

Olga Todorova

ABSTRACTS:

- 1. Todorova, O. Domestic Slavery and Slave-Holding in Ottoman Rumili. Reviewed by Assoc. Prof. Svetlana Ivanova and Assoc. Prof. Stefka Parveva. Sofia: „Gutenberg“ Publishing House, 2021, 444 pp. (in Bulgarian). ISBN: 978-619-176-195-1**

The monograph is dedicated to the most widespread but poorly studied by Bulgarian historiography so far form of slavery, practiced in Premodern times in the Islamic world, the Ottoman Balkans included. The research focuses on the present-day Bulgarian lands and their adjacent territories, that is, on the core of the Ottoman province of Rumili. The chronological span of the study covers the period from the Ottoman conquest to the mid-18th century. However, trying to sketch a broader picture, it also sheds some light on the 19th century, up to the Bulgarian liberation in 1878. The phenomenon of domestic slavery is examined mostly in its legal, social and socio-cultural aspects. In order to achieve this end, a variety of published and unpublished sources of different genre and origin (Ottoman, West-European, domestic etc.) were used but first of all the study relies on archival documents found in the *kadi* registers (*sicills*) of the cities of Sofia, Russe and Vidin from the 16th to the 18th c.

The monograph is structured into 9 parts. In the Preface, after a brief historiographical overview regarding slavery both in the Premodern Muslim world as a whole, and in the Ottoman empire and its Bulgarian provinces in particular, the goals of the current study are formulated. In the Introduction the perspective turns back to the first centuries of Islam and to the elaboration of ethical requirements and juridical norms according to which the institution of domestic slavery continued to function until modern times.

In the First chapter where the study proper begins, the author concentrates on the sources of slavery, both inner and outer, as well as on the main methods of slave recruitment in the Ottoman empire – wars, predatory raids, “punitive” and illegal enslavements. The dynamics of the domestic slave ranks’ ethnic composition is examined. Three periods have been roughly differentiated: 1/ the epoch of the Ottoman conquest and establishment on the Balkans (14th- approximately middle of the 15th c.) when slaves were predominantly recruited from the local Balkanite Christian populations; 2/ the epoch of the so-called Pax Ottomana (mid 15th- mid 18th c.) when slaves were mostly (war) captives of European, African or Asian origin; 3/ the epoch of the Late Ottoman empire (end of the 18th- 19thc.) when the ethnic spectrum of slaves narrowed and was usually reduced to black slaves imported from Africa, and white slaves of Caucasus origin. Attention is paid to the modest number of Bulgarians among the slaves after the middle of the 15th c. Besides, an attempt was made to draw a clear distinction between the status

of domestic slaves in the Ottoman Empire, on the one hand, and the status of Ottoman non-Muslim subjects (*zimmi*), on the other.

The two chapters which follow constitute the monograph's core. They deal with two diametrically opposite but synchronically developing processes - those of slaves' social integration and disintegration. In the Second chapter various mechanisms (economic, religious, marriage-related, linguistic etc.) of slaves' assimilation into Ottoman society are analyzed, together with the successive levels of integration reached by enslaved persons over the course of their lives. A special place is given to some liminal statuses between slavery and freedom through which many slaves passed before entering the ranks of free people. The manumitted slaves' integration via patron-client ties between them and their former masters was also explored. The Third chapter is dedicated to the darkest sides of slavery and the plight of male and female domestic slaves as potential or real victims of abuse (physical, sexual, psychological, confessional etc.) by their masters. Violence or neglect inflicted by slaveholders is considered as a crucial prerequisite for slaves' disintegration, giving rise to various forms of slave resistance such as slaves' fugitivism and slaves' crime. The positions of both "integrated" and „disintegrated“ slaves have been illustrated by a number of case-studies based on *sicill* documents.

The Forth chapter tackles „the peculiar case“ of black (*arap*) domestic slaves who, despite their small numbers in the Central-Balkan provinces of the Ottoman empire, deserve special attention due to several reasons: their informal marginalization because of the color of their skin; the specific forms of their inner organization and self-organization as well as their specific culture and the transformations which this culture underwent in the Ottoman milieu.

In the Fifth chapter the focus moves to the slaveholders. Taking as example the Ottoman city of Sofia their social/professional and confessional profile was drawn and a conclusion was accordingly reached about the diffusion of domestic slave-holding across almost all strata of Ottoman provincial society. Different types of slave-holding "strategies" have been analyzed. In this connection the prestigious aspect of slave-possession and especially its perception as a (high) status marker is highlighted.

The slave-holding "line" continues in the Sixth chapter where parallel types of slavery are presented which differ substantially from the dominant model of Muslim slave-holding discussed in the monograph. It reaches slaveries practiced both inside and outside the Ottoman empire. In the first place, the problem of Non-Muslim (Jewish as well as Christian) slave-holding in the Ottoman domains is tackled. An account was given of the Ottoman policy to Non - Muslim slave ownership, including the failed efforts of the authorities to impose a state ban on it. An attempt is also undertaken to identify the driving forces behind Christian/Bulgarian slave-holding which persisted throughout the Ottoman centuries, although on a very small scale. Its survival was partly explained by the ambivalent attitude of the Orthodox church and its functionaries towards the institution of slavery. This chapter offers a panoramic view of European slavery and slaveholding in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern period. Some data are presented about Christians, Muslims and Jews from the Ottoman Balkans, who were enslaved in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe. Certain "entanglements" and overlappings between

Christian/European and Ottoman slaveries are pointed out. It is claimed that these “entanglements” made the European mainland during the epoch under study look like a space of “slavery without frontiers”.

The last chapter, called “Epilogue”, is devoted to the gradual decline of slavery in the Ottoman empire in the second half of the 18th and 19th c. but also to the Bulgarian perception of slavery in this epoch which was characterized by active nation building. The nation-wide imposition of the political metaphor “Turkish slavery” which occurred during the period under study is interpreted precisely in the framework of ongoing nation-building processes. At the end, a hypothesis is launched on the causes which paved the way for the “blending” of the two “Turkish slaveries” - the real and the metaphorical one - in the Bulgarian public awareness.

The monograph includes tables annexed to the author’s text in which a good part of data, derived from the documents exploited in the study, are summarized and presented in a more graphic way. It is also enriched by an extensive bibliography.

