

Non-muslim Schooling in Kosovo during the Abdulhamit II Era and the Policy of Ottoman Government

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to uncover real importance and volume of schooling interlaced with political practices through placing the education in a pragmatic position in forming national epistemologies and political ambitions by non-muslims who desire to establish a geography by virtue of having specific national histories, cultures, languages, religions, literatures, and broad and deep ententes with Ottoman management in the final stage of the government. Within this framework, it was tried to interpret the events, institutions, and individuals concerning the subject between 1876 and 1909 in their own conditions as they were by means of vertical method and historical research pattern.

Key Words

Ottoman Empire, Abdulhamid II, Kosovo, Non-Muslim, Foreign Intervention, Orthodox.

In this research tried to be drawn up via totally first hand resources, an approach was preferred to clue economic, social and political participation manners of nationalities residing at the region in the government, within the scope of applications and amendments on educational field by Ottoman in Kosovo, and factual reality regarding instrumentalization of the education in increasing dependence to Islam and Ottoman association in that period, as well. The approach in question should be meaningful in revealing the validity rate of claims that the government does not permit non-muslim schooling (Blumi, 2005, pp. 597-615; Bonides, Palaskas, & Balabani, 2000, pp. 212-215; Braude & Lewis, 2000,

pp. 192-193, 204; Christodouloupoulos, 2000, p. 111; Hering, 1989, pp. 361-371; Jordanovic, 2000, pp. 117-126; Karageorgou-Kourtzis, 2007, pp. 173-184; Meletiades, 2000, pp. 21-28; Papoulia, 1989, pp. 113-129; Pulaha, 1989, pp. 163-178; Seton-Watson, 1917, pp. 250-275; Stanciu, Bunescu, & Herseni, 2000, pp. 75-88; Somel, 2010, pp. 263-264, 267, 289; Todorova, 1989, pp. 127-162; 1996, pp. 45-77; Zirojević, 1989, pp. 187-204).

Kosovo had a special significance in the Ottoman geography as it contained people from various different races, religions and cultures together (Deringil, 1994, pp. 149-162; Shaw, 1975, pp. 421-459). Based on this significance, since the beginning of Tanzimat era, a number of reforms were put into effect by the Ottoman governments within the framework of Pan-Ottomanism ideology to eradicate religious, administrative barriers between the nations within the country thereby maintaining the unity of the state and eliminating the dangers towards the very existence of the empire. In parallel to the reforms in question, Sultan Abdulhamit the Second also initiated educational reforms in addition to the military, political, and economic

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measures intended for quenching the separatist-nationalist trends in defiance of the Ottoman rule in the 19th century and also reversing the overall poor image of Muslims-Ottomans established due to provocations, but such educational efforts could not prevent the emergence of a great number of nation states in the region each of which had its own unique conception of national history (Bartl, 1998, p. 91, 92, 98-112; Engelhardt, 1999, p. 169; Ergin, 1977, v. 1-2, p. 346; v. 3-4, pp. 1465-1466; Karal, 1988, p. 145; Kaynar, 1985; *Maarif-i Ummiyye Nizamnamesi*, 1875-1876 (1292); Nafi, 2001, pp. 93-99; Ortaylı, 1985, p. 53; Somel, 2010, p. 260, 295-296; Timur, 1945, p. 272; Unat, 1964, p. 110; Vahapoğlu, 1997, pp. 82-83; BOA., 5 June 1900 [2 June 1316], *Y.PRK.DH.*, 11/46-1, 2; BOA, 5 June 1900 [2 June 1316], *Y.PRK.DH.*, 11/46-2).

