AFRICAN DIASPORAS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND MODERN TURKEY

by
BANU ÖZSAR

Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Sabancı University
December 2020

AFRICAN DIASPORAS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND MODERN TURKEY

Approved by:

Date of Approval: December 24, 2020

ABSTRACT

AFRICAN DIASPORAS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND MODERN TURKEY

BANU ÖZSAR

POLITICAL SCIENCE M.A. THESIS, DECEMBER 2020

Thesis Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Yusuf Hakan Erdem

Keywords: historical consciousness, historiography, Ottoman slavery, race and ethnicity

This study critically reviews historical narratives on Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire to better comprehend their self-conscious efforts to build communities despite the conditions forced upon them and their legacies in Modern Turkey. Inquiring about these entities leads one to trail some complexities lost to the narration of the past, primarily Black enslaved people's agencies. Therefore, it sets out to explore their agencies and the dynamic nature of their living ways through breaking down many of the concepts, narratives, and historiographies that appear neutral, thus channeling many historical actors to the taxonomy of humanness. Through this framework, the present dissertation aspires to indicate Black enslaved people's subsistences in the history of Turkey to challenge the process to become discernable by bringing the heterogeneities and complexities of historical African diasporas in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey to light.

ÖZET

OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞU VE MODERN TÜRKİYE'DE AFRİKA DİASPORALARI

BANU ÖZSAR

SIYASET BILIMI YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, ARALIK 2020

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Ögr. Üyesi Yusuf Hakan Erdem

Anahtar Kelimeler: tarih bilinci, tarihyazımı, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda köleleştirme, ırk ve etnisite

Bu çalışma Siyah köleleştirilmiş insanların kendilerine zorlanan koşullara rağmen topluluklar inşa etme konusundaki öz bilinçli çabalarını daha iyi anlamak için Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki haklarındaki tarihi anlatıları ve izdüşümlerini eleştirel bir şekilde gözden geçiriyor. Bu mevcudiyetler hakkında araştırma yapmak, tarihsel anlatımlarda kaybolan bazı çetrefilliklerinin, özellikle de Siyahi köleleştirilmiş insanların aktörlüğünün, izini sürmesine rehberlik eder. Bu nedenle tarafsız görünen kavramların, anlatıların ve tarih yazımların birçoğunu bozarak onların ajanslarını ve yaşam tarzlarının dinamik doğasını keşfetmeye başlıyor ve böylece birçok tarihsel aktörü insanlık taksonomisine kanalize ediyor. Bu çerçevede, bu tez Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye'deki tarihi Afrika diasporalarının heterojenitelerini ve karmaşıklıklarını gün ışığına çıkararak ayırt edilebilir hale gelme sürecini tartışmak için Siyah köleleştirilmiş insanların Türkiye tarihindeki varoluşlarını göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to Hakan Erdem for his valuable advice and unwavering support. I would also like to show my greatest appreciation to Nedim Nomer and Uygar Aydemir for their insightful suggestions. Particularly, I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to Sheila Pelizzon, with whom I have had many long and constructive discussions that laid the foundations of my perspective within and towards academia.

Without Özge and Sehergül's encouragements, I wouldn't have gained inner confidence in following such a route as this in my dissertation research. I also thank to people who are very much dear to me: Burcu, Beyza, Didem, Ezgi, Cem, Hatice, Rohat, Ceren, Çağla, and my mum. Some special thanks are due to Sumru Küçüka and Tuğcan Başara for their support in my time in this program.

Most especially, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the folks who are far beyond these pages.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.   INTRODUCTION

There exists well-established literature on the topic of slavery within the field of political history. However, as a political science student, much to my surprise, I discovered that there is only a relatively small body of literature concerned with Ottoman slavery, as in the subfield of Ottoman socio-political history. It is now generally agreed that enslavement has been practiced in many geographies throughout history. Also, considerable literature has recently grown up around the theme of slavery in Islamic societies. In these studies, several attempts have been made to find contributive ways to utilize available sources within new frameworks, for example, by employing a methodology that attempts to recover the subaltern's voices. Indeed, the concept of agency continues to receive increasing attention across many disciplines, and Ottoman slavery literature is not an exception. Following this line of research, this dissertation will address a set of research questions focused on centering the agency of enslaved Black individuals in the Ottoman Empire and associate the conclusions drawn with the experiences of those enslaved people's descendants living in Modern Turkey. In the literature, the former group of subjects is usually referred to as Afro-Turks. Although this notion can be criticized as ethnocentric, this study utilizes it since it is convenient for fluent writing. This topic reflects the researcher's moral liability to their community, which is to advocate that the community has constituted a part of the society for centuries, contrary to what is believed.

This study critically reviews the literature on Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire by tracing the contours of their strategies to make it through the challenging conditions forced upon them. In other words, it re-interprets narratives on Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire by centering by tracing their footsteps. Within this context, thinking through the history of enslavement brings countless debates on the ethical ways to address this history and considerations on power. Accordingly, it raises several questions about what impact and power narratives possess. If we tell a story in different ways from a different point of view, will we reach different outcomes? Can those outcomes refashion our understanding of the past,

our presence, or our future? How does one ethically produce a narrative about Black enslaved people within the context of Ottoman society? In the context of studying Black enslaved people's communities in the Ottoman Empire, this dissertation looks for ways to answer such questions while funneling Black enslaved people to the taxonomy of humanness. This inquiry benefits from explicitly secondary source resources are instead of primary resources due to the researcher's lack of knowledge in the Ottoman Turkish language.

At this juncture, a fragment of the present study's critical approach pertaining to vocabulary should be explained. Firstly, in contrast to many earlier studies, "Black," as in racial classification, is capitalized throughout this present study by following the lead of scholars such as Crenshaw (1990, 1244) who notes: "I capitalize 'Black' because 'Blacks,' like Asians, Latinos, and other 'minorities,' constitute a specific cultural group and, as such, require denotation as a proper noun. By the same token, I do not capitalize 'white,' which is not a proper noun, since whites do not constitute a specific cultural group." Agreeing with this view, white, as in racial classification, is not capitalized.[1] Further support is given by The Chicago Manual of Style's *Section 8.38: Ethnic and National Groups and Associated Adjectives* (2017) that edicts: "Names of ethnic and national groups are capitalized." Additionally, the notion of "enslaved persons" is utilized instead of "slaves." This suggestion is backed up by Romain (2004, 137) who highlights: "their 'slave' status was forced upon them and was not their own personal identity." Furthermore, this stand will also be instrumental in emphasizing the enslaved people's adaptive capacities and how they viewed the world despite the indignities forced upon them in the following pages. Admittedly, the notions of "the slave trade" and "the slave market" are still employed due to grammatical concerns. This dissertation urges Black enslaved people's agencies beyond fixating on the displays of the routinized violence of enslavement by unraveling some of the silences surrounding Black enslaved people's experiences in the Ottoman Empire. However, it is beyond this study's scope to investigate this history's whole course, which covers possibly more than four-hundred years (Sahillioğlu 1985, 98-104). Therefore, this study will focus on the narratives conducted in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to trace the produced silences while navigating Trouillot's "two sides of historicity" that it implies the overlap and distance between "what happened and which is said to have happened" (Trouillot 1995, 2-4). To look at this another way, Trouillot (1995, xix, 2) highlights that humans take part in history both as actors and as narrators and with unequal means for history production. Thus, in his view, power engrains historical knowledge by making some narratives possible while silencing others (Trouillot 1995, 26).

---

[1]For a discussion, see (Laws 2020).

Putting the concept of silence in this investigation raises Spivak's questions: "How can we touch the consciousness of the people, even as we investigate their politics? With what voice-consciousness can the subaltern speak?" (Spivak 1999, 272-3). These questions are needed to be associated with her caveat that remarks: "the moot decipherment of the subaltern by another in an academic institution, a knowledge-production factory, many years later must not be too quickly identified with the 'speaking' of the subaltern" (Spivak 1999, 309). Thus, a major limitation of the present dissertation is that, in Trouillot's view, it cannot elicit new facts from a vacuum (Trouillot 1995, 49). In other words, this study cannot bring out a new truth since it only criticizes the earlier studies primarily based on secondary resources.

In that direction, this study majorly explores Black enslaved people's experiences in the Ottoman Empire and their legacies in modern Turkey, on their own terms. Therefore, the conditions forced upon them and how they sought ways of living while, on occasion, challenging those restrictions will be investigated. There is a vital inventive line of research on enslaved Black people in the Ottoman Empire that acknowledges their agencies, chiefly conducted by Ehud Toledano, Hakan Erdem, and Eve Troutt-Powell. For instance, Erdem argues that there are documents that can help researchers establish the agency of enslaved people, such as "petitions, letters, court records, depositions, autobiographical notes, and even graffiti." On the other hand, Powell explores twentieth-century historians' narrations on African slavery in the Middle East by employing Spivak's framework (Powell 2006, 244). Following this line of research, this dissertation also grapples with such questions.

To better understand such a layered entity, it is vitally important to utilize a holistic approach, integrating the history of Black enslaved people in the Empire, their living ways, and their legacy of the Afro-Turk communities today. In that direction, this study acknowledges that it is liable to theorize both Ottoman history and enslaved Black people's agencies and communities that had been shaped by the same history while not relying on any essentialist notions of Black identities. Thereby, it will focus on their self-conscious efforts to climb the social ladder or mainly survive the conditions facing them with their agencies. In such a milieu, their most prominent helpers were themselves. There is abundant evidence that they have built communities to provide aid to those who were in need. In her inquiry on Black enslaved people's communal connections in the U.S., Hartman argues that the conditions that were put upon them, such as their already disrupted affiliations and the constant threat of separation, have driven them to self-consciously built "networks of affiliations" (Hartman 1997, 59). The scholar asserts that such communities should be interpreted in terms of the possibilities of resistance conditioned by relations of

power and the very purposeful and self-conscious effort to build communities.

In a similar way, the present study explores how enslaved Black people found several ways to create solidarity among themselves with the help of their creolized culture despite the harsh conditions that are forced upon them. In that direction, this dissertation re-interprets narratives on Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire by centering their capabilities of resistance, spirituality, and creativity by tracing their footsteps. It seeks to capture their strategies to survive in their new milieux by refusing to contain or constrain their journey's boundaries. While typically, the point of departure for the analyses of many studies in the literature is Black enslaved people's arrival into the Ottoman Empire. This study attempts to stretch those boundaries by addressing Black enslaved individuals' religious and spiritual customs by providing their historical extents. That is because it is generally accepted that Zar and Bori customs provided them the much-needed tools to grapple with the challenges they faced due to being enslaved in their new milieux (Hunwick 2004; Toledano 2007). Therefore, this study tries to expand the spatial and temporal limitations of our understanding of the history in consideration by tracing their religious beliefs.

Trouillot argues that Black enslaved people were driven to adopt the cultural entities they brought from different regions of Africa to their new milieux according to the specific conditions and needs they were facing at a particular time (Trouillot 2002, 203-4). Since such conditions were dynamic, in the scholar's view, creolization is a dynamic process with fluctuations among loss of culture and culture creation (Trouillot 2002, 204). Through this framework, this study aims to unearth the dynamic nature of subjects' strategies that can be located in a broad spectrum according to their environments' particularities.

To sum up, this study aims to enlarge our understanding of the African Diaspora in the Ottoman Empire and its legacy in Turkey from a critical lens. Particularly, addressing questions such as: If one center Black enslaved people in our comprehension of Turkey's modern history, what sorts of inductions will be brought to light attained to modern Turkey's society? The postulate here is that Black enslaved people and their descendants are a part of this society since, undeniably, they are not separate. While investigating these questions reflectively, indispensably, previous narrations will be disassembled and reassessed. This scholarly study involves breaking down many concepts, historiographies, and narratives that seem neutral and static.

The present study's intellectual rumination of engaging with the approaches that highlight Black enslaved people's agencies in the studies of Atlantic slavery tries

to adapt and translate them into the context of Ottoman society to address the questions stated above. Thus, it examines existing narrations on the historicity of both the communities of enslaved Black people in the Empire and Afro-Turks through a circuitous route. However, a lot more time and research are needed to unearth these gems. Inquiring about Black enslaved people's experiences in Ottoman society on their own terms may be the right place to start to critically engage with existing narratives of historical African diasporas in Turkey.

This dissertation is organized in the following way. Chapter 2 aims to help the reader comprehend how this literature has been evolving regarding the dominant trends and advancements and how the present dissertation could be fitted into this frame. Therefore, it begins by addressing the question of slavery; then it moves on to a discussion on the characteristics of Ottoman slavery. Subsequently, it offers a framework for where to situate Black enslaved people in Ottoman society within this study's scope. Furthermore, it reviews the literature on Ottoman society and Afro-Turks by noting significant research findings and analyzing their methods. In that context, it also criticizes recently produced narratives on Afro-Turks in the light of the conclusions drawn from the same chapter. Therefore, it addresses how this dissertation integrates into the framework of the recent literature.

Chapter 3 draws together the various strands of the thesis. Markedly, it addresses ways of presenting enslaved people as subjects of their own history based on available sources. With this aim in mind, it assesses ways to situate concrete circumstances faced by the Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire to understand their lives' socio-cultural aspects better. In this connection, historical narratives on Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire and other Islamic societies are examined while attempting to reveal the layers of "silences" around enslavement in these narratives by utilizing postcolonial theories. This chapter deals with possible explanations of why only limited scholarly attention is paid to the study of slavery in Islamic societies. Subsequently, it addresses whether it is possible to "give voice" to the subaltern, particularly Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire. Chapter 4 explores the living ways of Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire from this perspective. Their affiliations' dynamic nature resulting from their changing needs will be taken into consideration in this inquiry. In that way, various conditions put upon them and how they created spaces to resist such conditions will be addressed. In that context, it also criticizes recently produced narratives on Afro-Turks to bridge these sides of history. Lastly, Chapter 5 provides an overview of the conclusions of this inquiry in a reflective manner.

2.   LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a substantial amount of research on slavery as one of the non-negligible issues of world history without being utterly counteracted to this day. It is generally accepted that enslavement practices have been executed in various societies across time and space (Toledano 2007, 1). Watson (1980, 3-4) states that without a doubt, depending on each societies' particularities, enslavement practices have varied. In his view, the definition of slavery has been a matter of ongoing discussion among scholars due to such complexities. Accordingly, although several scholars have suggested a few definitions, not one of them has gained widespread acceptance. Therefore, it may be argued that having greater insight into this rather complex social phenomenon would yield useful information about not only enslavement practices but also all other complex multi-layered relations of power in history. In exploring this issue, this study does not intend to offer a comprehensive examination of slavery or recover an exhaustive investigation of systems of slavery but to critically interrogate existing literature on Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire and their descendants living in Modern Turkey. In that direction, this chapter's primary purpose is to lay out this research's groundwork.

The remaining part of this chapter proceeds as follows: After an initial discussion of how to comprehend slavery, an overview of different modes of enslavement in the Empire and their complexities are presented, following by a model to understand Ottoman slavery. Additionally, an overall trajectory of the Ottoman slavery literature with a focus on Black enslaved people will be presented. What is more, the research on current conditions for Afro-Turk communities will be addressed from a critical lens.

2.1 Conceptualization of the Notion of Slavery

Building on the idea that enslavement practices differ vastly across societies and time, this section illustrates the puzzle of how to conceptualize slavery. Firstly, it will briefly outline some of the most prominent typological classifications on slavery in the literature. It then moves on to a detailed analysis of Patterson (1982, 341)'s global enslavement model that crystallizes the fundamental processes of slavery to comprehend its internal structure and the institutional patterns that support it. As Toledano (2017, 136) states, almost all of the scholars studying any perspective of slavery has utilized his work; whether they agree with the main arguments or not. Thereby, he suggests that scholars should address Patterson's ideas, mull them over time, and incorporate them into their studies. Following Toledano's suggestion, this section presents an analysis of Patterson's model as a point of departure to understand the complexities of the Ottoman slavery system.

Klein (1993, 3-4) presents an extensive descriptive typology of existing slavery definitions. He argues that the definitions of slavery can be classified into three groups. The first group of definitions stresses the outsider, i.e., kinless, enslaved status in a slave-holding society (Kopytoff and Miers 1977; Meillassoux 1986; Patterson 1982; Watson 1980). The second group emphasizes the property aspect of slavery. For instance, Watson's definition differentiates slavery from all other forms of dependency and involuntary labor because slavery has a property aspect (Watson 1980, 8-9). Finally, Klein's third category emphasizes that the enslaved people's dependence stems from violence, and it required coercion to continue (Meillassoux 1986, 12, 94-6). In other words, this category highlights enslaved people's powerlessness since they are ripped from their social relations and implanted in a new environment where they were powerless. However, in Klein's view, this fact does not undoubtedly covey that they were poorly treated. They were wretched enslaved people, and there were ones who were well of. This variation does not discard the fact that they lacked identity, which made them effective instruments to others (Klein 1993, 5). Toledano (2000, 163) also endorses the last group of slavery definitions by claiming that it is an adequate departure point to evaluate Ottoman slavery considering the ambiguity around Ottoman officialdom's servile statuses, which will be discussed in the following section.

In a similar vein, in his conceptualization of slavery, Patterson (1982, 1) adopts the concept of power from Max Weber's perspective, "that opportunity existing within a social relationship which permits one to carry out one's will even against resistance and regardless of the basis on which this opportunity rests" (Weber 1972, 117). From this perspective, the scholar interprets that relations of inequality or domination subsist when one person has more power than another in a continuum from those of marginal asymmetry up to those in which one person can exercise

with any exemption (Patterson 1982, 1). What is more, Patterson (1982) argues that power relationships vary from one another depending not only on the degree but also on the kind. As for slavery, the scholar construes it as one of the most extreme forms of the relation of domination since it approaches the limits of total power from the enslaved individual-holders' perspective and of absolute powerlessness from the angle of the enslaved people.

