

FOUNDATION FOR RESEARCH & TECHNOLOGY — HELLAS
INSTITUTE FOR MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

Halcyon Days in Crete VI
A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 13-15 January 2006

THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN UNDER OTTOMAN RULE: CRETE, 1645-1840



Edited by
Antonis Anastasopoulos

CRETE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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BY ITS CONTRIBUTORS
AND THE ACADEMIC STAFF AND ASSOCIATES
OF THE PROGRAMME OF TURKISH STUDIES
OF THE INSTITUTE FOR MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES/FO.R.T.H.
TO PROFESSORS

VASSILIS DEMETRIADES
AND
ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU

WITH GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION
AS A SMALL TOKEN OF RECOGNITION
FOR THEIR VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION
TO THE FIELD OF OTTOMAN HISTORY



IN HONOUR OF PROFESSORS
VASSILIS DEMETRIADES
AND
ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU

WHILE PREPARING THE SIXTH HALCYON DAYS in Crete Symposium, whose topic was ‘Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean, 1645-1840’, it occurred to us as natural and very fitting to dedicate the volume which contains the proceedings of the Symposium to Professors Vassilis Demetriades and Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, the founders of the Programme of Turkish Studies of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FO.R.T.H. and, in its context, of the series of the Halcyon Days in Crete Symposia.

Vassilis Demetriades and Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, already established and well-esteemed scholars of international repute at the time, arrived in Crete in the mid-1980s and took up posts at the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Crete (the former in 1984 and the latter in 1985). While continuing to teach at the University until their retirement in 1998, they founded in 1987 the Programme of Turkish Studies at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FO.R.T.H. The principal aims of the Programme have been to promote research into Ottoman history and to train young Ottomanists, primarily through the postgraduate programme in Turcology that Demetriades and Zachariadou established in 1988, and which is today run jointly by the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Crete and the Institute for Mediterranean Studies.

Demetriades and Zachariadou’s work has been pioneering in many respects. Establishing a fully-fledged programme of Ottoman history teaching at the undergraduate level plus Ottoman palaeography and Modern Turkish at the postgraduate level at a time when nothing similar existed in Greek universities and there was still strong prejudice against the usefulness of Ottoman history, was one of these pioneering moves – and quite a daring one. Not only that, but they also saw to it that the libraries of the Institute and the University acquired excellent Ottomanist collections, and all in all they created in Rethymno an academic environment and infrastructure unparalleled in Greece even today. Furthermore, they never neglected the international aspect of their activities, and thus the Programme of Turkish Studies benefited from joint research projects, invitations to scholars to give classes and lectures in Rethymno, and, of course, the Halcyon Days in Crete Symposia, held once every three years at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies.

Vassilis Demetriades was trained as an Ottomanist at S.O.A.S. (London), and, prior to coming to Rethymno, was for many years the director of the Historical Archive of Macedonia in Thessalonica. His interest in Ottoman Macedonia resulted in a major translation of the section of Evliya Çelebi's travels relating to central and western Macedonia, as well as in books and articles concerning Ottoman Thessalonica and its topography, based mainly on archival sources.

Elizabeth A. Zachariadou also obtained her Ottomanist training at S.O.A.S., and worked for many years in Montreal, Canada, before moving to the University of Crete. She is a scholar with exceedingly rich and varied publications, covering the late Byzantine, as well as the early and 'classical' Ottoman periods. She has been honoured with membership in Academia Europaea (1993), and Volume 23 of *Archivum Ottomanicum* (2005/6) was dedicated to her as an acknowledgement of her contribution to Ottoman scholarship.

Following their retirement, both Demetriades and Zachariadou received from the Foundation for Research and Technology-Hellas the title of 'Honorary Researcher' in recognition of their lifelong contribution to academic research.

After their arrival in Crete, the two dedicated part of their scholarly energy to the history of the island under the Ottomans, and used their expertise to bring to light important Ottoman sources and discuss significant aspects of the Ottoman presence in Crete. Their most monumental contributions have been in the case of Demetriades, the annotated edition of the so-called 'Codex of Sacrifices', that is, the register in which the confiscated properties of Christian 'rebels' from eastern Crete during the Revolution of 1821 were entered (Heraklion 2003), and in that of Zachariadou, the systematic publication of extensive summaries in Greek of the entries of the *kadı* registers of Heraklion (two volumes covering registers Nos 3 and 5 have appeared so far: Heraklion 2003 and 2008).

There is absolutely no doubt that Ottoman studies in Crete would have been impossible without the tireless efforts of Elizabeth A. Zachariadou and Vassilis Demetriades. The same applies to the Halcyon Days Symposia series, an idea of Zachariadou, who also was the editor of the proceedings of the first four Symposia. Speaking in the name of all the contributors to this book, it is with utmost pleasure, respect, and gratitude that we dedicate this volume to them, all the more so because its subject is Crete, their academic base for many years and also the object of important research on their part.