- 1. Todorova, O. *Between Stereotype and Reality: Jews in Bulgarian Literary Tradition since the Beginning of the 19th Century up to the Liberation of Bulgaria*. – *Literaturna misal (Literary Thought)*, 2000, № 1, c. 73- 90 (in Bulgarian).**

ISSN 0324-0495

On the basis of manifold sources (both fiction and non-fiction texts, journalistic writings, personal correspondence, folklore records etc.) the study aims at reconstructing the collective portrait of the Jews as perceived by Bulgarians during the Age of National revival. An overview is offered of the most widely used motifs and features representing Jews such as, for example, the motif of Jewish “uncleaness”, avarice and treachery, the allegation that Jews murder Christians for religious rituals, etc. The religion based stereotypes and superstitions from the past underlying the negative Jewish perception, together with some 19th century’ socio-economic, cultural and political factors which helped cement this image into the public mind, are analyzed. However, the concomitant tendency of breaking old stereotypes during the modernization process is also delineated.

- 2. Todorova, O. *Prostitution in Bulgarian territories in the Early Centuries of Ottoman Rule*. – In: Kr. Daskalova and R. Gavrilova (eds.). *Granitsi na grazhdanstvoto: Evropeiskite zheni mezhdur traditsiata i modernostta (Limits of Citizenship: European Women between Tradition and Modernity)*. Sofia: LIK Press, 2001, pp. 63-78 (in Bulgarian).**

ISBN 954-607-474-8.

In this article prostitution in the Bulgarian provinces of the Ottoman Empire is approached from two angles: the social milieu which fostered the phenomenon and the Ottoman policy towards it. Finding out the quite diverse backgrounds both of the prostitutes themselves (not only social marginals like nomad/semi-nomad gypsies and female slaves,

but also free-born Muslim and Christian women with a sedentary lifestyle) and of their clients (janissaries, merchants, bachelors etc.), the author comes to the conclusion that prostitution in Ottoman times served as a powerful social safety-valve. That's why, it is argued, the Ottoman state, although never openly allowing prostitution, nevertheless did not dare to ban it officially. Instead, the state confined itself mostly to palliative measures such as temporary banishment or imposing taxes and fines on prostitutes.

3. **Todorova, O. Servants and Concubines: The Female Slaves - An Understudied Social Category of the Epoch of the Ottoman Rule (15th - 17th Centuries). – Istorichesko badeshte (Historical Future), 2002, № 1-2, pp. 230- 269 (in Bulgarian). ISSN 1311-0144**

The study is intended, on the one hand, to shed light on women's social history in Bulgarian territories during the Ottoman period, and on the other hand, to elucidate domestic slavery which has been almost totally neglected by Bulgarian historiography. Several issues have been tackled. First, emphasis is laid on the changing sources of female slavery on the Balkans throughout the Ottoman centuries. While at the times of Ottoman conquest mass enslavements of native-born Christian women and children were quite usual, from the second half of the 15th c. slaves came to be mainly spoils of war from abroad. Presented are also the various methods, both legal and illegal, of enslaving free-born subjects of the Ottoman state which were practiced in the postconquest centuries, although on a limited scale. Attention is drawn to the lack of female *devshirme* and its consequences for the complete isolation of native women from political power. In the second part of the study the status of female slaves is analyzed. Their standing is treated in the light of the normative duality set in Sharia itself - partly as objects, and partly as persons with certain rights. A special place is allotted to the status of concubines in the light of Islamic sexual morality. Then the author dwells on different types of manumission (gratuitous, conditional, contractual and *ümm-ü veled*) practiced in Ottoman times and on female transition stages from slavery to freedom. Besides, the problem of the female slaves' religious conversion is broached. Emphasis is placed on the fact that Islamization was neither an absolutely necessary, nor a sufficient precondition of emancipation. The final part deals with manumitted slaves. The author examines the transformation of the master/slave bond into a bond between patron and client and describes the mutually beneficial aspects of this new relationship. The opportunities of the emancipated female slaves for social advancement, both normative and real, are also discussed.

4. **Todorova, O. "Manly" Times? (Women in Public Space in the Early Centuries of Ottoman Domination). – In: Kontrasi i konflikti "zad kadar" v balgarskoto obshtestvo prez XV-XVIII vek (Contrasts and Conflicts "behind the scene" in Bulgarian Society, 15th-18th Centuries). Sofia: "Gutenberg" Publishing House, 2003, pp. 63-153 (in Bulgarian). ISBN 954-9943-55-0 (print).**

The idea of this article is to challenge, at least partially, the widespread notion of women in Ottoman times as "domestic prisoners". In pursuing this goal, on the first pages of the study an attempt is made to delineate the limits of woman's mobility and her right to

public space. It is argued that womanly public spaces as well as womanly public behavior differed very much according to woman's confession, social standing, and age. Later on in the study, on the basis mostly of *kadi* documents, a glance is thrown at the activities of women, Muslim as well as Christian, in front of the judiciary. Women's performance in the court hall (through or without proxies), the various types of lawsuits involving women as well as the chances of these women, be they plaintiffs or defendants, to win their cases are analyzed. At the end, the participation of women, both Muslim and Christian, in business life and extra-domestic labor is examined, and the most visible and prestigious roles of social significance played by women within their territorial and religious communities are outlined. The conclusion drawn is that although far from being equal to men, women were not complete public life outsiders. Rather, because of the strict requirements of religious morality, they frequently played their public roles "silently" and "behind the scenes".

5. **Todorova, O. The Child in the Adults' World in 15th- 18th Centuries (on sources related to Bulgarian territories). – In: Kontrasi i konflikti "zad kadar" v balgarskoto obshtestvo prez XV-XVIII vek (Contrasts and Conflicts "behind the scene" in Bulgarian Society, 15th-18th Centuries). Sofia: "Gutenberg" Publishing House, 2003, pp. 154-225 (in Bulgarian). ISBN 954-9943-55-0 (print).**

Being a first attempt to introduce the Childhood topic into the research on 15th -18th c. Bulgarian history, the study intends to give a general overview of the children's standing in Ottoman epoch. Leaving aside the more "intimate" intrinsic aspects of Childhood, the author concentrates, firstly, on the norms (in Sharia law, as well as in Christian Canon law and Bulgarian customary law) regulating the legal status of minors in this epoch. Secondly, some light is shed on children's real standing. Confessional and gender specificities are taken into account. The conclusion reached is that in the times and area under study the child's position was quite typical of preindustrial societies and that the elaboration of more attentive and respectful attitudes towards infancy and childhood was still to come. A variety of published and unpublished sources are used in this study, including archival Ottoman documents from *kadi* registers.