Kosovo -bordering with Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Albania- is highly significant both due to the fact that it is region where the most concentrated Muslim population lives within the Balkan peninsula and the fact that it contains the richest Ottoman cultural heritage following a domination of six centuries –the era covered by this study involves the provincial centers of Skopje and Pristine as well as the sanjaks of Seniçe, İpek, Taşlıca and Prizren-. Kosovo, remaining within the borders of “European Ottoman Empire”, has witnessed on the one hand to the provocations led by Serbia and Greece where the non Muslim subjects rebelled against the Empire, on the other hand to the efforts of Russia and Austria who attempted to safeguard the non Muslim subject of the empire as their citizens due to their Orthodox and Catholic affiliations, and thus to the use of monasteries, churches and schools as fire arm depots throughout the 19th century (BOA, *BEO.AYN.d.*, No. 120, s. 29; BOA, 25 August 1907 [16 B 1325], *TFR.I.KV.*, 172/17191; BOA, 19 July 1894 [16 M 1312], *Y.Mtv.*, 101/36; BOA, 25 December 1893 [16 C 1311], *Y.PRK.MF.*, 3/10; BOA, 25 December 1893 [16 C 1311], *Y.PRK.MF.*, 3/10).

Nationalist trends in the Balkans gaining momentum against Ottoman Empire in the 19th century and the process of Balkan nations separating from the empire have been subject matter of many studies, and in this respect, the educational policies adopted by various subjects in the Balkans within the same period have also come under scrutiny in some of such studies. When the studies conducted in this matter is observed one encounters a significant fact. This fact is that, as far as the Balkans and particularly Kosovo was concerned during the 19th

century, education was key to the development of nationalist oriented awareness and movements within the region; the curriculum, books and the decisions taken by educational boards were all fashioned and designed insofar as their influence on the nationalist cause (Mutlu, 2005, pp. 31-32; BOA, 8 November 1896 [2 C 1314], 10 January 1897 [6 § 1314]; 27 January 1897 [23 § 1314], *MF.MKT.*, 348/48; BOA, 16 February 1903 [18 Za 1320], *TFR.I.KV.*, 9/801; BOA, 31 July 1901 [14 R 1319], *MF.MKT.*, 574/32; BOA, 26 October 1907 [19 N 1325], *TFR.I.KV.*, 179/17832). Moreover it is known that the mother-tongue education was used for securing mass support for nation building project by politicizing cultural nationalism, and that the Albanians charged in the provincial organizations, including local educational boards, tried to get hold of and use the state power by courtesy of their educational activities, and that the intervention from foreign powers was expected for maintaining coordination and mobilization necessary for establishing a political society within the region. In other words, in the final analysis based on the studies conducted thus far, one could conclude that the educational activities in the 19th century were of prime importance in the success of nationalism in the Balkans. Another significant historical fact underscored in most of those studies is that the Ottoman Empire has tried to establish Islam in the region by force and that it instrumentalized education to this end, and that it made use of the state schools for consolidating Ottoman identity and power in the region and that it did not permit non- Muslims to adequately school themselves (Blumi, 2005, p. 68; Dincer, n.d.; *Düstur*, I. Tertip, 5, pp. 759-760; Eryılmaz, 1996, pp. 59-63; Frasheri, 1964, pp. 146-147; Kocabaşoğlu, 2000; Mutlu, 2005; Polatoğlu, 1993; Puto & Polo, 1981, p. 132; Somel, 2010, p. 263; BOA, 4 December 1888 [30 Ra 1306], *MF. MKT.*, 105/7; BOA, 30 July 1902 [24 R 1320], *Y.Mtv.*, 232/166; BOA, 4 April 1889 [3 § 1306], *MF.MKT.*, 108/5; BOA, 9 January 1893 [20 C 1310], *MF.MKT.*, 157/107; 4 January 1902 [24 N 1319], *MF.MKT.*, 597/37; BOA, 12 January 1893 [23 C 1310], *MF.MKT.*, 158/46). Such assessments where conservative and religion oriented political ideas are prevalent as opposed to that of a liberal nationalist mentality, Ottomanism is presented as a foreign and authoritarian element imposed on the Christian populations in religious, social, cultural and institutional terms. In fact, it should be regarded natural for countries that established their own nation states after being subject to a nearly 500 year Muslim-Ottoman domination to assess their his-

torical facts with a view to influence the thoughts and beliefs of their respective societies and peoples and to create a national identity and ideology.