Following, Patterson (1982) does not perceive slavery merely as a category of legal thought. Instead, he perceives it as a relation of domination, even furthermore, a relation of parasitism. He explains that he adopted this gear, a subclass of symbiosis social behavior, from the social biologists. According to him, adopting the apparatus of parasitism is the first step toward comprehending human parasitism's more complex dialectics with a few advantages. Firstly, it enables the researcher to construe this relation from the dominant perspective; therefore, the researcher can further remediate the balance. However, Patterson (1982) acknowledges that this approach has a cost that is struggling with the language. The second advantage of the concept of parasitism highlights the asymmetry in the mentioned relations. Furthermore, Patterson argues that it allows the analysis to acknowledge the full spectrum of the degree to which the parasite depends on the host and the extent to which the host is exploited to support the parasite since the two do not determine the bounds of each other. To quote Patterson (1982, 336): "A parasite may be only partially dependent on its host, but this partial dependence may entail the destruction of the host. Or the host may be totally dependent on the parasite, but the parasitism may only partially influence the host - or may have no effects beyond being a minor nuisance, in which case the relation approaches what biologists call commensalism."

The final advantage of the conceptual framework of parasitism, according to Patterson (1982), is that it provides a helpful approach to investigate the complexities of dependence. More specifically, the conception reveals that, in the process of dominating, the dominator makes another individual dependent while making themselves dependent. Besides, Patterson argues, the paradox of domination indicates a continuum from a minor dependence or exploitation into a significant dependence on the part of the dominator and pressing survival risks for the dominated. In other words, the former refers to a point just before true mutualism, while the latter points out total parasitism. Along this continuum, Patterson (1982) emphasizes that various combinations of parasitic-dependent and parasitized-exploited can be evaluated.

By claiming that the units of this parasitic relationship are not only individual holders and enslaved people, Patterson (1982, 337) argues that the parasitism framework

is also relevant at the macro-sociological level. In that regard, the institution of slavery is designed in a single process that operates on the total social system. In particular, the systemic parasitization of the culture belonged to the holder of enslaved individuals instinctively bolsters the holders' immediate personal parasitism on the enslaved people. From this perspective, Patterson uncovers enslaved people's suffering from both personal and institutional parasitism. Furthermore, Patterson (1982, 337-8) denotes that the holder defines the enslaved people as dependents to hide their dependence and parasitism through ideological strategies. Since enslaved people's kin relations were illegitimate, they were seen as degraded, and they were severely tender hefted to the community's realities. According to Patterson, the holder's ideological class created this ideological inversion of reality. Undoubtedly, the scholar argues, almost all holders of enslaved persons believed that they cared for and provided for the enslaved people. Overall, Patterson (1982, 13) concretizes slavery as "the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonored persons."

To summarize, Patterson (1982, 38) displays the process of enslavement, which began with the abduction of people to be enslaved, caused their social death. In that process, enslaved people would undergo the loss of their identities through some other particular practices, such as replacing their names. Thereby, their kin relation and social bonds were made illegitimate and validated by the holders. (Patterson 1982, 67). The reason for the extensive coverage of "*Slavery and Social Death*" in this chapter is that it encourages scholars to ask questions about slavery without any abstentions by offering the parasitism framework. For instance, Toledano (2007, 15-18) admits that he was attentively aware of the sensitivity of Ottoman slavery in his first two decades of his scholarly work. Therefore, he opinionatedly accepted "intrinsic" differences of Ottoman slavery from other systems of slavery. He presents the "attitude hurdle" hypothesis, which refers to scholars' overly sensitive approach to slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Islamic societies as the root of his earlier preconceived opinion.

Even though "*Slavery and Social Death*" is still a well-known work in historical sociology, according to Toledano (2017, 136), this does not mean that historians of specific societies during particular periods would not find misconceptions or mere inaccuracies in his work. For instance, Toledano argues that Ottoman slavery only confirms this model partially. In comparison to Patterson (1982, 13)'s slavery definition of "natally alienated and generally dishonored persons," Toledano claims that enslaved people in the kul/harem system did not have any of these characteristics (Toledano 2017, 137). However, as will be discussed in the following pages, Toledano's continuum model for Ottoman slavery corresponds to Patterson's frame-

work. Hence, the next section provides a general discussion of enslavement modes'
typical features in Ottoman society.

2.2 The Characteristics of Ottoman Slavery System

Ottoman slavery system has been the subject of much systematic investigation in
academic circles. As Toledano (1993a, 479) states, since the rise of the Ottoman
Empire in the thirteenth century, different forms of servitude relations were widely
practiced in various spheres of society. Similarly, Erdem (1996, xvii) highlights per-
vasive and lasting importance on Ottoman society in multiple dimensions, such as
individuals' private lives and the state apparatus. What is more, as Erdem (1996,
19) puts it, the Ottoman slavery system was an open one, meaning enslaved people
were perpetually integrating into society (Watson 1980, 1-15). Furthermore, en-
slaved people were regularly manumitted, and birth was not a significant method of
enslavement in Ottoman society (Erdem 1996, 53). Simultaneously, the enslavement
of freeborn Muslims and *zimmî* non-Muslims were forbidden (Erdem 1996, 19). As
a result, Erdem (1996, 19, 55) denotes that the system required a continual supply
of enslaved persons from outside of the Empire to perpetuate itself and any shock,
positive or negative, on the supply of enslaved people had binding consequences on
the institution.

Erdem (1996, 54) suggests that most enslaved people in the Empire were brought in
through trade. Generally speaking, as Toledano (1982, 19-28) reports, the Ottoman
slave trade possessed four main arteries: The North African, the Red Sea, the
Gulf-Iraq, the Circassian and Georgian traffic. Except for the last one, all others
carried Black enslaved individuals (Erdem 1996, 55). The number of people forcibly
transported from various regions of Africa into the Ottoman Empire cannot be
known for sure due to the scattered manner of recordings on the Ottoman slave
trade volume (Toledano 2007, 10). However, by relying on Austen (1992)'s work,
Toledano (2007, 10) estimates 16000 to 18000 people were forcibly dispatched to the
Empire each year during much of the nineteenth century. As for the total volume
of coerced migration from the varied regions of Africa to the Empire during the
nineteenth century, the scholar reaches the estimation of 1.3 million people based
on another research published by Austen in 1988. According to Toledano (2007,
11), these figures should have been resulted in a fairly noticeable African diaspora
in Turkey, the Middle East and North Africa region, even the Balkans.

Another crucial feature of Ottoman slavery is that the linkage between an enslaved person and their holder did not exist in exclusivity. As Erdem (1996, 18) warns us, the fact that slavery had vital importance in Ottoman society should not misguide one to assume that the institution was left to its own to function. Ottoman enslavement was sanctioned by the *Şeriat* and approved by the customs while also protecting individual Muslim subjects' rights against the state, including their right to hold enslaved people. For example, in theory, an ill-treated enslaved person could apply to the *Şeriat* court to obtain manumission. That being said, both Erdem (1996, 18) and Toledano (2000, 167) confirms that the state was usually unwilling to interfere in the treatment or punishment of enslaved people held by individuals. Toledano (2000) states that it is not very clear when and to which degree the courts intervene in these cases. In comparison, Erdem (1996, 18) claims that the state kept its efforts to intervene only in the events of illegal enslavement of free individuals and exploitations of enslaved people in inappropriate capacities, such as thievery.

As for the living conditions of enslaved people in the Empire, they altered strikingly (Ferguson and Toledano 2017, 20). While some of them had very high political power, other enslaved individuals were labored under severe conditions. Thus, Ferguson and Toledano (2017) argue that "Ottoman slaveries" or "modes of enslavement" might better conceptualize these kinds of variations within the enslavement practices rather than "Ottoman slavery." At any rate, Toledano (1993*a*, 479) classifies the domains in which enslavement was involved: Military-administrative servitude, as Erdem (1996, 1) calls it, military-administrative slavery, better known as the *kul* system, *harem*, domestic, and agricultural (on a somewhat limited scale). Furthermore, Erdem (1996, 1) emphasizes another dimension of this classification, the industrial branch. Toledano (1993*a*, 479) argues that the forms of enslavement had remained almost the same until around the mid-nineteenth century, Whereas the relations of servitude in the *kul* system were the ones that had undergone the most profound changes. What follows is a brief description of military-administrative, agricultural, and industrial branches of Ottoman slavery.

2.2.1 Enslaved People in Different Domains of Ottoman Society

It is generally accepted that enslaved people were employed as soldiers and administrators in all Islamic societies, besides being held by private individuals. Similarly, the system of military-governmental enslavement system was intricately intertwined with the state structure too (Erdem 1996, 1). Toledano (1993*b*, 40) observes that

the ambiguity surrounding Ottoman officialdom's servile status has brought about an academic debate over whether all people in government service, regardless of their origins, should be considered enslaved persons like domestic and agricultural enslaved individuals in the Ottoman Empire. For example, İnalcık (1950), an Ottomanist, argues that military administrative officials were not "real slaves" because their situations differ vastly.

Erdem (1996, 7) also confirms that as the eminence of *askerîs* rose in the hierarchy, the complexity of their juridical status increased. For example, high-ranking officials and soldiers could hold enslaved people, own properties, and marry (Erdem 1996, 8). However, Erdem (1996, 6) highlights that all officials, apart from those of the *ulema* ranks like *kadıs*, were considered "*kuls* (slaves of the *Sultan*)"in the state's patrimonial structure, even though not all members of the "slave institution" had true slave origins. Meaning, officials who were freeborn Muslims were still subject to some of the rules of the slavery institution (Erdem 1996, 1). Thus, Erdem (1996, 7) asserts no equivalences existed between the enslaved people's legal status and their rank in the ruling institution. To sum up this discussion, it may not be out of place to note that Erdem's conclusion creates new space for interrogating the complexities in Ottoman slavery.

As for the agricultural and industrial domain, Erdem (1996, 11-7) highlights that enslaved people were set to work only when profitable on the small-scale. To illustrate, in the agricultural sphere, share-cropping enslaved individuals *(ortakçı kul)* were employed almost exclusively on big farms (Erdem 1996, 12). In the case of the industrial area, it was primarily an urban phenomenon because enslaved people's labor was cheap enough only to produce expensive luxury goods in manufacture also there was a demand for skilled labor in the sector in large Ottoman cities (Erdem 1996, 15). By the contractual manumission system known as *mükâtebe*, holders guaranteed both their investments would make some profit in a relatively short time, and their employees would work in an orderly fashion (Erdem 1996, 16).

With respect to the changes that Ottoman slavery had gone through, Erdem (1996, 55) argues, the nineteenth century, particularly its second half, witnessed many pressures on the supply side from both opposite directions. On the one hand, the volume of the slave trade was increasing in was causing an incremental expansion of the system (Erdem 1996, 58). On the other hand, according to Erdem (1996, 55), the two main reasons for the initial weakening of the Ottoman slavery system were taking place: the embarkation of Ottoman policy on an anti-slavery course and the increasing European domination on areas where enslaved people were recruited. Consequently, from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the first decades of

the twentieth, the system had undergone its decline process (Erdem 1996, 58). In other words, the system had gone through a late expansion in the third quarter of the nineteenth century on the eve of meeting its demise.

2.2.2 The Continuum Model for Ottoman Slavery

So far, this chapter has focused on the puzzle of how to conceptualize slavery in a broad framework and whether a universal model of slavery is applicable to any analysis of the issue. This section will present Toledano's continuum model to figure out where Black enslaved people can be situated in the bigger context of Ottoman society. This section draws mostly on the following: As Toledano (2000, 171) argues, slavery phenomena, overall, do not lend themselves to be defined in clear-cut edges. Therefore, the scholar asserts that Ottoman slavery, in itself, is not an exception to this generalization either. By adopting this postulate, Toledano (2000, 173-4) offers a framework for analyzing enslavement practices in Ottoman society. To begin with, the scholar contends that there was never a dichotomy between enslaved people and people with free status; instead, there was a continuum of various degrees of bondage. He constructs this continuum between the officeholders with the least tie to enslavement in contract to enslaved people in the spheres of domestic and agricultural for enslaved people at the other end of the continuum. In this array, *kul-type* enslaved people (military-administrative servitude) of enslaved origins are the closest to officeholders, then harem women of enslaved origins.

This continuum model avoids forcing rigid categories upon a complex social phenomenon. Establishing a continuum between the modes of enslavement in the Ottoman Empire enables the researchers to study the differences between enslaved persons' experiences. Starting from this point of view, Toledano contends that even many slavery practices fell into the category of legal enslavement, the living conditions of the enslaved persons differed dramatically. While some had positioned themselves in high ranks of the bureaucracy, some labored under harsh circumstances (Toledano 2000, 174).

However, it is necessary to discuss where Black enslaved people fit in this continuum. Toledano (2007, 14) classifies the positions for enslaved people concerning six main criteria that affect their fortunes and treatment: their tasks (whether domestic, agricultural, menial, or *kul*/harem), location (the core or a peripheral area), habitat (urban, village, or nomad), gender (male, female, or eunuch), race (Black or white), and the stratum of their holder (a member of an urban elite, a rural notable, a

smallholder cultivator, an artisan, or a merchant). According to Toledano (2007, 15), this classification infers three deductions. Firstly, enslaved domestic workers in urban elite households are better treated than the ones in other settings. Secondly, if enslaved people who have lower holders are far from the core in less densely populated habitats, they are at higher risk of receiving inadequate treatment. Lastly, Black enslaved people were more often than not face hardships than white enslaved people.

2.3 Tracing the Trajectory of the Literature on Ottoman Slavery

Having discussed how to comprehend Ottoman slavery, this section briefly contextualizes Ottoman enslavement literature by reviewing and synthesizing significant research findings and addressing how this dissertation integrates into the framework. Due to practical constraints, this paper cannot provide a comprehensive review of the literature. Therefore, it plots the literature's trajectories by highlighting turning points for the movements of the main focus of interest, which have been impacted by Ottoman studies and global slavery studies' developments. It will then cover four main themes in the recent Ottoman slavery literature: studies focusing on economic aspects of slavery, the gendered dimension of enslavement, the impacts of the bottom-up approach, and research on Afro-Turks. Undeniably, these formed series in the literature are roughly divided and thereby interbedded.

As Kırlı (2014, 376) argues, while only relatively a few scholars were researching Ottoman history before the 1970s, a new generation of historians went into Ottoman studies in the following decades. According to him, during these years, while the political and intellectual force of Marxism's was being questioned, the effect of Orientalism was increasing in Middle East historiography, shifting the view of the historical agency from external and European to local and indigenous (Kırlı 2014, 376-7). The scholar also argues that this trend influenced the selection of new research topics and conceptualizations in Ottoman social history, moving the focus on Ottoman institutions and elites to Ottoman lower classes. Thus, according to Kırlı (2014, 377), the analyses of empire-wide transformations from the perspective of incorporation into the world economy gave its way to inquiries into local and regional processes, resulting in the enlargement of the empirical research base. Specifically, in his view, the discussions on the harem and the enslaved women's agencies gained importance (Kırlı 2014, 377-8).

In a similar vein, Ferguson and Toledano (2017, 197) point out that over the last three decades, writings about Ottoman history have been re-examined under the influence of these advancements. Alongside these advancements, the scholars argue that the history of Ottoman enslavement has also been extensively reinterpreted. However, they state that a few defining themes in the study of Ottoman slavery have remained constant since its formative period. Kırlı (2014, 377) also highlights that these developments have become stronger gradually, only by the early 1990s, historical agency and "history from below" have begun to be confronted. Furthermore, according to Kırlı (2014, 377-8), in the last two decades, research on the Afro-Turk community has started to be conducted incrementally. Therefore, the following section will discuss these advancements in the Ottoman slavery literature exclusively.

2.3.1 Economic Aspects of Ottoman Slavery

In this beginning phase of Ottoman slavery research, Ferguson and Toledano (2017, 198) argue that the state archival sources and various European, chiefly British, consular archives were predominantly used as a reference. For instance, in his journal article, Fisher (1978, 150) denotes his astonishment at the embryonic level of slavery and the slave trade in the Ottoman Empire given that many enslaved people were passed through the region to reach southern Europe, Africa, and the Far East. Thereupon, he presents the preliminary findings of his research on slave markets and the governmental regulation of the sale of enslaved persons through taxation and judicial procedure in the light of the court records. Fisher (1978, 170) concludes that the documentary evidence shows that slave markets could be found in almost every city and provincial center of the empire. However, the scholar contends that the numbers of enslaved people involved in markets and the size of slave-dealing guilds, and the merchants' class are hard to determine. Moreover, in one of this later works, Fisher (1980, 41) highlights the slave trade's pervasiveness throughout the Empire.

Contemporaneously, Toledano (1993*b*, 44) stated: "the study of slavery and the slave trade in the Ottoman Empire is only beginning." He attributes this re-newed interest to the book titled "*Time on the Cross*," which was written by Fogel and Engerman (1994). Toledano argues that this book has revived the debate over the Atlantic slavery traffic volume. He exemplifies this effect by referring to a book written by Pipes (1981), that addresses military slavery under Islam. Still, Toledano

(1993*b*, 45) argues that although Islamic slavery was attracting more attention both in its universal and its Islamic dimensions, the study of Ottoman slavery was overlooked apart from a limited number of works. However, markedly, Erdem (1996) conducted a comprehensive research on Ottoman slavery with a detailed analysis of the institution.

2.3.2 Enslavement as a Gendered Experience

As far as the gendered aspect enslavement is concerned, Zilfi (2010, 104) highlights that the first studies in the field mostly neglected the significance of gendered experiences and gender as a historical analysis category by producing narratives that approaches to the enslaved women only as an adjunct to the elite enslaved men and ethnic identities of enslaved people by reducing the experiences of the enslaved women to polygyny and concubinage issues. Consequently, Zilfi (2010, 104) emphasizes that the focal point was only the quantitative speculations, namely: "How many men were polygynous? How many wives or concubines did men have? What percentage of men had large harems?" have been frequently addressed.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that there were exceptions to this narrative. Firstly, Peirce (1993)'s book titled "The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire" can be considered a pathbreaking point in Ottoman slavery studies. In this book on the Ottoman dynastic household of Topkapı Palace, Pierce focuses on the institutional aspect of seraglio and the experiences of concubines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Peirce (1993, 122) highlights that even though some of the concubines rose to higher positions, such as the concubine of the Sultan, their future uncertainty significantly shaped their lives; therefore, they were driven to built networks of influence. Overall, it is evident the writer puts forward the agency of royal concubines by presenting the royal concubines as involved individuals who were intent on protecting themselves. In a similar vein, Toledano (1993*c*) has utilized police records to reveal the nature of the harem and the intersections of households.