6. **Todorova, O. The Orthodox Church in Bulgarian Social Space in Early Ottoman Centuries. – In: P. Petkov (ed.). Balgarskata tzarkva pres vekovete (Bulgarian Church through the Centuries). Sofia: "St Kl. Ohridsky" University Press, 2003, pp. 114-136 (in Bulgarian). ISBN 954-07-1698-5**

Aiming to assess more precisely the real place of the Orthodox Church in Bulgaria during the centuries prior to the Age of National Awakening, the author looks at the constituent parts of Church organization, one after another: higher clergy, parish clergy, monks and laics. Their standing was analyzed in the framework, firstly, of the Ottoman social structure where the main division was between *askeri* (the ruling class) and *reaya* (the subjects), and, secondly, in the framework of the so-called *millet* system (a system of semi-autonomous religious communities, comprising diverse ethnicities) which, although not codified until the 19th c., was in fact introduced in the middle of the 15th c. Not surprisingly, it was the higher clergy who benefitted mostly from both systems. However, due to the

alienation between high Orthodox clerics (predominantly Greek speaking) and their Bulgarian flock, the Church failed to realize its full leadership potential in the local milieu. In fact, thanks to the efforts of parish priests and monks (most of them Bulgarian), the Church proved effective only on the lower social level. This, however, produced a profound imprint on the quality of Bulgarian religious and cultural life.

- 7. Todorova, O. Alcohol Consumption as Part of Manners and Customs' History in Premodern Times. – Istoricheski pregled (Historical Review), 2004, № 5-6, pp. 137-157 (in Bulgarian).
ISSN 0323-9748**

The study explores alcohol consumption in the first centuries of Ottoman rule over Bulgarian territories through the prism of the so-called everyday history and in the context of the great civilizational conflict-contact between Christianity and Islam on the Balkans. However, accentuating the almost diametrically opposite Christian and Muslim approaches to alcohol drinking, which makes alcohol consumption a kind of confessional marker, the author at the same time examines not only the inevitable tensions that drinking beverages causes between the two religious communities but also their mutual influences and interactions. The turns in Ottoman anti-alcoholic state policy are traced as well as the ways they affected the every-day routine of both Muslim and Non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. Attention is paid also to the fact that the Orthodox church, quite conscious of the socializing power of alcohol, also tried to ban its flock from sharing it with Muslims in order to prevent conversions to Islam in a state of drunkenness.

- 8. Todorova, O. The Other Pilgrimage: To the History of the Muslim *Hajj* from Bulgarian Territories in the 15th - 17th Centuries. – Istoricheskoto badeshte (Historical Future), 2006, № 1-2, pp. 220-277 (in Bulgarian).
ISSN 1311-0144**

On the basis of various sources, including some hitherto unpublished Ottoman documents (mainly inheritance inventories of pilgrims who died on their way to/from Mecca), this article tries to form a more general notion of how Hajj was practiced by the Muslims who inhabited present-day Bulgarian territories in the first centuries of Ottoman domination. The study consists of five parts which have respectively been dedicated to: the means by which the title of *hajji* was acquired and used; pilgrimage routes, organization and duration of the Hajj pilgrimage; the social make-up of pilgrim communities; the demographic characteristics of pilgrims and the economic strategies they followed before leaving for Mecca and during the very trip itself; the converts to Islam among the *hajjis*. The main conclusions reached in the course of the study are that alongside its religious role Hajj played two important additional functions. In the first place, through its specific mechanisms it contributed to toning down social tensions by distributing the resources - be they economic or prestigious - among the members of the local Muslim communities. In the second place, Hajj was an effective integrating instrument. People newly converted to Islam aspired after the title of *hajji*

regarding it as a kind of “trustworthiness certificate” which might ease their integration into the Muslim community.

- 9. Todorova, O. Gender Aspects of Islamization: Oral Tradition versus History. – *Balgarski folklore (Bulgarian folklore)*, 2008, № 3-4, pp. 79-100 (in Bulgarian).
ISSN 0323-9861 (print)**

This research is centered on some striking discrepancies between the gender dimensions of the “historical” Islamization – as outlined authentic documents from the Ottoman epoch, and the “folkloric” Islamization – as presented in Bulgarian folk songs. The distortion of the real gender characteristics of Islamization, as the author has tried to show, seems different in each of the two big groups of folkloric texts which are being analyzed in the article. In the song texts dealing with forced conversions to Islam which turned out to be unsuccessful, the “pedagogical” (safeguarding Christian faith) function of folklore took over. Consequently, in these songs both genders are treated equally and with similar respect, and the sufferings and heroic deeds typical for one of the genders in real life, are projected without any problem to the other gender. However, in the texts dedicated to the successful conversions from Christianity to Islam, i.e. to shameful deeds from the perspective of Christian ethics, the patriarchic normative function of folklore comes to the foreground. Obeying the gender hierarchy established for centuries, the folk singer is doing his best to protect the authority of the “stronger gender”. That’s why he eagerly hides the male (and especially the voluntary male) apostasies and tries to ascribe the proclivity to succumb to the temptations of a more opulent post-conversion life only to the “softer” gender.

- 10. Todorova, O. An Episode from the History of Vidin (1689/1690): Reflections on Hristo Gandev’s Theory of the so-called “Bulgarization” of Towns. – In: Kr. Mutafova (ed.-in-chief). *Balkanite – Ezik, Istoriya, Kultura (The Balkans - Languages, History, Cultures)*. Veliko Tarnovo: “St Cyril and St Methodius” University Press, 2008, pp. 104-114 (in Bulgarian).
ISBN 978-954-524-636-4**

In German:

Todorova, O. Die österreichische Okkupation der Stadt Vidin hinsichtlich der Theorie für “Bulgarisierung” der Städte. – *Bulgarian Historical Review*, 2010, № 1-2, pp. 3-15.

ISSN 0204-8906

More than half a century ago the prominent Bulgarian scholar Hristo Gandev launched the idea that the migrations of Bulgarian Christians from Vidin’s rural hinterland to the urban centre at the end of the 17th and during the 18th c., witnessed by contemporary kadi *sicills*, constituted a phenomenon of more than local significance. This so-called “bulgarization of towns”, Gandev claimed, was due to the progressive economical development and to the growing cultural and religious self-consciousness of the indigenous population. The author of the present article tries to challenge Gandev’s theory on the example of Vidin’s history during the war between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League at the end of

the 17th c. Relying mainly on some recently published sources of both Ottoman and Austrian origin, which throw a new light on the period of Austrian occupation of the city of Vidin from October 1689 to August 1690, and complementing these sources with information drawn from Vidin *sicills*, she emphasizes the destructive character of the Austrian presence in Vidin, which resulted in an almost total demolition of town infrastructure, as well as in heavy human losses, especially on the Muslim part. The conclusion is made that, contrary to Gandev's suggestions, it appears that the Christian "influx" into the city was not provoked by any significant internal socio-economic development taking place in the local Bulgarian community. It was rather a by-product of the specific demographic and socio-economic situation in Vidin as an aftermath of war. The immigrants were supposedly lured by low purchase prices of residential and commercial real estate properties in the severely devastated city.