In the final century of the empire when the separatist or autonomous political entities claiming to be separate nations in terms of ethnical and language backgrounds and thus asking for secession and national lands emerged, the province of Kosovo had a total population of 777.729, 443.012 of which were Muslims while the remaining 334.717 were non Muslims. Majority among the non Muslim subjects were Orthodox Serbs, Orthodox and Catholic Bulgarians, Catholic and Protestant Albanians and Orthodox Greeks (BOA, 14 November 1888 [10 Ra 1306], *A.MKT.MHM.*, 498/68-6; BOA, 8 May 1893 [26 April 1309], *Y.PRK.MF.*, 2/72; BOA, 6 November 1892 [16 R 1310], *MF.MKT.*, 154/78; BOA, 20 December 1892 [30 Ca 1310], *MF.MKT.*, 156/101; BOA, 20 October 1897 [24 Ca 1315]; 3 November 1897 [8 C 1315]; 17 November 1897 [22 C 1315]; 24 November 1897 [29 C 1315]; 25 December 1897 [1 § 1315], 11 February 1898 [20 N 1315], 5 March 1898 [12 L 1315], 26 November 1912 (25 § 1320), *MF.MKT.*, 218/35; Compare with *Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Kosova Vilayeti*, 2007, pp. 333-334).

The edicts of Tanzimat and Reform, and the adoption of Provincial Ordinance and the establishment of Council of State have made it compulsory to bring about new arrangements in public administration and, in this respect, a new ordinance, namely 1869 MUN, has been issued for addressing the running, administration and grading of all schools as well as the educational boards in the provinces. According to this ordinance, in order to cast an affirmative vote on the demands of non Muslim subjects to open a school in a specific locality, an investigation should have been conducted by local administrators into whether an adequate number of population from that nation and religious sect actually lived in the said locality, whether an adequate number school age children were there to maintain the continuity of schooling, and whether there were any political purposes or concerns behind the establishment of such schools, and the opinion of the provincial administration council based on the results of such investigation should have been submitted to the approval of the government (BOA, 23 November 1898 [8 B 1316], 29 December 1898 [15 § 1316], 16 January 1899 [4 N 1316]; 2 February 1899 [21 N 1316]; 1 March 1899 [18 L 1316], *MF.MKT.*, 320/64; BOA, 9 January 1893 [20 C 1310], *MF.MKT.*, 157/107; 4 January 1902 [24 N 1319], *MF.MKT.*, 597/37; BOA,

12 January 1893 [23 C 1310], *MF.MKT.*, 158/46; BOA, 15 February 1900 [15 L 1317]; 31 March 1900 [30 Za 1317], *MF.MKT.*, 374/12; BOA, 26 November 1903 [7 N 1321], 10 January 1904 [22 L 1321], *TFR.I.KV.*, 48/4770; BOA, 22 July 1907 [11 C 1325], *TFR.I.KV.*, 168/16787).

Following the reorganization of education and abolition of governmental influence on its administration, and by courtesy of this atmosphere of freedom stemming from the Edict of Tanzimat and by gaining support from the neighboring countries, non-Muslims have launched into a series of schooling activities that would tip the balance against the empire in Kosovo and the Balkans (Ergin, 1977, v. 1-2, p. 733; *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*, 1875-1876 (1292); Nafi, 2001, p. 98; Unat, 1964; Vahapoğlu, 1997). Under the pretence of helping Christians in the region to get more rights and spreading nationalism under the name of schooling, Greece, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria have allocated special budgets for the educational advances of their own nationals living within the borders of the empire. Such a move has prompted the government in 1893 to establish private commissions consisting of education experts to determine the methods and principles of responding to such separatist-nationalist movements gaining momentum in the entire Balkans, and particularly in Kosovo, with the selfsame method, namely education (BOA, 11 April 1895 [15 L 1312], *MF.MKT.*, 244/45).

