



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of History

History

**THE OTTOMAN PERIOD IN ALBANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY (1915-2015)**

Ekrem ZAJMI

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2018



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## ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

The jury finds that Ekrem Zajmi has on the date of 06.06.2018 successfully passed the defense examination and approves his/her Master's Thesis titled "The Ottoman Period in Albanian Historiography (1915-2015)".



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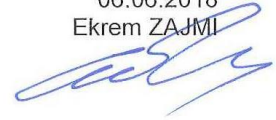
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## ETİK BEYAN

Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, Prof. Dr. Ramazan ACUN danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığını beyan ederim.



**Ekrem ZAJMI**



*...to my little boy and my lovely wife*



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my main advisor Prof. Dr. Ramazan Acun for his valuable knowledge and guidance during the preparation of this thesis. His precious comments and advice led me to evaluate many topics from a different perspective. I also would like to express my gratitude to my co-advisor Prof. Dr. Nehat Krasniqi for his help during literature selecting process. Special thanks go to the head of the History Department at the University of Hamburg, Prof. Dr. Gabriele Clemens and to Prof. Dr. Yavuz Köse for their priceless advice on the thesis written during my study time there.

I would also like to particularly thank Prof. Dr. Nuri Bexheti, Prof. Dr. Gazmend Rizaj, Dr. Nuridin Ahmeti and everyone who helped me, even with their advice, and literature included in this study. I want to express my gratitude to the employees of National Libraries in Pristina and Tirana for their willingness to cooperate.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Republic of Turkey and the *Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB)* for the scholarship granted to me throughout my master studies.

Finally yet importantly, I would like to thank my family for their support and encouragement and my friends for their advice. A last thank you note goes to my wife, who deserves special appreciations for taking care of our son, Akil, sacrificing her own graduation on time in order to support my academic achievements.

## ABSTRACT

ZAJMI, Ekrem, *The Ottoman Period in Albanian Historiography (1915-2015)*,  
Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2018

The main purpose of this thesis is to identify the most important historians in Albanian historiography concerning the Ottoman period and to analyse their views and attitudes on that period. To identify the most influential historians, social network analysis method was used. Bibliographical data extracted from 130 books, most of which are written in Albanian and published mainly during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, were used as the data source for analysis. A total of 4300 bibliographic references and more than 7800 citations' data were compiled from these books. These data were uploaded to a system titled kaynakca.info and analysed using this system's social network analysis method. Firstly, the most influential historians in the field of Albanian history during the Ottoman period were determined based on eigenvector, betweenness and closeness centrality criteria of the social network analysis method. Further on, these historians' views and attitudes on the Ottoman period were qualitatively analysed based on their works. The opinions of these historians were discussed based on three periods: the patriotic-nationalist period (1912 – 1945), the communist period (1945 – 1990) and the democratic period (1990 – 2015). According to this, influential historians portrayed a nationalist view of the Ottoman period between 1912 – 1945, while between 1945 - 1990 they were influenced by a more communist ideology. After 1990, a liberal approach to the Ottoman period was introduced. What these time segments have in common – with very few exceptions – was the domination of the idea that the Ottoman Empire was an invader and left Albanians 500 years behind. Findings obtained from this thesis can make it easier for researchers to choose literature related to the Ottoman Empire for research purposes. Moreover, the most cited historians' list from this study could serve even ordinary readers who are interested in this important period of Albanian history.

**Keywords:** Albanian Historiography, Ottoman Empire, Ottoman Period, Social Network Analysis, Prominent Historians, Bibliographical Data



## ÖZET

ZAJMI, Ekrem, *Arnavut Tarih Yazımında Osmanlı Dönemi (1915-2015)*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2018

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, Arnavut tarihçiliğinde Osmanlı dönemi hakkında yazan önemli tarihçileri ve onların Osmanlı dönemi hakkında düşüncelerini belirlemektir. Osmanlı dönemi hakkında yazan önemli Arnavut tarihçilerini belirlemek için sosyal ağ analizi metodu kullanılmıştır. Analiz için veri kaynağı olarak da ağırlıklı olarak 20. yüzyılda yayınlanan, çoğu Arnavutça yazılmış 130 kitaptan çıkarılan bibliyografik atıf verileri kullanılmıştır. Bu kitaplardan toplam 4300 bibliyografik künye ve 7800'den fazla atıf verisi toplanmıştır. Bu veriler kaynakca.info adlı sisteme yüklenmiş ve bu sistemin sosyal ağ analizi modülü kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. İlk aşamada sosyal ağ analizinin derece, yakınlık, arasındalık ve öz vektör ölçütlerine göre merkezi önemdeki tarihçiler belirlenmiştir. Daha sonra, bu tarihçilerin Osmanlı dönemi hakkındaki görüşleri kendi yazdıkları kitaplardan hareketle niteliksel olarak analiz edilmiştir. Merkezi öneme sahip bu tarihçilerin görüşleri 1912 – 1945 yılları arasında, komünist rejim yıllarında (1945 – 1990), 1990'dan sonrası olmak üzere üç dönemde ele alınmıştır. Buna göre, önde gelen tarihçiler 1912-1945 yılları arasında Osmanlı dönemi hakkında milliyetçi bir görüş sergilerken, 1945-1990 yılları arasında kuvvetli komünist ideolojik değerlendirmelerde bulunmuşlardır. 1990'dan sonra ise Osmanlı dönemine liberal bir yaklaşım fark edilmektedir. Çok az istisna olmak üzere, bu zaman dilimlerinin ortak noktası Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun istilacı olduğunu ve Arnavutları 500 yıl geride bıraktığı düşüncesinin hâkimiyetidir. Bu tez çalışmasından elde edilen bulgular, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile ilgili konularda araştırma amaçlı literatür seçimine yardımcı olmak için kullanılabilir. Dahası, bu çalışma ile belirlenen merkezi önemdeki tarihçilerin listesi, Arnavut tarihinin bu dönemi ile ilgilenen sıradan okuyuculara yol gösterici olabilir.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Arnavut Tarih Yazımı, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Osmanlı Dönemi, Sosyal Ağ Analizi, Üstat Tarihçiler, Bibliyografik Veriler



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## **SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

**FMS:** Finance Management System

**INSNA:** International Network Society of Social Network Analysts

**RQ:** Research Question

**SNA:** Social Network Analysis

**SQL:** Structured Query Language



## 1. CHAPTER: INTRODUCTION

*If I have seen farther, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants*

**Isaac Newton**

### 1.1. THE PROBLEM OF THE STUDY

Historiography, or in other words the art of writing history requires a comprehensive intuition of the nexus that connects events and gives them life and an inner spiritual power. (Dilthey, 1996, p.339). However, whether developed or not, large or small, historiography reflects the average level of intellectual thinking of the society that produces and writes this history. Albanian historiography includes a large number of studies about the Ottoman Empire in Albanian lands, covering the period from the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, they cover a wide range of work dealing with the Ottoman period, Ottoman politics within Albanian lands, local population and nobility, changes in economic relations in the Ottoman period, Albanian cities and conversions of Albanians to Islam, as well as studies on political, cultural and linguistic aspects of the Albanian National Movement (1878-1881), which ended with the declaration of independence from the High Gate in 1912 (Puto, 2003, p. 97). Since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which marks the first serious beginnings of recorded Albanian history, until the collapse of the communist regime in Albania, Albanian history on the Ottoman period underwent changes depending on the period of writing. According to historical accounts, the Ottoman period of rule in Albania was seen as the main cause of the country's economic backwardness, and that the East, in our case the Ottomans, were equated with non-development. The most distinguishing feature of this was underlining of the brutality; barbarism and religious fanaticism of Ottoman troops, which in the eyes of the audience (the readers in this case) looked like a

horde of plunderers that flattened any city or inhabited center they encountered. This image of the Ottoman Empire was initially exploited by the representatives of the Renaissance movement for the purpose of connecting more Albanians with Europe, and later this kind of approach was used by communists to justify non-development and stagnation of the Albanian communist state.

There is no doubt that advances in computer technology have influenced social sciences as well. In fact, there is a lot to be gained by combining the two fields of social sciences and computer sciences and using one to benefit the other. The research presented in this thesis is motivated by the belief that the use of software programs in collecting, processing and presenting bibliographical data in the field of history can enrich scientific data results, by lowering the possibility of “emotional interference”. When considering the quality of scientific research, there are as many opinions on what “good” research is, as there are researchers. Each researcher has their own beliefs on what “good” research means to them. This especially seems to be the case for researchers in social sciences, when it comes to the use and application of computer science methods in their field. In this study, social network analysis is applied on the collected bibliography of Albanian historical studies for the Ottoman period and the enriched results are displayed using sociograms. The social network analysis method was used by researchers to study people from different scientific fields such as sociology, anthropology, psychology, and recently started to be used in the field of history as well. Over the past decade, significant articles that rely on network analysis – on substantively important historical topics – from the organization of the Medici to Ottoman state building and beyond to the Paris Commune have been published (Bearman, Moody, Faris, 2003, p. 63).

## 1.2. THE PURPOSE AND THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The main purpose of this thesis is to firstly identify the most significant historians on Albanian history concerning the Ottoman period using the social network analysis method, and then to analyse these historians' views on that period. Secondly, this study aims to find the most cited international historians on the same topic. Lastly, this thesis will identify the most cited time segment, from among the three major time segments of Albanian history in the Ottoman period.

Social network analysis has been used for many years by various science disciplines in different countries before being applied in Turkey. One of the first bibliographical studies to be done in Turkey goes back to 1970 (Al, Sezen, Soydal, 2012, p.56). Despite a numerous amount of research being done in Kosovo on different areas, there aren't any forms of research including books, articles, master's theses or doctoral dissertations that have applied the social network analysis method. It seems, this will be the first study to use this research methodology in Kosovo. This thesis will contribute to the wider research available in this field in three ways:

- Through this study the most distinguished Albanian and foreign historians in the area of Albanian Historiography (1915-2015) on Ottoman period will be identified, and this will provide guidance for future researchers, in terms of which authors to look for when researching within this area.
- Social network analysis is still an unknown research method in Kosovo and generally in the Albanian space. This study will pave the way for future Albanian researchers to use this method as a form of research for their studies.
- Hundreds of bibliographic tags and thousands of citations will be uploaded to the kaynakça.info website (books, journals, articles etc.) as a result of this study. This will make it easier for Albanian and other international

researchers who are interested in Albanian historians and studies to access them easily.

### **1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

This study aims to answer the following research questions:

**Research Question 1:** Who are the most prominent Albanian historians on the Ottoman period of the Albanian history based on centrality measures of Social Network Analysis (Degree Centrality, Betweenness Centrality, Closeness Centrality and Eigenvector Centrality).

**Research Question 2:** What are their views (of those historians determined by SNA) on the Ottoman Empire's rule of Albanian land?

**Research Question 3:** Where did they get their influence from: other Albanian historians or international historians? (This will be determined through citations they make (or incoming connections)).

### **1.4. COLLECTION, ASSESSMENT AND LITERATURE SELECTION**

In social network analysis, there are different data collection methods including self-reporting observation, questionnaires, diaries, experiments, informants, and archives (Marsden, 1990, p.457). The archive data collection technique can be framed according to the period of time and the relational properties being researched. Moreover, the use of archive data requires less time and consumes fewer resources (Wasserman, Faust, 1994, p.22). Considering the purpose of this thesis, the focus of research literature was on publications related to Ottoman period. More than 200 publications including papers and books have been collected from various libraries such as: The National Library of Pristina and The



National Library of Tirana, the Archive of the Institute of History in Pristina, the Library of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Pristina and many personal libraries of various professors and academicians.

The subject matter of this paper, besides being important for the content, is equally sensitive to the method of selecting the titles and authors involved. Bearing this in mind, the collected literature has been selected based on these criteria:

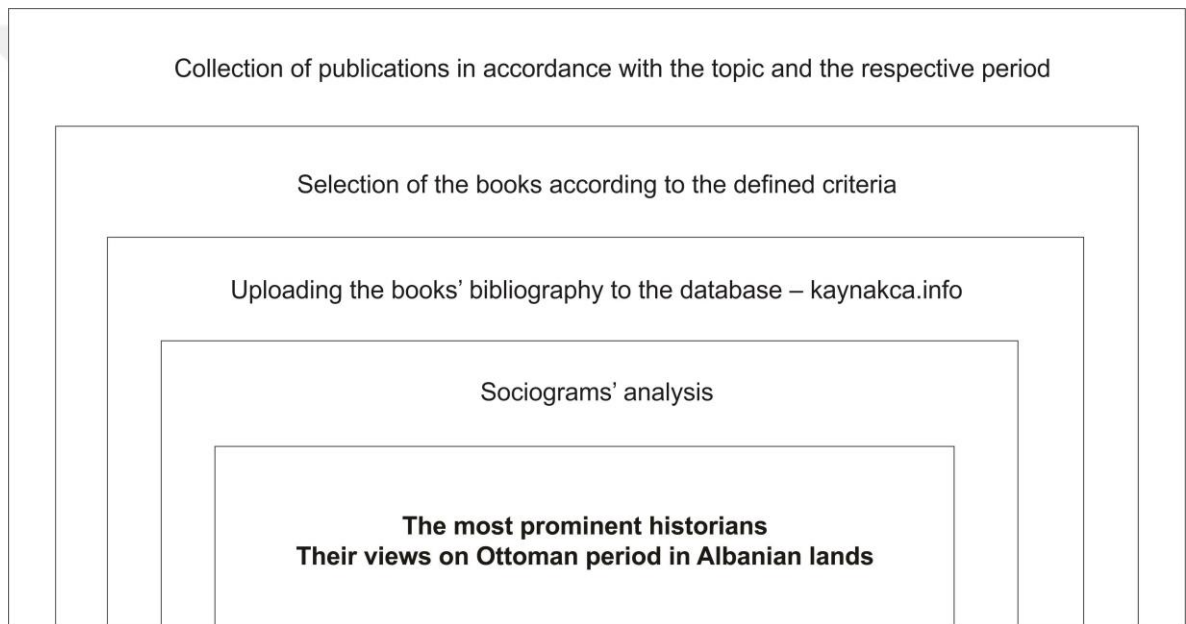
- Reputable publishing houses were contacted such as Renaissance, University Books Publishing House and other institutions in Kosovo and Albania such as The Academy of Sciences and Arts, Public Universities, The Institute of History, The National Library, Historians Association of Kosovo, and Albanological Institute of Pristina.
- Books highly reviewed and recommended by history university professors in their class syllabuses.

Based on the criteria outlined above and after closely conferring with the thesis supervisors, only 130 books were selected. From the total number of the selected books, 100 books are written by Albanian authors and 30 by international ones who have studied and written about Albanian history. The data used to meet the objectives of the study includes about 4300 bibliographical references extracted from the selected books. The analysis of these data was done in a website titled [kaynakca.info](http://kaynakca.info).

However, it should be pointed out that this study – the first of its kind in Albanian historiography – is based on the level of access available to the Ottoman period work and studies. We are aware of the fact that there are still many publications in personal and public libraries, both inside and outside the country, in Albanian or even in foreign languages, which are still unknown to us. Since this thesis aims to

reach out the Albanian historians, in Albanian authors' publications only parts of the bibliography that refers to the Albanian ones are uploaded to the system. The bibliographies of the international authors' publications are uploaded as a whole. All the stages of this thesis, from the literature collection to the research results have been described in table 1.

**Table 1.** Description of five research stages



Even though Albanian intellectuals have contributed in the field of Ottoman studies with publications from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Bardhi, 1635), only publications from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to 2015 have been considered. From the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, including a bibliography has become standard in the field of historical studies (F. Acun, 2011, 66). However, it should be noted that even a number of books published after the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by reputable authors in Albanian historiography – like Kristo Frashëri (*The history of Albania (A brief survey)*, 1978, Tirana), Inijac Zamputi (*The Albanians' efforts for freedom during the first two centuries of Ottoman rule*, 1961, Tirana), Iljaz Rexha (*The Arban medieval onomastics in the Dardania area*, 2005, Pristina) etc. – have

neither bibliographies nor references. That's why the authenticity of these books can be questionable.

Some of the other books included in this research – apart from the bibliography as a whole – provide additional explanations regarding its content. For instance, Schmitt in his book *Albanians, a history between East and West* writes, “The following references intend to make it easier for readers to find additional literature. They are not designed as bibliographies for scientific researches” (Schmitt, 2012a; 297). Unlike Schmitt, Malcom, in the bibliography of his book *Kosovo, a short history* states “This bibliography includes those works that have been cited or referred to in this book” (Malcolm, 1998, p. 454).

### **1.5. LIMITATIONS**

This is the first study of this kind carried out on Albanian Historiography. Although the Ottoman Empire has been studied from various angles, no one has yet applied social network analysis in this field. There have been different fields of science in which social network analysis was utilized but not sufficiently in the field of history. Therefore, taking up such a task came with its own difficulties and shortcomings. Among the limitation of this study was the impossibility of analysing archival resources - because of their features - cited in the books included in this study. As stated in the first chapter, part of the books included in this study, although their title and author were evaluable, they did not contain a bibliography. Finally, we must emphasize the fact that during the collection of the bibliography of books, the context of citation from the author of the book has not been taken into account.

## 1.6. THESIS OUTLINE

The content of this thesis is built focusing especially on the main purpose of the research. This thesis consists of a total of six chapters including the first chapter in which these explanations are given.

*The second chapter* reviews the literature used in this thesis and continues with explanations of the main concepts of social network analysis, followed by the application of this theory to the field of history. In this chapter, an overview of the method used in this study is covered along with the centrality measures of social network analysis. Finally, the software program *kaynakca.info* used to analyse the research data is discussed.

*The third chapter* explains Albanian historiography on Ottoman period; the space this whole period occupies and how it is treated. Three different time frames of the Ottoman rule in Albanian territories have been treated separately. Though only post - 1912 publications have been included in this study, this chapter also addresses the historical-romantic period, which begins from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1945. Before coming to the Albanian historiography during communism (1945-1990), the patriotic period of nationalist historiography and its role in the consolidation of the Albanian state was also looked at. Finally, Ottoman studies after the collapse of the communist regime in Albania was discussed.

*The fourth chapter* reviews the application of social network analysis in recorded data. In this chapter, some of the research questions are answered after data analysis is done. All the results that coincide with research questions are accompanied by additional information related to those findings.

*The fifth Chapter* corresponds to the second research question. In this chapter, the views and attitudes of these authors will be considered in connection with the Ottoman period in the Albanian lands. This chapter gives a brief overview of the

biographies and publications of the most prominent Albanian and international authors who occupy a central position in Eigenvector Centrality.