11. Todorova, O. The Institution of Slavery in Bulgaria in the Period of Its Decline.– Istorichesko badeshte (Historical Future), 2008-2009, № 1-2, pp. 85- 141 (in Bulgarian). ISSN 1311-0144

Discussing the institution of slavery as an element of the public landscape of Bulgaria before its Liberation (1878), the author tries to answer the question in what way with the passage of time the term *slavery* managed to become established on Bulgarian soil as a collective designation of the entire age of Ottoman Rule. The thesis upheld is that for the majority of Bulgarian subjects of the Ottoman Empire the institution of slavery in its two varieties (domestic slavery and elite/military slavery) ceased to be a grave danger far before the beginning of the Tanzimat. On principle, even from the times of Ottoman establishment on the Balkans, Bulgarians were guaranteed the status of personally free *zimmi* which was why they rarely and only by exception fell into the ranks of domestic slaves. Later on, along with the final revocation of janissary recruitments by the end of the 17th - the first half of the 18th century, Bulgarians also were no longer used as military slaves. Then again, during the Tanzimat itself, when slavery in the entire Ottoman empire began to decline thanks to a number of restrictive measures against the slave trade undertaken by the Sublime Porte under British pressure, Bulgarians slipped completely out of the grasp of the institution of slavery.

It was precisely the fact that Bulgarians regarded slavery as a fate awaiting "others" (exceptionally Circassians and black Africans in the 19th c.) that explains why the theme of slavery was relatively rarely discussed in the legitimate Bulgarian press before the Liberation, as well as why in the Bulgarian emigrant press of the same period the issue of slavery was used as a tool tailored to the objectives of the struggle for political liberation, without succeeding in becoming a full-fledged part of the national modernistic discourse. The study also points out that in the 19th century, in parallel with the crystallization of the national idea, the metaphorical usage of the term *slavery* made wide inroads into the Bulgarian public and political lexis as an expression of the dependance of the emerging nation on its ethnically and/or religiously alien authorities - the Ottoman secular power and the spiritual authority of (the Greek) Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople. The author claims that "the blending" of these two slaveries, the real and the metaphorical one, in Bulgarian public opinion was very much a result of the dramatic events during the April Uprising (1876) and Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 when a certain number of Bulgarian women and children were kidnapped by Ottoman irregular troops. Although not

particularly numerous and made against the will of the authorities, it was precisely these brutal enslavings which, it seems, shaped the notion of the entire alien rule as an epoch of “slavery”.

- 12. Todorova, O. The Non-Muslim Wakf in the Age of Ottoman Domination: Some Legal Aspects. – In: K. Kosev, I. Todev, E. Statelova, etc. (eds.). Sine Ira et Studio. Izsledvaniya v pamet na Prof. Zina Markova (Studies in Memory of Prof. Zina Markova). Sofia: “Prof. Marin Drinov” Academic Press, 2010, pp. 433-454 (in Bulgarian). ISBN 978-954-322-344-2**

In this study several new questions are posed, related to the theory and practice of the Non-Muslim (and, more precisely, Christian/Church) *wakf*-making on the Balkans during the Ottoman epoch. Two historical phases have been outlined: the first one, lasting almost a century and a half after the Conquest, when, in respect to Non-Muslim *wakf* foundations, the Ottoman authorities willingly compromised with the essential requirements of the Sharia; and the second one, since Sultan Selim II’s reforms of 60^s -70^s of the 16th c. (known among the Balkanite peoples as “sale of churches and monasteries”), when the regime tightened its control over Non-Muslim/Christian/Church *wakfs*. On the basis of various documents, mostly Ottoman *fetvas*, the author tries to define the causes for the Christians’ retreat from *wakf*-making during the second period. These are found in the inconsistencies of Ottoman state policy towards Non-Muslim *wakfs* as well as in the complexities of the *wakf* legal matter itself which exposed Christian founders to the potential risk of falling into various legal traps. The influence of Muslim “*wakf* culture” on Christian forms of charity has been also analyzed.

- 13. Todorova, O. Between Folklore and History: The Mighty Sklav. – Istoricheski pregled (Historical Review), 2010, № 1-2, pp. 34-66 (in Bulgarian). ISSN 0323-9748 (print)**

The first part of this article tries to identify “The Mighty Sklav” - a hero in several songs from the so-called janissary series in Bulgarian folklore. It is long known that the actual prototype of this folk hero was a historically established janissary commander from the first half of the 17th century who was named exactly as his counterpart in the song - The Mighty Sklav. That person was mentioned in a Bulgarian marginal note dating from 1623 that relates to the dramatic events connected to the levy of the so-called blood tax in the village of Maglish (Kazanlik region). In this study, based on an analysis of Ottoman, Greek and other sources, an attempt was made to prove that behind The Mighty Sklav of the marginal note of 1623 hides probably the future grand vizier of the Ottoman empire Bayram pasha (deceased 1638). The second half of the article deals with the “transformations” of The Mighty Sklav in Bulgarian folklore and historical memory. The author reflects on the reasons that prompted the folklore conversion of The Mighty Sklav first into a Bulgarian hero and later on – into a Greek, while the hypothetical real prototype, the Great vizier Bayram pasha, was in fact a Turk.