For the administrators during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamit the Second it was clear from numerous intelligence, documents and evidence gathered that the real motive behind the teaching activities of the teachers of Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek extraction was to facilitate the separation of the region from the empire as part of the nationalist activities that were widespread throughout the Rumelia. Closing down such schools was definitely not an option for Abdulhamit the Second and his bureaucrats, who had determined the conditions for establishment of such schools and initiated a new project for educational supervision, when the possible reactions from inside and outside are taken into account. On the other hand they could not have condoned such blatant activities (BOA, 28 July 1907 [17 C 1325], 10 December 1907 [4 Za 1325], *TFR.I.KV.*, 171/17035; BOA, 26 December 1892 [6 C 1310], *MF.MKT.*, 158/93; BOA, 1892-1893 [1308], *Y.PRK.AZJ.*, 19/82; BOA, 27 February 1893 [10 § 1310], *Y.PRK.AZN.*, 17/21; BOA, 4 May 1893 [17 L 1310], *Y.Mtv.*, 76/96; 22 June 1893 [8 Z

1310]; 3 July 1893 [19 Z 1310], *Y.PRK.BŞK.*, 31/43; BOA, 27 July 1894 [24 M 1312], *Y.Mtv.*, 101/36; BOA, 20 December 1894 [22 C 1312], *ME.MKT.*, 156/101). In which case there was only one option, which was to impose more administrative and supervisory measures on such teachers/schools by the government. What mattered most in non Muslim schools was to be sure of what teachers actually did and said inside the classroom. To this end, the 1869 MUN had already brought about some significant provisions. In that teachers to be employed in state schools would be of Ottoman subjects and preferably have the diploma of their respective field of education, and that their diplomas would be recognized by official institutions (Kodaman, 1980, p. 94). However it is clear from the nationalities of teachers that such matters envisaged by the ordinance failed to be materialized. As for diplomas, most of the teachers of Serbian, Bulgarian or Greek origin in the Balkans would somehow obtain teaching diplomas from foreign schools and have them certified in the regional institutions without difficulty. The local teaching administrations, at this point, had no choice but to grant permission to such teachers to work at village and town schools as teachers (Anderson, 2001, pp. 197-203; Bozbor, 1997, p. 214; Jelavich, 1983, pp. 79-81). Moreover it was not always possible for bureaucracy to check the activities of such teachers inside the classroom and supervise whether they were following the curriculum. However it was common knowledge from the countless amount of intelligence gathered that those teachers were following a religious and sectarian oriented curriculum and planting the “seeds of intrigue” in both students and non Muslim population (BOA, 2 July 1894 [28 Z 1311], 16 July 1894 [13 M 1312], 15 September 1894 [15 Ra 1312], 19 March 1897 [15 L 1314], 5 April 1895 [9 L 1312], 30 April 1898 [9 Z 1315], *ME.MKT.*, 218/35; BOA, 20 November 1895 [3 C 1313], *ME.MKT.*, 281/66; BOA, 18 August 1893 [6 S 1311], *Y.PRK.TKM.*, 29/75). Furthermore, as a result of such activities, events requiring the intervention of government official were seemingly abundant and thus the European press, ready for exploiting such interventions, was regularly supplied with scoops. However it was not possible to remove teachers based solely on such intelligence. The situation would have been a lot different had the concrete evidence that could have convinced everybody, and especially their protectors in Europe, been found. In this respect the Governor of Kosovo had a suggestion: He suggested that an arbitration board, including metropolids, should have been formed and voca-

tional examinations should have been set for those who wished to work as teachers. According to the Governor, it would have been easier to spot those “ignorant and corrupt” ones who held fake diplomas and had not graduated from any educational institution, and it would have been possible to disqualify them (BOA, 1902-1903 [1320], *Y.PRK.AZJ.*, 45/65; BOA, 18 August 1893 [6 S 1311], *Y.PRK.TKM.*, 29/75; BOA, 6 May 1896 [23 Za 1313], *ME.MKT.*, 281/66).

