



THE INSTITUTE
OF HISTORY
BELGRADE



BELGRADE 1521–1867

Editors in chief

Srđan Rudić

Selim Aslantaş

Editor

Dragana Amedoski

Belgrade

2018.

Reviewers

Vesna Bikić, PhD

(Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade)

Prof. dr. Turan Gökçe

(İzmir Kâtip Çelebi Üniversitesi, Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler)

Prof. Nenad Makuljević, PhD

(Faculty of Philosophy Belgrade)

Prof. dr Konstantin Nikiforov

(Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences)

Editorial Board

Selim Aslantaş (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü – Turkish Cultural Centre Belgrade)

Dragana Amedoski (Institute of History Belgrade)

Şeref Ateş (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü – Ankara)

Mahir Aydın (Istanbul University)

Machiel Kiel (Netherlands Institute in Turkey)

Christian Promitzer (Institute for History, KarlFranzens University of Graz)

Srdan Rudić (Institute of History Belgrade)

Aleksandra Vuletić (Institute of History Belgrade)

Olga Zirojević (Institute of History Belgrade)

*This book has been published with the financial support of
the Ministry of the Education, Science and Technological Development
of the Republic of Serbia and
Yunus Emre Enstitüsü – Turkish Cultural Centre Belgrade*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 5 Marko POPOVIĆ
SIEGE OF BELGRADE IN 1521 AND RESTORATION OF FORTIFICATIONS
AFTER CONQUEST
- 27 Machiel KIEL
THE CARAVANSERAI OF TUYGUN PASHA IN BELGRADE:
ITS DESCRIPTION BY HANS DERNSCHWAM (1555) AND SOME NOTES
ABOUT ITS FOUNDER IN THE OTTOMAN ARCHIVES IN ISTANBUL
- 53 Dragana AMEDOSKI
BELGRADE WOMEN IN OTTOMAN SOCIETY:
MUSLIM WOMEN FROM BELGRADE AT SHARIA COURT (17TH CENTURY)
- 65 Aleksandar FOTIĆ
THE BELGRADE *KADI'S MÜRASELES* OF 1683:
THE MIRROR OF A *KADI'S* ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES
- 79 Tatjana KATIĆ
WALKING THROUGH THE RAVAGED CITY: AN EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY
TO THE DEMOLITION OF THE BELGRADE FORTRESS IN 1690
- 101 Mahir AYDIN
THE BELGRADE FORTRESS
BEFORE THE TREATY OF PASSAROWITZ (1697–1717)
- 129 Hakan KARAGÖZ
THE 1717 SIEGE OF BELGRADE AND THE OTTOMAN WAR EQUIPMENT
CAPTURED BY THE HABSBURGS AFTER THE SIEGE
- 155 Isidora TOČANAC RADOVIĆ
BELGRADE – SEAT OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC
AND METROPOLITANATE (1718–1739)
- 169 Uğur KURTARAN
OTTOMAN-AUSTRIA BORDER DETERMINATION WORKS AND NEWLY
DETERMINED BORDERS ACCORDING TO THE TREATY OF BELGRADE OF 1739
- 193 Hatice ORUÇ
BELGRADE ACCORDING TO THE 1741 DATED TAHRIR DEFTER
ON THE SMEDEREVO SANJAK
- 259 Mehmet TÜTÜNCÜ
BELGRADE'S OTTOMAN INSCRIPTIONS AS WAR BOOTY

- 283 Nurbanu DURAN
LIFE IN THE BELGRADE FORTRESS
IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 19TH CENTURY
- 297 Nedeljko V. RADOSAVLJEVIĆ
BELGRADE METROPOLITANATE 1825–1831
- 315 E. Attila AYTEKIN
BELGRADÛ RAŠID AND HIS *VAK'A-I HAYRET-NÛMA*:
A LOCAL MUSLIM PERSPECTIVE ON DUAL ADMINISTRATION IN BELGRADE
DURING SERBIAN AUTONOMY
- 327 Aleksandra VULETIĆ, Nino DELIĆ
POPULATION OF BELGRADE AS A FOCUS OF POLITICAL
AND ADMINISTRATIVE INTEREST IN THE MID–19TH CENTURY
- 347 Bojana MILJKOVIĆ KATIĆ
ABOUT CONTRADICTIONARY POLICY OF PURCHASES OF MUSLIM ESTATES
IN BELGRADE AND THE PRINCIPALITY OF SERBIA
- 363 Irena ĆIROVIĆ
OTTOMAN WOMAN, AGENCY AND POWER:
MELEK HANIM IN BELGRADE 1847–1848
- 383 Gordana KAROVIĆ
ESTABLISHING STEAM NAVIGATION IN THE PRINCIPALITY OF SERBIA
- 407 Ljubodrag P. RISTIĆ
THE BOMBING OF BELGRADE (1862) AND THE CESSION
OF FORTRESSES TO SERBIA (1867) IN BRITISH POLITICS
- 423 Suzana RAJIĆ
BELGRADE AND THE CITY QUESTION 1866/1867
IN CONFIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF FOREIGN OFFICE
- 437 Evren KUTLAY
ELEMENTS OF OTTOMAN INFLUENCE IN SERBIAN MUSIC
- 453 Vladimir TOMIĆ
THE VIENNESE VIEW ON BELGRADE. BELGRADE IN THE WORKS OF
VIENNESE ENGRAVERS BETWEEN THE 17TH AND THE 19TH CENTURY
FROM THE BELGRADE CITY MUSEUM COLLECTION
- 479 Selim ASLANTAŞ
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS ON OTTOMAN BELGRADE

Irena ČIROVIĆ

OTTOMAN WOMAN, AGENCY AND POWER: MELEK HANIM IN BELGRADE 1847–1848*

Abstract: A series of written accounts by Ottoman and Muslim women appeared in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Melek Hanım contributed to this corpus of literature with her memoirs, published in two volumes. The first one *Thirty Years in the Harem* (1872) draws attention with the episode of Melek Hanım stay in Belgrade. During 1847/48 she was accompanying her husband Kibrisli Mehmed Emin Pasha on his governor appointment in Belgrade, at the time when Ottoman and Serbian governments were negotiating power over the city. Dedicating the entire chapter to her Belgrade stay, Melek Hanım brought outlook on the city which is an almost unique case of Ottoman woman perspective in written records on Belgrade of the 19th century. The Belgrade episode also brings accounts of her benefactions, business investments and political engagements, revealing more on a position and possibilities for agency of the elite Ottoman women.

