The Ottoman Period and Its Reception in Modern Greek Historiography

Osmanlı Dönemi ve Modern Yunan Tarihyazımında Algılanması

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Abstract
To study the reception of the Ottoman past, we should first begin by periodizing it. For the Greeks, the Ottoman period comprises several sub-periods whose characteristics depend on the mode, the method and the time of conquest, resulting in a multitude of trends in Greek historiography. The reception and interpretation of the Ottoman past in Greece was affected by the trends of European historiography on the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, which evolved according to the notions comprising the “East” and “West” dipole. In the 20th century, up to roughly 1974, the study and interpretation of the Ottoman past in Greek historiography relied on the use of Greek and Western sources, and in some cases translated Balkan and Ottoman archival material drawn from the international bibliography. Economic history, influenced by the Annales School, opened up new perspectives for approaching and interpreting history. These developments in the reception and interpretation of history influence the historiographical approach of the Ottoman past. By the late 20th century, new approaches and a pluralism in the interpretation of the Ottoman period in the Greek historiography appeared. Today, studies of and research into the Ottoman period rely mainly on Ottoman and Turkish sources, and this has promoted a deeper understanding of the structures and institutions of the Ottoman and the modern Turkish state. Under these novel approaches, a much more multi-layered interpretation of the Ottoman period emerges. The pursuits of contemporary social history, the use of primary sources and original archival material, and the different methodological approaches have brought researchers closer to the Ottoman reality.

Keywords: Ottoman period, Modern Greek historiography, the Annales School

Öz
Osmanlı geçmişinin kabulünü incelemek için, önce onu periyodize ederek başlamanız yararlı. Yunanlar için, Osmanlı dönemi, özellikleri, biçim, fetihi ve zamana bağlı olan ve Yunan tarihçiliğinde çok sayıda eğilime neden olan birkaç alt dönemden oluşur. Yunanistan'da Osmanlı geçmişinin kabulü ve yorumu, “Doğu” ve “Batı” kutuplarını içeren kavramlara göre evrimleşen, 19. yüzyl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu inceleyen Avrupa tarihçiliğinin eğilimlerinden etkilenmiştir. 20. yüzyılda, kabaca 1974'e kadar, Osmanlı tarihinin Yunan tarih yazımında incelenmesi ve yorumlanması, Yunan ve Batı

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Kaynakların kullanımına ve bazı durumlarda uluslararası bibliyografyanın çarşafından tercüme edilmiş Balkan ve Osmanlı arşiv materyallerine dayanıyordu. Diktatörlüğün çöküşünden ve Yunanistan'daki demokrasinin restorasyonundan (1974) sonra, araştırmada yeni yaklaşımlar ve Osmanlı döneminin yorumlanması yeni bir bakış ortaya çıktı. Annales Okulu'ndan etkilenen ekonomik tarih, tarih yaklaşımların ve yorumlamaların yeni perspektifler getirdi. Tarihine kültürel ve yorumlamasındaki bu gelişmeler, Osmanlı geçmişi için tarihsel yaklaşımı etkilemeye başlamıştır. Temalar, artık Osmanlı bağlamında kabul edilen ekonomik ve sosyal mekanizmalar aracılığıyla incelenmeye başlanmıştır. 20. yy. sonlarından, Yunan tarih yazımıda Osmanlı döneminin yorumlanması ve çağdaş tarihin bakış açısı ortaya çıkmıştır. Günümüzde Osmanlı dönemi ile ilgili çalışmalar ve araştırmalar açılışında olarak Osmanlı ve Türk kaynaklarına dayanmaktadır ve bu, Osmanlı ve modern Türk devletinin yapı ve kurumlarını anlamaya yönelik bir derinlik getirmiştir. Toplum çalışmasıyla, kültürel tarih ve günlük yaşamın incelenmesine önem verilmiştir. Bu yeni yaklaşımlar altında, Osmanlı döneminin çok katmanlı bir yorumu daha ortaya çıkmaktadır. Çağdaş sosyal tarihe yönelik arayışlar, birincil kaynakların ve orijinal arşiv materyallerinin kullanımına ve farklı metodolojik yaklaşımlar, araştırmacıları Osmanlı gerçekliğine daha da yaklaştırmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı dönemi, Modern Yunan tarihyazımı, Annales Okulu

1. Introduction

The present paper concerns the reception of the Ottoman period and its formation, the influences from historiographical currents and its evolution in the context of Modern Greek historiography. Aim of the paper is to present the influence of Annales School on the Greek history writing about revision of the event-centered history. In the new approach, socio-scientific oriented history researches pose new social and economic questions. Thus, the paper will evaluate different phases of the reception of Ottoman period in modern Greek historiography.