Moreover, Erdem (2010)'s study re-tells the story of a Black enslaved woman named Feraset and her conflict with her holders by utilizing letters, court records, depositions, documents as empirical evidence to denote that she took her agency into her hands instead of waiting for her manumission. Likewise, Karamürsel (2016, 138) offers an insight into the gendered and racial politics of emancipation by giving voice to the experience of an enslaved woman of Circassian origin named Fatma Leman,

who fled her holders' house and resorted to the Ministry of Justice in Istanbul to demand her freedom after the Second Constitution's inauguration.

Following, Zilfi (2010, 136) puts forward a critical discussion regarding enslaved individuals' race and ethnicity in the Empire by highlighting that the enslaved people's lives were significantly affected according to their race. What is more, the scholar further initiates the debate on women, slavery, and the gender hierarchy in the late Ottoman Empire in her book. According to Zilfi (2010, 24), the period her study focuses, which is the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, laid the ground for the transformations after the long nineteenth century. Accordingly, she lists four binaries in this structure; in each of them, one element dominates the other: *askerî* over *reaya*, Muslim over non-Muslim, holder over enslaved individuals, men over women. Zilfi (2010, 1-21) contends that social power distribution was calculated in society according to the hierarchies in each of the binary. Additionally, Zilfi (2010, 5) argues that *ulema* was the conservative force holding this structure together with the ideological framework of Sharia law. In that direction, she discusses the interrelated themes of women, gender (by taking them as binary like other variables she depicts), and social hierarchy.

However, there are two weaknesses in this study. Firstly, the author's conclusions might have been more convincing if she had not used anachronistic words, such as misogyny or patriarchy. For instance, she claims that the severe patriarchal systems provided its continuance without being unchallenged. Also, it can be argued that this view neutralizes the agency of enslaved women. This argument brings forward the second weakness, to undermine the agency of enslaved people. Although Zilfi utilizes documents to display enslaved women's marginalization is valuable, it is also important to denote that even enslaved women on the lowest level in this social hierarchy did whatever in their power to negotiate their positions.

2.3.3 The Impact of the Bottom-up Approach and Ethnographic Studies

This section follows from the previous part, which laid out the recent efforts to present enslaved individuals as subjects of their own history. However, there are also three antecedent ethnographic works published regarding Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire. For example Boratav (1951) and Güneş (1999) portray the Calf Festival organized in Izmir in their respective studies. Also, Parlatır (1987) studied the attitude of intellectuals toward slavery in the Tanzimat period's literature by addressing some questions, such as "How did Western notions of slavery

affect attitudes to slavery in Ottoman society."

Besides, in 2007, Toledano signaled a new period in the studies of Ottoman slavery by dwelling on the archival documents, especially Sharia and *Nizami* court records, to locate individuals' personal stories scattered in several records. Therefore, Toledano (2007, 34) argues that there is a need to design a method to analyze the significance of such stories as historical evidence. He refers to this approach as "voice recovery" and "experience reconstruction" (Toledano 2007, 35). By this way, Toledano looks at the experience of enslavement as a coerced migration to understand the broader dynamics of power and exploitation (Karamürsel 2014, 194). Such a point of departure shifts the emphasis on culture-oriented, socially driven interpretations. Thus, this discussion ratifies Creswell (2007, 22)'s claim that the studies of marginalized groups or people to raise their voices can be more frequently seen recently, especially in ethnographic researches. It can be argued that over time research focus shifted from the state to understand the enslaved experience on its own terms and investigate how enslaved individuals actively worked to ameliorate their own condition.

As was mentioned in Chapter 1, it is now necessary to provide an overview on the legacy of the history of African slavery in the Ottoman Empire. Today in Turkey, various communities with many descendants of Black enslaved people in western Anatolian towns, such as Torbalı, Söke, Ödemiş, Tire, and Akhisar; in the provinces of Aydın and Antalya (Güneş 1999, 9). However, before dwelling on the scholarly research on Afro-Turk communities, it is vital to highlight some developments outside academia to explain the increasing public awareness of Ottoman slavery and Afro-Turks in recent years. It is widely accepted that *Afrikalılar Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği*, namely the African Culture Solidarity and Cooperation Association (hereafter the Association), has a significant contribution to existing public awareness on the issue since its establishment in 2006. After the Association was founded, according to Oral (2016, 36), Mustafa Olpak, who is the founder, and a number of academicians began to interview with any Afro-Turk families they could find on their stories and experiences to generate more documents on their history. Moreover, Tarih Vakfı (2008), namely the History Foundation, conducted an oral history project to record what information could be obtained from elderly Afro-Turks living along the western coast of Turkey regarding their history.

Furthermore, three documentaries have been produced on Afro-Turks. Firstly, "*Arap Kızı Camdan Bakıyor* [The Arab Girl Looks out of the Window]" was broadcasted on a national television channel in February 2007 (Durugönül 2011, 160). Within the same year, with the Republic of Ministry of Culture and Tourism sponsorship,

a documentary film titled "*Sütlü Çikolata* [Milk Chocolate]" was released. This documentary includes shots of interviews with Afro-Turks living in Dalaman who are the descendants of hundreds of Black enslaved people transported from Sudan and Egypt to Dalaman by Abbas Hilmi Pasha, to be worked in his in Dalaman in 1905. Last but not least, in October 2010, a documentary titled "*Siyahım, Afrikalıyım, Türküm* [I am Black, I am African, I am Turkish]" was broadcasted by a national television channel.

The last significant advancement that has led to the increasing public awareness is the Association's initiation of organizing the Calf Festival (hereafter the Festival) for the first time after decades of its prohibition in 2007 (Durugönül 2011, 159). Durugönül (2011) sees these contemporary celebrations of the Festival as an attempt for Afro-Turks to revitalize one of their oldest traditions. Agreeing with this view, Dinçer (2012, 229) argues that the Calf Festival's revitalization is vital for Afro-Turks to obtain social, economic, and political visibility. Dinçer (2012, 230) also notes that while the event was organized initially in the modes of gatherings with dancing, singing, and eating, over time, more panel discussions on Afro-Turk communities' history and culture have been included. Dinçer (2012, 231) argues that this contemporary form of the Calf Festival differs from its predecessor Calf Festival in three aspects. The first aspect she mentions is that it only lasts for two days compared to the earlier fashion of celebrating for three weeks. Secondly, Dinçer highlights that people would walk around in the neighborhood to collect donations and sacrifice calves, which is now not the case. Finally, the author reports that while *godyas* would organize the Festival in the previous centuries, the Association is responsible for its arrangements, including announcing in media or finding funds.

Thus, it is evident that Afro-Turk communities look for ways to build connections with each other in their own terms even today. In the bigger framework of historical African diasporas in Turkey, the present dissertation argues that their milleux is unprecedented today with the particularities of their environments, so do their strategies to build communities. This idea leads to vast amount of discussions on how to trace these steps through secondary literature. With this aim in mind, a detailed discussion on the voice of enslaved people and the bottom-up approach are presented in the following chapter.

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter aims to introduce the research methodology for the critical theory regarding this study's primary methods. Their advantages and shortcomings are discussed. It explores the layers of silences around African slavery in the Islamic world, both in academic historical narratives and the stories of enslaved people themselves. From this vantage point, hitherto produced historical narratives will be critically examined while emphasizing the absences and silences in these accounts. Throughout such an inquiry, it is necessary to raise the question of whether one can represent the subaltern, and if so, how. Around these questions, this chapter attempts to expand our understandings on enslaved Black people's living conditions in Ottoman society, necessarily, from the subaltern perspective.

3.1 An Investigation into the Case Study Method

A variety of methods are used to assess Ottoman slavery. Each has its advantages and drawbacks. First and foremost, this study deploys a "qualitative historical analysis," which stands for the "methodological approach that employs qualitative instead of quantitative measurement and the use of primary historical documents or historians' interpretations" (Thies 2002, 352). The qualitative approach allows inquiring the presence or absence of particular qualities or attributes in a single set of phenomena, namely the Ottoman slavery, and measuring the degree to which those attributes were present. Furthermore, this research mostly takes advantage of secondary source resources instead of primary resources due to the researcher's lack of knowledge in the Ottoman Turkish language. Still, there are certain drawbacks associated with the use of such materials. For example, the researcher's selection process of the sources always involves the potential for claims of unwarranted selectivity and investigator bias (Thies 2002, 355).

Admittedly, this "selection bias" hazard is an inescapable part of qualitative research. However, there are some ways to minimize selection bias, therefore, build a more accurate representation of history (Thies 2002, 357). For example, the choices of source materials will be explained and justified along with the triangulation of data, in other words considering different sources of evidence and comparing them. In this study, the gathered data from multiple sources on various periods will be crafted using the process-tracing method. This method is defined as a mode of causal inference based on concatenation. According to Waldner (2012, 68), this methodology contains processes, mechanisms, and heterogeneous evidence. Additionally, it puts internal validity over external validity by depending on within-case analyses. Therefore, the theories developed to explain causal mechanisms have limited scope. In other words, generalization from a within-case analysis method can be problematic since the operationalized causal mechanisms in specific cases would be unique (Bennett and Checkel 2014, 13).

This study acknowledges that generalizing based upon process trading analysis can be problematic. Therefore, it consistently avoids generalizations and stays within the specified scope. Additionally, using the process-tracing method has the potential to generate relatively complete explanations. It directs the researcher to analyze the evidence on processes and sequences of events within a case to develop a hypothesis on causal mechanisms that might causally explain the matters discussed in the research (Mason 2002). Accordingly, this methodological strategy requires the researcher to fit their questions in a more extensive history of some events sequences. In that direction, this research provides interpretations of detailed descriptions of a series of events and theories to explain each critical step that contributes to causing the outcome (Roberts 1996).

As noted in the previous chapter, slavery is a complex social institution with no identical characteristics in all societies because it does not exist as an abstract shape that is somehow divorced from social reality (Watson 1980, 4). Thus, it is acknowledged that slavery cannot be defined regarding only a single idiosyncrasy of it. Consequently, the case study approach has been long established in slavery literature to reach detailed analyses. Therefore, this study also does not aim to generalize any modes of enslavement. That said, the case study approach is used to grasp the nuances of different enslavement modes, specifically for Black enslaved individuals in the Ottoman Empire from the other modes of enslavement.

Even though the study of slavery is a significant area of interest within history literature, it is also relevant to a wide range of disciplines since it is also a moral and sociopolitical issue. For instance, Patterson (2018, vii) points out that slavery is

one of Western civilization's prominent features from ancient Greece into industrial capitalism. Therefore, he refers to a global enslavement model, which applies to "the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonored persons" (Patterson 1982, 13). By incorporating this postulate with Toledano's continuum model for Ottoman slavery, this study interprets the question of where to situate enslaved Black people in Ottoman society. Here, all enslavement modes have some identifying attributes of enslavement to varying degrees, instead of being merely present or absent. That is to say, Sartori (1970)'s "the ladder of generality" cannot be applied to this nexus because it assumes the boundaries and the characteristics of categories are strict, contrary to our case. Hence, family resemblance categorization is applicable to this case since enslaved people's experiences varied according to their enslavement modes, but they did not differ completely (Collier and Mahon 1993).

Finally, it should be stated that this chapter will develop a critique of narrativizations on Black enslaved people through a necessarily circuitous route. While performing this task, silences in historical narratives and the absence of enslaved people's voices will be investigated utilizing postcolonial theories. Methodologically, this inquiry will employ archival ethnography as its primary research strategy since this method is advantageous to gain a detailed understanding of the existence or the absence of the evidence in archives (Spivak 1988; Trouillot 1995, 48-9).

3.1.1 Narratives on Slavery in SWANA

Hunwick (2002, ix) puts forward an interesting observation that while the amount of research conducted on the Atlantic slave trade and its consequences is substantial, the volume of studies on slavery within Muslim societies is still relatively small. Although the past thirty years have seen increasingly rapid advances in the research on slavery in the Islamic world and the Ottoman Empire and in particular, Hunwick's above statement appears to be valid even today. There are several possible explanations of why only limited scholarly attention is paid to the subject pointed out by the scholars who research this subject. Since each of these explanations is closely interwoven, they will be addressed through a circuitous route.

According to Hunwick (2002, xiii), one of the reasons for the comparative lack of study of African slavery is the lack of disinterest on the topic scholars' disinterest in the American and European academy. Although it can be argued that nowadays, there is an increasing attention direction directed toward the matter from these

Western institutions, this disinterest is arguably still dominant in these circles. In Hunwick (2002, xiii)'s view, one reason for this disinterest stems from the strict boundaries between African Studies and Middle Eastern Studies. He argues that the inception of the rigid boundaries between these two disciplines is Africa's compartmentalization into zones as in 'Middle East' and 'Africa.' The scholar explains this division's consolidation process. North Africa, including Egypt, is considered a part of the Middle East. However, Middle East scholars are not generally keen on inquiring farther west than Egypt's frontiers. Therefore, Northwestern Africa -the Maghreb- is mainly regarded as peripheral to African studies despite its close relationship with West Africa. Additionally, the Sahara is seen as a no-go area, especially among anglophone scholars. Following, Sudan and Mauritania linger in limbo since they cannot be labeled as either sub-Saharan or Middle Eastern.

Similarly, Powell (2006, 249) states that the map covering the grounds of enslaved people's birthplaces and their destinations in the Middle East has taken some time to find their way into studies of slavery within different fields of area studies. To illustrate, she points out that Africanist historians mostly exclude the Middle East when investigating Islamic slavery issues. Therefore, the rigid boundaries between area studies in academia may be presented as a reason why African slavery in the Islamic world has just started to get the attention it deserves in academic circles. Nevertheless, Erdem (2010, 126) notes that Middle Eastern scholars and Ottomanists are relatively detached from the mind-sets of 'area specialism' that earlier dominated their fields of study. Therefore, the scholar argues, they are increasingly adept at deciphering their source material.

Hunwick also highlights that this prominent separation of Africa, as Middle East and Africa, is a legacy of orientalism and colonialism. To be more precise, even the fact that the concept of 'the Middle East' was developed by Europeans in the nineteenth century should leave no room for any doubts about the term's orientalist roots and possibly Middle Eastern Studies (Keddie 1973, 266-7). As Wallerstein (2003, 91-2) states: "The analysis of the extra-European world was consigned to separate disciplines... Oriental Studies for the non-Western 'high civilizations' that were, however, incapable of proceeding to modernity without European intrusion and reorganization of their social dynamics... Oriental studies saw the histories of these high civilizations as 'frozen.'"

Even though the Middle East notion is still predominantly used in academic circles, there is a leaning towards employing another term SWANA, which stands for Southwest Asia and North Africa. Some scholars and activists from the region promote this critical stand for almost three decades, and their efforts continue to attract

attention increasingly over time. There are two advantages of the term SWANA. Firstly, it does not have the same colonial connotations as Middle East. It is also far less ambiguous than Middle East since it describes the region from a geographic basis. This dissertation claims that this notion is preferable, especially throughout any attempt to underline the region's cultural, ethical, and racial diversities in this geography and rethink Eurocentrist ideas projected the societies in the area. This stance is only a quarter of this study's critical view of Western discourse, which desires to conserve the subject of the West, or the West as Subject (Spivak 1988, 271).

According to Hunwick (2002, ix-x), a second reason for the lack of studies on African slavery in Islamic societies is the reluctance of scholars from Islamic societies to probe enslavement in their past. In the events that they addressed the matter, He claims that they were inclined to defend the institution by arguing slavery was mild in Islamic societies. Agreeing with Lewis, he suggests that Muslim scholars cannot discuss Islamic slavery as openly and freely as their Western counterparts (Lewis 1990). However, it can be noted that Hunwick does not attempt to offer an adequate explanation. As Powell (2006, 242) highlights, such reasonings accuses the culture of Islamic societies both explicitly, they blame this silence on the sensitivities of Muslim people; and implicitly, they attribute the silence to shame.

On the other hand, Erdem (1996, xvii) attributes this reluctance to come into terms with this history to a paralyzing contradictory stance between two sets of ideas. These sentiments are "the open or implicit acceptance of Western views on slavery" and "a simultaneous desire to defend Islamic culture/heritage against what is considered a defamatory attack from the West employing the slavery argument." Therefore, the consequence is "a neutral stance which is not conducive to the study of slavery" (Erdem 1996, xvii). However, the scholar emphasizes that such mental barriers cannot be the sole explanation for the scant amount of study of Islamic slavery and the limited interest of both Islamic and non-Islamic scholars (Erdem 1996, xviii).

Therefore, Erdem (1996, xviii) adds another explanation for this "near-total collective amnesia about Ottoman slavery" to fully grasp it. Accordingly, he proposes that the non-existence of abolition in the process of the dissolution of Ottoman slavery, unlike its counterparts in the West, may have shaped scholars' attitudes towards the subject (Erdem 1996, xix). For the sake of comparison, it is crucial to note that the legal status of slavery remained unabolished to the very end of the Ottoman Empire; even during the first decades of the twentieth century, it was moribund, but it was still legally recognized (Erdem 1996, xvii). That was the case until the

Republic of Turkey's participation in the 1926 League of Nations Convention on the Suppression of Slavery on 5 June 1933 (Erdem 1996, xix). Thus, no special legislation against slavery has been introduced. Having said that, according to Erdem, since there was no organized movement for abolition, the sufferings of enslaved people -real or imagined- were not vocalized in a way that would have reached the masses (Erdem 1996, xix). Thus, the society of the Turkish Republic could keep its distance from its slavery past. For example, neither the abolition of slavery is a part of the curriculum at schools in modern Turkey, nor is there a specific date of abolition in Turkey or the Ottoman Empire. That is in stark contrast to the West Indies or the United States.