Antonis ANASTASOPOULOS
Elias KOLOVOS
Marinos SARIYANNIS

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As the editor of this volume, I would also like to express my gratitude to:

Prof. Thanassis Kalpaxis, Dr Elias Kolovos, Prof. Socrates Petmezas and the late Dr Pinelopi Stathi, members of the organising committee of the Symposium, as well as Dr Marinos Sariyannis, researcher at the Programme of Turkish Studies of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, for their collaboration during the preparation and the holding of the Symposium; Elias and Marinos were, further, always eager to respond to my calls for help during the preparation of this volume. A very special tribute is due to Pinelopi Stathi, who was president of the organising committee for two consecutive symposia; her warmth, kindness, generosity, and smile are greatly missed by all of us who have worked with and learnt from her.

Prof. Elizabeth Zachariadou, the founder of the Halcyon Days in Crete Symposia, whose advice and help are always invaluable.

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A.A.

ABBREVIATIONS

BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, Turkey
TAH: Turkish Archive of Heraklion, Vikelaia Municipal Library of Heraklion, Greece

ArchOtt: *Archivum Ottomanicum*
EB: *Etudes Balkaniques*
IJMES: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*
IJTS: *International Journal of Turkish Studies*
JESHO: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JTS: *Journal of Turkish Studies*
NPT: *New Perspectives on Turkey*
OA: *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*
SF: *Südost-Forschungen*
SI: *Studia Islamica*
TD: *Tarih Dergisi*
TSAB: *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*

EI: E.J. Brill's *First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936*
EI²: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition (Leiden 1960-2002)
İA: *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul 1940-1979)
TDVİA: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul 1988-)

Greene, *A Shared World*: M. Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton 2000)

Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*: E. Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi ve Osmanlı İdaresinin Kurulması (1645-1670)* (Istanbul 2004)

Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*: E. Karantzikou and P. Photeinou, *Hierodikeio Herakleiou. Tritos kodikas (1669/1673-1750/1767)* [*Kadı Court of Heraklion. Third Codex (1669/1673-1750/1767)*], ed. E. A. Zachariadou (Heraklion 2003)

Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*: N.S. Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis tourkikon historikon eggraphon aphoronton eis ten historian tes Kretes* [Translations of Turkish Historical Documents Relating to the History of Crete], 5 volumes (Heraklion 1975-1985)

- Varoucha, Chaireti and Sariyannis, *Pemptos kodikas* I: M. Varoucha, Ph. Chaireti and M. Sariyannis, *Hierodikeio Herakleiou. Pemptos kodikas. Meros A (1673-1675)* [*Kadı* Court of Heraklion. Fifth Codex. Part I (1673-1675)], ed. E. A. Zachariadou (Heraklion 2008)
- Varoucha, Chaireti and Sariyannis, *Pemptos kodikas* II: M. Varoucha, Ph. Chaireti and M. Sariyannis, *Hierodikeio Herakleiou. Pemptos kodikas. Meros B (1688-1689)* [*Kadı* Court of Heraklion. Fifth Codex. Part II (1688-1689)], ed. E. A. Zachariadou (Heraklion 2008)

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

All terms and phrases originally written in non-Latin alphabets have been transliterated into the Latin script.

A simple system of transliteration from the Arabic into the Latin alphabet has been adopted, and most diacritical marks have been omitted; *ayn* and *hamza* are retained in phrases in Arabic only when they appear in the middle of a word.

No final -s- is added to Ottoman Turkish plural nouns, such as *ayan*, *ulema*, and *reaya*.

PREFACE

THIS VOLUME IS COMPOSED OF 15 PAPERS which were first read at the Sixth Halcyon Days in Crete Symposium. The title of the Symposium, which was held at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies in Rethymno on 13-15 January 2006, was 'Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean, 1645-1840'.¹ The differentiated title of this volume reflects the fact that during the Symposium, but also in their final versions, the papers focused mostly on the first subject, that is, Crete. As to the chronological bounds which appear in the sub-title of the book, 1645 marks the beginning of the Ottoman period for Crete, while 1840 is another significant date, in that it is the year in which Mehmed Ali Paşa, the reforming and autocratic governor of Egypt, was stripped of the administration of Crete, which had been his for the previous decade; moreover, it indicates that the focus of the Symposium was on the pre-Tanzimat phase of the history of Ottoman Crete. 1840 was not meant as and is not an inflexible chronological limit; some of the papers go beyond this year, but this does not alter the fact that the overall emphasis is clearly on the earlier period.

The Symposium on Ottoman Crete was an idea of Professor Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, to whom, along with Professor Vassilis Demetriades, this volume is dedicated. It was conceived as a tribute to the hospitable and exciting island which has been the base of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the Foundation for Research and Technology-Hellas (I.M.S./FO.R.T.H.) since its foundation in 1986, and which has absorbed a considerable part of the research efforts of the Programme of Turkish Studies of the Institute over the years.

