bekker. The selected nouns, names and word groups are presented as their first appearance in the text, in the latter pages given in the footnotes the forms may differ. The translations are kept simple and aren't always attached to the above given Greek forms.

²⁰ Niketae Choniatae, *Historia*, ed. Immanuelis Bekkeri, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Bonnæ, 1835, p. 17, 18, 19, 26, 27, 28, 29, 34, 39, 40, 41, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 57, 61, 68, 71, 72, 93, 94, 95, 162, 164, 192, 194, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 245, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 256, 257.

²¹ Ibid, p. 18, 19, 50, 71, 89, 90, 144, 152, 162, 164, 226, 232, 238, 240, 245, 249, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257, 259.

²² Ibid, p. 25.

²³ Ibid, p. 27.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 27, 28, 46.

- Μουχούμετ²⁵: Muhammed.
- Μασούτ²⁶: Mesūd.
- Σουλτάν²⁷: Sultan.
- Ἀγαρηνῶν²⁸: Descendants of Hagar.
- Βάρβαρον²⁹: Barbarian.
- Ἰκονιέων Περσῶν³⁰: Persian of Ikonion.
- Τοῖς Ἰκονιεῦσι Τοῦρκοις³¹: Turks of Ikonion
- Βάρβαροὶ ἐχθροὶ εἰσι τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ³²: The enemy of the Christ's cross barbarians.
- Κλιτζασθλᾶν³³: Sultan Kiliç Arslan II (1155–1192).
- Ἰαγουπασάν³⁴: Yağıbasan (Sultan Mesud's son in law).
- Δαδούνη³⁵: Zünnūn.
- Λαῶ μωρῶ και οὐχί σοφῶ³⁶: Foolish and unwise people.
- δουλίδος Ἀγαρ' ἀπόγονοι³⁷: Breed of slave Hagar.
- Τοῖς πονηροῖς γείτοσιν ἡμῶν³⁸: Our evil neighbour.
- Ἰκονίου σουλτάν³⁹: Sultan of Ikonion.
- Φιλοχρήματον βάρβαρον⁴⁰: Money loving barbarian.
- Σαρακηνέ⁴¹: Saracen
- Σουλτάνου Τούρκων⁴²: Sultan of Turks.
- Κουτζασθλάνη⁴³: Crippled Aslan.
- Σολυμᾶν⁴⁴: Süleyman (A ruler subject to Sultan Kiliç Arslan II).

²⁵ Ibid, p. 27, 45.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 27, 68, 71, 72, 153.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 27, 72, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 161, 162, 226, 228, 230, 231, 249

²⁸ Ibid, p. 36, 156.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 34, 41, 45, 48, 49, 90, 94, 95, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 232, 233, 234, 235, 237, 238, 242, 243, 247, 255.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 42, 49.

³¹ Ibid, p. 50.

³² Ibid, p. 91.

³³ Ibid, p. 152, 158.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 152, 154.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 152.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 152.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 152.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 153.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 153.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 155.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 156.

⁴² Ibid, p. 157.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 160

⁴⁴ Ibid, p.1 62.

- Περσάρχην⁴⁵: Archon of Persia.
- Ἀμασεῦσι Τοῦρκοις⁴⁶: Turks of Amaseia.

A close look at Choniates' account of the Books I–VII shows that “Persian” is the most frequently used name for Turks. Another frequently used name in *Historia* Books I–VII is “Turks”. “Barbarian” is also commonly used for Turks. Although Choniates mainly uses the name Sultan for Turkish rulers, he also uses archon but he generally refers to Turkish Sultans as “he” or “barbarian”. For the Book I–VII of *Historia* it can be said that Choniates has a good amount of knowledge about Turks. He doesn't refer to Turks only as Persian, Turks, barbarians but he also refers to them as Turks of Amaseia, Turks of Ikonion. He doesn't hesitate to judge Turks for not having the sacred family rules to keep them together⁴⁷. He despises them as nonchristians and barbarians who doesn't have any contribution to the “Greek high culture”⁴⁸. He refers to Latins, Armenians, Venetians etc. as barbarians, anyone not Roman (not Byzantine) was a barbarian, use of the word “barbarian” slightly means “foreigner” in this case. Choniates doesn't totally ignore Turks advanced ability of riding horses and archery and he unwillingly mentions their skills⁴⁹.

Consequently, in Books I–VII of *Historia*, Choniates doesn't only refer to Turks as Persians⁵⁰ but also as Turks, agarenos, barbarians etc. Choniates' background, education and rank at the Byzantine court forms his perception of Turks. It is clear in his account that Turks are not the one and only enemies of the Empire however they were “different” and “closer” than the other enemies in many ways.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 226, 244.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 236.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 154.

⁴⁸ H. Ditten, *Barbaroi, Hellens and Romaioi Beiden Letzten Byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibern*, Actes du XIIe Congress, International des Etudes Byzantines Ohrid, II (Belgrade 1964), s. 273.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 41, 46, 90.

⁵⁰ See: Harry J. Magoulias, *O' City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, Detroit 1984, p. xxix.

Печенеги в контексте рассказа Константина Багрянородного о «северных народах»

И.Г. Коновалова
(*I.G. Konovalova*)

«Печенежское досье» Константина Багрянородного неоднократно становилось предметом исследования историков и лингвистов, которые проанализировали сведения византийского императора в различных контекстах – источниковедческом, историческом, лингвистическом, этнокультурном¹. Нам хотелось бы обратить внимание на историко-географический аспект информации Константина, прежде всего, на занимаемое печенегами место в ментальном пространстве самого автора трактата *De administrando imperio*.

Описание печенегов содержится в нескольких разделах сочинения Константина Багрянородного «Об управлении империей». По характеру изложения все данные, касающиеся печенегов, делятся на три группы. Первая из них (гл. 1–8), посвященная месту печенегов в системе внешнеполитических интересов Византии, отличается высокой степенью систематизации материала, благодаря тому, что он является концептуально осмысленным и дидактически оформленным. В каждой главе, относящейся к этой группе, во-первых, легко прочитывается тот имплицитный вопрос, на который эта глава призвана ответить, и, во-вторых, практически всегда бывает ясно сформулирован ответ на него (вплоть до пошаговых инструкций византийским послам и чиновникам в гл. 7–8). Вторая группа сведений о печенегах представляет собой сводку историко-этнографических, социально-политических и географических данных (гл. 37), которые хотя и поданы в систематизированном виде, но не имеют ярко выраженного дидактического характера. К третьей группе относятся разрозненные сведения о печенегах, приводимые в связи с рассказом о других народах (гл. 9, 13, 31, 38–40, 42, 53).

¹ Литература, посвященная анализу «печенежского досье», огромна. Ее библиографические обзоры см.: *Golden P. B.* Pečenegs // *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New ed. VIII, Leiden, 1995. p. 289–291; *Malamut E.* L'image byzantine des Petchénègues // *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. 1995. Bd. 88. H. 1. p. 105–147; *Spinei V.* The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century. Cluj-Napoca, 2003. p. 155–159.

Если оставить в стороне отдельные упоминания о печенегах, то окажется, что в сочинении Константина печенеги обстоятельно охарактеризованы дважды – в гл. 1–8 и гл. 37. Пытаясь объяснить этот факт, Р. Дженкинз предложил рассматривать гл. 37 как относящуюся к «антикварно-исторической», по его определению, части сочинения, и в этом качестве противопоставил ее рассказу о печенегах в составе написанной, как он полагал, в последнюю очередь «актуально-дипломатической» части трактата – повествования о «северных народах» (гл. 1–13). Р. Дженкинз считал, что гл. 37 не могла быть механически перенесена в начало сочинения, так как ее «антикварно-исторический стиль» был несовместим с задачами составителя, которому надо было показать, какую пользу могут представлять для Византии «северные народы»².

Уязвимость позиции Р. Дженкинза связана, в первую очередь, с самой квалификацией материала гл. 37 как «антикварно-исторического». Такому определению противоречит уже комментарий к тексту главы Д. Моравчика, согласно которому представленная в этой главе информация была собрана во времена Константина³, откуда следует, что составители трактата субъективно расценивали ее как актуальную, а вовсе не «антикварно-историческую». От такой оценки гл. 37 отказался и Дж. Ховард-Джонстон, относящий, правда, ее составление не к середине, а к началу X века⁴. На наш взгляд, гл. 1–8, с одной стороны, и гл. 37 – с другой, должны рассматриваться как органично дополняющие друг друга разделы сочинения, составлявшие в совокупности единое по содержанию досье, материал которого был изначально распределен именно таким образом, каким он и представлен в трактате.

Главы, посвященные «северным народам», принято считать наиболее концептуально проработанной частью сочинения. Действительно, в гл. 1–13 (за исключением гл. 9) расстановка сил в расположенном к северу от Византии регионе представлена в предельно общем виде.

Пространство, в которое помещены основные политические игроки региона – печенеги, русы, венгры и болгары, – почти лишено географических примет. Константин умудрился рассказать обо всех этих народах, используя в первых пяти главах лишь один топоним – «Херсон» (1.26–28⁵), который и

² *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De administrando imperio*. London, 1962. Vol. II. p. 7, 12.

³ *Ibid.* p. 143.

⁴ *Howard-Johnston J. The De Administrando Imperio: A Re-Examination of the Text and a Re-Evaluation of its Evidence about the Rus // Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient: Actes du Colloque International tenu au Collège de France en octobre 1997 / Éd. par M. Kazanski, A. Nercessian, C. Zuckerman. Paris, 2000. p. 319, 324–326*

⁵ Здесь и далее ссылки на соответствующие разделы сочинения Константина даются в тексте статьи.

далее на протяжении всего рассказа о «северных народах» продолжает оставаться важнейшим географическим маркером занимаемого ими пространства (6.3; 7.1, 3, 6, 16; 8.8; 11.1, 8, 10, 12). «Северные народы» локализуются либо по отношению друг к другу, либо через внешний мир. Так, о печенегах сообщается, что они соседствуют с Херсоном (1.25–26; 6.2–3), русами (2.2), болгарами (5.5–6), примыкают с севера к венграм (13.4–5). Лишь наименования рек Днепра и Днестра, «по направлению к области которых» расположились печенеги (8.5–7), могут рассматриваться как указание на пределы собственно печенежской территории.

В рассказе о «северных народах» внимание составителя направлено не на всестороннее описание народов, а на анализ их взаимоотношений с точки зрения тех выгод, которые могла бы из этого извлечь империя. Поэтому, говоря об отношениях печенегов, русов, венгров и болгар, Константин опускает детали, приводя только самую суть. К примеру, в гл. 5 печенеги рассматриваются как враждебная в целом сила по отношению к болгарам, хотя Константину прекрасно известны и случаи совместных действий этих народов, в частности, их поход 895 г. против венгров (40.13–16). При характеристике взаимоотношений «северных народов» делается акцент на противоречиях, существующих между ними, что на самом деле не исчерпывало всей реальной картины их связей, однако хорошо демонстрировало то, как эти противоречия могли бы быть использованы в интересах Византии. Так, сообщая о печенегах и русах, Константин выделяет лишь одну сторону их взаимоотношений – тот вред, который наносили Руси набеги кочевников (2.2–4, 9–11, 19–23; 4.9–13), хотя ее отношения с последними на деле были куда более многоплановыми⁶. Торговля русов с печенегами воспринималась Константином лишь как внешнеполитический фактор, который, с его точки зрения, мог оказывать серьезное влияние на заинтересованность русов в поддержании мирных отношений с печенегами (2.5–8).

Таким образом, в гл. 1–8 печенеги охарактеризованы в рамках пространства особого рода – пространства внешнеполитических интересов империи, которое задавало как принципы отбора материала, так и параметры самого описания.

Сведения о печенегах, вошедшие в гл. 37, тоже концептуализированы, но по-другому, нежели в начале сочинения. В этой главе повествуется о жизни

⁶ Общий очерк русско-печенежских отношений и историографию см.: Толочко П. П. Кочевые народы степей и Киевская Русь. Санкт-Петербург, 2003. с. 45–66; Spinei V. The Great Migrations. p. 114–126; Михайлова И. Б. Древняя Русь и Степь // Россия и степной мир Евразии: Очерки / Под ред. Ю. В. Кривошеева. Санкт-Петербург, 2006. с. 60–76.

печенегов в Волго-Уральском междуречье и истории их появления в степях Северного Причерноморья, подробно говорится о внутреннем устройстве печенежского общества и географическом размещении печенегов. Несмотря на обилие конкретных данных, имеющих, на первый взгляд, подготовительный или даже факультативный характер по отношению к гл. 1–8, гл. 37 в сущности продолжает ту же линию на рассмотрение печенегов сквозь призму имперских интересов. Этот подход проявляется в гл. 37 прежде всего в тонком использовании греческой терминологии для описания тех или иных феноменов печенежского общества, причем только таких, адекватное понимание которых было необходимо для эффективного ведения политики по отношению к печенегам. Так, названия печенежских «фем» даны без перевода и никак не прокомментированы. В то же время важнейшие понятия, описывающие иерархию власти у печенегов, даны в привычных для имперской администрации греческих терминах.

Термин «фема» (θέμα) употребляется Константином не в его техническом, обычном для царской канцелярии X в. значении (военно-административный округ) и не как синоним слов «территория», «место обитания», «область»⁷, а как обозначение специфической формы административно-территориальной, военно-политической и социально-экономической организации печенегов. Как и у других степных народов, основой печенежского общества являлась родовая организация с абсолютным господством принципов генеалогического и кровного родства. Византийские чиновники, по-видимому, осознавали эту особенность печенежского общества, так как, описывая современное ему размещение этих «фем» в пространстве, Константин дважды использует термин «род» (γένος) как синоним слова «фема» (37.34, 39). Кроме того, из приводимого перечня имен правителей «фем» (37.21–24) совершенно очевидно, что и во времена столкновений печенегов с огузами в Заволжье (к каковому периоду, по словам Константина, относится данный список имен) их «фемы» носили те же наименования, что и впоследствии, когда печенеги откочевали в Причерноморские степи (37.16–24, 35–36, 40–43). Таким образом, согласно византийскому императору, «фема» у печенегов – это прежде всего народ и только потом занимаемая им территория. Современные кочевниковеды пола-

⁷ См.: *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De administrando imperio*. p. 145: word means here the territory or homeland of the various Pecheneg clans; *Malamut E. L'image byzantine des Petchénègues*. p. 110: le terme de «thèmes» donné aux provinces; *Die Byzantiner und ihre Nachbarn. Die De administrando imperio* gennante Lehrschrift des Kaisers Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos für seinen Sohn Romanos / Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von K. Belke und P. Soustal. Wien, 1995. S. 185–187: acht Provinzen (Themen); *Толочко П. П. Кочевые народы степей и Киевская Русь*. с. 46: автор поясняет слово «фема» как «область расселения отдельных орд».

гают, что под «фемами» в сообщениях Константина подразумеваются печенежские племена (*tribal groupings*)⁸, организованные по типу вожества⁹.

Правители печенежских «фем» названы «великими архонтами» (37.16: μέγαλοι ἄρχοντες), чтобы противопоставить их «архонтам более низкого разряда» (37.33: ἐλάττωες ἄρχοντες). Однако в этой же главе Константин дважды называет правителей «фем» просто архонтами (37.20, 32). Точно так же он поступает по отношению к правителям венгров: называя однажды Арпада «великим архонтом Турции» (40.53), в других случаях он именует Арпада и его прямых наследников просто «архонтами» (38.49, 51, 53, 56; 40.12–13, 48, 58). «Великим архонтом» назван также старший сын великоморавского князя Святополка, которого тот поставил над двумя другими его братьями-соправителями (41.6); титул же самого Святополка – просто «архонт» (41.2). Таким образом, словосочетание «великий архонт», насколько можно судить по тексту сочинения, не употребляется Константином в строго терминологическом смысле, в отличие, к примеру, от термина «архонт архонтов» (ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων), применяемого как титул Багратидов (см.: 43.30, 34–35, 112; 44.6, 7, 9, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21–22, 26–27, 35, 37, 38–39, 42, 45, 50, 120).

Сообщение Константина о «великих архонтах», стоявших во главе восьми «фем», вроде бы предполагает их полное равенство и не позволяет ставить вопрос о существовании какой-либо внутренней субординации среди этих правителей. Однако из приводимых наименований «фем» становится ясно, что в двух «фемах» пребывали высшие должностные лица печенегов – *гила* (йула) и *цур* (чур), – что, по-видимому, обеспечивало главам этих образований более привилегированное положение по сравнению с прочими печенежскими правителями.

Слова Константина, будто входящие в «фему» единицы возглавляют «архонты более низкого разряда» по сравнению с правителями самих «фем», свидетельствуют о том, что в Византии имели представление об иерархической структуре печенежского общества. Как и у других кочевников, у печенегов механизм административного управления был неразрывно связан с иерархией ступеней родства. В этом смысле использованный Константином для обозначения структурных единиц «фемы» термин μέρη («части», «доли»), несомненно, имеет не только административно-территориальное значение, но

⁸ Golden P. B. Pečenegs. p. 289.

⁹ Мареј А. В. Особенности социально-политической организации печенегов // Альтернативные пути к цивилизации / Под ред. Н. Н. Крадина, А. В. Коротаева, Д. М. Бондаренко, В. А. Лынши. Москва, 2000. с. 338.

отражает и соответствующую ступень родового устройства печенегов¹⁰. Таким образом, в «архонтах более низкого разряда» можно видеть предводителей отдельных печенежских родов¹¹, тех, кого побывавший у печенегов в начале XI в. миссийный архиепископ Бруно Кверфуртский называл «старейшинами» (*maiores, meliores*)¹².

Отмечаемое Константином разделение восьми «фем» на два крыла (по четыре «фемы» в каждом) является отражением древних тюркских традиций дуальной организации власти¹³. Весьма показательно, что в каждом из обеих крыльев находится по высшему должностному лицу – *гил* (γύλα) в западной группировке и *цур* (τζούρ) в восточной, – которому, по всей вероятности, подчинялись главы трех остальных «фем» в пределах крыла.

Таким образом, использование греческой терминологии в рассказе о печенежских «фемах» свидетельствует о глубоком понимании в Византии природы социально-политического устройства печенежского общества. Пр продемонстрированное в гл. 37 пристальное внимание именно к этим аспектам печенежской жизни вполне отражает ту значимость, какую в середине X в. придавали отношениям с печенегами в имперской администрации, и это обстоятельство позволяет рассматривать гл. 1–8 и гл. 37 как части единого досье. О внутреннем единстве этих разделов сочинения говорит и то, что в гл. 1–8 отчетливо показано, как представления византийцев о печенежском обществе (детально изложенные в гл. 37) применялись в реальной дипломатической практике империи.

Так, композиция гл. 5–8, посвященных отношениям Византии с двумя группами печенегов (лево- и правобережных), основана на понимании описанной в гл. 37 дуальной структуры печенежской племенной конфедерации, разделявшейся на два крыла, границей между которыми был Днепр (37.34–45). Византийцы в своей дипломатической практике выделяли именно две группы печенегов, что хорошо видно из гл. 7–8. Там изложены инструкции для имперских чиновников, посылаемых к разным группам печенегов – соответственно – из Херсона к левобережным (гл. 7) и из Константинополя – к кочевавшим в междуречье Днепра и Дуная (гл. 8).

¹⁰ П. Голден, к примеру, переводит рассматриваемый термин как “clan groupings”: *Golden P. B. Pečenegs*. p. 289.

¹¹ см.: *Мареј А. В.* Особенности социально-политической организации печенегов. с. 338.

¹² *List Brunona do króla Henryka / J. Karwasińska // Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Nova series. 1973. T. 4. P. 3. p. 99–100.*

¹³ См.: *Golden P.B.* Imperial Ideology and the Sources of Political Unity Amongst the Pre-Činggisid Nomads of Western Eurasia // *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*. 1982. T. II. p. 52–53, 63–65, 68.

В то же время знание о дробной структуре каждого из двух крыльев позволяло византийским чиновникам выделять особую группу печенегов [6.2: «другой народ (λαός) из тех же самых пачинакитов»], которые обитают рядом с Херсоном, торгуют с ним, а также выполняют функции платного посредника между херсонитами и василевсом, с одной стороны, и Россией, Хазарией, Зихией – с другой (6). Указание Константина на определенную автономию этой группы печенегов (6.11) могут относиться не только к оценке их статуса как внешнеполитического партнера, но и к устройству самого печенежского общества, в частности – к отсутствию у печенегов центральной единоличной власти¹⁴. Очевидно, что под этой группой имелась в виду одна из тех печенежских «фем», о которых шла речь в гл. 37. В таком случае синонимичным термину «фема» оказывается не только γένος (37.34, 39), но и λαός (6.2).

¹⁴ *Malamut E.* L'image byzantine des Petchénègues. p. 114.

Views on Supreme Power and Law in Medieval Nomadic Society (case of “Oghuzname” by Yazicioglu Ali)

Shahin Mustafayev

Genealogical legends about the origin and ancient history of Turks generically titled “Oghuzname” became a part of cultural life of the medieval Moslem society since the 11–13 centuries when the political rule in Western Asia passed into the hands of Turkic and Mongolian dynasties. The first Moslem variant of the ancient legend authored by Fazlallah Rashid ad-Din, vizier of Ilkhanid Qazan-khan (1295–1304), and going back to the heathen history of Turks, gave birth to various versions of “Oghuzname” written by different authors in different times.¹

In the post-Mongolian period, especially after the invasion of Timur in the 15 century there was an outbreak of political and cultural activity of Oghuzes/Turkmen in Middle East and reanimation of the traditions of nomadic states.² These processes were manifest in a new active migration of Turkmen tribes and formation of Turkmen states of Qaraqoyunlu and Aqqoyunlu in the region. As a result, the 15 century saw a sharp rise in ethnic (Oghuz) self-consciousness of Turkmen. In particular, Oghuz ethnic values mattered much in taking priority in the ideological struggle of various dynasties. To sound their right to political and moral supremacy over their adversaries, competing Turkmen dynasties appealed to the Turkic public consciousness and ordered their court historians to write works with which to elevate their genealogy to Oghuz-khan, legendary forefather of Turks. Note that Shukrullah, Ottoman chronicler and diplomat who visited the court of Jahanshah Qaraqoyunlu (1438–1467) in Tabriz with an ambassadorial mission in 1448, had an audience with Padishah and heard a legend of Oghuz-khan written in Uygur script.³

It should be noted that “Kitab-i Diyarbakriyye,” an official history of another ruler of the 15 century, head of the State of Aqqoyunlu Uzun Hasan (1453–1478), said

¹ Fazlallah Rashid ad-Din. *Oghuzname*. Pervod s persidskogo; predisloviye, kommentarii, primechaniya i ukazateli R.M.Shukurovoy. Baku: 1987

² Inalcık H. Osmanlılarda saltanat veraseti ve Türk hakimiyet telakkisiyle ilgisi // Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi. 1954, T.XIV, # I (ayrı baskı). 1959, p. 11

³ Şukrullah. *Behcetüttevarih* // Osmanlı Tarihleri. İstanbul: 1949, p. 51

that his clan goes back to Bayandur, elder grandson of Oghuz-khan from his third son.⁴ Ottoman historian Mehmed Neshri, author of the chronicle “Jihan-numa”, dedicated to Sultan Bayazid II (1481–1512), also anticipates his work with the history of Oghuz-khan.⁵ In other words, compilation of various versions of genealogical myths of “Oghuzname” became a good form in the Oghuz-Turkman political and cultural tradition of the 15 century.

It would be appropriate to emphasize that Yazijioghlu Ali is the author of the first well-known Ottoman variant of “Oghuzname”. Of interest is the fact that V. A. Gordlevskiy called him “a nationalist historian” implying panegyric gestures at Oghuz ethnic values in his work.⁶ Court historian of Sultan Murad II (1421–1451) – Yazijioghlu Ali wrote a chronicle “Tarih-i Al-i Seljuk” (“The History of Seljuk Family”) or “Seljuk-name” basing himself upon works of some Persian-language authors, particularly, Rashid ad-Din, Ravendi and Ibn-Bibi. However, the Ottoman historian was not a blind imitator and translator of previous works but rather an original interpreter of the events in question to mirror the historical consciousness of his epoch.

“Oghuzname” is an introductory and, yet, compositionally independent part of Yazijioghlu’s work. Impregnating this popular Turkic legend of the epoch in his masterpiece, the author not only appreciated the fashion of his epoch but also “stroved to span a bridge from Ottoman Sultans via Seljukides to the legendary forefather Oghuz”.⁷

“Oghuzname” by the Ottoman chronicler may conventionally be divided into two parts. The first part is a traditional narration of the mythological history of Turks’ origin from Japheth, Noah’s son; the birth of Oghuz-khan; his military campaigns; history of various Turkic and Mongolian tribes and peoples; everyday life and customs of ancient Oghuzes, etc. Information as set forth in this part is well-known thanks to identical works of earlier Moslem authors, specifically, “Oghuzname” by Rashid ad-Din.⁸

⁴ Abu Bakr-i Tihriani. *Kitab-i Diyarbakriyye*. Akkoyunlular Tarihi. Ankara: 1962, Cilt. I, p.11–22

⁵ Mehmed Neşri. *Kitab-i Cihan-nüma*. Neşri Tarihi. Ankara: 1949, Cilt I, p. 8–21

⁶ Gordlevsky V.A. *Gosudarstvo Seldjukidov Maloy Azii*. Moscow-Leningrad: 1941, p. 9

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ V. Bartold notes that in Asia Minor the work by Rashid ad-Din was widely used in “Tarih-i Al-i Seljuk” by Yazijioghlu Ali and that the author availed himself of Chingiz-khan’s dicta as referred to by Rashid ad-Din, translated them into Turkish and confidently ascribed them to the mythic ancestor of his people Oghuz-khan (Bartold V.V. *Dvenadtsat lektsiy po istorii turetskikh narodov Sredney Azii*. Lektsiya XI // Bartold V.V. *Sochineniya*, Vol. XI, Moscow, 1968, p. 168). It should, nevertheless, be admitted that audacious adoption of Chingiz-khan’s assertions by the Turkish author and their announcement on behalf of Oghuz-khan testifies to the propinquity and identity of politico-legal and moral views of Turkic and Mongolian nomads in ancient times and the Middle Ages.

Perhaps, informationally original is the second part of “Oghuzname” titled “The History of Oghuz who made his will, established *Töre*, ethic standards, morals and other wisdoms he uttered with his own mouth.”⁹ In this part the talk is turned to Great Khan Oghuz’s life after he campaigned successfully and gloriously, established a powerful world empire; when his life was drawing to a close, he called his sons and made his dying wish. Under the ancient Turkic state tradition, the great *khagan* and founder of the nomadic empire was authorized to establish *Töre*, or *Yasa* (*Yasak*) – a code of laws and regulations based on standards of common law of nomadic peoples.¹⁰ Sticking to this tradition were scores of great rulers of Turkic and Mongolian nomadic states, in particular, Chingiz-khan who established his own *Yasa*.