The government, in general, was supportive of Albanian as the language of instruction, and tried to limit it with the regions where local demand was raised; and with respect to the subjects of Kosovo those other than Albanians, it stated that every community had a right to conduct education in their respective native tongue as per the provisions of 1869 MUN and that it did not object to the instructions in Bulgarian and Serbian languages provided that the course books were approved first. That approach of Sultan Abdulhamit the Second must have stemmed from the idea of preventing the spread of Albanian nationalism movement in Kosova, and particularly among the Muslim Albanians, which was the target of national awakening of Albanian people (BOA, 9 June 1896 [27 Z 1313], 20 July 1896 [9 S 1314], *ME.MKT.*, 318/52; 28 October 1897 [2 C 1315], *ME.MKT.*, 373/37; BOA, 27 March 1894 [19 N 1311], *Y.Mtv.*, 92/80; BOA, 25 January 1902 [15 L 1319], *ME.MKT.*, 601/28; BOA., 14 July 1903 [18 R 1321], *ME.MKT.*, 718/69; 27 July 1903 [2 Ca 1321], *TFR.I.KV.*, 27/2663; BOA, 28 August 1903 [5 C 1321], *TFR.I.KV.*, 33/3254; BOA, 13 September 1903 [21 C 1321], *TFR.I.KV.*, 34/3385; BOA, 2 July 1903 [6 R 1321], *TFR.I.KV.*, 24/2385).

As was the case with other parts of the empire, increase in the number of foreign and non Muslim schools in Kosova during that time has led to a full scale inspection activities primarily in the capital and throughout the provinces. In this respect, an inspectorship for non Muslim and foreign schools has been established in 1887 (BOA, 24 January 1874 [5 Z 1290], *BEO.AYN.d.*, No. 1070; BOA, 21 August 1891 [15 M 1309], *BEO.AYN.d.*, No. 1529; Bridge, 1999, pp. 35-59). However, instead of sending inspectors from Istanbul to Kosovo regions, such an inspection has been conducted by introducing new inspection tasks to the local teaching principles from curriculum to text books, and teachers to teaching licenses in addition to their existing tasks.

The reason why there was not such an intense opposition against the administration of Sultan Ab-

dulhamit the Second as compared to the cities of Thessalonica, Yanya and Manastır was that the majority of the total population of Kosovo, nearly one million, was Muslim Albanians -except for the cities of Tkova and Skopje- (BOA, 1892-1893 [1308], *Y.PRK.AZJ.*, 19/82; BOA, 16 July 1902 [10 R 1320]; 15 September 1902 [12 C 1320], *MF.MKT.*, 652/35). While the Muslim population mostly resided in İpek, Pristine and Prizren, the Christian population accounted for 153.778 in Skopje where the Muslim population was 6678. Moreover the other sanjaks of Kosovo, including Pristina, Yenipazar, Taşlıca, İpek, and Prizren had Muslim populations in the following ratios respectively: 42%, 28%, 5%, 62% and 82%. Among the Christian populations Greeks constituted the majority and the Bulgarians came second. According to their schooling rates, Greeks ranked first, while the Bulgarians¹, accounting for 12% of the entire Rumelian population, came second (Hancoch, 2001, pp. 249-258; Wace & Thompson, 1914).

On the other, while the discrepancy between the schooling rates of Muslims and non Muslims has been partially diminished in favor of Muslims during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamit the Second, the desired objective has never been achieved (BOA, 25 August 1907 [16 B 1325], *TFR.I.KV.*, 173/17270; BOA, 7 April 1896 [24 L 1313], *MF.MKT.*, 310/22). While there were more than 15 Christian schools available in various degrees in Yanıvaroş town of Yenipazar Sanjak, there was only one Junior High School for Muslims (Wace & Thompson, 1914, p. 5, 11-12). Moreover there was neither a primary school nor a junior high school in Kalkandelen Town, which was the least developed town of the province in terms of schooling. As a result of this negative picture, cases of prostitution and murders increased among the population due to ignorance. In order to promote education among the Muslim population, who were lagging behind compared to the Christian population, unlike other provinces, the menafi share and education taxes that had been collected since 1894 were totally left in their locations, such as the townships of Taşlıca and Prepol, for opening of state schools (BOA, 20 May 1901 [2 S 1319], *Y.PRK.BŞK.*, 64/92). Revenues of the said taxes have been partially beneficial for the situation in Kosovo Province (BOA, 10 April 1896 [27 L 1313], 11 June 1896 [29 Z 1313], 17 June 1896 [6 M 1314], 11 July 1896 [30 M 1314], 28 July 1896