For those unfamiliar with the history of Crete under the Ottomans, a brief outline of some important dates in the political history of the island may be useful as a context for the papers in this volume. The Ottoman campaign for the conquest of Crete, which was then ruled by Venice, started in 1645. Conquest proceeded from west to east: two of the three major settlements on the north coast were conquered in 1645 (Chania) and 1646 (Rethymno). By 1647 the whole of the island was practically under Ottoman rule

1 Twenty papers were read at the Symposium. Miklós Fóti, Molly Greene, the late Pinelopi Stathi, Elizabeth Zachariadou, and Dror Ze'evi, whose papers do not appear in this volume, are to be thanked for their valuable contribution to the Symposium.

with the notable exceptions of the biggest town, Candia, and three islets off the north coast: Grambousa, Souda, and Spinalonga. The siege of Candia, which began in 1647, continued for 22 years, even though warfare was not continuous. Eventually Candia surrendered in 1669, and thus the conquest of the island was completed; as for the three islets, which were used as military bases by the Venetians, Grambousa was conquered in 1692, and Souda and Spinalonga in 1715. The island remained under Ottoman authority for more than two centuries; between 1830 and 1840 the Sultan granted the governorship of Crete to Mehmed Ali of Egypt, who governed it quite independently from the Sultan, but in 1840 the island reverted to direct rule by Istanbul. In 1898, an autonomous Cretan State was established under nominal Ottoman suzerainty, and, in 1913, Crete became part of Greece. Starting with the participation of the Christians of Crete in the Greek Revolution of 1821, the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries were a period of growing unrest, revolts, sectarianism, and armed violence on the island, as the Christians sought, and eventually managed, to overturn the political balance with the Muslims, which had previously been disadvantageous to them, and gain their independence from the Sultan. Feeling that the situation was becoming insecure for them, the Muslims started to abandon Crete from the late nineteenth century onwards; the departure of the remaining Muslims in 1924, in the context of the exchange of populations agreed on between Greece and Turkey the previous year, sealed the end of an era which had been inaugurated in the mid seventeenth century.

The pre-Tanzimat administrative structure of Crete became crystallised as early as the seventeenth century. The island formed a province (*eyalet*) of its own, and this was divided into three sub-provinces (*sancak*): Hanya (Chania), Resmo (Rethymno), and Kandiye (Candia).² In Crete, the boundaries of the *sancaks* coincided with those of the judicial districts (*kaza*); *kazas* were further divided into *nahiyes* (20 in 1650 and 1670³). Crete was a frontier region (*serhad*), and had its own independent treasury; the chief financial officer (*defterdar*) was based in Kandiye, which was the major administrative centre of the island until the mid nineteenth century.

Crete was conquered at an age when Ottoman bureaucracy had reached its maturity. As a result, there is an abundance of Ottoman archival documents and registers concerned with Crete; major archival collections may be found in Crete, Istanbul, and Sofia. Furthermore, there are Ottoman narrative and epigraphical sources for the island, as well as ample archaeological, including architectural, evidence from the Ottoman period. As for non-Ottoman sources, Greek and other (such as travellers' accounts), their number and volume increase considerably in the nineteenth century.

The study of the history of Ottoman Crete gathered momentum in the 1970s; scholarly contributions before this date should not in any way be belittled, but until

2 For other *sancaks* mentioned mainly in seventeenth-century sources, see M. Sariyannis, 'He dikastike organose kai to hierodikeio tou Chandaka ste neokataktemene Krete' [Judicial Organisation and the *Kadı* Court of Kandiye in Newly-Conquered Crete], in Varoucha, Chaireti and Sariyannis, *Pemptos kodikas* I, 31-33.

3 Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 225-227.

then emphasis was largely placed on the Ottoman conquest as a military event, and the Christian armed resistance to Ottoman rule in the nineteenth century, while relatively little research was carried out on Cretan society under Ottoman rule. In 1975, Nikolaos Stavriniadis, a true pioneer in the study of Ottoman Crete, who had already published many valuable studies, started to publish his monumental five-volume translations and extensive summaries in Greek of selected entries from the *kadı* court records of Kandiye (mod. Heraklion);⁴ his work covered the period from 1657 to 1765. Some years later, in 1988, Yolande Triantafyllidou-Baladié had her doctoral thesis on the economy and international commerce of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Crete published in Greek. Then, in 2000, Molly Greene published her book on the first 70 years of Ottoman rule in Crete (with the focus on 1670–1715); Greene's work attracted a lot of attention as the first extensive systematic treatment in a Western language of the transition from Venetian to Ottoman rule, the circumstances and peculiarities of the establishment of the latter, as well as society and economy under the Ottomans. Ersin Gülsoy contributed in 2004 another important book whose subject was the conquest of Crete and the establishment of Ottoman administration on the island, while Nükhet and Nuri Adıyeke have brought to light new sources for Ottoman Crete and published a number of important studies. The publication of sources has also intensified in recent years: Elizabeth A. Zachariadou has headed a research team, which, since 2003, has published detailed summaries in Greek of the *kadı* court registers Nos 3 and 5 of Kandiye, while more volumes are in preparation; again in 2003, the publication by Vassilis Demetriades of an Ottoman register listing the confiscated properties of the Christian population of eastern Crete in the course of the revolt of the 1820s appeared; and Evangelia Balta and Mustafa Oğuz published in 2007 a seventeenth-century *tapu tahrir* register for Rethymno and its district. Apart from the works mentioned above, many other books and papers have also appeared in the last 30 years or so which have enriched our knowledge of particular aspects of Ottoman Crete.⁵

