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“RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY AND CONFESSIONALIZATION IN OTTOMAN EUROPE”
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Mihai Grigore (Mainz) *Is Orthodoxy Confessional? And if It Is, What Does that Mean?*

I will organize my paper in three sections. After a short overview on the terminology of “Konfessionsbildung”, “Konfessionalisierung”, “Konfessionskultur”, etc., I will discuss the state of research in the attempts to apply confessional heuristic on Orthodox traditions. The last section dedicates itself to possible ways of putting the confessional heuristic to work, when approaching processes of inner-religious differentiation within Orthodox traditions. The hypothesis I try to verify is that the heuristic of confession and confessionalization could be, in specific cultural contexts, under special local and regional constellations, as well as in various political conjunctures, a promising instrument in the research of complex dynamics in the history of European Christianity. This would make from Orthodoxy an intrinsic part of the general religious development in Europe and would surpass in many ways the bipolar thinking of a Western and Eastern Christianity, regarding them as entangled spheres. There is another, ‘steep’ thesis of my contribution, namely the supposition that modes of confessional differentiation and dynamics can be observed between Latin papal Church and Byzantine Imperial Church even before the 16th century. If this can be validated, it would mean the ‘independence’ of the confessional heuristic from a double monopolization: confession and confessionalization would not be exclusive phenomena of the Latin West anymore, and they would not apply anymore exclusively only to the Altes Reich in the post-reformation Era.

Ergün Özsoy (Augsburg) *First Contact: Travel of Two Protestant Preachers to Istanbul and their Relations with Orthodox Clerics 1573-1581.*

Between the years 1573 and 1581 Maximilian II. and Rudolf II. sent two Protestant nobles, David Ungnad and Joachim von Sinzendorf, as ambassadors to Sublime Porte. Both ambassadors had their special preachers with them during their long stay in Istanbul. Ungnads delegation was accompanied by Stephan Gerlach, repetitor at the University of Tübingen, who was sent to the Ottoman capital as preacher of the delegation. He had recommendation letters from Martin Crusius and the university chancellor Jacob Andrea to be given to the Orthodox Patriarch Jeremias in Istanbul. Gerlach contacted many Orthodox leaders, especially Patriarchs, to exchange information on Christianity, and regularly attended religious meetings at the Patriarchate. A possible alliance against the papacy was among the aims of the Protestant theologians in Tübingen. Gerlach handed a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession to Patriarch Jeremias, and served as mediator between Heerbrand and Crusius in Tübingen and the Orthodox Church leader. Sinzendorf, who was appointed as ambassador to Ungnad, came with Salomon Schweigger, a student of Martin Crusius. Like Gerlach, he gathered information about the Orthodox Patriarchate and Christianity in Istanbul with the perspective to establish an alliance against Papacy by improving relations between Lutherans and the Orthodox Church. Schweigger became friends with the son of the leading secretary of Patriarch Jeremias II., Ioannes Zygomalas. He also translated the Koran from Italian into German and after completing its mission in Istanbul went on

pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The paper discusses the activities of Gerlach and Schweigger in Istanbul which mark the first Protestant appearance in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the sixteenth century under the aspect of religious interaction, Ottoman-Protestant relations and as well as of mutual perceptions.

Andreas Helmedach (Bochum) *The Religion of the Soldiers: Religious Confession and Religious Practice of the Venetian Army in the Eastern Mediterranean (17th and early 18th Century).*

The Venetians fought their wars of the 16th and 17th centuries against the Ottomans as members of “Holy Leagues” under the banner of Catholicism. This was certainly a powerful propaganda instrument inwardly. The armies, however, with which the Serenissima went to war, consisted exclusively of Christians, but they belonged to four different confessions and were therefore more diverse in religious terms than even the Venetian overseas empire, the Stato da Mar. These soldiers each lived their own religious life in their units, which included field services, holidays, everyday pastoral care, but of course also dealing with death and burial. At the same time, they communicated in everyday military life with Christians of other confessions, with Jews and with Muslims. The paper highlights the little researched religious practice of the soldiers of the Venetian army in the Candian (Cretan) War and the two Morean Wars in the 17th and beginning 18th century.