Key words: Melek Hanım, Ottoman women, memoires, Kibrisli Mehmed Emin Pasha, Belgrade, 1847–1848.

Many reminiscences about nineteenth-century Belgrade can be found in memoirs written by Serbian authors. These written records, including literary works of foreign travellers whose visits to Belgrade become more frequent at this time, provide important historical accounts. However, the Ottoman equivalent of these records remained mostly unknown, of special interest for the period that lasted until the end of the Ottoman administration of Belgrade in 1867. The works written from the Ottoman perspective, such as the memoirs of Ibrahim Manzur effendi or the historical

* This article is the result of the project No. 177030 of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

accounts by Rashid bey (Belgradi Rašid),¹ are something of a rarity in Serbian historiography. In this light, Melek Hanım's autobiography *Thirty Years in the Harem* comes across as a written account which is rare from a number of viewpoints.² Containing an episode set in Belgrade, her memoirs expose not only the Ottoman outlooks, but the experience of an elite woman in this city, intersected with notions of women's agency and power. In this frame of reference, Melek Hanım's claims about life in Belgrade represent, in many ways, an alternative voice which the historical narratives are lacking.

Memoirs of Melek Hanım

Melek Hanım was born Marie Dejean in 1814, in Istanbul, to Greek-French parents. At the age of 15, she married English doctor Julius Millingen, and had two children with him. Short in duration, this marriage ended in an amicable divorce and Melek Hanım's departure for Rome. In search of a better life, she would subsequently find herself in Paris, where she meets her next husband, Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Pasha. The marriage marked Melek Hanım's entrance into the elite circles of Ottoman society. The status she gained subsequently grew in parallel with her husband's career, whom she would accompany on his new postings. Both the marriage and divorce from Kıbrıslı Mehmed Pasha were watershed events in Melek Hanım's life. Because of a scandal that erupted over her involvement in the murder of one of the servants, this marriage was dissolved in 1850. A series of complicated events would ensue: Melek Hanım's exiles and arrests, machinations and conspiracies, alongside her perpetual attempts at winning back her property once the divorce was finalized. The whole situation resulted in Melek Hanım's escape from Istanbul with her daughter Ayşe and their departure for Europe in 1867.³

Melek Hanım's memoirs are acknowledged as a written source in the study of Ottoman society and history of Ottoman women, as well as in critical evaluation of their oeuvres.⁴ The emergence of writings by Muslim women, such as Melek Hanım's

¹ S. Novaković, *Iz memoara Ibrahim-Manzur-efendije o nekim događajima u Bosni i u Srbiji iz 1813. i 1814. godine*, Spomenik, Vol. XXII (Srpska kraljevska akademija, Beograd 1893) 45–54; *Rašid-beja Istorija čudnovatih događaja u Beogradu i Srbiji*, Vol. I, translated by D. S. Čohadžić, Spomenik XXIII (Srpska kraljevska akademija, Beograd 1894).

² Melek-Hanum, *Thirty Years in the Harem: Or, the Autobiography of Melek-Hanum, Wife of H. H. Kıbrizli-Mehemet-Pasha*, Chapman and Hall, London 1872.

³ Melek-Hanum, *Thirty Years in the Harem*; I. C. Schick, *Introduction*, *Thirty Years in the Harem; or, The Autobiography of Melek-Hanum, Wife of H. H. Kıbrizli-Mehemet-Pasha* (1872), Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ 2005, v–xl.

⁴ For example: R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1963; F. Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718–1918*, Greenwood Press, New York, etc. 1986; R. Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism. Race, Femininity and Representation*, Routledge Chapman & Hall, London 1995; M. Booth, *Introduction*, *Harem*

memoirs, represented a new intervention on the western literary market in the late nineteenth century that challenged the Orientalist imagination about harem life. Exuding an aura of a subject that intrigued the European audience, Melek Hanım's memoirs appeared in 1872, in three English-language editions; editions in other European languages followed successively.⁵ The first reference to her memoir in the Serbian press appears at that time, where she is given local significance as the wife of a Belgrade pasha.⁶ The very title of the memoir, *Thirty Years in the Harem*, created with a tinge of sensationalism, betrays the aim of this work and an adjustment to the tastes of the European market. In that sense, alongside the name of the author, what also found its way into the title was the designation "the wife of Kibrizli Mehmed Emin Pasha", although Melek had been long divorced by then, suggesting that she was a truthful witness of harem life. At the time of publication of the autobiography, Melek Hanım had stayed in Europe for a number of years, which she would portray in her next book as a special part of her life. Entitled *Six Years in Europe: Sequel to Thirty Years in the Harem*, these reminiscences were published in 1873,⁷ the same year that Melek Hanım took her own life.⁸

Reading Melek Hanım's autobiography as a documentary work calls for a critical approach, as does any writing of the memoir variety. In this case, however, additional caution is advised, bearing in mind the circumstances in which her autobiography was penned. Introducing her memoirs, Irvin Schick notes that they were most likely written based on Melek Hanım's oral narrative, so possible interventions of the writer and editor of this autobiography must be taken into account.⁹ In this light, one should also perhaps recognize Melek Hanım's self-promoting character that permeates the entire text, sometimes even with obvious exaggeration regarding her own role. However, leaving aside the way these memoir narratives were constructed, Melek Hanım's autobiography is revealed to be a valuable historical account. Her keen observation, her knowledgeability, and her enterprising spirit disclose plenty about gender, social and political relations in the Ottoman society of the time.

Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces, M. Booth (Ed.), Duke University Press, Durham & London 2010, 15–17; *Gender, Modernity and Liberty Middle Eastern and Western Women's Writings, a Critical Sourcebook*, R. Lewis and N. Micklewright (Eds.), I. B. Tauris, New York and London 2006.

⁵ I. C. Schick, *Introduction*, xxix, note 1. The 1874 Russian edition of the memoir was used for the translation of the chapter about Belgrade into Serbian: M. P. Radusinović, *Odlomak iz memoara Melek Hanume o Beogradu 1848. godine*, Zbornik MS za istoriju 65–66 (2002) 239–247.

⁶ S. Nikolajević, *Ledi Montegijeva o Srbiji*, Otadžbina: književnost, nauka, društveni život, Year I, Vol. I (Beograd 1875) 283.