[17 S 1314], 1 August 1896 [21 S 1314], 10 August 1896 [1 Ra 1314]; 1 September 1896 [23 Ra 1314], 15 September 1896 [7 R 1314], 9 November 1896 [3 C 1314], 22 November 1896 [16 C 1314], 24 November 1896 [18 C 1314], 4 December 1896 [28 C 1314], *MF.MKT.*; 320/64). 51 primary schools were opened for education in the townships of Taşlıca and Prepol where such practice was in force. Although Babiali has endeavored to overcome the economic obstacles in the face of that competition in the education field, since the population in most places of Kosovo was not keen on paying a share of donation, there was little that the government could do (Akman, 2006, p. 34; Skendi, 1967, p. 392). In this respect the instructions given were always the same: Doing what was possible to collect education taxes, opening of primary and junior high schools in places where collections could be made, and amelioration of the existing ones.

Since the reign of Abdulhamit the Second was the age of nationalism for the Balkan Christians, sensitivity of both Sultan and the non Muslim population in the Balkans was heightened regarding the rule of Ottoman subjects. However the sensitivity of both sides regarding this matter materialized in two opposite and incompatible directions. In this respect while the sensitivity of non Muslims brought forward the issues of self determination in particular, tendencies towards Islamic-centralization gained currency in the administration of Sultan Abdulhamit the Second (BOA, 7 November 1880 [2 Za 1297], *Y.PRK.UM.*, 3/45; BOA, 1902-1901 [1319], *Y.PRK.ŞD.*, 2/65; BOA, 17 May 1895 [22 Za 1312], *Y.PRK.UM.*, 32/17; BOA, 15 April 1903 [17 M 1321], *TFR.I.KV.*, 14/1353; BOA, 20 August 1896 [12 R 1314]; 5 November 1896 [29 Ca 1314], 19 November 1896 [13 C 1314], *MF.MKT.*, 319/18; BOA, 4 May 1897 [2 Z 1314], *MF.MKT.*, 218/35). However such irreconcilable tendencies among the parties did not bring about a definite solution for both sides due to the intrinsic religious and traditional elements they contained and thus hastened the separation process and paved the way for the popular support and consolidation of next government -Party of Union and Progress- in the region.

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1 Such figures communicated by the Bulgarian Commissioner Office on 15 April 1903 should be evaluated with caution.