14. Todorova, O. The Ottoman state and its Orthodox Christian subjects: the legitimistic discourse in the seventeenth-century “Chronicle of Serres” in a new perspective. – Turkish Historical Review (Leiden: Brill), 1 (2010), pp. 86-110.
ISSN 1877-5454; e-ISSN 1877-5462

In Bulgarian:

Todorova, O. On the problem of Orthodox-Christian Legitimism: The Case of Synadinos. – In: I. Todev, N. Danova, A. Dimitrov etc. (eds). Prosveta i promiyana. Sbornik v chest na chl.-kor. st.n.s. Rumiana Radkova po sluchay 150-godishninata na Bolgradskata gimnaziya (Education and Change. Collection of Studies in Honour of Prof. Rumiana Radkova, on the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Bolgrad High School). Sofia: Institute for Historical Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2010, c. 512- 536 (in Bulgarian).
ISBN 978-954-2903-01-7

This article discusses a relatively understudied aspect of Balkan mentality and political culture during the period preceding the birth of modern Balkan nationalisms. Its subject is Orthodox legitimism, that is, the loyalist attitude of the Christian subjects of the Ottoman empire towards the central Ottoman authorities. Legitimism is analyzed here in the light of the so-called Chronicle of Serres, composed by Synadinos, a Greek Orthodox priest, born in 1600. The first part of the present study attempts to systematize the more prominent manifestations of ‘Orthodox legitimism’ in the chronicle of Synadinos. The second part tries to identify the conceptual matrix in the chronicle, on the basis of which the legitimism professed by Synadinos was constructed. The idea, developed in this part, is that the legitimist message of the priest from Serres largely overlaps with another, specifically Islamic, concept—that of ‘justice’ (*adalet*), a cornerstone for the doctrine of state governance in the Ottoman empire. The fact, that a Balkan Orthodox priest was able to ‘internalize’ so well the *adalet*-theory, is viewed in this article not only as evidence for the effectiveness of state propaganda on the Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman empire but also as a signal for the as yet inadequate state of study of communication channels between Christians and Muslims in the Ottoman Balkans.

15. Todorova, O. The “Sexualization” of a Single Religion: To the Problem of Bulgarian Perceptions of Islam during the National Revival Epoch. – In: Balkanite: modernizatsiya, identichnosti, idei. Sbornik v chest na Prof. Nadiya Danova (The Balkans: Modernization, Identities, and Ideas. In Honour of Prof. Nadiya Danova). Sofia: Institute for Balkan Studies and Center of Thracology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2011, pp. 250-277 (in Bulgarian).
ISBN 978-954-92231-8-7

In Greek:

Όλγκα Τόντοροβα, Η «σεξουαλικοποίηση» μιας θρησκείας: συμβολή στη μελέτη των απόψεων των Βουλγάρων για το Ισλάμ την περίοδο της εθνικής αναγέννησης. - In: Τα Βαλκάνια. Εκσυγχρονισμός, ταυτότητες, ιδέες. Συλλογή κειμένων κειμένων προς τιμήν

της καθηγήτριας Νάντιας Ντάνοβα. Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, Ινστιτούτο Μεσογειακών Σπουδών – ΙΤΕ, Ηράκλειο, 2014, 259-288. ISBN 978-960-524-437-8

The premise of this study is that the role of the religious component in constructing the (negative) Image of the Turk during the Bulgarian national revival epoch has been unjustifiably neglected by researchers. Proceeding on this path, the author concentrates on one particular motif which was quite popular in this epoch - the motif of Islam as a lecherous religion. The evolution of the above-mentioned motif, whose roots lay back to the Middle Ages, is examined through the writings of three prominent Bulgarian intellectuals and political leaders who were active in the beginning (Sophronyi Vrachanski), in the middle (Georgi Rakovski) and in the third quarter of the 19th century (Lyuben Karavelov). The study shows how, in the course of that century, the religious incentives standing behind the notion of “licentious” Muslims gradually receded into the background and how instead the same stereotype was instrumentalized to serve the emerging Bulgarian national ideology.

- 16. Mircheva, K., O. Todorova. Unknown Pages from the Life of an International *Aventurier* during the Third Quarter of the 19th Century: Balkanistic Visions and Bulgarian Contacts of Frederick Millingen (alias Osman Bey) up to 1878. – In: P. Bozinov, A. Kirilova etc. (eds). *Balgarskoto vazrozhdensko obshtestvo: problemi, borbi, postizheniya. Sbornik v chest na 75-godishninata na dotsent Ogniana Mazhdrakova (Bulgarian Society in the National Revival Epoch: Problems, Struggles, and Achievements. Studies in Honour of the 75th Anniversary of Assoc. Prof. Ogniana Mazhdrakova. Sofia: “Prof. Marin Drinov” Academic Publishing House, 2012, pp. 411- 446 (in Bulgarian). ISBN 978-954-322-544-6***

A translation in Greek:

Μίρσεβα, Κ. - Τόντοροβά, Ο. βαλκανικά Ξράματα καί βουλγαρικές Τπαφες τοῦ Φρέντερικ Μίλλινγκεν (Όσμάν μπέη): Δγνωστες σελίδες Βπό τῆ βιογραφία Ουνῆς διεθνοῦς τυχοδιώκτη τοῦ 19^{ου} αἰώνα. – ΤΑ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΑ, Τ. 56, 2012, 37-80. ISSN 1105-1663

The first part of this study presents briefly the most important episodes of Frederick Millingen’s (Osman bey’s) biography in the broader context of his family history. Examined here are his various role-transformations and the manifold twists of his personal, national, religious and political self-identification. Attention is paid also to his literary works and political pamphlets, in which he appears as a representative of 19th century “orientalism” and as a proponent of anti-semitism and right-wing conspiracy thinking. A number of archival documents have been used in the second part of the study, shedding light upon Osman bey’s Balkan connections up to the Russo-Turkish war of 1878 and upon his views on the region’s future after the anticipated downfall of the Ottoman Empire in the years to come. The emphasis here is laid on Osman bey’s Bulgarian contacts and on the impact of his writings on Bulgarian reading audiences. The central question asked is how Bulgarian intellectuals and politicians exploited Osman bey’s authority and ideas to promote their own cause – the emerging Bulgarian nationalism.

- 17. Todorova, O. Sofroniy on Other Religions: Observations on the Islamic Part of His “Book of the Three Faiths”. – In: P. Mitev and V. Racheva (eds.). Sofroniy Vratschanski - knizhovnik i politik na Novoto vreme (Sofroniy of Vratsa: Man of Letters and Politician of the Modern Age). Proceedings of the International Conference, Sofia, Nov. 24, 2011. Sofia: “St. K. Ohridski” University Press, 2013, pp. 234-250 (in Bulgarian). ISBN 978-954-07-4352-3**

Discussing the part on Islam of the so called “Book of the Three Faiths” (1805), written by the Bulgarian bishop Sofroniy of Vratsa, the study aims at depicting the bishop as a transitional personality at the crossroad between the Middle Ages and Modern Times. “The Book”, in Sofroniy’s own words, was destined to enlighten Bulgarians with some knowledge of the main principles and practices of the three monotheistic religions. In spite of this declaration however, the general attitude towards non-Christian faiths, Islam included, shown in the book, was more in accord with the medieval polemic writing.