⁷ Melek-Hanım, *Six Years in Europe: Sequel to Thirty Years in the Harem. The Autobiographical Notes of Melek-Hanım, Wife of H. H. Kibrizli-Mehemet-Pasha*, ed. d by L. A. Chamerovzow, Chapman and Hall, London 1873.

⁸ I. C. Schick, *Introduction*, xxxviii.

⁹ *Ibidem*, viii–x.

The value of Melek Hanım's memoir is also demonstrated when reviewing a separate episode, such as the chapter dedicated to her Belgrade spell.¹⁰ At the time of the dual, Ottoman-Serbian administration of the town, she spent almost a year there, from 1847 until 1848, accompanying Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Pasha on his new post as the Muhafız (governor) of Belgrade. Her personal narratives about life in Belgrade include a series of interesting segments, composed of personal observations about the town and its inhabitants, her public engagements and her role as a political mediator. In that sense, the episode from Melek Hanım's memoir emerges as a sequence of events offered from the perspective of a privileged Ottoman woman, insufficiently known in terms of this period of Belgrade history, as well as in terms of female agency and possibilities for public action.

Melek Hanım's recollections of Belgrade

The appointment of Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Pasha as the new Muhafız attracted press coverage in Belgrade. The first article, dated 19 August 1847, announces that Kıbrıslı Mehmed Pasha was already formally received by the sultan and that he would soon be in Belgrade.¹¹ Three days later he indeed arrived and took up his new post, where, according to a press report, he was received by representatives of Ottoman and Serbian authorities in a manner worthy of his rank.¹² In the memoirs, Melek Hanım describes the events surrounding her husband's Belgrade appointment in more detail. Soon after he returned to Istanbul from his Jerusalem appointment, the nomination of Kıbrıslı Mehmed Pasha for governor of Belgrade was formally announced. He had Reshid-Pasha, the grand-vizier, to thank for that honour. To Melek Hanım's mind, the new post was an advancement in Kıbrıslı Mehmed Pasha's career. As she stresses out, he got the post of the Belgrade governor "although he was only a miriman, or general of division, whereas this command is not generally given to anyone under the rank of a *mushir*, or field-marshal".¹³

Kıbrıslı Mehmed Pasha and Melek Hanım soon headed from Istanbul towards their new destination. The journey to Belgrade took a standard route; they boarded a packet-boat to Varna, and then proceeded to Vidin, where they were guests of governor Hussein-Pasha. Like other travel writers of the era, when they continued their journey, Melek Hanım found interesting the stage of the crossing from the steamer to flat boats drawn by oxen. Another voyage by a smaller steamer brought them to Zemun as their first destination. There, on the Austrian bank of the river, right across from Belgrade, Kıbrıslı Mehmed Pasha paid his compliments to the

¹⁰ Melek-Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem*, 138–149.

¹¹ *Srbske novine*, Year 14, No. 65 (Beograd, 19 August 1847) 258.

¹² *Srbske novine*, Year 14, No. 67 (Beograd, 25 August 1847), 267; *Novine Čitališta beogradskog*, Year I, No. 35 (Beograd, 29 August 1847) 271.

¹³ Melek-Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem*, 135.

commander of Zemun, who returned the favour by hosting a formal reception for them.¹⁴ They crossed the river the following day, which is an event Melek Hanım relates at the beginning of her chapter about Belgrade.

The first sentences about how they were received on the shore and escorted to the residence were at the same time an opportunity to describe the fortress that housed their new seat. Thus she states: “They escorted us to the fortress, which stands on an elevation overlooking the town, which is built on an amphitheatre, stretching upwards along the river Sava. The palace is situated in the centre of the fort; casemates are placed under the batteries to serve as a refuge in case of siege, and these gates must be passed before you reach the principal court-yard, on which the palace abuts”.¹⁵

Melek Hanım makes a short comment about the ambience of the new abode she found herself in: “Residence at this place was not very agreeable.” This statement matches the observations of many travel writers of the time. In their eyes, the Belgrade fortress was the epitome of decay and filth, a symbol of decadence of the Ottoman authority itself.¹⁶ However, unlike their impressions, that of Melek Hanım’s was conveyed solely from the perspective of a personal problem. The main reason behind her dissatisfaction was the non-existence of a garden on the grounds of the residence. An attempt to compensate it by walks in “the surrounding country” also turned out unsuccessful because of the barren landscape. The town of Belgrade itself, beyond the fortress, did not leave her with a positive impression either. Seen through the eyes of an elite woman newly arrived from Istanbul, the town was, in short, described as follows: “Belgrade was then an ill-built town; its streets were narrow, dirty, and ill-paved. The shops were numerous, but they offered no attractions.”¹⁷ The impressions she shared attest that the movements of the Muhafız’s wife were not limited to the confines of the fortress. Visiting the public space of the town, separated from the fortress, was clearly a legitimate act for her. Shopping could have been among the causes for such trips, and her comments about the shops speak in favour of that. For an Ottoman woman of a high status, the practice of shopping was indeed one of the norms for presence in public space.¹⁸ One can read what such appearances of pasha’s harem may have once looked like in Belgrade in a 1939 story of the memoir variety. Among the reminiscences about old Belgrade, there is a description of the ambience of the main shopping district, which was also frequented by the womenfolk

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 135–137.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 138.

¹⁶ V. Rihter, *Prilike u Srbiji pod knezom Milošem do njegove abdikacije 1839. godine: prikaz najnovijih događaja, karakteristika srpskog naroda i topografska skica Kneževine*, Svetlost, Kragujevac 1984, 81–82; Rev. W. Denton, *Servia and the Servians*, Bell and Daldy, London 1862, 48–49; J. Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks: with A Steam Voyage Up the Danube*, G. Routledge & Co., London 1854, 343–346.

¹⁷ Melek-Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem*, 140.

¹⁸ K. Fleet, *The Powerful Public Presence of the Ottoman Female Consumer, Ottoman Women in Public Space*, E. Boyar and K. Fleet (Eds.), Brill, Leiden; Boston 2016, 91–128.

of the Muhafiz's harem lured by the numerous shops.¹⁹ They would browse the goods on display riding in their carriages, safely ensconced behind the curtains and hidden from view. If they wished to have a closer look at an item for sale, their eunuchs would bring it closer to the carriage, while they also did the shopping itself for the women.