Finally, *Chapter Six* is a concluding chapter summarizing in brief the answers to the research questions. This way, the main objectives of the thesis presented at the beginning, are fulfilled. In conclusion, based on the findings of this research, recommendations and future research suggestions are discussed.



## 2. CHAPTER: LITERATURE REVIEW

*“Social network analysis is inherently an interdisciplinary endeavour”*

**(Wasserman & Faust, 1994)**

### 2.1. INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research for this study was done using quantitative and qualitative methods. Social network analysis was used to analyse the data and sociometry is used to assess the characteristics of the actors and the relationship between them in social networks. Qualitative analysis was done based on views and attitudes of the historians who are considered as prominent according to this research. Several methods have been developed for data analysis of bibliographic citations, and are commonly referred to as bibliometric methods. Many research areas use bibliometric methods to investigate their fields' impact. Citation analysis and content analysis are the most commonly used bibliometric methods. Another method that has recently become widespread is social network analysis (Acun, 2015b:71). Social Network Analysis in terms of an applied graph theory, is a quantitative method (Scott, 2000). The main advantage of social network analysis is that it generates various social network maps showing communicative relations among a social system's members. Currently, many social network analyses use computer softwares, specially designed for network analysis and depending on the purpose of the study; the software generates many types of network maps. Mapping gives the opportunity to easily analyse the social structure and also makes it possible for people not of the field to also comprehend what the research is trying to claim. Influential historians in a social system can also be identified using sociograms mapped in different measurements.

In this context, the sociogram (Fig. 8) created by *kaynakca.info* software program, represents the graphical illustration of the connections between historians and shows the main protagonists of Albanian history writing on the Ottoman era. Albanian historiography on Ottoman period is divided into three time segments: From independence to the moment Albania joined the communist world (1912-1945), Albania under the communist regime (1945-1990), and the post-communist period (1945-2015). All the three time segments during which Albanian historiography has changed have been addressed here. The literature included in this research has mostly been published during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Considering the purpose of this thesis, the focus of the research literature was on publications that belong to the Ottoman era. Since this thesis' main focus is on books sources, historiography of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is not included. According to Dritan Egro (2007, p. 199) the earlier writings are considered as pre-scientific since the time they were written was judgmental of the past events and the books were written without reference to main historical documents and resources. References play a vital role in the identification and retrieval of earlier work. A crucial part of research papers, particularly in sciences, is the bibliography pointing to prior publications (Smith, 1981, p.84-85). Well, what are the main sources of the qualitative analysis of this study? When we discuss the main sources of this study in case of Albanian historiography' sources, the contemporary Albanian historians such as Dritan Egro and Artan Puto should be mentioned, on the other side Frymzim Dauti from Macedonia along with the historian from Kosovo, Izber Hoti. We do not intend to confine the entire perspective of Albanian historiography on these names, but we can say that they are among the most important figures in the contemporary discussion field of Albanian historiography on Ottoman period. Their articles and books are used as main sources in the qualitative analysis of this thesis. On the other side, when we talk about sociometrics and social network analysis as the research method applied in this thesis, it should be mentioned Linton Freeman (*The Development of Social Network Analysis*), Johan Scott (*Social network analysis: A handbook*), Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust

(Social Network Analysis - Methods and Applications). In addition, the founder of Sociometry Jacob Moreno is undisputed name in this field with his books: "Who shall survive?" and "Sociometry in Relation to Other Social Sciences".

## **2.2. ABOUT SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS**

The social network represents a set of actors that usually have relationships with each other. According to Freeman (1996, p.40), "social networks are formally defined as a set of nodes (or network members) that are tied by one or more types of relations". The nodes in the network are the people and groups while the links show relationships between the nodes. Theoretically, it is a premise based on a structured study of human relations. Social network analysis came out as an alternative of traditional study methods. The value of social network theory versus other sciences like sociological approach is its focus on the value of the network structure rather than the characteristics of the individual (Parkhe *et al*, 2006, p.561) therefore, the relationships between actors in social network analysis, become the first priority. One could say that in this thesis, properties of actors are the prime concern.

Through this method, it is made possible to retrieve information regarding the positions of the actors in a social structure, the size, and the density of the network formed by connections among these actors, the groupings in network, etc. This information is attained by the use of mathematical methods on the dataset representing the social network. Pajek, NetMiner, Gmine, MultiNet, StocNet UciNetetc are some software programs available today that provide both mathematical and visual analysis of network data (Gürsakal, 2009, p. 248). In this thesis, the software program titled kaynakca.info has been utilized. This software program provides both mathematical and visual analysis of network data based on three measures of degree centrality: Eigenvector, Betweenness and Closeness. The importance and differences between the three most popular degree centrality



measures: Eigenvector Centrality, Betweenness Centrality and Closeness Centrality, will be provided below. These different measures give us awareness into the various roles and groupings within a network.

Another important aspect of social network analysis is the distinguishing of two main forms of social network analysis: the ego network analysis and the global network analysis (Otte, Rousseau, 2002, p.428). In 'ego' studies the research network is concentrated in one person. One example from the information sciences is White's (2000) description of the research network centred on Eugene Garfield and the other one is Acun's description of the research network centred on Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Acun, 2015a). In global network analyses, one tries to find all the relations between the network participants.

### **2.3. HISTORY OF SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS' DEVELOPMENT**

The history of social network analysis goes back to the 1920s. German psychologist Wolfgang Köhler (1925) came up with the idea of the social network. He had the 'gestalt' theory which conceptualized the metaphysical idea that the organized patterns of objects, shape an individual's views and perceptions (Scott, 2000, p.45). Moreno's (1934) major contribution, as the founder of sociometry, to social network analysis, was the invention of a way to show the interpersonal structures of groups. Up until the 1940s, social network studies had established the fundamental concepts of social network analysis and focused on graphical illustration of network features, while many scholars from the 1950s employed mathematical and statistical methods to investigate social networks (Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p. 102). Jacob Moreno and Kurt Lewin were the first scientists to use social network analysis in the social sciences. Moreno (1934) used network analysis to show social configurations among schoolchildren. Lewin (1951), who worked on group behaviour, argued that a person's attitude or behaviour is influenced by his/her position in the social group. In addition, they integrated

mathematical formulas from graph theory into social network analysis (Dervis, 2014, p.11).

Since the 1960s, network analysis has been used in many disciplines of social sciences as well as in natural and formal sciences, with each discipline defining its own concepts and indicators. In 1978, the foundation of the International Network Society of Social Network Analysts (INSNA, 2018) by Barry Wellman institutionalized social network analysis (Kirchhof, 2008, p. 5).

#### **2.4. APPLICATION OF SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS IN THE FIELD OF HISTORY**

Combining social theory and mathematics (graph theory), social network analysis has become a potentially promising tool for psychologists and sociologists, among others, to study organizational settings. Their work encouraged other scientists to follow up, incorporating application of social network analysis in their research (Cartwright & Harary, 1977, p.91). Social network analysis was used by scientists of different scientific fields such as anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists and recently in the history field, to study peoples' relations.

According to Bearman *et al* (2003, p. 63) "Over the past decade, influential articles that rely on network analysis – on substantively important historical topics – from the organization of the Medici to Ottoman state building and beyond to the Paris Commune, have been published". Social network analysis concepts and methods are increasingly being applied in practice within the realm of historical research, rather than merely being used as a metaphor. According to several social studies, it can be proved that methods taken from social network analysis can be successfully applied to certain selections of historical data also. However, the downside is that these studies are influenced by concerns, standards of data processing, and most importantly epistemological paradigms, that stem from the

social sciences. The term network has been in use by historians for a long time, but only metaphorically. This however has changed just recently (historical network research, 2017). The fields of Sociology and Psychology, but also History, are generally concerned with the structural composition and procedural changes of communities of people. Individuals are regarded, not in light of their personal characteristics, but in the roles that they play within their social environment. The general assumption underlying this approach is that a connection between two individuals is the product of their combined characteristics and thus network of relations provides a mapping of (the consequences of) the community preferences.

Using social network analysis as a tool to analyse historical bibliographic data, has been forecasted from Eduard Garfield many years ago (Acun, 2015a, p.2). “In the near future, the compilation of bibliographies will be inseparable from writing the history of that field. A scholar will be able to sit in front of his computer’s control panel and will specify starting points — a person, a word, a citation, a place. Given a particular word or document, he will then ask the computer to display a list of pertinent papers. Then, the computer will draw or display for him a historical road map which will show him not merely the list of papers and books, but also a graphical approximation or detailed history of that subject” (Garfield, 1971, p.167). Moreover, the analysis of historical bibliographic citations can reveal key events, their chronology, their mutual relations and their relative importance. Thus, a new field of history science study has been opened up (Acun, 2015a, p.2).

Even though the application of social network analysis in historical perspective has started being used in recent years, there are many papers and theses in this field. Some examples of these papers are listed below;

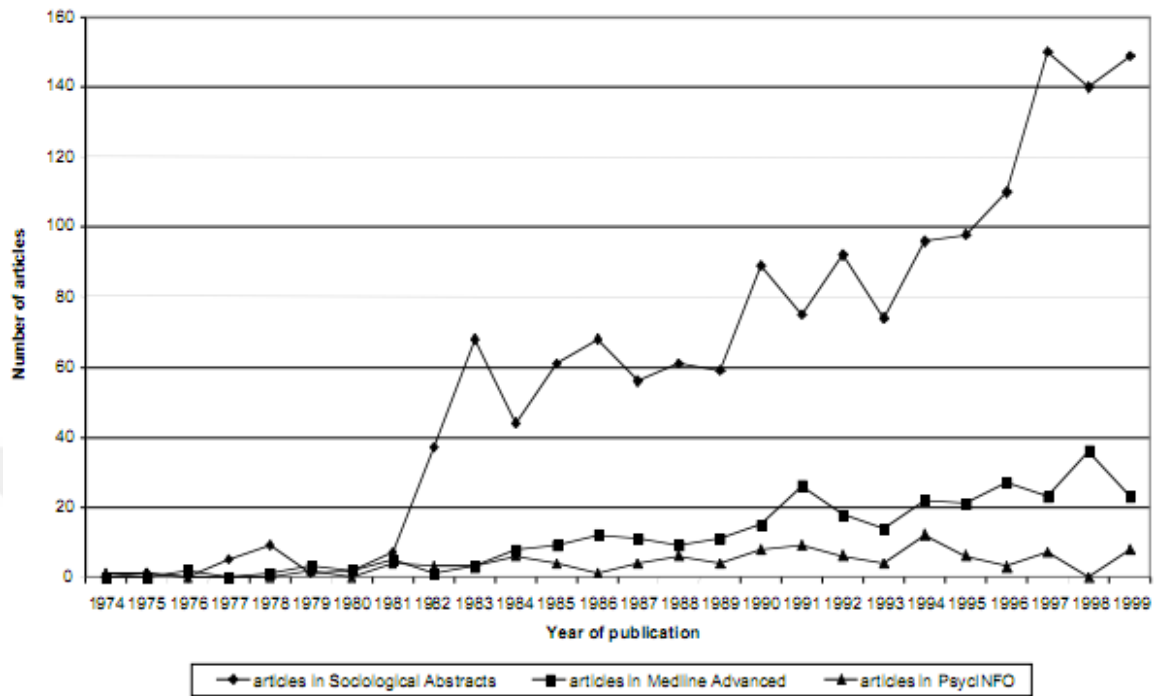
- Acun, R. (2015). *Sosyal Ağ Bakış Açısından Tarihçi Kimliğinin Oluşumu: Ahmet Yaşar Ocak Üzerine Bir Deneme*. Ötekilerin Peşinde Ahmet Yaşar Ocak'a Armağan, (F. Yeşil. ve M. Öz, Ed.) içinde, 1-28.

- Bras, H. Koylu, C., Kasakoff, A., & Guo, D., (2013), *Visualizing Historical Kinship Networks using Data from Marriage Registers: The Netherlands, 1830-1950*, The XXXIII Sunbelt Social Networks Conference, May, 21-26. (INSNA). Hamburg, Germany.
- Günay, N. A. (2012), *A Study of Social Network Analysis: The Âyan of Bursa in the Late 18th Century*, Akademik Bakış, Cilt 5, Sayı 10, p. 39-49
- Düring, M. (2011), *Social Network Analysis for Historians: Potentials and Challenges of “Historical Network Research”*. Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut Essen, 24 - 26 February, German Historical, London

## **2.5. GROWTH IN THE NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS**

Social network analysis has recently experienced rapid growth is something which has been stated a lot, however it has rarely been proven. When conducting a search for social analysis (for the period between 1963–2000), 1601 articles were found with the words ‘social network analysis’ in the ‘subject heading’ field. The 1601 articles found on social analysis have publication dates between 1969 and 2000. There are, however, only two articles from 1969 and two from 1971 (Otte, Rousseau, 2002, p.444).

Figure 1 clearly shows the fast growth of the field in the recent years. More specifically, real growth began around 1981 and there is no sign of decline. This proves that other fields, besides sociology, have used the term and techniques.



**Figure 1.** Growth in numbers of Social Network Analyses (Otte, Rousseau, 2002, p.445)

The graph in figure 1, demonstrates the fact that it was only in the early 1980s that social network analysis started its career. The main reasons for this are the institutionalization of social network analysis since the late 1970s, and the availability of basic textbooks and computer software.

The earliest basic textbook exclusively dealing with social network analysis that the authors know of is Knoke and Kuklinski's *Network Analysis*, published in 1982. Other important books that have influenced the growth of the discipline are Wellman and Berkowitz' *Social Structures: A Network Approach* (1988), Scott's *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook* (1991), and Wasserman and Faust's *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (1994) (Otte, Rousseau, 2002, p.445). Of course, the development of dedicated software also led to an increased interest in the field and its methods. In addition, it should be noted that growth in the number of subjects being studied, follows the growth in the number of articles including social network analysis.

**Table 2.** Most prolific authors in social network analysis. (Otte, Rousseau, 2002, p.447)

Author	Number of published articles	Author	Number of published articles
Wellman, Barry	31	Klovdahl, Alden S.	9
Skvoretz, John	24	Lovaglia, Michael J.	9
Bonacich, Phillip	20	Snijders, Tom A.B.	9
Everett, Martin G.	20	Stokman, Frans N.	9
Willer, David	19	Wasserman, Stanley	9
Burt, Ronald S.	17		
Friedkin, Noah E.	16	9 authors	8
Borgatti, Stephen P.	14	8 authors	7
Johnsen, Eugene C.	14	11 authors	6
Faust, Katherine	13	13 authors	5
Markovsky, Barry	13	20 authors	4
Doreian, Patrick	12	57 authors	3
Marsden, Peter V.	12	223 authors	2
Mizruchi, Mark S.	10	1308 authors	1

Based on the Sociological Abstracts database, Barry Wellman is the most prolific author in the field of social network analysis. He published 31 articles in the investigated period (21 as first author) (Otte, Rousseau, 2002, p.447). Table 2 shows the most prolific authors (using total counts) in the field of social network analysis. It's not surprising that Patrick Doreian heads this list due to his prominent role in social network analysis.

## 2.6. SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS CENTRALITY MEASURES

In many social network applications, the main objective of data analyses is to identify the most important actors in the network. In this study, the actor (historian) who is extensively involved in connection with other significant nodes is considered the prominent one. According to Linton C. Freeman (1979), approaches to centrality are based on three ideas about what being central means: (1) being active within the network, that is, maintaining many ties, (2) being efficient or independent of go-betweens by having short distances to other vertices in the network, and (3) being an important go-between, that is, being part of many paths

between other vertices in the network (Carrington, Scott, Wasserman, 2005, p.328).

The popularity or importance of a node is expressed by its centrality. Centrality can be calculated on the individual nodes (point centrality), or over the entire graph - graph centrality (Freeman, 1979). The focus review is on point centrality. Point centrality is used to determine the relative importance of a node to the overall graph structure. Based on Shaw, (1954, p.142) generally, four different types of degree centrality are distinguished:

- Degree centrality,
- Eigenvector centrality,
- Betweenness centrality and
- Closeness centrality

*Degree centrality* is equal to the number of connections that an actor (a node) has with other actors. In this network being a central author means that this scientist has collaborated with many colleagues (Otte, Rousseau, 2002, p.447);

*Eigenvector centrality*, assigns higher ranks to nodes that are either well-connected themselves, or that are connected to other well-connected nodes (Bonacich, 1991, p.164);

*Betweenness centrality*, measures how often a node is included in the shortest path between node pairs (Freeman, 1977, p.144); and

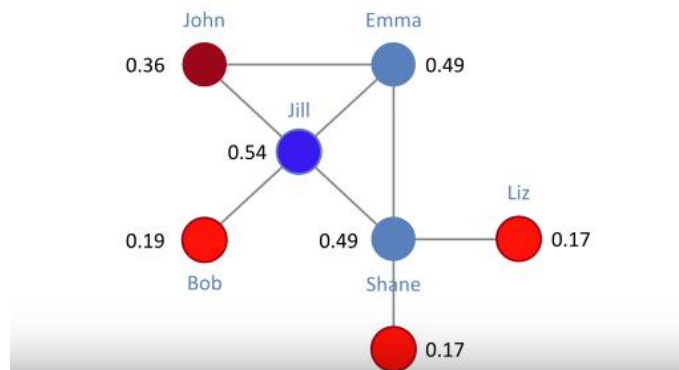
*Closeness centrality*, expresses how embedded in the graph a node is by taking the sum of its shortest path lengths to all other nodes in the graph (Beauchamp, 1965, p.161).

Each type of centrality expresses a different quality of the node in question and, consequently, serves a different purpose (Freeman, 1979). Eigenvector centrality can be used to determine the influence of nodes over the others; Betweenness centrality highlights those nodes that have the highest control over the flow of information through a graph – this can for instance be applied to domains where it is important to manage access to information. Finally, Closeness centrality measures how efficiently nodes can contact one another and how much they depend on each other to receive information (De Camp, 2016:86).

Further information on centralities that are used in our research (Eigenvector Centrality, Betweenness Centrality and Closeness Centrality) is provided below.

### 2.6.1. Eigenvector Centrality

Eigenvector centrality was proposed for the first time by Bonacich in 1972. Eigenvector centrality assigns higher ranks to nodes that are either well-connected themselves, or that are connected to other well-connected nodes (Bonacich, 1991, p.160). In other words, eigenvector centrality is an important node, which is connected with other important nodes in a network.