Although Sofroniy claimed full authorship of the “Islamic” part of his book, this part, as it is well known, was in fact a free translation from the famous “System of the Mahometan Religion” by the Moldavian prince Dimitrie Cantemir, published in Russia in 1722. Comparison between the two texts, the Russian original and its Bulgarian rendering, reveals that Sofroniy copied Cantemir’s treatise, repeating uncritically his mistakes and inaccuracies. This fact makes us believe that although the bishop spent most of his life in a mixed Christian-Muslim milieu, his knowledge of Muslim religious rites and laws was nevertheless quite superficial. Obviously conscious of his own ignorance in Islamic religious matters, Sofroniy himself didn’t dare to alter the text of his exemplar. He was reluctant even to enrich it with some telling examples derived from Bulgarian past and present events. What Sofroniy knew very well however was the harsh reality of Christians’ life under Ottoman rule. It was described quite graphically in Sofroniy’s own autobiographical work entitled “Life and Sufferings of the Sinful Sofroniy”, which the bishop tried to present as a kind of continuation of Cantemir’s authorized text. Thus, combining two literary works, the first focusing on Islamic “theory” and the second – on Islamic practice, Sofroniy made an attempt to provide his compatriots with a strong ideological weapon ready for the turbulent times facing the Balkans at the beginning of the 19th century.

- 18. Todorova, O. Slaves-Captives during the War between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League at the End of the 17th Century: Christian-Muslim Parallels. – In: Lichnost, narod, istoriya. Natsionalno-osvoboditelnye borbi prez perioda 15-19 vek (Personalities, Peoples, History: Struggles for National Liberation, 15th- 19th Centuries). Hungarian Cultural Institute in Sofia - Historical Museum, Chiprovtsi. Sofia: Gera Art, 2014, pp. 150-167 (in Bulgarian). ISBN 978-954-9496-19-2**

As a major turning point in the history of the Balkans and Central Europe, the War between the Ottoman Empire and the so-called Holy League from 1683 to 1699 has been meticulously studied from almost every point of view. Yet, relatively little attention has been paid to its humanitarian aspects. Along these lines, the present article deals with war

captives, including civilians, from both sides of the Ottoman-European frontiers who fell in a state of slavery. A brief comparison was made between the methods of enslaving, the plight of the enslaved and the emancipation practices. Some novelties in the regulations for ransoming military captives introduced in post-war treaties were also discussed. Most of the examples used come from Bulgarian lands and are related to the events in the aftermath of the Austrian military invasion and the Chiprovtsi uprising. At the end, it was hypothesized that mass enslavements during the war, especially the enslavements of Ottoman Muslim subjects by Europeans, worsened the religious climate on the Ottoman Balkans and the Muslim-Christian interrelations.

19. Getov, D., O. Todorova. Two Unknown Autograph Greek Historical Notes by Metropolitans of Tırnovo in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century and Their Historical Context. – Biblioteka (Library), 2014, № 6, pp. 32 - 44 (in Bulgarian) ISSN 0861-847X

The National Library Sts Cyril and Methodius in Sofia possesses a Greek manuscript transmitting a rare post-Byzantine Canon Law collection. On an originally blank leaf two previously unknown dated and signed notes by well known metropolitans of Tırnovo were found – one by the hand of Joseph II (1714–1722), and another by Nikephoros (1722–1741). This article describes briefly codex NBKM gr. 55, transcribes diplomatically these notes and translates them from the Greek into Bulgarian. Related to the administration of justice in the metropolis of Tırnovo and the neighboring village of Arbanasi (Albanitokhori) in somewhat vague and general terms, these notes are tentatively interpreted in the context of Orthodox Christian versus Ottoman jurisdiction with an excursus on the history of Arbanasi.

20. Todorova, O. The Parish on the Balkans in Ottoman Era. An Inside Look: The Orthodox Priest and His Flock through the Prism of a Mid-17th Century Text Written by a Parish Priest. – In: S. Parveva and O. Todorova (eds). Iz zhivota na evropeiskite provintsii na Osmanskata imperiya prez XV-XIX vek. Sbornik izsledvaniya v pamet na prof. d.i.n.Elena Grozdanova (Glimpses into the Life in the European Provinces of the Ottoman Empire, 15th to 19th Centuries. A Collection of Studies in Memoriam Prof., DSc Elena Grozdanova). Sofia: "Gutenberg" Publishing House, 2016, pp. 636-676 (in Bulgarian). ISBN 978-619-176-088-6

This article tries to challenge the notion of an entirely harmonious Christian-Orthodox parish that dominates the historiography of the Ottoman Balkans. The interrelations between Orthodox priests and their flocks are analyzed here in the light of the so-called Chronicle of Serres (ca. 1642), composed by Papa Synadinos, a Greek Orthodox priest and a member of the local Christian elite. It is claimed that two distinct images of the parish, quite opposite to each other, emerge from the text of the Chronicle. The first one is the image of the „ideal“ parish, free of conflicts between priest and parishioners. In the Chronicle it was exemplified with the parish of Papa Sideris, Synadinos' father, who is portrayed as a perfect priest and a role-model for his time. This image however proves to be no more than a literary construct. Much more interesting is the second image representing the „real“ parish led by Synadinos himself. It was depicted as a place where

frictions between the „enlightened“ priest and his flock were a common occurrence. The present study attempts to delineate the economic as well as the cultural (in the broadest sense of the word) causes which stood behind the constantly evolving tensions between laity and priests. It is argued that disagreements deepened even more due to options available to both sides to compete against each other by petitioning either to the Ottoman or to the Church authorities.

- 21. Getov, D., O. Todorova. Short Greek Chronicles in a Bachkovo Manuscript Related to *kirdjali* Attacks on Stanimaka and Plovdiv from the End of 18th- Beginning of the 19th Century. – In: Kulturni mostove. Minalo i savremie. (“Rencontres culturelles. Le Passé et la Contemporanéité”). Conférence scientifique internationale. 30^e Anniversaire du Centre se Recherches Slavo-Byzantines “Ivan Dujčev” auprès de l’Université de Sofia “St. Clément d’Ohrid” (Annuaire du Centre de Recherches Slavo-Byzantines “Ivan Dujčev”, Vol. 99/18), pp. 663-685 (in Bulgarian).**

ISSN 1311-784 X

The documents published here, with a translation into Bulgarian, are two previously unknown Greek marginal notes in a Bachkovo monastery manuscript (№ 826 EHA). They were written by contemporaries who recorded briefly two *kirdjali* attacks on Stanimaka (1793) and Plovdiv (1803). An extensive historical commentary examines these events in the context of what we know so far from Ottoman and other sources, while also adding some new insights. Some additional light is shed on some of the participants in the *kirdjali* upheaval, on the plight of Bachkovo monastery and its neighbouring settlements in this epoch as well as on Christian-Muslim solidarity in the face of the common *kirdjali* threat.