Remembering Belgrade, Melek Hanım also shares her insights about the town's Turkish population. She stresses out that the Turkish colony there consisted of about 500 families, who solely lived on their pensions from the Ottoman Government, given to them "in consideration of the prosperity they had formerly enjoyed, and which the Serbians had monopolised."²⁰ Probably constrained by her narrow social circle, her findings did not go further. However, what attests to the actual state are the documents detailing the numbers and occupations of the Turkish inhabitants of Belgrade, and from more recent times, when their numbers were by all means declining. For example, census records from the years after the 1862 Ottoman bombing of the town reveal a total of 730 Turkish houses along with a list of their inhabitants' occupations that span a wide range.²¹

Melek Hanım was better informed regarding Turkish women in Belgrade. Unlike the claims of travel writers, mainly reduced to fantasies about women hidden behind a veil, being a woman, she was really able to get better acquainted with Belgrade harems. She records the customs of Turkish women in the light of cultural differences with Istanbul. Describing the girls as mostly having light hair, she also writes about their custom of dying hair after they get married. Dying of hair, eyebrows, and eyelashes was one of the features by which one could recognize the marital status of a woman. Melek Hanım also describes the dress of Turkish women as an ethnographic curiosity, as being different from the clothes of "other Ottoman women". She describes the *libade* and *dimije*, the typical garments that formed part of the folk costume, as the "embroidered jacket, with pendant sleeves, and wide trousers, embroidered at the sides", along with the female headgear in the shape of the "tarboosh, placed over a loose flowing handkerchief".²²

The agency of Melek Hanım in Belgrade

Melek Hanım's dissatisfaction with her stay in Belgrade was caused by the limited assortment of activities in her daily routine. What cropped up as one of the problems was her social circle in Belgrade, reduced to wives of Ottoman ex-officials. In her

¹⁹ N. Trajković, *Tri viđenja Svete Petke – fragmenti jedne beogradske porodice*, Beogradske opštinske novine, Year LVII, No 6–7 (Beograd, June–July 1939) 386.

²⁰ Melek-Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem*, 140.

²¹ V. Nikolić, *Turska dobra i stanovništvo u Beogradu u vreme bombardovanja 1862. godine*, Godišnjak grada Beograda IX–X (1962–1963) 269–289, especially 270. See also: N. Makuljević, *Osmansko-srpski Beograd: vizuelnost i kreiranje gradskog identiteta (1815–1878)*, Topy, Beograd 2014, 66.

²² Melek-Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem*, 140.

recollections, Melek Hanım quotes: “The Serbian population being hostile to the Turks, I had no acquaintance except amongst the old wives of officials who were superannuated, and compelled by the government to reside on the spot.”²³ The circumstances that she found herself in also prompted Melek Hanım to think of the ways to fill her time. The education of Turkish girls became one of her occupations. Gathering the girls in her chambers, Melek Hanım dedicated herself to teaching them how to spin and weave silk, and how to embroider. Apart from those lessons, the girls also had meals and got remunerations, as tokens of the Muhafiz’s wife charitable nature.²⁴

These social engagements of Melek Hanım’s were preceded by two more, in the spheres of business and construction. As one can learn from the memoir, anxiety over money led her into enterprises of the commercial or speculative kind several times. That was also the case in Belgrade, where Melek Hanım found an opportunity for a small investment. She came up with the idea having noticed that in winter, because of water shortages, ice was taken from the rivers: “The ice is brought into the house in wooden buckets, and water procured by melting it. This mode of supply came very dear, so I purchased ten carts, and the requisite number of horses, and engaged men to take charge of them, and my steward employed them in carrying ice from house to house.”²⁵ The water supply network in Belgrade explains such a business move. The water was supplied through a system of water fountains, as well as through wells. Despite this, water shortages were a very common occurrence in the city. Water from the rivers – the Sava and the Danube – served as a very important secondary source of supply, for needs other than those of drinking. The sakas, water carriers who transported water around the town using carts loaded with barrels, had an important role.²⁶ Their sale of water from the rivers and fountains, constituted a vital component in the town’s water supply system. Modest profits from that line of work made it a trade of the less affluent inhabitants. In a travelogue written by Andrew Archibald Paton in 1845 one can even come across a note that the remaining Turks in Belgrade, mostly caught in the poverty trap, mainly dedicate themselves to jobs like water-carrying and wood-splitting.²⁷ It is evident that, in the circumstances, Melek Hanım found a commercial opportunity. Having had sufficient funds to invest in a cart and horses, as well as in hiring the sakas, she ventured into a business arrangement which, as she states, earned her more than a 1000 francs a month. It was a sum “not to be despised in a post where we had no other income than the salary paid by the Porte.”²⁸

²³ *Ibidem*, 138–139.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 143.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 141.

²⁶ M. Jovanović, *Snabdevanje Beograda vodom do izgradnje modernog vodovoda 1892. godine*, Godišnjak grada Beograda V (1958) 241–247.

²⁷ A. A. Paton, *Servia, The Youngest Member of the European Family: or, A Residence in Belgrade and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior, during the years 1843 and 1844*, Longman, etc., London 1845, 60.

²⁸ Melek-Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem*, 141.

Another of Melek Hanım's Belgrade stints was inspired by the lack of a desirable landscape to spend time in. As she claims, "We had no garden, and I attempted to obtain some recreation by walks in the surrounding country, but it was utterly barren; there was no verdure, and only a tree here and there at long intervals."²⁹ The barren landscape prompted the Muhafiz's wife to personally request that the garden on which the residence abuts be landscaped.³⁰ Fifty convicts were hired on her orders to do the work, to whom she gave a small remuneration. Their work took around three weeks, resulting in a beautiful garden located next to the Pasha's residence. The soil and seedlings were taken from the Turkish inhabitants of the town, famous for their impressive garden creations.³¹ An arbour covered with climbing plants was also installed there, as an additional decorative element, intended for sitting.