In a similar vein, Hunwick (2002, xi) argues that a third reason for the lack of studies on the enslavement of Black people in the Mediterranean Islamic world may be due to the lack of constituency within these societies that would press for an investigation of their history. Hunwick (2002, xii) suggests the relatively small number of clearly identifiable descendants of enslaved people and their depressed social status and lack of education may lead to a lack of "black voice." In like manner, Powell (2006, 242) draws attention to the fact that scholars seeking communities of enslaved Black peoples' descendants in the Middle East do not find what they are looking for because enslavement stories do not pass down through families. Agreeing with this view, referring to out of academic works can provide some answers. As Trouillot (1995, 22) asserts, history is not produced only in academia but in many sites.

As stated in the previous chapter, it is evident that the African Culture Solidarity and Cooperation Association's campaigns have raised public awareness of the Afro-Turk community. Thereby the association and its founder, Mustafa Olpak, have become the main contributors to the increasing interest in research on the community and its history in the last twenty years. In his book, Olpak (2005) expresses that Afro-Turks feel shame about their history. Because of this shame, they rarely talk about their enslaved ancestors, even with their immediate family members. Therefore, such shame and reticence may be suggested as one reason why true stories of enslavement mostly do not pass down through families in particularly Turkey, arguably generally in the Islamic world. On the other hand, Olpak (2005) also states: "The first generation experiences, the second generation rejects and hides whereas the third generation researches." This takeaway message presented by Olpak can be interpreted as Afro-Turks' efforts to research their traumatic past follow a cumulative path, and it will presumably continue in the next generations.

Thus, in this chapter, it is argued that there has been a certain disinterest around Black enslaved people's history in the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world in

academic circles. At this stage, each of the discussed explanations remains crucial to our understanding of this impartiality. Simultaneously, a more comprehensive interpretation of the issue may also include a critical stance against the production of historical narratives to reveal the silences within them. Therefore, the following section will attempt to fill in the gaps in narratives on Black enslaved people in Ottoman society, particularly the two levels of silences, one in academic historical narratives, one in the stories of enslaved people themselves and their descendants in modern Turkey. The former layer of silence refers to "the absence of the enslaved peoples' voices themselves" (Powell 2006, 243). Regarding the latter layer of silence, it is be argued that there is another contributing factor that cannot be easily omitted. It is the widespread attitude of shutting down any conversation around race and Blackness in SWANA. Powell (2020) argues that this attitude most likely stems from the fallacy that Blackness and anti-Blackness are Western issues, thereof, irrelevant to Middle Eastern and Mediterranean societies.

3.2 Production of Historical Narratives

Trouillot (1995, 22) claims that history and historical narratives are always produced in a specific historical context. Moreover, he suggests that people participate in history both as actors and narrators, which he refers to as "dual participation" (Trouillot 1995, 2). According to the scholar, most history theorists accept that the dawn of that history includes both the social process and narratives about that process. Still, Trouillot (1995, 22) observes that they often prioritize the former and rarely examine the concrete production of specific narratives in detail. Therefore, to overcome this "one-sidedness," Trouillot (1995, 23) proposes two choices. The first choice is to acknowledge both the distinction and the overlap between process and narrative in any historical narrative. The scholar argues that history, as a social process, includes people in three distinct capacities: as agents, or occupants of structural positions; as actors in constant interface with a context; and as subjects, that is, as voices aware of their vocality. He illustrates agents as the strata and sets to which people belong, namely class and status, or their roles. For example, he states that workers, being enslaved, mothers are agents.

Furthermore, by actors, Trouillot refers to the fact that people have various capacities specific in time and space; their existence and understanding depend on historical particulars. Thereupon, he emphasizes that since historical narratives ad-

dress particular situations, they must deal with human beings as actors. Lastly, he argues that history includes people as subjects. It means that people can make decisions and act upon them. They always have this subjective capacity, which engages them simultaneously in the sociohistorical process and in narrative constructions about that process (Trouillot 1995, 24).

In Trouillot (1995, 24)'s view, history changes with time and place; furthermore, it only uncovers itself only through the production of specific narratives. Therefore, the process and conditions of production of such narratives are of primary importance. Thus, he concludes that only a focus on that process can reveal how the two sides of historicity intertwine in a particular context. Only through that overlap can one discover the differential exercise of power that makes some narratives possible and silences others. In this discovery procedure, in Trouillot (1995, 29)'s view, it is crucial to keep in mind that power enters the story at different times and from different angles. Trouillot further argues that power has precedence over the narrative, contributes to its creation and interpretation. In short, "in history, power begins at the source" (Trouillot 1995, 29).

This study will adopt both of these procedures because each of them has explanatory power about historical analysis of Ottoman slavery, in particular, operation and supervision of the institution, governmental measures taken against the institution, and its eventual demise. In a similar vein, Trouillot (1995, 23) suggests that an investigation of slavery should delve into the political, sociocultural, ideological, and economic structures that define such positions as enslaved and holders of enslaved people. Following this suggestion, this study will examine the processes and conditions of the production of historical narratives of Ottoman slavery while acknowledging all three capacities of enslaved Black people in the Empire, as agents, actors, and subjects. Even though these notions may sound overly abstract, this study will argue that these three capacities of enslaved Black people in the Empire are interwoven; only together, they are a means of illuminating lived experiences. In other words, despite consequential inhibitions of being enslaved bounded their options, they were still agents/actors with capacities to make decisions and act upon them.

In this context, Wolf (2001) also presents an eligible theoretical approach to the interactions between culture and society. He regards culture as "the historically developed forms through which the members of a given society relate to each other," and society as "the element of action, of human maneuver within the field provided by cultural forms" (Wolf 2001, 225). Following, the author also adds the element of human maneuver, aiming "either at preserving a given balance of life chances and

life risks or at changing it," as another factor to this frame (Wolf 2001, 225). In particular, Wolf suggests that cultural forms impose the limits of the direction in which the human maneuver or action can change the rules of the game in the case that such a change becomes necessary. Thus, these two forms are supplementary in function on the one level of action, whereas they interfere and contradict each other at the other level.

Thus, Wolf (2001, 225-6) argues that scholars need to take both these directions into considerations to apprehend the real tensions of life. Even though this conclusion is insightful, it can be argued that the framework's two-dimensionality imposes some restrictions in itself. Notably, the assumption that human maneuver has only two directions limits the explanatory power of the theory to seize life in its movement, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4. In summary, this section highlights that entities are dynamic rather than static, and they change historically with the peculiarities of time and space, and culture. Therefore, this study also regards the enslavement process as a dynamic phenomenon, and its whereabouts enslaved persons can still take actions to gain advantages and improve their living conditions. As Scott (2012, 155) suggests, we should avoid anachronism while investigating the dynamism of the process of enslavement as an exercise of certain powers over human beings and examine the legal and the extralegal's interplay in historical and contemporary instances.

3.2.1 Un(?)-Silencing the Past

As was mentioned earlier, this study will also require a critical comprehension of historical narratives to grasp the different ways of living of African enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire thoroughly as much as possible. That is why Trouillot's thesis is crucial for this inquiry, illustrating that "the presences and absences embodied in sources (artifacts and bodies that turn an event into fact) or archives (facts collected, thematized, and processed as documents and monuments) are neither neutral nor natural. They are created" (Trouillot 1995, 48). The scholar terms these 'presences and absences' as 'mentions and silences of various kinds and degrees.' From this point of view, he emphasizes that mentions and silences are active and transitive processes. In that sense, according to Trouillot (1995, 48), there must be a 'silencer' who silences a fact or an individual. This claim suggests that the production of historical narratives is comprised of unequal offerings of competing groups and individuals who have asymmetrical access to the means for such production (Trouillot 1995, xix).

In Trouillot (1995, 48)'s view, inequalities experienced by the actors lead to this uneven historical power in the inscription of traces and thereof sources.

In terms of the entry points of silences into historical production, Trouillot (1995, 26) argues that there are four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of sources); the moment of fact assembly (the making of archives); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of history in the final instance). Nevertheless, Trouillot warns us that these moments are second-level abstractions of processes that feed on each other. Therefore, they are not meant to give a realistic description of the making of any individual narrative. Instead, they help one grasp why not all silences are equal and why they cannot be addressed -or redressed- in the same manner (Trouillot 1995, 27). In view of this, the scholar concludes that any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences, meaning the result of a unique process. Moreover, Trouillot suggests that the play of power in the production of alternative narratives begins with the joint creation of facts and sources for at least two reasons. Firstly, Trouillot (1995, 29) argues that facts are never meaningless. Secondly, facts are not created equal, in the sense that the production of traces is, at the same time, the creation of silences. This is why silences are inherent in history simply because "something is always left out while something else is recorded some missing constituting parts" (Trouillot 1995, 49).

Trouillot (1995, 49) also argues that a perfect disclosure of any event in history is impossible since one always chooses to define that event's boundaries. That is to say, the very means that enables recording history challenges any equal creation of historical facts. According to him, to claim otherwise would be a suggestion that a "source" can be "the thing" itself, which is impossible to assert on ontological grounds since sources are always about something else. From this ontological position, Trouillot (1995, 28) employs silences in historical narratives as heuristic devices that "only crystallize aspects of historical production that best expose when and where power gets into the story." Additionally, the author points out that silences show the limits of adopted strategies for enlarging the empirical base to reach a more accurate reconstitution of the past and produce a "better" history (Trouillot 1995, 49). That is to say, Trouillot advocates for expanding the physical boundaries of historical production. Trouillot (1995, 49) argues that the turn toward hitherto neglected sources (e.g., diaries, images, bodies) and the emphasis on underutilized facts (e.g., facts of gender, race, and class; facts of the life cycle; facts of resistance) can lead to pathbreaking developments.

3.2.2 Will the Subaltern Ever Speak?

Subaltern studies, a fundamental movement in postcolonial studies, are of interest in this dissertation because it engages in the questions raised in the previous pages. It has emerged as an intervention in South Asian historiography. Over the years, its analyses have been increasingly utilized in various disciplines, such as history, anthropology, and literature (Prakash 1994, 1475). This movement has developed a postcolonial criticism that advocates for "a radical rethinking of knowledge and social identities authored and authorized by colonialism and Western domination" (Prakash 1994, 1475). More specifically, it searches for ways to undo Eurocentrism's appropriation of the other as history while acknowledging its existence itself is an aftermath of colonial history. Within "subaltern studies," the term subaltern is first used by Guha in the meaning of "a name for the general attribute of subordination in South Asian society whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender, and office or in any other way" (Guha 1982b, vii). Moreover, Guha (1982a, 4) notes: "the subaltern classes and groups constitute the mass of the laboring population and the intermediate strata in town and country, that is, the people. This was an autonomous domain, for it neither originated from elite politics nor did its existence depend on the latter."

In comparison, although Spivak acknowledges Guha's assertion of that subaltern group's identity is its difference, she challenges his assumption of an autonomous subaltern consciousness. As Spivak (2013, 203) argues: "It is only the texts of counterinsurgency or elite documentation that gives us the news of the consciousness of the subaltern." According to Spivak (1999, 272), the colonized subaltern subject is irretrievably heterogeneous. Therefore, any attempt to "investigate, identify, and measure the specific" is extremely essentialist and taxonomic (Spivak 1988, 284).

From this perspective, rather than defining the term subaltern, Spivak (1999, 308) depicts it by referring to Bhubaneswari Bhaduri, an Indian woman who committed suicide in 1926. The scholar insists that Bhubaneswari was not a "true" subaltern because she was a metropolitan middle-class girl with access. However, Spivak argues that her claim to subalternity can be traced outside of strict lines of definition. To be more precise, the pattern of domination, in this case, is determined mainly by gender rather than class (Spivak 1999, 272). She is muted by heterogeneous circumstances, in this case, by indigenous patriarchal "history." Her suicide was initially attributed to her distress over an illicit pregnancy, even though that was not the case. In fact, she was a member of a group involved in the armed struggle for Indian independence. When she was appointed to a political assassination, rather than car-

rying out that assassination, Bhubaneswari committed suicide. Thus, Spivak (2006, 34) remarks that history kept Bhubaneswari's funeral record only as an incidental instrument in colonial history.

According to Spivak, she attempted to "speak" by turning her body into a text of woman/writing, and this attempt shows her self-conscious responsibility. Still, her speech act was refused, and "she was made to unspeak herself posthumously" (Spivak 1999, 273). Until decades later, a letter Bhubaneswari wrote to her sister was discovered, and it has surfaced the real reason for Bhubaneswari's suicide. Therefore, Spivak (1999, 308)'s declaration "the subaltern cannot speak" stems from the despair that Bhubaneswari's attempt to "speak" had failed for almost fifty years.

However, the scholar does not uphold the view that we should abstain from representing the subaltern. Instead, Spivak (1999, 272-3) asks: "How can we touch the consciousness of the people, even as we investigate their politics? With what voice-consciousness can the subaltern speak?" Although Spivak admits that solely the fact that she can read Bhubaneswari's case indicates that Bhubaneswari has spoken in some way, the scholar draws attention to the necessity of a distanced decipherment by another. In Spivak (1999, 309)'s view, this necessity denotes that it is not speaking; it is, at best, only an interception. Thus, Spivak acknowledges the value in the struggle to represent the subaltern. However, Spivak (1999, 309) also posits that any decipherment many years later by another in an academic institution, "a knowledge-production factory," must not be quickly identified with the "speaking" of the subaltern. In that direction, this study will scrutinize the historiographies on African slavery both in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman worlds and rethink the nature of the narratives on enslaved people. Thereby, the next part of this study will address and synthesize the earlier attempts in this direction.

3.3 Historical Narratives on Black Enslaved People in the Middle East

Having discussed how to comprehend the notion of subaltern, this section addresses ways of incorporating this notion into the study of Ottoman slavery. In like manner, Powell (2006, 243-4) acknowledges that Spivak (1999, 272-3)'s questions about the subaltern's voices are also applicable to the study of slavery to investigate why contemporary historical writings are still affected by some of the same issues confronting the nineteenth-century eyewitnesses to slavery. From this vantage point, this study

will borrow from the trajectory Powell follows to reinterpret the literature on African slavery in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, this study agrees with Powell's view that it has become imperative for Africa and Middle East historians to retrieve the enslaved peoples' voices. However, it is not that easy to achieve this goal, given the enslaved individuals' much-lamented silence and our complicity in muting them as discussed above (Powell 2006, 243-4). From this perspective, this section will screen the relevant literature's trajectory to re-contextualize the positionality of previous narratives and assert thus far utilized ways to get close to deciphering for recovering enslaved individuals' speech.

It is essential to review the primary source for studies of twentieth-century historians of African slavery in the Middle East to indicate this literature's embryo. These sources are the writings of nineteenth-century British administrators of the Foreign Office and officials in Istanbul, Khartoum, and Cairo, also their successors (Powell 2006, 246). Furthermore, Powell notes that there are accounts of explorers tracking Africa's great rivers or officials hired by the Egyptian ruler to put down the slave trade in the 1860s. However, they wrote very little about enslaved individuals. Powell thinks that they were more fascinated with the geography, the flora, and the fauna of the region or holders of enslaved people rather than enslaved individuals themselves. Concurrently, in the accounts they depicted the slave markets in the area, their accounts were imbued with vivid horror (Powell 2006, 244).

Powell argues that many noted that Islamic slavery was a far milder institution than enslavement in the British Caribbean's plantation or the southern United States. However, the Transatlantic slave trade images profoundly influenced how the Victorian public envisioned enslaved Black people in the Middle East. These eyewitnesses colluded closely with The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS), the abolitionist movement's largest organization (Powell 2006, 244-5). Hence they influenced the British Foreign Office, and eventually, British colonial administrations. The consequent outrage of the abolitionist movement in Great Britain was especially uncompromising on the abduction of people to be enslaved and the rough journeys they made to their new lives of servitude.

Returning to the issue of twentieth-century historians' works on African slavery in the Middle East, Powell (2006, 244-5) gives several examples to illustrate how many of them contributed to keeping the enslaved people hidden and mute in histography. For instance, Powell (2006, 246) criticizes Baer (1969, 180, 184)'s book on the abolition of slavery in Egypt by arguing that he takes British Foreign Office officials' word for their actions to bring about the abolition of Egyptian slavery or the lived experiences of domestic enslaved people. This critique is valuable since

Powell highlights that Baer makes no attempt to give sufficient consideration to the context in which the British officials produced these narratives or represent the enslaved people on their own terms. Additionally, in Powell (2006, 249)'s view, Lewis (1990)'s much-cited book Race and Slavery in the Middle East is another part of the tradition created by the British "men on the spot." She argues that this book drew attention to race constructions in the Islamic world when it was published. Still, his racial classifications are extremely firm such that they are stagnant over centuries, more specifically, from pre-Islamic Arabia through the Ottoman Middle East in the late nineteenth century (Powell 2006, 247-8). Moreover, Powell argues that the descriptions of African slavery in the Islamic world given by Lewis do not offer its readers any devices to imagine enslaved Black people. Thus, Powell (2006, 249) emphasizes that one of many shortfalls of Lewis's narrative is that he takes Africa and the Middle East as monolithic and amorphous regions even though he asserts the significance of the relationship between these regions.

3.3.1 That Subaltern: Enslaved Black People in the Ottoman Empire

Powell (2006, 253) highlights that historians of Ottoman-era slavery have produced inventive works. One line of these works studied the questions of gender, family, and identities created by slavery. These studies provide insights into the particular pressures on enslaved women and how their enslavement was constructed around households by relying on Ottoman archives and court records (for example, Erdem 1996; Peirce 1993; Toledano 1982, 1998). These works are crucial for an examination of slavery from a subaltern perspective. That is why they will be studied in detail in the following chapters. In regards to another line of inventive research in this literature, Powell mentions two historians who study the language and terminologies that Ottomans and the British officials employed while discussing the matters of Ottoman slavery: Ehud Toledano and Hakan Erdem.

Referring to Toledano (1998, 127)'s inquiry of Ottoman officials' language on the issue of slavery, he puts forward "the obvious gap between the prototype of American slavery and Ottoman realities," therefore, presents an originative perspective (Powell 2006, 253). Toledano states that the Ottoman elite could not wholly comprehend British and other European abolitionists' understandings of slavery because their familiarity with slavery in Ottoman society was very different (Toledano 1998, 127). In particular, Toledano argues that the Ottoman elite "collective mind" repressed and brushed aside the fact that the horrors of the slave trade were somewhat similar.