**Figure 2.** Eigenvector connected graph



The most important node-person in this connection is Jill (blue node) and the less connected node-person is Liz (red node). (Mascolo, 1996)

Eigenvector centrality is different from degree centrality: a higher number of links doesn't mean a high eigenvector centrality - it might be that all linkers have low or null eigenvector centrality. In other words, in eigenvector centrality, a node is important if other important nodes link it (*Bonacich, 1972, p.179*).

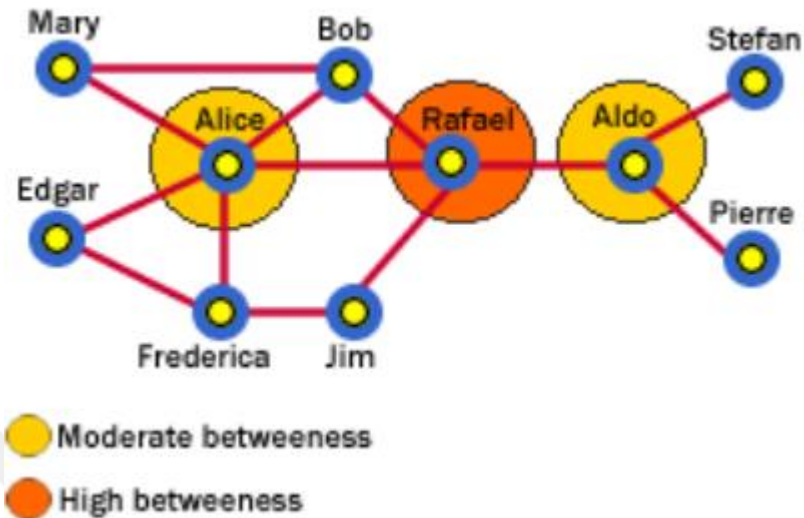
### **2.6.2. Betweenness Centrality**

Betweenness centrality is determined by the number of shortest paths going through an actor. Actors with a high betweenness play the role of connecting different groups, as 'middlemen' (Otte, Rousseau, 2002, p.447). A betweenness centrality is a very important measure, while bearing in mind flows in a network. The large betweenness value means that a given actor is connected with many other actors (directly and indirectly).

According to FMS (2009), an entity with a high betweenness centrality generally:

- Holds a favoured or powerful position in the network
- Represents a single point of failure – take the single betweenness spanner out of a network and you sever ties between cliques.
- Has a greater amount of influence on what happens in a network

Another table, as a complex visual form of Betweenness Centrality is given in fig 3.



**Figure 3.** Betweenness Centrality Graph

Source: FSM Advanced System Group 2009

In this example, Rafael has the highest betweenness because he is between Alice and Aldo, who are between other entities. Alice and Aldo have lower betweenness because they are only within their own groups. So although Alice has a higher degree centrality, Rafael may have more prominence in the network.

### 2.6.3. Closeness Centrality

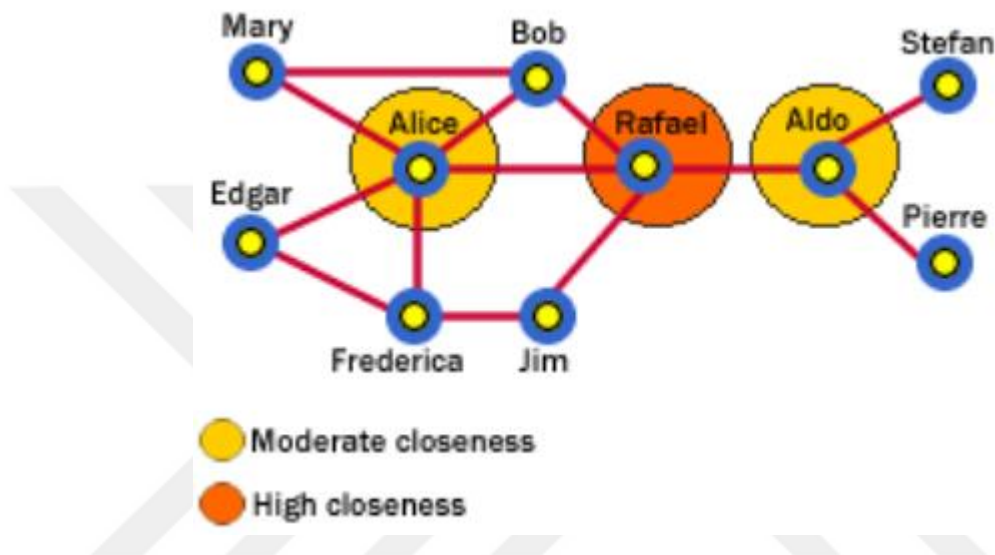
Closeness centrality of a node is calculated by checking the total distance (in the graph) of this node from all the other nodes. A high closeness for an actor means that he or she is related to all the others through a small number of paths (Otte, Rousseau, 2002, p.447). In other words, Closeness centrality measures how quickly an entity can access more entities in a network.

According to FMS (2009) an entity with a high closeness centrality generally:

- Has a quick access to other entities in a network
- Has a short path to other entities
- Is close to other entities

- Has high visibility on what is happening in the network

The visual form of Closeness Centrality according to Freeman' Network Centrality is given in fig. 4.



**Figure 4.**Closeness Centrality Graph

Source: FMS Advanced System Group 2009)

Similar to the betweenness example, Rafael is considered to have the highest closeness centrality because reaches more entities through shorter paths than others. Hence, Rafael's location allows him to connect to entities in his own group, and to entities that span groups.

The multi-disciplinary nature of the social network analysis method is both its strength and weakness at the same time. Strength, due to the cross-fertilization and development of this method in various fields have made many advances to the method possible. Weakness, due to issues with common definitions and clarifications required for concepts of the method (Kirchhoff, 2010, p. 60). As mentioned in the previous section, the term 'network', is a heavily used term to denote relational data in a vast number of applications. Hence the term 'network analysis' has different meanings to different people. However, most of these

applications rely on a formal basis that is coherent. For that reason, it seems adequate to treat social network analysis as a field of its own.

## **2.7. SOCIOMETRY**

The Sociometric method term is defined as “a large class of methods that assess the positive and negative connections between individuals within the group” (Rostampoor-Vajari, 2012, p.570). Sociology itself, could describe sociometrics as the social network analysis’ origin (Otte, Rousseau, 2002, p.442). Sociometry is a quantitative method used to evaluate social relationships.

### **2.7.1. The origin of Sociometry**

The origin of the sociometric method is typically attributed to Jacob Moreno (1934). Moreno is considered as the founder for many of the methods that are still used today (Rubin et al, 2009, p.82). Sociometry stems from two Latin terms, *socius* (companion) and *metrum* (measure). Moreno (1941) has often been credited for bringing analytical methods into sociology, however he always objected that there was too much focus on ‘metrum’ and not enough focus on ‘socius’ (Waldstrøm, 2003, p.6). He considered the sociometric methods as a means to a better understanding of social relations. Therefore, the sociogram as a sociometric analysis’ outcome, was more than just a presentation method, most importantly, it was an exploration method (Moreno, 1937, p.208). With Moreno’s (1934) introduction of the sociogram in his work about sociometrics (1934), a formal description of social networks came into being. This formal description allowed for a better and more formal mechanical and mathematical treatment of social networks. In addition to that, the new born graph theory was introduced, and hence more advanced analytical methods could then be applied to social networks and social studies (Harary, 1953).

## **2.8. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DATABASE SYSTEM**

Since social network analysis is the method through which the data has been analysed, the kaynakca.info website is used as a tool through which this type of analysis has been conducted.

### **2.8.1. Kaynakca.info**

Using contemporary technology in social network analysis is the best way to produce accurate results. Kaynakca.info is one of the websites that provides such a service. The Kaynakca.info was born and developed during the "Computer and History" course in the History Department of Hacettepe University. For the first time, it was included as a course in the department in 1996. It aimed to teach students basic concepts of database and to implement them using the SQL language (kaynakca.info, 2018).

Even though at the time of writing this master thesis (2017-18), Kaynakca.info was initially opened to public use a decade ago, the number of publications uploaded on the site in Albanian were relatively low. As a result of this study, more than 3500 publications were uploaded to the system in order to achieve the results of this research. Although most of these works belong to Albanian authors, a significant number of them belong to international authors as well.

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 Relacione mbi Gjendjen e Shqiperise Veriore dhe te Mesme në Shekullin XVII (1610-1650).  
 Yorum Yaz; Kaynakçaya Ekle; Soru Çöz; Soru Gönder; Yaptığı Atif Ekle. İstatistikler; Sorular;  
 Kaynakçalar; Yorumlar; Atıflar; Künye.

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 Tirane, 1663, . Kitap Tarih. Bu Kitap. 5 kez görüntülendi. Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Muhammed Zillî -  
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 Anadolu. Bu Kitap. 2 kez.

**Popullsia e Kosovës gjatë shek. XIV-XVI - Türkiye Kaynakçası**  
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 08.01.2018 - Në këtë fond nuk janë relacionet e gjata siç i gjejmë ato në fondin "Scritture riferite nei  
 Congressi Generali" dhe që për vitet 1610-1650 tanshmë janë ..... kardinalit Capponi datë 7 dhjetor  
 1649. Në: Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë veriore dhe të mesme në shek. XVII. Vëllimi 2  
 (Tiranë 1965), f. 378.

**Figure 5.** A random search, Injac Zamputi; *Reports on North and Middle Albania's situation in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (1610-1650)*, [Accessed: 20.02.2018]

This thesis, in addition to contributing to finding the authors who take a central place in the Ottoman period historians' network, has also enabled online access to more than 3,500 different publications in the Albanian Language. For most of these publications, kaynakca.info is the first and often the only source to come across if a search is randomly done for the titles of these publications on search engine google.com. An example of this is given in figure 5.

Initially, running only on a local network basis, in 2008, this database was launched for internet-based use. In the same year, simultaneously with similar international

systems of its kind, it added the ability to collect data through 7 different works and author level metrics in order to enable a more comprehensive scientific impact measurement in the system. These metrics are hits, citations, e-learning, comments, bibliographies and social media sharing (Acun, 2015a, p.7). Note that citations are one of these metrics.

**Table 3.** Content of the Kaynakca.info by numbers  
(12 April 2018)

<b>Content type</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Number of people (Author, Translator, Editor)</b>	96,670
<b>Number of Citations</b>	179,644
<b>Number of Articles</b>	120,725
<b>Number of Books</b>	96,419
<b>Number of Magazines</b>	7,187
<b>Number of Thesis</b>	10,047
<b>Number of Webs</b>	489

As of April 12, 2018, the site counts 93,051 members, most of whom are university students and teaching staff. In accordance with the tendency of other collaboration networks, approximately 10% of these members are actively contributing to the system content. Table 3 gives a numerical summary of the system content.

### 3. CHAPTER: THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN ALBANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY; A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

*“Only experienced and strong-willed people could write history...”*

**Nietzsche**

#### 3.1. THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE’S PLACE IN ALBANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

After the occupation of Albanian lands by Serbia in 1912/13, Albanian education was conducted in the Serbian language. Occupied Albanians were learning the history of the Ottoman Empire by Serbian teachers and from Serbian history books. In Yugoslavia, after the Second World War, education got liberalized and gradual education began in Albanian language. After the Yugoslav Constitution of 1974 came into effect, Kosovars gained more freedom in the creation of their scientific institutions; there is a period of flourishing of scientific work in terms of Albanian history. On this occasion, Albanian intellectuals and their history books began to emerge. (Dauti, 2011). On the other hand, Ottoman studies in Albania after World War II underwent substantial development. Outwardly educated historians did their job and transformed the writing of history from a romantic-nationalist literature into a true scientific historiography. Although historians of that time did a very professional job, defining the ideological frameworks of the communist regime made their writings be seen as suspicious.

From the beginning of this chapter, we would like to emphasize the fact that the Ottoman period is an essential part of Albanian history in at least two aspects. According to one of the contemporary and most productive Albanian historians Dritan Egro (2007, p. 6), this is because of at least two reasons:



- Firstly, the Ottoman period is a very important historical period not only for the Albanian territories, but also for the entire region. This is the time when Albanian history starts to be registered according to full historical sources regularly extended in time. From this point of view, the Ottoman period provides important data for the non-documented pre-Ottoman period of Southeast Europe and introduces a clear review of the transition from empire to national states.
- Secondly, the Ottoman period has been anathematized and held responsible for the Balkans' and consequently, Albania's backwardness.

Knowing the history of Albanians in the midst of a multinational empire such as the Ottoman Empire seems easy as we are talking about a long period filled with important historical events, but at the same time it is difficult considering that this is a quite prejudiced historical period and as such represents a challenge for any historian dealing with it.

The deeper you go back in time, the more forward-looking you will be in the future, says Henry Ford (Kyvig, Marty, 2003, p.2). Hence, today it is necessary to have a better understanding of the relationship between the past and the present, in order to at least prevent the misfortunes of the past from happening again. Based on this, Mithat Frashëri (1928, p. 7) says:

... to understand the events of today with all their reasons, we need to look upon what happened to our people in the past, and continue the beginning of past works without interruption, from the oldest of times to these days.

In this context, it can be clearly stated that history is the science that reveals the origin of the problems that society faces nowadays. Whatever the starting point in the evaluation of the Ottoman Empire's history and the multilateral inheritance that

it left behind in Albanian territories is, one thing seems to be indisputable according to Egro (2007, p. 12):

The Ottoman Empire period is one of the longest historical periods in time, the most complex based on the events that occurred and the traces that followed, but also one of the most documented historical periods of Albanian history, and this is what makes it privileged.

Traditional Albanian history describes the Ottoman period as an era of Albanians constantly resisting against a foreign conqueror. Nowadays this description is questionable even in Albanian societies. International knowledge and some Albanian researchers have already introduced another notion. In the 1970s, the orientalist Hasan Kaleshi from Kosovo brought up the thesis that Ottoman invasion had saved the Albanians from the threat of Grecism and Slavicism, that ethnic Albanians possibly would be completely eradicated but retained their uniqueness only under the Ottoman rule (Schmitt, 2012, p. 68). Kaleshi can be considered as the Albanian orientalist who has cast ideas and thoughts on many issues of Oriental history and culture.

### **3.1.1. The general approach to the treatment of Ottoman Empire**

Recognizing the history of Albanians in the midst of a multinational empire such as the Ottoman Empire, it is relatively as easy and difficult at the same time, as it brings along the risk of being judged from a "nationalist" point of view, as well as from the eastern-oriental "anti-western" aspect (Egro, 2007, p. 10). Because of this, the number of historians who have the courage to seriously engage in this period's scientific data is unfortunately not too many.

The Albanian people and its elite since the two World Wars were struggling to maintain independence and consolidate it. From that time, Albanian intellectuals

focused more on the handling of major historical issues and images that promoted and fostered nationalist feelings. 'Fortunately', these major events and historical personalities coincide with the Ottoman period, so the Turks always remain enemies and the system they installed is held responsible for the traditional Albanian backwardness (Egro, 2007, p. 207). Another historiography was simultaneously written in Kosovo. Even though in 1913, Kosovo was politically separated from its native territories, it can be stated that the Ottoman studies conducted in Kosovo are considered as an important part of Albanian historiography. Albanian historiography on the Ottoman period in Kosovo were mainly written based on Serbian sources due to the political circumstances and scientific limitations that existed at the time. After the Second World War, with changes in former Yugoslavia and with the introduction of more liberal policies towards Albanians from Kosovo, young scholars began to be more oriented towards the sources that came from Albanian historians (Dauti, 2011). In this case, instead of basing their studies on Istanbul or Vienna's archival sources, they based them on the sources from Albania's communist historians - especially from the book "History of Albania" published by State University of Tirana (1959). As a result, the way the Ottoman Period was portrayed was quite within the same context as that in Albania. Due to political tensions between Albania and Kosovo after 1945, scholars from Albania and Albanian scholars in Kosovo were unable to work together. However, despite of this, very little differences can be seen in their ideas, works, and scientific approaches (Egro, 2007, p. 34). In Albania, history should have been written in such a way as to bring Albanian youth closer under the values, "Albanians are a nation without religious or tribal distinctions and that they have a common language which is Albanian". In this case, many of these young people were recruited as future intellectuals of Albania and sent to Russian universities, who then returned and started doing so called "scientific" work. Among these young people was one named Fan Noli. When he was young he was recruited and sent to be educated at an Orthodox monastery in Russia. Noli, after the training in Russia, became the main tool of propaganda against the Ottoman

Empire in the Albanian and foreign press (Dauti, 2011). These "scientific" works of his were taken as the basis of communist historiography for writing about this period.

The earliest attempts to write about the history of Albania, dates back to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the Ottoman period occupies the most significant place in Albania's history. This is not because of any special consideration or preference of the authors who wrote them, but because this period of Albania's history is first of all quite unavoidable, and secondly, it is much needed to explain the current state of Albania. Although the importance of dealing with this period is constantly emphasized, nowadays it seems that the effects of communist ideology in the treatment of the five centuries of the Ottoman Empire in the Albanian territories seem to be still present in the intellectual inter-knowledge in Kosovo. The best example to illustrate this is the History Department (Bachelor study program 2016-2021) of the biggest public university in Kosovo "University of Pristina". In this department, there is not a single subject for Albanian history of the Ottoman period. A review of the Ottoman period – similar to the contents of Tajar Zavalan's book (1998) "The History of Albania"– is found in this department's program. This book has 24 chapters and deals with historical events ranging from Illyrians to Albania's Independence. What this book and the History Department at the University of Pristina have in common is that Zavalani makes a leap from the 15<sup>th</sup> century (The Scanderbeg Era) to the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Albanian National Awakening – Renaissance). Unlike the Pristina University "Hasan Prishtina" in Tirana, in the Faculty of History and Philology, students of history during their second year are made to attend two compulsory courses: History of Albania during the Ottoman Period - One and Two.

Even though in this study we are focused on the historians and their scientific work in the field of Ottoman studies from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the beginnings of Albanian history on Ottoman Studies go several centuries back in time. The best example is the historiographical

tractate written in Latin by the Albanian Catholic Priest Frank Bardhi (1636). Through this work, the author proved Skanderbeg's Albanian ethnicity, earlier questioned by a Serbian cleric (Egro, 2007, p. 37). However, this work is a forerunning study of modern historiography and the first 'scientific' response based on that time's chronicles and those subsequently written. Before catching up with the "Ottoman studies" of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, a Romanian intellectual of Albanian origin, Elena Gjika (alias Dora D'Istria) had undertaken the first experiment in the field of Ottoman studies (Egro, 2007, p. 38). The Pashalik of Iskodra was her subject of study (1868).