As a result of the accumulation of literature, certain historiographical issues have come to emerge and be debated; pre-conditions for the development of scholarly debate about various subjects concerning the administration, society, and economy of Ottoman Crete are better today than ever before.

Foremost among the issues debated is the promulgation of the seventeenth-century *kanunnames*, and the land and tax regime imposed on Crete. Disagreements have revolved around what the motivation behind the introduction of the peculiar land regime of Crete in 1670 (legitimation of private landownership in breach of prior Ottoman practice) was; when exactly seventeenth-century census registers should be dated; and if the data about agricultural production which can be found in these registers should be taken to reflect actual or average production, or are fictitious estimates, hence unreliable.

The debate centring on the *kanunnames* and the tax and land regime is associated with the wider issue of the establishment of Ottoman rule on the island, and its impact on its

4 *Kadı* register No. 1 is of Resmo.

5 For the titles of the works referred to in this paragraph and others, see the 'Suggested Bibliography' at the end of the Preface.

society and economy. Even though there are several studies which cover the seventeenth century, the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century are largely unexplored in terms of the evolution and methods of Ottoman administration, taxation, and other formal institutions on the island, as well as of the relationship between Crete and the central authorities in Istanbul. Still within the context of Ottoman institutions, Crete possessed various important waqfs of Sultans, mothers of Sultans, and the governing elite which were established in the seventeenth century. However, the evolution of these waqfs over time has not been studied systematically, nor do we know much about the development of this institution in Crete over time, and its long-term effects on the urban and rural communities of the island.

Another institution with wide application in Crete was that of the janissaries. Greene's succinct description of Crete as "the janissaries' island"⁶ has been reproduced repeatedly by historians since it was first formulated; the same scholar has provided some essential insights into janissary identity in early Ottoman Crete. Nevertheless, the organisation of the janissaries as a military corps, their spread and impact as a social group, their internal differentiations and stratification, and their relations with the local population and state authorities on the island and in Istanbul are among the topics which deserve further analysis, given the frequency with which we encounter references to janissaries in Crete in sources from the Ottoman period.

Religion in its various facets is another topic which requires more discussion. The establishment of a Muslim population on the island is one of these facets. Even though there appears to be consensus as to the fact that the emergence of this population should largely be attributed to conversion to Islam, there are many aspects of Islamisation which need to be investigated: motives, extent, spread over time, impact on individuals and society in general, complications. *Ulema* and dervish networks, and their intellectual, political, social, and economic contribution to local life are other important aspects of religion as a social factor. The socio-economic standing of and relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the long run form a third area in which more research needs to be carried out.

Ottoman Crete had relatively few considerable urban settlements, and an extensive rural hinterland, which often was hard of access. With the exception of Greene's book, we still do not have monographs about the various aspects of life, including intellectual life, in the towns of Crete, nor do we have studies concerning the distribution of labour and wealth, or political, social, and economic relations between the towns and the hinterland.

This cursory list of possible research topics includes only a few of those which can be adequately studied through the sources which are already known and accessible to researchers. The papers in this volume do not purport to fill completely the many gaps in the history of Ottoman Crete, but, it is to be hoped, suggest new vistas and contribute to the advancement of scholarly discussion about Ottoman administration in Crete and Cretan society under Ottoman rule.

6 Greene, *A Shared World*, 33.

The book is divided in five parts.

Part I revolves around the interpretation of the motives behind and the contents of the fiscal censuses and law codes (*kanunname*) of Crete in the seventeenth century.

Gilles Veinstein, the Symposiarch of the 2006 Halcyon Days Symposium, discusses the Cretan *kanunname* of 1670, and attributes its particular 'Islamic' character to the religious formation and ideology of the then Grand Vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, a member of the *ulema* receptive to Kadızadeli ideas. Veinstein argues against Molly Greene's thesis that the land regime of 1670 which acknowledged full proprietary rights to private individuals should be treated as a sign of the invigoration of grandee households in the Ottoman Empire, and holds that Crete and other Aegean islands provided – because of their 'insularity' – a perfect field for the application of an 'Islamic' utopia.