Subsequently, reinforcing their view of the benign and benevolent nature of Ottoman slavery. On the other hand, Erdem (1996, xvii) remarks the "extreme sensitivity" on the issue of Ottoman slavery, which may stem from a "paralyzing contradictory stance: acceptance of Western mind views of slavery and a desire to defend Islamic culture."

Moreover, Powell (2006, 253) observes that Erdem performs the sort of decipherment recommended by Spivak while looking through colonial archives. For instance, Erdem (1996, xviii) deconstructs the correspondences between the Foreign Office and the Sublime Porte and concludes: "One can learn more than just British official policy as British officials tried to learn, as much as they could, about the legal position of slaves and slavery customs in the Empire." Furthermore, Erdem (1996, 68) follows the details in the British government's attempts to persuade the Ottoman government to take action against enslavement and the slave trade in Ottoman dominions. Through a detailed investigation of the state officials' correspondences, he finds out that the Ottoman government refused to comply or showed indifference to each of the diplomatic advances indicated by the British officials in 1840. According to Erdem, this year was only an introductory chapter of British involvement in Ottoman slavery and the slave trade. Therefore, Erdem (1996, 68) asks: "How serious in fact was the British government in its diplomatic overture? And what exactly was it about?"

Toledano (1982, 92) believes that this British attempt of 1840 was "a serious effort to induce the Porte to suppress the traffic and abolish slavery." However, it was discouraged after Ambassador Ponsonby assessed the prospects of abolishing Ottoman slavery. After six years of refrainment from taking any action, the British government started to pursue a more attainable goal, the suppression of the slave trade in the Ottoman boundaries (Toledano 1982, 92-3). However, Erdem (1996, 68) declares that he comes to quite different conclusions using very much the same material Toledano employed. The scholar challenges the idea that the British government's attempt in 1840 was its own initiative by asserting that, instead, it was a direct result of the action of British abolitionists. He argues that after the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society's reorganization in 1839, British abolitionists proclaimed the universal extinction of slavery and the slave trade as their primary objective. Also, they believed that slavery and the slave trade were the components of the same system; thereupon, the slave trade's extinction would best be achieved by removing the demand for it (Erdem 1996, 69-70). In Erdem's view, this principle served as the driving force behind the abolitionists to get into the act with those countries which recognized slavery as a legal institution.

In that direction, Erdem (1996, 69-71) analyzes a number of correspondences between British officials on the issue in a very detailed manner. He interprets these documents and concludes that many British officials on every level were unaware of the complexity of abolishing slavery by decree in an Islamic setting. He infers that they attached too much importance to the Sultan's position as Caliph and regarded a possible condemnation of slavery by him as tantamount to a decree of abolition. Furthermore, he extrapolates that the British government did not expressly ask the Ottomans to abolish slavery, or for that matter, the slave trade. Also, Erdem (1996, 85) argues that the most critical factor that shaped the British policy on the slave trade and slavery in the Ottoman Empire was the role many British officials attributed to Islam. In his view, they often disregard the fact that Judaism and Christianity, before Islam, had also sanctioned enslavement, and they regarded slavery as an exclusively Muslim affair. Additionally, Erdem (1996, 85) notes that many slavery apologists in the Empire believed that slavery was essential under the domestic arrangements of the Muslims. They thought that there would be slavery as long as the Harem system lived. Therefore, they believed that the abolition of slavery would require and impose profound changes in the social organization of the Muslims. Indeed, Erdem (1996, 70-71) emphasizes that there is no evidence to suggest that the British government made a serious diplomatic effort to persuade the Ottomans to abolish slavery in 1840.

Amid these diplomatic negotiations, there is a much-needed question to ask. In her assessment of Ottoman slavery literature, Powell (2006, 254) raises the cry, "Within this cautionary circle, who spoke for the slaves? What did they want?" These questions are indispensable within the scope of this study. To provide an answer to her question, Powell (2006, 254) refers to Erdem (1996, 92)'s description that "African slaves' only articulation was expressed through their feet, that is, if they went to the many manumission bureaus established under Lord Cromer in Egypt and other parts of the Empire." Erdem (1996, 173) has written extensively about the question of "Who took care of emancipated slaves in the late Ottoman Empire? And how?" The first answer he provided is that "they themselves did." Secondly, the Ottoman and foreign governments and missionary bodies lent assistance. Erdem reminds us that many sources speak of a remarkable organization conducted by the formerly enslaved Black people in Istanbul. Also, to a lesser extent, there are some indications that similar organizations existed in other Ottoman cities. On the whole, Powell (2006, 254) endorses Erdem's circular approach that British officials took to slavery in general and African slavery in particular. She also acknowledges that Erdem's study invites more research on organizations of Black enslaved people, along with the manumission bureaus and the guest-houses established for freed slaves' care.

Likewise, the present study will borrow Erdem's approach while being conscious of his warnings while exploring these topics. For example, Erdem (2010, 126-7) notes that although "being the 'tongue' with which any category of the subaltern can speak" looks very attractive, several caveats should be considered while following such a path. To begin with, Erdem stresses that doing archival work has its own challenges. That is why historians need to be trained in dead languages and difficult calligraphies. Still, he points out that they may simply or inadvertently make mistakes during interpretation, especially during an attempt to voice the voiceless. Secondly, Erdem (2010, 127) brings forward the question of Reinhardt (2010, 81–119)'s "ventriloquism." According to Erdem, there can be at least two types of ventriloquism. To simplify, he calls one 'ancient' the other 'modern.' The scholar explains the ancient one by referring to Reinhardt (2010, 84)'s takeaway that "many abolitionists" were "committed to a division of labor in which whites agitated on behalf of passively suffering blacks." Concerning the modern type of ventriloquism, Erdem mentions that people continue to "imagine, fictionalize, and fantasize" the lives of enslaved people without fact-checking. The scholar states that he bears in mind these caveats before embarking on re-telling the story of Feraset, a black enslaved girl. On the other hand, Toledano (2007, 50) also pays attention to Powell's call for making an effort to recover enslaved people's voices. In his book published in 2007, he recognizes that Powell's questions about enslaved people's lives are valuable. From this perspective, Toledano (2007, 34-5) senses "voice" beyond mere utterances, verbal statements, and speech. Given the lack of first-person accounts by enslaved Ottomans, he focuses on locating their personal stories scattered through various records. In that direction, the scholar attempts to gauge their voices from their actions. Additionally, he states that he is aware of the layers of mediation in such records; therefore, he adopts a flexible approach in his interpretation of the available sources. He denominates this approach as "voice recovery" and "experience reconstruction." However, it should be noted that this epistemological position was not antecedent in the literature of Ottoman slavery in 2007, as discussed earlier.

Then, to explore these phenomena, it is suggested that Trouillot's claim that historical productions are produced suggested as an advantageous point to start since this position helps one trace these silences to expose power relations between enslaved individuals and the rest of the society. Following, earlier attempts in the literature to represent Black enslaved individuals in the Ottoman Empire are addressed as a guiding light. In this direction, it is acknowledged that primarily Erdem, Toledano, and Powell's works offer insights into how to reach such an analysis. The next chapter delves into the living ways of African enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire to present them as subjects of their own history despite the lack of narratives produced

by themselves.

4.   A CRITICAL RE-EVALUATION OF MODES OF CREATIVITY

IN SITES OF RESISTANCE

Investigating lived experiences of enslaved people is a continuing concern within academia across different disciplines. Researchers have recently shown an increased interest in tracing their voices in archival documents and other written sources that utilizable in that direction. Drawing upon this stand of research into Black enslaved persons in the Ottoman Empire, this investigation attempts to assess the extent to which they "speak" posthumously. With this object in mind, this chapter will review secondary literature on Black enslaved people's livings in the Ottoman Empire by focusing on their seekings for new kinds of community and ways of living in the Empire after abduction and enslavement into alien cultural milieux. This decision is partly inspired by Hartman (1997)'s book, in which the author complicates the demarcation line between enslavement and emancipation even further than attestations up to that time. Instead of fixating on the displays of the routinized violence of enslavement, Hartman (1997, 4) chooses to look elsewhere, "slaves dancing in the quarters, the outrageous darky antics of the minstrel stage, the constitution of humanity in slave law, and the fashioning of the self-possessed individual."

The remaining part of this chapter has been organized in the following way. Firstly, it gives a brief overview of different approaches in studying Black enslaved people's interactions in geographies where they have been transported in cultural aspects. Then, it assesses the adaptability of these approaches to Ottoman society. Following, it provides a framework for analyzing networks of affiliations that Black enslaved people have established in the Empire along with the state's intervention of their organizations and continues their resistance today.

As contrasted with the limited number of attainable accounts of enslaved people in the Middle East, there is a wide range of narratives of formerly enslaved people published in the middle of the nineteenth century in the United States (Erdem 2010, 125). Still, Erdem warns us that this does not mean that slave narratives in New World do not display historiographic problems. For instance, Trouillot (1995, 19) draws attention to the fact that white historians had not taken any interest in slavery

as a major theme for the first half a century after the emancipation. In view of this, he argues, U.S. historiography may not be too different from its counterparts, e.g., Brazilia, given the fact that it produces its own silence on African-American slavery.

Moreover, Olney (1985, 148) confirms that in more than six thousand estimated slave narratives, there is "an overwhelming sameness" to the story of the enslaved. In the same vein, Powell (2006, 245) brings forward the issue that these accounts were only published under the sponsorship and careful editing of white American abolitionists. Thereby, Powell interprets, it was guaranteed that these accounts disclose only general experiences of slavery rather than individual struggles of enslaved persons. To illustrate, she states that if the enslaved individual was a woman, she was often biracial and sexually vulnerable. In the case that the enslaved person was a man, he was frequently exposed to beatings. Thus, Powell infers that the subject of these stories was the experience of slavery, while the actual protagonists were positioned as the object.

From this perspective, it can be argued that Powell endorses Hartman's highlight of the ease and casualness with frequent circulations of Black suffering scenes' reiterations. Hartman (1997, 3) notes that this routine display of the enslaved people's ravaged body does not encourage indignation but immure us to pain through their familiarity. To make matters worse, the theatrical language portraying such images reinforces the spectacular character of Black suffering. Hartman (1997, 19) further argues that abolitionists depicted images of Black suffering to convince their readers of the horrors of slavery because "the effort to counteract the commonplace callousness to black suffering requires that the white body be positioned in the place of the black body in order to make this suffering visible and intelligible." In other words, she claims that abolitionists employed images of Black suffering to explain how these images affected themselves instead of hearing out how enslaved people were affected. Therefore, it can be concluded that merely the publication of stories written by formerly enslaved people do not indicate full autonomy for these narrators.

Returning to the Middle East context, Erdem (2010, 125) argues that source materials in the form of narratives by enslaved people do not exist in the Middle East mainly due to the lack of the abolitionist public to feed such narratives. However, he suggests this should not discourage historians from presenting slaves as subjects of their own history. Erdem (2010, 125) then emphasizes that we still have various less personal but still valuable documents, such as "petitions, letters, court records, depositions, autobiographical notes, and even graffiti." Still, he recognizes that a considerable amount of these documents were mediated. For instance, depositions

and petitions were recorded by authorities and professional scribes or persons who were knowledgeable enough about the chancery styles of governments. Erdem asserts that this is the nature of many historical records. Meaning, this is not directly linked to enslaved people's belonging to a subaltern category.

In any case, the scholar posits that these sources are incredibly beneficial in demonstrating enslaved people's agency. To illustrate, Erdem (1996, 172-3) mentions one of his earlier works drawing on depositions and petitions to Malta authorities by enslaved persons who were on their way to Istanbul from Tripoli. From these documents, he infers that they were following their holders willingly without seeking freedom at that part of their journey. The scholar acknowledges that under the circumstance where the enslaved people and their holders were in unison, there was not much that the British authorities of Malta could do but to allow them to proceed despite the authorization given by the prohibition of the Black slave trade in 1857. That said, Erdem (1996, 172-3) infers that when the consulates encountered those enslaved people who did not seek freedom on their way to Istanbul but took refuge in the Embassy in Istanbul afterward, they were puzzled.

Erdem (1996, 173) interprets that those enslaved people did not wish to forsake an opportunity to go to the Eastern Mediterranean's largest urban center, where they knew or hoped they could improve their lives. In view of this, he argues that it simply did not occur to the consulates could not recognize such an intent. Thus, Erdem (1996, 172) asserts that enslaved individuals should be recognized as the principal actors in their fugitive journeys as a part of their broader life experiences. Simultaneously, it should be acknowledged that they could choose to take action to be free when it suited them most and on their terms. This stand is in stark contrast to taking them as mere instruments in the hands of great power or people who passively waited to be manumitted by their holders.

As mentioned earlier, dwelling on archives to find the "voice" of Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire is a progressive endeavor in the respective literature. One latest example of a similar endeavor is currently undertaken by Wingham (2020), who is a Ph.D. candidate at New York University. In his dissertation, he draws on primary sources, such as scientific journals, periodicals, travel logs, literature, diplomatic correspondences between Istanbul, Izmir, and Tripoli, also British and French police reports. For instance, Wingham observes that there is no mention of Black people in *Sadâret: Mektubi Mühimme Kalemi* documents of the late nineteenth century, which contain most of the prioritized Ottoman political issues by the Sublime Porte. Wingham states that he has located the mentions of Black people in the governmental documents only through criminal records. In that direction,

he also points out the absence of Black people's subjecthoods in the governmental documents. Thus, it is evident that the literature continues to grow.

4.1 The Myth of the Monolith

In her influential analysis of Black people's lives in the nineteenth-century U.S. during slavery and reconstruction, Hartman (1997, 59) finds different kinds of "networks of affiliation" in their communal connections. In that context, Hartman regards the "community," or "the networks of affiliation constructed in practice," as not reducible to race. That is to say, in her view, race does not give a priori meaning to communities, or communities were not expressions of race. Instead, she asserts that such communities should be interpreted in terms of the possibilities of resistance conditioned by relations of power and the very purposeful and self-conscious effort to build communities. As Ernest (2009, 59) confirms, Hartman suggests that scholars need to "look beyond the usual racial logic supported by the usual historical narratives to recognize the more complex communities lost to the narration of the past."

In this way, Hartman (1997, 59)'s critical stance decentralizes the selfsameness or transparency of Blackness by the condition of enslavement in establishing networks of affiliation. Therefore, she creates a space for highlighting the impacts of the conditions Black enslaved people continued to live in, such as their already disrupted affiliations and the constant threat of separation in their need for forging connections. In that direction, those conditions drove them to build communities with a self-conscious effort in the first place. Thus, Ernest (2009, 60) finds Hartman's concept of nonhomogeneous communities that are continuously in flux and "conditioned by relations of power" quite perspective in displaying the complexities of what is often more simply referred to as the African American or Black community.

In a similar vein, this study regards Black people's (enslaved or not) communities in the Ottoman Empire as a process rather than a product. This process involves complex interrelated engagements with the dynamics of their milieux. For this reason, this dissertation mentions these communities in a pluralized manner, rather than noting them in the singular meaning, as "community." In that direction, this study acknowledges that it is liable to theorize both Ottoman history and enslaved Black people's agencies and communities that had been shaped by the same history

41

while not relying on any essentialist notions of Black identities.

In this quest to follow Black enslaved individuals' footsteps, determining the exact starting and finishing points of this research would be redundant since they are vague entities. However, there is a whole range of adaptation processes for the subjects between these hypothetical fragments, including their cultural entities blossoming into a distinctive form due to their unique interactions in their new cultural milieux. Previous studies have used a couple of terms to refer to such processes of mixture; the most common ones are creolization and other related concepts, such as hybridization and syncretism (Knörr 2018; Stewart 1999). Even though these notions are commonly employed, their definitions vary among researchers. Thus, this section will revise these varieties and make a deliberately modest assessment of these terms' suitability for the inquiries on Black enslaved people's communities in the Ottoman Empire.

Firstly, to introduce the notion of "syncretism," Knörr (2018, 16) suggests that it "refers to the mixing of belief systems or religions that are otherwise unrelated (e.g., Voodoo)." Stewart (1999, 40-1) observes that it is mostly employed in ambiguous ways in anthropological circles. He subsequently discloses that many anthropologists have strong reservations about ever employing the term "syncretism." Following, Stewart (1999, 40-1) interprets that although these anthropologists cannot articulate a specific reason for their reservations, some of them have either of both of these two objections: "(1) syncretism is a pejorative term, one that derides mixture, and/ or (2) syncretism presupposes 'purity' in the traditions that combine." Additionally, Stewart (1999, 45) highlights, the term has "a controversial past and an uncertain present." Therefore, he suggests addressing conflicts and prejudices in its genealogy to generate an inventive theoretical response in the present. Thus, this appears to serve as a useful framework for giving a fuller discussion of the concept.

Stewart (1999, 46) points out that the term came to be alluding to predominantly negative connotations in the seventeenth century by the influence of the Catholic hierarchy's upper echelons. Stewart thinks that a negative assessment of religious mixture to become dominant may not be improbable, especially given the Catholic Church's concern about keeping the integrity of its doctrine and practice throughout the world. The scholar adds that this negative view of syncretism has remained along the missionary expansion period, continuing well into the present century. In this process, it became to be used in castigations of local colonial churches that had tended to indigenize Christianity instead of reproducing the European form of Christianity according to mission control. Apparently, Stewart argues, this negative assessment of the term has also been implicitly accepted in the anthropological com-

munity. Undoubtedly, scholars from Africa, as well as the leaders of various South African Independent Churches, reacted strongly against this perspective. Turning now to the scope of the people concerned, according to Sahlins (1993, 19), syncretism is not merely a contradiction of their authenticity but a systemic condition whereby their primary goal is to survive.

Secondly, "hybrid" may be perceived as just "mixture, cross between two things," its racist past is easy to reconstruct (Stewart 1999, 45). Markedly, Knörr criticizes the denotation of "hybridization," considering its origin: zoology and botany. In these fields, hybridization refers to processes whereby people implant one plant's specific characteristics into another to create a plant with mixed characteristics (Knörr 2018, 16). Since the plant has no willpower in this process, Knörr objects to using hybridization for any characterizations of active processes of cultural change. The author highlights another questionable implication of the hybridization model: the assumption of a "pre-hybridization purity," which is only a fallacy. In a similar vein, Said (1994, xxv) advocates for a perspective sensitive to the reality of historical experience since "all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic."