As mentioned above, Albanian history of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was considered by Albanian nationalists as a means of promoting national identity and in this context as an opportunity to reveal their political views. This form of writing, which evoked feelings of the past and was a good way to spread political ideas and attitudes, was considered as encyclopaedic in nature. The first Albanian authors to explore this genre were Pashko Vasa and Sami Frashëri. As individuals who were part of the provincial elite, both Ottoman Christian and Muslim, these two had personalities that were shaped by Albanian and Ottoman politics and culture, and at the same time were quite influenced by French work and culture as well (Egro, 2007, p. 40-41). Even though these two authors were key and were one of the forefronts in the making and writing of history at that time, despite of that they couldn't escape from the methodology that was dominant at that time. Their works are not based on historical sources, but more so on their intellect, knowledge and personal opinions.

### **3.2.HISTORY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CREATING THE NATIONAL IDENTITY**

In 19<sup>th</sup> century in Europe, teaching history became a powerful tool to create and strengthen the national identity of European nations. This way, nationalism and

history writing were closely related to one another (Ersanlı-Behar, 1996, p. 104). Even though at a later time, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Albanians similarly started using history as a promoter of national identity. According to Egro (2007, p. 62), "we can certainly say that Albanian historiography of this period idealized the historical past and its great figures to strengthen national consciousness. On the other hand, the historical literature rhetoric fulfilled a certain political mission, but judged from the nationalist point of view it was a patriotic mission". One of the most important figures of that time; Pashko Vasa in his book "Albania and Albanians", states that the Ottoman Empire provided an equal status for both Albanian Muslims and Christians (Vasa, 1935, p. 58). However, Albanian Muslims often solicited the aid of outside (so-called Christian) powers as much as Catholic Albanians were comfortable operating within the Ottoman Empire (Blumi, 2008, p.8).

Pashko Vasa justifies the Albanians massive conversion in Islam with the opportunities that the Ottoman State provided for the ones converting to Muslims. According to him, the Albanians did not lose anything of their military nature by becoming an active part of the Ottoman society. But the other Balkan nations that did not change their religions "silently accepted the conditions of the defeated and were ready to live in a humble condition" (Vasa, 1935, p. 58). The author's idea that the Albanians in the late 1870s, instead of independence should have sought autonomy (Vasa, 1935), is the reason why this work was transformed into the main ideological document that accompanied the Albanian League of Prizren (Egro, 2007, p. 42). The League strengthened the Albanians' national unity despite their various religious affiliations. It is no coincidence that during these years, the well-known activist and intellectual Pashko Vasa came up with the famous unifying phrase "Albanism is the Albanians' religion" (Duka, 2009, p. 405).

Sami Frashëri's book "Albania what it was, what it is and what it will be like" is an encyclopaedic work of great value for the time it was written. It can be considered

as one of the first contributions made to the field of history, and also as one of the first complete submissions of Albanian history (Egro, 2007, p. 42). Frasheri thinks that “Albanians were under the Ottoman occupation but they were not their captives” (Frashëri, 1899, p. 22). According to him, the Ottoman Empire was good at its beginnings and bad at the end of its history, during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Of course, books of that time were not based on the use of historical documentation, but on the author's intellectual level and personal opinions. For this reason, this period's history writers should also be considered as powerful promoters of Albanian nationalism. This period's historians were the greatest historical subjects and personalities that inspired national identity feelings.

Since Catholic clerics, who wrote history from a faith and nationalism perspective, are the ones who have mostly dealt with the Ottoman period of the Albanian nationalist history – with a small number of exceptions –it is quite clear that their dedication did not allow them to objectively judge this period. According to them, the Ottoman State was organized in a primitive way and was unable to offer any solutions to such major problems such as dealing with people of different religions, races and languages (Egro, 2007, p. 135). On the other hand, Muslim authors' writings are quite different on this matter. As they shared the same religion and cultural background with the rulers, they were completely part of the Ottoman State structures, so it is quite normal that they described the Albanian history of the Ottoman period in a different way (Egro, 2007, p. 137). According to Vlora (p. 11), “the Ottoman rule was not of colonial, cultural or religious nature, but just of conquering and military nature”.

### **3.3.PERIODIZATION OF ALBANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY ON OTTOMAN PERIOD**

In order to follow the progress of Ottoman Studies in the Albanian historiography, focusing on the most important historical events and changes of systems on an

ideological basis, the Albanian historiography dedicated to the Ottoman period can be divided into three major phases:

1. The post-independence period, 1912 – 1945
2. The communist period, 1945 – 1990
3. The post-communist/democratic period, from 1990

The most important historical event of 1912 (Albanian Independence), from where the first period starts, certainly does not represent the beginning of the historical writings of the Ottoman period. However, while this thesis is based on the analysis of the books' sources, only the books published in the first quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century will be considered. The earlier writings were considered as pre-scientific, because it was the time when it was written just by prejudging what had happened in the past and that books were written without referring to the historical documents and sources (Egro, 2007, p. 199).

Though Albanian intellectuals have started contributing in the field of Ottoman Studies, starting from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the genesis of Albanian scientific historiography dates much earlier. As mentioned above, the "Historiographical Treaty" written by the Albanian Catholic priest Frank Bardhi (1636) is the predecessor of modern historiography and the first "scientific" replica based on chronicles of that time and those written later. However, this historical literature, with few exceptions, was not based on archival documents and sources collected from libraries, but on the narrator's style and personal opinion exposure (Egro, 2007, p. 64).



### **3.3.1. The post-independence period 1912–1945: History writing as a tool of strengthening the element of the state**

History writing during the period following the declaration of the Albanian independence mainly intended to unite the Albanian people without differences of religion and ideas and continue to carry out a patriotic mission in terms of efforts to secure the survival of the fragile Albanian state (Egro, 2007, p. 60). Similar examples were presented by Fan S. Noli (1921), N. Nikaj (1917), K. Çerkezi (1921), whose writings were mostly focused on the popular resistance against the Ottomans and the enlightenment of some important national personalities. Under these circumstances, it was quite natural that the historiography of the 1910-1920 period had patriotic features and assumed a dual function: to address both the internal and external audience. In other words, history should be used as a spiritual/ideological tool in the Albanians' internal organization path, and on the other hand, history should be used to make Albania and Albanians internationally known with the intent to counter the plans for eventual fragmentation of the Albanian territories designed by the Great Powers, as well as to politically influence the international decision-making circles. (Egro, 2007, p. 60).

The researcher Dritan Egro (2007, p. 62) argues that to strengthen the national consciousness, the Albanian historiography of this period idealizes the historical past and its great personalities. With few exceptions (Xh. Korça, A. Gegaj, F. S. Noli), Albanian historiography until 1945 was not professional at all, instead, it was the product of the passionate and nationalist intellectuals. In other words, history writing during this time was mostly perceived as a kind of evocative literature and not as a scientific discipline based on a certain methodology. In this regard, out of 130 books included in this research, only 4 of them have been published during this period.

Until the end of World War II, this type of writing continued to be the main measure of historical recordings, not only in Albania but in all Balkan countries (Soulis, 1974: 422). However, nowadays we still appreciate this work and their authors, although they are modest and unprofessional, without their contribution during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century we would not have been able to settle the foundation for Albanian critical historiography.

### **3.3.2. The communist period 1945 – 1990; Marxist-Leninist approach**

During the communist period, the subject of Ottoman Studies began to focus on all its aspects. For the first time in Albanian historiography on Ottoman Studies, topics such as the nature of the Ottoman Empire, the kind of regime the Ottomans brought to Albania, the problems of property relations, urbanization during the Ottoman period, the early forms of capitalism, and even many serious study topics started to be taken into consideration. Dealing with such topics that concerned the main social and economic structures, marked an achievement we owe to the historiography of the Communist era (Egro, 2007, p. 105). After 1945, Albania joined the camp of the communist countries. Already present in this country, the Marxist methodology and the directives given by Enver Hoxha, who created an absolute dominance - without any alternative, the pluralistic and alternative views was replaced by a single ideological and methodological approach.

The saying of Enver Hoxha– the Albanian people have broken the way of history with the sword in their hands – as well as other directives that he frequently gave to historians were more than enough to be declared 'a great historian' and, at the same time, would serve as the starting point of any writing or approach to historiography of the Communist Period. This statement even 'embellishes' the first page of the History of Albania text book, the 1959 edition (Egro, 2007, p. 98).

We can also mention that sometimes writing a historical text was the job of a political party and it usually went through the control filters of its instances (Pollo, Buda, 1957, p. 95). As a result, historiography of this period was entirely focused on clearly reflecting the ideology, interests and intentions of the communist regime. Bernd Jürgen Fischer (1999) stated that Stalinist Albania produced good historians, though not always good history. It's also important to mention the fact that when we talk about the methodology applied in Albanian historiography during the Communist period, not only was it characterized by the fundamental principles of Marxist theory, but also by the fact that these principles-theories of theoretical doctrine of Marxism-Leninism became determinative, even exceeded the goals of the normal, being fetishized. In other words, these theses, which gradually became dogma, were considered the only theoretical alternative to be applied in analysing historical events and phenomena.

The pressure of the party and state in general was embedded in censorship, which means that the scholars created the reflection of 'maximum care', forced to be within the ideological frameworks of the time. The consequences were more than one might think, because *censorship* aroused the reflective *auto censure* sense of the researchers (Egro, 2007, p. 98). This fact is an indirect indicator of the degree of severity of the communist dictatorship in Albania, as this has not happened in neighbouring communist countries. For example, despite the application of the Marxist formula in Yugoslavian historiography, Yugoslavian historians preserved and even submitted their views against Marxism (Vucinich, 1955, p. 287).

In the Albanian Encyclopaedic Dictionary (1935) written by S. Pollo, the term "Historiography" is displayed as a profoundly ideological notion. The publication in Albanian language of the classics from Marxism-Leninism and the publishing of the political materials of the Labor Party, its history and Enver Hoxha's books are presented as an important achievement of Albanian historiography during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Egro, 2007, p.21). In this regard, Gazmend

Shpuza, in the article "About the National Renaissance Treatment in our Historical Literature" (Shpuza, 1970), is very important. In his article, he highlights the fact that the 19<sup>th</sup> century of Albania's history is treated completely separate from the four previous centuries of the Ottoman regime. On the other hand, in his only article dedicated to the Ottoman Studies "Scientific Research of the Ottoman Medieval Period in Albania, XV-XIX", Selami Pulaha made a presentation of the main topics discussed, the basic theses based on Marxist theory and the results achieved in the 1945-1988 time segment (Egro, 2007, p.23). One of the most important elements of this study is the detailed information it provides about the conducted studies and documentary publications published during this period of time.

The Marxist approach had a common point with the approach that dominated this problem in nationalist historiography: treating the Ottoman Empire as a first hand inhibitory factor (Todorova, 1995, p. 117). Nevertheless, both nationalist and Marxist historians shared the same view of the perception of the Ottoman Empire as a symbol of darkness in Albanian history. According to D. Egro (2007, p. 106), such a unique attitude had two reasons:

The Ottoman Empire was held responsible for interrupting the random economic, social and political developments of the Balkan lands after the Balkan invasion in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and

With its long, five-century invasion, held Albania in a full darkness by stopping progress.

However, it should be noted that over the years, it was the communist historiography's merit that the Ottoman period was treated in all its dimensions. Of the total number of books included in this research, 74 or 41.53% of them are published in this timeframe. Another important point – that we will discuss in the

fourth chapter –is the fact that historians belonging to this period occupy an important place in the social network analysis.

### **3.3.2.1. Creation of the Institute of History**

The Institute of Sciences was created in 1947. It was inside the structures of this institute that the seed of historical studies was planted. In 1955 the Institute of History and Linguistics was created, whilst in 1972, with the separation of the Institute of History, the most important and specialized center in the field of historical studies was born in Albania (Egro, 2007, p. 88).

The main objective of the History Department at the Institute of Sciences was to shed light upon all the aspects of Albanian history, but according to a defined scientific methodology – that being the Marxist-Leninist methodology. In this context, to publish the best achievements of Albanian science, in 1947 for the first time the 'Social Sciences Bulletin' journal was published. Since 1964, the Institute of History started publishing the 'Historical Studies' journal, which was considered as the official body of historiography of the Albanian communist state (Egro, 2007, p. 88). Even nowadays this journal continues to be the most professional periodical that publishes the best Albanian achievements in the field of historical studies. Such a feature has also been noticed in the analysis of the social network of historians who have written during this time. Most of the articles cited in the bibliographies of the books included in this study are published in the 'Historical Studies' journal.

The absence of the Ottomanologists was one of the problems Albanian historiography of that time was facing. The communist state did not do enough to prepare new experts in this area. Until the 1980s Ottoman studies in Albania were mostly conducted on individual basis. Vexhi Buharaja and Myqerem Janina contributed considerably to this matter (Egro, 2007, p. 107). Even nowadays

Albania lacks textbooks (methods, grammars) for teaching the Ottoman language; meanwhile in Kosovo, thanks to the work done by the Orientalism Department of the University of Pristina, a few steps have been taken to come up with methods for teaching Ottoman, Arabic and the modern Turkish language.

In Kosovo, orientalist Hasan Kaleshi's profile comes to prominence. Due to his Muslim religious circles background and his solid madrassa education, he had a quite good knowledge of Arabic and Ottoman language. During the academic year 1973-1974, Hasan Kaleshi founded the Orientalism Department, at the University of Pristina, which continues its activity (Sadiku, 1996). Even nowadays, the number of Albanian Ottomanologists internationally known and acknowledged is quite limited. One of the most representative figures of the Albanian Ottoman Studies of the communist period, Selami Pulaha, is one of the few Albanian Ottomanologists with direct international interests. He made great efforts to make Albanian achievements and the documented values that Albania possesses known abroad (Pulaha, 1988). Even though Pulaha did not dare to go beyond that time's ideological limitations, his book on feudal presence in Albanian lands during the 15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (Pulaha, 1988)<sup>1</sup> is the most typical example that he was one of the few Albanian scholars who tried to make science within the ruthless framework of formal methodology (Egro, 2007, p. 110).

### **3.3.3. The post-communist period 1990**

Albania transformed from the communist system to the democratic one in 1990, and the change of the political system had its consequences in the field of history as well. Since that time, Albanian scholars have abandoned the Marxist methodology schemes, which especially in communist Albania were widely applied.

It is already a known fact that since the early '90s, the Albanian books' market has been "drowned" by the history books, which at first sight seems like a positive

development. This market has been filled by books of Albanian history, written by Albanians and foreign authors, who until the early '90s were banned to be published in Albania. (Egro, 2007, p. 121). This incredible speed in the writing of history carries the risk of these works becoming compilations, plagiarism of other works and rhetoric instead of scientific works. Pirraku (2004) says that after Kosovo was "reoccupied" by Serbo-Yugoslavia in March 1989 and the dissolution of the state of Albania in 1990, this resulted in a real chaos in the field of Albanian historiography in general. He adds that the ultimate overthrow of institutional scientific censorship in this knowledge for more than ten years overcame most of the consolidated national values in Albanian historiography and highlighted other values.

Some of the historians, unprepared for this huge turn, fell under the influence of different political power and orientations and became editors and reviewers of unilateral works and studies. There were even those (from the communist era) who themselves embraced such approaches, completely ignoring all historiographic achievements, forgetting what they themselves had written until then... (Hoti, 2003, 273). The transition in the field of historical studies will take time, as it is about changing mentalities, formations and interests.

Similarly today, Ottoman Studies makes no exception. The number of studies, the quality of the studies, and the number of specialists has significantly decreased. Albanian historiography today is still not capable of systematically producing genuine scientific works in the field of Ottoman Studies. Nowadays the main concern is to find researchers who will be able to cover the issues of the Ottoman period. (Egro, 2007, p. 129). Certainly, such a situation has paved the way for many implausible voices to rise, even for issues that are really quite complicated and require a very good knowledge of contemporary documentation.

The way the Albanian historians approach Ottoman history is largely the form of isolated treatment by looking at the historical phenomenon only from the inner perspective. In this situation it cannot be expected that an Albanian Ottoman specialist would successfully write about the Ottoman period of Albania's history without recognizing the history of the Ottoman Empire and consequently of other parts of the empire. (Egro, 2007, p. 129) The attempt of a Western historian to understand and interpret within the general history of mankind, the history of Western civilization, of a Muslim historian that of Muslim civilization and of an Indian historian of Indian civilization, even the paradox of "the scientist of social sciences living within its epitome" (Huxley, 1947, p. 112) as defined by Julian Huxley, Johan (1964) who points out the obligation to behave as a scientist despite the impossibility of historical objectivity, constitutes the greatest challenge of the modern historian (Davutoğlu, 2016, p. 72).

After the political system changed in 1990, the scholar Kristo Frasheri was the first one to give a general overview of Albanian historiography (Frasheri, 1995). Though his paper has the form of a short publication in only few pages, the author offers a very detailed information on the works produced in different periods of the Albania's history (Egro, 2007, p. 21-22). It is well known that the entire Albanian nation was subordinated for centuries, so the historical thought of Albanian historiography depended on many of these circumstances. Each effort made to enlighten the past strengthened the goal of achieving national freedom and was regarded as a patriotic act, thus they rarely were controversy, discrepancy and criticism of historical nature (Hoti, 2003, p. 226-27). We now enjoy the diversity of thought and history writing, but the scientific level of the writings is extremely debatable. The analysis made in this research clearly shows this. Even though the greatest number of books involved in the research belongs to the post-communist period (72 or 55.38%), the works and authors of the communist period appear as the most cited.



#### 4. CHAPTER: APPLICATION OF SNA ON OTTOMAN STUDIES

The findings in the study are based on the data obtained from the books included in this research. From 130 books, more than 7800 citations were analysed. Network centrality concept is applied to find the most cited authors in Albanian Historiography on Ottoman period by using social network analysis. Network centrality measures the authors' structural importance (Borgatti, 2006, p.28) and indicates which authors can be regarded as central inside the network. To find the most prominent authors in Albanian Historiography on Ottoman period, the analysis will be based on the most used centralities; Eigenvector Centrality, Betweenness Centrality and Closeness Centrality. In order to find the most influential authors in Albanian Historiography on Ottoman period, the eigenvector centrality is the main degree centrality used in this study. In the second chapter different definitions were given from different scholars, regarding the role of each of these centralities. In the beginning of this chapter some short definitions are given again. According to Krebs (2001), each network centrality measures can be described as:

- **Eigenvector** – measure of importance – *A node is important if other important nodes are linked to it.*
- **Betweenness** – is a metric that looks at the number of shortest paths that pass through a node
- **Closeness** – measure of access – how quickly a node can access all other nodes via a minimum of hops.