- 22. Todorova, O. Bulgarian and International Historiography on Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire: Resemblances and Divergences. – In: V. Racheva (ed). Balgarite v Osmanskata imperiya: poniyatiya, strukturi, lichnosti (Bulgarians in the Ottoman Empire: Concepts, Structures, Personalities, 19th Century). Sofia: “St. K. Ohridsky” University Press, 2017, pp. 15-34 (in Bulgarian).**

ISBN 978-954-07-4352-3

This article attempts to juxtapose Bulgarian historiography dedicated to the problems of slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire and the acknowledged authorities elsewhere in this field exemplified here by the contributions of three leading contemporary Ottomanists coming from different countries: Ehud R. Toledano, Yusuf Hakan Erdem and Madeline Zilfi. The comparison suggests that, in general, Bulgarian slavery studies still fall short of current international research standards. In fact, for the most part they focus not on slavery proper whose victims in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Bulgaria were predominantly foreigners of African or Circassian origin but rather on the issue of the symbolic „slavery“ of Bulgarians under Ottoman rule.

- 23. Todorova, O. “Nothing but the Right of Patronage...”: Slave Integration in the Ottoman Empire in the light of the relationship between Masters and Slaves (on Materials of the Central Balkans from the Middle of 16th to the Early 18th Century). – Istoricheski pregled (Historical Review), № 3-4, 2016 (2018), pp. 22-88 (in Bulgarian).**

ISSN 0323-9748 (print)

Central for this study is the topic of the melting in the Ottoman “cauldron” of those war captives who, after their enslavement, filled the ranks of the so-called domestic slaves. In tackling this issue, a more special approach was chosen, with emphasis not on the role of the Ottoman state as a regulator of integration-assimilation processes, but on the slave integration “from below”. The aim is to reveal those specific relationships and interactions between the two sides of the “master-slave” dyad which contributed most to the effective incorporation of the enslaved into Ottoman society. The study covers the Central Balkan region. It is based on diverse sources, including unpublished Ottoman documents from the *sicills* of the cities of Sofia, Russe and Vidin from the middle of the 16th to the beginning of the 18th century.

In the course of work, the author analyzes, in a Central Balkan context, some well known mechanisms for slave integration (such as Islamization, for example) and a number of others that have been either undeservedly underestimated or completely neglected in specialized studies, such as: labour and linguistic integration, marriage, adoption of the Ottoman style of living, creation of a network of contacts in the host society, etc. The socialization of slaves is outlined as a process which was not only gradual but also lengthy. Starting from the first days of the slave’s stay in Ottoman territory, it continued to evolve with varying degrees of intensity, defined by a number of factors, including the formal legal status of each individual slave (e.g. *mazun*, *mukatib*, *mudebber*, *ümm-ü veled*, „ordinary” slave, etc.) The process of socialization was far from completed with the Islamization of the slaves or with their emancipation. The article emphasizes the active participation of the slave-owner and his family in all stages of slave socialization, especially in the post-emancipatory phase when, under Islamic law, the relationship between a former slave and a former master grew into a patron-client relationship. The practical dimensions of these patron-client relationships are revealed through several “case studies”, made on the basis of hereditary inventories of six freed women slaves, who died in Sofia in the 1670s

**24. Todorova, O. Victims, Fugitives, and Criminals: The Non-Integrated Slaves in Rumeli (16th- Middle of the 18th Century). – Istoricheski pregled (Historical Review), № 3-4, 2017 (2018), pp. 86-129 (in Bulgarian).
ISSN 0323-9748 (print)**

The study is dedicated to the various factors which prevented the successful integration of some domestic slaves and ex-slaves into the Ottoman society as well as to the two main forms of slaves’ societal self-exclusion – slave fugitivism and slave criminality. An attempt was made to delineate some characteristic features of these phenomena. Slave integration and slave exclusion are viewed as a reverberation of the very ambivalent essence of pre-modern Islamic slavery that regarded slaves as both things and persons. The porous boundaries between integration and exclusion are illustrated with several examples of fugitive slaves or slaves involved in heavy crime who in spite of their outlawness appeared to be well incorporated in the (marginal) segments of the Ottoman society.

The research is based on multiple sources but mostly on documents derived from the kadi registers.

- 25. Todorova, O. Notes on Christian Slave-Holding on the Balkans in Ottoman Times. – In: Ivan Bilyarski (ed.). *Laudator Temporis Acta. Studia in Memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov. Vol. 1. Religio. Historia. Sofia: “Gutenberg” Publishing House, 2018, pp. 402-424 (in Bulgarian). ISBN 978-619-176-131-9***

In this study, after a brief overview of the Ottoman policy towards Non-Muslim slave ownership (including the failed efforts to impose a state ban on it), an attempt was made to examine different Christian slave-holding practices and their motivation that varied according to social position. Holding slaves was viewed by Christian “oligarchs” mostly as a means of strengthening their prestige and high social stance. What mattered more for the rank and file Christian craftsmen however was the exploitation of slaves as domestic servants or skilled labourers. Another issue tackled in the study is the attitude towards slaveholding which prevailed among Orthodox Christians living in the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Up to the beginning of the 19th c., in the eyes of many, slavery looked like an ironclad, universal system. This perception was partly due to the Church notion of slavery as a God-established institution, and partly to the fact that in the Early modern era slavery flourished not only in the Ottoman domains but also in the neighbouring European countries. The study argues that it was this kind of societal climate that enabled some slave-holders to emerge from the Christian milieu of the Ottoman Balkans.

- 26. Todorova, O. The Untold History of Slavery: On the Prerequisites for a Public “War of Terms”. – *Istoricheski pregled (Historical Review), 2019, № 1, pp. 5-55 (in Bulgarian). ISSN 0323-9748 (print)***

The article argues that speculation with the metaphorical use of the term “slavery”, which in recent years took over the Bulgarian public debate on the Ottoman past, is due not only to political and ideological reasons but also to the fact that the Bulgarian historical science does not pay enough attention to the study of the institution of slavery itself in the Ottoman empire. Very little research, in particular, has been done on domestic slavery, which was the predominant form of slavery in the Empire, including its Bulgarian provinces.