Friedman (1994, 12) has also carried out conceptually similar work by highlighting: "Approaches to global mixture, hybridization and/ or creolization insofar as they are based on baseline definitions of aboriginality, real tradition or pure culture." According to him, these assumptions stem from the scholars' readily accepted beliefs. To dispel them, Friedman (1994, 12) argues that researchers should not ignore large-scale global processes in their approaches towards any society. Thus, both Said's and Friedman's suggestions seem compelling because they allow this research to dwell into particulars of living ways of Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire and their histories, including their set of culture and religious entities they brought with them.

Lastly, the key term that should be discussed is "creolization," which lacks precision in definition. To illustrate, Baron (2003, 88) observes that when a creolist is asked about a definition of the term, the answer would be comprised of one or more metaphors for combinatorial processes due to cultural contacts. The scholar looks on these resorts to metaphors drawn from other semantic fields as attempts to fill the lexical gaps in creolization studies. Still, he acknowledges the ability of the term creolization in depicting the fluidity of the process of emanating cultural forms. Hence, he argues, creolization is a slippery concept. In a similar vein, Lovejoy (2000, 20) argues, a focus on the creolization process points to the agencies of enslaved people who were constrained in oppressive conditions.

While this perspective provides only a partial perspective on adding another view to the present study's ethnographic approach by providing another step to bring the complexities of Black enslaved people's communities in the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, the next section will provide a brief discussion of the notion of creolization and how it has been conventionally utilized in the literature. After addressing its shortcomings, the section will depict how the term will be used to amplify the agencies of enslaved Black people in Ottoman society.

4.1.1 An Investigation of the Term "Creolization"

This offers an etymological discussion of creolization by employing a historical analysis that may shed light on mostly overlooked power relations. Firstly, it will review the critical approaches to earlier creolization studies in the contexts of scholars' political sensibilities, how the term is arguably distanced from historically specific processes that it stood for. Subsequently, it will offer a framework for incorporating creolization to give weight to the concrete circumstances in this dissertation's scope. Before proceeding to details, it will be necessary to explain that this section will center upon the criticisms of Mintz (1996) and Trouillot (2002) on previous creolization studies' inadequacies in the Caribbean context. Since these works are nearly exclusively in respect of the Caribbean context, they are not invariably adaptable to the Ottoman Empire's scope. At the same time, they still provide valuable insights on how to tackle previous analyses on Black enslaved people's creolization in the Empire because it incorporates within it the themes of history and power.

The definition of the term creolization's origin, "*criollo*," or "*creole*," has varied across time and place. According to Mintz (1996, 301), the most acceptable translation is "everything born in the New World of Old World parents." As Stewart (1999, 45) argues, if we intend to adequately utilize a notion like creolization, meaning, extend it into current usage, we need to confront its history. Even though we acknowledge the colonial history underlying this word creole, Stewart (1999, 44) argues that the term's "former racist baggage" has not been subverted completely. This is why this section presents this critical discussion of the genealogy of the term as a primary step to quest ways for analyses from a bottom-up approach.

To begin with, Trouillot (2002, 189) sees creolization as "a miracle begging for analysis" primarily because of its ability to occur against all the odds. However, he states that theories of creolization and, thereof, assessments of what it means to be "creole" are still very much affected by the observers' ideological and political sensibilities.

In his view, the outcome is that the researchers' assumptions and generalizations frequently replace the inconvenient gaps in their studies' historiography. As discussed in earlier chapters, Trouillot (1995) indicates these breaches in the historical record as silences. Nevertheless, Trouillot (2002, 189) thinks that getting rid of such sensibilities in our approach to theories of creolization may not possible or even be meritorious. That is because the scholar is confident that a more ethnographic approach that considers the concrete contexts within which cultures developed in the Americas can benefit the knowledge of creolization. Trouillot's suggestion to incorporate and give weight to the concrete circumstances faced by the individuals engaged in the creolization process is adopted in this dissertation's endeavor on Black enslaved people's experiences in this section as well as the remainder of this study.

According to many scholars, for example, Mintz, "creolization" had been mostly used in linguistics. However, Mintz also draws attention to the fact that langue is only a part of the culture that is not organized "just like culture" but differently. Thus, the linguistic models for creolization are models for languages. Furthermore, Mintz (1996, 301) emphasizes that while creole languages have been a serious subject of linguistic study since the twentieth century, serious observations of creolization as a cultural change process engaging with multicultural masses of people extends back centuries in the Caribbean region. In that regard, Trouillot (2002, 192) states that there are a number of reasons that creole languages became the primary field of study within the context of the creolization process that attracted the attention of scholars. For instance, creole languages are visibly easy to notice since their distinctions from European vernaculars cannot be denied. Even disparagements of these languages acknowledge and reinforce their difference. Additionally, Trouillot notes that language was thought to be politically safe, further, overall, acceptable to study.

Another substantial criticism that Mintz (1996, 302) draws on earlier creole studies is unfolding how the creolization concept was obtained from a geographically and chronologically specific New World setting, where forced migration and slavery prevailed; it was distanced from these historically specific processes it stood for. According to Mintz (1996, 302), researchers tend to interpret the contemporary world by analyzing creolization in the Caribbean region through an implicit postulate that the modern world's processual aspects seem to resonate with the Caribbean past. Even though many observers have a mind to see shared characteristics between these two milieux, Mintz argues that their efforts are sentenced to remain inconclusive. To compare, Mintz asserts that people who were subject to the original creolization process were restrained for their entire lives in an environment where

their cultural materials were lost, reclaimed, and patched together. Thus, according to Mintz (1996, 302), the typification of creolization is that it creates a culture out of fragmented and disjunct pasts. It is not the fragmentation of culture, as many scholars in creole studies suppose. In a similar vein, Trouillot (2002, 204) typifies creolization as a process of fluctuating amounts and perceptions of loss of culture, acculturation, and culture creation. Thus, this research utilizes Trouillot's creolization as a heuristic device to illustrate historicity and power connections from an interpretivist perspective.

Another critical aspect that Trouillot (2002, 198-9) emphasizes is the cultural diversity of Africa. He denounces the conventional tendency to ignore differences among Africans. To elucidate, he claims that ignorance and ethnocentrism have a fair share of this attitude. Such an assertion raises the question of how to think of the cultures that Black enslaved people brought into new milieux. As Mintz and Price (1992, 9-10) put it comprehensively, Black enslaved people who had been taken away to early New World colonies constituted merely heterogeneous crowds. Therefore, their encounters with people of European descent cannot be characterized as two (or even many different) "bodies" of belief and value systems with coherence and intactness with some exceptions of a few common values and origins between enslaved people. According to Mintz and Price, these crowds gradually became communities through processes of cultural change. Primarily, their undeniably shared affiliation was their enslavement. They have established and shaped their communities and normative patterns of behavior. These patterns could be determined only based on particular forms of social interactions.

At this juncture, Mintz and Price are sure about enslaved people carried vast amounts of knowledge, information, and belief in their minds. Nevertheless, they could not transport the human complement of their traditional institutions to the New World. Mintz and Price (1992, 10) illustrate this point: "Members of ethnic groups of differing status, yes; but different status systems, no. Priests and priestesses, yes; but priesthoods and temples, no. Princes and princesses, yes; but courts and monarchies, no." The connection they made here is that in a lack of cadre officiating orderly perpetuation of particular customs, their organizational task was to create institutions that would respond to their needs of everyday lives given the limiting conditions that slavery imposed upon them. The view being put forward here is mostly in agreement with Trouillot (2002, 203)'s assertion that Black enslaved people had to create an unprecedented new cultural domain equipped with elements gathered from diverse areas of Africa and practices of the Europeans who dominated them.

It can be argued that Trouillot's criticisms of creolization theories around their limitations subsequently offer a new framework that carries worthwhile insights to extrapolate more accurate depictions of such processes. In this endeavor, Trouillot (2002, 196) suggests considering changing historical settings by primary markers: time, space, and power relations. To elaborate, Trouillot (2002, 198) argues that most of the prior theories of creolization and creole societies try to do too much, too fast. Therefore, he suggests addressing what went on in specific places and times more thoroughly. Thus he regenerates a model sensitive enough to time, place, and power rather than proposing an alternative model that is entirely new. In that direction, Trouillot (2002, 204) emphasizes: "Creolization is a process rather than a totality." To comprehend it in its fluidity, he suggests looking into not only its prior history but also various factors that indicate the times, the territories, and the peoples it witnesses. To conclude, this section has emphasized that, in Trouillot (2002, 195)'s words, "creolization cannot be understood outside of the various contexts within it occurred." Although some may read these trajectories of history as a tragedy, there are undeniable indicators that Black enslaved people found ways to continue their lives amid severe restrictions imposed on them in between the lines.

4.2 Black (Formerly) Enslaved People's Networks of Affiliation in the

Ottoman Empire

As discussed earlier, the prominent helpers of (formerly) enslaved Black people were themselves (Erdem 1996, 173). This section dwells on the particularities of this phenomenon. One of the earliest accounts on this network that I can cull from the literature on Black enslaved people's networks was written by Millingen in 1870. Millingen (1870, 94) observes that enslaved people in Istanbul formed a mutual help society in several local lodges. He also argues that a common alliance united these lodges with three objects: providing protection and aid to the Black enslaved people who were unhappy with their holders, defending their rights before their employers, and providing places for meetings. Moreover, both Ferriman (1911) and Garnett (1891) mention Black women with the denotation of *kolbaşıs*, who were usually a formerly enslaved woman with the highest authority in her lodge, and she kept her post for life. The *kolbaşı* was an influential leader in terms of community organization and religious aspects (Erdem 1996, 174).

According to Garnett (1891, 417), one of the *kolbaşı*'s missions was to purchase Black enslaved people's liberty on bad terms with their holders with the funds she collected as subscriptions in cash or in-kind from both the freed or enslaved Black enslaved population. The *kolbaşı* also would receive sick or unemployed freed Black women in her lodge and find employment for them, mainly as cooks, by acting as a broker. It is also crucial to note that men were excluded from the organization, but they could receive aid when in need. Ferriman (1911, 119-20) also confirms these observations; however, the author reports that *kolbaşıs* were no longer purchased the freedom of slaves, but the help was still given to the sick and needy. As for these lodges' connections with each other, Erdem (1996, 174) infers that they might have been in a loose alliance without ignoring the possibility of entirely independent from each other. Taking Hartman (1997)'s account of the dynamic nature of Black enslaved people's networks of affiliations, it is possible that these lodges' alliances with each other might have been on the move in a continuum.

4.2.1 The Conditions Put Upon Black Enslaved People by the State and

the Customs

There is a general agreement on the argument that enslaved people would usually be manumitted after a period of their servitude in Ottoman society, at most between seven and ten years (Toledano 2007, 17). Furthermore, particularly in late Ottoman society, enslaved people's escape was acceptable under certain circumstances (Erdem 1996, 161). For instance, according to Erdem, if an enslaved people were unhappy with their holders, such as ill-treatment, they could ask to be resold. If their offer was declined, their escape would be considered legal. Moreover, the British consular agents' increasing interference accelerated the whole process by acting as a catalyst (Erdem 1996, 172). As was highlighted in the earlier, the present study regards the process of enslavement as a dynamic phenomenon, and enslaved individuals could take actions to gain advantages or improve their living conditions. Thus, it avoids the pitfalls of many earlier studies that downplay their agencies. Therefore, this research regards enslaved people's decision to escape as the prominent indicator of their agencies. As Erdem (1996, 160) insists, the decision to run away was the simplest and the most natural course of action for enslaved persons to effectively changing their status, although it was risky in some cases.

To illustrate, based on shreds of archival and narrative evidence, Toledano (2007, 4) infers possible rationales of runaway enslaved people on several accounts, dating

back a century and a half. Notably, regarding some of such events, Toledano (2007, 64-6, 166, 180) extrapolates that the fugitive enslaved person may have planned their escape, even in some cases in an organized manner. For example, in an event that occurred in 1873, the documents state that an enslaved man explains that he escaped to Beirut from Yemen because he was aware that his chance of manumission was higher in the British consulate there (Toledano 2007, 64-5). Therefore, Toledano concludes that information on changing circumstances, such as the people holding office in which provisional administrators, traveled among enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire. Such an interpretation is vital for this dissertation's scope since they reveal that enslaved people took action to better their living conditions.

Notably, there are state documents that provides insights into how the state intervened in organizations of Black enslaved people. Erdem (1996, 176) depicts three incidents in which the state intervenes in Black enslaved people's communities by exiling *kolbaşıs* at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their accusations were variably "assembling forty or fifty black females and commit shameful acts (*biedebane hareket*)," or "negligence and laxitude in the duties assigned to her" and "disobedience to the authorities." Furthermore, Toledano (2007, 238-9) depicts two more exiles of *kolbaşıs* due to the same accusations in the same period. Toledano interprets these accusations as the Porte must have been considered these women's acts of Zar rituals, in which the *kolbaşı* and her esteemed accomplice participated, in contradiction with cultural norms and hence a challenge to the existing social order. In a similar vein, Erdem (1996, 176) argues that Black people's pagan customs and ceremonies were considered offensive to the Muslim establishment. Thus, Erdem concludes that the state had its reasons to be averse to *kolbaşıs* and their organization. Nevertheless, in his view, even the fact that Black women's organizations were not suppressed signals that the state had to tolerate it for reasons that are not precisely clear despite its socio-religious qualms. Therefore, the scholar suggests that *kolbaşıs*' function as intermediaries between freed domestic labor and employers and their role as superintendents of the freed Black community's affairs might have been factors for the state's toleration.

Moving on after the prohibition of the African slave trade in 1857, as Erdem (1996, 177) explains, government action became more necessary to provide shelter and find employment for increasing numbers of formerly enslaved Black people. According to Erdem (1996, 176-7), the Ottoman government instructed the provincial administrators to look out for placements of formerly enslaved Black people who would be freed in "appropriate households" as domestic servants to prevent them from falling into destitution. Thereupon, many emancipated Black people were recruited as domestic workers, even sometimes in their former holders' households. In these

arrangements, local Ottoman administrations were the chargehands, however in the cases that they faced financial limitations, they sought help from Istanbul.

In this context, dwelling on shreds of evidence, Erdem (1996, 177) finds out that the local authority of Benghazi included *kolbaşıs* in its plan to secure the future well-being of formerly enslaved people in April 1884. Accordingly, manumitted enslaved people were to be accommodated in the *kolbaşı*'s house until they were given into marriage or hired out. Within that period, the *kolbaşı* was responsible for recording the dates of manumitted Black people's accommodation and their employers' names. However, when Benghazi began to suffer from financial issues in October 1890, the Sultan ordered sending "as many as possible" Black formerly enslaved people to be enrolled in the band army in Istanbul (Erdem 1996, 179).

This action was part of a larger scheme dating back to 1881; as Toledano (1982, 246-7) argues, the government initiated a plan to establish guest-houses to accommodate manumitted enslaved people; thereof, they were prevented from re-enslavement. They were founded in a number of cities; however, the main one would be in Izmir. It meant that they would be sent to Izmir from the other guest-houses. Following, they would be moved to different regions in Aydın, where they would be given land for settlement and cultivation (Toledano 1982, 247). They were also sent to school or military bands. Women among them were placed as servants in households.

4.2.2 Black Enslaved People's Religious Practices in the Ottoman Empire

The present study acknowledges that Black enslaved people's religious rites provided them a vital opportunity to assume control over various aspects of their lives and their organizations among themselves. As Hunwick (2004, 149) argues, Black enslaved people's religious background in the Empire provided them coping mechanisms in different forms with the psychological trauma brought about by enslavement, transportation, and transplantation into alien cultural environments. Similarly, Toledano (2011, 194) also argues that Black enslaved people's Zar and Bori customs helped them cope with various specific hardships that evolved out of the episode of being enslaved in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a more detailed discussion on the subject by providing empirical and theoretical evidence to support this claim is undoubtedly necessary. In that direction, this section provides an account of Black enslaved people's religious practices in the Ottoman Empire culled from the literature.

As Lovejoy (2000, 12) states, although the scholars who study slavery in the Americas usually acknowledge the importance of Black enslaved people's background of their native lands, they generally do not go into particulars of the historical contexts from which enslaved people were extorted. In Lovejoy (2000, 20)'s view, investigating these contexts does not merely add a chronological or geographical dimension to already existing narratives but also brings in a new partial perspective in the study of slavery. Since the literature of Ottoman slavery suffers from a similar myopic line of vision, this section attempts to make an effort to scrutinize the culture and religious entities that Black enslaved people brought into the Empire and how they created a new form out of them.

In the particular context of Ottoman Empire, Hunwick (2004) asserts that the religious practices of Black enslaved people stemmed from various geographies in Africa were continued with modified expressions through certain Sufi practices. As Erdem (1996, 175) notes, Black enslaved people in the Empire were derived from different tribes. For instance, Millingen (1870, 10-1) states: "the breath of the colbashi and her power in reading something from the Koran are deemed to be as good panaceas as the prescriptions of the best of physicians." Simultaneously, as Erdem (1996, 174) states, the chief deity they worshipped was called Yavroubé, Yarrabox, or Yavru Bey (that is, Infant Lord in Turkish, obviously a corruption of the others), reminiscent of the West African Yoruba. Erdem (1996, 174-5) notes that it is not entirely improbable that some enslaved people from Yoruba found their way to Istanbul via Tripoli. He supports this claim by citing Fisher and Fisher (1970, 54)'s statement on a Baptist missionary named Bowen had seen a Yoruba woman in the coastal region of West Africa who said she had returned home from Istanbul.