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- Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Belgeleri**
- A. Maarif Nezareti Evrakı Mektubi Kalemi (MEFMKT.)**
- 1 Ağustos 1896 [21 S 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 1 Eylül 1896 [23 Ra 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 1 Mart 1899 [18 L 1316], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 10 Ağustos 1896 [1 Ra 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 10 Nisan 1896 [27 L 1313], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 10 Ocak 1897 [6 Ş 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 348/48.
- 11 Haziran 1896 [29 Z 1313], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 11 Nisan 1895 [15 L 1312], *MEFMKT.*, 244/45.
- 11 Şubat 1898 [20 N 1315], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 11 Temmuz 1896 [30 M 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 12 Ocak 1893 [23 C 1310], *MEFMKT.*, 158/46.
- 14 Temmuz 1903 [18 R 1321], *MEFMKT.*, 718/69.
- 15 Eylül 1894 [15 Ra 1312], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 15 Eylül 1896 [7 R 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 15 Eylül 1902 [12 C 1320], *MEFMKT.*, 652/35.
- 15 Şubat 1900 [15 L 1317], *MEFMKT.*, 374/12.
- 16 Ocak 1899 [4 N 1316], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 16 Temmuz 1894 [13 M 1312], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 16 Temmuz 1902 [10 R 1320], *MEFMKT.*, 652/35.
- 17 Haziran 1896 [6 M 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 17 Haziran 1897 [17 M 1315], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 17 Kasım 1897 [22 C 1315], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 18 Ağustos 1904 [6 C 1322], *MEFMKT.*, 566/4.
- 19 Kasım 1896 [13 C 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 319/18.
- 19 Mart 1897 [15 L 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 2 Şubat 1899 [21 N 1316], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 2 Temmuz 1894 [28 Z 1311], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 20 Ağustos 1896 [12 R 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 319/18.
- 20 Aralık 1892 [30 Ca 1310], *MEFMKT.*, 156/101.
- 20 Aralık 1894 [22 C 1312], *MEFMKT.*, 156/101.
- 20 Ekim 1897 [24 Ca 1315], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 20 Kasım 1895 [3 C 1313], *MEFMKT.*, 281/66.
- 20 Temmuz 1896 [9 S 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 318/52.
- 22 Kasım 1896 [16 C 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 23 Kasım 1898 [8 B 1316], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 24 Kasım 1896 [18 C 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 24 Kasım 1897 [29 C 1315], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 25 Aralık 1897 [1 Ş 1315], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 25 Ocak 1902 [15 L 1319], *MEFMKT.*, 601/28.
- 26 Aralık 1892 [6 C 1310], *MEFMKT.*, 158/93.
- 26 Kasım 1912 [25 Ş 1320], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 27 Ocak 1897 [23 Ş 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 348/48.
- 28 Ekim 1897 [2 C 1315], *MEFMKT.*, 373/37.
- 28 Temmuz 1896 [17 S 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 29 Aralık 1898 [15 Ş 1316], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 3 Kasım 1897 [8 C 1315], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 30 Mayıs 1897 [28 Z 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 30 Nisan 1898 [9 Z 1315], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 31 Mart 1900 [30 Za 1317], *MEFMKT.*, 374/12.
- 31 Temmuz 1899 [23 Ra 1317], *MEFMKT.*, 458/36.
- 31 Temmuz 1901 [14 R 1319], *MEFMKT.*, 574/32.
- 4 Aralık 1888 [30 Ra 1306], *MEFMKT.*, 105/7.
- 4 Aralık 1896 [28 C 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 320/64.
- 4 Mayıs 1897 [2 Z 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 4 Nisan 1889 [3 Ş 1306], *MEFMKT.*, 108/5.
- 4 Ocak 1902 [24 N 1319], *MEFMKT.*, 597/37.
- 5 Kasım 1896 [29 Ca 1314], *MEFMKT.*, 319/18.
- 5 Mart 1898 [12 L 1315], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 5 Nisan 1895 [9 L 1312], *MEFMKT.*, 218/35.
- 6 Ağustos 1897 [7 Ra 1315], *MEFMKT.*, 364/13.
- 6 Kasım 1892 [16 R 1310], *MEFMKT.*, 154/78.
- 6 Mayıs 1896 [23 Za 1313], *MEFMKT.*, 281/66.

7 Nisan 1896 [24 L 1313], *MF.MKT.*, 310/22.

8 Kasım 1896 [2 C 1314], *MF.MKT.*, 348/48.

8 Temmuz 1901 [21 Ra 1319], *MF.MKT.*, 520/50.

9 Haziran 1896 [27 Z 1313], *MF.MKT.*, 318/52.

9 Kasım 1896 [3 C 1314], *MF.MKT.*, 320/64.

9 Ocak 1893 (20 C 1310), *MF.MKT.*, 157/107.

B. Babiali Evrak Odası Defterleri Ayniyat Defterleri (BEO. AYN.d.)

21 Ağustos 1891 [15 M 1309], BEO.AYN.d., No. 1529.

24 Ocak 1874 [5 Z 1290], BEO.AYN.d., No. 1070.

BEO.AYN.d., No. 120, s. 29.