Several themes are discussed, the illumination of which undermines the popular myth of total Bulgarian slavery during the Ottoman era: 1/ the ethnic composition of slaves, its dynamics over the centuries and the modest presence of Bulgarians among the slaves after the middle of the 15th century; 2/ the significant difference between the status of slaves in the Ottoman Empire, on the one hand, and the status of the Ottoman non-Muslim subjects, on the other hand; 3/ the existence of non-Muslim slaveholding in Bulgarian lands during the Ottoman centuries, as well as the theme of slavery as an integral part not only of Ottoman, but also of Christian Europe’s history until the beginning of the 19th century.

- 27. Todorova, O. Slave Trafficking between Ukrainian and Bulgarian Lands in Ottoman Times. – In: *Ukraina i Balgariya v istoriyata na Evropa. Sbornik nauchni trudove. (Ukraine and Bulgaria in European History. Collection of Studies). Kiev–Sofia: Institute***

**of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine - Institute for Historical Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2019, pp. 70-80 (in Bulgarian).
ISBN 978-966-02-8813-3; ISBN 978-954-2903-34-5**

The aim of this article is to present an overview of the two-way slave trafficking that took place in the 16th-17th centuries between what are now Ukrainian and Bulgarian lands. In the southerly direction, the main agents of this traffick were the Crimean Tatars who supplied the Ottoman slave market with Eastern-Europeans, including Cossacks, captured in the territories of Russia and Poland-Lithuania. A kind of role exchange may be observed in the opposite direction, the enslavers there being Zaporozhian or Don Cossacks whose human prey were predominantly Muslims inhabiting the Bulgarian Black Sea shore. In terms of intensity, frequency and volume, however, the southerly slave traffick seems to have been heavier. It is worth also noting that whereas the Bulgarian Christian population remained practically uninflicted by this two-way slave traffick, the Ukrainians and Russians happened to be its main and most numerous victims. Moreover, there is a reasonable ground to believe that in the 16th–17th centuries the Ukrainians (who in the Ottoman sources are sometimes designated as Cossacks but are usually concealed behind ethnonyms such as *rusî* or *tutî*) constituted quite a significant if not the biggest part of all slaves imported during this period into the Bulgarian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The study is based on various types of sources. They include excerpts from the voluminous Travel book (*Seyahatname*) of the famous 17th c. Ottoman author Evliya Çelebi as well as a number of entries from 17th c. Sofia and Rusçuk Shariat courts registers (*sicills*), which are kept nowadays in the Oriental Department of «St. St. Cyril and Methodius» National Library in Sofia.

28. Todorova, O. The Black Araps, Real and Imagined, in Ottoman Times. – Istoricheskobadeshte (Historical Future), 2019, № 1-2, pp. 113-143 (in Bulgarian).

ISSN 1311-0144

In spite of the relative scarcity of sources, this study tries to shed light on the murky history of the black (*arap*) slaves and ex-slaves who were once present in the Bulgarian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. After an overview of some racially biased views connecting blackness and slavery, which emerged in Islamic countries throughout the centuries, as well as of the origins of the black-slave trade in the Middle East, and of the peculiarities in the organization of black slaves and ex-slaves' socio-religious life in the Ottoman domains, the study tries to track the footprints of black slavery in what is nowadays Bulgaria and its border lands. On the basis mainly of documents recorded in the kadi *sicills* for the cities of Sofia, Ruschuk and Vidin from the 17th to the first half of 18th c., a conclusion was reached that the Sub-Saharan slaves there formed quite a small proportion of the slave population. Besides, no traces of sizable black slave and ex-slave communities led by their own elders (a phenomenon known from the Anatolian and Aegean parts of the Ottoman Empire) were detected in the region. Until the beginning of the 19th c. the documents studied show no apparent signs of discrimination based on the slaves' skin color. In the last Ottoman century however, due to various factors, racial prejudices became more and more evident. This article provides a number of examples of the negative, sometimes highly distorted image of the blacks as reflected in Bulgarian texts from that epoch and seeks an explanation for such stereotypes.

- 29. Todorova, O. Slaveholders in Ottoman Sofia: Socio-Religious Profile and Slaveholding Strategies (Mid 16th - Mid 18th Centuries). – Istoricheski pregled (Historical Review), 2020, № 2, pp. 5-46 (in Bulgarian).
ISSN 0323-9748 (print)**

This study tries to delineate the socio-religious profile of Sofia slaveholders in mid-16th – mid-18th centuries mainly on the basis of relevant documents found in the local Sharia court's registers dating from this period. The analysis of a sample of 211 slave-owners reveals, first of all, that slaveholding in Ottoman Sofia was relatively widespread, comprising not only the provincial *askeri* elites but also the representatives of the lower strata of the *askeri* group, as well as ordinary citizens – traders and craftsmen, including (although on a very modest scale) non-Muslims. Secondly, examination of the documents in the sample showed a slight preponderance of cases, in which slave owners and ex-owners proved themselves supportive and helpful in one way or another to their slaves and ex-slaves. In this context the symbolic value of the slaveholding as an emblem of status and piety has been discussed, especially in connection with the phenomenon of some relatively poor and/or newly-Islamized people joining the ranks of slaveholders.

- 30. Todorova, O. The Everyday Life of a Consul's Wife in the Balkan Provinces of the Ottoman Empire: Fanny Janet Blunt in the 60's- 70's of the 19th century. – In: T. Stoilova, P. Dimitrova, O. Todorova, P. Danova (eds.). Ezhednevieto na imperiite. Sredni vekove-XX vek (Everyday Life of Empires. Middle Ages - Twentieth Century). Izvestiya na Instituta za istoricheski izsledvaniya (Proceedings of Institute for Historical Studies), Vol. 36. Sofia: Prof. Marin Drinov Publishing House, 2021, pp. 470-493 (in Bulgarian).
ISSN 2367-5187**

Using mainly the books authored by Fanny Janet Blunt (1838/39 - 1926), wife of a prominent long-serving British consul on the Balkans in the second half of the 19th century, as well as other published and unpublished sources, this article tries to examine Mrs. Blunt's everyday life as a diplomat's spouse in the Late Ottoman Empire.

The study reveals her domestic and family preoccupations, servants' management, travel experiences, her leisure, political and intellectual activities etc., and, most importantly, her role as a go-between for her husband, helping him strengthen and expand his connections in both diplomatic and local circles. It is claimed that being not only a consul's wife but also a consul's daughter born and raised in the Ottoman domains, thanks to her independent character, deep understanding of local customs and her linguistic abilities, she succeeded to lead a dynamic life that matters. Her life contrasted sharply with the "angel in the house" Victorian paradigm of womanhood.