Eugenia Kermeli argues that the land regime which was introduced into Crete by the *kanunname* of 1670 was indeed an experiment, but one which can be explained by fiscal and legal trends and practices which had become manifest in the Ottoman state since the sixteenth century. In this context, she stresses that one aim of the legalisation of extensive private landownership was to encourage profit-making cultivations and increase state revenue through taxation. Furthermore, Kermeli uses a combination of *sicil* entries and *fetvas* to discuss the development of the land regime in early Ottoman Crete, as well as complications which arose in the course of its implementation.

Ersin Gülsoy sets out the land regime and tax arrangements imposed on Crete after the Ottoman conquest, as reflected in the fiscal censuses and legal codes of 1650 and 1670. Gülsoy examines the two sets of sources, and discusses the effects of changing administrative arrangements on the Sultan's new subjects. Finally, he maintains that the censuses can provide accurate information on the population, agricultural production, stock-breeding, and the productivity of land in early Ottoman Crete, and proceeds to extract relevant figures from the registers.

Simon Price, Oliver Rackham, Machiel Kiel, and Lucia Nixon focus on the south-western district of Sphakia in the seventeenth century. First, they discuss the dedication of 5,000 *guruş* from the tax revenue of the district to the *vakıf* of Mecca and Medina, and its impact on the former. Second, they concur with Gülsoy in holding that Ottoman fiscal census data can be used reliably for the calculation of actual average agricultural yields. Finally, they argue that archaeological evidence, and in particular field surveys, can provide valuable information which usually escapes the eye of the historian who relies exclusively on written sources.

Part II deals with various aspects of Muslim and Christian social life and/or interaction in Ottoman Crete.

Elias Kolovos first recounts the history of the fortress and settlement that the Ottomans built to the south of Candia during the long siege (1647-1669) of this town; between 1650 and 1667-1668 the fortress and the settlement gradually grew into a town with an active social and economic life. Then he dwells on the records of marriages which took place at the Ottoman fortress and settlement in 1661-1665, and suggests that extensive conversion to Islam as well as interaction and intermarriages among born Muslims,

converts to Islam and non-Muslims in a way presage the special social and religious blend of Cretan society in later years.

Rossitsa Gradeva highlights two aspects of the repercussions that the Ottoman conquest had on the Christians of Crete, namely their expulsion from the fortified section of the town of Chania between, as she argues, around 1669 and 1692, and the obligation of non-Muslims to obtain permission from the Ottoman authorities in order to repair their places of worship. Gradeva points out that administrative decisions concerning the Christians in Crete were in line with Empire-wide trends, but that local conditions also had a crucial effect on how things developed; furthermore, she stresses that available sources sometimes generate more questions than answers.

Nuri Adıyeke discusses various aspects and consequences of conversion to Islam. He focuses on the social plane and highlights problems related to the decision to convert, as well as its consequences in terms of the fiscal and marital status and inheritance rights of the converts. Of particular interest are cases in which the religious identity of an individual is questioned or contested by relatives or other members of his/her community. The author concludes that conversion to Islam gave rise to social problems, but that these were generally resolved (or at least attempts were made to resolve them) in the court of law.

Nathalie Clayer and Alexandre Popovic provide an account of the evolution of dervish networks in Crete from the time of the Ottoman conquest onwards. The main orders present on the island from as early as the seventeenth century were the Celvetis, the Halvetis, the Bektashis, and the Kadiris; the Rifais, the Nakshbendis, and the Mevlevi most likely settled on the island at a later date. The authors point out that dervish establishments in Crete maintained links with Sufi networks outside the island, particularly in Anatolia, Istanbul, and the Arab lands. However, as they note, our knowledge of the history of Cretan Sufism is still very fragmentary.

With Part III we move into the period when Ottoman rule was firmly established. Its focus is the implementation of state policies in Crete, thus, centre-periphery, but also state-society, relations.

A. Nükhet Adıyeke studies the particularities of the application of the system of lifelong lease of tax revenues (*malikâne*) in Crete with specific reference to the case of the Rethymno district in the 1720s and 1730s. Her paper investigates various aspects of this system, and shows the distance which sometimes separated the principles from the actual implementation of the institution of *malikâne*, as well as the conflicts which arose among those involved in it in various capacities (*malikâne* holders, local judges, administrative officials, *vakıf* trustees, etc.).

Suraiya Faroqhi examines the implementation in Crete of a number of state policies in 1720-1721. As she points out, the Ottoman administration's predicament was how to maximise state revenues from the island and secure its control over it without estranging the local population, since Crete was not as easily defensible as mainland provinces. The check on fortress garrisons, the registration of military supplies from 1703-1704, and the taxation of sheep and olive oil are examples that Faroqhi uses in order to argue that the state displayed a tendency towards increased bureaucratisation, along with pragmatism, flexibility, and a willingness to experiment.