Zeynep Arslan (Bochum) *Seeking the Traces of Muslim Merchants in Trieste.*

Although there is an abundance of literature detailing the history of Ottoman-European cities’ relations, studies on the issue have mostly focused on major Italian city-states, such as Venice, Genoa, and sometimes Florence in periods before the 18th century, the latter reflecting a general consensus that political, military, and trade relations between the Ottoman Empire and European cities were at their peak in the 15th and 16th centuries. For this reason, the field of 18th-century Ottoman history was comparatively marginalized in research. The Port of Trieste, despite being an important commercial hub in this time, was to share this neglect till recently and still does in several aspects. The State Archives of Trieste (AST) and the Ottoman Archives (BOA) keep a great deal of documentation about the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Commercial District of Trieste (in the framework of the Austrian Empire) during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In AST, there are two catalogues under the names of *Cesarea regia Intendenza commerciale per il Litorale* in Trieste between 1731-1776 and *Cesareo regio Governo per il Litorale* in Trieste between 1776-1813, which both contain a considerable number of documents regarding the topic. There is also a multitude of documentation in BOA under different types of catalogues including various agreements, official reports, protocols, correspondence etc., as well as five extensive registers regarding the Austrian Empire classified under the catalogue of *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri* (the Registers of Foreign Affairs). Detecting the gaps and problems in related literature which has so far led to historiographical disappearance of eighteenth and nineteenth century Muslim merchants in Trieste, and deciphering a number of relevant untapped archival documentation, the paper modestly aims at bringing the subject to researchers’ attention with the objective to pave the way for further studies.

Tobias Graf (Oxford) *'Schismatics and Other Heretics': Confessional Plurality and the Presence of Levantine Christians in Eighteenth-Century Germany.*

Although rarely discussed in either the history of the Ottoman Empire or of Central Europe, various courts and cities in Germany received regular visits from Ottoman Christians. While 'Greeks'—usually meaning Greek Orthodox ecclesiastics—collected money to support churches, monasteries, and parish communities or ransom slaves throughout the early modern period, members of other Ottoman Christian communities soon followed. In the eighteenth century, the Holy Roman Empire became a particularly attractive destination for purported Christian refugees from Ottoman Syria, many of whom identified themselves as 'princes of Mount Lebanon' and 'princes of Palestine'. In the narratives which these men presented in their petitions to Imperial and local authorities, confessional conflicts among the various Christian communities in the Holy Land as well as Europe played no small role. Arriving in Gotha in 1766, one Anṭūn Ḥubaysh, for example, claimed to have fled persecution by the Ottoman authorities who had been incited against him and his community by 'the schismatics and other heretics' in his home, while at the same time stressing his own Roman Catholic orthodoxy as a Maronite. At the same time, critics of the 'princes of Mount Lebanon' used (more or less explicit) confessional arguments in an attempt to discredit the latter's narratives. This paper investigates the ways in which both Ottoman and European Christians reflected on confessional differences, positioned themselves within these rivalries for spiritual authority, and, in the process, sought to legitimize their respective claims to truth.

Richard Wittmann (Istanbul) *Forfeiting Religious Autonomy at Will: The Preference of the Sharia Court by Christians and Jews in 17th Century Istanbul.*

Islamic law in principle recognizes widespread legal autonomy for Jews and Christians as the adherents of a so-called "book religion" (ahl al-kitab), which bases the religious and legal constituents of the faith on a written revelation. Generally discussed with reference to the so-called millet system in the Ottoman context, the notion of separate parallel legal spheres for different religious confessions demonstrates an astonishingly generous understanding of the law allowing for numerous areas to fall outside of the jurisdiction of the ruling Islamic religious and legal class (ilmiye) in the Ottoman Empire as a titular Islamic state holding the seat of the Caliphate. The papers looks into the understudied practical aspects of the surrender of their legal privileges by the voluntary subjection of Christians and Jews to the Islamic legal system in the resolution of conflicts with their coreligionists by analyzing some of the motifs and strategies of non-Muslim Ottoman subjects for doing so.

Vjeran Kursar (Zagreb) *Confessional Competition and Rivalries in Ottoman Bosnia: A Case of Confessionalization?*

The presentation will focus on the issue of confessional competition and rivalry in the Ottoman province of Bosnia in premodern times in diachronic perspective, with the emphasis on the 18th

century. On the one hand, I will analyze several examples of church renovation procedures, as highly indicative of Ottoman policies towards the Church, as well as individual cases of Islamization of Christian spiritual elites, being an indicator of the state of confessional competition on the most symbolic and critical level. On the other hand, I will look into strategies of local representatives of the Catholic Church towards the external threat, as well as their own proselytizing attempts, as recorded in monastery chronicles and preserved Ottoman documents. Finally, I will attempt to determine whether confessional tensions of the time, in particular that of the 18th century, were a product of a (belated) confessionalization, or whether other factors contributed to the general deterioration of interconfessional relations.