In his last will great khan Oghuz edifies his sons and future regal generations to be together and live in concord with each other. He proclaims *Töre* to be eternal and immutable law for his progeny. The major duty of the subsequent Turkic rulers was to follow the Oghuz-khan’s will implicitly, from generation to generation. “*If they (descendants to Oghuz-khan – Sh. M) follow my precepts, they are sure to rule the world and no enemy wins them. Also, they should not give up their faith. And let them be blessed both in faith and secular life. But if they fail to follow my precepts and my Töre, and cease backing one another, the enemy would attack and defeat them*”.¹¹

In other words, the power of *Töre* should dominate in society, Oghuz-khan insists. This thread runs all through another medieval Turkic monument “*Kutadgu bilig*”, a book of admonitions of Karakhanides. In accordance with this poem, the justice in society is to be secured not through the mercy or whim of a regal person but by unconditional and impartial application of *Töre* standards.¹² The point here is about legal views of society based on nomadic principles and, in H. Inalcık’s opinion, domination of *Töre* in the initial Turkic concept of the state is explained as being due to the fact it had originally included sacred rules of tribal life.¹³

It was, perhaps, the strong influence of common law in Oghuz society (as is apparent from Oghuz’s laying emphasis on the supremacy of *Töre* and *Yasak*) that the Ottoman Empire and other Oghuz-founded states (for example, the State of Aqqoyunlu)¹⁴ kept on recognizing, along with *Shari’a*, the common law ‘*urf*’, under

⁹ Yazıcıoğlu Ali. *Oğuzname yahud Selçukname*. (Naşiri: Necib Asım). İstanbul: Bahriye Matbaası (yılsız), pp. 18–22

¹⁰ Inalcık H. Suleyman the Lawgiver and Ottoman law // *Archivum Ottomanicum*. Mouton: 1969, Vol. I, p. 108

¹¹ Yazıcıoğlu Ali. *Oğuzname yahud Selçukname ...*, p.18

¹² Inalcık H. *Kutadgu Bilig*’de Türk ve İran siyaset nazariye ve gelenekleri // “R.R. Arat için”. Ankara: 1966, p. 269

¹³ Inalcık H. Suleyman the Lawgiver..., p. 108

¹⁴ Laws of the head of the State of Aqqoyunlu Uzun Hasan that continued to these days in Ottoman *qanunname* of the eastern provinces of Asia minor are titled *Yasa* (for instance, *Defter-i yasaha-yi*

which numerous codes of laws – *qanunname* were issued by Sultans. Ottoman chronicler of the 15 century Tursun-bey titles all laws established by Sultans on the basis of ‘*urf*’ as “*Padishah’s Yasak*” (“*Yasağ-i padishahî*”).¹⁵

It has to be kept in mind that *Töre* in “*Oghuzname*” is of sacral nature to guarantee the good and support of All-Mighty if applied fairly. And instead, he who retreats from the law and thus infringes it, shall he be doomed to divine retribution: “*Let them (Oghuz-khan’s offspring – Sh.M.) preserve ...Töre and Yasak that I granted them as a keepsake. And let the Heavens (Gök) bless their state and remain them in light-heartedness. Let them live long, happily and in prosperity*”.¹⁶

Not only rulers should follow the law (*Yasak*) but their entourage and people directly involved in managing the nation: “*If elders, beys and athletes under them (rulers – Sh. M.) fail to observe Yasak, the khanate and power will be shaken and disintegrated... If beys of tümens and of thousands fail to follow precepts of Oghuz-khan, will they be able to command troops?*”¹⁷

Töre enjoys supremacy and incontestable authority in Oghuz society, and those disobeying the law are to be punished severely. Still, the society provides the perpetrator with time and opportunity to redeem his fault. According to the Oghuz-khan’s will, a person violating *Yasak* for the first time is warned and orally exhorted. If he is obstinate in his disobedience, threat and force are to be forced against him. Should these measures yield no effect, this person is ostracized, alienated from society, isolated and moved to far, inhabitable steppes where “there are no humans (*il*)”. Two times a year, hunters visit him to check his re-education process. If he has finally “come to see reason” and “grown wiser”, the society does welcome him again. If failed, elders and other people concerned are to gather together and apply *Yasak* rules against “criminal”.¹⁸

The episode above mirrors standards of tribal society when the whole collective was responsible for strict observance of the law, and a transgressor was held accountable to his clan or tribe. It was a general meeting of elders of a clan or tribe that passed a final decision, not an individual ruler or independent judicial institute.

Forming the pivot of the last will was an irrefutable idea of inadmissibility of Oghuzes’ transition to the settled mode of life. The forefather of Turks prescribed them to lead nomadic, dynamic mode of life and step aside from corrupt morals of town. The nomadic way of life was presented as one of the main conditions of

vilayet-i Diyarbekir) // Barkan O.L. XV ve XVI asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları. I cilt. Kanunlar. İstanbul: 1943, p. 145

¹⁵ Tursun Bey. Tarih-i Ebü’l-Feth. (Hazırlayan: M. Tulum). İstanbul: 1977, p. 12

¹⁶ Yazıcıoğlu Ali. *Oğuzname yahud Selçukname ...*, p. 15

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 20

preserving the political power in the hands of Oghuzes. To corroborate his concept, the author cites instructions of “late Qara Osman” addressed to his sons: “*Do not settle down ever, for power is owned by those who live a life of Turkmans and Yörüks*” (i.e. nomads).¹⁹ The continuity of this tradition is apparent among Turkic and Mongolian nomads. As is known, unreceptiveness of the settled, particularly town life, and the prohibition on the settled way of life formed the basis of Chingiz-khan’s precepts. Hence, the migration of nomads and their chiefs to towns was considered to infringe the Chingiz-khan’s *Yasa*.²⁰ Note that this old social-psychological tradition is retraced in the life of Oghuzes from Western Asia. V.A. Gordlevsky pointed out that unfriendly attitudes to the town manifested themselves in a statement of Seljuk prince Izz ad-Din who, feeling miserable in Constantinople, told the Byzantine emperor in the 13 century: “We are Turks, and we cannot live in towns permanently. Please, show us a place somewhere to settle down”.²¹

The first part of the Oghuz-khan’s will recollects in mythological manner the times when the division of labor proceeded in the Oghuz tribal collective accompanied by social differentiation inside society. This long-term social process is set forth in the source as an instant personification of the will of supreme chief Oghuz-khan. The latter had allegedly ordered to divide the nation into three social strata. The first stratum is made of stewards whose main mission was to supervise production processes (“collect sheep and goats” as a basis of production activity of nomads-shepherds) and manage society (duties of *kethuda*,²² vizier, etc.). Stewards were selected of sages or competent persons from Oghuzes. The second stratum included soldiers (“*He (Oghuz-khan – Sh. M.) instructed athletes to command the army*”). Finally, the third, most numerous strata, consisted of direct producers – shepherds. They are referred to in the source in a slighting tone: “*He instructed efficient fellows to graze horses. And he gave a stick to stupid and ordinary people and ordered them to pasture camels, cows and sheep*”.²³ According to the source, representatives of Oghuz aristocracy were arrogant to lower classes to thus reaffirm the prolonged

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 19

²⁰ Bartold V.V. Turkestan v epokhu mongolskogo nashestviya // Bartold V.V. Sochineniya, Vol. I, Moscow, 1963, p. 529–529

²¹ Gordlevskiy V. A. Gosudarstvo Seljukidov..., p. 47

²² *Kethuda* is a term of Iranian origin; for Oghuzes, it meant tribal foreman. – See: Kononov A. N. Rodoslovnaya turkmen. Sochineniye Abu-l-Gazi Khivinskogo. Moscow-Leningrad, 1958; Meyer M.S. Noviy tendentsii v sotsialno-politicheskoy zhizni Osmanskoy imperii (na primere instituta *kethuda*) // Gosudarstvennaya vlast i obshchestvenno-politicheskiye struktury v arabskikh stranakh. Moscow, Nauka, 1984; Orhonlu C. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda aşiretleri iskan teşebbüsü (1691–1696). İstanbul: 1963, p. 13–14

²³ Yazıcıoğlu Ali. Oğuzname yahud Selçukname ..., p. 19

process of social differentiation, as is clearly apparent in another Oghuz monument “Kitab-i Dede Qorqud”.²⁴

It is doubtless that, along with ancient Turkic social and state-legal views, realities of the period when the author lived and created had also been mirrored in the Oghuz-khan’s will. Thus, in an attempt to substantiate the principle of power succession, Yazijioghlu Ali seeks to underline an idea of the supremacy of the Ottoman dynasty over other Turkic clans. That’s why echoes of political struggle of the 15 century are quite unexpectedly impregnated into the genealogical legend of the glorious past of Turks: “*It was our lord, Sultan Murad, son of Mehmed-khan from the house of Osman, the most deserved and merited to rule the kingdom. He rises above all khans from the clans of Oghuz and Chingiz. Under Shari’a and ‘urf, Turkic khans are worthy of worshipping and serving him*”.²⁵ To attain his objective, Yazijioghlu Ali resorts to a typical device: reads his own principle of succession to the throne into Oghuz-khan’s mouth.

It would be appropriate to show how ideological objectives of the authors of legends on Turks’ origin influence on modification of their works. For example, Abu-l-Ghazi Bahadur-khan, a medieval author of “Shajara-yi Tarakima” (“The Genealogy of Turkmans”, 17 century), explains the principle of succession to the throne as put in the mouth of Oghuz-khan: “*It will be Kün-khan to succeed me on the throne after my death. And he will be followed by the one, most talented from the family of Buzuks; let the best of Buzuks rule the people to the end of time*”.²⁶ As is seen, Abu-l-Ghazi Bahadur-khan regards the power as the property of the entire ruling clan (here: Buzuks as elder wing of Oghuz tribes). The power should be granted to the most merited representatives of the clan which was typical for traditions of nomadic statehood in the reviewed period. It is no mere coincidence that it is the mission of “people” to elect its sovereign. It is essential for Yazijioghlu Ali to substantiate the principle of individual succession to power; i.e. the principle adhered to by Ottoman Sultans in the dynastic policy. In the time that followed a clause on permissibility of fratricide by ruling Sultans was included in “*Qanunname*” by Sultan Mehmed II (1451–1481): “*A son of mine to rule the Sultanate will be entitled to kill his brothers. Most Ulems welcome this decision. Let them act in accordance*

²⁴ An episode of the epos says that shepherd Qaraja suggested khan Salur Qazan to help his family out of enemy, however, the latter became lost in thought: “If I go together with the shepherd, *beys* of other Oghuzes will be mocking at me as saying: “If no this shepherd, Qazan would never overpower infidels (*gyaurs*)”. And he “fastened the shepherd to a tree, turned away and started on his journey”. – Kitab-i Dede Korkud ala lisan-i taife-i Oğuzan. (Mustensibi: Kilisli Muallim Rifat), 1332, p. 29

²⁵ Yazicioğlu Ali. Oğuzname yahud Selçukname ..., p. 18–19

²⁶ Kononov A. N. Rodoslovnaya turkmen..., p. 49

with this command”.²⁷ Therefore, Yazijioghlu Ali reads: “*Under my (Oghuz-khan’s – Sh. M.) will, Kün is to become khan. He will be followed by his son Qayi. Bayat cannot become khan until khans from the family of Qayi are elected; so, he’ll be a lord (bey) of his tribe only*”.²⁸

In accordance with author’s logic, the Ottoman dynasty had first been proclaimed as direct offspring of Qayi, elder grandson of Oghuz from his first son Kün. This panegyric gesture in honor of Ottomans assumed somewhat sacral tinge, for it is sanctified with the name of Qorqud, legendary sage and patriarch of Oghuzes. Of interest is the fact that this episode is referred to in a preface to the epos of Qorqud. V.M. Zhirmunsky established the parallel between the two works as saying that allegations about Ottoman clan’s origin from Qayi and his dominance over other ruling Turkic dynasties is none other than a patriotic fantasy either of Yazijioghlu Ali or compiler of “The Book of Qorqud” and an author of the preface.²⁹

The analysis of the Oghuz-khan’s will is illustrative that its structure is notable for eclectic, rather than integral confusion of realities of the two temporal layers to comply with different levels and stages of social evolution of Oghuz society. Whereas the first part of narration deals with relics of the nomadic past of Turks, everyday life and views of nomads roaming across the steppes with their flocks and standing aside from town life, the second part lays an emphasis on the fact that former nomads were owning new agricultural lands, adapting themselves to a new social environment and adopting some political-legal values of the settled culture. For this reason, traditions of Turkic nomadic statehood are whimsically interwoven in the source with principles of Middle Eastern (Iranian) concept of state and law. On the one hand, the settled way of life is anathematized; Oghuzes are banned to settle down and, finally, the tribal law of Turks – *Töre* is sacralized. On the other hand, Oghuz-khan prescribed his regal descendents to adhere to two fundamental principles that formed the basis of political culture of settled civilizations of Middle East: the principle of *reaya* (taxable agricultural population) and the principle of fair monarch. In the second part of the source a typical Middle Eastern monarch presents himself in the mouth of legendary forefather of Turks Oghuz-khan.

It should be noted that the Oghuz-khan’s will is a book of admonitions for a Turkic ruler; a sort of values and principles he has to be guided by in his activity. Besides, the will provides a portrait of an ideal sovereign which is in accord with political views of Oghuzes of the reviewed period. The portrait is indicative to

²⁷ Kanunname-i Al-i Osman. (Ali neşri). İstanbul: 1912, p. 27

²⁸ Yazıcıoğlu Ali. Oğuzname yahud Selçukname ..., p. 18

²⁹ Zhirmunskiy V.M. Oghuzskiy geroicheskiy epos i “Kniga Korkuda” // in Kniga moego deda Korkuda. Moscow-Leningrad: 1962 (pp. 131–258), p. 141

what extent the Turkic concept of power had adopted experience and some principles of the Iranian tradition of statehood.

To clarify the question, it would be appropriate to restore an image of an ideal monarch as set forth in the Oghuz-khan's will, and compare it with some motifs from "Siyaset-name". Note that this book of instructions for Seljuk rulers was written by vizier of Sultan Malikshah (1072–1092) – Nizam al-Mulk who championed Iranian ideals of power.

The duty of top priority of the fair monarch is, according to precepts of Oghuz-khan, a care for his subjects, particularly *reaya* (taxpayers), and avoidance of their excessive exploitation. Going back to the traditions of Middle Eastern agricultural societies and adopted by the Arab Caliphate from Sassanides,³⁰ this principle had its effect on the Turkic concept of power in the Middle East. As far back as in the 11 century Nizam al-Mulk pointed out in a political treatise for Seljuk rulers: *"Sovereigns have to observe divine blessing, and his name will be glorified in charities favored to humans, as well as in sufficient justice among them. When prayers are made for the good of the sovereign; when the state is strong, the sovereign is successful and in good graces. For they say: the kingdom does exist in the lack of faith but not in the violence"*.³¹

Identical motives are typical for "Oghuzname" by Yazijioghlu Ali. The forefather of Turks instructs his offspring as follows: *"In reality, riches and authority of Padishah are dependent upon their nukers, people and rayyats. If no nukers, people and rayyats are available, no Padishah power is possible. If the sovereign fails to take care of nukers, people and rayyats, this would be contrary to nobility"*.³²

The precept above is echoing principles of the Ottoman state policy later renowned as "Circle of justice" (*"Daire-yi adliyye"*). Its essence is as follows: the power of the state is dependent on the army and the officialdom; the army and the officialdom are dependent on treasury; treasury is replenished due to *reaya*; well-to-do of *reaya* is dependent upon the justice.³³

According to the Oghuz-khan's will, the monarch has to be surrounded by experienced and just people. The state should be managed by competent and skilful officials whose mission is to establish the justice and avoid the oppression: *"Kethuda and vizier of Padishah are those valuing possessions and religion of Padishah, who consider it dishonorable to oppress reaya...Padishah should entrust matters of state*

³⁰ Lambton A.R.S. Justice in the Medieval Persian theory of Kingship // *Studia Islamica*, Paris: pp. 91–119

³¹ *Siyaset-name*. Kniga o pravlenii vizira XI stoletiya Nizam al-Mulka. Perevod, vvedeniye v izusheniye pamyatnika i primechaniya B. N. Zakhodera. Moscow-Lenngard: 1949, p. 14

³² Yazicioğlu Ali. *Oğuzname yahud Selçukname* ..., p. 21

³³ Naima Tarihi. (Çeviren: Z. Danişman). İstanbul: 1967, p. 48–49

(divani) and financial (defter) importance to the devoted and well-trying men, not those of little experience; to thus avoid being sorry of what has been done”.³⁴

The same idea is emphasized in Nizam al-Mulk’s treatise: “Amils in office should be suggested to treat kindly with God’s people; to avoid overtaxing people...”, or, “The good and the evil of the sovereign and his state is related with the vizier. When the vizier behaves properly and soberly, the state is prosperous; army and people are satisfied, calm, well-off, and the sovereign is serene. When the vizier behaves improperly, the state is subject to devastation, the sovereign is anxious, his possessions are involved in disturbances”.³⁵

At the same time, the most important duty of supreme power, according to “Oghuzname” is an implicit application of law and implacability in respect of a criminals: “Criminals and those guilty of breach of the law must be punished for edification of those involved in robbing, stealing and marauding...When Padishah does not punish thieves and brigands, he is thus damaging people and trade. It is well-known that Padishah succeeds in gaining profits and incomes from people when he properly punishes wicked men”.³⁶

As is evident, if, pursuant to the steppe right *Töre*, a judgment on a case was passed by the whole collective (council of the clan or tribe), in this case the application of the law was duty and simultaneously exclusive prerogative of the ruler. To corroborate this principle, the author refers to the life of Sassanid king Khusrow I Anushirvan (531–539), a symbol of ideal monarch in the Western Asia. When the shah was asked about reasons of his grandeur, he replied: “I felt no pity to criminals and was merciful to guiltless”.³⁷ This story reveals a parallel with an identical episode from “Siyaset-name” by Nizam al-Mulk.³⁸ As viewed by H. Inalcık, according to this concept of power and law, the law and justice are just an act of mercy from the ruler.³⁹ Note that the principle of supremacy of individual power over the law going back to the ancient Middle Eastern and Iranian tradition of statehood had, to a degree, its influence on the concept of ruler in the Turkic states of the Middle East.

Besides, the second part of the will provides instructions which testify to the toughening of morals in contrast to standards of the nomadic law and contrary to the spirit of the latter. If, in accordance with *Töre*, a criminal is treated with humanity, and he is granted a chance and time “to redeem his fault”, the second part insists:

³⁴ Yazıcıoğlu Ali. Oğuzname yahud Selçukname ..., p. 21

³⁵ Siyaset-name..., p. 24–25

³⁶ Yazıcıoğlu Ali. Oğuzname yahud Selçukname ..., p. 21

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Siyaset-name..., p. 34–43

³⁹ Inalcık H. Suleyman the Lawgiver..., p. 107

*“One cannot trust thieves, brigands and wicked men. If a man has committed evil, it would better to kill him than merely banish from il, for it would be unwise to cut a snake’s tail and let it into neighbor’s home”.*⁴⁰

In “Oghuzname” by Yazijioghlu Ali, a portrait of ideal monarch is supplemented with a couple of indispensable moral-ethic traits to thus add respect and sympathy of subjects. Thus, according to the Oghuz-khan’s will, the fairness of the sovereign is closely related to his piety and good intentions: *“At night, the rulers should act as applicants on the threshold of Almighty, cry for the good and mercy; in the day-time – rule people”.*⁴¹

To protect the unprotected, grant mercy to the humble, poor and orphans – all these are major qualities of an ideal sovereign: *“Padishahs are fathers of orphans, and their duty is to do them thousands times more favor than their native fathers could have done”.*⁴² Rulers should take care of old men and people that did away with their fate, as well as *“grant properties and riches of the late to their children, for it would be meanly to soil hands marked by grandeur and power on properties of this sort. That will not bring wealth. Nothing is eternal in this world but good name”.*⁴³

Thus, the two compositional layers in the Oghuz-khan’s will that mirror various stages in the evolution of political-legal views of the Turkic society makes it possible to suppose that the source in question reflects largely views of transition period in the history of Oghuzes when new social relations in “...state associations of Oghuz tribes were intricately interwoven with survivals of patriarchal-tribal relations and nomadic life”⁴⁴; when the institution of the supreme power rose above society; when the authority of tribal law in society became gradually subordinated to the supreme power of an individual ruler.

⁴⁰ Yazıcıoğlu Ali. Oğuzname yahud Selçukname ..., p. 21

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 22–23

⁴⁴ Zhirmunskiy V.M. Oghuzskiy geroicheskiy epos..., p. 136

Images de l'Empire Ottoman dans l'historiographie transylvaine du XVIIIe siècle

Călin Felezeu

L'historiographie roumaine du XVIIIe siècle représente, grâce à l'œuvre de l'École transylvaine, une avancée incontestable du point de vue de la conception ainsi que de la méthode, dans la tentative de réaliser une synthèse historique concernant tout l'espace roumain. Tout en se manifestant aux débuts du mouvement d'émancipation nationale et de l'émancipation de L'illuminisme dans l'espace roumain, elle réalise un modèle original d'historiographie, basé sur la fusion de la tradition humaniste et de la nouvelle démarche des Lumières. L'œuvre de ses représentants, remarquable par son unité doctrinaire, est largement tributaire à la conception de Dimitrie Cantemir, y compris pour la problématique qui nous intéresse dans cette étude.

Toute l'activité historique de Samuil Micu constitue une contribution inestimable au progrès de l'historiographie roumaine. La grande synthèse *Istoria și lucrurile și întâmplările românilor* [*L'Histoire et les choses et les événements des Roumains*], achevée en 1805, qui a comme point de départ *Scurtă cunoștință a istoriei românilor* [*Bref aperçu de l'histoire des Roumains*] (1792), offre de nombreux points de repère propices à la reconstitution d'une image de l'Empire ottoman dans la perspective des Lumières. Influencé par les chroniqueurs, l'historien décrit le danger implacable de l'expansion turque au Moyen Âge. Il considère que tous les peuples se sont soumis aux Turcs parce que « personne ne pouvait s'y opposer »¹ (n.t.). L'opposition aux Turcs est évidente et argumentée par les tares de la suzeraineté turque, par les caractères négatifs des conquérants, tels qu'indiqués dans le passage concernant le combat mené par Ion-Vodă afin d'obtenir l'indépendance de la Moldavie: « Le voïvode voulut affranchir le pays du joug turc, mais ils le firent attacher à deux chameaux qui l'écartelèrent »² (n.t.). Dans ce contexte, les Ottomans sont les païens qui ne respectent pas leur parole et « malgré sa fidélité, malgré l'entente qu'ils avaient avec lui, le tuèrent »³ (n.t.). La félonie des Turcs est

¹ Samuil Micu, *Scurtă cunoștință a istoriei românilor*, Bucarest, Editura Științifică, 1963.

² *Ibidem*, p. 65.

³ *Ibidem*.

expliquée par leur appartenance à un peuple qui se prosterne devant « Mahomet, le prophète menteur »⁴ (n.t.). C'est lui qui les encourage à « toutes sortes de bombances, viols et autres vilénies »⁵ (n.t.). Tout en étant l'expression d'une position pro-autrichienne – compte tenu du fait que les Habsbourg étaient depuis longtemps en conflit avec les Turcs –, la répulsion de Samuil Micu à l'égard des Turcs vient prolonger la tradition antérieure. À l'encontre de cette vision, l'historien transylvain remarque le rôle particulièrement important qu'ils ont joué au centre et au sud-est de l'Europe pendant plusieurs siècles. Ce furent eux qui imposèrent ou détrônèrent à leur guise les voïvodes des Principautés. « Les Turcs ont accepté que les Moldaves choisissent leur voïvode, ce qu'ils ont fait. Le rôle des Turcs était de consolider la position de celui qui était choisi. Après la mort de Ion Arménie, les Turcs n'ont plus permis aux Moldaves de choisir leur voïvode, mais ont intronisé celui qui faisait partie d'une famille de voïvodes. À partir de l'époque de Miron Moghila ce type de choix ne fut plus valable non plus, seul étant intronisé celui qui promettait de donner aux Turcs le plus, mais il arriva pourtant que fut intronisé quelque représentant d'une famille de voïvodes, ou quelqu'un qui avait servi avec diligence la Porte ottomane, ou surtout, un ancien haut fonctionnaire ou interprète de l'Empire ottoman. »⁶ (n.t.) Ce fragment est particulièrement suggestif parce qu'il présente, de manière générale, l'origine du régime phanariote, qui a causé tant de dommages aux Principautés. Les voïvodes du nouveau régime étaient choisis parmi les fonctionnaires qui n'étaient que de simples instruments des intérêts de la Porte, provenus des interprètes de l'Empire. L'opposition de Samuil Micu à l'égard du régime turco-phanariote est le résultat de l'esprit de solidarité avec les Roumains qui habitaient au-delà des montagnes, dont il a présenté l'histoire en une vision unitaire.

Bien qu'il n'ait pas entrepris de recherches spéciales dans le domaine de l'histoire ottomane, Samuil Micu révèle toute une série d'éléments appartenant à ce domaine. C'est grâce à lui que nous savons ce que signifie Kadeliakar « qui sont comme les Métropolités chez nous et à la fois les plus proches conseillers du sultan, les interprètes de la loi et les plus grands juges en temps de guerre »⁷ (n.t.). Nous savons également ce que c'est qu'un mufti « qui est le plus grand patriarche des Turcs »⁸ (n.t.).

⁴ Samuil Micu, *Istoria și lucrurile și întâmplările românilor*, vol. II, Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, filiale de Cluj, Fonds Blaj, Ms. roum. 136–139, p. 135.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Micu, *Scurtă cunoștință a istoriei românilor*, p. 69.

⁷ Micu, *Istoria și lucrurile și întâmplările românilor*, vol. II, p. 135.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

Ses investigations concernant les Turcs vont plus loin. Par ailleurs, elles se concrétisent dans un ouvrage dédié exclusivement à l'empire, intitulé « *Chronologia turcica* » [« Chronologie des sultans turcs »] ou « *Analogia turcica* » [« Analogie turque »]. Il s'agit d'un manuscrit de 12 pages, rédigé dans le but de vulgariser quelques données importantes dans l'histoire de l'Empire ottoman. Le manuscrit comporte deux parties : la première, qui concerne l'époque des grands califes (jusqu'en 1736) et la seconde, dédiée exclusivement aux sultans. Il s'agit d'une simple chronologie, comme il en a circulé pendant cette époque-là, qui ne contient pas trop de détails et dont les événements importants de l'histoire des Turcs manquent. Certains passages peuvent cependant offrir une image de l'État ottoman par l'intermédiaire du règne des sultans. Bien que sommaires, les données concernant la guerre civile qui a suivi la mort de Bajazet, révèlent la tragédie vécue par les quatre fils du sultan concernant la succession au trône.⁹ L'auteur se sert de la personnalité de Mehmet II pour présenter avec précision la grandeur ottomane arrivée au sommet de sa gloire. Le sultan a dit : « deux empires chrétiens, douze pays et plus de deux cents cités »¹⁰ (n.t.). Soliman y apparaît comme le plus grand sultan des Turcs, « qui a mené beaucoup de batailles contre les chrétiens »¹¹ (n.t.). Après sa mort, les sultans qui ont détenu le pouvoir ont été plus faibles et l'empire paraissait s'être inscrit sur la voie du déclin. Le début du XVII^e siècle est caractérisé par une crise interne aiguë, marquée par des convulsions dynastiques. Samuil Micu n'essaie pas d'expliquer les raisons de cette situation, tout en se limitant à constater que les sultans mouraient « parce que la Porte se débarrassait d'eux »¹² (n.t.).

Vu que l'existence de la société ottomane est appréhendée dans ses deux hypostases principales, l'idée de grandeur et de décadence soutenue par Dimitrie Cantemir semble une évidence. Samuil Micu aurait pu emprunter l'idée de grandeur et de décadence au milieu austro-hongrois. Mais, étant donné ses rapports organiques avec l'espace culturel roumain, il nous paraît plus naturel de la considérer comme étant inspirée par le modèle de Dimitrie Cantemir. La « *Chronologia turcica* » [« Chronologie des sultans turcs »] de Samuil Micu reflète également l'attitude d'un homme de l'Église, fidèle aux Habsbourgs et qui apprécie les faits selon la perspective d'un défenseur de la chrétienté devant le danger païen.

La dimension qu'on retrouve dans l'image présentée par Samuil Micu est amplifiée davantage par la traduction de *L'Histoire ecclésiastique* de Claude Fleury. Grâce à cet ouvrage les idées des Lumières sont amplement propagées pendant

⁹ Micu, « *Chronologia turcica* », dans Cornel Câmpeanu, *Studii și cercetări de istorie*, an. VIII, n° 1–4, Bucarest, 1957, p. 227.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 223.

cette époque-là.¹³ Un des chapitres de cette histoire est dédié exclusivement aux mahométans et à leur histoire. Selon Claude Fleury, la religion islamiste est une religion monothéiste qui connaît un seul « Dieu, vraiment parfait »¹⁴ (n.t.). C'est Lui et Lui seul, précisait l'Islam, que doivent adorer tous les croyants en renonçant à « l'adoration des idoles ».¹⁵

Allah est le Dieu tout-puissant et Mahomet est son prophète. Mahomet a le droit de faire la loi et de régner, car en lui s'incarne l'autorité spirituelle et politique.¹⁶ D'une telle autorité jouiront un peu plus tard les califes et nous considérons que, à partir du XVI^e siècle, leurs prérogatives ont été reprises par les sultans ottomans.

Par l'intermédiaire de l'œuvre de Samuil Micu, l'École transylvaine offre l'image la plus ample sur la société ottomane. Même si elle n'est pas continuée dans les mêmes dimensions par Gheorghe Șincai et par Petru Maior, sa démarche présente un tableau significatif du monde ottoman.

Hronica românilor și a mai multor neamuri [La chronique des Roumains et de plusieurs autres peuples] de Gheorghe Șincai présente, à son tour, des données importantes, mais qui restent redevables à la tradition des chroniqueurs, concernant les Turcs. Pour la problématique que nous analysons, cette chronique a une importance majeure, car elle recouvre complètement le Moyen Âge roumain et réussit à offrir une vision d'ensemble sur l'image des Ottomans dès les premiers contacts et jusque tard, au XVIII^e siècle. En empruntant la tradition de la *Chronique* de Dimitrie Cantemir, Gheorghe Șincai élargit la perspective en ajoutant des éléments nouveaux qui proviennent des sources utilisées. Nous pensons tout d'abord aux annales turques traduites par Johannes Leunclavius, ensuite aux écrits de Laonic Chalcocondil et de Ducas. L'auteur même met en évidence ces sources quand il parle des campagnes de Mehmet II, décrites par « Halcocondyla assez amplement, mais de manière plus détaillée que tous les autres. Moi, j'ajoute aussi Ducas »¹⁷ (n.t.). L'utilisation des sources contemporaines aux événements présentés dans la *Chronique* offre à l'historien la possibilité de manifester un esprit critique plus vif que les autres historiens roumains. Il n'hésite jamais à faire ressortir la vérité historique, même si elle n'est pas toujours favorable aux Roumains. Par exemple, Gheorghe Șincai n'est pas d'accord sur le fait que Mehmet II ait enregistré une défaite honteuse en Valachie, puisqu'il « a réalisé son but, remplaçant sur le trône

¹³ Pompiliu Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe europene*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1984, p. 108.