C. Rumeli Müfettişliği Kosova Evrakı (TFR.I.KV.)

10 Aralık 1907 [4 Za 1325], TFR.I.KV., 171/17035.

10 Ocak 1904 [22 L 1321], TFR.I.KV., 48/4770.

13 Eylül 1903 [21 C 1321], TFR.I.KV., 34/3385.

15 Nisan 1903 [17 M 1321], TFR.I.KV., 14/1353.

16 Şubat 1903 (18 Za 1320), TFR.I.KV., 9/801.

2 Temmuz 1903 [6 R 1321], TFR.I.KV., 24/2385.

22 Temmuz 1907 [11 C 1325], TFR.I.KV., 168/16787.

25 Ağustos 1907 (16 B 1325), TFR.I.KV., 172/17191.

25 Ağustos 1907 [16 B 1325], TFR.I.KV., 173/17270.

26 Ekim 1907 [19 N 1325], TFR.I.KV., 179/17832.

26 Kasım 1903 [7 N 1321], TFR.I.KV., 48/4770.

26 Şubat 1908 (23 M 1326), TFR.I.KV., 210/20967.

27 Temmuz 1903 [2 Ca 1321], TFR.I.KV., 27/2663.

28 Ağustos 1903 [5 C 1321], TFR.I.KV., 33/3254.

28 Temmuz 1907 [17 C 1325], TFR.I.KV., 171/17035.

D. Sadaret Evrakı Sadaret Mühimme Kalemî Evrakı (A.MKT. MHM).

14 Kasım 1888 (10 Ra 1306), 498/68-6.

E. Yıldız Evrakı

1. Dahiliye Perakende (Y.PRK.DH.)

5 Haziran 1900 [2 Haziran 1316], Y.PRK.DH., 11/46-1, 2.

5 Haziran 1900 [2 Haziran 1316], Y.PRK.DH., 11/46-2.

2. Mütenevvia (Y. Mtv.)

19 Temmuz 1894 [16 M 1312], Y.Mtv., 101/36.

27 Mart 1894 (19 N 1311), Y.Mtv., 92/80.

27 Temmuz 1894 [24 M 1312], Y.Mtv., 101/36.

30 Temmuz 1902 [24 R 1320], Y.Mtv., 232/166.

4 Mayıs 1893 [17 L 1310], Y.Mtv., 76/96.

3. Perakende Maarif (Y.PRK.MF.)

25 Aralık 1893 [16 C 1311], Y.PRK.MF., 3/10.

25 Aralık 1893 [16 C 1311], Y.PRK.MF., 3/10.

8 Mayıs 1893 [26 Nisan 1309], Y.PRK.MF., 2/72.

4. Adliye ve Mezahib Nezareti Maruzatı (Y.PRK.AZN)

27 Şubat 1893 [10 Ş 1310], Y.PRK.AZN., 17/21.

5. Perakende Arzuhal ve Jurnaller (Y.PRK.AZJ)

1892-1893 [1308], Y.PRK.AZJ., 19/82.

1902-1903 [1320], Y.PRK.AZJ., 45/65.

6. Perakende Mabeyn Başkitabeti (Y.PRK.BŞK)

22 Haziran 1893 [8 Z 1310], Y.PRK.BŞK., 31/43.

20 Mayıs 1901 [2 S 1319], Y.PRK.BŞK., 64/92.

3 Temmuz 1893 [19 Z 1310], Y.PRK.BŞK., 31/43.

7. Perakende Tahrirat-ı Ecnebiye ve Mabeyn Mütercimliği (Y.PRK.TKM.)

18 Ağustos 1893 [6 S 1311], Y.PRK.TKM., 29/75.

8. Perakende Umumi Maruzat (Y.PRK.UM)

17 Mayıs 1895 [22 Za 1312], Y.PRK.UM., 32/17.

7 Ekim 1880 [2 Za 1297], Y.PRK.UM., 3/45.

9. Perakende Şura-yı Devlet Maruzatı (Y.PRK.ŞD.)

1902-1901 [1319], Y.PRK.ŞD., 2/65.