2. Reception of the Ottoman Past in Early Modern Greek Historiography

To study the reception of the Ottoman past¹, we should first begin by periodizing it. Upon examination we can observe that it is not a unitary period of Ottoman rule, and this fact has in some cases led to varying interpretations of the past. At this point we should point out that in the case of Greece, conquest by the Ottomans did not occur in the same period. From the Battle of Manzikert (1071) to the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, and the final Ottoman conquest of the Aegean (that was to be completed with the conquest of Crete as late as 1669) roughly six centuries had elapsed. Until the late 20th century, we often observed the tendency to designate the Fall of Constantinople as the starting point for Ottoman domination, which ended with the creation of the Modern Greek state. Some areas were liberated, while others remained under Ottoman rule; as a result, Greek historiography exhibits different trends and currents. Even after the establishment of the Greek state, the majority of the Greek Orthodox populations continued to live in lands belonging to the multi-ethnic Ottoman domain Consequently, the creation of the Greek state did not put an end to Ottoman rule in all the areas, as is commonly

¹ On the usage of the ‘more politically correct’ term ‘Ottoman period’ instead of the established ‘Tourkokratía’ (=Ottoman rule) (Ioannis Chasiotis, 2001)
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claimed in Greek historiography. The Balkan Wars, and WWI (which for Greece effectively ended in 1922) represent ending sub-periods of the Ottoman conquest. We can therefore observe that both the inception of Ottoman rule and its termination did not unfold uniformly. The different points in time and conditions under which the lands populated by the Greek Orthodox people were incorporated into the Ottoman state also resulted in the emergence of dissimilar institutional frameworks for those populations. This has had the effect of causing a multitude of trends in the mainstream currents of Greek historiography (Topping, 1961:157-173). Two ideological centers arose in the Greek Orthodox areas: Constantinople, which expressed the ideology of the religious ethnic community (γένος) (Papageorgiou, 2005) and carried a certain universality; and Athens, a carrier of the ideology of the Modern Greek nation state, which emerged as the national center (Skopetea, 1988). For the Greeks, the Ottoman period comprises several sub-periods whose characteristics depend on the mode, the method and the time of conquest (Asdrachas, 2004). That is why it should not be understood as a single period. As concerns the study of the Greek Orthodox populations in that period, we should employ a multi-layered approach and interpretation vis-à-vis those populations, and the conditions prevalent in each area.

The mode of the Ottoman past's reception (Todorova, 2004: 333), in the nation-states of Southeastern Europe (Todorova, 1995) begins in the 19th century, when their national historiographies are being shaped. In 19th century Greece, the dominant national historiography of the Greek state follows the contours established by the work of Constantine Paparrigopoulos. The study of the Ottoman period centered mainly on the relations of the Greek Orthodox population with the Ottoman authorities, without examining other ethnic groups in the Ottoman society. Interest focused chiefly on themes such as their social, economic and intellectual activities and the privileges ceded to the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Gedeon, 1910). Special emphasis was originally placed on the populations living in the Peloponnese and later in the Balkan areas and Asia Minor. A similar inwardness, however, can be seen in other Balkan historiographies. Research into and the study of this period usually aims at treating each nation's own ethnic group, without taking into consideration other ethnic groups living in the lands under Ottoman rule (Papoulia, 1962b; Menage, 1966: pp. 64-78, (Papoulia: 2011, (Themopoulou, 2012: pp. 353-365 , Ercan, 1991: pp. 679-725) This contributed to the

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2 In accordance with Islamic Holy Law, in the areas where people surrendered without offering resistance, non-Muslims often enjoyed certain privileges (as in the case of the city of Ioannina) (Konstantinos Amantos, 1930). On the contrary, in the absence of capitulation, the lands captured by war, the hostilities were caring on up to the end (Kyriakos Nikolaou Patragas, 2015).