¹⁴ Samuil Micu, *Istoria eclesiastică*, Bibliotheque de l'Académie Roumaine, filiale de Cluj, Fonds Blaj, Mss. 441, p. 224.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 237.

¹⁷ Gh. Șincai, *Hronica românilor*, vol. II, Bucarest, Editura pentru literatură, 1969, p. 57

Vladislav V, voïvode de la Valachie, par Radu IV le Beau »¹⁸ (n.t.). Cette remarque est renforcée par un autre fragment, selon lequel « en allant chez Mehmet, le sultan des Turcs, Radu est devenu son vassal et voïvode de la Valachie moyennant le tribut que le pays devait payer à la Porte »¹⁹ (n.t.). C'est une réalité qu'il enregistre objectivement, en mettant au premier plan Mehmet I, sultan des Turcs, celui qui décide du sort des régions situées dans cette partie du monde. Radu le Beau devient, par sa propre volonté, « féodal et payeur » de tribut à la Porte. L'idée que le tribut est une somme d'argent censée acheter la paix est toujours valable.

Pendant plusieurs siècles les armées ottomanes ont été invincibles et le sultan si puissant et si influent que le prince de la Transylvanie, Ștefan Báthory, devient roi de la Pologne « avec l'accord du sultan turc »²⁰ (n.t.).

L'objectivité de Gheorghe Șincai est valable tant pour l'histoire roumaine que pour celle ottomane. Bien que l'Empire des Turcs soit le plus fort dans la région durant plus de 250 ans, il peut cependant connaître la honte d'être vaincu. « Après avoir cédé Buda à Ioan Zápolya, Soliman est allé siéger Vienne, en Autriche, mais il en revint bredouille, couvert de honte, à Buda »²¹ (n.t.). Les pertes et la honte des Turcs étaient favorables aux chrétiens qui s'étaient engagés dans une lutte à vie et à mort contre l'empire en expansion.

Gheorghe Șincai n'hésite pas à présenter l'échec ottoman dans la campagne du XVI^e siècle qui a marqué son déclin. Les défaites ont conduit au désordre, à la révolte des janissaires, des spahis et des soldats de la garde et ont culminé par « le remplacement de Mehmet II par Ahmed III »²² (n.t.). Vu les désastres militaires, « les Turcs ont commencé à consolider, dans les années 1719–1720, les forteresses situées aux frontières de leur empire »²³ (n.t.). Gheorghe Șincai en déduit que l'empire est passé à une politique défensive, malgré sa capacité de mener des guerres sur plusieurs fronts.

L'opposition de Gheorghe Șincai aux Turcs est évidente et elle correspond à ses positions pro-autrichiennes, mais surtout à la solidarité roumaine qui est en pleine affirmation. Sa vision ne dépasse donc pas les modèles classiques et ses conclusions sont identiques à celles exprimées par les chroniqueurs des Lumières.

Bien que n'atteignant que de façon sporadique les événements concernant les Turcs, l'œuvre de Petru Maior, *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dacia* [Histoire pour le commencement des Roumains en Dacie] nous offre une information boule-

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 63–64.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 298.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 214.

²² *Ibidem*, vol. III, p. 277.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 336.

versante. Dans le contexte des combats entre les Daces et les Romains, intéressé à les présenter comme un véritable carnage dans le but de soutenir sa thèse concernant la latinité des Roumains, Petru Maior compare ces guerres avec celles menées par les Turcs dans les diverses régions de l'Europe. « Les guerres entre les Daces et les Romains ressemblent plutôt, vu leur caractère dévastateur, à la façon dont les Turcs attaquaient les villages chrétiens situés aux frontières de leur Empire. »²⁴ (n.t.) La barbarie des Turcs est utilisée comme argument à l'appui de la thèse puriste, importante pour sa démonstration. D'ailleurs, Petru Maior présente les Turcs comme des hordes conquérantes, qui saccagent tout sur leur passage.

L'École transylvaine esquisse une direction féconde, empruntée par l'historiographie roumaine pendant le dernier quart du XVIII^e siècle ainsi qu'au début du siècle suivant. La tradition des écrivains transylvains, tout comme celle des Principautés, reprend la thématique et l'idée de la décadence de Constantinople dans une perspective politique, anti-ottomane et anti-phanariote, dictées par l'idée de la solidarité roumaine dans tout l'espace situé entre les Carpates et le Danube et jusqu'au Pont-Euxin. Préservé dans le fonds de livres de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine (la filiale de Cluj-Napoca) à Blaj, le manuscrit intitulé *Istoria cum au luat turcii Țelingradul* [*Histoire de la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs*],²⁵ élaboré à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, illustre cette tendance par l'intermédiaire de laquelle la démarche historiographique est raccordée au contexte politique international. Conquérant de Constantinople, Mehmet II est comparé à Alexandre le Grand, car ses exploits dépassent ceux de ses prédécesseurs ottomans. La prise de Constantinople est considérée comme une punition infligée par Dieu aux Grecs pour leur manque de croyance : « L'incroyance, l'hypocrisie et la méchanceté des Grecs sont plus grandes que celles des ennemis turcs. C'est la malédiction divine, c'est le massacre de Grecs dans le monde entier »²⁶ (n.t.).

L'opposition aux Grecs, assimilés jusqu'à l'identification au régime phanariote, marque toute l'orientation idéologique de l'œuvre. D'autres idées semblables ont largement circulé à cette époque-là, dans les manuscrits élaborés jusqu'en 1848. D'un autre point de vue, il faut remarquer l'ouvrage *Cronicile din Șcheii Brașovului* [*Les chroniques de Șcheii Brașovului*]²⁷ car il surprend la mentalité urbaine roumaine face au danger turc. La présence des Turcs est signalée en termes traditionnels : terreur devant la cruauté et la méchanceté turques. Mais un épisode

²⁴ Petru Maior, *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dacia*, vol. I, Bucarest, Editura Albatros, p. 14

²⁵ *Istoria cum au luat turcii Țelingradul*, Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, filiale de Cluj, Fonds Blaj, Mss. 483.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 29

²⁷ Manuscrit preserve dans le fonds de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine (Bucarest).

comme celui qui a eu lieu à Vienne en 1683 constitue un amendement à l'optique traditionnelle. « Cette année-là, l'empereur turc Mehmet a réuni ses armées et a assiégé Vienne de toutes parts, la mettant dans un grand embarras. Or Dieu, prenant pitié, envoya en aide le roi de la Pologne avec une armée de 50 mille soldats qui triomphèrent des Turcs et affranchirent cette cité des mains des païens. »²⁸ (n.t.) Le dernier choc ottoman est ressenti de manière très vive par les habitants de la ville qui considèrent que la ville, ainsi que toute la chrétienté, ont été sauvées par la seule grâce divine. La réaction de la communauté de Șchei est provoquée surtout par les difficultés que les guerres et l'expansion turques font subir au commerce.

Une dernière contribution, qui enrichit l'image des Ottomans, est l'ouvrage *Cronica Banatului [La chronique du Banat]*, rédigée au début du XIXe siècle par Nicolas Stoica de Hațeg. Cette chronique dépasse la vision générale et offre des données importantes concernant la guerre russe-austro-turque de 1787–1792. En reconstituant, parfois jusqu'aux moindres détails, les événements de cette confrontation, la chronique met en évidence la barbarie turque en la comparant avec l'attitude des chrétiens. Bien qu'inférieurs du point de vue militaire, les Turcs ne renoncent pas à leurs raids de pillage déroulés sur les territoires du Banat. De telles descriptions, extrêmement réalistes, témoignent d'une connaissance directe de la réalité et offrent une image à part des Turcs, image conçue par quelqu'un qui participe au conflit en première ligne. « Ils transforment les gens libres en esclaves, tuent les soldats, coupent les têtes, brûlent les villages, s'emparent des troupeaux de moutons avec leurs bergers, mangent les vivres, c'est terrible, c'est terrible ! »²⁹ (n.t.)

L'historiographie du XVIIIe siècle présente une image contradictoire, qui hésite entre la tradition humaniste et la nouvelle vision nationale de l'Empire ottoman.

L'image qu'elle propose est imprégnée de l'esprit national et du contexte politique dominé par l'actualité de la question orientale et, non en dernier lieu, par l'attitude anti-phanariote et anti-ottomane réclamée par les exigences de la nouvelle solidarité nationale. Même si elle n'est pas favorable aux Turcs, nous ne pouvons pas refuser à l'historiographie des Lumières – et à Samuil Micu en premier lieu – le mérite d'avoir examiné les ressorts les plus profonds de la civilisation turque dans une tentative analytique et rationaliste de reconstitution et de compréhension de la réalité contemporaine. L'idée de rejet de ce monde ottoman comme inadéquat à l'espace roumain est essentielle, leurs œuvres constituant, dans cette perspective, un véritable plaidoyer pour l'intégration de la société roumaine dans l'espace européen des Lumières.

²⁸ Em. E. Kretzulescu, « Codex Kretzulescu », dans *Revista pentru arheologie și filologie*, vol. XIII, 1911, p. 55.

²⁹ Nicolae Stoica de Hațeg, *Cronica Banatului*, Timișoara, Editura Facla, 1981, p. 250.

From the Correspondence between Géza Kuun and Ármin Vámbéry. Documents¹

Margareta Aslan

Géza Kuun de Osdola (Sibiu, 1838 – Cluj-Napoca, 1905) comes from the Kuun (Kún) noble family, the first ancestor of which is Antal, mentioned in 1506, the father of Kocsárd – a general in the army of Hungarian King John Zapolya.² Due to his social status, Count Kuun has long entered into European aristocratic circles and spent much of his time in the cities of Western and Central Europe: Florence, Rome, Paris, Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Budapest or in Transylvania, in Cluj or in the Mintia Castle.³ Nevertheless, he gained wide appreciation as a remarkable scholar in 1880, when his admirable work, the *Codex Cumanicus* was published. He has dedicated almost a decade of his life to this work, a scientific elaboration of the *Petrarca Codex*, found in the library of the Saint Mark's Church in Venice, a work in Latin, rich in scientific explanations and historical notes. His works in the field of Orientalistics, although lacking the elaboration time dedicated to the Codex, are just as important considering their scholarly value, as well as interesting. His other work, *About the language and civilization of the Cumans*, published in 1885, may be included in the same area.⁴

His interest for oriental studies was mostly due to the education received at home, religious education based on biblical teachings.⁵ It is known that during early modern period protestant religious education in Transylvania created a suitable environment for the reassessment of relations with the Turkish-Ottoman alterity,

¹ I dedicate this paper to Prof. Tasin Gemil on the celebration of his 70th birthday.

² Borostyányné Schenegon Vilma, *Állami ellemi és polgari léányiskola értesítője az 1904-5 tavévről* [*Bulletin of the State elementary and civil girls' school for the academic year 1904-5*], Kroll Gyula Könyvnyomdája, Déva, 1905, p. 4.

³ *Ellenzék* [*Opposition*], VI/288, December 1885 in DJAN Cluj – National Archives of Romania, Gyulai-Kuun Family Fund, folder. 698, p. 7, (*Ellenzék*).

⁴ Apud Szádeczky Lajos in *D.J.A.N.* Cluj – National Archives of Romania, Gyulai-Kuun Family Fund, folder. 698, p. 3.

⁵ Szádeczky Lajos, *Dr. Gróf. Kuun Géza Emlékezete* [*Recollection of Count Dr. Géza Kuun*] in *D.J.A.N.* Cluj – National Archives of Romania, Family Fund Gyulai-Kuun, file 698, p. 2, (*Dr. Gróf. Kuun Géza...*).

and was the basis for accepting Ottoman suzerainty by the society of the Transylvanian Principality in the 16th–17th centuries.⁶



Photo no. 1-a: Baron Géza Kuun⁷



Photo no. 1-b: Ármín Vámbéry⁸

His interest sparked by reading the Scriptures, but also the knowledge and interest of the Kuun family members in the field of Oriental Studies, would turn his attention toward Oriental Linguistics, the history and culture of the Eastern civilization, etc. The first studies written in the area of Linguistics in the 1860s regard the study of Arabic, Semitic, Assyrian, Hebrew, Phoenician languages, while up to the 1890s he writes about the Persians.⁹ His works were well documented, as Count Kuun was unceasingly concerned with his educational development.

⁶ Margareta Aslan, *Nagy Szabó Ferencz el yazmasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin imajı* [The image of the Ottoman Empire in the manuscript of Nagy Szabó Ferencz] in the collective volume ICC 2011 Sinop/Turcia, Karabük University Press, 2013, pp. 57–74, ISBN 978-605-87089-4-5; <http://sbe.karabuk.edu.tr/11111111.pdf>.

⁷ D.J.A.N. Cluj – National Archives of Romania, Gyulai-Kuun Family Fund, folder. 698, p. 1.

⁸ Photo taken from Vásáry István, *A tudós Vámbéry Ármín* [The scholar Ármín Vámbéry] in *Vámbéry Ármín 1832–1913. Tanulmányok Vámbéry Ármín halálának 100. évfordulóján* [Ármín Vámbéry 1832–1913. Studies on the centenary of Ármín Vámbéry's death], editors: Hazai György, Fodor Pál, A Magyar Tudomány, 2013, no. 8, p.17, („A tudós Vámbéry ...”).

⁹ Szádeczky Lajos, *Dr. Grof. Kuun Géza...*, folder. 698, p. 2.

Beside speaking a series of classical and European languages, he also spoke oriental languages like Arab, Mongol, Persian, Turkish, and when he wasn't among his friends, he studied and improved his knowledge of oriental languages from dawn to lunchtime, and in the afternoon he deepened his knowledge in the family library, leading an austere life as that of a medieval Benedictine monk.¹⁰ His interests were shared by his wife, Baroness Vilma Kemény, daughter of Demeter Kemény and Barbára Zeyk, who read all her husband's works, even those in Arabic or Latin.

I had the curiosity and the chance to find some personal letters written by the Kuun family members in Ottoman, but at the same time the collection of letters received from prestigious Orientalists and other renowned scholars. Taking into account the value as well as the large volume of these correspondence folders, I currently dedicated my research to a specific folder, *The scholarly correspondence of Géza Kuun. Documents.*, that will be published under the auspices of *The Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies* in Cluj-Napoca.

The Gyulai–Kuun Fund of documents contains the funds of two noble houses, namely the Gyulai and the Kuun Houses. The correspondence received by Count Géza Kuun is part of the Kuun sub-fund. Given that some Turkish documents are missing from the Gyulai–Kuun Fund, although they are listed as present on the covers of the folders, I point out the possibility of these being the manuscripts that were taken out and moved to a new, special fund for Turkish documents, *The Collection of Turkish Documents 1601–1915*¹¹ taken from the Gyulai–Kuun Family Collection. These two documents are the following:

1. Property documents (**tapi**) of some subjects from the sanjak Izvornic, the kaza Klarina. February–March 1866 – Turkish lang., 7 pages;
2. The Firman of Sultan Abdulaziz concerning the application of feudal tenure (**zeamet** and **timar**) regulation from the eyalet Bosnia. 25th February 1876 – Turkish lang., 1 page.

There are prestigious scholars among the signers of the letters. We shall enumerate only a few, who are of interest to us, especially in terms of Turkology and Oriental Studies, but not exclusively: Ármin Vámbéry; Ignác Goldziher, Count Angelo de Gubernatis; K. Némethi; József Thury; Valentin Carerra. Another great turkologist, linguist and Turkish folklore collector, whose letters are included in the archive is Ignác Kúnos, head of the Oriental Commercial Academy in Hungary, or by his Turkish name Kadir Efendi. He lived in Istanbul from 1885 to 1890 and in 1925–6, surely taking part in the program implemented by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk for the

¹⁰ *Ellenzék...*, folder 698, p. 7.

¹¹ D.J.A.N. Cluj – National Archives of Romania, Fund *The Collection of Turkish Documents 1601–1615*, mms 54; mms 55.

development and modernization of the Turkish scientific world and university education; he was invited as a professor in Turkey, where he lectured at universities in Istanbul and Ankara.¹²

Given that this year we commemorate the death-centenary of the great orientalist, **Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913)**, in this study I will present the fund that contains this correspondence. The orientalist, who came from a modest Hebrew family and had an educational background in Evangelical and Piarist schools in Hungary, first travelled to Istanbul in 1857, thanks to the support of Baron József Eötvös, where he stayed for 4 years.¹³ In Istanbul the hosting received from Hussein Daim Pasha opened up new opportunities for study and work for him, but he also made some very important friends. His friendship to Mullah Ahmed Efendi will lead both to him choosing Islam, taking the name of Fuad Pasha and will facilitate his new insights into the Turkish world.

By gathering knowledge of Turkish culture and civilization on the one hand and Muslim culture on the other hand, out of desire for greater deepening of Oriental Studies, as a specialist of the Turkish world, of Iran and Central Asia,¹⁴ Vámbéry will begin his journey in the Central Asian area, where we find him in 1863 dressed as a dervish. Like a mere traveller, he freely made contact with the people of the areas he crossed, and the precious information gathered about these civilizations and cultures made up his book *Travels in Central Asia*, published in London. The innovative theories and methods supported by Vámbéry during his research were appreciated in English circles, thus the Eastern-Studies-scholar was well received in the circle of the royal court as well. The benefits that resulted from his personal friendship with the Prince of Walens¹⁵ must not be overlooked from this perspective.

In this respect, one of his letters to Géza Kuun¹⁶ mentions a charge laid on him by the Princess of Walens and the journey he would have to undertake for this purpose in Transylvania. In the Turkish world he benefited of an outstanding hospitality (doc. 4) as a result of his friendship in his early years with the young man who was to become Sultan Abdulhamid II.¹⁷ Due to his frequent visits and

¹² Süleyman Bozdemir, *Atatürk Döneminde Eğitimdeki Gelişmeler*, Adana in http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/ATATURK/arastirmalar/suleyman_bozdemir_ataturk_donemi_egitim_gelismeler.pdf, accessed on 8th September 2013.

¹³ Dobrovits Mihály, „A Vámbéry-Jelenség” [*The Vámbéry-Phenomenon*] in *Vámbéry Ármin 1832–1913. Tanulmányok Vámbéry Ármin halálának 100. évfordulóján*, editors: Hazai György, Fodor Pál, A Magyar Tudomány, 2013, no. 8, pp. 5–6, („A Vámbéry...”).

¹⁴ Vásáry István, *A tudós Vámbéry...*, p. 14.

¹⁵ Dobrovits Mihály, „A Vámbéry...” , p. 9.

¹⁶ D.J.A.N. Cluj – *National Archives of Romania*, Family Fund Gyulai-Kuun, folder 427, p. 24.

¹⁷ Dobrovits Mihály, „A Vámbéry...” , p. 9.

time spent in Istanbul, Vámbéry was a great orientalist rather than a friend of the Turks.¹⁸

Returning to the folder in question, I must first point out that the cover of the folder that summarizes the correspondence of Ármin Vámbéry with Count Kuun contains a mistake, the name of the sender is not written correctly, i.e. it is written in an incorrect form – Ádám Vámbéry. This mistake is not recent, according to the writing it can be dated back to the period “between the two World Wars”, when the Fund was still in the care of the Transylvanian Museum “Erdély Muzeum”. Up to World War II, amid the political changes occurring in the Transylvanian area, the Gyulai-Kuun Family Fund becomes part of the County Cluj Archives.

The folder no. 427 covers the time period 1867–1904 and contains the activities of Géza Kuun as the second president of the Academy. The manuscripts are entirely in Hungarian, but in most of the letters occasionally we can find words or sayings in Turkish or Persian. The folder contains 45 well preserved pages and a total of 20 letters, which are not arranged in chronological order. The envelopes are well preserved as well. The documents were written with brown ink; the writing is readable even if it is sometimes difficult to decipher. The sheets are often *in quattro*, and many of them contain the logo of Ármin Vámbéry in different colors: green (1884), indigo (1881), blue (1878 – photo no. 2), cherry-red (1868) and small ornamental differences, probably depending on the year in which his sets of sheets for letters have been printed. The folder was requested in 2002 by Prof. Ambrus Miskolczy as a possible resource for treating a topic focused on Romanian-Hungarian relations in the 20th century. The present paper is limited only to the scientific processing of 7 of the 20 letters found in the folder: documents no. 7, 10, 18, 20, 27, 32, 40.

From the letters we can deduce the good friendship between Ármin Vámbéry and Count Géza Kuun. Their relationship was based on friendship as well as the fellowship, team-work; they often spent their time together studying. Naturally, their meetings sometimes lasted even for a month, when in the house of one or the other they discussed and elaborated specific scholarly topics. Their friendship was so deep that Vámbéry called him *his only friend in Transylvania*.¹⁹ As one may see throughout these published documents, the two of them discussed a wide range of orientalist topics. However, their friendship stretched far beyond working together. Details from Vámbéry's private life, his health problems to the free and unrestricted

¹⁸ Sárközy Miklós, *Vámbéry Ármin és Perzsia [Ármin Vámbéry and Persia]* in *Vámbéry Ármin 1832–1913. Tanulmányok Vámbéry Ármin halálának 100. évfordulóján*, editors: Hazai György, Fodor Pál, A Magyar Tudomány, 2013, no. 8, p. 38, (*Vámbéry...*).

¹⁹ D.J.A.N. *Cluj – National Archives of Romania*, Family Fund Gyulai-Kuun, folder 427, p. 24.

expression of his thoughts and feelings concerning a fact or a person, or even the problems in his family life show the strength of their friendship.

The aristocratic lifestyle of the great Transylvanian nobleman did not alienate the count from his friend with a different background. Vámbéry was also invited to the meetings at the Mintia Castle. Nevertheless, probably because of his native condition, he did not know how and could not always comply with the arising situations. His fiery and libertine temper and his self-security concerning his scholarly knowledge faced him with interesting situations: such an event is detailed in document no. 1. At the Mintia Castle one of the guests was the good friend of the count, Angelo de Gubernatis, who in the text of the Congress at Rome in 1899 is named *Subernatis*.²⁰ The small disagreement between Vámbéry and de Gubernatis started with regard to a contemporary work "*Fővárosi Lupoth*" (*Metropolitan Lupoth*), which was unknown to Vámbéry. The work in question was in fact only the pretext for disagreement, because it seems like Vámbéry was not very fond of the Italian count.

The renowned Italian scholar, Count Angelo de Gubernatis was a good friend of Count Géza Kuun since his youth. The Transylvanian Count had often spent his time in Florence, in the company and as a guest of his good Italian friend, most often in the Vydia villa, but they also preferred the mansion on his Calcica property, near Florence, where they often spent weeks.²¹ At the urging of de Gubernatis, Géza Kuun was one step away of buying a villa in Florence to be closer and to be able to spend more time with his friend, but the Countess Brezibrazow, Angelo's Russian-origin and conservative mother did not share the idea of the young men, convincing the Transylvanian landlord that such a purchase would have a meaning of "expatriation".²² During his travels to the Mintia Castle, Count de Gubernatis could often be seen by the locals in the company of Count Kuun.²³

The group of friends also had the opportunity to meet at conferences or congresses, such as the Congress at Roma referred to by Vámbéry in document no. 5, where one of his disciples, with whom he was to meet, is likely to have been Ignác Kúnos. The poor health condition of Count Kuun did not allow him to take part at this Congress. Nevertheless, Vámbéry exposes his concerns about the attitude Count de Gubernatis could have with regard to Daco-Romanism, seeing him as a supporter

²⁰ http://www.archive.org/stream/1899proceedings02inteuoft/1899proceedings02inteuoft_djvu.txt; accessed 15th-20th August 2013.

²¹ D.J.A.N. *Cluj – National Archives of Romania*, Family Fund Gyulai-Kuun, folder 698, p. 2.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ Solyom-Fekete Margit, *Adalékok Gróf Kuun Géza életrajzához* [Supplements to the biography of Count Géza Kuun] in *Osdolai Dr. Gróf Kuun Géza emlékezete* [Recollection of Count Dr. Géza Kuun Osdolai], Deva, Kroll Gyula Könyvnyomdája, 1905, pp. 29–37.

of the Romanians, who shows “Romanian attitudes” and fearing a possible issue that could bring harm to the Hungarian nation.

From the scientific spectrum of Orientalistics, the letters cover various topics, however, the number of letters must have been larger according to the course of events, but not all of them were deposited in the family archives. The most surprising of all is Vámbéry’s open reaction to the publishing of the *Codex Cumanicus* in 1880, which he carefully read about two times until his gift copy from Kuun arrived. He was dissatisfied that the Hungarian Academy did not contact him in order to give his scholarly support to the development of work. Even if he considered the book a very complex and well-developed work, his opinion was that the volume of his knowledge together with the teamwork with Kuun would have given society a much more complex work. His annoyance may be noticed from the wording and the salutation by which he begins and ends the letter to his friend. This time the wording is simpler and more formal than in the other letters. Perhaps the Academy did not contact him because it did not share (as in the case of Sándor Csoma Körösi) Vámbéry’s theories on the Turkish and not Finno-Ugric origin of the Hungarians, which theories are published in his work with the title *A magyarok eredete [The origin of the Hungarians]* (Bp., 1882). In his letter Vámbéry expresses his wish to write a short paper with regard to the *Codex Cumanicus*. This wish was realized, highlighting the scholarly seriousness of the author – proven through countless valuable studies. “I draw the attention of the <Hungarian> Academy to the work *Codex Cumanicus Bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetarum* that deserves high honor among Hungarian scientific works, notes Vámbéry. Other authors, like Klaproth, Hammer and Otto Blau, have also written about the Cuman Linguistics, but they failed to reproduce the text in a diplomatic spirit, with the necessary linguistic explanations as Count Géza Kuun did. This is not just stated by me, as a turkologist and researcher, but is also recognized by Pavet de Courteille (see doc. no. 2), the famous French orientalist, in the *Journal Asiatique*, who continuously praises Kuun for the language skills and researching spirit he possesses.²⁴

Regarding his private life we should notice the details provided about the accident of Mrs. Vámbéry (doc. no. 5). Vámbéry’s wife, Katalina²⁵ came from the Arányi-Reinitz family.²⁶ The letter, however, shows us the little-known side of Turkish-Studies-scholar, that of the family man, who personally took care of his

²⁴ The article is taken from the publication and attached without mentioning the publication data. See D.J.A.N. Cluj – *National Archives of Romania*, Family Fund Gyulai-Kuun, folder 698, p. 3.

²⁵ I wish to thank Sárközy Miklós for the indications provided regarding the first name of Ármin Vámbéry’s wife.

²⁶ Vámos Magda: the book *RESID EFENDI* in <http://terebess.hu/keletkultinfo/efendi.html>; accessed on Wednesday, 4th September 2013, time: 10:55.

wife as she was confined to bed due to illness, but after that as well, and he arranged for her to have all her needs met and the necessary comfort, within his possibilities. It looks like she had a poor health condition and some consequences of the accident may have followed her throughout her life. To limit her pain, Vámbéry took her to annual treatments in balneary resorts. Even if their marriage seemed monotonous, a marriage ruled by daily routine,²⁷ thanks to this letter we may notice the understanding and protecting side of the famous turkologist toward his wife. In turn, Mrs. Vámbéry, a simple woman with a big heart, found fulfilment and satisfaction in domestic duty, while Vámbéry, understanding of his wife's poor health, found his fulfilment in cultural activities: research work in his library full of books brought or received from around the world and the journeys undertaken.

Documents:

1. Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun, written in Budapest, 21st November 1878.
Mentions the small disagreement between himself and the Count Angelo de Gubernatis regarding a contemporary work: "Fővárosi Lupoth" (Metropolitan Lupoth).
2. Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun, written in Budapest, 4th December 1880.
Expresses his point of view on the publishing of the Codex Cumanicus, which he finds very laborious. He expresses his dissatisfaction that the Academy has not requested his participation in the development of the work.
3. Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun, written in Budapest, 30th August 1887.
Formulates some opinions on a range of orientalist topics requested by Kuun. Expresses concern about the poor health of Thúry.
4. Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun, written in Budapest, 4th March 1889.
Refuses the offer to translate the poem of Count Coronini. About his meeting with Sultan Abdulhamid II.
5. Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun, written in Mühlbach. Pusterthal Tirol, 24th August 1899.
About the inability of Géza Kuun to participate at the Congress in Rome. Details about the accident of Mrs. Vámbéry. About the "pro-Romanian" attitudes of de Gubernatis.
6. Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun, written in Budapest, 18th May 1903.
The transcription of Gardizi's manuscript cannot be carried out. Opinions about the origins of Gardizi.