Marinos Sariyannis analyses a janissary revolt which broke out in Kandiye in 1762, allegedly when the janissaries found out that some of their colleagues had been secretly paid part of their overdue salaries. Through comparison with an apparently more serious revolt of 1688, Sariyannis discusses the central state's intervention in provincial crises, and suggests that this depended on general and local circumstances. Furthermore, he stresses the benefits of a more systematic study of military mutinies for a better understanding of Ottoman society and politics, and points to the usefulness of *kadı* registers as a source for such mutinies.

Part IV highlights archival, literary, and epigraphical sources for Ottoman Crete.

Svetlana Ivanova presents and discusses the results of her 'exploration' of the Ottoman collection of the Oriental Department of the Sts Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia for documents about Crete. After she explains the formation and arrangement of this collection, she highlights subjects on which the Sofia documents provide information, but also points to their gaps; moreover, she examines issues of Ottoman diplomatics, and the various steps of the relevant administrative procedures as they can be traced through the sources. Particular emphasis is placed in the last section of her paper on *arz* petitions to the central authorities in Istanbul.

In my paper, I discuss the Muslim gravestones of Ottoman Rethymno as historical sources. More than 330 gravestones have been recovered, but research on them is impeded by the dismantling of the cemetery, which means that they are examined out of their topographical context, as well as by the fact that many among them are damaged. Gravestones provide information on the deceased, but as conveyors of messages to contemporaneous society and the generations to come, and markers of social status, they also reflect the tastes, fashions, mentalities, and conventions of the social strata which created them.

György Hazai provides an overview of Ottoman narrative sources, literary works, and letters which refer to the Ottoman conquest, and the history and society of Crete and other islands of the eastern Mediterranean, and touches upon issues of cataloguing and accessibility of the manuscripts which contain these sources. The author has kindly donated copies of the manuscripts in his possession to the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, a gesture for which the latter is very grateful.

Finally, in Part V, Tülay Artan brings us to the late Ottoman period and connects Crete to Datça, in south-western Anatolia, through her discussion of the identity, history, and socio-economic position of the Tuhfezade family of notables, and especially Mehmed Halil, head of the family in the mid nineteenth century. The Tuhfezades claimed descent from an Ali Agaki or Giridî Ali (Cretan Ali), about whom Artan speculates that he might have been a pirate who sided with the Ottomans in the final phase of the siege of Candia, and was rewarded with a fief on the Datça peninsula. Furthermore, she suggests that the Tuhfezades remained embedded in two (or more) cultures; their decline coincided with the end of the pre-national mosaic in their region.

In the volume, the names of the major towns of Ottoman Crete appear in two forms, one Ottoman Turkish and the other Greek (or Venetian), depending on the preference of each

author. Thus, (from west to east) Hanya-Chania, Resmo-Rethymno, Kandiye-Candia (mod. Heraklion), Yerapetre-Ierapetra, İstiye-Sitia.

Antonis ANASTASOPOULOS

*Suggested Bibliography (Crete, 1645-1840)*⁷

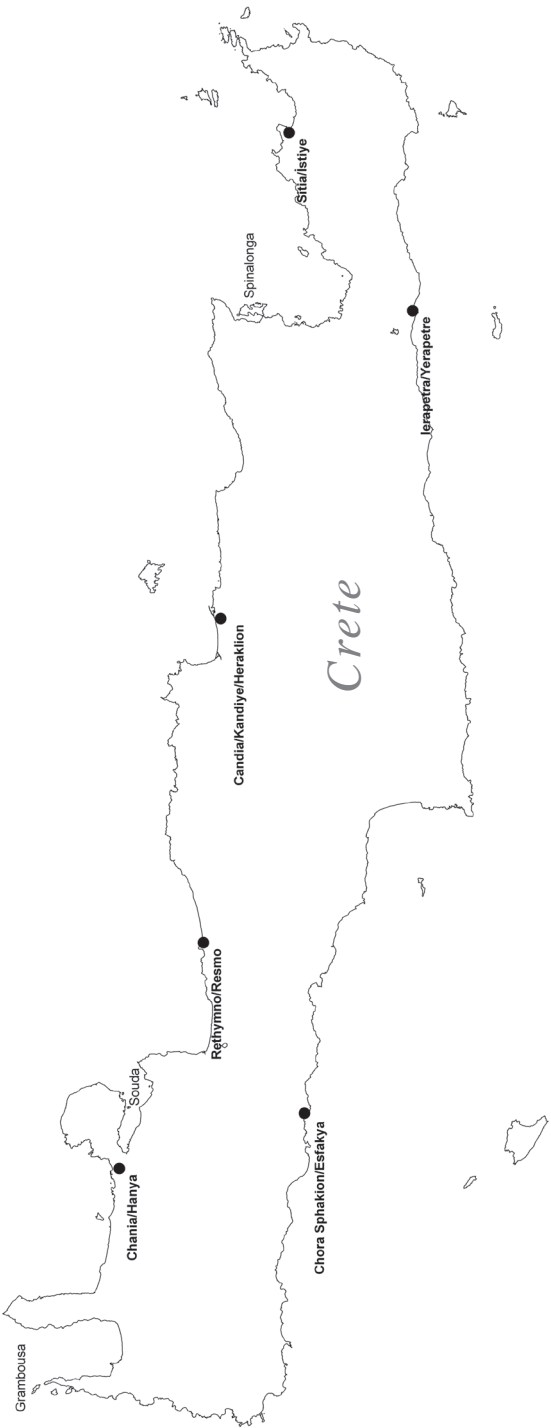
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⁷ This is a selective list; references to other studies on Ottoman Crete (they are in the hundreds and could not possibly be cited in the limited space available) can be found in the titles listed here.