By Melek Hanım's intervention, the Pasha's residence finally got a landscaped garden, as an important segment of Ottoman culture of daily life. Without a doubt, with its realisation, the complex of Pasha's residence became more representative. However, although it was situated in a public zone, at the seat of Ottoman administration, the garden remained a place of family privacy. The Pasha's wife was able to spend time in it without disturbance, which was, at the same time, a significant change. Until then, the Muhafiz's harem could only commune with nature and enjoy the scenery by having a *teferiĉ*, a picnic in the countryside. Judging by Filip Hristić's memories, such picnics were sometimes organized as public ceremonies, with great pomp.³²

The visual testimonies to what the garden looked like are unknown for now. One can only speculate as to the position of the garden itself on the plateau of the citadel's Upper Town. More specifically, the Pasha's residence itself, which is the main reference point for Melek Hanım's garden too, went through several phases. The residence in which Melek Hanım lived was built at some point after 1789.³³ During the construction of the new residence of the Belgrade Pasha, in 1861, this building was demolished.³⁴ These constructional changes to the fortress can be followed – to an extent – using the existing fortress plans. However, the plans dating from the first half of the nineteenth century do not allow a sufficiently detailed insight into the west half of the Upper Town's plateau, where the older residence of the Muhafiz was situated.³⁵ A detailed

²⁹ *Ibidem*, 138.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 142.

³¹ On the private gardens in Belgrade: B. Miljković-Katić, *Putopisci o neizgrađenim prostorima Beograda u prvoj polovini XIX veka*, Beograd u delima evropskih putopisaca, Đorđe S. Kostić (Ed.), Balkanološki institut SANU, Beograd 2003, 149–153.

³² F. Hristić, *Uspomene*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd 2015, 81–82.

³³ The vizier's sarai (palace), which was destroyed in a fire in 1744, was not re-built until the Austrian conquest of Belgrade in 1789: R. Tričković, *Beogradska tvrđava i varoš 1739–1789. godine*, Godišnjak grada Beograda XX (1973) 52–53.

³⁴ On the older and the new residence of the Pasha within the Belgrade fortress: N. Makuljević, *Osmansko-srpski Beograd*, 29–36.

³⁵ Ž. Škalamera, *Prilog proučavanju kartografskih izvora za istoriju Beograda XIX veka*, Godišnjak grada Beograda XIV (1967) 169–201.

illustration of the state of the fortress can only be found in the 1863 Turkish plan of Belgrade.³⁶ There, opposite the newly erected residence of the Pasha, the plan shows a bigger plot as well, marked as a garden in addition (no. 69). Its perimeters can also be seen in the 1867 photograph of the Upper Town plateau, as the fenced part with trees to the right side of the shot.³⁷ Since the Serbian takeover of the fortress, the very same plot was considered a greenery zone, as evidenced by the 1915 plan.³⁸ However, the question of whether Melek Hanım's garden can be recognized there ought to remain open, taking into account the spatial changes made after the demolition of the old and the upbuilding of the new residence of the Belgrade Pasha.

Over the last decades of Ottoman administration of Belgrade, apart from the new Pasha's residence, other work on the fortress was being done. Such interventions often remained in the shadow of the dominant image of decay that was associated with this space, which was given by the travel writers of the time.³⁹ Thus, the contemporary studies on the Belgrade fortress do not follow the landscape solutions before the Serbian takeover in 1867 either, while the existence of Melek Hanım's garden remained unnoticed.⁴⁰ However, it is an incontrovertible fact that the garden survived over time, having also been maintained as part of the new Belgrade Pasha's residence. This is supported by the notes of several travel writers, whose references to the garden match Melek Hanım's claims. Describing his visit to Hurshid-Pasha, governor of Belgrade, Felix Kanitz notes that there was a lush garden onto which the new residence of the Pasha abuts.⁴¹ William Denton mentions more in his impressions of the fortress, where he wrote that "the only pleasant and shady spot on the dreary rock is the garden which surrounds the palace."⁴² Gustav Rasch also makes a reference to the garden, in the description of a visit he paid to the governor Rashid Pasha. On that occasion, he found the Pasha, in the company of another officer, precisely in the garden next to the residence, which he describes as a very nicely landscaped and well maintained place. The gentlemen were sitting in the arbour, of the kind explicitly mentioned by Melek Hanım too in her writings. Clearly impressed by the sight he had

³⁶ G. Elezović and P. Popović, *Dva turska plana Beograda*, Beogradske opštinske novine, Year LV, No. 1–3 (Beograd, January–March 1937) 64–68; Lj. Nikić, *Ko je autor turskog plana Beograda iz sredine XIX veka*, Godišnjak grada Beograda VII (1960) 153–158.

³⁷ R. Antić, *Anastas Jovanović: talbotipije i fotografije*, Muzej grada Beograda, Beograd 1986, Cat. No. P 418.

³⁸ The 1915 Austrian plan of Belgrade fortress is in the collection of the Military Geographical Institute, Belgrade: V. Pavlović Lončarski and M. Nešković, *Zgrada nad jugozapadnim bedemom beogradskog Gornjeg grada*, Nasleđe 14 (2013) 49–50.

³⁹ N. Makuljević, *Osmansko-srpski Beograd*, 19–28.

⁴⁰ H. Milanović, *Prilog istraživanju nastanka i razvoja parka Kalemegdan: povodom 130 godina od prvih radova na ozelenjavanju i uređenju parka Kalemegdan 1869–1999. g.*, Nasleđe 2 (1999) 41–52.

⁴¹ F. Kanic, *Srbija: zemlja i stanovništvo od rimskog doba do kraja XIX veka*, Vol. I, Srpska književna zadruga, Beograd 1991, 36.

⁴² Rev. W. Denton, *Servia and the Servians*, 48.

witnessed, Rasch notes that the Ottoman officials were sitting on European wicker garden chairs in the harbour, not tailor style, not cross-legged on the ground.⁴³

Melek Hanım in diplomacy

There are not many clues in writing as to the female agency in Ottoman-Serbian diplomatic relations. Such accounts can mostly be found regarding Princess Ljubica, wife of Serbian prince Miloš Obrenović. Her official visits to pashas and their harems in 1834 and 1837 were recorded on several occasions;⁴⁴ she found herself in Constantinople keeping her son Mihailo company on the occasion of his being appointed prince in 1839.⁴⁵ The sultan's gifts also played part in the inclusion of Serbian princesses in political rituals. Princess Ljubica received jewellery as a present when Prince Miloš officially visited the sultan in 1835,⁴⁶ while the subsequent princess, Persida Karađorđević, received in 1847 a valuable decoration with the Sultan's portrait (Tasvir-i Hümayun Nişanı), as a token of the grace the sultan bestowed upon the home of the Serbian prince.⁴⁷ However, one can mostly only hypothesize about reciprocal diplomatic involvement of Ottoman women, based on casual written remarks. A rare example of that is the reference to the wife of the last Belgrade Muhafiz, Ali Riza Pasha, who made donations towards the charity lottery organized in 1865 by Serbian princess Julija Obrenović.⁴⁸

In that sense, Melek Hanım's accounts cover this insufficiently known subject area to quite a degree. Entrepreneurial and well-informed, she records some of the events that were connected with Ottoman-Serbian relations, only to appear several times in diplomatic rituals as an active participant herself. One of these occasions was the

⁴³ Gustav Rasch arrived at the conclusion that Reshid-pasha should be credited for the garden solution: G. Raš, *Svetionik Istoka* (in original: Gustav Rasch, *Der Leuchtturm des Ostens, Serbien und die Serben*, Prag 1873; trans. by M. Janković), Beograd u devetnaestom veku: iz dela stranih pisaca, O. Perić (Ed.), Biblioteka grada Beograda, Beograd 1967, 85, 90.