²⁷ *Ibidem.*

1

Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun

Budapest, 21st November 1878. *Mentions the small disagreement between himself and the Count Angelo de Gubernatis regarding a contemporary work: “Fővárosi Lupoth” (Metropolitan Lupoth).*

Budapest, Nov[ember] 21. 1878

Méltóságos Gróf Úr,
Igen Tisztelt barátom!

Csakugyan a derék kitünő és rendkívüli vendég szeretettel irántomban viseltetete.

De Gubernatis üdvözlését kell először hogy át adjam, mielőtt a becses levelében érintett ügyről szollanak. En őszintem mondva a Fővárosi Lupokat soha sem olvasom, tehát közös barátunkat illető sértés nem is eshetett tudomásomra. Egyebbként – it havlar, kervan gecser²⁸ – értelmében, én nem is bolygatnám a dolgot. Ki is tudja hogy van egy Fovarosi(*sic*) Lupoth ez irni ujság a világon mig ellenben barátunk neve az egész mivelt világra szól.

Örülök hogy lesz szerencsém személyesen láthatni, mert lesz igen sok érdekes közleni valóm.

Méltoságnak valódi tisztelettel őszinte barátja.

Vámbéry Ármin

<Translation>

Right Honourable Count,
My highly esteemed friend!

You have shown me overwhelming, amazing and extraordinary hospitality.

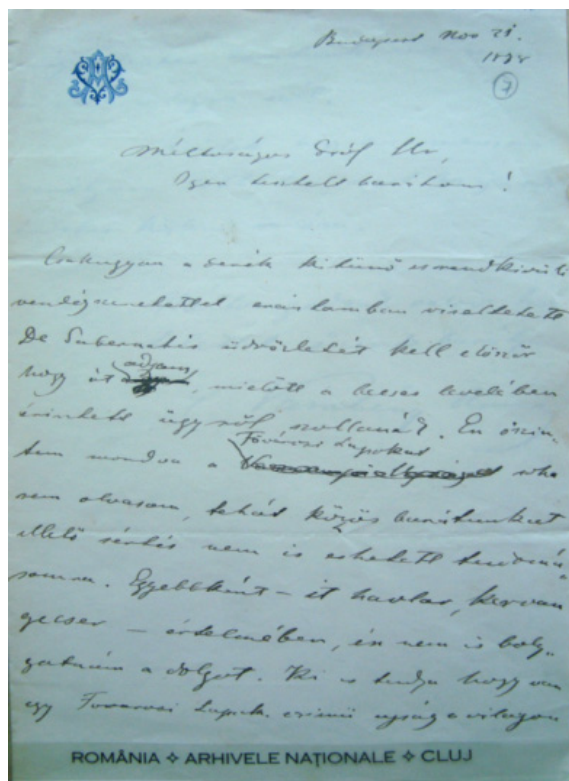
However, before talking about the matter addressed in your precious letter, I should convey the greetings of De Gubernatis. Honestly, I never read Fővárosi Lupók [Metropolitan Lupóth], thus I haven't realized the offense caused to our mutual friend. Moreover, within the meaning – it havlar, kervan geçer²⁸ – I would not stir up the issue. Who knows about the existence of a Fővárosi Lupóth, knows that it is only news to the world until the name of our friend, who represents the entire cultured society, rises against it.

I am happy that I shall be so lucky to see you personally, as I have very many interesting things to tell you.

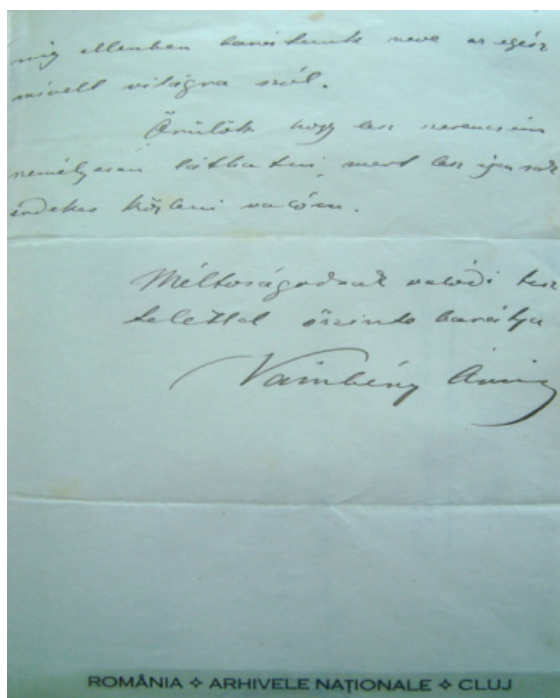
With true respect for your greatness, your esteemed friend.

Ármin Vámbéry

²⁸ A kutya ugat, a karaván halad [the dogs bark, the caravan passes].



Photos no. 2-3:
Ármin Vámbéry's letter
addressed to Count Géza Kuun,
dated on 21st November 1878
(transliterated in document no. 1)



2

Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun,

Budapest, 4th December 1880. *Expresses his point of view on the publishing of the Codex Cumanicus, which he finds very laborious. He expresses his dissatisfaction that the Academy has not requested his participation in the development of the work.*

Budapest, Decz[ember] 4. 1880

Tisztelt barátom

Még mielőtt becses ajándékát vettem volna, már nagy érdekű *Codex Cumanicum(sic)* olvasásába rejen elmerültem volt, természetesen oly célból hogy azt először tanulmányozzam(zó) és másodszor hogy aztán komoly szuklapban róla írjak valamit.

Igen tisztelt barátom ítéletem illetőleg nézetemet akarya tudni a nagy érdekű munkájáról.

Na, én őszinteséggel megvallom, hogy fáradhatlan munkási agát tapintatos és sokrészt telyes megfejtését valamint az abban lerakott nagy olvasottságot kellő dicsérettel kiemelem és kiemelni fogom. Hogy mindenben egyet nem értek, és hogy különösen sajnálom, hogy az Akademia a terv foganosításánál tanácsomat nem kérte, mely esetben én az egész *Codex* megfejtését és átírását propunáltam volna – azt titkolni nem akarom. Az utolsó esetben egy az Magyar tudományosságól illő és több megvárható szolgálatot tehettünk volna a világnak így azonban csak a diplomatikai hüséggel kiadott szöveg fekszik előttünk és a küzdő tér nyitva áll, mi magában véve nagy érdem, és mely érdemet Gr. Kuun Gézának bevallani kell.

Most éppen nyakig vagyok a munkában a Magyarok eredetéről szolló könyvvel, de még is kell hogy időt vegyek magamnak és hogy a *Codex* szerzőjéről illő módon megemlékezzek.

Tisztelő hive

Vámbéry Ármin

Pavet de Courteille barátomnak szánt példányt utba indítottam.

<Translation>

Honoured friend

Even before receiving your precious gift I was already deeply engulfed in reading the work of great interest, *Codex Cumanicum(sic)*, my initial goal being, of course, to learn and then to write something with regard to this work in a serious publication.

My honourable friend, you wish to know my views on your work of great value.

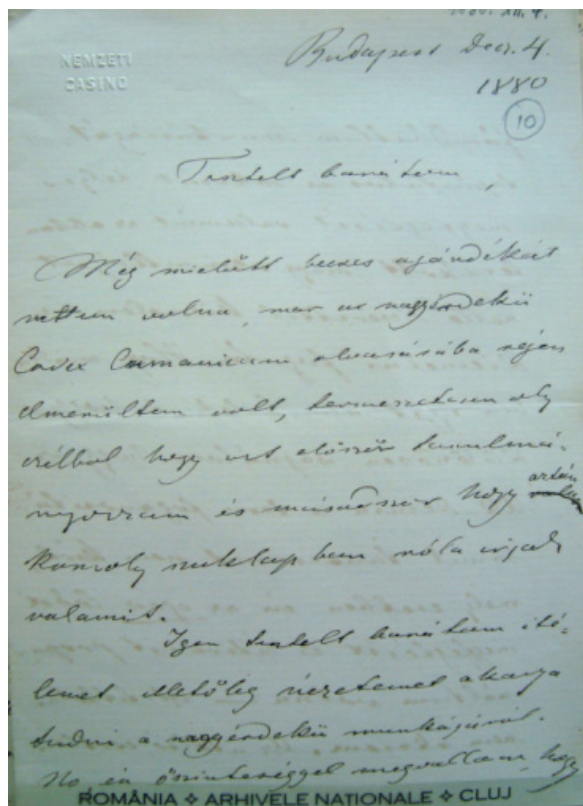
Well, I sincerely confess that I congratulate and shall highlight the tireless work that is full of tact and in many places contains complex explanations as well as the rich bibliography used for this purpose. For I do not wish to deny that I don't share the same view in all, and especially that I am sorry that the Academy has not requested my advice in developing this work, in which case I would have proposed translating and transcribing the entire *Codex*. Finally, one thing is that we would have managed to offer the world a larger work from Hungarian scholars, however, this way it is only the text published with diplomatic fidelity that lies before us, but the area for exploration remains open, nevertheless, with regard to the great merit, it should be attributed to Count Géza Kuun.

Now I am overwhelmed with work on my book about the origins of the Hungarians, nevertheless, I still have to free up some time and write about the editor of the *Codex* in a due way.

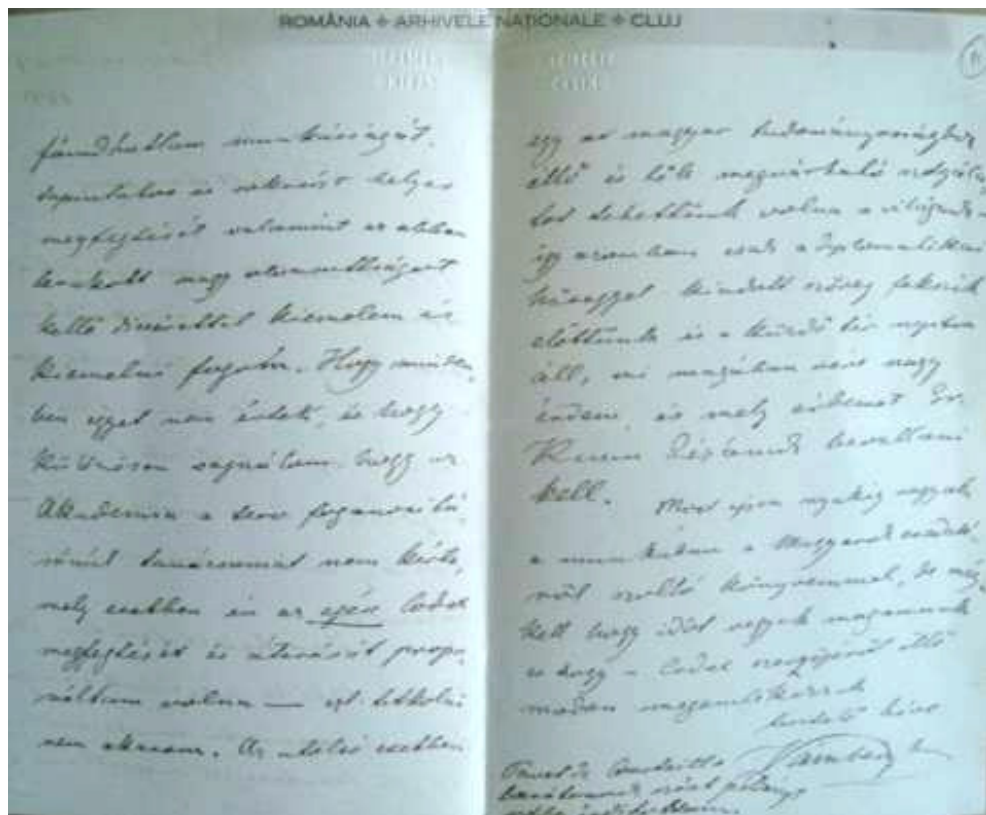
The friend who esteems you

Ármin Vámbéry

I have sent the copy which was meant for my friend Pavet de Courteille.



Photos no. 4-5:
Ármin Vámbéry's letter
addressed to count Géza Kuun,
dated in 1880, December 4th
 (document no. 2)



3

Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun

Budapest, 30th August 1887. *Formulates some opinions on a range of orientalist topics requested by Kuun. Expresses concern about the poor health of Thúry.*

Budapest, 30/8. 1887.

Méltóságos Gróf Úr,
tisztelt barátom!

Szivesen válaszolok kérdéseire a menyire módomban van .

Bakath nevű városról nem igen olvastam valamit, csak azt tudom hogy Balkh régi néven Balkhdi alakban is előfordul, hátha ezen Bakhdi és Bakath közt valami viszony létezik?

Vagy Bakath talán Baghat وَشْمٌ²⁹ = kerk helyiségnek vehető?
Indiá minor határozatlan Indiai égszak Nyugoti részét képezte ad normum:
Hungaria – magna et parva
Wallachia – — — —
Bulgaria – — — — in 4.
magna alatt mindig a régít [,] parva alatt az újabbat értették.
Thury(*sic*) sorsa fölött még mindig aggódok. Most már egészen kényer nélkül áll, és mellette módnélküli tehetetlen és gyámolatlan.
Szives üdvözlettel tisztelő barátja

Vámbéry Ármin.

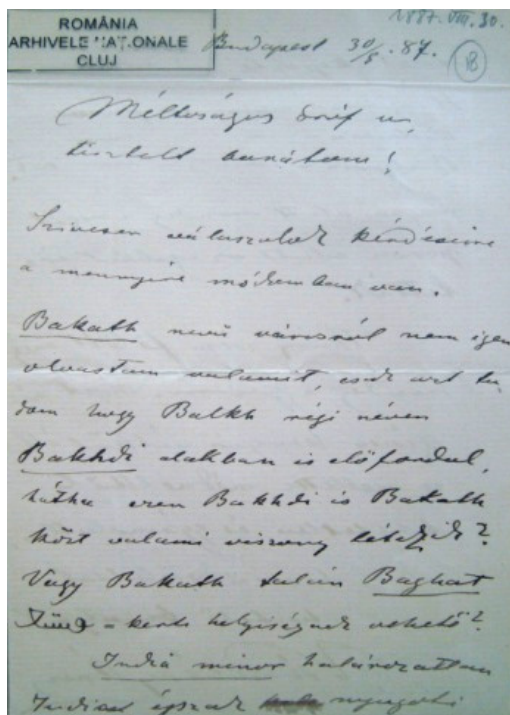
<Translation>

Right Honourable Count
Esteemed friend!

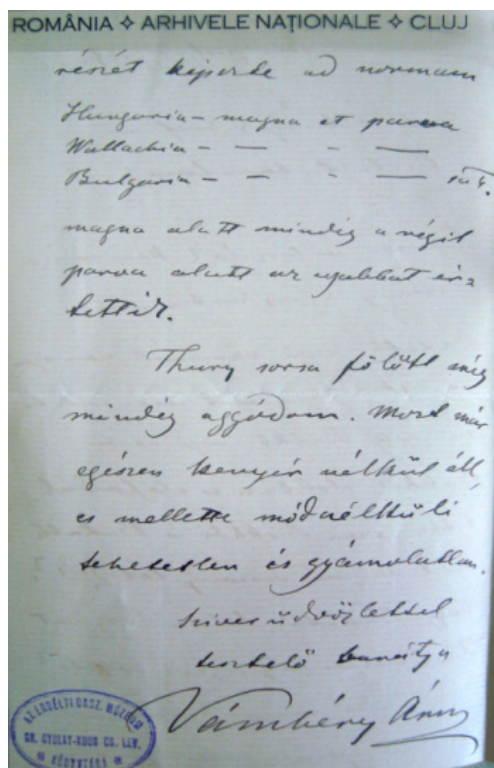
I gladly answer your questions to the extent of my possibilities.
I have not read anything about the village named Bakath, I only know that Balkh can also be found in its older form, as Balkhdi, maybe through this there is a similarity between Bakhdi and Bakath?
Or Bakath like Baghat وَشْمٌ²⁹ may be understood as a round place or circle (kerk)?
India minor without borders was, ad normum, the north-western part of India:
Hungaria – magna et parva
Wallachia – — — —
Bulgaria – — — — in 4 [in the 4 parts].
By magna we will always mean the old and by parva the new one.
I am still worried about Thury(*sic*). Now he is entirely breadless and in addition he is completely powerless and helpless.
With heartfelt greetings, the friend who esteems you

Ármin Vámbéry.

²⁹ washm



Photos no. 6-7:
Ármin Vámbéry's letter
addressed to Count Géza Kuun
dated in 30th August 1887
(document no. 3)



4

Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun

Budapest, 4th March 1889. *Refuses the offer to translate the poem of Count Coronini. About his meeting with Sultan Abdulhamid II.*

Budapest, 3/4. 1889.

Igen tisztelt barátom

Grof(*sic*) Coronini Károly a boszporusról szóló költeményét szívesen fordítanám török nyelvre, de én nem igen értek a török verseléshez és prózában nagyon is veszítene a becséből; hozzáteve, hogy így is elég munkába kerülne.

Örvendek hogy jó egészségben van és hogy nagybecsű munkáján erélylyel dolgozik. Magam, fájdalom! nem igen bizok már a régi munk[a]jával, pedig éppen most kellene, mert igen sok a dolgom.

Stambuli utom igen érdekes volt, a szultánnal oly viszonyban léptem, melyet bizalmasnak mondhatni és eddegelé semmi európai ember nem élvezett.

baráti üdvözzel

Vámbéry Ármin.

<Translation>

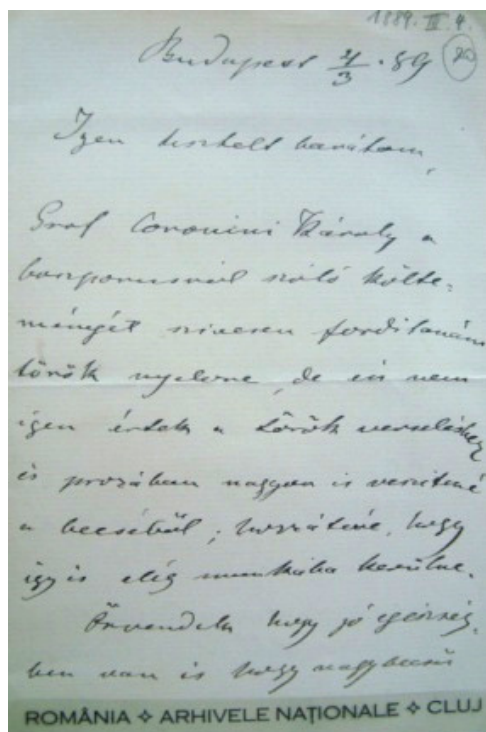
My esteemed friend

I would gladly translate into Turkish Count Károly Coronini's poem about the Bosphorus, however, my knowledge of Turkish versification is poor and in prose it would lose much of its value, moreover it would be too much work. I'm glad you are healthy and you are working hard on your precious book. I myself, the pain! cannot truly rely on my old working strength, although I would need it right now as I have very much work to do.

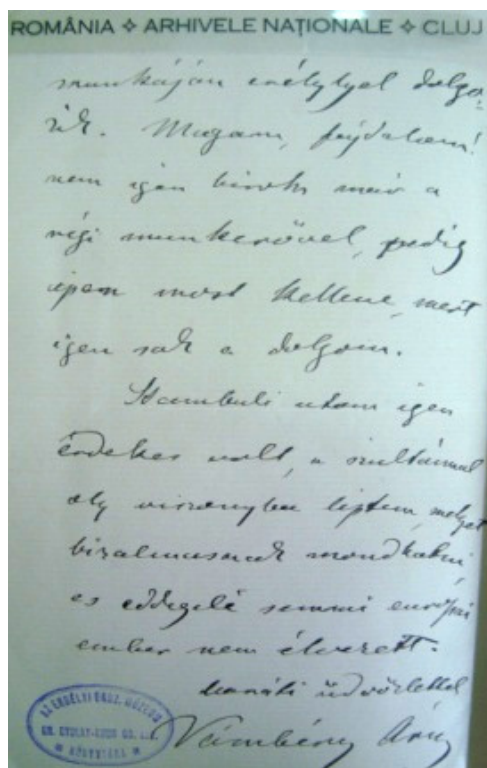
My travel to Istanbul was very interesting; I am in such a relationship with the Sultan, which I can honestly say that no European has ever experienced.

with friendly greetings

Ármin Vámbéry.



Photos no. 8–9:
Ármin Vámbéry's letter
addressed to Count Géza Kuun
dated in 4th March 1889
(document no. 4)



5

Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun

Mühlbach. Pusterthal Tirol, 24th August 1899. *About the inability of Géza Kuun to participate at the Congress in Rome. Details about the accident of Mrs. Vámbéry. About the “pro-Romanian” attitudes of de Gubernatis.*

Mühlbach. Pusterthal Tirol
Aug. 24. 1899

Nagyméltoságu Gróf Úr
Tisztelt barátom!

Igazi sajnálattal viszem azon hirt hogy betegeskedése folytán nem vehet részt a romai congressuson, mert ha valami vonzott Romába, ugy csak régi barátommal való találkozásom és együttes működésem volt a fő indító ok. Korom és multamnál fogva, biz én már meguntam a nyilvános szereplést, elég volt abból. Most békét keresek és tán meg is érdemlem azt.

Na hát az egyszer magyar érdek parancsára haghok es elmegyek, noha nehéz szívvvel mert éppen egy hete hogy nagy szrencsétlenség érte a családomat. Egy bicikli szegény beteges nomet elgázolta és szörnyen megsebesítette.

Napok óta súlyos betegségben fekszik, és nem tudom hogyan fogom onnét haza szállítani. Terven Szept. 10 innét haza menni és nevezett hónap utoján Romában leszek.

De Gubernátnak átadom üzenetét és lehetőleg mentegetni fogom. Három volt tanítványom társaságában leszek Romában és remélhetőleg régíteni fognak tisztem telyesítésében. Nagyon félek hogy az oláhok bajt okoznak, és heves természetemnél fogva, nem különben De Gubernátnak olah hajlomain miatt meggyülhet a bajom, mert mint a magyar kormány képviselője nem türhetem a Dákorománok rakon czátlanoigát, ha nemzetem ellen kikelnének.

Kérem a kegyelmes asszonynak kézcsokomat átadni és legjobb egészséget kívánom.

maradtam tisztelő hive.

Vámbéry Ármin

<Translation>

Right Honourable Count,
My dear friend!

I am truly sorry to hear that during your state of illness you cannot take part at the Congress in Rome, for if something drew me to Rome, my main reason for going was to meet and work together with my old friend. Given my age and my past I am already tired of public appearances, I had enough of them. Now I'm looking for peace and maybe I even deserve it.

However, I will obey the command of the Hungarian interest and I shall go, though I will do so with a heavy heart, for a week ago a great misfortune came to my family. My poor sickly wife was hit by a bicycle and was seriously injured.

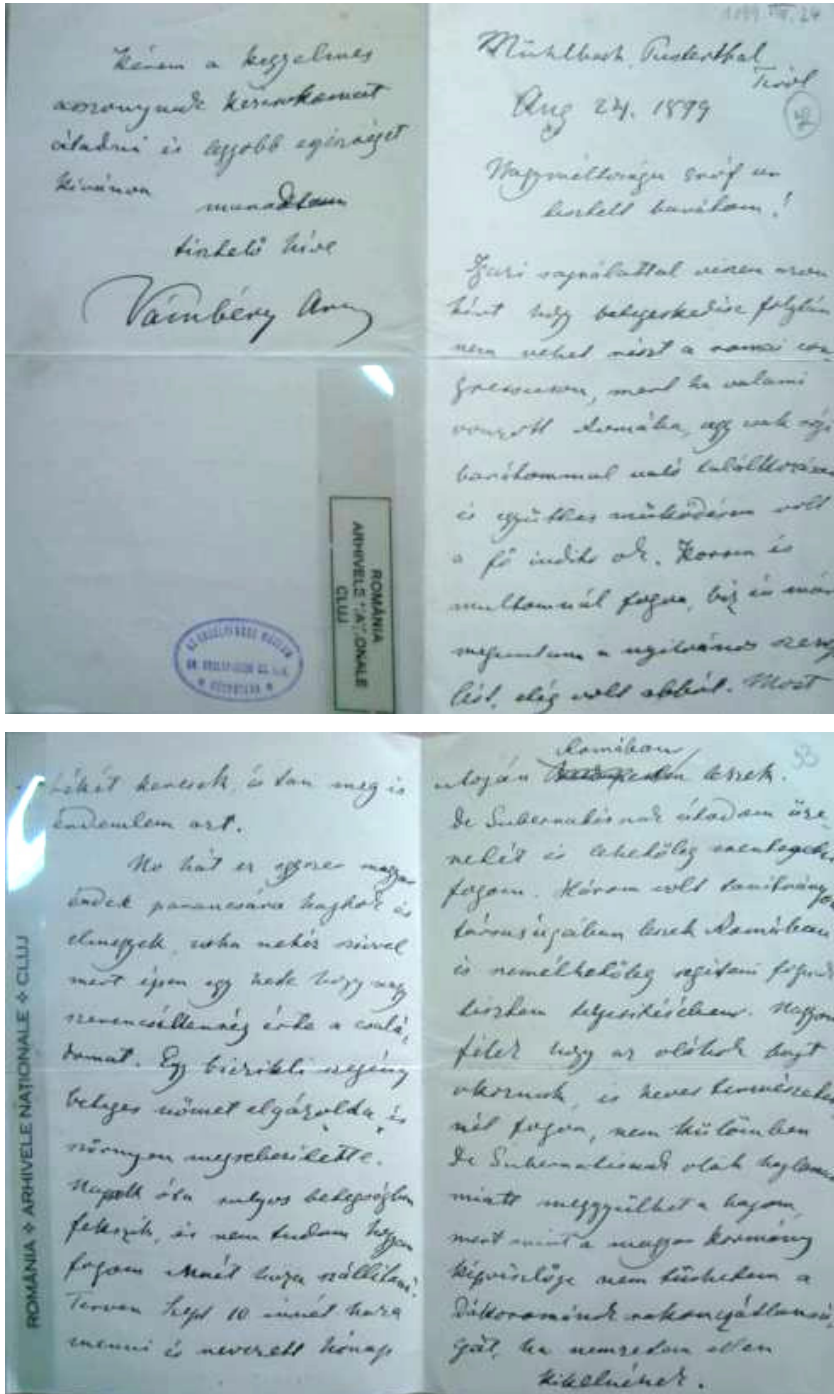
For days she has been gravely ill in bed, and I do not know how I will manage to transport her home.

I plan to go home from here on the 10th September and at the end of said month I shall be in Rome.

Nevertheless, I will convey your greetings to Gubernátis and I will try to excuse you as much as possible. In Rome I will be in the company of three former students of mine and they will most probably honour me by discussing the old times. I am very afraid that the Wallachs [Romanians] will cause problems, and, considering my violent attitude, I may encounter troubles also because of the Romanian attitudes of De Gubernátis, for as a representative of the Hungarian government I cannot accept the Daco-Roman ideas if they rise against my nation.

Please convey the merciful lady my hand-kisses and wishes of good health.
your faithful friend who esteems you.

Ármin Vámbéry



Photos no. 10–11: *Ármin Vámbéry's letter addressed to Count Géza Kuun dated in August 1899* (document no. 5)

6

Ármin Vámbéry to Géza Kuun

Budapest, 18th May 1903. *The transcription of Gardizi's³⁰ manuscript cannot be carried out. Opinions about the origin of Gardizi.*

Budapest. 1903 Május 18.

Nagyméltoságu Gróf Ur
Tisztelt barátom,

A korrekturát sajnálatomra nem tudom végezni mert felelőséget nem vállalhatok az igen sok kétes es érthetetlen possusokra nézve. Nekem úgy látszik Sachou másolat hibás és ennek alapján lehetetlen a szöveg korrekt fordítása. Ha Londonba megyek *Kardizi*³⁰ (کردیزی³¹ vagy كاردیزی³²) keziratát magam akarom lemásolni és aztán tüzetesen hozzá foghatunk a fordításhoz.

Egy érdekes szóra mégis bukkantam, t.i a *šad* = alkéruly szóra, melyet az Arkhon feliratokban gyakran szerepel és mely Kardizinél شده³³ *sada* alakban fordul elő, a mit könnyen a perzsa ده ش³⁴ *sude* = lett, volt-tul lehet fölcserélni. Ez annál jobban támogatja azon nézetemet hogy Kardizi taqik nem retiségű, az az turkestan ember volt, és tényleg دیزی³⁵ *dizi* = falu szóval összetett helynevek igen gyakoriak.

A grófné O Excellentiájának kezét csokolom.

Baráti üdvözlettel

Vámbéry Ármin.

<Translation>

Right Honourable Count
My esteemed friend,

I cannot complete the proofreading because, unfortunately, I cannot take on so much responsibility concerning the unreadable paragraphs, the number of which is

³⁰ Abu Sa'īd Abdul-Hay ibn Dhahhāk ibn Maḥmūd Gardīzī (dated approximately to the 5th-9th centuries) has written *Zayn al-Akhbār* in Persian. The work focuses on the history of Islam in Central Asia and Eastern Persia and some data on the land inhabited by Hungarians in Pannonia. For more information please see C. Edmund Bosworth, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2000, vol. X, fasc. 3, pp. 314–315.