Christoph Neumann (Munich) *The Confessionalization of Dervish Orders in Nineteenth Century Istanbul.*

Research has established the transformation of dervish orders in the Ottoman Empire from networks of an essentially spiritual and personal nature dominated by the personal relationship between master and disciples to institutions framing these relationships but simultaneously rooted in material circumstances such as pious endowments, imperial and political patronage and doctrinal teachings of a semi-public kind (characterized by, among others, the use of printed material). Since 1826, Ottoman governments began to administer, control and supervise the orders especially in Istanbul in a systematic way. Regulations of increasing detail were issued and institutions such as the meclis-i meşâyih created that served the (self-)regulation of orders. In consequence, the orders became more distinct and constituted in a clear way, a process that highlighted differences between them. While on a more general level the Ottoman Empire retained its policy to downplay differences between Islamic currents and organizations and insisted on “Muslim” as the sole and unified denomination accepted, its administrative practice and the social dynamics of Sufis led to a situation where orders functioned and appeared as if they were confessions of Islam.

Merih Erol (Istanbul) *Becoming Protestant: Greek Orthodox Responses to Conversion in 19th-Century Ottoman Anatolia.*

During the nineteenth century, through American missionaries’ efforts, some, albeit a small portion, of the Greek Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman sultan adopted Protestantism. This article explores various incidents of libel and violence, and the punishments of exile or banishment which the Greek Protestants faced. This study is mainly based on the official documentation at the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, and to a lesser extent, on the annual reports of the missionary organization, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The article investigates the disputes between the Orthodox and the Protestant Greeks (Rum) in various parts of Anatolia, namely Izmir, Bursa, Burdur, Adana, and Ordu.

Suraiya Faroqhi (Munich) *Evliya Celebi's Discourse on Non-Muslims and Non-Sunni Muslims*

In his travels, Evliya Çelebi (1611 to about 1685) certainly favored Ottoman territories. However, these lands contained substantial non-Muslim populations, especially in the Balkans and Hungary, to say nothing of the many Christians and Jews inhabiting the Ottoman capital of Istanbul. When travelling eastward, toward Tabriz, the author moreover encountered Armenians on both sides of the Ottoman borders. In addition, during his lengthy visit to western Iran, Evliya found himself on a territory where Shi'ism was the 'state religion', a position that was difficult to cope with for a member of Istanbul's Sunni elite. Furthermore, the Qipchak steppe and East Africa, which he traversed as well, were home to people professing a variety of non-Muslim religions, which Islamic scholars did not necessarily recognize as 'people of the book'. Given this variety, it is not possible to exhaust the subject in a single short paper. I have selected two cases, one of them concerning a wartime situation and the other a period of relative peace: on the one hand, the war over Crete, and on the other, Evliya's complicated attitude to the non-Muslims of Istanbul. During the Ottoman war against Venice over Crete (1645-69), the civilian population of the island was still Orthodox, while the Venetians were Catholics and the drawn-out siege of Candia had resulted in a significant number of Muslim soldiers established on the island, often living in a temporary settlement outside of Candia together with their families. Evliya's account thus permits us to view his understanding of the supremacy of Islam and the pre-eminence of the Ottoman sultan in some detail. When dealing with the non-Muslim aspects of Istanbul history, we focus on Evliya's account of how the city came into being and view his comments on the Ottoman conquest as well. Moreover, as seventeenth-century Istanbul contained areas with a significant non-Muslim presence, I plan to review some of his comments on the status of these 'unbelievers'. Admittedly, Evliya's remarks on just these two venues are so numerous that this paper can only discuss a sampling of what he has written on the subject.