3 A characteristic example of this inwardness is the subject of the devshirme (devşirme, i.e. the practice whereby young Christian boys were taken from their families and raised to serve the Ottoman state) as treated in each national Balkan historiography. Extensive research into this practice and the geography of devshirme in the historiography of the Balkan countries and Turkey, by drawing on historical sources, chronicles, narratives and the collective memory of the ethnic groups would greatly contribute towards a better understanding of its impact on all non-Muslim populations.

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formulation of a fragmented past when it came to the reception of the Ottoman period in the historiography of each nation state.

The different cultural and religious traditions of each ethnic group influenced the reception of that period in the countries of Southeastern Europe. In Greece, this was also affected (Dimaras, 1982 and Dimaras, 1989) by the trends of European historiography on the Ottoman Empire (Farqghi, 2003:15) in the 19th century, which evolved around the notions comprising the “East” and “West” bipole. Thus, the reception and interpretation of the Ottoman past in Greek historical writing have been crystallized under the influence of Western historiography and the current of Greek Romanticism (Politis, 2008). The impact of Western historiography, however, does not relate solely to the Ottoman period inasmuch as in Greek historiography, Greek Antiquity was also understood in light of the Philhellenism current whereas the Byzantine period was largely passed over (Kitromilides, 2004: 38). The concept of collective identity that is examined in the course of the Enlightenment (Kitromilides, 1994) is attributed to ancient Greek elements, and the reception of Greek Antiquity; this too is due to the influence of Western historiography. The latter is attributed to the linking of the study of Greek historical studies to European historical studies and the reception of Western historiographical currents by the Greek academic community.

At this point we should probably mention that at the end of the 19th and in the early 20th century, Spyridon Lambros, who was well aware of the importance of archival material, employed in some cases translated Ottoman documents (Lambros, 1892 and Lambros, 1908 and Balta, 2010: 758) drawn from the Venetian archives. In the mid-20th century, K. Amantos and A. Vakalopoulos utilized in their work (Amantos, 1930 and Vakalopoulos, 1969 and Papoulia, 1963) not only Greek and Western sources, but also Ottoman, Serbian and Bulgarian archival material in translation. Consequently, up to roughly 1974, the study and interpretation of the Ottoman past in Greek historiography relied on the use of Greek and Western sources, and in some cases in translated Balkan and Ottoman archival material drawn from the international bibliography.

The Ottoman archival material located in Greece was first utilized by translators (Balta, 1997 and Balta, 2010) and scholars (Stavrinidis, 1975; Stavrinidis 1976; Stavrinidis 1978; Stavrinidis 1984; Stavrinidis 1985 and Vasdarvellis, 1952; Vasdarvellis 1954; Vasdarvellis, 1955), mainly for legal purposes (Moschovakis, 1973) and chiefly to settle legal disputes over ownership deeds (Tsopotos, 1931 and Tsopotos, 1914), agricultural relations (Tsopotos, 1974), the system of land ownership and taxation, monastic privileges (Gedeon, 1911 and Zachariadou, 1974) in tax documents, and in some cases to record local history (Stavrinis, 1948; Vasdravellis, 1952; Vasdravellis, 1954 and Vasdravellis, 1955). Thus we see that research into and the publication of Ottoman sources was not pioneered by historians, but pursued for the specific aforementioned reasons. The records of the Sharia court rulings (kadi sicerleri), censuses (tapu ve tahrir), capital tax payments (cizye), and waqf lands that were translated subsequently formed the basis for later historical research into Ottoman archival sources.

5 Influences from Western literature have contributed to the reception of ideas of Philhellenism and Orientalism.
3. The influence of the Annales School in the reception and interpretation of the Ottoman period

Greek historiography kept up with European theoretical currents mainly through the Annales school and this contributed to the emergence of new trends in Greek historical writing (Dertilis, 1987: 76). History writing is now oriented towards sociological and economic approaches. Economic and social conditions are the main research concerns of those historians. We can witness a gradual distancing from event-centered history and the creation of a socio-scientific orientation in historical research. This research poses new social and economic questions. It does not treat political and social events in general, but the individual constituent elements of those facts. In this historical research, elements, individuals, events and narratives are worked into a unitary synthesis (Iggers, 1991: 87). In this context we have the development of historical biography and monographs treating the heroes of the era⁶ thereby reconstructing the landscape of that particular period.