The authors, who have higher Degree in Eigenvector Centrality measure, are potentially considered as those who would be the most cited authors in Albanian Historiography on Ottoman period. In this regard, the authors distinguished using the above-described sociograms, will be evaluated based on the citations they have made and citations of them by other authors.

#### 4.1. DATA ANALYSIS

As in many other fields, the social network analysis method is also being successfully applied in the field of historical research as well. However, the main objective in developing this method is not to solve historical problems; because especially in the analysis of dynamic historical processes, this method is insufficient (Acun, 2015a, p.11). The findings in this study are based on the bibliographic records of historical studies for the Ottoman Period. This bibliographic collection belongs to the publications made by both local and international authors about the Ottoman period in Albanian lands within the time frame of around a century. The bibliographies described in the last part of almost most of publications - or in form of references - especially books published from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, are entered into a database titled [kaynakca.info](http://kaynakca.info) in a standard bibliographical form (author/authors name, books title, publication year and place, respective field, period etc.).

The number of publications uploaded in the database (including the existing ones) is over 4300, while it is already mentioned that the number of the citations made is about 7800. A profile page was created at [kaynakca.info](http://kaynakca.info) for each author involved in this research (such an example is provided in fig. 6). For authors who take central places on any of the network centralities, additional data has been added to their profiles, such as their biography, profile photos, most of their publications etc.

The image shows the profile page of Kristo Frashëri on the Kaynakça.info website. The page features a navigation bar at the top with the site logo and search bar. Below the navigation bar, there is a user profile for Ekrem Zajmi, followed by a profile for Kristo Frashëri. The profile for Kristo Frashëri includes a bio, a list of books, and a 'Birleştir' button. The books listed are 'SKENDERBEU dhe lufta shqiptaro-turke në shek. XV', 'Shpallja e Pavarësisë së Shqipërisë (28 Nëntor 1912)', and 'Historia e Popullit Shqiptar II RILINDJA KOMBËTARE - VITET 30 TË SHEK. XIX - 1912'.

**Figure 6.** Kristo Frashëri, Profile page (resume part)

The above-mentioned and many other features as well, are characteristics of the page kaynakca.info. This system has been developed in order to prepare, manage and analyse comprehensive bibliographic citation indexes of social science publications made about Turkey (Acun, 2015a, p.2).

#### 4.1.1. Data Analysis in Eigenvector, Betweenness and Closeness Centrality

The main purpose of data analyses in various social network applications is to find out the most prominent actors in the network. Scholars consider a network node (an actor) to be a prominent one, which assigns higher ranks to nodes that are either well-connected themselves, or that are connected to other well-connected nodes (Bonacich, 1991, p.158). The popularity or importance of a node is

expressed by its centrality. Another interpretation of the centrality in this case is from Freeman (1979, p.218) “A person located in the center of a star is universally assumed to be structurally more central than any other person in any other position in any other network of similar size”. Based on the idea that a historian is more central if it is in relation with historians that are themselves central, it can be argued that the centrality of some node does not only depend on the number of its adjacent nodes but also on their value of centrality. In this network being a central author (Eigenvector Centrality) means that this historian has collaborated with many other significant writers. Whether it is in the past or present, by examining connections in a social network of scientific interactions, it is possible to observe the historical and sociological processes related to the creation of scientific identities, and to identify the most cited and influential persons and the owners of the highest social capital using the centrality measure provided by the method of social network analysis (Acun, 2015b, p.71).

Ramazan Acun (2015a) explains the great number of nodes – respectively the authors - and the connections between them in a complex social network as introduced in fig. 7, through the “Bulutusu” – Nebula example. As it is known, in the galaxy the so-called Nebula is formed by the attraction force of gases, dust and



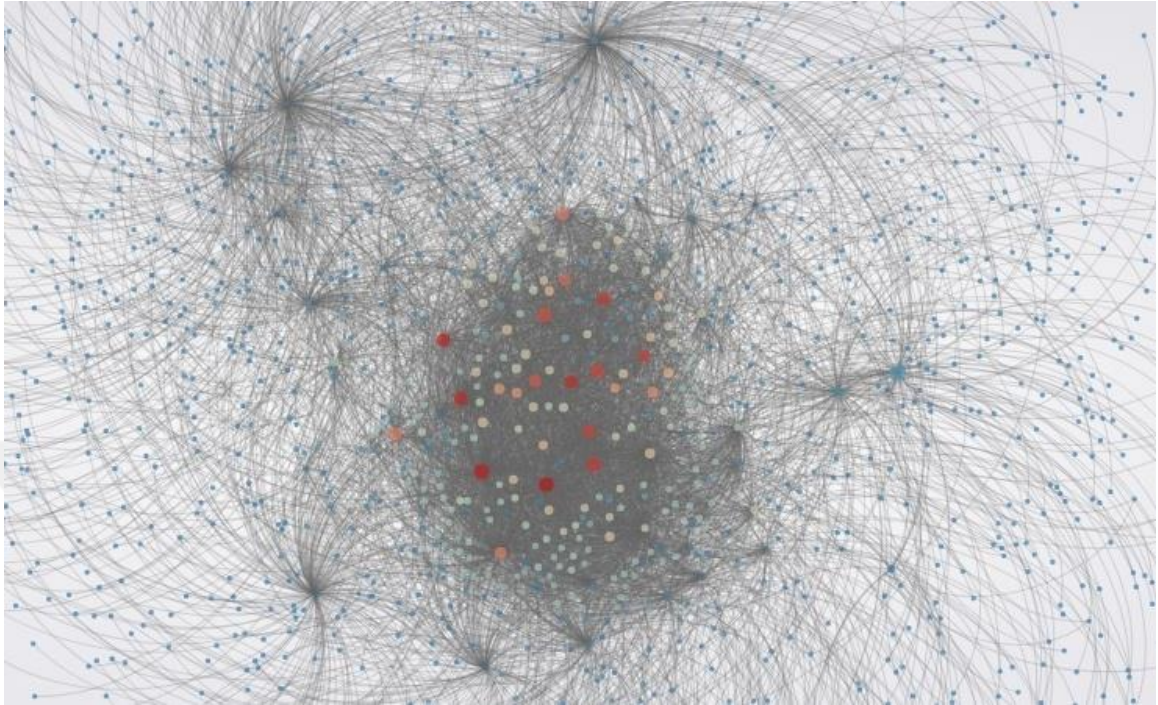
**Figure 7.** History “Bulutusu” - Nebula; A complex network example (left) and the resemblance to Nebula (right)

other matter-based mass that drags in bigger masses to create magnetic fields. These masses continue to grow and finally stars are created (Acun, 2015a, p.11).

To simplify the complexity of these sociograms and to enable their analysis in different perspectives, two types of classifications have been made:

- According to the publication period of the books used in this thesis; (post-independence period 1912 – 1945, the communist period 1945 – 1990 and the post-communist/democratic period 1990 – 2015).
- According to the authors' nationalities (Albanian and international historians)

Fig. 8 measured in Eigenvector Centrality, represents the connection between authors (Albanian and international) through citations. From this picture, a large number of nodes can be distinguished, each node represents an author and each vector represents the connections between them by citations (citing or being cited). In this way, there are in total more than 7800 connections between nodes. The writer included in the network because of a reference he made, if the relations among references increase in number and variety, the gravitational force increases and its point (mass) grows. This way the gravitational force increases more (the citations multiply), the network proceeds towards the center and gains the shape of a "star". (Acun, 2015a, p.11)



**Figure 8.** This figure has been drawn up according to Eigenvector Centrality - 18.02.18

In figure 8, different sized and colored nodes are noticed. Each node represents an author. Colors and sizes represent their importance and ranking inside the network; as the number of citations increases, the size also does. Colors changing from blue to red indicate increasing value of the actor in network. The multiple references received are the indication that the node (author) is an authority (master). According to the definition, master is a person who makes studies of key importance that will later provide groundwork for new researchers (Acun, 2015a, p.6).

Referring to the above definitions, in this sociogram drawn according to the Eigenvector Centrality we can tell apart the most cited authors (Red dots). Figuratively speaking, according to Acun (2015a) these writers are the stars distinguished in the middle of "Bulutsu" from the others because of their size and red color. While the system is running, it is possible to enlarge the "*Bulutsu*", focus

on certain areas, click on the nodes and see who the authors represented by points are, follow the links etc.

#### **4.2. THE SIGNIFICANT ALBANIAN HISTORIANS BASED ON DEGREE CENTRALITIES**

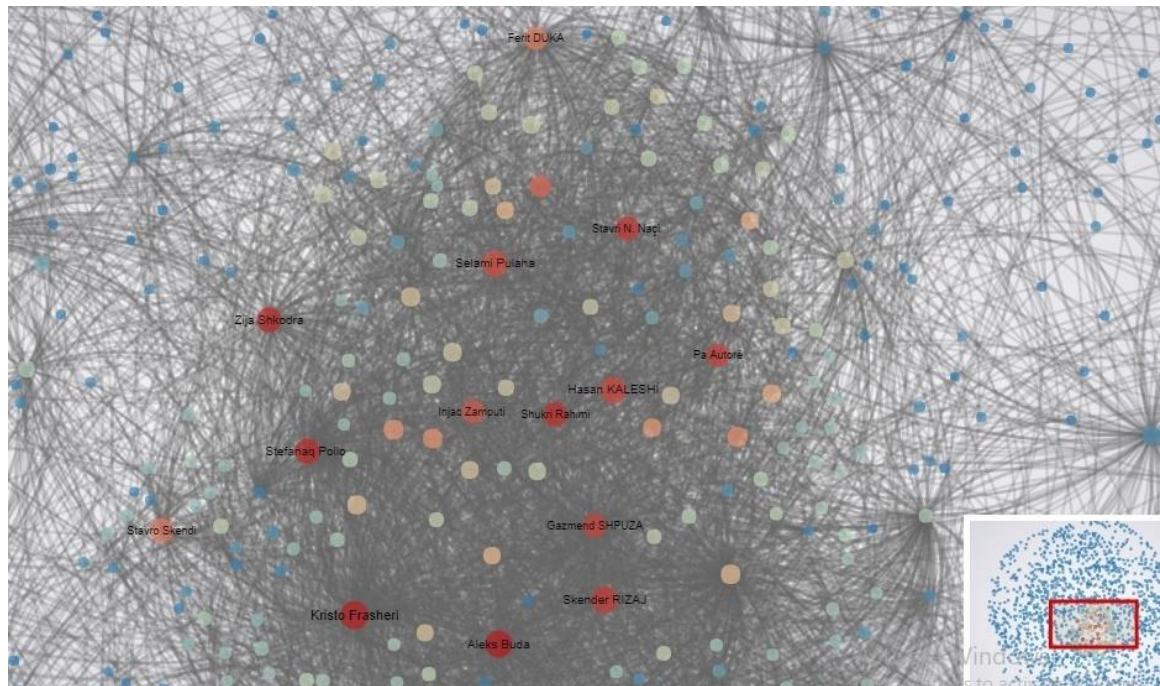
In the second chapter, we mostly focused on the sociograms complexity and their explanation. If we take a closer look at figure 9, historians who have taken a central place in the citation network can be noticed. If we start up with the orange and mid-sized nodes, and proceed to the red nodes of maximum size, we will be able to create a list of historians ranked according to the number of citations made to them.

In the figure 9, it is possible to see the analysis of the social network measured in Eigenvector centrality. As described above, in social network analysis, the measure of eigenvector centrality gives the numbers of direct ties of every node has with other significant nodes. The node whose eigenvector centrality is the highest is interpreted as the most active and the most prominent member of the network. Based on this analysis, the node with the highest eigenvector centrality belongs to Kristo Frashëri with degree centrality 54. He leads the list of Albanian historians who wrote about the Ottoman period in Albanian lands. With only 3 citations less (51) Alex Buda is the next one on the list, followed by Hasan Kaleshi with cited degree 49. The other prominent nodes (up to degree centrality 40) are listed in table 4.

**Table 4.** The ranking list of prominent Albanian historians based on Eigenvector Centrality

Author	Degree centrality	Author	Degree centrality
Kristo Frashëri	54	Stefanaq Pollo	45
Aleks Buda	51	Shukri Rrahimi	43
Hasan Kaleshi	49	Stavro Skendi	43
Skendet Riza	48	Stavri N. Naçi	42
Selami Pulaha	47	Gazmend Shpuza	41
Zija Shkodra	45	Ferid Duka	40

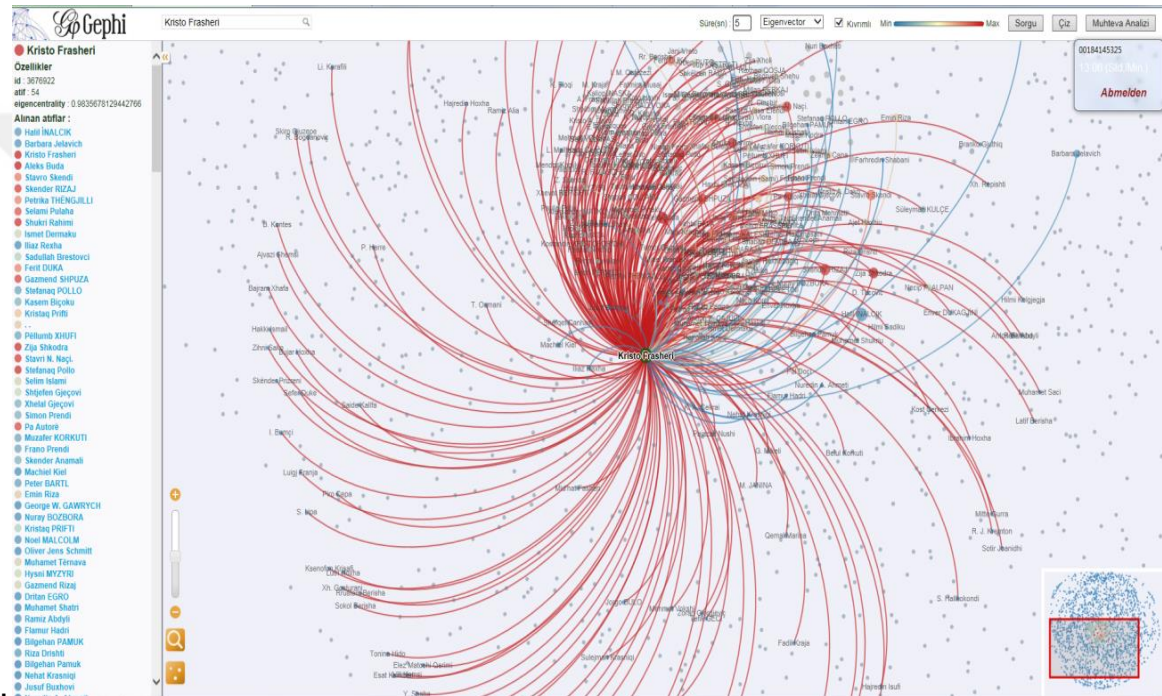
Table 4 shows the list of historians ranked based on eigenvector centrality. These authors are the most profusely cited source in the Ottoman studies for the mentioned period. Based on the idea that an actor is more central if it is in relation with actors that are themselves central, we can argue that the centrality of some nodes does not only depend on the number of its adjacent nodes but also on their value of centrality. In this network, being a central author means that this historian has collaborated with many other significant historians.





**Figure 9.** Eigenvector Centrality from a nearly point of view

Historians who occupy a central position in the sociogram based on the eigenvector centrality are historians who have also been cited by others. Thus, with intensive references to these masters, Frashëri turns out to be one solid information source for others.

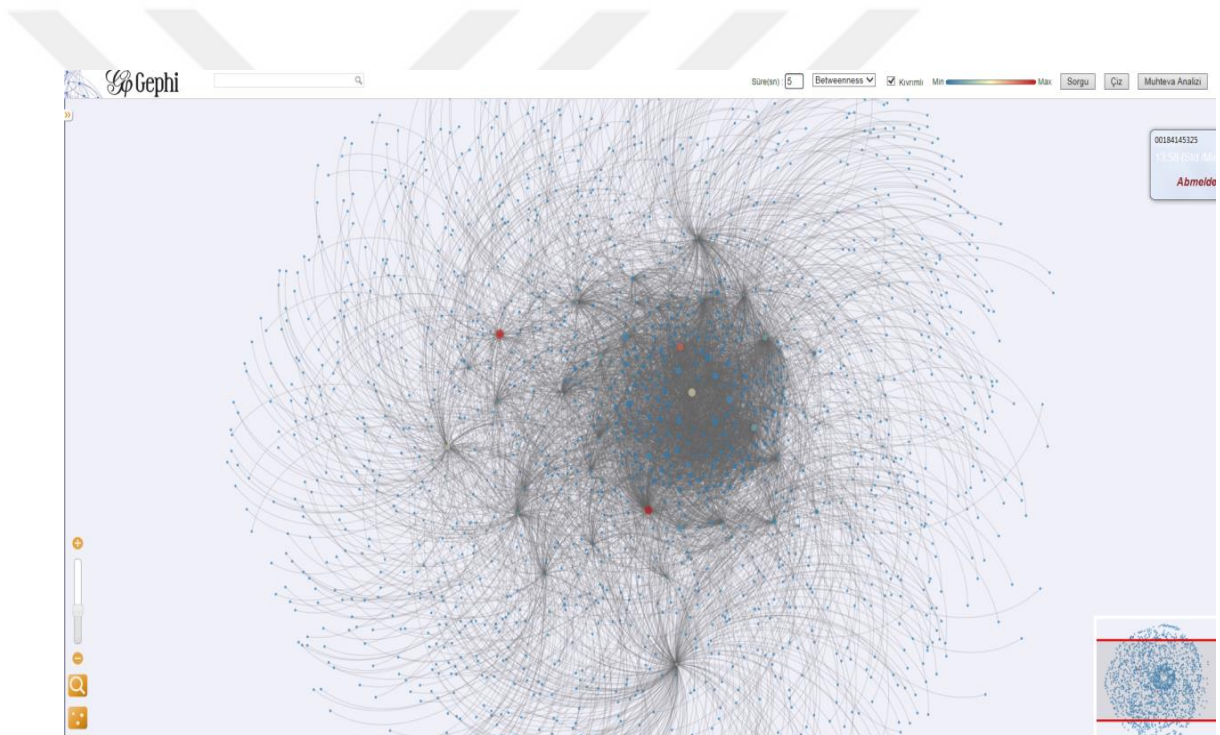


**Figure10.**Kristo Frashëri; the central position in eigenvector centrality

The number of authors, which refers to the historian Kristo Frashëri, is visually illustrated in figure 10. The red lines represent the citations made to Kristo Frashëri, while the blue ones show the citations he has made. Since it is impossible to distinguish from the figure the names of all actors who are in collaboration with Frashëri, names of these actors will be listed in Appendix B. The lateral nodes seen in figure 11 are the isolated nodes and their eigenvector centrality measurement is zero. It should be emphasized that this network does not indicate all of these authors' connections – in general in their academic activity - it

only points out the links between the historians who wrote about different topics related to the Ottoman period in Albanian Historiography.