Stefan Rohdewald (Giessen) *Between the Religions: Christian Denominational History Seen from a Muslim Perspective in Müteferrika's Risale-i İslamiyye*

Antitrinitarianists in Transylvania have already since the 16th century been seen and, most often, defamed as being close to Muslim positions against the Christian dogma of the Holy Trinity. The Unitarian Church evolved here exactly because of Transylvania being a tributary state of the Ottoman Empire. However, obviously, although the edict of Thorda (Thorenburg) 1568 did grant religious freedom to several denominations, and although it was the first "peace of religions" to do this, it did not include Muslims, or even the Orthodox denomination. Ibrahim Müteferrika, stemming from Transylvania and having converted to Islam, gave an intriguing insight in the confusing delimitations of seemingly countless Christian denominations and in-fights for the last 1700 years, with a culmination on the situation in Transylvania after 1650 in his polemical and confessional text *Risale-i İslamiyye* which will be at the center of the analysis in this contribution: The denominational chaos of Christianity should serve as a reminder and consolidator of the unity and truthfulness of Sunni Islam.

Ioannis Zelepos (Munich) *Tolerata, non recepta. Religious Diversity as Political Concept in Southeast Europe. On the Regional Context of Evgenios Voulgaris' "Essay on Religious Tolerance" (1768).*

Religious diversity was a structural feature of early modern Southeast European and Eastern Mediterranean societies under Ottoman, Venetian, as well as under Habsburgian domination. It corresponded to respective policies of toleration which were guided obviously much more by pragmatic strategies of imperial rule than by whatsoever principles of liberalism. However, these policies were by no means arbitrary, but legally institutionalized with elaborate provisions concerning status, privileges and obligations of religiously deviant groups. In this capacity they constituted important frames of reference for the development of confessional identities, as well as for theoretical reflections on religious tolerance, as they were articulated especially since the 18th century. One such case is the "Essay on Tolerance" of Evgenios Voulgaris (1716-1806), who as prominent writer and teacher counts undoubtedly to the most authoritative intellectuals of Orthodox Christianity in the 18th century. This text is known as prime example for the reception of European Enlightenment, in this case specifically of Voltaire, whose work Voulgaris knew well and translated partially. Scholarly research has thoroughly analyzed it under the prism of idea transfer from Western Europe, but with comparatively little attention to its specific regional context. On the basis of a comparative look on religious diversity as structural condition in Southeast Europe, the paper discusses Voulgaris' Essay with regard to impacts of this framework on his attempt to conceptualize theoretically the idea of tolerance.

Dimitris Stamatopoulos (Thessaloniki) *Confessionalization from Above, Confessionalization from below: The Question of the Law in the Rum Millet (18th - 19th c.).*

In the recent years, the debate on the implementation of the theoretical paradigm of confessionalization concerning the early centuries of the Ottoman Empire has peaked. The matching of the confrontation between Protestants and Catholics in Central Europe with the corresponding internal confrontation that the Islamic world experienced between the Ottoman Sunni and the Shiite Safavid Empire seems rather easy and logical. However, if confessionalization is a process closely related to the formation of collective identities in the non-Muslim millet of the Ottoman Empire, and especially in the late centuries, has remained pending and open. In my opinion, in addition to the field of the anti-Islamic and mainly the anti-Catholic theology, we should concentrate on the question of law if we would like to approach the question of stabilizing new collective identities. As it is widely known, the Ecumenical Patriarchate was defending before the Sublime Porte a judicial system based on the application of the Hexabiblos of Konstantinos Armenopoulos, a private Byzantine legislative compilation, the last significant one of its kind before the ultimate fall of Byzantium. It was compiled in 1345 by Konstantinos Armenopoulos, the judge and legislator of Thessaloniki, and was translated during the post-Byzantine period into various languages, paraphrased into Modern Greek (by Alexios Spanos in Venice, in the famous 1744 edition of Nikiforos Glykas), and distributed very widely in Western and Central Europe, Georgia, Russia, the Danubian Principalities, Asia Minor, and the entire

Balkan Peninsula. Since the middle of the 18th century, Hexabiblos has replaced other collections that until then were predominant in rendering justice to ecclesiastical courts in the dioceses of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. However, this does not mean that it has been accepted by all sections of the leading elite in the Patriarchate. This was because it was based exclusively on secular Byzantine laws and not on holy canons like previous collections. Thus, one could distinguish that the publication of the Pedalion in 1800, a collection written by two monks at the end of the 18th c., returning to the logic of the “holy canons”, was a response to the probability of the predominance of Hexabiblos as the normative judicial text of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The paper will precisely focus on the two texts by putting them in the logic of the paradigm of confessionalization considering the paraphrase of Hexabiblos as a confessionalization process from above (from the elites of the Ecumenical Patriarchate) and the writing of Pedalion as confessionalization process from below (from the "fundamentalist" wing of Kollyvades in Mount Athos).