Mintz and Price (1992) notes that when Black enslaved people from various regions in Africa were transported into the Caribbean region, they were initially only heterogeneous crowds. Thus, the value and belief systems that they carried with themselves varied because they were from different cultures. Therefore, initially, their most prominent shared affiliation was their enslavement. The present study argues that this was also the case in the Ottoman Empire: enslaved Black people from different cultures have established "networks of affiliation" over time in their new milieux. Similarly, Mintz (1996, 302) suggests that the beliefs of enslaved Black people in the Caribbean region were likely to be composite rather than peculiar to a single tribe while creating a new form of culture out of their fragmented and disjunct pasts.

Thereby, I argue that tracing Black enslaved people's footsteps may cover vast dimensions of cultures and geographies. However, this section will dwell on their

living ways in the Empire and, in that scope, how they experienced creolization by acknowledging their roots in various places where they were abducted. Therefore, the initial point of this analysis will be the process that starts with their abduction and their journeys from their native lands into the Empire's boundaries. Similarly, Millingen (1870, 91) suggests, Black enslaved people's "career of toil and privations" immediately started with their abduction from Fur, Kordofan, Abyssinia, and other such localities to slave markets in Cairo, Alexandria, Istanbul, Smyrna, Beirut, Jeddah, Mecca, and Medina.

Millingen (1870, 91) also states that they were distributed only a thin garment for clothing and a white woolen blanket to be used as a cloak, quilt, and mattress. The enslavers, or dealers, would lead them to get on boats and feed them only dry bread and soup every twenty-four hours. Millingen attributes enslavers' insensitivity to a general assumption in which this behavior was a strategy of their occupation to make sure enslaved people would not show any great dislike in response to being sold without specifying from which sources he had learned about these circumstances. Therefore, this study will not take this claim verbatim because it may not have been the case for most Black people. In any case, suggesting the conditions for the enslaved people on their journey were harsh would still not be a far-fetched assertation.

Hunwick (2004, 150) assumes that Black enslaved people's transformation from "pagan" to Muslim took place somewhere along the route from their initial capture to arrival into the Mediterranean. Hunwick (2004, 151) states that merchants inducted them into Islam to ensure profit. That was because, as Hunwick (2004, 149) explains, Muslim people would not be disposed to acquire "pagan" enslaved people, whose religion they regarded as "unclean." However, Hunwick (2004, 160) confirms that Black enslaved people carried their religious beliefs whose roots stretch back into the world of the Hausa bori into the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. To give an illustration, Hunwick (2004, 160) refers to a report written by Millingen (1870, 95), in which a possession seance headed by a Black enslaved woman in Istanbul is depicted. Hunwick thinks that although Millingen does not mention the notion of bori, the seance is undoubtedly reminiscent of it. Thus, it is evident that Black enslaved people in the Empire still had a close connection with their Hausa bori cultures through the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century despite Islam's predominance in their new cultural milieux (Hunwick 2004, 149). However, as Garnett (1891, 174) highlights, although their religious practices have roots in Africa, they still cherished. the Muslim faith.

In this inquiry to utilize the notion of creolization to comprehend Black enslaved

people's lives in the Ottoman Empire, there is a need to dwell further on another specific aspect of this culture, celebrations of the Calf Festival. In addition to their indoor rituals, as discussed above, there is evidence that they carried out outdoor events. Notably, the most prominent example of such events is the Calf Festival. Erdem (1996, 174) confirms that members of many lodges would come together to hold big celebrations in Istanbul's various localities once a year, on May 1st.

Toledano (2011, 179) suggests that the Calf Festival was an inclusive event, and he elaborates on the Festival conducted in Izmir. The scholar claims that members of the lodges would assemble from all parts of the cities, presumably also from the surrounding areas, to celebrate their spiritual and communal bond for several days in public sites (Toledano 2011, 180). Although the celebrations would last four weeks, the ones on a large scale took place only from Thursday night through Friday evening each week (Boratav 1951; Güneş 1999). During these celebrations, rituals were performed, donations were collected door to door from the local population. A crowd accompanied by local music played on drums and shrill pipes would tour daylong in the leadership of the *godyas*, or *kolbaşıs*. Towards the end of the celebrations, following the ceremonies, the *godyas* would slaughter this calf while people were singing and dancing, watching street performances. In the sequel, active participants would dip their fingers in its blood and cook it. Finally, both outsiders and members of the communities would eat the cooked calf parts together. As for the number of people involved in this Festival, Toledano (2011, 181) approximates 4 000 to 5 000 people would attend this celebration in Izmir in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In his view, overall, the Festival contacted 10 000 and 15 000 people throughout the Festival.

Looking at all this, Dinçer (2012, 230) argues that the Calf Festival served three functions; being an intermediary in the redistribution of collected funds collected in the communities, providing a meeting point for dispersed families of African descent, and bringing joy for participants from various populations in Izmir. Additionally, Dinçer (2012, 229) observes that available records report that the Festival was conducted between the 1880s and the 1920s. The scholar suggests that the lack of available records after the 1920s may be due to a law enacted in 1925 regarding dervish lodges and tombs' closure. However, according to some oral narratives recorded by Tarih Vakfı (2008), the Festival celebrations were held in secrecy until the 1950s in several towns of Izmir.

4.2.3 Origin of the Zar Bori

Having discussed how Black enslaved people's religious beliefs and practices in the Ottoman Empire were essential aspects of their lives, it will be necessary to briefly address their historical origins to comprehend their alterations according to the subjects' needs. In general terms, the zar cult has been founded in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Arabia, south and south-west Iran, Egypt, and Sudan (Natvig 1987, 669). The question of when the zar was introduced into the Middle East has been subject to considerable discussion. However, the widely accepted theory is that the zar having been introduced into the Middle East by enslaved people from Ethiopia in the nineteenth century (Natvig 1987, 669). Throughout this vast region, the Zar is practiced by Christians, Muslims, Falashas, and among adherents of tribal religions with inevitable ceremonial and cosmological differences.

All in all, in Natvig (1987, 670)'s view, the aim remains the same: "the curing of illnesses or misfortunes caused by possession by a species of a spirit called 'zar.'" Hence, it should be highlighted that it is the basis that entails possession by the zar spirits consists of a wide variety of beliefs and practices. Additionally, there are varying indigenous uses of the term "zar." In particular, Natvig (1987, 670) argues that the term zar can denote the hierarchy of zar or an individual spirit belonging to this group, the ceremonies focusing spirits, a person who is possessed by a zar spirit, or the psycho-physical possession by a zar spirit: malady, 'trouble,' dissociational states, or general feeling of being 'out of sorts'; in sum: 'altered states or capacities.'"

Natvig also observes that "zar" or "zar cult" have mostly left undefined in the academic area. Therefore, he attempts to provide a definition that embodies the multifariousness of zar context. The scholar suggests understanding "cult" as a typology of a religious organization rather than cultic devotion (to zar spirits) to make sense of the term "zar cult." On the grounds of Yinger (1957)'s study, Natvig (1987, 670) employs the term "cult" as in "a typology of religious groups, designates a group that is at the one end in a continuum of religious organizations ranging from 'cult' via 'sect' to 'church.'" He further explains that a cult is the smallest, usually local, more loosely organized, and more individualistic group in this continuum. In that direction, Natvig (1987, 670-1) argues that the "zar cult" may be attributed to a religious group of the cult type that holds significant long-term relationships with the spirits by ceremonially provoking spirit possession. Thus, the guidance of someone equipped with specialized skill and knowledge about how to engage with the zar spirits is required.

Moreover, the argument being put forward here is similar to that of Mintz and Price (1992), Black enslaved people in the Caribbean region have organized religious customs that would respond to their needs of everyday lives with the limiting conditions

forced upon them. Therefore, this study argues that while Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire had constituted dispersed heterogeneous crowds upon their arrival into this milieu. Over time, they have established an unprecedented form of cultural and religious customs, influenced by various elements from various geographies of Africa and Ottoman society. Moreover, these cultural and religious entities were in flux to serve their particular needs according to the changing conditions of their environments.

4.3 Afro-Turks Communities in Modern Turkey

Chapter 2 indicates that many Afro-Turk communities reside in the provinces of Aydın and Izmir. There are two undeniably evident links between the Ottoman government interventions into Black enslaved people's communities in the ninetheenth century and today. As has been stated earlier, one reason would be the Ottoman government's guest-housing scheme. However, there is another reason that has not been addressed yet: the slave trade routes. Toledano (1982, 21) shows that Izmir and other ports in the eastern Mediterranean were among the destinations for the North-African and the Red Sea traffic branches of the Ottoman slave trade routes. Furthermore, it can be argued that another entity relates today's Afro-Turk communities and their ancestors: their efforts to build communities. Chapter 2 has addressed Afro-Turks' many efforts to emphatically raise their voices to the public on their own terms. There are a few ethnographic studies on how this period affected their self-rection, which will be discussed.

Reflecting on all those Afro-Turks' initiatives on finding each other while raising awareness on how they have been a part of the society of Turkey, Kayagil (2020, 48) argues that researchers have started to work on socio-historical aspects of Ottoman slavery and experiences of Afro-Turks only after such advancements. In contrast, the present dissertation has shown that this claim does not reflect the truth. Therefore, I argue that such a fallacy might be due the notion of "the invisibility of Afro-Turks" that has been centered by many studies on Afro-Turks. The argument was firstly coined by Durugönül (2003, 289), who argues that Afro-Turks are "virtually and statistically nonexistent in the official demographic records" of the Empire and the Republic, namely standard reference sources such as yearbooks.

It seems that the empirical base Durugönül draws on is too narrow since her claim

seems to be that Afro-Turks appear to stand out neither in the legal sphere nor in the religious and national sphere because they are regarded as both Turks and Muslims. As stated in earlier pages in the present study, it has been suggested by Erdem (2010, 125-6) that there is a substantial amount of Ottoman state archival records that refer to Black (formerly) enslaved people. Indeed, Durugönül (2011, 168) acknowledges the Ottoman government's efforts to accommodate formerly enslaved people by establishing guest-houses, providing land to cultivate and settle, assigning them salaried jobs later on. From this direction, Durugönül (2011, 170) states that her study aims to demonstrate their existence. Nevertheless, the scholar, again, explicitly states that "Afro-Turks are 'invisible' citizens of the society." I argue that Durugönül implicitly blames this so-called invisibility on Afro-Turks for being assimilated by neglecting their agencies. However, their arguments are need to be taken into consideration to validate this criticism.

Regarding the research on Afro-Turks' experiences, many draw their conclusions from interviews conducted with the community members. For example, Tarih Vakfı (2008) interviewed 100 Afro-Turks who had at least one African parent whose families lives in the Western Aegean region for at least four generations. Durugönül (2011) presents the results of the project and draws several conclusions. However, the scope of Durugönül's work is relatively narrow, possibly due to its methodology. Furthermore, Durugönül lays her arguments in a somewhat dispersed and interwoven manner. However, Durugönül (2011, 165) states: "The study sought to establish how these people differentiate between themselves and 'other' Turks, that is, their perception of themselves and the perception of their social environment towards them." Thereby, I argue that there are two main themes in this work: social and environmental conditions they face and their identities.

As for the first theme, socio-economic conditions for Afro-Turks, Durugönül (2011, 166) reports that most of the respondents have indicated that their choices of residence stem from their socio-economic conditions rather than socio-cultural qualities. Therefore, Durugönül (2011, 166) argues that Afro-Turks' mobility patterns do not differ from the general dynamic of internal migration in Turkey. Concerning the educational opportunities, Durugönül (2011, 166) notes that the ones who live in cities around the Izmir province received more significant educational opportunities than those who live in small settlements. Moreover, she marks that those who live in rural areas have had faced some obstacles, such as the absence of school in their neighborhoods. Regarding the occupational sector of the interviewees, Durugönül (2011, 166-7) narrates that some Afro-Turks living in villages around Izmir work in the agricultural industry, while most of the ones living in urban areas work in various sectors.

The second theme of Durugönül's reports and arguments is how Afro-Turks perceive themselves in relation to other Turks. The scholar argues that the results of Tarih Vakfı (2008)'s project show that Afro-Turks do not view themselves from a different social category. In that direction, Durugönül (2011, 166) argues that they have assimilated into society. According to the respondents' narratives of their lives, Durugönül (2011, 168) reports that many of them have experienced verbal assaults in daily life at least once in their lifetime. She also states those who narrated that they had not encountered such an assault live in villages. Moreover, as Durugönül (2011, 168-9) states, it is significant that those who had suffered from problems due to their skin color in their professional or educational lives are between the ages of 20 and 35, and they live in urban areas. However, Durugönül (2011, 166) argues that they do not see themselves segregated from other groups due to their skin color.

Therefore, Durugönül's arguments around these two main themes suffer from a number of limitations. Firstly, the reports she presents are inferred from a small number of interviews conducted with Afro-Turks. Therefore, such an attempt to make generalizations through this method seems plausible. Furthermore, since the scholar does not present any transcripts of the interviews, it is unclear how she chooses her terminology during interviews. Simultaneously, Durugönül (2011, 168,171-2) uses very loose terms in her arguments, such as "facing problems due their skin color" or "social exclusion," rather than more descriptive notions, namely racial discrimination, or colorism. Additionally, it is argued that any efforts to make inferences from these claims are very likely to be inconclusive because of the relatively low reliability of the interview-based methods in generalizibily.

In a similar line, Akpınar (2020, 75) presents her inferences from the one-year ethnographic research based on participant observation and in-depth interviews she conducted with Afro-Turks in Hasköy, Yeniçiftlik, and Çirpi villages of Izmir. Akpınar (2020, 82) reports that almost all of her interviewees do not seem to recall any community-specific traditions and concludes that they have faded away. Given the lack of collective memory and a uniting ethnocultural identity, according to Akpınar (2020, 74), they connected under the symbolic unity of their skin color in their process of identity construction among themselves. At the same time, the scholar argues that the Association's endeavors to revitalize traditions and collective memory have been reconstructed the ethnocultural identity of Afro-Turks, leading the way for interiorizing the identity marker Afro-Turk rather than Arap (Akpınar 2020, 82). Kayagil (2020, 47-8) confirms this argument by stating that their events let the community members get together and reconstruct their collective identity by acquainting themselves with their history. Following, Chapter 5 includes a discussion of the present dissertation's major findings as related to this literature.

5. CONCLUSION

Throughout this dissertation, it has been acknowledged that historical narratives are affected by the narrator's interpretations. From this direction, this dissertation has re-evaluated the literature on historical African diasporas of Turkey. The most crucial approach of this dissertation is to highlight the agencies of Black enslaved people. Each chapter has analyzed particular socio-historical conditions they face with a constant focus on power relations in that connection. This study has regarded historical narratives as products resulting from power-plays among people with varying degrees of capacities. Through this lens, it has moved on to trace enslaved Black people and Afro-Turks with a focus on the historicity of these communities. The approach used here is based on a few prominent research pieces on Black enslaved people in the Caribbean region. Their approaches to assessing their agencies have been translated into the context of Ottoman society.

Therefore, the present study regards the process of enslavement as a dynamic phenomenon, and enslaved individuals could take actions to gain advantages or improve their living conditions. Thus, it avoids the pitfalls of many earlier studies that downplay their agencies. Therefore, this research regards enslaved people's decision to escape as the prominent indicator of their agencies. Within this framework, Chapter 4 is concluded by a preliminary attempt to link the historical African diasporas in Turkey through a circuitous route around different themes: How Black enslaved people have built and sustained their communities while being subjected to various constraints? What were their inspirations? What legacies have they passed on? Within this circularity, where are Afro-Turk communities? From this perspective, earlier studies on the subject have been criticized to find accurate ways to trace Black enslaved people's communities and their legacies.

The notion of the invisibility of Afro-Turks has been argued to be a silencer that Trouillot depicts. It has been argued that this idea does not make any attempt to consider the agencies of Afro-Turks. For example, agreeing with the notion of the invisibility of Afro-Turks, Toledano (2007) postulates that only an insignificant number of descendants of Black enslaved people still live in the Mediterranean region.

Subsequently, Toledano (2007, 12) attempts to raise an explanation for the question, "Where have they all gone," thereof lists two possible arguments while admitting some of their plausibilities. Firstly, Toledano suggests that many enslaved Black people deceased because of cold weather or diseases. This suggestion is questionable from two different aspects. Given the estimation the author reaches on the number of Black enslaved people brought into the Empire, there is a critical question that needs to be asked: Are there any recordings of such high death rates to support this claim? In my research, I have not encountered any inference in that direction. However, merely the lack of recordings cannot entirely discard this claim. At the same time, it seems that presuming that Black enslaved people are not used to cold weather without presenting any evidence can be regarded as racially biased. The second argument Toledano (2007, 12) poses is that exogamy ensured their visible disappearance through generations. However, this claim does not seem to follow his two prior inferences: his fairly high estimated number of Black enslaved people in the Empire coupled with another research of his that grapples with how the Ottoman government efforts supported the undividedness of their communities, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The present study has also aimed to portray the creolization process that Black enslaved people have experienced in the Ottoman Empire from a subaltern approach. Trouillot's framework of creolization is adopted into historical particulars of Ottoman society and the conditions forced upon Black enslaved people in that society, focusing on the nineteenth century. Therefore, this approach will arguably be proven useful in expanding our understanding of the subject. At the same time, it may demonstrate the shortcomings of earlier studies in the literature. Within this context, Toledano (2007)'s book titled "*As If Silent and Absent*" is seen as one of the earliest attempts to dwell on the term creolization around Black enslaved people's cultures in Ottoman society. In this book, Toledano (2007, 204-5) views this phenomenon as a process in which Black enslaved people have maintained their origin-cultures' ingredients by fusing them with local-culture components; consequently, hybrid-type cultures were disseminated in Ottoman societies. Therefore, he coins a conflict between Ottoman households' efforts to absorb enslaved Black people into their culture by imposing Islam from their arrival into the Empire and Black enslaved people's resistance to incorporation. Therefore, creolization weakens these efforts, causing them to become successful only to varying degrees (Toledano 2007, 204). Additionally, Toledano postulates that creolization is associated with resistance to incorporation.