In some cases, individual data concerning an area, for example the processing of quantitative information, can produce the “entire history” of that area (Le Roy Ladurie, 1978 and Iggers, 1991). We can observe the evolution from a history that relies on event-centered testimonies to a history based on quantitative data. In local history, the research is carried out mainly at small scale allowing it to proceed from the partial to the general. Historians and researchers are no longer concerned with the overall picture and the phenomena that pertain to the whole, instead they focus on individual elements that they regard as an important part of the whole, processing them in the context of general social rearrangement. In this composite approach we can observe the coupling of different fields of study (interdisciplinary approach) such as the humanities, sociology, social anthropology and history.

Social history centers on societal structures and social change processes. Historical research is carried out by engaging in lengthy historical overviews, chiefly of themes of social evolution, in effect attempting to open itself up to society. Research seeks to increase the visibility of the fabric of societies, the masses (bottom-up history), and everyday life. We are not, however, dealing with a linear conception of time, but with the coexistence of multiple times and levels in a broader social context. General references are replaced by specific, personal and oral testimonies of individuals, composing a given period. Elements viewed as subsets of specialized facts become the protagonists in historical situations and changes, while emphasis is being placed on the history of attitudes.

In economic history, influenced by the Annales School, the documentation, analysis and processing of information, mainly provided from archival material, open up new perspectives for approaching and interpreting history. These developments in the reception approach and interpretation of history influence the historiographical approach of the Ottoman past (İnalcık, 1978).⁷

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6 The historical research of the era is less concerned with events, and more with portraiture.
7 The influence of the Annales School on the study of the Ottoman period can also be observed in Turkish historiography, in the work of scholars such as Fuat Köprülü, O. L. Barkan, Halil İnalcık; this will also influence later studies on the Ottoman period.
The history of the Ottoman Empire in F. Braudel’s classic work *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II* is placed in the broader frame of the social and economic history of the Mediterranean area (Braudel, 1996). In the following decades, in economic history works we can observe the Ottoman Empire’s economy discussed in the context of the world economy of the era (Wallerstein, 1979; İslamoğlu and Keyder, 1977). (Reşat Kasaba, 1979).8

In the work of Svoronos, the activities of Greek Orthodox merchants in the Ottoman Empire and their trading networks with the West are utilized to quantitatively analyze data drawn archival material (Svoronos, 1956). We should point out, however, that the evidence mentioned above was originally derived chiefly from Greek and Western archival sources.

After the fall of the dictatorship and the restoration of democracy (1974) in Greece we can detect novel approaches in terms of the research into and the interpretation of this period pioneered by returning European-educated scholars and historians (Aymard, 1978). Greek Orthodox populations are now being studied in light of the economic and societal relations prevalent in the lands ruled by the Ottomans. These studies aim chiefly at producing economic history and set new evidence for the areas populated by Greek Orthodox people (Asdrachas, 1979; Asdrachas, 2003 and Asdrachas 1988). New areas of research include the agrarian economy, the modes of agricultural production, the economic mechanisms of the rural areas (Asdrachas, 1978), and the lands and the seas were the Greek Orthodox population live. The themes around which research revolves pertain largely to areas under Ottoman rule, and more specifically the Aegean islands, Macedonia, and the Peloponnese, the urban centers, such as Smyrna (Frangakis Syrret, 1992), Constantinople and Thessaloniki (Themopoulou, 1994). The focus is on the populations and the economic mechanisms in the Ottoman-ruled territories. According to S. Asdrachas, “in the perspective of economic history, conquered peoples can become historical actors” (Asdrachas, 2004: 333). There is a transition from the history of economic institutions and the history of French commerce in *Levant* (Masson, 1911: 67) to the economic history of the areas under Ottoman rule; the latter examines the conditions of production and exchange (Asdrachas, 2004: 333). Again according to S. Asdrachas, “the conquered peoples perform economic roles that are distinct from those of their rulers and participate as productive actors” (Asdrachas, 2004: 333). In his work, the author employs published Ottoman archival material. This refocusing on economic history resulted in changes in terms of method, perspective and in the way in which historical sources are approached. Special emphasis is placed on the use of archival material evidence. Under the influence of the Annales School, historians proceed to de-codify and criticize the sources, in due course reconstructing them. Through the use of oral testimonies and by reconstituting everyday life, the history of attitudes receives more attention. The themes are examined through the prism of economic and social mechanisms that are now incorporated in the Ottoman context.