⁴⁴ *Novine Srbske*, Year I, No. 21 (Belgrade, 26 May 1834) 1; K. Mitrović, *Dvor knez Miloša Obrenovića*, Privatni život kod Srba u devetnaestom veku: od kraja osamnaestog veka do početka Prvog svetskog rata, A. Stolić and N. Makuljević (Eds.), Clio, Beograd 2006, 280; R. Gikić Petrović, *Dnevnik Anke Obrenović (1836–1838)*, Dnevnik, Novi Sad 2007, 145–148; M. Marinković and J. Šaljić, *Turska pisma kneginji Ljubici*, Mešovita građa (Miscellanea) XXXII (Istorijski institut, Beograd 2011) 325–335; R. Ljušić, *Kneginja Ljubica*, Zavod za udžbenike, Beograd 2013, 78–81.

⁴⁵ R. Ljušić, *Kneginja Ljubica*, 173–176.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 215.

⁴⁷ I. Čirović, *Između mode i nacije: nacionalni kostim i reprezentacija kneginja i kraljica u Srbiji 19. veka*, Država i politike upravljanja (18–20. vek), P. Krestić (Ed.), Istorijski institut Beograd 2017, 284.

⁴⁸ K. N. Hristić, *Zapisi starog Beograđanina*, Francusko-srpska knjižara A. M. Popovića, Beograd 1937, 360.

arrival of the new Belgrade Muhafiz. On that instance, reciprocal visits by wives of the representatives of both authorities found themselves on the agenda of political protocol. The first step was when the Serbian princess Persida Karađorđević paid a salutatory visit to newly-arrived Melek Hanım. Wishing to give a special token of appreciation to her guest, the Muhafiz's wife greeted her on her feet, instead of sitting on the divan in an expression of hierarchy of status. Soon a return visit ensued, with Belgrade governor's authorization. The reception of Melek Hanım at Serbian court was organized according to protocol reserved for high-ranking Ottoman officials. Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević himself greeted Melek Hanım in the courtyard, along with the guard in formation, while the Ottoman national anthem was played. Further description of the reception in the memoir consists of observations about the Serbian princess and her daughters, girls aged fourteen and sixteen at the time, of which Melek Hanım recollects with accuracy. In her eyes, the way their national costumes looked like was a curiosity, and one which she described in detail: "All three were in the national Serbian costume: red cap, worn on the side of the head, with a tassel hanging over the shoulder; plaited hair, the plaits being turned back on the forehead; embroidered jacket, with large sleeves, inside which were other and falling sleeves of muslin; and a short skirt reaching to the ankle."⁴⁹

At the time of Melek Hanım's residence in it, one of the more serious political unrests was stirred up in Belgrade, which is known as the Belgrade Uprising. In July 1848, the incident was sparked when a Turkish nizam (soldier) attacked a Serbian merchant and his son. Having severely wounded the son, the perpetrator fled to the fortress, seeking protection for himself. The Serbian population immediately rose up in rebellion, requesting that the Ottoman authorities hand over the perpetrator. Demonstrations, however, did not stop there, at this initial request. The protesters soon turned against the representatives of Serbian authorities as well, and the protest spilled over into the domain of internal political disputes.⁵⁰ After the unrest was quelled, measures were taken to prevent it from spreading further. On the Prince's orders, Serbian military troops were deployed in case another rebellion was launched.⁵¹ Soon, a committee was set up, whose aim was to name the perpetrators of the attack at the president of the Serbian government.⁵² What subsequently also helped to defuse the crisis was that both the Ottoman and Serbian authorities wanted a quick resolution of the dispute. A compromise was found in the Pasha's diplomatic

⁴⁹ Melek-Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem*, 139–140.

⁵⁰ D. M. Pavlović, *Srbija i srpski pokret u južnoj Ugarskoj 1848. i 1849*, Srpska kraljevska akademija, Beograd 1904, 96–97 (fn. 1); R. J. Popović, *Toma Vučić Perišić*, Istorijski institut; Službeni glasnik, Beograd 2003, 195–196.

⁵¹ G. Jakšić, *Prepiska Ilije Garašanina 1839–1849*, Vol. I, Naučna knjiga; Istorijski institut, Beograd 1950, 227–232, 248.

⁵² P. Milosavljević, *Beograd u revoluciji 1848–1849*, Istorija Beograda 2, Devetnaesti vek, V. Čubrilović (Ed.), Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka; Prosveta, Beograd 1974, 134.

assurances that it was necessary to wait for an answer from Constantinople, where the Turkish nizam would stand trial before a court of law.⁵³

In memoirs written by Serbian authors, this event is mentioned as a significant one, but primarily in the context of Serbian political protagonists and their disputes. For example, in the writings of Nikola Hristić and Dimitrije Marinković, that was the main point of interest in the narrative of the Belgrade riots.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the same event was included in Rashid bey's historical notes. From the perspective of the Ottoman partaker in these events, the description of the uprising was written in such a manner that it included details related to the attacks on the Ottoman administration. According to Rashid bey, Kibrıslı Mehmed Pasha and his belligerent attitude had a pivotal role in defusing the situation.⁵⁵ The very same episode was included in Melek Hanım's memoirs, now told with a number of new segments.⁵⁶ She herself would feature in them as one of the diplomatic protagonists.