One of the existing few criticisms of Toledano's work in the literature is expressed by Ferguson (2010, 183-4), who points out the creolization model's lack thereof

consideration of power. However, the scholar does not dwell further on the issue since it is beyond his study's scope. It seems that Toledano does not take many complexities in these dimensions and limiting the explanatory power of the model to two-dimensions. In this model, enslaved people are arguably depicted as people whose only goal is not to be assimilated. In contrast, the present study addresses the creolization process as a complex phenomenon that cannot be summarized as a fusion of two distinct cultures. The present study's approach calls such analyses without considering the subjectivity, historicity, creativity of enslaved persons into question.

It has been shown from this review that while there is an extensive amount of literature on Ottoman slavery, the portion of it focusing on Black enslaved people and their descendants in Modern Turkey in need of more research. The present study has demonstrated that this part of the literature requires further investigation to employ a critical approach, especially on the still not very much unchallenged assumption of the "invisibility" of Afro-Turks and the enslaved Black people in the Ottoman Empire and. Thus, it can be claimed that the studies on Afro-Turks in the last two decades suffer from a lack of historical analysis, which can set a light on the situation of Afro-Turk communities in today's context. Another shortcoming of this literature seems to be that it lacks an adequate amount of syntheses of theories from diverse disciplines focusing on the global history of slavery and the subaltern studies.

Through this framework, the present dissertation has aimed to reveal that Black enslaved people and their descendants in Turkey are nor invisible neither in need of being visible to claim their existence. As the present study has shown, they have been a part of Turkey's society for more than four hundred years, demonstrated by systematic historical analysis. However, the process of unearthing Black enslaved people's agencies and living ways through their silences and erasures in hitherto secondary literature requires a careful critical approach because a considerable amount of such narrations attribute enslaved Black people little to no agency. At this juncture, recognizing how power is molded around these narrations may help one to ascertain different strategies of resistance for Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire and establish a connection with the rest of African diasporas worldwide.

With this aim in mind, the present dissertation does not only focus on asking questions about the nature of Black enslaved people's networks of affiliations in the Ottoman Empire, it also seeks to respect the particularities of Ottoman society. Inevitably, this study brings one dimension of the heterogeneities and complexities of the history of ottoman society to light. In this inquiry, the terms of creole and

creolization is utilized despite their former racist baggage to Black enslaved people's cultural entities blossoming into a distinctive form due to their unique interactions in their new cultural milieux, in this case the Ottoman society. One substantial challenge in endeavor is how to translate creolization theories obtained from a geographically and chronologically specific the Carribean setting into Ottoman society. Accordingly, similarities of these two distinct geographies are highlighted, such as Black enslaved people's vast cultural backgrounds and they utilized these cultures to cope with the harsh conditions put upon them in Ottoman society.

Indeed, this attempt to frame this re-articulation of the concept creolization offers a way to entangle the contextual ground of Ottoman society with the understanding that the zar practices stemmed from various geographies in Africa and continued with modified expressions through certain Sufi practices. Thus, this creolized culture provided them a vital opportunity to assume control over various aspects of their lives in Ottoman society, such as their communal lives' organization. In other words, the present study follows Trouillot (2002)'s suggestion to undo and unsettle the notion of creolization instead of replacing or occupying it. Particularly, following from Lovejoy (2000)'s point, I believe that investigating Black enslaved people's background cultures from their native lands does not merely add a chronological or geographical dimension to already existing narratives but also brings in a new partial perspective in the study of slavery in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the term creolization is utilized to highlight the complexities of these organizations that are lost to the narration of the past.

In order to do this throughout the present dissertation, the rich landscape of the zar cult is utilized as a counter-archive which serves to critique and re-imagine rigid and linear configuration of historical storytelling that obfuscate conceptions of Black enslaved people's resistance while the embodied creolized culture reminds us that there exists a spirituality that predates empires of knowledge. This methodological and epistemological approach offers a way to re-narrate the organizations of social life by Black enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire through a non-linear history telling. These analytical signposts are grounded in the terrain of Ottoman society as a unique space. Meaning, the surface of the epistemic of this world is barely scratched.

Disentangling history from the grasp of narrations produced by people with historical power invites scholars to consider that the "archive" is not only a repository site of information, but also constitutes a methodological concept (Trouillot 1995, 49). Therefore, articulation of this process of African diasporas in Ottoman Empire and Turkey is tied to the reformulation of time and space and the agency in constructing

one's own subject position and thus one's history. Simultaneously, it should be acknowledged that this task still remains as one of the most intellectually imaginative endeavours of global slavery studies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akpınar, Müge. 2020. "Afro-Türkler: Temsiliyet, Gelenek ve Kimlik." *Folklor/Edebiyat* 26: 73–86.

Austen, Ralph A. 1988. "The 19th Century Islamic Slave Trade from East Africa (Swahili and Red Sea Coasts): A Tentative Census." *Slavery abolition* 9: 21–44.

Austen, Ralph A. 1992. "The Mediterranean Islamic Slave Trade out of Africa: A Tentative Census." *Slavery and Abolition* 13: 214–248.

Baer, Gabriel. 1969. *Studies in the Social History of Modern Egypt.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Baron, Robert. 2003. "Amalgams and Mosaics, Syncretisms Reinterpretations: Reading Herskovits and Contemporary Creolists for Metaphors of Creolization." *The Journal of American Folklore* 116: 88–115.

Bennett, Andrew, and Jeffrey T Checkel. 2014. "Process Tracing: From Philosophical Roots to Best Practices." In *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*, ed. Andrew Bennett, and Jeffrey T Checkel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 3–37.

Boratav, Pertev N. 1951. "The Negro in Turkish Folklore." *The Journal of American Folklore* 64: 83–88.

Collier, David, and James E Mahon. 1993. "Conceptual "Stretching" Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 87: 845–855.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1990. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43: 1241–1299.

Creswell, John W. 2007. "Philosophical, Paradigm, and Interpretive Framework." In *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches.* London: Sage pp. 15–33.

Dinçer, Fahriye. 2012. The Revitalisation Process of the Calf Festival (Dana Bayrami) of Afro-Turks in Izmir. In *International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) Study Group on Ethnochoreology*, ed. Elsie Ivancich Dunin, and Catherine E Foley. Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick, Ireland: The University of Limerick pp. 227–233.

Durugönül, Esma. 2003. "The Invisibility of Turks of African Origin and the Construction of Turkish Cultural Identity: The Need for a New Historiography." *Journal of Black Studies* 33: 281–294.

Durugönül, Esma. 2011. "Turks of African Origin and Citizenship." In *Societal Peace and Ideal Citizenship for Turkey*, ed. Pinar Enneli, and Rasim Özgür Dönmez. Lexington Books pp. 125–139.

Erdem, Y Hakan. 1996. *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise 1800-1909*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Erdem, Y Hakan. 2010. "Magic, Theft, and Arson: the Life and Death of an Enslaved African Woman in Ottoman Izmit." In *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in 19th Century Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean*, ed. Kenneth Cuno, and Terence Walz. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press pp. 125–146.

Ernest, John. 2009. *Chaotic Justice: Rethinking African American Literary History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Ferguson, Michael. 2010. "Enslaved and Emancipated Africans on Crete." In *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in Nineteenth-Century Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean*, ed. Terence Walz, and Kenneth M Cuno. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press pp. 171–196.

Ferguson, Micheal, and Ehud R Toledano. 2017. "Ottoman Slavery and Abolition in the Nineteenth Century." In *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, ed. David Eltis, Stanley L Engerman, Seymour Drescher, and David Richardson. Vol. 4 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 197–225.

Ferriman, Z Duckett. 1911. *Turkey and the Turks*. London: Mills Boon.

Fisher, Alan W. 1978. "The Sale of Slaves in the Ottoman Empire: Markets and State Taxes on Slave Sales, Some Preliminary Considerations." *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi* 6: 149–174.

Fisher, Alan W. 1980. "Chattel Slavery in the Ottoman Empire." *Slavery and Abolition* 1: 25–45.

Fisher, Allan G B, and Humphrey J Fisher. 1970. *Slavery and Muslim Society in Africa: the Institution in Saharan and Sudanic Africa and the Trans-Saharan Trade*. London: C. Hurst Company.

Fogel, Robert William, and Stanley L Engerman. 1994. *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*. New York; London: W.W. Norton Company.

Friedman, Jonathan. 1994. *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. London: Sage Publications.

Garnett, Lucy Mary Jane. 1891. *The Women of Turkey and Their Folk-Lore*. Vol. II London: David Nutt.

Guha, Ranajit. 1982*a*. "On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India." In *Subaltern Studies 1: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. Ranajit Guha. Delhi: Oxford University Press pp. 1–8.

Guha, Ranajit. 1982*b*. "Preface." In *Subaltern Studies 1: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. Ranajit Guha. Delhi: Oxford University Press pp. vii–viii.

Güneş, Günver. 1999. "Kölelikten Özgürlüğe: İzmir'de Zenciler ve Zenci Folkloru." *Toplumsal Tarih* 11: 4–10.

Hartman, Saidiya V. 1997. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hunwick, John. 2002. "The Same But Different: Africans in Slavery in the Mediterranean Muslim World." In *The African Diaspora in the Mediterranean Lands of Islam*, ed. John Hunwick, and Eve Troutt Powell. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers pp. ix–xxiv.

Hunwick, John. 2004. "The Religious Practices of Black Slaves in the Mediterranean Islamic World." In *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam*, ed. Paul E Lovejoy. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers pp. 149–172.

İnalcık, Halil. 1950. "Hüsrev Paşa." In *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi.* Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları.

Karamürsel, Ceyda. 2014. "Ottoman Slavery as a Tool for Historical Analysis: A Review of Recent Literature." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 50: 193–203.

Karamürsel, Ceyda. 2016. "The Uncertainties of Freedom: The Second Constitutional Era and the End of Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire." *Journal of Women's History* 28: 138–161.

Kayagil, Ayşegül. 2020. "Vocabularies of (In)Visibilities: (Re)Making the Afro-Turk Identity." *Antropologia* 7: 45–66.

Keddie, Nikki R. 1973. "Is There a Middle East?" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4: 255–271.

Klein, Martin A. 1993. "Introduction: Modern European Expansion and Traditional Servitude in Africa and Asia." In *Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia*, ed. Martin A Klein. Madison; Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press pp. 3–36.

Knörr, Jacqueline. 2018. "Creolization and Pidginization as Concepts of Language, Culture and Identity." In *Creolization and Pidginization in Contexts of Postcolonial Diversity*, ed. Jacqueline Knörr, and Wilson Trajano Filho. Leiden: Brill pp. 15–35.

Kopytoff, Igor, and Suzanne Miers. 1977. *African "Slavery" as an Institution of Marginality.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Kırlı, Cengiz. 2014. "From Economic History to Cultural History in Ottoman Studies." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46: 376–378.

Laws, Mike. 2020. "Why We Capitalize 'Black' (and not 'white')." *Columbia Journalism Review.* Accessed November 9, 2020. https://www.cjr.org/analysis/capital-b-black-styleguide.php.

Lewis, Bernard. 1990. *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Lovejoy, Paul E. 2000. "Identifying Enslaved Africans in the African Diaspora." In *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, ed. Paul E Lovejoy. London; New York: Continuum pp. 1–29.

Mason, Jennifer. 2002. "Designing Qualitative Research." In *Qualitative Researching*. London: Sage Publications pp. 24–38.

Meillassoux, Claude. 1986. *Anthropologie de L'esclavage: Le Ventre de fer et D'argent*. Vol. 12 Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Millingen, Frederick. 1870. "On the Negro Slaves in Turkey." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London* 8: 85–96.

Mintz, Sidney W. 1996. "Enduring Substances, Trying Theories: The Caribbean Region as Oikoumene." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2: 289–311.

Mintz, Sidney W, and Richard Price. 1992. *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Natvig, Richard. 1987. "Oromos, Slaves, and the Zar Spirits: A Contribution to the History of the Zar Cult." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 20: 669–689.

Olney, James. 1985. "'I Was Born": Slave Narratives, Their Status as Autobiography and as Literature." In *The Slave's Narrative*, ed. Charles T Davis, and Henry Louis Gates. Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 148–174.

Olpak, Mustafa. 2005. *Kenya-Girit-İstanbul: Köle Kıyısından İnsan Biyografileri*. Istanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık.

Oral, Gülrenk Hayırcıl. 2016. "Five Hundred Years of Silence. An Example of the Cultural Amnesia Concerning the Afro-Turkish Population of Anatolia." In *Transcultural Amnesia: Mapping Displaced Memories*, ed. M Matos, J M Paisana, and M Pereira. Ribeirao: Centro de Estudos Humanísticos da Universidade do Minho pp. 29–40.

Parlatır, İsmail. 1987. *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Kölelik*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu.

Patterson, Orlando. 1982. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Patterson, Orlando. 2018. "Preface, 2018." In *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study, with a New Preface*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press pp. vii–xxvi.

Peirce, Leslie. 1993. *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pipes, Daniel. 1981. *Slave Soldiers and Islam: The Genesis of a Military System*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Powell, Eve Troutt. 2006. "Will That Subaltern Ever Speak? Finding African Slaves in the Historiography of the Middle East." In *Middle East Historiographies: Narrating the Twentieth Century*, ed. Israel Gershoni, Amy Singer, and Y Hakan Erdem. Seattle: University of Washington Press pp. 242–261.

Powell, Eve Troutt. 2020. Blackness in the Middle East. The Department of Africana Studies and the Center for Africana Studies at the University of Pennsylvania.

Prakash, Gyan. 1994. "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism." *The American Historical Review* 99: 1475–1490.

Reinhardt, Mark. 2010. *Who Speaks for Margaret Garner?* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Roberts, Clayton. 1996. *The Logic of Historical Explanation.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Romain, Gemma. 2004. "Ethniaddress, Identity and 'Race': The Port jews of Nineteenth-Century Charleston." *Jewish Culture and History* 7: 123–140.

Sahillioğlu, Halil. 1985. "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the Late 15th and Early 16th Centuries." *Turcica* 17: 43–112.

Sahlins, Marshall. 1993. "Goodby to Tristes Tropes: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History." *The Journal of Modern History* 65: 1–25.

Said, Edward W. 1994. *Culture and Imperialism.* New York: Vintage Books.

Sartori, Giovanni. 1970. "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics." *American Political Science Review* 64: 1033–1053.

Scott, Rebecca J. 2012. "Under Color of Law: Siliadin v France and the Dynamics of Enslavement in Historical Perspective." In *The Legal Understanding of Slavery: From the Historical to the Contemporary*, ed. Jean Allain. Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 152–164.

Section 8.38: Ethnic and National Groups and Associated Adjectives. 2017. *The Chicago Manual of Style Online.* Accessed December 10, 2020. https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/book/ed17/part2/ch08/psec038.html.

Spivak, Gayatri. 2013. "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography." In *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayati Chakravorty Spivak*, ed. Gerald MacLean, and Donna Landry. New York: Routledge pp. 203–236.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson, and Lawrence Grossberg. Urbana: University of Illinois Press pp. 271–313.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1999. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 2006. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. London: Routledge pp. 28–37.

Stewart, Charles. 1999. "Syncretism and Its Synonyms: Reflections on Cultural Mixture." *Diacritics* 29: 40–62.

Tarih Vakfı. 2008. "Sessiz Bir Geçmişten Sesler: Afrika Kökenli "Türk" Olmanın Dünü ve Bugünü." Istanbul.

Thies, Cameron G. 2002. "A Pragmatic Guide to Qualitative Historical Analysis in the Study of International Relations." *International Studies Perspectives* 3(4): 351–372.

Toledano, Ehud R. 1982. *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression: 1840-1890.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Toledano, Ehud R. 1993*a*. "Late Ottoman Concepts of Slavery (1830s-1880s)." *Poetics Today* 14: 477–506.

Toledano, Ehud R. 1993*b*. "Ottoman Concepts of Slavery in the Period of Reform, 1830s-1880s." In *Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia*, ed. Martin A Klein. Madison; Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press pp. 37–63.

Toledano, Ehud R. 1993*c*. "Shemsigul: A Circassian Slave in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Cairo." In *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East*, ed. Edmund Burke III, and David Yaghoubian. Berkeley, California: University of California Press pp. 59–74.

Toledano, Ehud R. 1998. "The Other Face of Harem Bondage: Abuse and Redress." In *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East.* Seattle: University of Washington Press pp. 54–80.

Toledano, Ehud R. 2000. "The Concept of Slavery in Ottoman and Other Muslim Societies: Dichotomy or Continuum?" In *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study*, ed. Toru Miura, and John Edward Philips. London; New York: Kegan Paul International pp. 159–176.

Toledano, Ehud R. 2007. *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Toledano, Ehud R. 2011. "Coping with Trauma in a New World: Cultural Responses of Enslaved Africans in the Ottoman Empire." In *African Communities in Asia and the Mediterranean: Identities Between Integration and Conflict*, ed. Ehud R Toledano. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press pp. 167–194.

Toledano, Ehud R. 2017. "Ottoman Elite Enslavement and 'Social Death'." In *On Human Bondage: After Slavery and Social Death*, ed. John P Bodel, and Walter Scheidel. Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley Sons pp. 136–150.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 1995. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 2002. "Culture on the Edges: Caribbean Creolization in Historical Context." In *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Futures*, ed. Brian Keith Axel. Durham: Duke University Press pp. 189–210.

Waldner, David. 2012. "Process Tracing and Causal Mechanisms." In *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Social Science*, ed. Harold Kincaid. New York: Oxford University Press pp. 65–84.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2003. *The Decline of American Power: The U.S. in a Chaotic World.* New York: The New Press.

Watson, James L. 1980. "Slavery as an Institution: Open and Closed Systems." In *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*, ed. James L Watson. California: University of California Press pp. 1–15.

Weber, Max. 1972. *Basic Concepts in Sociology.* Secaucus, N.J.: Citadel Press.

Wingham, Zavier. 2020. Notes from the Field: On Researching Blackness, Slavery, and the African Diaspora in the Ottoman Empire. Middle East Library Association's Social Justice Lecture Series 2020-2021.

Wolf, Eric R. 2001. *Pathways of Power: Building an Anthropology of the Modern World.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Yinger, J Milton. 1957. *Religion, Society, and the Individual: An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion.* New York: Macmillan.

Zilfi, Madeline. 2010. *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire: The Design of Difference.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.