After roughly 1974, historical studies flourish, along with research focusing on social and economic history; research centers are created and the Greek universities embrace new theoretical directions. Studies from this period of Greek historiography employ archival material from Western, Balkan,

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8 The same view is recorded somewhat later in Reşat Kasaba’s writings.
and Ottoman sources. Balkan historical works based on Ottoman archival material are translated into Greek, chiefly those concentrating on Balkan agricultural economic structure (Mutafchieva, 1990), the commercialization of agricultural produce, taxation, and the economic relations of ethnic groups with the dominant ethnicity. Translations of censuses from the Ottoman archives provide us with information about the modalities of land ownership, agricultural relations, and the commercialization of agricultural produce. The employment of Ottoman sources in translation widens the scope of researchers studying the Ottoman period, who now approach their subjects in the broader Ottoman context. Nevertheless, up to the last decades of the 20th century, from the viewpoint of academic studies, the Ottoman period was not treated as a self-contained historical period, but was subsumed under Modern Greek History. However, the history of the Greek Orthodox populations during this period coincides with the period of Ottoman rule.

4. The Ottoman period in contemporary Greek historiography

Examining the Greek historiography of the last decade of the 20th century, we can observe the influences from the political situation of the time, and its impact on the historical community. Historical writing which is affected by international currents, follows the new trends and pursuits and also influences society as a whole, thereby prompting a two-way relationship. These developments occasion differentiations in the research into and study of the Ottoman period. New historical research into the Ottoman period focuses its attention on largely neglected up to then sections of the society. Through the study of society emphasis is given to the study of cultural history, culture and everyday life. The new historians partake in the pursuits of contemporary social history. Under these novel historiographical approaches a much more multi-layered interpretation of the themes of the Ottoman period emerges. (Fernand Braudel, 1996). The history of the Greek Orthodox populations, along with the particularities of each area, is now studied also in correlation with the broader Ottoman context. We should note that up to that point, the institutions of the Ottoman society and the organization of the Ottoman state had not been examined in a comprehensive perspective. The new methodological approaches endowed researchers with a better understanding of Ottoman economic and social mechanisms. This is because, as has already been mentioned, the history of the Greek Orthodox population during this period forms part of the broader history of Ottoman rule. These developments contributed to a more interdisciplinary approach to the subjects of Greek and Ottoman history, and their function as complementary fields (Kotzagiorgis, 2008: 155).

By the late 20th century, we can observe differences in the approach to and interpretation of themes concerning the Ottoman period. This development is attributable, among else, to the growth of interstate relations between the countries of Southeastern Europe, and the concomitant scientific collaborations after the political developments of the late 20th century in

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9 This tendency can be observed in the Annales School as well; a characteristic example is the work of Fernand Braudel on the Mediterranean, where the entire region (both Muslim and Christian) is examined.

10 This development is also evinced in the historiographies of other countries of Southeastern Europe.
the wider region. International scientific collaborations and the exchanges between countries are instrumental to a new mode of studying and receiving of the Ottoman past, which is not carried out in a fragmentary manner and exclusively focused on each religious – ethnic group, but on a much broader outlook on the Ottoman past (Wallerstein, 1987:236; Faroqhi and Adanır: 2002: 115-154). With these new historiographical approaches, a new pluralism becomes manifest in the interpretation of the Ottoman period. A typical example is the much more comprehensive reception of non-Muslim ethnic groups also by taking into consideration Ottoman institutions.

In Greece, the focal point of research is not solely on the Greek Orthodox populations anymore but a multi-layered analysis is attempted in the context of Ottoman society (e.g. Christian, Jewish, and Muslim populations). Improved communication between citizens in the wider Balkan region contributed to learning Balkan languages, an important factor for the growth of research, as it allowed greater access to the archival sources of each country.