³¹ Kerdizi in Persian language.

³² Kârdizi.

³³ Shada.

³⁴ Shede / Shüde.

³⁵ Dizi.

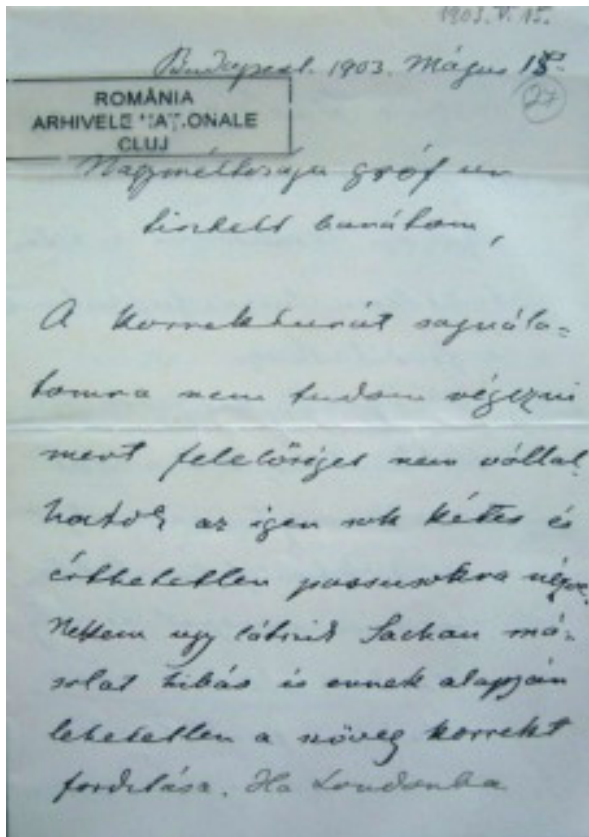
quite large. In my opinion, the transcription of Sachou is wrong and thus it is impossible to achieve a correct translation of the text based on it. If I go to London I wish to personally transliterate the manuscript of *Kardizi*³⁰ (*sic*) (کردیزی³¹ sau کاردیزی³²) and then we can quickly begin translation.

However I found an interesting word, namely the word *shad* = a word expressing the lower, inferior area, which often appears in the Orkhon writings and which at Kardizi شده³³ can be found in the form of *shada*, which can easily be replaced with the Persian word ده³⁴ *shude* = to be, to become. This further supports my view that Kardizi(*sic*) taqik is not something unheard, he was a man from Turkestan, and, indeed, the words ending with the suffix دیزی³⁵ *dizi* = village/rural settlement are common.

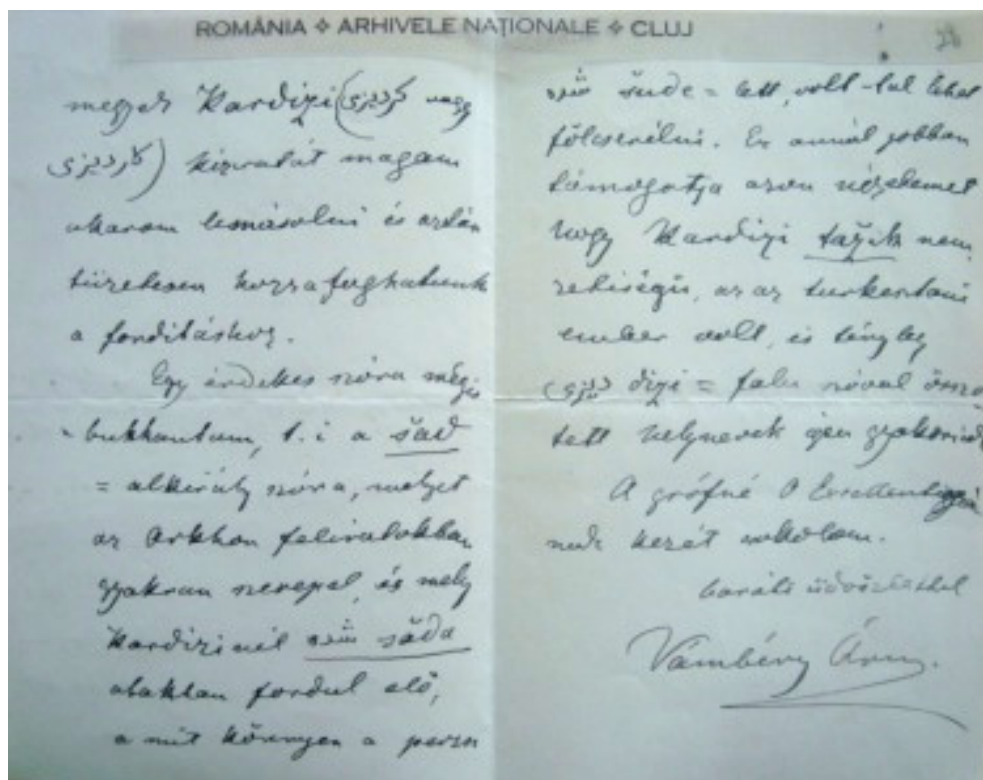
My hand-kisses for her Excellency, the Countess.

With friendly greetings.

Ármin Vámbéry



Photos no. 12–13:
Ármin Vámbéry's letter
addressed to Count Géza Kuun
dated in 18th May 1903
(document no. 6)



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NOTES AND REVIEWS

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***** *Istorija Tzentralnoi Azii v Osmanskikh Dokumentakh* (The History of Central Asia in Ottoman Documents), vol. I–II, Samarkand, 2011, 310 + 222 pages**

This important collection of Turkish-Osman documents appeared as a result of a research project elaborated by the *International Institute of Central-Asian Studies* in Samarkand, UNESCO, and the *Society of the Turkish Archivists* in Istanbul. In the two volumes of the collection there are 113+79 documents, discovered in the Ottoman Archives of the General Direction of the State Archives of the Presidency of the Council of Ministry in Turkey, in Istanbul. According to the editors, Şahin Mustafayev, the Director of the *International Institute of Central-Asian Studies*, and Mustafa Serin, vice-President of the Society of the Turkish Archivists in Turkey, the majority of the documents included in the volume are unedited.

The oldest document published in this collection dates back to 23 October 1786, it is a *hatt* (resolution, decision) of the Sultan Abdulhamid I, and is in relation to granting travelling money to the emissary Mohammad Zakir for his return to Bukhara, carrying the reply to a letter of Mohammed Daniel, the vizier of the Bukhara khan, addressed to the Ottoman Porte. And the most recent document in the collection is dated 30 April 1920, being a leave for travelling to Konya granted to Hadji Abdullah from Bukhara and the six members of his family.

The first volume of the collection comprises documents that are of political and diplomatic nature, which are issued between 1786 and 1900. The second volume consists of documents regarding the cultural and religious aspects, which were issued between 1844 and 1920.

The connections with the Islamic world of Central Asia did not have a primordial significance in the preoccupations of the Ottoman Porte but have not been ignored either. The circa two hundred documents published in these volumes provide a solid basis for the study of these connections that still remained little known. This collection is not the first of this kind. In 2004, other 76 documents have been published in Ankara, coming from the same *Ottoman Archive* in Istanbul, gathered in the volume *Belgelerle Osmanlı–Türkistan ilişkileri (XVI–XX.yüzyıllar)* (Documents on the relations between the Ottomans and Turkestan, 16th–20th centuries).

After a brief Preface (in Russian, English, and Turkish), co-signed by the above-mentioned editors, the documents are published in chronological order, with

regesta in the three languages mentioned, the transliteration of the original text and the photocopy of the document. The method is modern and efficient, so that it facilitates a wider accessibility to these sources and, at the same time, it allows consulting the authentic text. The volumes have an *Index* and *Contents*. Unfortunately, the *Contents* render only the number of the document and the page where it is situated, with no other elements. Also useful could have been the chronological indications, issuant – addressee and a short summary. The regesta in English that go with each document could have been organized and grouped in a *List of documents*, which would have considerably facilitated the using of this valuable collection of documents. Inarguably, the collection fills an empty space in the specialty historiography and opens research perspectives in a direction that was little frequented until now.

(Tasin Gemil)

Veniamin Ciobanu, *Europe and the Porte. New Documents on the Eastern Question, Vol. 8: Swedish Diplomatic Reports. 1814–1820*, Junimea Publishing House, Iași, 2010, 271 pages

The volume is set up under the aegis of the „A.D. Xenopol” Institute of History in Iași, Romanian Academy, and it was published, as the valuable previous volumes, by Junimea Publishing House in Iași. It is the eighth in the series *Europe and the Porte. New Documents on the Eastern Question*, wherein the ninth volume was also just recently published.

The nine volumes of the series are as follows:

- I. *Europe and the Porte: New Documents on the Eastern Question*. vol. I–II, *Swedish Diplomatic Reports. 1795–1799*, Iași-Oxford-Portland, 2001.
- II. *Europe and the Porte: New Documents on the Eastern Question*. Vol. 2: *Swedish Diplomatic Reports. 1798–1799*, The Center for Romanian Studies Publishing House, Iași, 2001.
- III. *Europe and the Porte: New Documents on the Eastern Question*, Vol. 3: *Swedish Diplomatic Reports. 1799–1808*, Junimea Publishing House, Iași, 2006.
- IV. *Europe and the Porte: New Documents on the Eastern Question*, Vol. 4: *Swedish Diplomatic Reports. 1791–1796*, Junimea Publishing House, Iași, 2006.
- V. *Europe and the Porte: New Documents on the Eastern Question*, Vol. 5: *Prussian and English Diplomatic Reports. 1791–1803*, Junimea Publishing House, Iași, 2006.

- VI. *Europe and the Porte: New Documents on the Eastern Question*, Vol. 6: *English and Swedish Diplomatic Reports. 1799–1811*, Junimea Publishing House, Iași, 2008.
- VII. *Europe and the Porte: New Documents on the Eastern Question*, Vol. VII: *Swedish Diplomatic Reports. 1811–1814*, Junimea Publishing House, Iași, 2009.
- VIII. *Europe and the Porte: New Documents on the Eastern Question*, Vol. 8: *Swedish Diplomatic Reports. 1814–1820*, Junimea Publishing House, Iași, 2010.
- IX. *Europe and the Porte: New Documents on the Eastern Question*, Vol. 9: *Swedish Diplomatic Reports. 1821–1829*, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, Târgoviște, 2012.

The Second volume, *Swedish diplomatic reports. 1798–1799*, includes diplomatic reports written by Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Swedish plenipotentiary minister in Istanbul, during in the final part of his diplomatic activity (9 January 1798 – 9 July 1799). The volume includes 56 documents under to 183 pages. Between 187 and 279 pages, in the Annexes was included 27 documents; they offer the possibility to take a glance at the intrigue behind the diplomatic stage, the Prussian diplomat being one of the protagonist. The Index is inserted between the pages 282–291 and it is in chronological order. The volume contained 291 pages.

In the Third volume, *Swedish diplomatic reports. 1799–1808*, was included 105 documents and contained 506 pages. The diplomatic reports included in this volume underline clearly the complexity of the Eastern Question, in that particular stage. They are therefore important sources of information not only because they give clues about the evolution of the Oriental policy of Sweden, but in the same manner, and in some cases exclusively, because they give the opportunity to enlarge considerably the range of interpretation of the already known information, know in the more less manner, from others sources, referring to the policies of all the powers that were port of the Eastern Questions. The methodology aimed the unity of the volume. The Index is inserted between the pages 497–506 and it is in chronological order.

The Forth volume, *Swedish diplomatic reports. 1791–1796*. The chronological frame for the documents collected in this volume covers the first six years of the last decade at the eighteenth century. The volume includes 50 documents in 456 pages. The documents were issued from Constantinpol, Pera (İstanbul/Galata-Beyoğlu) and Büyükdere (İstanbul/Sarıyer). The diplomatic reports included in this volume, are under de seal of two categories of problems the Swedish diplomacy confronted with, at the beginning of the last decade of the 18th century, on one side, the incidents created by the international circumstances, in general and especially in North-Eastern Europe,

that influenced the actions undertaken by Sweden, regarding the Eastern question; on the other side, the ones arisen from the nature of the bilateral Swedish-Turkish relations. The documents included in this volume were selected by Veniamin Ciobanu, from Sveriges Riksarkiv, in Stockholm, Turcica Fund. In this volume, the Index was inserted on pages 449–456.

In the Fifth volume, *Prussian and English Diplomatic reports. 1791–1803*, were included 119 documents. The volume was edited at the Junimea Publishing House in 2006. He comprised 330 pages and haven't Index. The documents were issued from Constantinpol, Petersburg, Berlin and Stockholm. They were drawn by the extraordinary delegate of Prussia Friedrich Wilhelm Ernst von Knobelsdorff and by the The British diplomatic representatives at Stockholm and St. Petersburg. The Prussian documents were found and selected by the historian Veniamin Ciobanu in Geheimes Staatsarhiv PreuBischer Kulturbesitz, Turkei fund, from Berlin. Those of English origin were discovered in England, in National Archives (Public Ricord Office) from London and in National Bibliothek of Scotland, from Edinburgh. Within the volume there are preserved marginal notes inserted in the document, in German. The chronological frame for the documents collected in this volume covers the last decade at the eighteenth century and the first three years of the nineteenth century. Those of Swedish origin were discovered, as in the case of the previous volumes, from the Sveriges Riksarkiv, in Stockholm, Turcica Fund. They are diplomatic reports, written, with some exceptions, by Pehr Olof von Asp, Consul general in Levant, Minister plenipotentiary of Sweden at the Ottoman Porte. A small number of reports were written by his closest assistant, Ignatius Mouradghea d'Ohsson, a few documents from the chancelleries of the European Diplomatic Mission in the Ottoman metropolis.

The Sixth volume, *English and Swedish Diplomatic Reports. 1799–1811*, comprised 252 pages. The volume comprises 65 documents, were issued from Istanbul, Sankt Petersburg, Vienna, Pera, etc. The documents represented a correspondence of renowned diplomats, whose main interest was the 'Eastern Question', a geographical space wherein both Sweden and Great Britain had vested political interests. For this reason, the British and Swedish diplomatic reports were placed within a single volume. The chronological for the documents collected in this volume, covers the last year of the eighteenth century and the first eleven years of the nineteenth century. As in the case of previous volumes, the documents were found and selected by author in the National Library of Scotland, in Edinburg and in the Sveriges Riksarkiv of Stockholm. In the end, the volume was inserted a 13 page of Index, ranked in the nominal order.

The Seventh volume, *Swedish diplomatic reports. 1811–1814*, contains papers spanning the first four years of the second decade at the nineteenth century, contains

268 pages, there are included 66 documents. The Index is inserted between the pages 259–268 and it is in chronological order. New Documents on the Eastern Question were produced during a time when North-Western European history was marked by Sweden's unprecedented involvement in the international political crisis as well as by the Eastern Question. The documents in this volume were selected by the author from the Sveriges Riksarkiv, in Stockholm.

The Eighth volume, *Swedish diplomatic reports. 1814–1820*, contains 271 pages, there are included 69 documents. Between 253 and 258 pages, in the Annexes was included 1 document. The document is an Address of his Excellency the Lord High Commissioner on the March 1820, to the Legislative Assembly of the United Ionian States, was emitted in London, in 1820. The index is inserted between the pages 259–271 and it is in chronological order. The diplomatic reports included in this volume were selected from Sveriges Riksarkivet, Kabinettet/UD Huvudarkivet, from Stockholm, the funds Konstantinopel, Petersburg and Paris. The documents were transcribed in the original language they were written in, in the given case, French.

Recently another volume was published, not to be the last in the series. The Nineteenth volume, *Swedish diplomatic reports. 1821–1829*, comprises in 373 pages the documents of Swedish diplomats.

In his prestigious work, consisting in nine volumes; besides the materials from the archives, the author consulted registers, dictionary, encyclopedias, chronologies, scholarly articles, etc. The used documents are either original documents or copies of the originals. The work is well structured and fully complies with the methodology of scientific approach a processing of manuscripts, to a very special theme in the Diplomacy and International Relationships field, with a deep significance for the universal history, especially for the history of Romania.

(Margareta Aslan)

Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Century). A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents*, Leiden Publishing House, Boston, 2011, 1049 pages

Although no longer a novelty as it was published two years ago, the book of the Polish historian and professor Dariusz Kołodziejczyk is bound to remain a referential one in the years to come in the study of Eastern Europe diplomatic relation of the 15th–18th centuries, particularly for the two areas involved: nowadays Poland and Lithuania and the scattered Tatar population.

The book is an attempt to reposition the Crimean Tatars on the geopolitical map of the Eastern Europe, as it reopens the topic of a many centuries blamed

nation. The Tatars who had been called ‘lice and locusts’ and, similarly to the Russians, the desire to expulse them from the Crimean peninsula had been an issue for the Poles since the beginning of the 17th century and this desire to exterminate them continued until the modern age. The two states analyzed had been deemed by Western Europeans as “unruly states and anarchic societies” and their dissipation was celebrated by the colonial perspective. In what the author calls “the early modern ‘European periphery’”, the marginal status of the two states is evoked and regarded as impelling the rulers of the two entities to crave the Western culture, as they were unaware of their own wealthy mixture.

The book is structured in two consistent parts. The first part, *A Chronological Survey* is a historical account of the formation and evolution of the Crimean Khanate from the thirteenth century legacy the Crimean Tatars inherited through the Golden Horde from the Mongol ruler Genghis Khan until the annexation of the khanate to the Tsarist Empire in 1783. The first chapter of this part is dedicated to this particular legacy and the early modernity displayed by the Crimean state and the Polish-Lithuanian union, displaying the internal and external factors that formed the Crimean Khanate, the relations between the Khanate and the union in the light of each reign of the Crimean khans. The third and last chapter of the first part deals with the intermediary role that the Khanate had between the Ottomans and the Poles and their warfare confrontations in the second half of the seventeenth century. The second part of the volume is dedicated to the documents and everything relating to them from the presentation of the language in which they were issued, preserved and collected to the typology, amply explained. Thus, the volume compiles seventy-one instruments, of which forty-six were issued by the Crimean side: three donation *yarlıqs*, nine “*donation yarlıqs cum şartnames*”, six *şartnames*, nineteen ‘*ahdnames*, three oath-*yarlıqs*, and six documents miscellaneously classified as “others”. The instruments were issued mostly by the khans, but also by the *qalgas* or *nureddin*, by the khan’s son. The number of Polish-Lithuanian documents presented is significantly smaller: eleven royal instruments of peace, three formulas of the oaths, taken by the king, the Senate members, and the commissioners appointed to negotiate the peace. Alongside these, there are also three ready formulas of the khans’ instruments, prepared by the royal chancery and which do not ascend to the status of peace instruments unless the khan had accepted them. Each document is presented in the original language with an English translation. The copies registered are also mentioned and ample footnotes resolve to clarify the terms and render the historical context linked to their conception.

Bibliographically, the authors relies on studies of the Kazan academics such as Al. Samojlovič or M. Xudjakov, martyrs in the quest of redeeming the Tatar history,

who had contributed to the reclaiming of a front-rank place among the historians focusing on Tatar studies. In this respect, the author remarks also on the tricks used for avoiding Communist censorship in the Soviet area (i.e. Grekov and Jakubovski's introduction of the term *downfall* in the title of their landmark book on the Golden horde by contrast with the term *struggle* when the perspective was flattering one for the Soviet history). For obvious reasons, the book's bibliographical economy, the Polish authors occupy the largest place. From pro-Eurocentric authors such as Kazimierz Pułaski to the communism censored ones. The Polish historiography is indeed the richest in this matter, taking on various and often contrasting attitudes where the Tatars are concerned. The Turkish historians leaning over the Tatar history such as H. İnalcık or H. Kırımlı that are suspected at times of pan-Turkic penchant are also cited. Where the Central-Eastern Europe scholars in this field are concerned, the author mentions repeatedly the Hungarians M. Ivanics and I. Vásáry.

Among the Romanian authors quoted in the bibliography, we can find V. Panaite, Ș. Papacostea and V. Mihordea, with studies that cover the Romanian relations with the Crimean Khanate within the Ottoman expansionist context or the juridical framework of the Ottoman conquered territories. We would have suggested perhaps that the two references acknowledged for the Romanian historiography, M. Maxim and T. Cojocaru could have pointed the author towards other studies perhaps more relevant for a book dealing with the diplomatic relations in Eastern Europe along four centuries¹ and the instruments that settle disputes.

¹ We would suggest here at least three of the basic historiography in regards to the documents exchanged between the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Khanate and the three Romanian principalities: Mustafa A. Mehmed, *Documente turcești privind istoria României (sec.XV–XIX)*, vol. I–III, Editura Academiei, București, 1976–1986; Tahsin Gemil, *Relațiile Țărilor Române cu Poarta otomană în documente turcești (1601–1712)*, Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, București, 1984; Valeriu Veliman, *Relațiile româno-otomane: (1711–1821). Documente turcești*, Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, București, 1984. All these volumes bring forward mainly unedited documents. We also make a particular note of the books and studies of Professor Tasin (Tahsin) Gemil, who focused his research on the history of the relations between the Romanian Principalities, the Ottoman Porte and the Crimean Khanate: *Țările Române în contextual politic internațional (1621–1672)*, Editura Academiei, București, 1979, 221 pp.; *Românii și otomanii în sec.XIV–XVI*, Editura Academiei, București, 1991, 224 pp. (English edition, in 2009); „Două documente tătărești referitoare la campania din 1476 a sultanului Mehmed al II-lea în Moldova”, in *Anuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie A.D. Xenopol – Iași*, vol. V, 1968 pp.173–195; idem, “La Moldavie dans les traites de paix ottomano-polonais du XVIIe siècle”, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, t.XII (1973), nr.4, pp. 687–714; idem, “Un yarlıg al hanului Crimeei Gazi Ghirai-Bora către domnul Moldovei Aron Vodă Tiranul”, in the *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A.D. Xenopol” – Iași* XI, 1974, pp. 245–250; idem, “Considérations sur les rapports politique roumano-ottoman au XVIIe siècle”, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, XV (1976), nr.4, p.653–667; idem, « Quelques observations concernant la conclusion de la paix entre la Moldavie et l'Empire Ottoman (1486) et la délimitation de leur frontière », *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 3/1983, p.225–238; idem, <<Capitulațiile>> Transilvaniei de la jumătatea secolului XVII”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A.D. Xenopol” – Iași*, XIII/2, 1986, pp. 717–721; idem, “Yeni belgeler gore Halil Paşa Yurdu ve İki Saatlık arazi, IX. Türk Tarih

Through this volume, Kołodziejczyk seems resolved to changing this image by exploring what he himself calls “a relatively ‘safe’ and less politicized topic”², namely the diplomatics and chancery. The work is indeed a valuable endeavour for the historiographic world of eastern and central Europe relations in the fifteenth and eighteenth century. In the first part, the author not only presents the history of the Crimean Khanate and the relations with the Polish-Lithuanian Union but also traces the history thread until the modern times, precisely the nineteenth century as an age where the image of the Khanate was promoted distortedly. The utter significance of the Giray state built in the fifteenth century in the shaping of the Crimean Tatar identity is endorsed by the volume and the documents presented come to reinforce this opinion.

(Adina Fodor)

Mihai Maxim, *Brăila 1711. Noi documente otomane*, Istros Publishing House, Brăila, 2011, 121 pages

The tercentenary of the events in 1711, by which Brăila city became known in central –western Europe, and which was the only successful strategy of Russians in anti – Ottoman military campaign that year, resulted in a positive historiographical reaction of County Museum in Brăila: 2 commemorative volumes thematically

Kurumu Kongresi, Ankara, 1988, pp. 1011–1020; idem, « L’Evolution des limites de l’habitat des Tatars Nogai au sud-est de la Moldavie », *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, nr.3–4/1996, p. 149–152; idem, « Crimeea în politica pontică a Portii otomane », *Național și universal în istoria românilor...*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1998, pp. 304–311; idem, *Statutul juridic al Hanatului Crimeei față de Poarta otomană (sec. XV–XVIII)*, Ovidius University Press, Constanța, 27 pp.; idem, „Relații comerciale moldo-tătare în sec. XVIII., *România în Europa medievală. Studii în onoarea prof. Victor Spinei*, Brăila, 2008, pp. 677–685; idem, „Relațiile româno-otomano-tătare și problema Hotarului lui Halil Pașa, *Politică, diplomatie și război. Prof. Gh. Buzatu la 70 ani*, Craiova, 2009, pp. 93–100. etc. And also Mustafa A. Mehmed with his study “La politique ottomane à l’égard de la Moldavie et du Khanat de Crimée vers la fin du règne du sultan Mehmed II « le Conquerant »” in *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, vol. XIII, nr. 3, 1974, pp 509–534. Furthermore, in last ten years, dr. Nagy Pienaru has given a particular attention the problem of Romanian-Tatar relations: Nagy Pienaru, “Relațiile lui Ștefan cel Mare cu Hanatul din Crimeea. O controversă: prima incursiune tătară în Moldova”, in the volume *Istorie și diplomatie în relațiile internaționale. Omagiu istoricului Tahsin Gemil*, Constanța, 2003; idem, Relațiile lui Mircea cel Bătrân cu emiratul pontic Candar-ogulları, in *Revista istorică*, nr.7–8, București, 1996; idem, „Otomanii și Hoarda de Aur. Relațiile lui Murad II cu Ulug Mehmed” in *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, no. XX, 2002; idem, „« Proiectul scitic »”. Relațiile lui Ștefan cel Mare cu Hoarda Mare, in *Revista istorică*, nr. 5–6, București, 2003; idem, „Moldova și Hanatul din Crimeea. 1484–1492”, in *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, XXII, 2004; idem, „Românii și tătarii. Relațiile Țării Românești cu Hoarda de Aur în vremea lui Mircea cel Bătrân”, in O.Cristea and Gh.Lazăr (eds.), *Vocația istoriei. Prinos profesorului Șerban Papacostea*, Muzeul Brăilei, Editura Istros, Brăila, 2008. These studies could have brought added value to the interpretation of the politics that the Crimean Khanate envisaged in the area.

² Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Century)*, Boston, 2011, p. XIX.

complementary, signed by Turkologist Mihai Maxim and medievalist Ionel Căndea, released by Istros Publishing House, the only publishing museum in Romania.

The first volume entitled *Brăila 1711. New Ottoman documents*, Istros Publishing House, Brăila, 2011, 121 pages, is written by Turkologist Mihai Maxim, and is a thematic history of Brăila during the Ottoman period 1538–1711–1718. The book uses unpublished Ottoman documents from the *Ottoman Archives of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Turkey (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, abbreviated: BOA)*, the *Chancellery of the Grand Vezir (Bâb-ı Asâfi Divân-ı Hümayûn Kalemî, abbreviated A.DVN)* and it consists of: *Foreword, Part I, Part II, Conclusions, photocopies of Ottoman documents, illustrations of metal objects and sources from Brăila County Museum.*

In Part I (*Brăila otomană la cumpăna secolelor XVII–XVIII*, pp. 11–64) – (*Ottoman Brăila at the border of 17th–18th centuries*), Professor Mihai Maxim presented thematically the sequences of Ottoman history of Brăila between 16th century and 1711, based on critical interpretation of specific Ottoman documents in the Archives aforementioned (pp. 13–20): *The Kaza of Brăila in the Ottoman military administrative system* (pp. 21–26), *Muhaŋfîzis and nazîrs of Brăila at the end of 17th century and beginning of 18th century* (pp. 27–36), *The Kadis of Ibrail in Constantin Brâncoveanu and Dimitrie Cantemir's era* (pp. 37–50), *The City of Brăila (Kale – yi Ibrâil)* – (pp. 51–58), *Economic – financial and social aspects* (pp. 59–64).

Part II explains the *place and role* of Brăila City in the Prut campaign (1711): *Brăila in the context of Prut campaign* (pp. 67 – 78), *Brăila and the invasion of “Moscow giaours” (Moskov keferesi istilâsı) according to the documents of the Imperial Divan Chancellery (A.DVN)* – (pp. 79–86); *Other implications of the Prut campaign in the Danube area* (pp. 87–97). In *Conclusions*, Turkologist Mihai Maxim said he had developed the first micro–monography of Ottoman Brăila almost exclusively based on original Ottoman archival documents. The book pushed forward the historiographical image of the city on the Danube River in 1700s. The legible *photocopies* of some Ottoman documents used in the paper, potentially usable in practical activities at Ottoman monographs (pp. 101–110) and the *photographs* of artefacts from Brăila Museum complete the structure of Mihai Maxim's new contributions. The book lacks, however, a summary in an international language and the thematic index.