The position of a well-informed insider, from which Melek Hanım weaves her narrative, is clear already in her first claims about the incident. It is immediately revealed that the Belgrade Pasha helped the escaped Turkish nizam, having sent him the following morning to Constantinople by boat, which was later denied in front of the Serbian authorities. What follows are descriptions of the evacuation of the frightened Turkish population and the fear that the fortress might come under siege, which needed to be negotiated with the Serbian prince immediately. Melek Hanım would take the credit herself in the matter, assuming the role of a diplomatic emissary. Thinking that being a woman she would not be attacked by the protesters upon leaving the fortress, she would personally undertake a visit to Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević, having entrusted herself with the task of assuring him that waiting for instructions from Constantinople regarding the accused nizam was necessary. In an atmosphere of peace that was soon established, the negotiations over the perpetrator would be resumed, this time with a visit from the Prince to the Pasha. Melek Hanım would report on this visit as a well-informed accomplice again, which she indeed could have been as the Muhafız's wife. Thus she supplies the details on how the Pasha finally revealed to the Prince that the culprit had fled so his extradition was not possible, as well as the Prince's skeptical reaction to being assured that the Pasha was innocent in the whole matter, despite which he would issue an official statement in the end after all, saying that the trial would be held in Constantinople.

In the epilogue of events, Melek Hanım would once again assume the role of a political mediator.⁵⁷ An occasion for it presented itself when Prince Aleksandar asked

⁵³ G. Jakšić, *Prepiska Ilije Garašanina 1839–1849*, 230, 233; N. Hristić, *Memoari 1840–1862*, Prosveta, Beograd 2006, 110.

⁵⁴ N. Hristić, *Memoari 1840–1862*, 109–110; *Uspomene i doživljaji Dimitrija Marinkovića: 1846–1869*, D. Stranjaković (Ed.), Srpska kraljevska akademija, Beograd 1939, 10–11.

⁵⁵ *Rašid-beja Istorija čudnovatih događaja u Beogradu i Srbiji*, Vol. I, 78–79.

⁵⁶ Melek-Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem*, 143–147.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 147–148.

her to attend a banquet that was to be organized in her honour by Serbian princess Persida, in the name of improving the strained relations. By then, banquets had already been established at Serbian court, as political rituals attended also by the Belgrade Muhafiz himself alongside foreign consuls.⁵⁸ However, Princess Persida's banquet was quite an exclusive affair that involved solely women as representatives of the Ottoman and Serbian sides. Holding banquets was, of course, only possible without any men in attendance, taking into account the fact that the guest lists were comprised of Turkish women. Although short, the description of the event in Melek's memoir does provide some of the details about the fete. She gathered the Turkish ladies of Belgrade, mostly wives and daughters of ex-officials, formerly in the service of Sultan Mahmud, and ordered them to accompany her. As described by Melek Hanım, these "zealous followers of Mahmud" were reluctant to take on that duty, shunning Christian tables with pork and wines. At the banquet itself, the Muhafiz's wife and the Serbian Princess sat across from each other at the table, each with her own company. The food and drink were "on a truly princely scale", but apparently the menu had not been adjusted for the Turkish guests. As Melek Hanım claims, she helped herself to everything served on the table out of respect for the hostess, which led to an anecdotal situation, in her opinion. The Turkish women followed her lead, but only because they had never suspected that she would ever help herself to pork. The same happened when champagne was served, which they, discomfited, accepted. In accordance with the diplomatic air of the banquet, the Muhafiz's wife, drinking champagne, gave toasts, first to the Sultan, and then to the Serbian Prince as well. The banquet, which was a success, had its finale the following day when a gift arrived for Melek Hanım, consisting of jewellery from Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević, as another confirmation of the harmonious relations that had been established.⁵⁹

It is with this event that Melek Hanım soon ends her chapter on Belgrade. The last sentences refer to the birth of her son, Mustapha Djehad Bey, as one of the milestones in her life in Belgrade. Having stayed there for almost a year, Melek Hanım returned to Istanbul with her husband, where he was soon promoted to the rank of *mushir*.

Melek Hanım's Belgrade episode is anything but limited to the private sphere, as one would expect. During her stay in Belgrade as the Muhafiz's wife, she engaged herself in a variety of activities, fully using the privileges of her position. Taking control over the given circumstances, she was the patron of the residential garden, made business investments, educated women. On other occasions, she turned out to be a well-informed individual possessing insider knowledge about political events, Ottoman and Serbian negotiations, appearing personally as their protagonist. In that sense, Melek Hanım's Belgrade episode sheds light on questions such as the

⁵⁸ A. A. Paton, *Servia, The Youngest Member of the European Family*, 61–64.

⁵⁹ Melek-Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem*, 149.

potentials and limits for a woman in an intricate network of gender policy, class and agency.

On the other hand, Melek Hanım's reminiscences offered one of the possible versions of the Ottoman outlook on Belgrade. For an Istanbul woman of privileged status and of rich experience in urban milieus, Belgrade was in fact an encounter with "Otherness". In her eyes, the city was ill-built and dirty, the Turkish women were ethnographically interesting and different than "other Ottoman women". With the condescension of a visitor from the outside, she thought them too traditional and ignorant. In that respect, Melek Hanım's notes on Belgrade do not represent a univocal Ottoman perspective. They should be valued in the particularity of experience of one woman, taking into account her Ottoman, cultural and class identity.



1. Ottoman plan of Belgrade, 1863 (detail with No.69 as garden in Belgrade fortress)



2. Anastas Jovanović, Upper Town of Belgrade fortress with Ottoman troops, 1867

İrena ÇİROVIĆ

**OSMANLI KADINI, TEMSİLCİLİK VE İKTİDAR:
MELEK HANIM BELGRAD'DA (1847–1848)**

Özet

Sırp yazarların hatırat eserleri olduğu gibi yabancı ziyaretçilerin yazıları da XIX. yüzyıl Belgrad tarihi araştırılmasında kullanılabilecek kayda değer malzemeyi teşkil eder. Ancak bu çeşit anıların Osmanlı yönü, Osmanlı yönetiminin 1867 yılına kadar Belgrad'da devam etmesine rağmen çoğunlukla gizli kalmıştır. Hal böyleyken Melek Hanım'ın otobiyografisi olan "Harem'de Otuz Sene" (1872) adlı yazı pek çok yönden nadir bir eser olarak karşımıza çıkmıştır. Belgrad'da bulunduğu zamanı anlatan bölümü de içeren anıları, şehre sadece Osmanlı bakışını değil aynı zamanda Osmanlı seçkin zümre mensubu olan bir kadının yaşadıklarını da yansıtmaktadır. Böylece, bu eser Belgrad tarihi anlatımlarında yokluğu hissedilen alternatif bir ses olma özelliğini kazanmıştır.