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PART ONE

LAND REGIME
AND
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

LES RÈGLEMENTS FISCAUX OTTOMANS DE CRÈTE

Gilles VEINSTEIN*

LA CRÈTE PRÉSENTE BIEN DES CARACTÈRES originaux au sein de l'ensemble ottoman, dès le départ par les conditions de sa conquête et, plus tard, par les traits de son évolution. L'ensemble d'études publié ici nous aidera à mieux les connaître. Je me suis concentré, pour ma part, sur un aspect dans lequel les conquérants ont véritablement révolutionné, à propos de la Crète, leurs pratiques séculaires antérieures : celui de la réglementation fiscale. Il est bien connu depuis l'édition par Ö.-L. Barkan des *kanunname* de Candie (Kandiye) de 1670 et de La Canée (Hanya) de 1704 dans son recueil de *kanun* paru en 1945¹, que ces textes ont représenté un cas singulier qu'il a été le premier à commenter². On en sait un peu plus aujourd'hui sur cette singularité, grâce notamment à quelques trouvailles archivistiques et quelques éditions récentes. Je remercie Mme Zachariadou et M. Kolovos, de me les avoir fait connaître et je vais essayer d'en tirer parti.

Retour sur les kanunname antérieurs

Mais d'abord quelques rappels de base sont nécessaires sur les notions de *kanun* et de *kannunname*³. Dans la mesure où l'Empire ottoman prétend être un Etat musulman, il est régi par les préceptes de la loi canonique de l'islam, la *cherî'a*. Plus précisément, il reconnaît comme valides les interprétations que donnent de ces préceptes les grands juriconsultes de l'école hanéfite, dans leurs traités d'exégèse juridique, de *fıkh*. Néanmoins,

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1 Ö.-L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI ncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları*. Tome I : *Kanunlar* (Istanbul 1945), pp. 350-354.

2 *Ibid.*, XLI ; idem, « Caractère religieux et caractère séculier des institutions ottomanes », dans J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont et P. Dumont (éds), *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris et Louvain 1983), p. 22.

3 Depuis l'œuvre pionnière de Barkan, quantité d'éditions et d'études ont été consacrées aux *kanun*, trop nombreuses pour être citées ici. Mentionnons cependant l'ambitieuse entreprise d'A. Akgündüz qui s'est proposé de publier l'ensemble du corpus des *kanunname* des différents sultans dans une série de volumes intitulés *Osmanlı Kanûnnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*.

le *fikh* n'a jamais été la seule source de droit dans l'empire. La loi du sultan, le *kanun* (un terme d'origine grecque) en est une autre. La question des rapports entre *kanun* et *cherî'a* n'est pas simple et elle a été diversement présentée. En principe, le *kanun* est là pour compléter la *cherî'a*, mais ne peut pas la contredire. En réalité, on trouve dans le *kanun* des dispositions non seulement étrangères, mais, à l'occasion, contraires à la *cherî'a*. Elles résultent de l'histoire propre des Turcs ottomans, des conditions dans lesquelles ils ont été placés, des influences qu'ils ont subies. Cette dualité et ces distorsions ne vont assurément pas sans poser des problèmes aux oulémas. Un juriste comme Ebussuud Efendi, illustre *şeyhülislam* de Soliman le Magnifique et de Selim II, s'est largement employé à les résoudre. Tous n'ont certainement pas été convaincus par ses accommodements, même si les voix discordantes restaient tenues à la discrétion.

Le *kanun* du sultan (qui peut d'ailleurs inclure des coutumes qu'il n'a pas instituées, mais qu'il valide après coup) s'exprime à travers divers instruments : les ordres du sultan (*evamir-i âliyye*, *şerife*, *hümayun* ; *ferman*), les traités (*ahdname*) et, plus spécifiquement, à travers ces textes réglementaires qui sont désignés comme *kanunname*. *Kanunname* et ordres du sultan ne sont pas de nature différente. Il arrive d'ailleurs qu'un firman adressé à une autorité concernée tienne lieu de *kanunname*⁴. En principe – et par définition – ces *kanunname* ne comportent pas de préceptes chériatiques, mais il y a des exceptions. Dans de tels cas, il faut bien considérer, comme l'ont fait, par exemple, Colin Imber et Haim Gerber, que le sultan intègre des interprétations de la *cherî'a* à sa propre législation, une manière de les valider comme étant les seules valables⁵.