Today, studies of and research into the Ottoman period rely mainly on Ottoman (Zachariadou, 1985; Dimitriadis, 1979; Dimitriadis, 1980; Dimitriadis, 1983; Theocharidis, 1984, Theocharidis, 1993, Theocharidis, 1999). 11 and Turkish sources, and this has promoted a deeper understanding of the structures and institutions of the Ottoman and the modern Turkish state. In contemporary research, the use of Ottoman sources, coupled with methodological instruments of quantitative analysis, has opened up new perspectives (Theocharidis, 1988) in the interpretation of the Ottoman past. The research in the Ottoman archives demonstrated the methodological problems in relation with the interpretation of the sources: the historical research from a bare document processing passed into more elaborated forms of approach and interpretation of the archival sources (Faroqhi, 2003: 1). In the mid-1980s, Ottoman history began being taught for the first time at an university level 12 in Greece, coupled by research into Ottoman archival material; this resulted in a significant output of Greek historical studies treating that period that rely on Ottoman sources.

Scientific collaborations and exchanges between the countries of Southeastern Europe have contributed to the study of the Ottoman period, not anymore exclusively in a single perspective but by employing new methodological approaches and analytical tools to arrive at a broader conception that encompasses all of the components of the Ottoman past. Scientific collaborations

11 Indicatively we should mention studies of Elizabeth Zachariadou, Vassilis Dimitriadis and Ioannis Theocharidis
12 Ottoman studies as a subject began being taught in around 1985 at the University of Crete, in the Department of History and Archaeology by Elizabeth Zachariadou and Vassilis Dimitriadis. A post-graduate course of Turkish Studies is available in cooperation with the Institute of Mediterranean Studies. Furthermore, Turkish Studies conferences are organized by the Institute for Mediterranean Studies and the Department of History and Archaeology on published Ottoman archival material. Ottoman History is being taught in the History Department of the Aristotle University of Thessalonica; in the History Department of the University of Corfu; in the History and Archaeology Department of the Ioannina University (1999-2008); and in the Department of Language, Literature and Civilization of the Black Sea Countries in the Democritus University of Thrace. The Department of Turkish and Modern Asian Studies in the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens that was created in 2003 is the only one in Greece at the level of Ottoman and Turkish History, Turkish language and Literature and Middle Eastern Geopolitical Studies. Furthermore, studies and research into the Ottoman period are carried out in the National Hellenic Research Foundation, in the Section of Neo hellenic Research.
in Greece with foreign researchers have helped the outward orientation of Greek researchers and have occasioned international scientific collaborations.

New thematic fields are being formed in the research into and study of this period. The main themes in the works on the Ottoman period are the economy of the areas occupied by Greek Orthodox populations; taxation; the status of the Ecumenical Patriarchate vis-à-vis the Ottoman authorities; aspects of monastic privileges and monastic documents, especially the cases of the monasteries of Mt Athos\(^{13}\); the history of the urban centers of the Ottoman Empire; demographic questions; the institutions and functions of the islandic Greek Orthodox populations (Asdrachas, 1988; Liata, 1987; Lazari, 1989; Dimitropoulos, 1997; Zei, 2001); and the Greek Orthodox of Asia Minor.

The relatively recent studies and research have broadened the horizons at the level of local history, by allowing us to move from the particular to the general and by shedding light on aspects of social and economic history of the Ottoman period. A multi-layered approach from the perspective of the social and economic history of the Greek Orthodox population in the context of the economic and social mechanisms of the Ottoman state have resulted in an all-encompassing reception of the Ottoman reality.

The pursuits of contemporary social history, the use of primary sources and original archival material, new analytical tools, and the different methodological approaches have brought researchers closer to the Ottoman reality and have helped them to form a more multifaceted and complete picture of that period.

5. Conclusion

Today, studies of and research into the Ottoman period rely mainly on Ottoman and Turkish sources, and this has promoted a deeper understanding of the structures and institutions of the Ottoman and the modern Turkish state. In contemporary research, the novel approaches and the use of Ottoman sources have opened up new perspectives in the interpretation of the Ottoman past.

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\(^{13}\) Indicatively we should mention studies of Fokion Kotzageorgis, Ilias Kolovos, Georgios Salakidis, and Evangelia Balta. (Kotzageorgis, 2002; Kolovos, 2000; Salakidis, 1995; Balta, 1999)
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