The same social network was analysed by the measure of betweenness centrality. Betweenness measures who takes the role of a bridge in or between groups (White & Borgatti, 1994, p.338). In other words, the measure of betweenness centrality shows how much a node is connected with other nodes, which are not directly connected with each other.

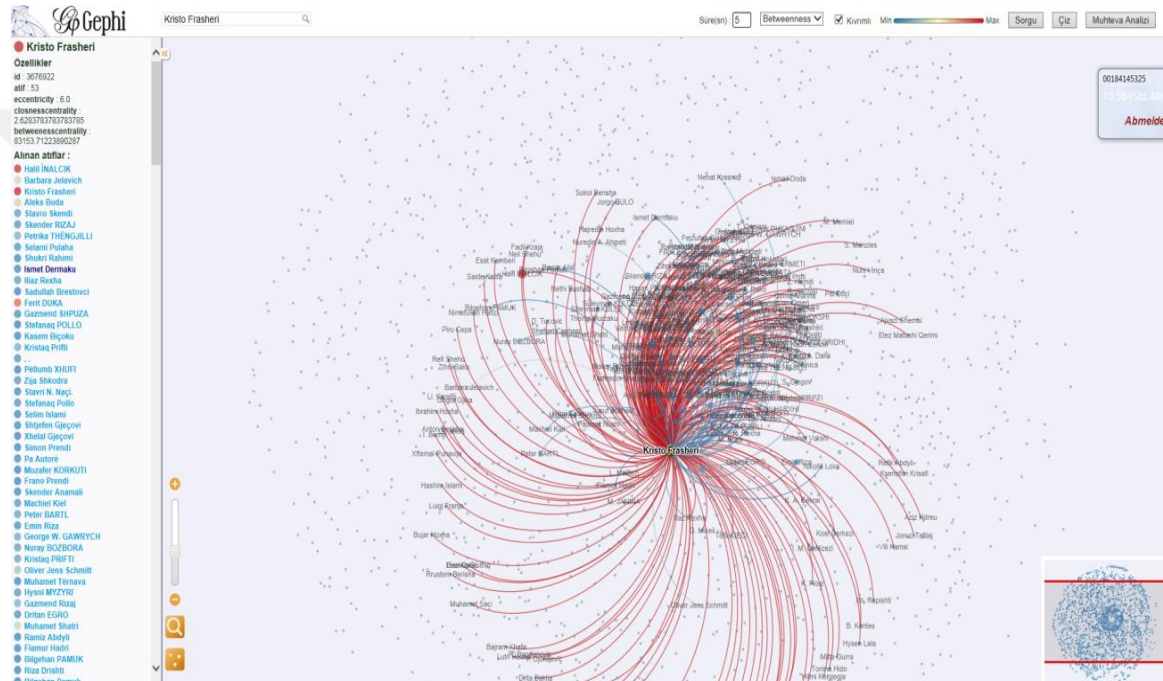


**Figure 11.** This figure has been drawn up according to Betweenness Centrality - 18.02.18

The chart in figure 11 shows that according to the citations based ranking<sup>1</sup> the world renown historian Halil Inalcik is the first in line with degree centrality 61.

<sup>1</sup>Halil Inalcik is included in this social network analysis with his three scientific works *about Albanians in Ottoman Period "Arnavutluk'ta Osmanlı Hakimiyyetinin Yerleşmesi ve Iskender Bey İsyanının Menşei", "Iskender Bey (Ö 872/1468), İslam Ansiklopedisi 1079-1082"* and *"Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid"*. Most of the citations are not to the articles that we have included to this thesis research. Most of the authors are from non-Albanian historians who do not deal with Albanian historiography.

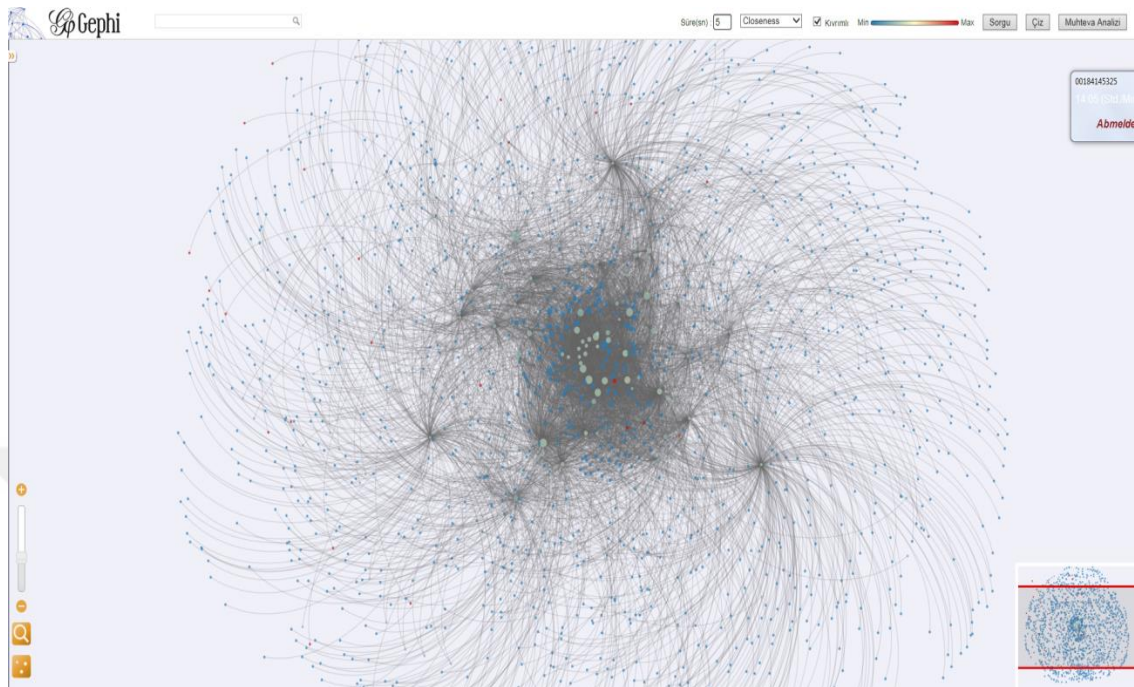
Because of technical issues – explained in footnote 1 – Kristo Frashëri also occupies the central place in the betweenness centrality with degree centrality 54. The other most prominent nodes according to the measure of betweenness are; Ferid Duka, Aleks Buda, Barbara Jelavich, Noel MALCOLM, Oliver Jens Schmitt etc. Another noteworthy point is that in the sociogram, some international historians whose names are very significant to Albanian Historiography have shown up.



**Figure 12.** Clicking to the node which has the highest connection rate in Betweenness Centrality

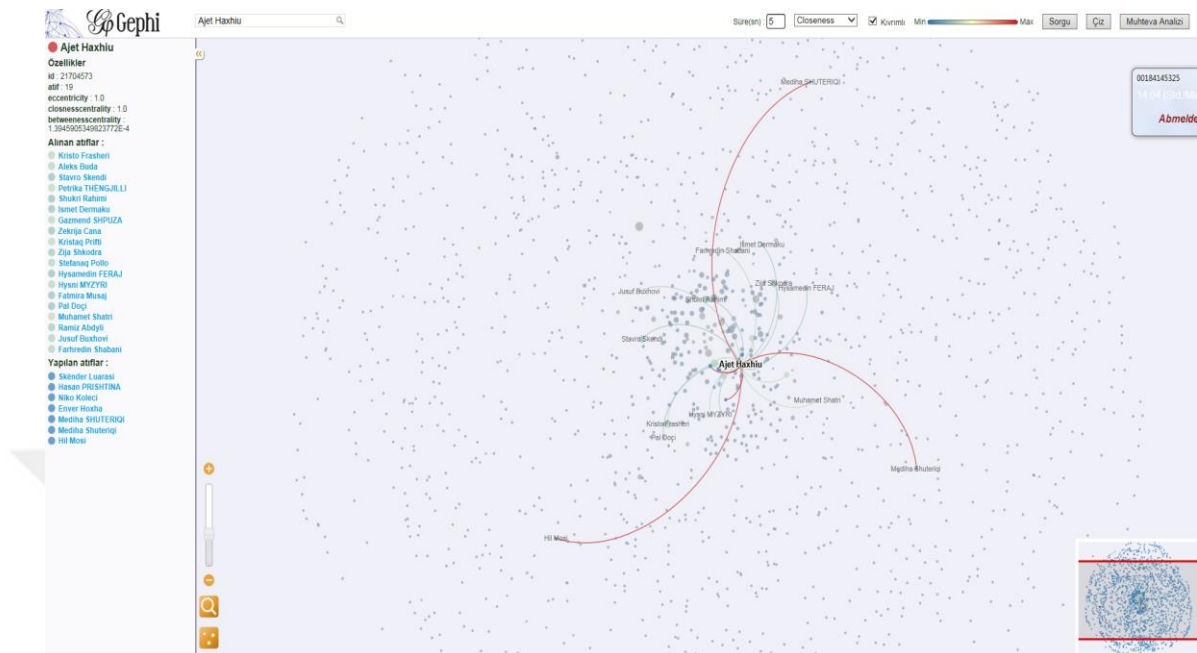
Kristo Frashëri in this case plays the role of a bridge between groups in figure 12 and is the gateway of new information for the groups. Practically and strategically, Kristo Frashëri can control communication between groups in figure 12.

Even though figure 12 (Betweenness Centrality) appears to be similar to figure 10 (Eigenvector Centrality), in this case, Kristo Frashëri is associated with a group of authors who consider him a communication line between them.



**Figure 13.** This figure has been drawn up according to Closeness Centrality - 18.02.18

Third, closeness measures how an individual is directly or indirectly near to other people in a network. Graphically, the individual with higher closeness value is the one who has the shortest path to all group members. For instance, in Figure 13, Kristo Frashëri has the most connection in the network in the measure of eigenvector and betweenness centrality. However, while Ajet Haxhiu has less connection than Kristo Frashëri, he has the highest closeness values because he is the author who can access other authors in the network quicker.



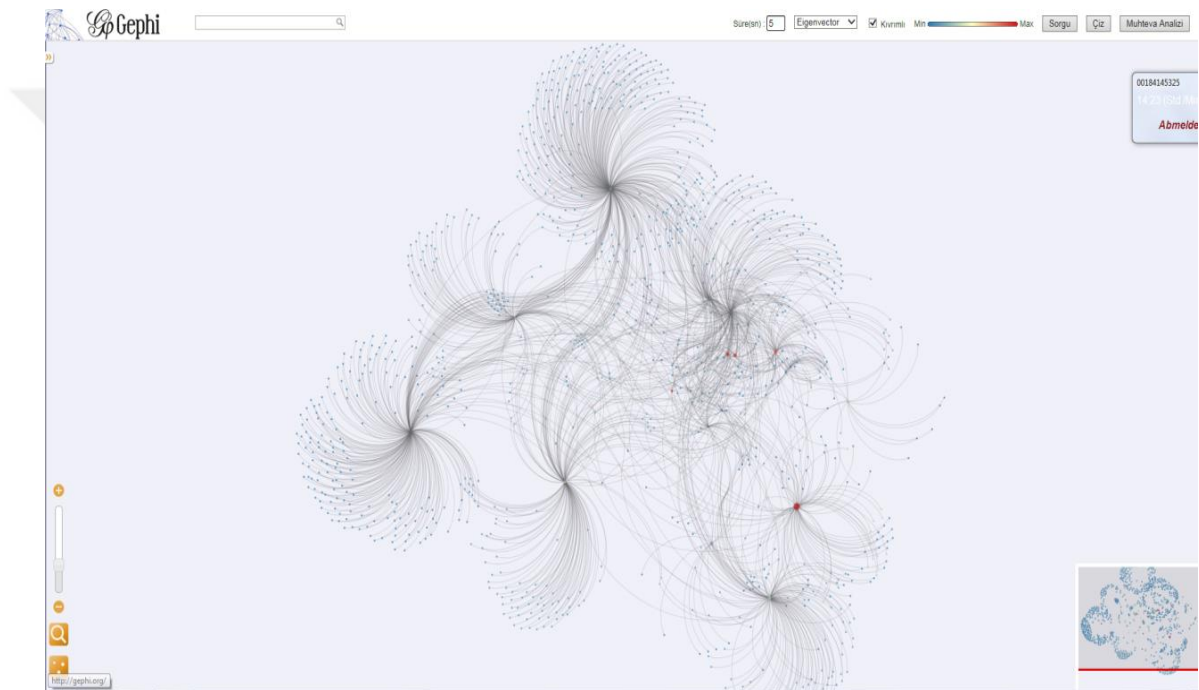
**Figure 14.** Clicking to the node with the highest connection rate in Closeness Centrality

As it is clearly overlooked in figure 14, based on the Closeness Centrality, even though Ajet Haxhiu does not have too many connections, he has short connections to the significant authors of the network such as: Kristo Frashëri, Aleks Buda, Stefanaq Pollo, Stavro Skendi, Shukri Rrahimi, Skender Luarasi, Gazmend Shpuza, Muhamet Shatri, Kristaq Prifti, Petrika Thëngjilli etc.

In this thesis, Eigenvector centrality was used as the main degree centrality to reveal the influential historians about Ottoman period in Albanian Historiography. In order to identify the most prominent authors in different degree centralities, as it has been described earlier, thousands of books and articles related to that period were entered to the [kaynakca.info](http://kaynakca.info). Based on the citations these authors have made about each other, all of their connections were analysed in the measure of Eigenvector Centrality. In this case, Kristo Frashëri is considered as one of the historians who have made a great contribution to the Albanian historiography on Ottoman Period. Over 61 of his publications are uploaded in [kaynakca.info](http://kaynakca.info) database.

### 4.3. INTERNATIONAL AUTHORS IN ALBANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

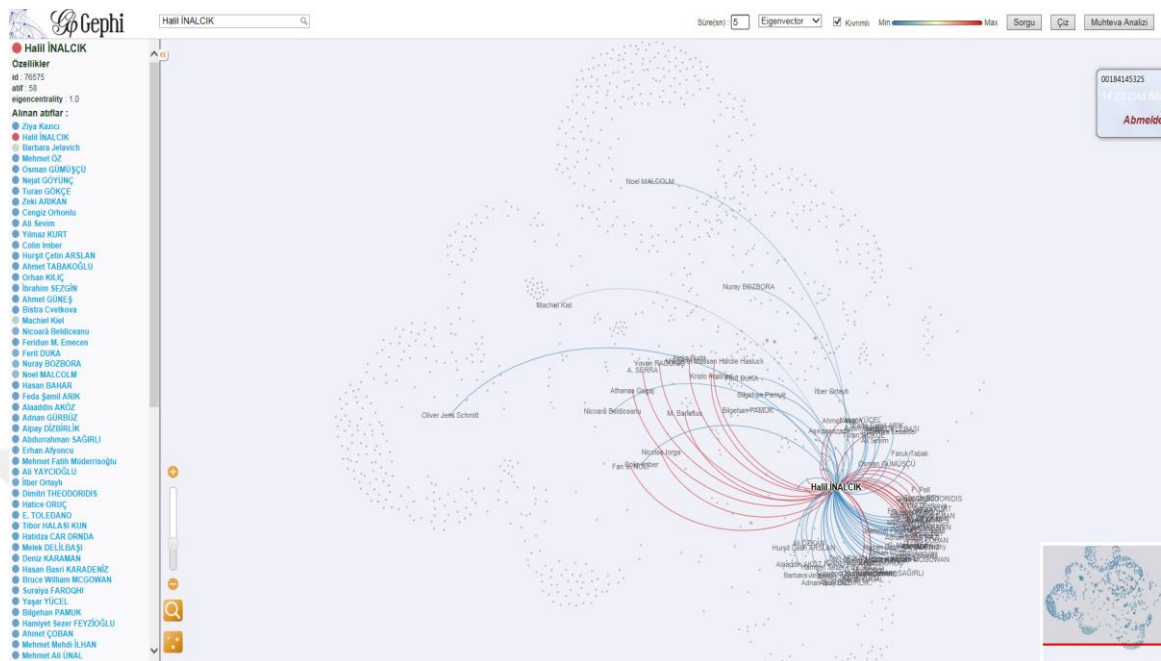
In order to find the most influential international historian who studied and wrote about the Albanian History, social network analysis that included just the international authors has been performed. As previously mentioned, 30 international authors' publications were included in this thesis.



**Figure 15.** The social network of foreign authors based on Eigenvector Centrality

In figure 15, the connections between foreign authors who deal with Albanian history are introduced using references.

The biggest red node at the bottom of the sociogram shown in figure 16, represents the author with the highest citation degree in eigenvector centrality. Eigenvector centrality is the only degree centrality used to find the prominent international author who study and write about the Albanian history.



**Figure 16.** The most prominent international author in eigenvector centrality; Halil İnalçık

According to eigenvector centrality, the international author who is a common denominator of most of the international authors who write about Albanian history is Halil İnalçık, with degree centrality 58. In other words, even though Albanian history is the subject, when it comes to the Ottoman period history at international level Halil İnalçık takes his place in this sociogram. Thus, this proves that İnalçık's "the historians' pole" definition used in modern Turkish historiography is correct and appropriate according to the objective data (Acun, 2015a, p.16).