Melek Hanım, otobiyografisinin bir bölümünü Belgrad'da geçirdiği yıllara ayırmıştır. Şehirde ikili Osmanlı-Sırp yönetimi döneminde 1847-1848 yıllarında kocası Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Paşa'nın Belgrad Muhafızı görevine atanması vesilesiyle bir yıla yakın bir zamanı Belgrad'da geçirmiştir. Bu bölümde sunulan Melek Hanım'ın kişisel anlatımları, şehre ve sakinlerine ilişkin gözlemlerini ile kendisinin sosyal faaliyetlerini, bunun yanı sıra isteyerek üstlendiği diplomatik aracılığı rolünü anlatan bir çok ilginç olay da içermektedir.

İstanbul'dan gelen, ayrıcalıklı bir sınıf mensubu olan bir hanımefendi için Belgrad'a geliş, aslında başka bir dünya ile karşı karşıya gelme anlamını taşıyordu. Melek Hanım'ın gözünde şehir kirli, altyapısı kötü gözüküyordu, Sırp nüfusu ise dost canlısı değildi. Belgrad'da yaşayan Müslüman kadınların görünüşleri, Melek Hanım'ın kültür çevresindeki Osmanlı kadın nüfusuna kıyasla daha farklı olduğundan etnografik bir anlamda dikkatini çekmiştir. Osmanlı merkezinden gelen ve kendisini daha üstün bir kişi olarak addeden Melek Hanım, yerli Müslüman kadınları oldukça geleneksel ve eğitimsiz olarak görmüştür. Öbür taraftan, Melek Hanım'ın Belgrad serüveni özel yaşantısıyla kısıtlı kalmamıştır. Belgrad'da kaldığı sürede Muhafız karısı olarak sahip olduğu yetkilerden faydalanarak çeşitli resmi aktivitelerde de bulunmuştur. Melek Hanım'ın isteği doğrultusunda ve onun koruması altında düzenlenen o dönemin Paşa Konağı'ndaki bahçe, sonradan bu bölgeye gelen gezginler tarafından Osmanlı idaresinin bulunduğu yapılarda olağanüstü bir manzara olarak tasvir edilmiştir. Melek Hanım'ın, az da olsa maddi kazanç elde etmek için şehrin su yolları ile ilgili ticari yatırımları, meşgaleleri arasında yer alıyordu. Belgrad'da bulunduğu sırada Melek Hanım, benzer şekilde etkinlikler düzenleyerek yerli genç kızları bir araya toplayıp onların oya, nakış gibi el işi konusundaki eğitimleri ile alâkadar olmuştur. Başka vesilelerde de, Melek Hanım, Belgrad'daki siyasi olaylar ve Osmanlı ile Sırbistan yetkilileri arasındaki ilişkiler hakkında oldukça iyi bilgi sahibi

olduđunu gözler önüne sermiştir. Diplomatik faaliyetlerde kişisel olarak da yer alan Melek Hanım'ın anlatımları, dönemin Osmanlı- Sırbistan ilişkilerindeki kadınların rolüne ve siyasi meşguliyetlerine açıklık getirmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Melek Hanım, Osmanlı kadınları, hatırat, Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Paşa, Belgrad, 1847–1848 yılları.

Ирена ЋИРОВИЋ

**ОСМАНСКА ЖЕНА, ДЕЛОВАЊЕ И МОЋ:
МЕЛЕК ХАНУМ У БЕОГРАДУ 1847–1848**

Резиме

Мемоарска дела српских аутора, као и записи страних посетилаца, представљају значајан корпус грађе за историју Београда 19. века. Међутим, османски еквивалент тим записима остао је углавном непознаница, упркос задржавању османске управе над градом све до 1867. У том светлу, аутобиографија Мелек Хануме *Thirty Years in the Harem* (1872) појављује се као вишеструко раритетан спис. Са епизодом боравка у Београду, њени мемоари откривају не само османски поглед на град већ и искуство жене османског елитног круга, чиме се ово дело поставља као алтернативни глас који у историјским наративима о Београду недостаје.

Периоду боравка у Београду Мелек Ханума посвећује читаво једно поглавље аутобиографије. У време двојне, османско-српске управе градом, у њему је провела скоро годину дана током 1847–48, пратећи свога тадашњег супруга Кибризли Мехмед Емин Пашу на његовом намештењу за београдског мухафиза. Лични наративи Мелек Хануме изнети у овом поглављу садрже низ занимљивих секвенци, компонованих од опсервација града и становника, описа њених јавних ангажмана и улога у којима се појављује као дипломатски медијатор.

За жену из Истанбула, привилегованог статуса, Београд је заправо представљао сусрет са „другошћу“. У њеним очима, град је изгледао као лоше изграђен и прљав, са непријатељски настројеним српским становништвом. Турске жене града за њу су биле етнографски занимљиве, изгледом се разликујући од османских жена њеног културног круга. Са супериорношћу придошлице из османског центра, о локалним Туркињама је мислила као о сувише традиционалним и неумим. С друге стране, београдска епизода Мелек Хануме није остала лимитирана на искуства везана за приватну сферу. Као мухафизова супруга, током боравка у Београду она се упушта у низ активности, користећи капацитете своје позиције. Тако је њеним захтевом и покровитељством изграђен врт уз резиденцију, тадашњи Пашин конак, кога потоњи путописци помињу као ретко леп приказ у утврђењу где је било седиште османских власти. Пословна инвестиција везана за градско снабдевање водом такође је представљала један од њених ангажмана, у покушају да побољша своје материјално стање. Београдски период Мелек Хануме обележиће и покровитељско укључивање у женски делокруг, кроз окупљање и едукацију локалних девојака на везиљским пословима. Другим приликама Мелек Ханума се показује као врло добро информисана о политичким догађајима у граду и релацијама представника османских и српских власти. Појављујући се и лично као протагонист у дипломатским акцијама, Мелек Ханумини записи у томе

Irena ČIROVIĆ

доносе нове увиде на пољу улоге и политичког ангажмана жена у османско-српским односима тога времена.

Кључне речи: Мелек Ханум, османске жене, мемоари, Кибрисли Мехмед Емин-паша, Београд, 1847–1848.