(Dan Prodan)

Ionel Căndea, *Brăila 1711. Documente și studii*, Editura Istros, Brăila, 2011, 252 p. (*Brăila 1711. Documents and studies*, Istros Publishing House, Brăila, 2011, 252 pages)

The second volume entitled *Brăila 1711. Documents and studies*, Istros Publishing House, Brăila, 2011, 252 pages, was written by Professor Ionel Căndea with Radu Ștefănescu's translations of the German texts. The work comprises *two parts*: in the *first*, the author published two manuscripts of *Golovkin Reports* (pp. 2–95) and a booklet with the same content, printed in Berlin in September 1711 and subsequently broadcast in central–western Europe (pp. 96–112) that dealt with politico-military events of Russian/Moldavian–Ottoman war (in 1711), between 30th May / 10th–17th June / 28th July, 1711. The edition is bilingual, with the text in German and its Romanian translation.

The *second* part groups together 10 articles of the author that are organised into four thematic units. In the *first*, *The siege of Brăila in 1711*, I. Căndea discusses *Two contemporary views* about the subject mentioned (pp. 115–122). In the second unit, *The City of Brăila between 16th and 19th centuries*, the author presents thematically the main directions of the evolution of Ottoman city Ibrail: *Was Brăila a city before 1538? (No, only beginning with the Ottoman occupation, concluded I. Căndea!)* – (pp. 123–148); *Aspects of spiritual life in the city of Brăila (1538–1828)* – (pp. 149–166); *The City of Brăila described in the accounts of foreign travellers (18th–19th centuries)* – part I and II (pp. 167–186), *The old plans of the city of Brăila (I. Johann von Vermatti, 1790)* – (pp. 187–204). In the third unit entitled *Metropolitan of Proilavia*, Professor I. Căndea identifies the location of the metropolitan church in Ottoman Brăila between 17th century and 1842/1846 (pp. 205–214) and provides new information about the above mentioned diocese (pp. 215–227). In the fourth unit entitled *Monastery Măxineni*, the historian analyses two documents issued by the Chancellery of Constantin Brâncoveanu in December 1694 and April 1708 respectively (pp. 229–252). The volume does not contain a language summary or thematic index.

These are two very useful books about the *Kale-yi Ibrail* seen from two perspectives and two different archival institutions: the Ottoman perspective of Istanbul, and the Christian Orthodox perspective of Moscow. They are two new and valuable historiographical contributions about the history of an Ottoman *kaza* from the north of the Lower Danube between 16th and 19th centuries. The road is open! The path is drawn! We expect new further efforts and multi-sectoral researches, new contributions to continue in detail the complex nature of Romanian–Ottoman relations in the Middle Ages!

(Dan Prodan)

Dumitru Preda (ed.), Ministerul Afacerilor Externe. Direcția Arhive Diplomatice. Universitatea Europei de Sud-Est Lumina-București, România–Turcia. Relații Diplomatice 1923–1938/ Romania–Turkey. Bilateral Relations 1923–1938, Vol. 1, Cavallioti, Bucharest, 2011, 361 pages + photo

This new volume in the series Bilateral Relations is coordinated by Ambassador Dumitru Preda and is dedicated to the first period of the diplomatic relations between 1923 to 1938 that is of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's presidency. There are a total of 197 documents-telegrams, reports, letters and diplomatic notes-selected from the funds of the Historical Archive of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The researchers used the well known structure and working methodology applied to Bilateral Relations series, published under the aegis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: the documents are introduced in chronological order of their transmission, each piece receives a title and has the obligatory reference details: number given by the author, the date and the place of delivering, the character (secret, confidential, personal, urgent, personal, urgent), the exact archival source of files from which it was selected. Footnotes designated from 1 to n, are designated to provide those explanations that the authors have found necessary to clarify certain events, issues and to present personalities of that time, sometime associated with brief bibliographical information.

A preliminary study on the Romanian-Turkish relations, reviewed in the light of a past, rich in facts and lessons, and looking forward to the twenty-first century priorities, beside a list with heads of the two diplomatic missions during 1923–1938, an index of names and 27 photographs and maps, accordingly complete the volume.

(Adriana Cupcea)

History and civilization

***** *Tatar History and Civilisation*, IRCICA Istanbul, 2010, 695 pages**

Appeared within the collection “Sources and Studies on the History of Islamic Civilization” (no. 21) and under the aegis of the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) in Istanbul, is the result of a project coordinated by Dr. Halit Eren, the general director of IRCICA. The advisors of this project were: the regretted Acad. Mirkasim A. Usmanov, and Acad. Rafael S. Khakimov, the director of “Ş. Merdžani” Institute of History in Kazan, of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. This would explain why the 35 authors of

the studies included in the volume are exclusively from the Republic of Tatarstan. Perhaps also for that reason, the volume focuses on the Volga Tatars, although the Tatars in Crimea, Siberia, etc. are also considered.

Nevertheless, this volume was not conceived as a studies collection but as a coherent work, being structured in three parts and 26 topic distinct chapters, to which the *Preface* is added (pp 13–15), signed by Dr. Halit Eren, a consistent *Introduction* (pp 17–31) written by the renowned ethno-historian Damir Ishaqov, on “The Tatar World: Ethnos, Culture and Language”. Each part of the paper comprises a substantial part with conclusive illustrations. The book has a *Conclusion* written by Acad. Rafael Khakimov (pp 679–682), as well as an *Index* (pp 691–695) and the graphic conditions are excellent.

Part I of the volume, having 10 chapters is dedicated to the *History*. Naturally, it begins with the preislamic period (before the 10th century), then the following three chapters are dedicated to the process of islamization, the formation and development of the Turkish–Tatar states in the 10th–16th century. Three other chapters present the issue of the Slavic colonization in the Tatar space, starting with the 16th century and the consequences of the process on the historical destiny of the Tatars. The subsequent three chapters of this part deal with the attempts and adaptation and renewal actions of the Tatar society in the 18th–19th centuries, mainly for survival and subsequently for emancipation and progress. Under these circumstances, particular interest is shown for the reforming Tatar movement, also known as *djadidism* (renewal). The last three chapters of this part are dedicated to the Tatars of the 20th century, with their specific fundamental problems, such as: political ethnoculturalism and nationalism, Islam and the soviet states, resurrection of the Islam in the post-communist period.

Part II is entitled *Social Structure and Economic Development in Tatar Society* and is divided into six chapters that refer to: the traditional Tatar economy, the structure and social mobility, the daily life of the Tatars, the Tatar Muslim community within the Russian Empire and then the Soviet period, etc.

Part III, dedicated to the *Culture* is formed of 10 chapters that present the cultural and scientific aspects of the Tatar creation, mainly of those in the Volga–Ural region. The first chapters are consecrated to the evolution of the Tatar language and the art of writing, the written sources of the Tatar culture and history, the Tatar literature that has a proven history of more than eight centuries (in 1983, UNESCO celebrated 800 years since the birth of Kul Ali, the founder of the Tatar literature). Other chapters are dedicated to the folklore, education, architecture and urban planning, musical and theatrical arts, the history of printing and the development of Tatar journalism (15,000 book titles in the Tatar language, with a total circulation of 50 million copies until 1917).

The Conclusions are naturally drawn from the pertinent analyses and demonstrations elaborated in each chapter of this fundamental work. Although the distorted image of “destructive barbarians” applied to the Tatars for a long time is still widely spread, it is high time that at least educated people understand that, in fact, the Tatars contributed in a creative manner to the historical evolution of many peoples, mainly the Russians. It is enough to observe in this regard that the Tatars created powerful states based on religious tolerance and administrative structures that were very well-developed. In the 13th–14th centuries, the Tatar urban planning was at an inarguably much higher level than the one in Western Europe (in this interval, the Tatars founded 100 new towns, most of them having transformed into great Russian cities). The financial system (the budget of the Golden Horde mainly consisted of the economic activities and not the regular taxes) and the communication one in the 14th century Tatar state had parameters no other European state could even reach even centuries later. It is worthwhile to remark the words that conclude this sturdy volume: “Djadidist and Turkist ideas are still essential in the Tatar social ideology and will determine the search for the 21st century, to connect Turkism, Islamism and liberalism”.

(Tasin Gemil)

***** *Zolotoordynskaja tzivilizatzija*, vypusk 4, Kazan, 2011, 276 pages**

This issue of the publication of the History Institute “Şehabeddin Merdjani” of the Academy of Science of Tatarstan is dedicated to the memory of the Acad. Mirkasym Abdulakhatovici Usmanov, who – in my opinion – was the best expert in the history of the Tatar state the Golden Horde. The topic of this volume is “The Civilization of the Golden Horde”. The coordinator of this reverential volume is the young and gifted student of the scholar M. Usmanov, Ilnur Mirgaliyev, PhD, who, I believe, will successfully continue the work of his mentor. Otherwise, within the above-mentioned institute there is even a Centre of Research for the Golden Horde, now named “M.A. Usmanov”. This centre periodically organizes the International Forum dedicated to the Golden Horde, a scientific event initiated by the Acad. M. Usmanov. Naturally, the director of Centre of Research for the Golden Horde is I. Mirgaliyev.

The works included in this volume are signed by renowned specialists known not only in the Republic of Tatarstan but also in other countries. The problematic treated varies. For edification, we note only some of the themes approached: extending the Golden Horde suzerainty, starting with 1261 on a significant part of the Balkan states; the factual beginning of the alliance relations between the Mameluke state and the Golden Horde (1261-1263); the formation of the Armenian

commercial communities in the southern and eastern Europe, in direct connection with the evolution of the Golden Horde; identifying the term *tetik* (*tetiy*, *tet*), which would designate the locum tenens of the Tatar ambassador; the placement of the former capital Saray on the ancient settlement of Krasnojar, in the Volga delta; identifying the main hero of the old Tatar poem “İysa ugly Amat” and the reflection of the Golden Horde realities in the Tatar-Bashkir poem “Tulek belen Susylu”, both dating back to the 14th century; the critical analysis of the important Kangnido Korean map in 1402 on the Eurasian space of the Golden Horde; the reassessment of the Ulugbek work on the “The Four Gengiskhanid ulus-es”; the linguistic analysis of the Muslim legislative collection “İrşad al-Muluk wa Salattin” (1387), which includes many elements in the Kîpceak-Tatar language spoken then; studies based on numismatic discoveries, ceramics, and construction materials in the Golden Horde area etc. A common feature to all the studies included in this volume is not only the originality of the theme approached but also the solid scientific basis of the analysis made.

This publication continues to appear, each number approaching a particular aspect in the remarkably rich history, culture and civilization of the Golden Horde.

(Tasin Gemil)

***** *Müasir şərqsünashlığın aktual problemləri* (Current Issues of Modern Orientalism). Papers of the International Scientific Conference in Baku, ANAS Institute of Oriental Studies in the name of Z. Bünyadov, Azerbaijan, June 1–2, 2011, 314 pages**

The anthology of papers, published in Baku in 2011, gathers the works presented during the International Scientific Conference in Baku, Azerbaijan, June 1-2, 2011. The conference was organized by the Azerbaijan Institute of Oriental Studies in the name of Z. Bunyadov of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences (ANAS) and the Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies of Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca.

Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca and the Institute of Turkology were represented to this prestigious conference by a delegation lead by the then Rector of the University, Professor Andrei Marga, Phd; Professor Tasin Gemil, Phd, director of the Institute; Professor Călin Felezeu, Phd, Dean of the Faculty of Psychology and vice-president of the board of the Institute. The volume comprises 314 pages and is structured in five chapters:

- I. *History*. (The section comprises 32 papers.)
- II. *The History of Religion, Philosophy and Collective Mentalities*. (26 papers.)

III. *Economy*. (13 papers.)

IV. *Literature Studies*. (Impressive in its variety: 84 papers.)

V. *Linguistics*. (28 de papers.)

I consider that the number and quality of the papers, presented at conferences and later published, works authored by leading scholars in the field of Oriental studies, are able to give a true image of the value and prestige of the conference organized by the Azerbaijani Academy in partnership with the Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies of Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca.

(Margareta Aslan)

***** *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* (Journal of Studies in Turkology), Institute of Turkish Studies, Selçuk University, Issue: 32, Autumn, (edited by Hasan Bahar), Konya, 2012, 428 pages**

The volume, under the aegis of the Institute of Turkish Studies, Selçuk University, was published last year in Konya, at Selçuk Üniversitesi Publishing House. It comprises 20 papers, treating subjects in literature, linguistics, history of the regions placed under Turkic influence along the centuries. The intercultural retrospective is successfully highlighted by the scientific domains that offer different perspectives on the matters. The studies comprise abstracts in Turkish and English, as well as keywords. The titles are also translated into English. Each study is richly annotated, has a bibliography at its end, some contain scans of archival material or tables. Each and every paper respects clear methodological norms and, because of this, the study is an example of a successful endeavor in the field. The volume comprises 428 pages.

((Margareta Aslan)

Anne Ducloux, Svetlana Gorshenina, Anna Jarry-Omarova (eds.), *Antropologie des Réseaux en Asie Centrale*, collection Etudes Imasie-Pacifique, CNRS Publishing House, Paris, 2012, 308 pages

The present volume gathers the works presented during the 3rd international congress organized in October 2007 by the Asie-IMASIE Network of the French National Scientific Research Centre. Dealing with issues concerning to an extended sense the countries and peoples of Central Asia, i.e. the five republics, plus Mongolia and the Tuva republic, the articles included present the continuously changing post-soviet societies of this region. The book is divided into three large parts based on the anthropological structural analysis: *Part 1. Complete networks*, *Part 2. Personal networks* and *Part 3. Mixed and/or Median networks*. The first section contains

articles that analyse the impact and aftermath of the Soros Foundation whose American financial help was accepted by four of the Central Asian states, the exception being the Republic of Turkmenistan, the gradual dissolution of the elite network composed of the 1991 class of Tashkent history graduates and the creation of the post-'90s Shamanic societies in the Republic of Tuva. The only article dealing with an earlier period than the one of the independent Central Asian states is that of Xavier Halley who presents the input of the tribal relations in the political Kazakh movements in the first part of the 19th century. The part dedicated to personal networks is formed of studies ranging from the sense of belonging to a group upon the preparation of the funeral customs in Samarkand to that of egocentrism involved in the migration of the Uzbeks to Seoul, Moscow or New York or to the network enhancing triggered by the cooking of the *sumalak*. The final part presents the networks that constitute the majority of connections in the Central Asian world: the mixed networks such as those of the Tajik musicians trying to ensure a reputation, or that of the Chinese converted to the Islam and living in the former Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan well organized in national organizations, as well as the evolution of 31 Tatar socio-cultural centres in Kazakhstan who benefit from the endorsement of the Kazakh authorities and serve as intermediaries between President Nazarbayev and the Tatarstan Republic leaders. This work aims at presenting which of these structures played a considerable part in the political thinking, helping each other, and preserving power.

(Adina Fodor)

Tasin Gemil and Nagy Pienaru (eds.), *Moștenirea istorică a tătarilor* (The Historical Heritage of the Tatars), volumes I and II, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010–2012, 250 + 804 pages

Romanian and European historiography was greatly enriched in the past couple of years (in 2010 and 2012) with the publication of several remarkable papers, gathered in two volumes, devoted to the historical heritage of the Tatars in world history.

They were edited under the aegis of the Institute of *Turkology and Central Asian Studies* within the Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, coordinated by two reputed Turcologists: Tasin Gemil and Nagy Pienaru. These two volumes, totalling some 72 studies and articles, concern the history and culture of the Tatar people, this extraordinary element of world history from the Middle Ages and until the dawns of the modern and contemporary ages.

The content of both volumes consists in fruitful researches regarding the sources of the Tatars' history, as well as on religion and ideology, geopolitics and diplomacy

during a time in which globalisation raises questions to so many world actors in relation to the origin, evolution and identity of all the peoples which, older or newer, in Asia or in Europe, had a major contribution to world history.

Although, as Professor Tasin Gemil, the initiator and editor of these researches on Tatars (especially of those living in the historical Romanian area), puts it, “they lost their state exactly at the beginnings of the modern period”, the Tatars’ historical heritage is fabulous and deserves to be better known.

As far as we are concerned, we have to state the special interest for such researches of scholars based in areas closer to Dobrudja, such as Brăila, bridgehead and kaza of the Ottoman Empire from 1538 and until the peace of Adrianople in 1829.

For Brăila and the history of its political, military, economic and cultural relations with the adjoining areas during these centuries, the papers included in these two volumes devoted to the Tatars’ cultural heritage are an extraordinary source of knowledge, an enormous material which adds to the efforts of other fellow historians.

It has to be remarked, for both volumes, the participation at this vast debate, in this dialogue on the topic of the Tatars’ historical heritage of several reputed specialists, both Romanians and foreigners: Tasin Gemil, Virgil Ciocîltan, Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu, Eugen Nicolae, Călin Felezeu, Nagy Pienaru, Stoica Lascu, Veniamin Ciobanu, Albert Burkhanov, E.E. Abibullaeva, Ahmet Türk, Elmira Muratova, Refik Kurtseytov, Giuseppe Cosutto, Halil Çetin, Nuri Kavak, etc.

In the same time, I look with great satisfaction to the contributions of several younger researchers whom Professors Tasin Gemil and Călin Felezeu attracted to the Institute of Turkology and Central Asian Studies from the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca. For instance Gabriel Felician Croitoru published, in the second volume, a paper entitled *Local Turkish-Tatar toponymy in the Vlaşca county*. Such a topic can be continued along the course of the entire Lower Danube, for all Romanian counties, both on the left (most of them) and on the right bank of the river, in Dobrudja.

Scholars at Braila, placed close to Dobrudja and the Budjak, are extremely interested in such researches, which can go (in terms of toponymy) also towards the counties of Râmnicu Sărat and Buzău. Toponyms related to the Tatars are present even nowadays in the area. For instance the commune of *Tătaru*, an important settlement in Brăila county, placed 75 km south west from the county’s capital, was the home of the peasants’ representative for the ad-hoc assembly gathered in 1857, Stroe Ivaşcu, the ancestor of philosopher Nae Ionescu. Having an Ottoman origin as a toponym, the commune of *Viziru* was the home of Dumitrache Lipan, member in the Commission on Property during the 1848 revolution in Wallachia, to mention here only two toponyms from Brăila country, a Tatar one and an Ottoman one.

Undoubtedly, these two volumes are remarkable, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, as the papers of tens of Romanian and foreign scholars contributed immensely and suggested new research directions for unveiling the contributions of the Tatars to world history.

(Ionel Cârdea)

Tasin Gemil, Gabriel Custurea, Delia-Roxana Cornea (eds.), *Moștenirea Culturală Turcă în Dobrogea* (The Turkish Cultural Heritage in Dobrudja), Top Form Publishing House, Bucharest, 2013, 367 pages

Within the vast cultural project Romanian-Turkish Cultural Interferences in Dobrudja, which benefitted of the non-refundable financing of the Administration for the National Cultural Fund which was carried out between May and November 2013, organized by the Museum of National History and Archeology in Constanța in collaboration with the Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies of Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, an international symposium took place on 24 and 25 September 2013. With a generous topic dedicated to the Turkish cultural heritage in Dobrudja, the international symposium reunited almost forty scientific papers elaborated by scientists and cultural personalities in Romania, Turkey, the Republic of Azerbaijan, Albania, Switzerland, Italy, and Turkmenistan. These papers had subjects that considered numerous aspects of the long and complex relations between the Romanians and Turkish. Indiscriminately, all research results presented by the participants in the symposium highlighted in a unison manner the lesson for intercultural survival that Dobrudja has provided along the centuries up to nowadays. The above and the fruitful discussions along the lines of the presentations determined the organizers to advance to the participants the idea of publishing their works in a volume of studies. Consequently, under the coordination of the Professor Tasin Gemil, Gabriel Custurea, PhD, and Delia Roxana Cornea, PhD, the most part of these papers were reunited in a corresponding volume entitled *The Turkish Cultural Heritage in Dobrudja*.

The volume incorporates an ample range of researchers that pivot around the idea of cultural heritage in Dobrudja and what preserving the Dobrudjan Muslim traditions represents. In fact, both the symposium and the volume belong to a series of wide scope scientific actions that were regularly organized in Constanța, Bucharest, and abroad ever since 1994, and even before, mainly to the initiative of Professor Tasin Gemil and, for the past four years, at the initiative and with the organization of the Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies.

We can inarguably state that the scientific research dedicated to the Turkish heritage in Dobrudja and, by extension, in Romania and the Balkans, corroborated

with the true dimensions of the historical links between the Romanians and the Turk-Tatars, have the valences of a pioneering action that deeply imprints this thematic in the preoccupations of the current Romanian historiography.

We consider this volume and all its historical, cultural, religious, moral, political, and economic connotations should set an example that “*depends greatly on the manner in which we administer nowadays Balkan issues*”. In conclusion, we deem the present volume an interesting one for the contemporary historiography and a good example to follow for similar scientific manifestations, both nationally and in Europe.

(Călin Felezeu)

Alexandre Papas, Thomas Welford, Thierry Zarcone (eds.), *Central Asian Pilgrims. Hajj Routes and Pious visits between Central Asia and the Hijaz*, Institut Francais d'Etudes sur l'Asie Centrale, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin, 2012, 331 pages

With contributors ranging from Hamid ALGAR (Professor Emeritus of Persian and Islamic studies at the University of California at Berkeley) to Minoru SAWADA (Professor at Toyama University, Japan, specialised in the early modern history of Central Asia) and Thierry ZARCONÉ (Senior Researcher at the National Scientific Research Centre in Paris with expertise in the 19-20th centuries religions and history of the Ottoman Empire and Central Asia), the 331-page volume is the result of a conference held in Taskent, Uzbekistan in October 2007. This scientific endeavour presents the specific experiences of the Central Asian Muslims on their way to fulfilling their religious duty, with a deeper purpose of sharing the understanding of how 'local' Islam and 'global' Islam came to exist. The book is divided into four distinctly perceived sections. The first one renders the role of the Sufism in the development of the Central Asian Islam and the practice of hajj among Sufis. It contains papers that render the routes taken by the pious, as well as works that balance the seriousness of the topic through symbolic anecdotes and mystical poetry. The second section presents the geographical and historical overviews of the above-mentioned routes and the political factors that influenced the changes in these routes. Furthermore, it tackles the difficulties that Tatar Muslims faced because of the Russian Imperial restrictions in such displays of faith. The third part is dedicated to the 'books of hajj' (*hajjnâma*). The studies included here envisage the variety that can be perceived in the accounts before and after the Russian conquest and also the perspective these books allow on the authors that were part of the Jadidist movement that was dawning. The four and last chapter focuses on the *ziyarat* practice of the Muslim pilgrims, the *keremet* shrines appropriated by the Kazan Muslim Tatars and the *mâzar* shrines of the imams in the region formerly

known as Eastern Turkestan. The ambition of the editors is that all the studies presented in the four parts summarized above „cast a perspective upon the variegated dynamics of cross-cultural interaction at the congregational hubs of the Muslim world”.

(Adina Fodor)

Yu Taishan And Li Jinxiu (eds.), English editor Bruce Doar, *Eurasian Studies*, I, Edited by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, The Institute of History, The Centre for Eurasian Studies, Beijing [Pékin], 2011, 426 pages

Même si la recherche de l’histoire dispose en Chine d’un corps touffu de chercheurs, ayant une production historiographique remarquable par son ampleur, les facteurs de décision du pays n’ont manifesté un intérêt majeur pour que les résultats des investigations scientifiques de leurs compatriotes connaissent une prolifération internationale convenable. Pour des raisons logiques, ni les prospections des sinologues d’autres méridiens du globe n’ont été en mesure d’offrir un contrepoids substantiel en ce sens. Par bonheur, les dernières années on constate un perceptible changement d’optique de la part des officiels chinois, qui sont devenus conscients du fait que l’essor économique et politique mondial de l’État doit être accompagné aussi d’une pénétrabilité culturelle et scientifique de marque. En d’autres mots on a donné l’accord pour un démantèlement fait par soi-même à cette Grande Muraille qui encorsetait l’historiographie nationale tout en obturant les voies de liaison avec le monde scientifique des centres de prestige de la mappemonde.

Dans le flux de ce courant revigorant se situent aussi les démarches liées à la publication en anglais de quelques périodiques et volumes concernant des thèmes afférents à l’histoire ancienne et médiévale de Chine et des régions avoisinantes, de nature à permettre aux spécialistes de l’étranger de comprendre mieux les phénomènes relevant pour le passé de l’Extrême Orient. Parmi ces publications une place de choix revient aussi au volume auquel nous dédions les présentes lignes, consacré aux études eurasiatiques, édité par les soins des professeurs Yu Taishan et Li Jinxiu, qui coordonnent l’activité d’un centre habilité en ce sens dans la capitale de Chine, se trouvant en subordination vis-à-vis de l’Académie Chinoise des Sciences Sociales.

Le volume contient 12 études, toutes traduites en anglais, précédées d’une Allocution de salut de la part de la Fondation pour l’Entente et la Coopération Est-Ouest, adressée par Babis Ziogas, et d’un Mot introductif (*Editorial Foreword*) signé par les deux éditeurs. Le représentant de la Fondation, qui sponsorise *International Journal of Eurasian Studies* en s’assurant la même responsabilité pour le cas d’*Eurasian Studies*, fait mention, à juste titre, que « le commerce, la migration et

les interactions le long des steppes eurasiatiques ont servi comme prélude à la globalisation d'aujourd'hui », constatant, par la même occasion, que les « études eurasiatiques, comme composantes indispensables des études d'histoire universelle, ont acquis un intérêt toujours plus grand de la part des historiens de tout le monde » (p. I). Du Mot introductif dû à Yu Taishan et à Li Jinxiu on va retenir l'expression du regret que les riches sources originales de la Chine ne sont pas utilisées de manière satisfaisante par la communauté académique internationale et que les œuvres des chercheurs de Chine, appartenant à des groupes ethniques variés, sont restées inconnues pour la plupart à cause des barrières linguistiques (p. III). Les éditeurs apprécient que, en dépit des efforts des savants de différents pays de traduire en anglais certains textes, ce qui s'est réalisé jusqu'à présent ne serait « qu'une goutte dans un océan » (p. IV). Sans se faire aucune illusion que la nouvelle publication puisse remplir toutes les lacunes existantes, ils expriment leur espérance que celle-ci va contribuer à une meilleure communication et à un échange d'idées plus dynamique entre les collègues de plusieurs pays.

Les études insérées dans le volume recouvrent une large palette thématique, ayant en vue un espace géographique étendu et un diapason chronologique ample.

Une première étude, due à Wan Xiang, essaie d'établir la chronologie des disputes territoriales en Asie Centrale, déterminées par la migration de l'union tribale des Kidarites, lesquels, les dernières décennies du IV-e siècle de l'ère chrétienne, se sont installés en Tukharestan et en Sogdiane, d'où ils ont entrepris des actions guerrières contre l'Empire persan et ont envahi le nord-ouest de l'Inde. Durant la seconde moitié du siècle suivant, la suprématie des Kidarites en Sogdiane a été ébranlée par l'offensive des Huns Hephtalites, la zone étant très attractive et implicitement disputée puisqu'elle était traversée par la Route de la Soie, la plus importante voie commerciale qui reliait l'Extrême Orient au bassin oriental de la Méditerranée. Etant réceptifs au prosélytisme bouddhiste, des séquences de l'histoire des Kidarites sont enregistrées dans les textes contemporains élaborés par les prêcheurs de cette religion, textes qui sont mis pour la première fois en valeur par Wan Xiang (p. 1-65).

Une prospection docte concernant l'histoire des tribus Yeda, identifiés avec les Hephtalites, est entreprise dans l'étude de Zu Taishan, basée en égale mesure autant sur les sources chinoises, que sur celles gréco-romaines, indiennes et d'autre origine. Les ethnonymes sous lesquels était désignée cette formation tribale dans les textes contemporains portent le sceau de la diversité. Entre autres, on a aussi employé, pour les désigner, l'ethnonyme Xiongnu (Hiong-nou), la fameuse confédération de tribus qui a provoqué des invasions terrifiantes sur la Chine plus d'un demi-millénaire. L'auteur avance l'idée qu'il serait possible que le terme respectif

ait été employé pour leur propre désignation par les Yeda eux-mêmes et par leurs voisins de l'Asie Centrale. De même, il fixe le moment de la traversée des Monts Altaï et de la migration vers l'ouest, en Sogdiane, par Yeda, dans l'intervalle compris entre les années 366 și 376. Significatif pour le mode de vie spécifique des représentants du nomadisme équestre est la citation traduite de *Wei Shu*: „Dans leur pays ils n'ont pas de villes ou d'habitats. La population va là où elle trouve de l'eau et de l'herbe. Ils vivent dans des tentes. Ils migrent l'été dans des contrées froides, et l'hiver dans des contrées chaudes” (p. 66–119). Ce passage comporte des similitudes avec les notes concernant les traits du mode de vie des tribus Xiongnu insérées dans l'un des plus anciens travaux chinois à caractère historique, *Śi ki* (« Ecrits historiques ») (Cf. J.J.M.Groot, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit. Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens übersetzt und erläutert*, I, Berlin–Leipzig, 1921, p. 2–3).