As it is described above, also in this case the red lines represent the author Halil İnalçık has cited in his publications and the blue lines represent the authors who have cited İnalçık. Figure 16 shows the system's appearance as it is working. As clearly noticed in figure 16, after the Turkish authors, the largest number of authors cited by İnalçık in his three publications that are included in this master thesis, are mainly Albanian historians such as: Kristo Frashëri, Aleks Buda, Fan Noli, Athanas Gegaj etc. A significant number of international historians have cited İnalçık in their publications about Albanian history. Noal Malcolm, Barbara Jelovic, Oliver Jens

Shmitt are among them. After Inalcik, the Turkish historian of Albanian origin Necip P. Alpan occupies an important place in the eigenvector centrality.



**Figure 17.** The reference point for international historians; Kristo Frashëri

As it is already pointed out, the most distinguished international historians according to the measure of eigenvector centrality are presented. The next endeavor is to find the Albanian historian who is most cited by international historians in their work about Albanian history on the Ottoman period. Kristo Frashëri occupies a central place at this level of evaluation as well. He has been cited in the publications of two international authors - Halil Inalcik and Necip P. Alpan – which play an important role in the social network based on eigenvector centrality. In addition, almost all foreign authors discussed throughout this paper cite Frasherri. Frashëri is no longer just the most cited among the local historians, based on this analyses, he also is an important reference point for international historians, such as: Noel Malcolm, Barbara Jelovic, Machiel Kiel, Peter Bartl, Oliver Jens Schmitt, George W. Gawrych etc.



However, we should admit the fact that the international historians have based their publications on the Ottoman period in Albanian lands, much more on their non-Albanian colleagues who write about Albanian history. This important phenomenon in the science of history can bring up a dilemma such as “Is it because the international historians do not believe in the quality of the scientific work of the Albanian historians? Alternatively, perhaps the lack of sufficient publications in foreign languages (English, French, and German) is the main reason why very few scholars have based their work on the Albanian sources!

#### **4.4. NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS BY TIMES: THE MOST CITED PERIOD**

From the beginning, it should be stated that the recognition of the state-forming process' history and the establishment of a regime without political competition (after 1945) are the factors that have played a primary role in determining the Ottoman studies performance and quality and beyond, in shaping the history writing tradition in this part of Southeast Europe (Egro, 2007: 12). Indeed, the periodization of Albanian historiography on ottoman studies is highly related to the country's political stage periods and significantly reflects their features.

As already mentioned above, in this thesis, publications from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have been analysed. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the endnote writing process became a standard of historical research. Since the basis of this paper are the analysis of sources on which historical books have been written, earlier publications have not been considered, not because good work did not exist before, but because references as a standard was not known during that time. Hence, in order to achieve the goals of this thesis, the Albanian history dedicated to Ottoman period is divided in three time segments: post-independence period (1912-1945), communist period (1945-1990), and democratic period (1990-2015).

**Table5.** Number of books included in this study, according to their publication time<sup>2</sup>

Period of publication	Number of Publications	%
<b>1912-1945</b>	4	3.07 %
<b>1945-1990</b>	54	41.53 %
<b>1990-2015</b>	72	55.38 %
<b>Total</b>	130	100 %

Referring to the Table 5, the number of publications included in this research is classified according to their publication times. We can easily notice from this table that the largest number of publications (72 or 55.38%) has been made in recent years, respectively the period after the communist regime in Albania. During the Communist era in Albania, many productive historians extend their academic activity. A total of 54 publications or 41.53% of books included in this study belongs to this time. This period's historians, like Kristo Frashëri, Aleks Buda, Selami Pulaha, Stefanaq Pollo, Gazmend Shpuza etc. occupy a central place in the measure of eigenvector centrality. According to Table 5, from the time of the declaration of independence till the communist takeover, the publications included in this research make up only 4 publications or 3.07%.

#### **4.4.1. The most cited period in ottoman studies**

As mentioned before, there are three main time periods in Albania's history of the Ottoman period according to historical events. In a country like Albania, before 1943, history, especially the Ottoman periods' history was used to legitimize efforts made to create and, afterwards, maintain and consolidate the national state. Whereas after 1945, it served as a means of justifying the measures taken by the communist regime to the national and foreign politics and in some cases to justify

<sup>2</sup> The list of total books included in this study will be described in Appendix A

the regress of Albania throughout history. Since the early '90s, Albanian historiography has enjoyed its academic freedom, as much as it has remained hostage to politics (Egro, 2007, p.13). However, Balkan historians have never held their scientific activity apart from their participation in the country's political developments. Considering that historiography is a discourse frequently related to politics, this statement is completely legitimate for Albanian scholars as well. People who study and write history, live in a fundamentally political world, so their reaction is somehow of a political nature (Berktafet al, 1993, p.12).

Even though the Albanologist and historian Robert Elise (2010), in his book *Albanian Historical Dictionary* had stated that "Another great lack in Albanian historiography is a full and reliable account of Albanian history writing during the communist period", during a television program he claimed that "Although the number of books published during the communist period was smaller, they were of a greater quality compared to the many historical books published in the recent years" (Elise, 2016). This leads us to the main purpose of this section.

From the total number of prominent authors measured in eigenvector, betweenness and closeness centrality, 17 books belong to the authors who were active mainly during the communist period (Hasan Kaleshi and Skender Riza didn't conduct their academic activity within the administrative borders of communist Albania) and only 9 of them belong to authors who conducted their academic activity in the post-communist period. It turns out that, based on the results of this research, communist period studies were cited more often than the post-communist period.

## 5. CHAPTER: THE PROMINENT AUTHORS' STUDIES ON THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

*“Let’s not turn our heads to the rulers, but to the thinkers, therefore the whole country should be shaken when even one of them leaves this world”*

**V. Hugo**

Applying the social network analysis on Ottoman period in Albanian historiography (1915-2015) have enabled us to discover the most significant authors who have studied and written about this period. In this chapter, the views and attitudes of these authors in connection with the Ottoman period in Albanian will be explored. For the most cited Albanian and international authors – Kriso Frashëri and Halil Inalcık - a short biography of each is also given.

### 5.1. CRITICAL OVERVIEW ON OTTOMAN STUDIES

Those Albanian scholars referred in this study as significant and influential authors of Albanian historiography on Ottoman period all had common meeting point on their views, except Hasan Kaleshi. They thought the Ottoman Empire was an inhibitory factor for Albania’s development and considered the Ottoman period in Albania mainly as a period of darkness. In this case, the Ottoman Empire was held responsible for the cessation of economic, social, and political development with the invasion of Albania in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Such an attitude would be used by the elite of intellectuals before the Second World War in order to side with the West, while the communist state used it as a ‘scientific’ argument to distance from the five centuries backwardness. (Egro, 2007, 107). In this regard, Bernard Lewis (1953) says that since the spread of nationalism in the Balkans, more than a dozen states were created by the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, each with its own national

legends of liberation and its kind of national historiography. Like most liberated peoples, the Balkan countries tried to address all the imperfections of their societies to the Ottoman Empire. However, since the historical writings that have left a mark on Albanian historiography are written mainly throughout the communist period it does not give us the right to judge with precision whether these were their views and attitudes on which they believed themselves, or these attitudes were in accordance with the frameworks of the system, out of which they were not allowed to admit.

However, we are forced to evaluate these authors based on what is written by them. Gazmend Shpuza in his article: *About the treatment of Renaissance Movements in our historical literature*, makes an overall assessment of the Albanian history of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Based on the clichés of the Marxist-Leninist theory, this article constantly refers to rebellion, revolutions and their character, thus avoiding historical reality. Even the literature sources, most of which are based on the work of Marxism classics. (Egro, 2007, p. 23). In this article, apparently, the 19<sup>th</sup> century history of Albania is treated completely separately from the previous four centuries of Ottoman rule. Selami Pulaha had too a similar approach toward the Ottoman Empire, led by Marxist-Leninist principles. Pulaha is among the most representative Albanian figures of the Ottoman Language experts. He was among the few Albanian Ottoman Language experts who with his work became known beyond Albanian borders. Although he does not neglect the archived Ottoman documentation either in Albania or abroad, he does seem to rely more on the Albanian documentation rather than the Ottoman:

“The fundamental documentation used so far by the scholars consists of projects from the Albanian assemblies for liberation, from the relations of the leaders of the armed uprisings - these important and firsthand documents, because as domestic resources directly reflect the armed resistance and mainly the program of the struggle of the Albanian people against the Ottoman rulers -

as well as documents from ecclesiastical institutions and chancellery of European countries interested on the events in Albania” (Pulaha, 1978, 4).

On the other hand, the Ottoman documentation presents as influenced by the class interests of the invaders:

"Because the documentation from the local and central administration of Ottoman power is drawn from Ottoman feudal class positions, consequently reflects the class interests of the invaders. As such they are constituted by a series of weaknesses and limitations "(Pulaha, 1978, p. 11).

He later adds that these documents show the war for freedom of the Albanian insurgents in a very denigrating way, diminishing its importance to the utmost. On the other hand, their victories increase as much as in some cases even the losses pose as a victory (Pulaha, 1978). Nowadays, the assessment of Ottoman sources as first-hand sources should not be considered as a scholar’s individual attitude, especially when his or her work is the most representative of Albanian historiography. This attitude, which is more judgmental rather than scientific, proves a complete adaptation of the Marxist attitude towards the Ottoman period during the communist period in Albania.

## **5.2. TERMINOLOGY USED IN OTTOMAN STUDIES**

Another phenomenon in Albanian historiography is the terminology used by the authors to refer to the Ottoman Empire. Expressions such as: "... *the Ottoman captive regime, the yoke of the foreign invader*" Pulaha (1978, p. 13), were being used to refer to the Ottoman Empire as part of the discourse of that time. These expressions today are considered totally offensive and unacceptable by part of the political and scientific community. Until recently, throughout Albanian historiography, the Ottoman Empire was referred to with the term *Turkish*. The same terminology was also being used in school textbooks. Terms such as

*Ottoman* and *Ottoman State* instead of *Turkish* in textbooks, began to gain ground immediately after the fall of the Communist Regime. This form of reference to the Ottoman Empire in school textbooks in Kosovo was regulated after the formation of a Kosovo-Turkey inter-state commission in 2011. Interventions in changing the terminology in the textbooks were numerous. A few examples are in the history book for the 12<sup>th</sup> grade, on page 144, the term *Turkish* is replaced with *Ottoman*. On page 145 the term *against occupiers* is replaced with *against the Sublime Porte*, the word *ruthless* on page 165 is deleted and just the word *the regime was kept* (Gashi, 2015). Many historians and intellectuals were against these changes claiming that this is interfering in the scientific autonomy of historians. Kristo Frasherri, the most prominent author of the analysis made in this study, was also against changing this terminology:

"As we know, in the texts of the history books about the Ottoman Empire published in Albania, including textbooks of various cycles, there is no offensive or denigrating or ironizing expression, neither for the Ottoman Empire nor for the Turkish people. There are only estimates of historical events that are as deserving as according to the events either positive or negative. If the honourable authorities of the Turkish Republic perceive the negative assessment of the events as offenses, when these are correct, they are wrong" (Frasherri, 2014).

On the other hand, Hasan Kaleshi, in his article "*Turkish Influence in the Balkans and Islamisation as Factors of Ethnic and National Existence of the Albanian People*" published in 1981, started with a critique of Albanian historiography, which he accuses as not authentic and has introduced inaccurate terminologies or expressions, such as *rabid Turks*, *Turkish yoke*, *Turkish Asians*, *Barbarians* etc.

### 5.3. INFLUENTIAL HISTORIANS: THEIR APPROACH TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

#### 5.3.1. Hasan Kaleshi

Hasan Kaleshi raised the thesis that contradicted the ideas of much of the Albanian historians who write about the Ottoman Empire. In the paper "*Turkish Influence in the Balkans and Islamization as Factors of Ethnic and National Existence of the Albanian People*" (1981) Hasan Kaleshi presented for the first time a new thesis, which was very different to the Albanian historiography thought of that time. Dr. Hasan Kaleshi claims in his thesis:

"At the time when Albanians were without a state, without their churches, without cultural traditions, without schools, with Venice on the coastal side, surrounded by Byzantines on one side and by the Serbians on the other, under these circumstances, there was no likely a nation to exist. With the Ottomans penetration in the Balkans, with the destruction of Byzantium and the Serbian state, as well as disorientation of their churches, the assimilation of Albanians from the above mentioned elements was impeded "(Kaleshi, 1981).

This thesis has been categorically rejected by many Albanian historians and intellectuals, and from some of them is still called '*turkophil*' or '*serbophil*'. The traditional Albanian historiography depicts the Ottoman period as an era of constant resistance of Albanians against a foreign conqueror.

If we have a look at Hasan Kaleshi's research, he has dealt with a wide range of topics. He wrote about the figure and work of Sami Frashëri, the role of Albanian cities in Islamic culture, over Yugoslav institutions, Ottoman channels for the capital cities of Kosovo, on the history of Islam in Albanian territories, Albanian literature with Arabic alphabet, etc. (Egrov, 2007, p. 111). Besides the work in the



above-mentioned fields, has over 250 documents which remain unpublished. The documents are mainly handwritten in French, except for the documents mentioned before, and there are still over 240 documents in German not published, as well as many other papers stored in the archives of Vienna, Ankara and Istanbul, where the various Albanian National Movement personalities were mentioned (Ahmeti, 2008).

### **5.3.2. Kristo Frasheri**

Kristo Frashëri is absolutely an emblematic prolific figure in Albania in the field of science, and historiography in particular. He is the most prominent author based on the measure of eigenvector centrality. He was the most cited author in the social network analysis of Albanian historiography on the Ottoman period. His centrality degree was the highest among hundreds of Albanian authors included in this analysis. He had witnessed a system of censored historical values for more than 50 years and the chaos of publications and science in Albania after the 1990s. After the political system change in 1990, the scholar Kristo Frasheri was the first one to give a general overview of Albanian historiography (Frasheri, 1995). Though his paper is in the form of a short publication consisting of only a few pages, the author offers very detailed information on the work produced in different periods of Albania's history. This information is very important to all the researchers who in the future wish to deal with the history of Albanian historical thought. The most important characteristic of this paper is that for the first time it is dissociated from any kind of ideological influence, and at the same time, it provides examples and details. His extensive experience in academia makes him one of the best-known bibliographers of Albanian historical studies. (Egro, 2007, p. 22).

In the framework of these many researchers, Frasheri devotes a great space in his work to the events and historical figures of the Ottoman Empire in Albania. His view of the Ottoman Empire remained unchanged even after overcoming the

communist-censorship system. To him the Ottoman Rule period was the greatest obstacle to Albanians' development, compared to the other Balkan people. According to Frashëri (2012), first of all, the Ottoman invasion ceased the most important process recognized by Europe's medieval history - the creation of a national state in Albania. It also interrupted the momentum of the Enlightenment and Humanist movement toward which the Albanian nation had entered. He even adds that the Ottoman Empire put Albanians five centuries behind the European family. According to Kristo Frasher, there are arrogant invaders and tolerant conquerors, he claims that:

"Of course, not all foreign invasions and rulings have the same features. It happens that an invader is more or less tolerant with the oppressed people. There are also conquerors who are arrogant to the oppressed peoples. The basic criterion used by historians to determine the character of a foreign domination is the value of the results that reap a country or a people during their ruling. The Roman Empire, for example, assimilated people, but this led the ancient civilization, rooted the concept of state, law, administration, and built institutions, roads, and bridges for which the domed nation needed. What did the Ottoman Empire do during the 500 years of Ottoman rule in Albania? The Ottoman Empire only treated Albania as a cow that would have to give it milk without carrying out its maintenance costs, as a source of fiscal revenue without carrying out any capital investment on it. They did not build roads or bridges, nor did they do constructed sanitation. They were only interested on mosques and official buildings. They ignored both the popular education and the cultural movement, but they only cared for Turkish religious schools. In short, the Ottoman Empire left for 500 years Albania backward, poor, without means of living "(Frashëri, 2014).

Kriso Frasher in his work used literature from different sources. To illustrate the example of the first hand sources, the work "Albanian League of Prizren" (1997)

will be analysed. The author, in addition to the large number of sources from Albanian authors, has also used Austrian, French, British, Italian, Russian and German sources. Among all these sources, there are only three Ottoman sources, but not first hand. If we go back to the main work of the author, we will find papers without quotes, such as "The History of Albania (A brief survey)". Although this book was published in 1964, when scientific writing standards have been available, this book does not contain any single references. The researcher Dritan Egro (2007, p. 125) related to this scientific phenomenon brings another example from the books of Kristo Frashëri, "Skanderbeg, his life and deeds" (2002). He adds that "in this way obviously the authenticity of this documentation is questioned".

#### **5.3.2.1. A short biography**

Kristo Frashëri was the first son of the patriot and an adherent of the Renaissance movement Anastas Frasheri and the descendant of one of the Frashëri families' dynasties. He was born in 1920 in Istanbul and 7 years later his family moved to Albania. In 1940, he started his studies in Economics at the University of Florence. In 1942, Frashëri returns to Albania where he's imprisoned and deported by the fascist regime. He graduated from the Faculty of History in Tirana in 1955. In 1997 he was appointed vice president of the Albanian Academy of Sciences. Kristo Frasheri is an author of a range of rich scientific publications, extending to all periods of Albanian history: Antiquity, the Middle Ages, the National Renaissance, and the present age (balkanweb.com, 2018). Professor Frashëri, one of the icons of Albanian historiography, passed away in 2016. With Frashëri's death, Albanian historiography lost one of its greatest contributors: the man who kept working until his very last breath. Frashëri was a scholar and a representative historian of the communist period too. (Elise, 2010, p.148).

Professor Kristo Frasheri's publications span a period of 70 years. Since 1938 when he issued his first article on the profile of Jeronim De Rada, professor

Frasheri has published hundreds of study articles, historical references, documentary volumes and scientific monographs. This work involved subjects such as political history, economic development, social problems, philosophical thought and Albanian cultural movement. Professor Frasheri's work is used as a reference for many historical issues not only in Albania, but also abroad. The bibliography of his scientific work includes 360 study invoices, more than 30 of which are books (balkaneu.com, 2018).

### **5.3.3. Aleks Buda**

Aleks Buda graduated in Italy and in Austria at the time of the King Zogu. By reading carefully the scientific writings of Aleks Buda, duality of thought can be seen and it was during the strict framework set by the communist regime (Egro, 2007, p. 102). He sometimes was considered as a founder of the Albanian post World War II historiography. Buda belonged to a small group of intellectuals in Albanian communist regime, allowed to have access to foreign literature, in order to use them to prepare new theoretical and ideological directives for the rest of their colleagues. (Hysa, Keber, 2010, p. 120). Buda's scientific work is mainly published in the magazine "Historical Studies". This work is published in a summarized form in 2006, entitled "Historical Studies, Selected Texts" by the Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts. To avoid this chapters' prolongation, Aleks Buda's views, ideas and attitudes on the Ottoman Period are given in several publications such as the official publication of "History of Albania" (1959). Aleks Buda and Kritso Frasheri are among the main authors of this book. The researcher Dritan Egro (2007) calls these historians "a group of Marxist historians". Since this book was the first of its kind, it has served as a source for many historical writings, especially during the communist regime in Albania. Through this book, some of the shortcomings in the methodology of Albanian historiography are also highlighted on its analysis of the Ottoman period.