Rong Xinjiang aborde les problèmes liés aux migrations et aux habitats des Sogdiane durant les Dynasties Septentrionales, Sui et Tang, déplacements qui ont suivi, en grand, les trajets central-asiatiques de la Route de la Soie. Outre divers textes narratifs, l'auteur a utilisé aussi des sources archéologiques et épigraphiques. Les déplacements se sont faits de façon prioritaire pour des raisons économiques, impliquant des échanges commerciaux avec les autochtones des territoires traversés (p. 120–141).

L'une des plus intéressantes études du volume, remarquable par la richesse de la documentation et la clairvoyance des conclusions, est celle élaborée par Li Jinxiu, qui s'occupe d'une catégorie militaire distincte, désignée sous le nom de *chengbang*, de la période de la dynastie Tang (618–907). Comme on le sait, la centralisation et la suppression des tendances centrifuges à l'intérieur au cours des VII–IX-e siècles a permis à l'Empire chinois d'acquérir une appréciable vigueur économique et politique et de s'engager dans une ample expansion vers les régions central-asiatiques. Par cela les empereurs Tang ont augmenté considérablement leurs revenus au compte de l'imposition des centres urbains disséminés le long de la Route de la Soie et, simultanément, ont stoppé les raids de pillage des tribus nomades du nord, qui ont été obligées d'accepter l'hégémonie chinoise. Dans la plupart des traités rédigés durant les dernières décennies, prospectant l'histoire médiévale de la Chine, on ne dévoile pas explicitement la clé des réussites guerrières durables de l'Empire Tang dans les territoires septentrionaux par rapport à la Grande Muraille. Cette carence est suppléée de façon convaincante par l'étude de Li Jinxiu. Selon ses conclusions, après la soumission de certaines communautés qui nomadisaient au-delà des frontières septentrionales de l'Empire, celles-ci furent obligées de s'intégrer dans leur système militaire – avec le nom de *chengbang* –, ce qui a

supposé l'octroi de territoires, particulièrement dans les contrées de frontière de l'État. Parmi ces groupes nomades faisaient partie les tribus Tuyuhun, Toquz Oghuz et d'autres ethnies de race turque. A l'intérieur des *chengbang* se différenciaient plusieurs catégories de nomades, ayant des droits et des obligations différentes, matérialisés par la remise périodique d'un tribut modique, consistant en argent ou en moutons, auquel s'ajoutaient fréquemment diverses prestations militaires. A la sollicitation de la Cour impériale, les membres de *chengbang* devaient mettre à sa disposition un certain nombre de soldats dotés de chevaux et d'équipement propre de lutte, alors que, seulement dans des circonstances alléatoires, les autorités chinoises s'assumaient le devoir de leur faciliter le ravitaillement tout au long des expéditions guerrières. Même dans cette situation, l'entretien des effectifs équestres de *chengbang* coûtait à l'État beaucoup moins que s'il avait eu recours à des enrôlements parmi les autochtones. D'autre part, *chengbang* étaient des lutteurs de beaucoup plus versés que les Chinois, étant extrêmement efficaces dans les confrontations avec les autres nomades des steppes central-asiatiques. Dans un écrit chinois contemporain – *Jimen Jiluan* – ils étaient appréciés comme „courageux, rapides et excellents archers et cavaliers”. Le comportement de ceux-ci avec les adversaires vaincus était impitoyable, parfois même leurs familles aussi étant massacrées avec cruauté. Pendant la période moyenne d'hégémonie de la dynastie Tang, *chengbang* ont constitué des troupes d'élite et sa principale force de choc. Toutes ces dates exposées par Li Jinxiu offrent une explication essentielle pour l'efficacité de la politique expansive de l'Empire chinois dans les régions de l'Asie Centrale (p. 142–197).

Des témoignages consignés dans une chronique chinoise difficilement accessible, comme *Zizhi Tongjian*, cités par la réputée orientaliste de Beijing [Pékin], j'ai retenu la déposition de Tonyuquq, le représentant d'une tribu turque, comme étant extrêmement suggestive pour les pratiques des nomades d'Asie et la conscientisation pragmatique de leurs atouts stratégiques dans les conditions des confrontations prévisibles avec les forces d'un État à larges disponibilités militaires: « Les Turcs ont une population réduite, à moins d'un pourcent par rapport à celle de l'Empire Tang. L'explication pour laquelle ceux-ci peuvent rivaliser avec les armées Tang consiste dans leur style de vie nomade à la recherche d'eau et de pâturages, qui nécessite le changement constant des habitats, et, ce qui plus est, ils s'entraînent au maniement de l'arc et à la chasse, de sorte que chaque membre de la tribu est un soldat. Quand nous sommes forts, nous pouvons attaquer et faire des incursions, mais quand nous sommes faibles, nous nous réfugions dans les forêts et dans les montagnes. Même si l'Empire Tang dispose de nombreux soldats, ils ne sont pas à même de nous enfreindre. Si nous construisons une ville pour l'habiter et si nous

allons changer les coutumes de nos ancêtres, nous serons anéantis et nous allons perdre notre supériorité militaire » (p. 170).

Les autres études incluses dans *Eurasian Studies* présentent, en égale mesure, pas mal d'intérêt, mettant en évidence le professionnalisme de leurs auteurs. Elles se réfèrent à l'apport de l'union tribale Mohe à la genèse de l'État Bohai (Zang Jun) (p. 198–223), aux rapports de la population de Turpan avec la dynastie Ming (Chen Gaohua) (p. 224–243), la réalisation de l'unification de la tribu Dörben Oyirad (Khoshut Tsengel) (p. 244–265), la littérature bouddhiste chinoise au cadre du royaume Tangut et de la dynastie Yuan et les traductions des textes rituels tibétains (Shen Weirong) (p. 266–299), les relations et les démarcations des frontières entre le Tibet et Ladakh au XIX^e siècle (Zhou Weizhou) (p. 300–327), le zoroastrisme persan et la vénération de la déité Xian en vieille Chine (Lin Wushu et Wang Yuanyuan) (p. 328–354), les rapports entre la croyance maïtreyenne et le manichéisme (Rui Chuanming) (p. 355–392), le manichéisme « Douze Dominions » et « Trois Jours de Lumière » (Ma Xiaohe) (p. 393–426).

Le volume bénéficie aussi d'un aspect graphique attractif, assuré par The Commercial Press de Beijing. Nous pourrions reprocher aux auteurs qu'ils n'ont pas disposé la Table des matières, comme il est d'usage, au début du volume, mais, par contre, après les illustrations, le Allocution de salut et le Mot introductif. Nous considérons qu'il aurait été utile qu'au moins une partie des études ait été accompagnée de cartes, pour pouvoir suivre de manière plus efficiente le déroulement de certains événements.

Il est sans aucun doute que le premier numéro d'*Eurasian Studies* constitue une réalisation remarquable, de nature à mettre en évidence des séquences moins connues de l'univers du monde des steppes dans le voisinage de la Chine, les contacts politiques, culturels et confessionnels des nomades avec la civilisation chinoise, de même que les influences biunivoques déroulées le long des siècles. En même temps les études du volume font la preuve d'un potentiel scientifique remarquable de leurs auteurs, à la suite desquels pourrons tirer profit non seulement les sinologues, mais aussi les spécialistes ayant d'autres préoccupations prioritaires.

Eurasian Studies ne représente pas la seule démarche récemment démarrée par les institutions scientifiques chinoises dans le domaine de l'histoire des populations de steppe. Concomitamment avec cette publication, toujours dans la capitale de la Chine, a paru en 2011 le premier numéro du périodique *International Journal of Eurasian Studies*, ayant comme rédacteurs responsables toujours Yu Taishan et Li Jinxiu et réunissant pas mal de collaborateurs de plusieurs méridiens. A partir de 1999, l'Académie Chinoise de Sciences Sociales avait édité en chinois *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, lequel, bien sûr, n'eut pas un impact trop grand dans le monde

académique international. En revanche, il est à espérer qu'autant *International Journal of Eurasian Studies*, que *Eurasian Studies* aussi, jouisse d'une audience de beaucoup plus large.

(Victor Spinei)

(Traduit par Michaela Spinei)

Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, Oxford University Press, 2010, ISBN 978-0-19-537782-8, p. XX + 281, 4 maps, 21 pictures

Because the Age of Exploration has been considered, in conventional scholarship, to be an exclusively European undertaking, one element of its history that has yet to be deeply studied is the role played by the Ottoman Empire. In *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, the American historian Giancarlo Casale, after years of research in the archives of various states (but especially Turkey and Portugal) provides a precise account of the attempts (both successful and unsuccessful) of the Ottomans and their clients to establish dominion across the full breadth of the Indian Ocean during the 16th century.

The setting for these maritime operations lies completely outside the Mediterranean, and the strategies adopted by the Ottomans are, from time to time, undermined by unpredictable events or thwarted by insurmountable obstacles. Inevitably, as the Ottomans attempted to build a chain of new alliances in the Indian Ocean and to legitimize their rule through Islam, they faced resistance from the far-flung Muslim rulers of the region, who were both divided amongst themselves and contemptuous of the prestige obtained by Ottomans through their conquests in the Mediterranean basin, in Europe, in North Africa and in the Arab lands. These problems were only exacerbated by the practical difficulties of building, supplying and maintaining a naval force in the Indian Ocean capable of confronting the Ottomans various opponents. Of these, the most formidable challenge was presented by the Portuguese, who were already well-consolidated in Indian Ocean even before the arrival of the Ottomans.

Casale begins his narrative with the Ottoman military campaigns of Sultan Selim I against Mamluk Egypt during the second decade of the 16th century. According to Casale, Selim's conquest of the Mamluk Sultanate in 1517 was one of the most important Ottoman military achievements of the XVI century. In addition to adding rich and populous new territories to the empire, it gave the Ottomans access to Red Sea for the very first time. It was only from this moment that the Ottomans began to see the Indian Ocean, an area of the world about which they were extremely unfamiliar until that time, as a target of political ambitions and a potentially lucrative source of economic gain. Casale emphasizes that this Ottoman

interest in the region was therefore largely contemporary with the beginning of the remarkable Portuguese naval adventure in Maritime Asia.

In fact, Casale argues that knowledge about the Indian Ocean acquired centuries before by Arab geographers was almost totally unknown to the Ottomans when they first arrived in the region (pp. 15 and ss.) and, surprisingly, the Ottomans tried to fill this gap in their knowledge by taking information from Western European maps and documents rather than Arab authorities (pp. 8-22). Among other things, this proves the very high degree of Ottoman intercultural connection with Western Europe during this period.

In addition to these intelligence-gathering efforts, other steps taken by the Ottomans following the conquest of Egypt include a reorganization of the region's maritime defenses, combined with a revamping of the tax administration governing the trade in spices between maritime Asia and the Mediterranean. Inevitably, this soon brought them into direct economic, political and military competition with the Portuguese, a conflict that developed into a perennial and fierce struggle ranging over the entire Indian Ocean region.

In the course of this struggle, the Ottomans were able to draw support from a very influential international "Ottoman lobby". This lobby was composed of residents in various lands throughout the Indian Ocean with ties to Constantinople, including highly placed merchants, vizirs, and governors of entire regions. All of these individuals shared the stated goal of protecting Egypt and the Holy Cities of Islam from Infidel (i.e. Portuguese) attacks. But such goals were also in total agreement with their desire to protect and expand profits from international scale trade, since the Indian Ocean's pilgrimage routes to Egypt and the Holy Cities were also its most important trade routes to the Ottoman Empire.

On the other hand, the Ottomans also faced not inconsiderable obstacles. One was the Indian Ocean itself, a sea very different from the Mediterranean, whose difficult navigation was compounded by logistical hardships, ranging from the lack of raw materials to the unsuitability of their fleet. Similarly, not all the Muslim rulers, grand or petty, of the islands and coasts of the Indian Ocean welcomed the Ottoman rise to power, and the Gazi Empire thus found itself engaged in conflicts with fellow Muslims almost as often as with the Portuguese. The Moghul Emperor Akbar, for example, was generally hostile to the Ottomans while maintaining very friendly relations with the Portuguese. And before their conquest by Akbar, the Sultanate of Gujarat and the petty rulers of India's Deccan plateau assumed, *grossomodo*, a similar political stance.

However, the Ottomans certainly had some important allies, too. Amongst them, the most representative and remarkable was the remote Aceh Sultanate, a rich and prosperous center of trade, a great naval power, and a center of anti-Portuguese

(and later anti-Dutch) military activity. Their cooperation was critical to the Ottomans' ability to operate ships, to gather information and to control trade routes from one end of the Indian Ocean to the other.

Published after long years of research in the archives and libraries of various parts of the world, with a solid bibliographical and documentary basis, Casale's monograph is enlivened by continuous dialogue, sometimes contextual, with other scholars. It sheds light upon a largely unknown chapter of Ottoman history, and brings its larger geopolitical narrative to life through the colorful life stories of individual Ottoman sailors, spies, and statesmen. In all, it is a well documented, pioneering work that takes us very far from the traditional Eurocentrism of most existing scholarship, raises new questions, and points the way to future studies that will hopefully explore other aspects of a historical subject that can no longer be ignored.

(Giuseppe Cossuto)

Călin Felezeu, *Imaginea otomanului și a civilizației otomane în cultura românească* (The Image of the Ottoman and of the Ottoman Civilization in Romanian Culture), Bybliotek Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 164 pages

The book was released in 2012, under the auspices of The Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies of Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. Since Professor Felezeu, dean of the Faculty of Psychology of the university, already has an extensive scholarship as an Orientalist, especially as concerns Ottoman and Islam studies; his work is of a special interest. The project of the book was given shape when the Professor was deputy-director of the Romanian Cultural Institute in Istanbul, in 2005, but the idea in its incipience was born much earlier. Although for quite a while Romanian research in the field experiences a multitude of studies concerning the images of Turkish-Tatar alterity, studies more or less satisfactorily constructed given lacuna methodology and superficial knowledge of the chronicle sources relevant to the Turkish-Tatar world and civilization; the structure of the work and the way the subject is presented by Professor Felezeu is a complex one, interdisciplinary, respecting methodological concerns, showing a vast knowledge of the manuscript sources and validating the experience of living for many years in the Turkish world itself. The work is well structured and fully complies with the methodology of scientific approach to a very special theme with a deep significance for the history of Romania.

The book was edited by Bybliotek Publishing House and has nine chapters, Turkish alterity being treated in a chronological manner, from the Middle Ages (when the first mentions occur) to the more recent times, the analysis going beyond

the Romantic period. The summary and main themes the chapters show focus upon are as follows:

- I. Introduction
- II. Under the sign of the late crusades
- III. Pro Republica Christiana
- IV. The specter of the Ottoman dominion
- V. The fight for independence
- VI. The policy of equilibrium
- VII. Swept by the Oriental Problem
- VIII. Between Fanar and the Movement for National Emancipation. A model to analyze the age of the Ottoman Empire in written Romanian Culture
- IX. Romanians and Ottomans during the Romantic period

The work begins with a two-page Foreword, wherein the author of the foreword, Professor Tasin Gemil, remarks on the comprehensive study of the alterity image: "Not many are the scholars who dared take on the image of the Turk, Ottoman or Muslim in the old Romanian historiography. The matter is difficult and requires laborious interdisciplinary studies. On the other hand, the subject of the image of the 'Other' is a relatively new one in Romania, while the Islam alterity has been little studied." One of the first scholars who initiated this alterity model is renowned Orientalist Professor Mihai Berza, who conceived the investigative model on the image of the Turkish-Ottoman and Turkish in Romanian chronicles of the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries.

Chapter I – *Introduction* follows, where it is presented the Romanian historical research centered mainly on the bilateral relations between the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire, highlighting the importance of the Romanian element within the anti-Ottoman effort. The chapter has six pages.

Chapter II – *Under the sign of the late crusades*, starts by the summary presentation of the passing of the Ottomans from Anatolia to the south-eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, at the time part of the Byzantine Empire, and delves upon such subjects as the progress of the Ottoman conquest, the gradual evolution, rivalries and the political, social and economic chaos in the Byzantine Empire, the settlement of the Turks and their advancement. The reactions of the local population of the three Romanian principalities, reflected in the chronicle material (centred on the Kossovo Polje battle, 1389, the conquest of Constantinople, May 29, 1453, as well as the subsequent political events) were attentively presented and interpreted. The chapter has ten pages.

Chapter III – *Pro Republica Christiana*, reports on the chronicles' perception of a period when the Romanian principalities, reigned by energetic leaders

(‘voievods’) such as Stephen the Great in Moldavia, were afterwards viewed upon as “Gates of the Christianity” of “Defense Wall for Hungary and Poland” against the Ottoman attacks. The author mentions that manuscript chronicles were till 1456 structured as mere listings of information – simple chronological lists, erratic and defective, but, starting with Stephen the Great, information tends to get amplified and more consistent. The Ottoman specialist Professor Felezeu notes the fact that “chronicle material in the fifteenth century registers the reaction of the Romanian collective mental to the impact with the Ottoman problem, a less significant impact than the catastrophic choc in the European culture after the Fall of Constantinople, partly due to the cultural effects of Stephen the Great policy making.”

In Chapter IV – *The specter of the Ottoman dominion*, perceptions alter, in direct relation with the increase and expansion of Suleiman the Magnificent’ power in Central Europe. The juxtaposition of the two mega-powers of the world, the Ottoman Empire, representing the Muslim world, and the Habsburg Empire, representing the Christian world, had the huge impact of dividing the European political system in two factions, each of them, having in mind own interests, opting for alliances with one of the two empires. “The magnificence of the Ottoman colossus”, says the author, “induces fear and profound concern” to its contemporaries, concern for the fate of the states around the Hungarian kingdom. Romanian historiography in this century registers the Ottoman shock and vividly experiences the Turkish threat.”

Chapter V – *The fight for independence*, is chronologically set in the second half of the seventeenth century, heavily marked by the increasing interference of the Ottoman sultans in the internal affairs of the Romanian states. Perceptions of alterity will evolve around this theme, one remarkable chronicle detailing the reign of Michael the Brave, who had aligned himself to the alliance with the Holy League. The historiographer sadly notes the deplorable state the country had been brought to by the Turks. The feeling of opposition, the refusal of quite an objective vision, states Felezeu, is a mark of the fight for independence, so stoutheartedly fought by Michael the Brave. In such an atmosphere it was only normal that that image of the Turk, of the Ottoman was one of an “implacable, plundering barbarian”. Further than that a major alteration of these conceptions would occur, starting with the moment when the Ottoman Empire became the overlords of these regions.

Chapters VI to IX – *The policy of equilibrium, Swept by the Oriental Problem and Between Fanar, the Movement for National Emancipation. A model to analyze the age of the Ottoman Empire in written Romanian Culture and Romanians and Ottomans during the Romantic period* – are also extremely interesting and well conceived. The author’s initiative of elaborating the chapter *The policy of equilibrium* is really praiseworthy; it is a chapter centered on the theme mentioned

above, extremely interesting, the contribution that brings to historical sciences through the 25 pages is welcome.

In Chapter VII, *Swept by the Oriental Problem*, the author analyzes the local chronicles shaped around the Ottoman campaign over Vienna and the Ottoman setback in the campaign, moment that stopped the expansion to Central Europe. “The Romanian chronicles notify the decline, but in parallel with this, the author points out, an increase on the taxes and on the dependence on the Porte will graft deep the Romanian mentality.”

In Chapter VIII, *Between Fanar and the Movement for National Emancipation. A model to analyze the age of the Ottoman Empire in Written Romanian Culture*, it is exposed evolution of the Romanian historiography of this period, by the two directions of evolution that were chosen. The first continues the traditional writing pattern of the previous centuries, the second is a new vision, specific for the ideas emanating in the Enlightenment.

Regarding the last chapter, *Romanians and Ottomans during the Romantic period*, which gives a wide space to the Romantic historiography, which aims to restore the national history after “Cantemir’s plan and concept”, completed by the European historiography.

The book has a section for *Final considerations*, with the author noting that “the image of the ‘other’, the Turk, symbolically represented by the very real Ottoman Empire, crossed centuries, gradually enriching itself, relating to the amplification of historical information, modeled by a series of parameters and faithfully reflecting changes in the collective mindset or the cultural, religious and political options across generations”. The Final considerations, rendered in 8 pages and a half, represent a focused revision of the arguments exposed in the volume having the merit of completing an fulfilling the author’s research effort.

The Bibliography, pages 147–154, selects works by renowned historians around the world. The paper is based on a very consistent literature, based on works of great scientific value, ordered in four categories and arranged alphabetically. The first part, *Original Sources*, contains 47 titles of some chronicles representative for the Romanian space and of some remarkable editions signed by authors like Gheorghe Sincai, Samuil Micu, Nicolae Iorga. The second part, *Edit Sources*, enumerates the titles of five manuscripts to which the author resorted to write his work. The third part focuses on *General Studies*, and totals 24 titles and the last part, *Special Studies*, 11 titles. The book has contained 164 pages.

(Margareta Aslan)

Tasin Gemil, *Romanians and Ottomans in the XIVth–XVIth Centuries*, translated by Remus Bejan and Paul Sanders, Encyclopaedia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, 357 pages

Tasin Gemil's book is the English version of his 231-page work *Românii și otomanii în secolele XIV–XVI* (*Romanians and Ottomans from 14th to 16th centuries*) which was published by the Romanian Academy Publishing House, in Bucharest 1991 under the authority of "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History of the Romanian Academy and which received two awards from the Romanian Academy and the "History Magazine" Cultural Foundation of Bucharest in the same year. The English version, augmented and updated to 2009, appeared under double authority: that of the Romanian Academy, "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History from Bucharest and of "Babeș-Bolyai" University of Cluj, the Institute of Turkology and Central Asian Studies respectively, whose director has been Mr. Tasin (Tahsin) Gemil since 2009.

The contribution of the Romanian Turkologist is structured as follows: Preface (pp. 9–12), Introduction (pp. 13–21), 3 chapters (chapter I: The Legal Framework of the Romanian Principalities' Relations with the Ottoman Porte in the XIVth–XVIth Centuries, pp. 23–66; chapter II: The Political Relations between the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Porte in the XIVth–XVIth Centuries, pp. 67–261; chapter III: Romanian-Ottoman Economic Relations in the XIVth–XVIth Centuries (pp. 263–305), Bibliography (pp. 307–35), Index (pp. 337–357). It is therefore a thorough approach to the Romanian-Ottoman relations on juridical, political, military, financial, economical levels.

In the *Preface* (pp. 9–10) the author presented "*the history*" of the book. In 1984–1985, having a doctorate in Turkology and being the lead research scientist at "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History from Bucharest, Mr. Tasin Gemil began writing the monography of the Romanian-Ottoman complex relations from 14th century to 1878, when Europe recognized Romania's independence. The monography was structured in five volumes and feasible to be finished in 15–20 years. Being finished in August 1988, the first volume of the monography is the book published in 1991 itself, with its version in English which was augmented and updated to 2009. Since 1990, the historian's preoccupations with other extra scientific activities such as politics, diplomacy etc., has prevented him from publishing the other volumes. Still, Mr. Tasin Gemil has never abandoned this generous and ambitious scientific historical project. The proof is this English version of his book! It is thus possible for the Romanian Turkologist to offer historiography the next volumes of the Romanian-Ottoman monography in the forthcoming years.

In the *Introduction* (pp. 13–21), the author explained the complex and multi sectoral character of the Romanian–Ottoman relations of 14th–16th centuries, the

chronological limits of his work, the meanings of the terms “*Ottoman / Osmanlı*” and “*Türk(ish) / Türk*” at political, ethnical, ideological, documentary levels.

Chapter I (*The Legal Framework of the Romanian Principalities' Relations with the Ottoman Porte in the XIVth–XVIth Centuries*, pp. 23–66) contains three subchapters. In the first one (“The Holy War” and “The House of Peace”, pp. 23–30) the author analysed the Islamic juridical concepts: “The Holy War”(dijihad, cihad), “The House of Islām” (Dar ül-Islām), “The House of Peace” (Dar ül -‘ahd / Dar as-sulh), “The House of War” (Dar ül -harb), ‘ahdnāme (letter of pledge / peace), djiyia / ciziye (capitatio), haradj / harāc (harach). He underlined the differences between the juridical theory and practice within the Romanian–Ottoman relations of 14th–16th centuries. The complex Ottoman influence on the Romanian feudal states evolved “From ‘the ransom’ for peace to the protective suzerainty of the Porte” (subchapter I. 2. From “Ransom for Peace” to Suzerainty, pp. 30–49). Advancing with his historiography, Mr. Tasin Gemil studied the manifestations of restrictive and effective Ottoman suzerainty of the Romanian feudal states north of the Danube from Bayezid I to Süleymān I: stages, characteristics, juridical documents, consequences. The Romanian medieval states (Walachia, Moldavia, Transylvania) were never conquered by the Ottomans or transformed into Ottoman provinces. The author’s conclusion is unquestionable: “Indeed, while other more ambitious states, such as Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, Crimea, Poland etc., disappeared from the political map of Europe for long periods of time, the Romanian Countries endured as lasting and active political entities” (p. 65).

In chapter II (*The Political Relations between the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Porte in the XIVth–XVIth Centuries*, pp. 67–261) the Romanian Turkologist rendered in details the evolution of political, military, and juridical relations between the Romanian feudal states and the Ottoman Empire from 14th to 16th centuries. After outlining the internal and external circumstances, the subjective and objective conditions for the formation of the Ottoman state as a bicontinental, areal, and Anatolian-Balkan power, (subchapter II. 1. *A New Power Rises*, pp. 69–78), Tasin Gemil made an analysis of the first Walachian-Ottoman contacts from 1369 to 1386 (subchapter II. 2. *Early Romanian-Ottoman Contacts*, pp. 79–95). The first violent military confrontations between Walachia and the Ottomans took place during the rule of Mircea the Old (1386–1418) and of Bayezid I the Thunderbolt (1389–1402). The author proposed his own chronology of the Walachian-Ottoman events during Bayezid I the Thunderbolt which had the following coordinates: 1392: Mircea’s military expedition to the Balkan Peninsula, and the destruction of *akıncı* base at Karınovası; 1392 (the second half of the year) – 1393: the bilateral Walachian-Ottoman truce; August–October 1395: the expedition of Bayezid I to

Walachia, the battle / battles from Rovine in Argeş; the autumn of 1395: with the help of the Ottomans, Vlad I became the ruler of Walachia; 1397: Mircea's return to the throne; 1397–1402: military conflicts between Walachia and the Ottomans along the lower Danube, and the solidification of Mircea's position in the area. This personal point of view has not been invalidated by the sources and historical interpretations of the end of century, remaining in Turkologists' attention (subchapter II. 3. *Mircea the Old and Bayezid the Thunderbolt*, pp. 96–119).

In 1402–1418, the following period of Walachia–Ottoman relations was characterised by Mircea the Old's promotion of the interests of Walachia by his interfering into Ottomans' internal fights for the throne of Edirne, and by offering his support to the sons of the late Bayezid I, who agreed to have a peaceful attitude towards Walachia (Musa Çelebi, Mustafa Çelebi). After annihilating the reformer *şeyh* Bedreddin Mahmūd and his rival brothers, in 1417 the sultan Mehmed I organised and supervised a military expedition to Dobrudja which he conquered and thus he denied Walachia the access to the Black Sea. In this context, a truce was agreed upon between the two rulers, with or without a *written form* (subchapter II. 4. *Wallahia during the Interregnum and the Restoration*, pp. 120–140). During the next three decades, new aspects of the Romanian–Ottoman relations came to the surface: 1420: the conquest of northern Dobrudja, and the first attack of southern Moldavia; 1420: Walachia began to accept the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire; 1422–1431: the military response with Hungarian help against the Ottomans led by Dan II; 1431: the ruler Alexandru Aldea made a faith pledge to Murad II at Edirne; 1441–1456: the anti-Ottoman battle led by Iancu of Hunedoara along the lower and middle Danube, and the participation of Walachian rulers to the battle (subchapter II. 5. *The Romanian Principalities and the Regeneration of the Ottoman Force*, pp. 141–170).

Mehmed II (1451–1481, the second reign) was the restorer of his predecessors' legacy and the real founder of the Ottoman Empire through taking the Byzantine symbols and legacy. The Romanian–Ottoman relations during his second reign were characterized by new bilateral issues analysed by the author by taking into consideration both the national and international situation: 1456: Moldavia became tributary to the Ottomans; 1459–1480: Ottoman campaigns against Vlad the Impaler, Stephan the Great, and Transylvania, some of which being authorized by the sultan; 1462: Radu the Handsome became the ruler of Walachia by constraint and early Ottoman rule in the north of the Lower Danube („*In 1462 Wallachia effectively entered the orbit of ottoman power and (...) ceased to be the active factor in the anti-ottoman coalition*”, pp. 199–200); the closure of a peace treaty between Mehmed II and Stephen the Great in 1479–1481 (p. 207). During the next two Ottoman

sultans, Bayezid II (1481–1512) and Selim I (1512–1520), the Ottoman rule became effective in Walachia because of the content change of the politico-juridical background established in 1462 when a new phase of Walachian–Ottoman relations began. The value of the tribute given by Walachia became a barometer of these relations. As far as Moldavia was concerned, after the occupation of Chilia and Cetatea Albă by the Ottomans (1484), and after Stephen's failures in retrieving them, the ruler of Suceava made peace with the sultan in *April 1486* (according to the hypothesis of Mr. Tasin Gemil, p. 211), and thus the border between Moldavia and the Ottoman Empire was established in the south east of Moldavia. Also, the Moldavian tribute increased in the coming decades (subchapter II. 6. *Romanians faced with a new empire*, pp. 170–226).