In the "History of Albania" (Buda, et al., 1959), Chapter VI, titled "Turkish invasion and Albanian resistance (1388-1443)" is preceded by a short introductory part with the subtitle "*Turkish Flood in the Balkans*". The term "flood" itself is a word used to show a stream or a stream movement with great destructive power. It announces to the reader that it is about a gloomy period of Albania's history. When describing the qualities of the Ottoman army, the authors of the text mention that:

"Except the sipahis 'military units, Sultan Orhan, the successor of Osman, also created the Janissary's corps, consisting of trained soldiers, Islamic fanatics, and grown up with the idea of loyalty to the Sultan and the spirit of invading warriors. The Turks also set up cavalry units called raiders, who abruptly attacked settlements, plundered the population, burned villages, kidnapped people to sell them later as slaves, kidnapped children and supplied the janissary army, attacked the background of the enemy and thus opened the way for the janissary and the sipahis to conquer the territories more easily. "(Buda, et al., 1959, p. 381)

Ottoman armies were considered as a threat to the civilization to which Albanians belonged and are portrayed as being militarily superior and Albania is unable to resist because it was a small country (Puto, 2003, p. 98). According to the text of "History of Albania", the Ottoman invasion cut off the cultural and commercial ties of Albania with Western Europe. After that vicious event, Albania became an isolated country, and its population fell into despair. For these authors, the Ottoman Empire in Albania was a savage and unmerciful conqueror, even to the city's architecture and religious institutions. "Ottoman armies destroyed the cities, the most beautiful architectural buildings, cathedrals, churches, monasteries, public and aristocracy buildings with all their paintings and sculptures" (Busa, et al., 1959, p. 403). By mentioning the churches, cathedrals, monasteries, palaces of the aristocracy, which suffered the attack of a 'barbarian and killer enemy', Albanian historiography wanted to show that there was an Albanian culture developed and

comparable to that of Western Europe. So, the Ottoman invasion was responsible for the country's regress, for isolating and dividing Albania from what was seen as its natural place, near and in constant contact with Europe.

According to Puto (2003), one of the greatest problems of Albanian historiography over the last 50 years is that it has presented a distorted image of the situation in Albanian lands before the arrival of the Ottomans. First of all, Albanian historians have taken into consideration the fact that during the Middle Ages there was an Albanian community in the Balkans ethnically homogenous and fully aware of its ethnic affiliation. Its only weakness was the political division between the possessions of various feudal lords. Albanians are seen as a unified political factor, which was held in a state of division only by the interests of the feudal lords. On the other hand, Turkish researcher Halil Inalcik says, "Ottomans found feudal lords in Albania with minimal power, separated from each other, and willing to negotiate with them individually. It is a known fact that the Ottomans appeared for the first time in Albanian lands in 1385. They were invited by an Albanian feudal lord, Karl Topia, who, having no confidence in Venice and fearing the rule of the Balsha family, sought their help "(Inalcik, 1953). The Ottoman view of the occupation was different from what Albanian studies show, which saw their arrival as simply military invasion. As for the Ottomans, the invasion was the same as the establishment of the timar regime, which above all meant the return of the Sultan-owned lands and income registration and all the other resources of the regions under their authority, to provide tax collection.

Another aspect related to the Ottoman period is the conversion of Albanians to Islam. The text of "History of Albania" considers the Islamization of the country as a tool in the hands of the Turkish invaders to create in Albania a Muslim community that was linked to the fate of the empire. There was also a practical goal by the Ottomans that was to supply the Ottoman army with Albanian Muslim soldiers. According to the text, the reasons that favoured such a rapid progression

of Islam were the weakening of religious discipline due to Turkish repression in the 16th and 17th centuries, the low theological standard of the Christian clergy, the presence of few clerics in the country, and fiscal discrimination of the population. The Christian population was forced to pay more taxes than their Muslim counterparts. (Puto, 2003, p. 95). The massive Islamization of Albanians was also seen as a result of the savage reaction of the Turks after the constant fighting against Albanians. According to this book, when the Albanians finally submitted themselves to it, Ottomans began a systematic conversion campaign. The reaction of Albanians is seen as that of people who, in order to protect their dignity, prefer to sacrifice less important things, such as religion. This thesis contradicts Pashko Vasse's thoughts: he said that the conversion of Albanians to Islam offered them an established status in society, in spite of other Balkan people who remained in their religion. They silently accepted to be submissive (Vasa, 1935, p. 58). According to these authors, "Albanians became Muslims only apparently, because deep in their conscience remained Albanians". This is a tendency that Albanians are considering to be a community that sees religious affiliation as something of a secondary importance and looks at it with some kind of distrust. The reason was that Albanians saw religion as a tool in the hands of foreigners. Albanian studies emphasize this case a kind of perception of them being born with their inner character "not being religious people". According to Puto (2003), the tendency to describe Albanians as "non-religious people" dates back to the period of the National Renaissance (1878-1912), when Albanian national leaders, because of the religious divisions of the country, excluded religion from the whole of the fundamental elements of the state-building. At this time the famous slogan from Pashko Vassa was born: "The Albanian religion is Albanianism". Puto (2003) also adds that the process of Islamization during the Ottoman era was a much more complicated process than that reported by Albanian studies. First of all, the Islamization of the country was a slow process and at irregular rates, which continued for centuries after the arrival of Ottomans in Albanian lands. The conversion of Albanians followed different paths in different provinces. According

to him, it was not a forced conversion nationwide, except for the rebellion of Christian populations, who were forced to convert after their uprisings were crushed by the Sublime Porte. In the plains of the central part of Albania there were more converts. The inhabitants of these areas were more exposed to Ottoman influence than the highlanders of isolated northern provinces. The French researcher Nathalie Clayer (2012) says: The 'inferior religiosity' of Albanian highlanders, on one hand, is the consequence of the weakness of the Catholic Church, which was itself in a difficult position in the Ottoman Empire, and in turn the consequence of the difficulties of penetrating their settlements, was an element that favoured Islamization, but in no case was a cause for conversion. However, even the ways of conversion had their complexity. For example, in the 19th century, many conversions were made through the pressure or half-pressure that came from the surrounding Muslim environment. As Clayer (2012) mentions, "in many cases the conversion came as a result of the disruption of relationships within the social environment that would mean either tribe or church."

When we look at the perception of the Ottoman period by prominent scholars like Kristo Frasheri, Alex Buda, Selami Pulaha, Stefanaq Pollo and Gazmend Shpuza, it is clear that these authors have serious limitations in the analysis of the role of the history of Albanians under the Ottoman Empire. The Albanian nation remains the only center of attention, while Albania and Albanians are rarely seen as part of a wider political and geographical context. In the case of the Ottoman period, Albanian historians tend to shift the scenario and dynamics of social forces from the 20th century to that of the 15th century. In many cases, these intellectual elite, to justify social problems and political situations of the 20th century, turned to judge the historical events that took place five centuries ago. Moreover, the omission of the Ottoman period is also evident in the various books, articles, and publications of these authors. Out of the large number of books of the historian KristoFrashëri - over 30, which talk about different historical events and figures such as the League



of Prizren and Skanderbeg, there is no book which decisively talks about the Ottoman period in the Albanian territories.

#### **5.3.4. Halil Inalcik**

According to this study the Turkish researcher Halil Inalcik is the most prominent international author of Albanian historiography for the Ottoman period. Although only three works by this author in relation to Albanians have been found in the research for this study, it seems to have been enough to be counted among the most quoted works by foreign authors dealing with Albanian history.

Inalcik has made the best and the most complete criticism about the treatment of the problems related to the history of Ottoman Empire period among the historiographies of former communist countries ideologically close to Albania during the second half of the 20th century. (Inalcik, 1995). The author, due to the lack of knowledge of the Albanian language and the scarce resources of Albanian historiography published in foreign languages, has not given space to the work, authors and attitudes that Albanian historiography had toward the Ottoman history. (Egro, 2007, p. 24). It is important to keep in mind that Albanian political, economic and military history has always been little known abroad. Foreign studies have always focused on cultural history, language and literature. English readers in the second half of the 19th century may have learned about Skanderbeg from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem (by Henri Waddington Longfellow) just as fifty years ago Byron had determined an image of Albania in his work. (Pettifer, 2013)

The abandonment of the sultan yard and the return to Albania of Skanderbeg, was interpreted by most of the Albanian historians as the abandonment of the Front of the Ottoman Empire with all its position in order to join Albania while succeeding against the Ottoman regime. Unlike them, Halil Inalcik emphasized another connection with the abandonment of the sultan yard by Skanderbeg. According to

him, Skanderbeg turns his back on the Empire after a kind of depression had been observed and the news spread that the Ottoman Empire expected a rapid capitulation. On the other hand, Huniadi was making preparations for a good time to expel the Ottomans from Rumelia. Skanderbeg, as many others, believed in this, had taken the road to Albania in order to take control of his father's possessions (Inalcık, p. 561). Professor Kristo Frasheri has dedicated to Skanderbeg a large part of his scientific research to become one of his greatest advocates whenever foreign historians have criticized this warrior and strategist. In 2002, Frashëri published the book "Skanderbeg, his life and deeds".

#### **5.3.4.1. A short biography**

Born on May 26, 1916, İnalcık spent his childhood in times of war. His father, Seyit Osman Nuri left Crimea in 1905 and came to Istanbul. In 1924 they settled in the capital of the newly established Republic (Delibaşı, 2006, p.1). He graduated from the Department of History in the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography at Ankara University in 1940. He started to work as an assistant in the same department and became an Associate Professor in 1943. He received the title Professor in 1952. After refusing many offers from various Universities such as Harvard University and Pennsylvania University, in the meantime the political riots in Turkey became worse, in 1972, he accepted an offer to join the University of Chicago as a professor. At this University, Prof. İnalcık taught Ottoman History until 1986 (Bayazoğlu, 2015). There, İnalcık trained a range of young historians who became top scholars, while pursuing his own research, which extended from the history of Crimea, Albania, Bulgaria and Anatolia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. His work encompassed social, political and economic history from peasants to sultans (news.uchicago.edu, 2018). İnalcık lectured in many universities, including Princeton (1967) and Harvard (1992) as a visiting professor in the United States (turkishculture.org, 2018). Prof. İnalcık after returning to Turkey, at Bilkent University he founded the Department of History where he taught

classes. Prof. İnalçık was a member and president of many Turkish, British, American, and Serbian academies (İnalçık, 2017). İnalçık received numerous honors during his lifetime, including 23 honorary doctorates and awards for his contributions to history and culture in Turkey. Prof. Dr. Halil İnalçık passed away at the age of 100 in Ankara in 2016.

If all of Halil İnalçık's work is carefully analysed, it can easily be noticed that he has studied almost all periods of Ottoman history and that there is an incredible variety of subjects in his research. İnalçık's work, classified based on subjects, are grouped as follows: 1) Social and Economic History (history of institutions, law, state structure and philosophy, trade, taxes, social strata, production, demographic structure, bureaucracy, urban history etc.), 2) Political History, 3) Synthesis Work (in this last group studies that intend to enlighten the Ottoman social and economic history are mainly included) (inalcik.com, 2018). His most important work is considered his first book, "Hicrî 835 TarihliSûret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid" (Copied of register for A.H. 835 in Sanjalk of Albania). It was published in 1954 in Ankara and introduced one of the earliest land register available in the Ottoman Empire's archives (Gök, 2001, p.143). This is one of İnalçık's publications included in the social network analysis of Albanian historiography on Ottoman studies.

## 6. CHAPTER: CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, the views and attitudes of significant historians on the Ottoman period, which turned up by analysing the connections between historians through their citations, are discussed. This analysis is conducted by utilizing social network analysis as the research method. As Narin (1976, p.334) observes, “a reference is the acknowledgment that one document gives to another; a citation is the acknowledgment that one document receives from another”. The analysis of the received citations and given references by the authors of these publications, made it possible to ascertain the most cited historians in Albanian historiography on Ottoman period; Kristo Frashëri is the most prominent author based on eigenvector and betweenness centrality degree. Since the earliest attempts to write about the history of Albania date back to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman period occupies the most significant place. In addition to that, the high amount of historical records found for this period of Albanian history also make it one of the important periods to be analysed and studied. This is not because of any special consideration or preference of the authors who wrote them, but because this period of Albania's history is first quite unavoidable, and secondly, it is very crucial to understand the beginnings of the Albanian history in order to understand its current state.

### 6.1. CONCLUSIONS BASED ON RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The first research question was: **RQ1**: “*Who are the most prominent Albanian historians on the Ottoman period of the Albanian history based on centrality measures of social network analysis (Degree Centrality, Betweenness Centrality Closeness Centrality and Eigenvector Centrality)*”. The node whose eigenvector centrality is the highest is interpreted as the most active and the most prominent member of the network. It turned out that Kristo Frashëri is the most prominent historian among Albanian historians who wrote about the Ottoman period in

Albanian lands. Kristo Frashëri was also the prominent author according to the betweenness centrality measure. Based on this, Frashëri was not only the most prominent actor in the network who was cited most by other important historians, at the same time, he was the 'bridge' among other Albanian historians. In the measure of closeness centrality, Ajet Haxhiu is the most prominent actor in the network; Ajet Haxhiu wrote mostly on topics related to the Serbian occupation of Kosovo and about the battles of Hasan Prishtina and Azem and Shqote Galica against Serbian conquer.

The second research question **RQ2**: *“What are their views (of those historians determined by SNA) on the Ottoman Empire’s rule of Albanian land?”* The Albanian historians who are already labelled as the significant historians of Albanian Historiography on Ottoman period, with very few exceptions, had one common point of view. In their opinion, the Ottoman Empire was an inhibitory factor and considered this period mainly as period of darkness. In this case, the Ottoman Empire was held responsible for the cessation of economic, social, and political development with the invasion of Albania in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, Hasan Kaleshi claims that, without penetration of Ottomans in Balkan - with Venice on the coastal side, surrounded by Byzantines on one side and by the Serbians on the other - there was no likelihood of an Albanian nation to exist.

The third research question is **RQ3**: *Where did they get their influence from: other Albanian historians or international historians? (This has been determined through citations they made (or incoming connections))*. The prominent historians (based on Degree Centrality, Eigenvector Centrality, Betweenness Centrality and Closeness Centrality,) had a broad network of scientific interaction with both Albanian and international historians. As noted by the analysis, the Albanian historian Kristo Frashëri which has the highest centrality degree in eigenvector and betweenness centrality measures is more referred to the Albanian authors such as Fan S. Noli, Athanas Gegaj, Aleks Buda, Hasan Kaleshi, Selami Pulaha, Petrika

Thëngjilli, Ali Hadri etc. Frashëri is also more cited by Albanian historians such as Aleks Buda, Stavro Skendi, Skender Rizaj, Ilijaz Rexha, Ferid Duka, Stefanaq Pollo etc. In this thesis is also analyzed the scientific interaction between international historians that deals with Albanian history. In this case, Halil Inalcik occupies the central position in eigenvector centrality measure. The most influential Albanian historian, Kristo Frashëri is cited by many international historians such as: Barbara Jelavich, Peter Bartel, George W. Gawrych, Oliver Jens Schmitt, Noel Malcolm etc. and one of them is also the international historian (the most cited from the international ones who write and study about Albanian history); Halil Inalcik.

## **6.2. RECOMMENDATIONS**

The Ottoman period in Albanian historiography has undergone three different stages since the second half of the 19th century until today. Although many works have been published and a contribution is made in this area, motivated by the findings of this research, recommendations and future research suggestions are discussed below.

- Historians of the Ottoman period should be distanced from ideologically influenced literature (e.g. "History of Albania" published by State University of Tirana in 1959), and they should be more orientated towards the archives of Istanbul and Vienna.
- Historians specialized in Ottoman Studies should know the Ottoman and Turkish languages and they should have a basic knowledge of Turkish history starting from the earliest time in Central Asia till today.

- Because of the intense relations that the Ottomans had with Europe and the respective literature, the scholars specialized in Ottoman Studies should know some of the main European languages such as English, French, and German.
- The interest in analysis methods in the field of History (Social Sciences) should be promoted. Application of social network analysis, content analysis or citation analysis in the field of history does not necessarily aim to solve any historical problem but it can give an important contribution in that direction.
- Analysis of sources in historiography should also be conducted in other periods and on different events. It is possible, through research with the similar purpose, it can be reached to the important historians from the relevant field.
- Historians should take into consideration the international standards when using references. While carrying out this research, it has been found that in many books there was no bibliography at all.
- The treatment of Ottoman Periods' history must be cleansed from ideological and emotional influences. At the University of Prishtina and other universities in Kosovo, the Ottoman period should be treated according to its importance. In this case, in the department of history (bachelor studies), specific subjects should be available for this period.
- With the support of the Albanian states both of Kosovo and Albania, the Albanian history during the Ottoman period can also be written based on:
  - The works or memories of the intellectuals of the romantic-nationalist period of time: Pashko Vasa, Sami and Mehdi Frashëri, Sureja and Eqrem Vlora, Ibrahim Temo, Kristo Dako, Basri Dukagjini, Sulejman Kylçe, Ismail Qemali, etc.

- The works of influential historians (defined so from the result of this study) should be carefully taken into consideration.
- The works of serious foreign historians who have written or still writing about Albanians: Noel Malcolm, Joseph Swire, Peter Bartl, Nathalie Clayer, Robert Elsie, Oliver Schmitt, Greerge Gawrych etc.
- Based on the books of those international authors who for various reasons have stayed in Albania and have written about Albanians: Evlebia Çelebiu, Edith Durham, François Pouqueville, Henry Holland, Johann Georg von Hahn, Franz Nopcsa and others.
- The Ottoman scholar also should have basic knowledge from various disciplines of social sciences.



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## APPENDIX A: INCLUDED BOOKS IN SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS OF THE ALBANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY ON OTTOMAN PERIOD

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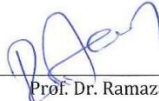
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