Promoting an aggressive Ottoman policy of world domination in the three continents: Europe, Asia (West), Africa (North), Kānūni Sultan Süleymān (1520–1566) turned the Ottoman Empire into the most important power factor in the Middle East, and in central, Southern and Eastern Europe. This objective reality made a strong impression on Romanian–Ottoman relations. Moldavia had experienced a more relaxed regime until 1538 because the status of Walachia, being established since 1462, remained broadly the same, only the tribute and other obligations increased until about 1540. After the expedition against Petru Rareș, the Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent transformed the south-east of Moldavia (*Bucak*) into an Ottoman province, enthroned a new ruler Ștefan Lăcustă, and increased the tribute of the country.

The author came to a conclusion: „All these developments, essential for a realistic assessment of Moldavia's international political status, entitle us to say that 1538 marked the effective establishment of Ottoman domination in Moldavia, in a form and a scale that was almost identical (but in a different political context) to the regime the Porte had already installed in Wallachia” (p. 258). Subsequently, by 1538–1541 it was organised *kazā – yi Ibrāil* (Brăila) to have a faster and more efficient control of Walachia, Moldavia, and the Lower Danube. After the conquest of southern and central Hungary and forming the *pașalık* of Buda in 1541, Transylvania was organised as an autonomous principality under the suzerainty and protection of the Ottomans. „Therefore, the years 1538–1541 are not only dates of reference in the evolution of Romanian–Ottoman relations, they take on a wider significance from the perspective of national history” (p. 261), stated the Romanian Turkologist. The author came to a conclusion regarding the consequences of anti-Ottoman battles led by Ioan-Vodă (John the Terrible) of Moldavia (1572–1574): „We believe that the reign of John the Terrible was the beginning of a new stage in the evolution of Ottoman domination in Moldavia and Wallachia, which extended

the previously established limits of Ottoman suzerainty over the Romanian countries, and eventually made Romanians rise up against the Ottomans, under the leadership of Michael the Brave” (p. 258) – (subchapter II. 7. The Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Policy of World Domination, pp. 227–261).

Romanian-Ottoman economic relations were the result and completion of political, military, and juridical relations of 14th–16th centuries (chapter III: *Romanian-Ottoman Economic Relations in the XIVth–XVIth Centuries*, pp. 263–305). The author analysed the role of roads (routes) and trade in Central and Eastern Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea between 13th and 16th centuries, stating that Romanian–Ottoman trade relations were similar to the general context of the continental ones (subchapter III. 1. *Routes and Trade*, pp. 267–291). The tribute (*harāç*) and the gift (*pişkeş*) constituted the border between juridical-political and economical aspects of Romanian–Ottoman relations in 14th–16th centuries (subchapter III. 2. *Harach and Peshkesh*, pp. 291–303). „*The harach and peshkeshes were material expressions of Romanian-Ottoman political relations, at least for the period under study in this book [XIVth–XVIth centuries]. These relations developed within the symbolic framework of feudal vassalage, as the relatively modest growth of the Romanian countries’ obligations to the Porte shows, as contrasted with their massive increase in the latter half of the XVIth century*”, stated the author (p. 291). Mr. Tasin Gemil analysed and presented the evolution of *Walachia*’s tribute value (from 3,000 ducats paid by Mircea the Old, probably in 1417, to 20,000 ducats in 1540–1541, 50,000 ducats in 1545–1546, 100,000 ducats in 1567–1568, 104,000 ducats in 1574–1575 which was the highest value) – (pp. 292–299). *Moldavia*’s tribute increased from 2,000 ducats in 1456 to 30,000 in 1541–1542 (pp. 299–301).

„The peshkesh (**pişkeş**) – or gift (**hediye**) – was the equivalent to the feudal gift, and was offered as a sign of courtesy and respect, or homage and loyalty across the medieval world. (...) As a matter of fact, the gift had been offered before the harach was paid to „ransom peace”, because „the gift” held special significance in ancient Turkish culture. (...) Until the mid 16th century, the peshkeshes which Romanian rulers sent the Porte had rather been symbolical, an expression of their feudal-vassal homage and loyalty. They began to acquire intrinsic material value from the 1530s. The original content of peshkeshes substantially altered, such that their value increased rapidly, soon overtaking that the harach. Peshkeshes had previously been voluntary and occasional; from the mid 16th century they became a norm, and were officially documented. (...) In time, these peshkeshes turned into veritable bribes (**rüşvet**), particularly after 1517, when (...) the rampant venality and corruption of the defeated Mamluks’ apparatus seems to have encroached upon the Ottoman system until it swallowed it whole”, concluded the author (pp. 301, 302, 303). The Romanian rulers

offered the Ottoman sultans and senior officials: beautifully decorated weapons, various precious objects, horses, dogs and hawks for hunting

Sometimes characterized by *temporary export ban* for the Romanian strategic products that were indispensable to the capital and Ottoman armies (16th century), the Romanian-Ottoman trade was *conducted* to Istanbul and Ottoman provinces, and *not* exclusively monopolized by the same geographical areas. The author explained that „*The trade conducted and controlled by the Porte and the Romanian rulers paralleled and complemented free trade. Both form of trade were regulated by current prices on the Ottoman markets and by manufacturing prices. All authorised merchants (usually Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Muslims and so forth) held fermans stipulating the main terms and conditions for their transactions, which were usually handled by the ruler's agents to the Porte (kapukehaya). (...) We could say that the Porte granted the Romanian countries the status of „most favoured nation” in their international commercial relations, and claimed the right to pre-emption instead)*” – (pp. 305–306), in other words: a *controlled* trade (subchapter III. 3. *Controlled Trade*, pp. 304–306).

The book also includes a thematic *bibliography* with summaries, monographs, collections of historical sources, historical atlases, and studies, articles on the issue under discussion (pp. 307–335) and an *Index* anthroponomical, hydronyms, toponymic, needed for a quick orientation in the volume (pp. 337–357).

The English version of the book does not include the *conclusions* chapter of the historiographical approach of the author, which was so necessary for the reader to outline the big picture of the problem, although the Romanian edition of 1991 included it in the structure of the book (pp. 222–226). In both editions the book has no historical maps, cartographic tools considered strictly necessary for understanding the evolution of historical phenomena analysed on a horizontal line, although the author has included historical atlases in *Bibliography*! Three maps were needed: that of the evolution of Ottoman rule (14th–16th centuries), the evolution of Romanian feudal states (14th–16th centuries), and the course of complex Romanian–Ottoman relations (14th–16th centuries). The author also should have included the portraits of Romanian rulers and of Ottoman sultans who confronted / cooperated in 14th–16th centuries.

Unlike the Romanian edition of 1991, in the English translation of 2009 the footnotes are numbered linearly from **1** to **n**, throughout the book, which is a convenient alternative for the editor, but sometimes troublesome and misleading for the reader, although the computer has the numbering option for notes from **1** to **n** for each chapter! A wrong reference in the critical apparatus is on page 303, where the note number 783 is referred incorrectly: „*See also note 113 (below)*”. The correct reference would be: „*See also note 776 (below)*”.

Tasin Gemil's book is the first non-ideologized and non-politicalized monography of the Romanian – Ottoman relations which was published after 1989. Its 2009 English translation, which was made quite late though, as related to 1991, assured his access to worldwide historiography. I do not know the impact of the English version, but I would like to discover that it can be found in many public and private libraries in different countries. Also, through the English translation, the author expressed the Romanian point of view of the topic in the world historiography. I mention this because the author's historiographical approach was realistic, balanced, fair, and accomplished *sine ira et studio*.

The book presented here is also valuable due to the originality and courage of some hypotheses sustained with proper arguments (in the book, pp. 103–110 *passim*, 139, 211 etc.), that were not invalidated by Turkological researches of the last quarter of century. Still, there may appear new documentary, chronological, epigraphic, archaeological, etc. information at any time, from anywhere in the world... At the same time, Tasin Gemil's contribution is a political, military, juridical, social, economic history of the Ottoman Empire between 14th and 16th centuries. In conclusion, Tasin Gemil's book is a reference book in the historiography of the topic addressed. The author needs to continue the historiographical project launched in 1984–1985 in order to complete the historiography and provide the other volumes (II–V) of the monography from the second half of 16th century to 1878.

(Dan Prodan)

Linguistics

Agiemin Baubec, G. Deniz-Kamer Baubec, *Dictionar Turc–Român. Dicționar Român–Turc* (Turkish–Romanian Dictionary. Romanian–Turkish Dictionary), Constanța, 2011, 1071 pages

2011 proved itself a good year for publishing the works of Professor Agiemin Baubec. During the year, along the Dictionary to be presented below, two more of his works are published, centered on the grammar of the Turkish language – they are complex works meant to teach the language to the interested people, so that the complete assimilation of the material would facilitate reading and translation of Turkish texts, or permit having a usual conversation and writing texts in Turkish language. Practical Courses in Turkish Language was published by Ex Ponto Publishing House in Constanța, has 372 pages and covers the entire basic grammar subjects. The Dictionary, also published by Ex Ponto Publishing House, has 1,701 pages and may be viewed as the best of its kind in Romania. The bilingual dictionary, each part containing around 25,000 title words, chose mostly words that are part of

the basic/fundamental vocabulary and a few specialized words as well. This work has the objective to be an efficient and convenient help in translating a word or a construction from Romanian into Turkish and vice versa.

(Margareta Aslan)

Saim Osman Karahan, *Dobruca Kırımtatar ağız sözlüğü* (The Dictionary of the Dobrudjan Tatar Dialect), vol.I–III, Ex Ponto, Constanța, 2011, 550+567+565 pages

The Dobrudjan Tatar language is in great danger today. Presently, there are less and less youth and children in the Dobrudjan Tatar community that can fluently speak their mother tongue. The Dobrudjan Tatar community remained for a long time isolated from its Crimean runway. The first schools in the Tatar language were promoted by the communist regime in the 1950s, in the context of the “cold war”, with the purpose of breaking this community from the capitalist Turkey and of tying it to the Soviet Union, where there was an autonomous republic called Tatarstan. The plan failed and in 1958/1959 the schools that used that Tatar and Turkish languages for teaching were closed.

The endeavours of reinvigorating the Tatar language that have been going on for the past two decades did not have encouraging results. The apparition of this work can be listed in the series of efforts made for safeguarding the Dobrudjan language that preserved many of the archaic words which have already disappeared from the Crimean Tatar. Therefore, the incontestable value of the three volumes of this dictionary relies on providing the lexical fund of this endangered language. The dictionary mainly targets the Dobrudjan Tatars that wish to appropriate to the best extent their mother tongue and also to the researchers interested in the topic.

The monumental work is due to Saim Osman Karahan, a Dobrudjan Tatar settled in Turkey a few decades ago. This dictionary is not the first of its kind (in 1996, the Kriterion Publishing House in Bucharest published the Tatar-Romanian-Turkish dictionary of the late Altay Kerim, with circa 10,000 entries and variants), but it is the first to envisage the rendering of the entire lexicon of this dialect, recording 30,000 title-words of which 5,000 are variants. The basis of this work is represented by the solid works from the Turkology field but also the author’s experience and long research in the field. So, this dictionary reflects the living language of the Dobrudjan Tatars, from the second half of the 20th century.

The paper responds to the scientific requirements of the field. Each title is explained both in Tatar, through published texts exemplifications, and the literary Turkish and Romanian. Alongside its practical value as a working instrument, this comprehensive dictionary is also a conclusive proof of the fact that the Dobrudjan Tatar language is a rich one that firstly preserves the Turkish common trunk, and the

older and newer loan words from non-Turkic languages (Mongolian, Arabic, Persian, Russian-Ukrainian, Romanian, etc).

It is appropriate to highlight the role that the leadership of the Democratic Union of the Turkish-Muslim Tatars of Romania, which ensured the material support necessary for the publication in honourable graphic conditions and a corresponding circulation.

(Tasin Gemil)

Emil Suci, *Influența turcă asupra limbii române, I: Studiu monografic*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2009, 726 pages; *II: Dicționarul cuvintelor românești de origine turcă*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2010, 913 pages (Turkish influence on Romanian language, I: Monographic study, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, 726 pages; II: The Dictionary of Romanian words of Turkish origin, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010, 913 pages)

The philologist Emil Suci published a fundamental paper on linguistic, lexical–grammatical, Turkish-Ottoman onomatology assimilation into Romanian language between 14th and 20th centuries: *Turkish influence on Romanian language*, I: *Monographic study*, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, 726 p; II: *The Dictionary of Romanian words of Turkish origin*, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010, 913 p. The first volume contains 6 parts with different chapters, preceded by a *Foreword* of the author, *Bibliography Abbreviations* and *Abbreviations of words and signs* necessary for a rapid and efficient use of the volume, and finished with a substantial *summary* in French. In this way, the philologist motivated his impressive scientific approach: “*The present paper is a monography of the influence of Turkish (Ottoman) language exerted on the Romanian language for nearly five hundred years, leaving significant traces in Romanian vocabulary. It addresses mainly to specialists in Romanian, Turkish studies, researchers of linguistics, history and Romanian culture and Southeastern Europe, but may be consulted by anyone interested in etymology and in history of our national language*” (page 5).

In *Introduction*, the author accomplished *Delimitation of Turkish loans* (pp. 21–43), presented *Sources and reference works* (pp. 44–49) in linguistic, lexical, onomastic Turkology, and outlined *History framework of Turkish–Romanian linguistic contact* (pp. 50–57). E. Suci has identified several categories of Turkish-Ottoman loans in Romanian: *from other languages* (Modern Greek, Bulgarian, Serbo–Croatian, from southern Slavonian languages, south Danubian languages, Gypsy, Western languages such as French and Italian) which appeared between 14th and 20th centuries; *Turkish words* reproduced in Romanian medieval and modern texts; *Turkish words*

from texts written in other languages; *Turkish words* of other language origin. All these categories have been studied by interpreting historical sources, linguistic documents based on a thematic bibliography now classic. Analysing the history of *Turkish–Romanian linguistic contact*, the author identified several stages: **1.** The first half of 14th century; **2.** The second half of the century; **3.** 15th century; **4.** 16th century; **5.** 17th century; **6.** 18th century; **7.** The first eight decades of the 19th century; **8.** C 1880–c.1950; **9.** The last stage beginning with 1990.

Characteristics of Turkish language influence (Part II, pp. 58–210) manifested by: loan sources, origin of etymons, ways of entering loans, levels of temporal stratification, territorial stylistic distribution, and compartments of Romanian language influenced by Ottoman language. *Sources of loans* were diverse: words with multiple etymology, Balkan terms; international terms; archaic, modern, folk, dialectal Turkish etymons, reconstructed etymons; Turkish words taken from other languages: Arab, Persian, Modern Greek, Italian, French, and Hebrew. *The routes of entry* for the Ottoman Turkish words were different: official / cult loans, folk loans; loans due to Romanian–Turkish bilingualism. *The frequency* of loans was also various: occasionally, periodically, repeated. *Temporal stratification* and *periodization* of Turkish influence were based on different landmarks: *chronology* of loans, *intensity* of influence, the *viability* of loans, loan *synchrony*.

E. Suci identified the following stages of the Turkish influence on Romanian language (pp. 106–161): **1.** Middle of 14th century – 15th century: **23** lexical borrowing; **2.** 16th century: around **150** loans (in 1600 approximately **174–175** loans); **3.** 17th century: **503** new loans (in 1700 approximately **677–678** loans); **4.** 18th century: approximately **992–1036** new loans (in 1800 approximately **1714–1715** loan words); **5.** 19th century: **1,044** new loans (in 1900 approximately **2,758** loans); **6.** 20th century – beginning of 21st century: **2** new loans (in 2000 approximately **2,760** loans). In *conclusion*, at the beginning of 21st century “*Romanian lexical fund borrowed from Turkish increased to 2.760*” (p. 158). *The areal distribution* of Turkish–Ottoman loans was as follows: in *Dobrudja*, an Ottoman territory between 1420–1877, were taken between **190–340** Turkish words; in *Banat*, an Ottoman territory between 1552 and 1718 were taken approximately **25** Turkish words; in *Transylvania*, an autonomous principality under Ottoman protection between 1541–1688, there were **not** taken words directly from Turkish, only etymons from the Turkish used in the south and east of the Carpathians; in *Muntenia*, *Oltenia* and *Moldavia* which were tributary provinces – protected by the Ottomans in 15th–19th centuries were taken over **2,500** Turkish–Ottoman loans having diverse intensity of Ottoman lexical influence (pp. 162–190).

“The influence of Turkish language was exerted exclusively at lexical level, therefore it could not help the stylistic configuration of Romanian other than vocabulary” (p. 191). Consequently, the loans were distributed stylistically in different percentages into languages: colloquial, formal, narrative, lyric, dramatic, scientific, professional, familiar, vulgar, slang (pp. 191–208). The trace of Turkish-Ottoman influence printed with decreasing intensity on areas of the Romanian language: vocabulary, onomatology, phraseology, phonetics, morphology, syntax, word formation (pp. 208–210).

In *The common lexicon* (Part III, pp. 211–485) of Romanian, E. Suciú identified the following categories of Turkish-Ottoman loans: **2,508** nouns (91% of the total **2,760** words), **175** adjectives (6, 3%), **37** interjections (1, 3%), **32** adverbs (1, 2%), **6** verbs (0, 2%), **2** conjunctions (0.07%), **0** numerals (0.00 %). *The phonetic structure* of the Romanian language was not directly influenced by contacts with Turkish-Ottoman: no specific Ottoman sound was borrowed in Romanian. Instead, there were some indirect consequences of Turkish-Ottoman lexical influence: some *phonetic adaptations* of Ottoman vowels –**ö**–, –**ü**–, of the consonant –**ğ**–, of groups –**ç**–, –**ğ**–, –**ş**–, –**j**–; *reduction* of long vowels and double vowels; *reduction* of geminate consonants; *changes* induced by the Romanian phonetic and dialect norms; phonetic *accidents*. In the field of *Morphology*, there were various morphological adaptations under Ottoman influence; the *syntactic* adaptations occurred as Ottoman phrases with regular / reversed topic by lexical–semantic condensation, by false phrase interpretations (agglutinations, deglutinations, and contractions).

In the field of *Semantics*, the loans from Turkish-Ottoman can be grouped into several terminology groups, with various specific horizons: **A. Man**; **B. Nature**; **C. Exterior and human perception**; **D. Human actions on nature. Labor**; **E. Human relations**; **F. Society**; **G. Culture**; **H. Abstract notions**. The most popular semantic developments subsequent lexical borrowings were: concretion; abstraction; generalization; restriction; extension; specialization; nobleness; depreciation; analogy; metaphors; polarization; localization; semantic calculi.

Romanian onomatology was partly influenced by the coexistence semi-millennial of Romanians and Ottomans along the Danube, manifesting itself in toponymy, anthroponymy, proper names derived from names of animals, astronomy, literature, folklore, interference with common terms. The Turkish-Ottoman trace on the Romanian language manifested with a certain intensity in formation of words as well by: suffixes and borrowed compounding elements; formation processes of borrowed words; the formation of new words and lexical variants; Romanian phraseological phenomena. Examples of suffixes: –*giu*; –*iu*; –*liu*; –*liu*; –*lik* / –*lâc*; –*man*; the compounding element *baş*. The processes of formation of new words and variants were:

derivation, cropping, composition, conversion, folk etymology, contaminants, lexical–semantic condensation, and various intermediary or related processes. The author has listed the various Romanian phraseological phenomena having Turkish-Ottoman influence: noun phrases, adverbial–adjectival phrases, conjunction phrases, verbal phrases, elliptical idioms.

Chapter VI, *The current lexicon of Turkish origin* (pp. 598–616) summarizes the **conclusions** of the monograph. Of the **2,760** words borrowed from Turkish-Ottoman between 14th and 20th centuries, **487** were personal loans used at least once and then quickly forgotten, **33** were used several times in subsequent decades to the loan, **2,240** were actual loans from the beginning which were used very often in everyday language at various levels of local and / or areal communication. Of the **2,273** actual words taken (**2,240** + **33**), **886** disappeared from Romanian vocabulary after 2 or 3 centuries and **1,387** were used until the second half of the 20th century. Of these, **381** were nearly eliminated from the current use, and **1,006** ordinary loans were certainly transmitted until 21st century. Adding extra margin of error consisting of passive terms, but potentially reactive in the 21st century, the lexicographical legacy of Turkish-Ottoman is about **1,100** terms (**250–260** terms Romanian words derived from basic Turkish-Ottoman). Of **the main lexical fund** of Romanian language there are words such as: *cafea* (coffee), *cearșaf* (bed sheet), *chef* (feast / banquet), *chibrit* (friction match), *ciorap* (stocking / sock), *(de)geaba* (in vain / to no purpose), *dușman* (enemy / adversary), *geam* (window pane), *hai(de)* (come on). Of **the fundamental vocabulary of Romanian language** there are 41 current loans plus 49 Romanian derivatives in usage.

The Romanian essential vocabulary includes another **41** loans from Turkish-Ottoman, plus **102** Romanian derivatives in usage. **The outer concentric layer of current Romanian vocabulary mass** includes **356** Romanian Turkish-Ottoman loans. Of these, **119** loans are most commonly used. The others are historical terms, Ottoman “*foreign words*” and regionalisms. **Romanian publishing language** includes terms of Turkish-Ottoman origin with Romanian derivatives. The mass of current Romanian vocabulary contains approximately **645–680** words of Turkish-Ottoman origin, most of which (about **485–520**) being situated in the outer layer of the current Romanian lexis, and having low frequencies of usage. At the outskirts of Romanian current vocabulary there are **550–600** words of Turkish-Ottoman origin, with varying degrees of use in various fields.

The annexes of the monograph are complementary explanations and assertions in the chapters summarized above. Thus, the Appendix No. 1 shows **The chronology and viability of Romanian loans** (pp. 619–687) from Turkish-Ottoman, a very interesting and suggestive table with **2,760** terms listed alphabetically vertically,

and with a chronological development horizontally from the second half of the 14th century up to 2000. The horizontal chronology of the loan states that it was used in the second half of 16th century until the first half of 19th century; in the second half of 19th century it was under extinction, possibly historical term. Appendix No. 2 is *The total Turkish-Ottoman loans* grouped according to centuries (pp. 688–689), a table to be covered carefully for every reader. In Appendix 3 the author presented **The list of loans** (from Turkish-Ottoman) **today obsolete (former literary terms, folk or regional and hapax legomena)** – (pp. 690–700) of 1,373 terms, with their distribution according to centuries. Appendix No. 4 shows the **List of loans present in the current lexicon** (pp. 701–710) with **450 Current literary terms, 223 Current popular terms, 583 Existing regional terms, 131 Historical terms used in the second half of 20th century** (endangered). Appendix No. 5 summarizes the **Total loans in the current language (Romanian) categorised according to centuries and stylistic and functional categories** (p. 711). Appendix No. 6 shows the **Use value of the loan currently used in fictional and journalistic language** (190 terms) – (pp. 712–718), a very concise table with interesting information.

The summary of the monograph, *L'Influence turque-osmanlie sur la langue roumaine* (pp. 719–722), presents the business card for foreign readers of the book. One must notice the very accurate translation of *turco-osmanli* mother tongue into French, which, for example, does not appear in the title in Romanian (only the *Turkish* influence).

A few *observations* are necessary. Along the monograph we came across some historical errors. Thus, the years in which various Romanian provinces became part / under Ottoman protection are interpretable: 1420 (not 1417!) in Dobrudja's case; 1552 (not 1526!) for Banat / Timisoara; 1541 (not 1526!) for Transylvania which became an autonomous principality under Ottoman tributary protection. Also, as fidelity to historical truth, various expressions and formulations should be corrected: **Ottoman / Osman / Osmanli / Turkish-Osmani / Turkish-Osmanli** instead of *Turkish / Turks*; **Ottoman / Osman / Osmanli / Turkish-Osmani / Turkish-Osmanli administration** instead of *Turkish administration*; *Constantinople* should be changed to **Istanbul**, except for the texts of original historical sources; *Turkish influence* (as appears in the title!) with **Turkish-Osman / Turkish-Osmanli influence**. I noticed some minor graphical imperfections as well when writing some letters or groups of letters from Turkish-Ottoman into Romanian. The word **voivode** is of Slavic origin and entered the Turkish-Ottoman language (in the form of *voydoda* for singular / *voyvodalar* for plural) through the northern Danubian branch and / or southern Danubian Slavic (p. 303).

In conclusion, the book is a fundamental monograph of Romanian linguistics at the beginning of 21st century and of 3rd millennium about the consequences of verbal communicative Romanian–Ottoman five-century cohabitation on the Danube. Long overdue, it finally fills an obvious lack in Romanian research, Lazăr Șăineanu's synthesis of 1900 being superseded by the level of Romanian linguistics thematic development during the last five to six decades. It is a very useful tool for philologists, historians, students, people interested in the Turkish–Ottoman linguistic phenomenon. Obviously, this synthesis must be supplemented by another, entitled *Romanian influence on Turkish–Ottoman language* so that the binomial **Romanian–Turkish Ottoman language** should be complete. When will we have the pleasure of this new reading?

The second volume of the monograph *Turkish influence on Romanian language*, written by Emil Suciu, is subtitled *Dictionary of Romanian words of Turkish origin*, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010, 913 pages. Subtitled *Monographic study*, this volume, which complements organically and logically the first volume, has the following structure: *Principles and writing norms* (pp. 5–10), *Bibliographical abbreviations* (pp. 11–22), *Abbreviations of words and graphic signs* (pp. 23–27) *Notation and correspondence of Turkish sounds* (p. 28), *Translating words from other languages* (p. 28), *Dictionary of specific words*, arranged alphabetically (pp. 29–825), *Addenda et corrigenda* (pp. 826–830), two appendices: **1.**: *The list of variants and derivatives* (pp. 831–892) and **2.**: *Words of Turkish origin currently used in fictional and journalistic style* (pp. 893–912). The dictionary volume is based on another work of Emil Suciu entitled *Romanian Words of Turkish origin*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2006.

The linguist and lexicographer Emil Suciu explained the origin and structure of volume II: “**Dictionary of Romanian words of Turkish origin** is the second part of the monograph about the Turkish influence on Romanian. Although in the Romanian linguistics there is already a similar work (Lazăr Șăineanu, **The Oriental influence on Romanian language and culture**, Bucharest, 1900), it has become a necessity for a long time for lexical material of Turkish–Osmanli origin to be reviewed and completed as it has been more than a century since its release. During this period, on the one hand, many terms of Turkish origin have changed status in Romanian and, on the other hand, new sources of documentation and new lexicographical methods and techniques have been available to researchers.

The present **Dictionary** includes words borrowed from Turkish and, alternatively, the ones formed from them on Romanian territory, data, information and explanations on current status, the history and their formal and semantic developments in the Romanian language, etymology and their correspondences from other

*languages, especially the ones from south-eastern Europe. The **Dictionary** has been designed after etymological principles, so the emphasis is on Turkish loans which subsume their entire lexical family including the formations on Romanian vocabulary: derived words, compounds, words formed by conversion, etc."*

The presentation of each *title-word* includes: proper word, its lexico-grammatical value, the current situation in the Romanian language, the history of the loan, its meanings and its variants, its etymology, the category of words formed in Romanian based on loans; proper name. Bibliographical abbreviations, Abbreviations of words and symbols, Notation and correspondence of Turkish sounds, Translating words from other languages complete the monograph. It follows Dictionary of Romanian words of Turkish origin, with 2,760 loans, arranged alphabetically, with *Addenda et Corrigenda* (16 terms). Appendix No. 1, *The list of variants and derivatives*, includes the explanations stated in its title (pp. 831–892). Appendix No. 2, *Words of Turkish origin currently used in fictional and journalistic style*, includes 1. List of literary texts and periodicals analysed by author and 2. *Specific words* (760 terms) and their endorsements (pp. 893–912). The monograph *Turkish influence on Romanian language* by Emil Suciu, volumes I–II becomes the *fundamental synthesis* of Ottoman–Romanian lexical transformations during the Middle Ages, modern and contemporary eras. The study and release of *Romanian influence on Turkish-Ottoman language* remain a desideratum for the coming years, of lesser intensity and amplitude, but still existent and open to a thematic analysis possibly conducted by Emil Suciu or other Romanian philologists and lexicographers, or perhaps even Turkish.

(Dan Prodan)