Les dispositions que contiennent les *kanunname* sont principalement fiscales, même si des prescriptions d'autres natures, en particulier pénales, peuvent y figurer⁶. Il s'agit de fixer les obligations des contribuables et également de les limiter ; d'énoncer ce que chacun doit : dans quel cas, selon quelles modalités, pour quel montant ; d'assurer les recettes du Trésor, tout en combattant les abus. D'ailleurs, les dispositions pénales mentionnées ci-dessus ont, indirectement, une visée fiscale puisqu'à côté des supplices et des coups de bâtons punissant les différents crimes, elles déterminent également les montants des amendes.

Rappelons aussi qu'on distingue plusieurs sortes de *kanunname* : ceux qui ont un caractère exhaustif et une portée générale pour tout l'empire, qu'on désigne souvent

4 C'est ainsi, par exemple, que le *kanunname* de Chypre sera constitué de deux ordres (*emr-i şerif-i sultanî*) au *defterdar* et recenseur de l'île de Chypre : Tapu ve Kadastro Müdürlüğü Arşivleri, Ankara, *Kuyud-ı kadime defterleri*, n° 506/64, fol. 3r-4r ; B. Arbel et G. Veinstein, « La fiscalité vénéto-chypriote au miroir de la législation ottomane : le *qânûnnâme* de 1572 », *Turcica*, 18 (1986), pp. 43-51. Le règlement de Mytilène du début du XVIII^e siècle, dont il sera question plus loin, est également un firman adressé au recenseur de l'île : BOA, TT 803, fol. 10-15.

5 Cf. H. Gerber, *State, Society and Law in Islam : Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective* (Albany 1994), pp. 61-63, 88-92 ; C. Imber, *Ebu's-Su'ud : The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Edimbourg 1997), pp. 24-62 ; voir aussi H. İnalcık, « Şer'iat ve Kanun, Din ve Devlet », dans idem, *Osmanlı'da Devlet, Hukuk, Adâlet* (Istanbul 2000), pp. 39-46.

6 Cf. U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, éd. V. L. Ménage (Oxford 1973).

par l'expression un peu rapide de « codes de lois ». Leur chronologie (en particulier leur attribution aux sultans successifs) et leur véritable statut (instruments juridiques faisant autorité ou simples compilations) sont matière à controverses entre les spécialistes⁷. D'autres règlements concernent une catégorie particulière de la population (les *voynuk*, les fauconniers, les janissaires, etc., etc.). D'autres enfin – et c'est la catégorie qui va nous intéresser ici – sont des règlements provinciaux : ils sont élaborés pour la première fois à l'occasion de la conquête d'une province et figureront en tête du registre de recensement de ce nouveau territoire, sous la *tuğra* du sultan conquérant qui leur donne force de loi. Au fil du temps, des versions successives pourront être promulguées, avec des modifications et des compléments, en fonction de l'expérience acquise et des circonstances, lors de nouvelles opérations de recensement. C'est sur la base de ce règlement que peuvent être évaluées les recettes fiscales à attendre de cette province. Toutefois, toutes les taxes effectivement perçues dans une province donnée ne figurent pas – loin s'en faut – dans son *kanunname*, soit qu'elles n'y connaissent pas de modalité spécifique, mais suivent un usage plus général qu'il est inutile de préciser⁸ ; soit encore qu'elles ne relèvent pas du *kanun*, mais de la *cherî'a* : par exemple, il n'est le plus souvent (malgré des exceptions⁹) pas question de la *cizye*, l'impôt de capitation des *zimmi*, dans les *kanunname*.

Ces *kannunname* sont plus ou moins développés selon les provinces et selon les périodes. Quand ils sont longs, ils sont organisés en différentes sections, en autant de *kanunname* particuliers portant sur des sujets spécifiques. Mais trois grandes rubriques apparaissent généralement, de façon plus ou moins distincte : les taxes sur la production agricole, l'élevage et éventuellement la pêche – une question liée aux relations entre *reaya* et *timariotes* ; les droits de circulation et de vente sur les marchés ; les droits de douane.

Parmi les nombreux règlements provinciaux à notre disposition, il y a des grandes similitudes, mais il y a aussi des différences. Ce sont précisément ces différences qui en font une source précieuse pour l'histoire d'une région donnée dans une époque donnée. Elles tiennent bien entendu à des héritages historiques extrêmement variés, conservés plus ou moins fidèlement et durablement par les nouveaux maîtres ottomans. Les héritages s'expriment non seulement dans la nature des taxes, mais aussi dans la terminologie et encore dans les unités de poids et mesure localement en usage. C'est précisément une des fonctions de ces règlements que de les définir. Mais les différences renvoient aussi à des conditions géographiques et des aptitudes naturelles fort diverses, qui ont favorisé

7 Cf. notamment N. Beldiceanu, « A propos du code coutumier de Mehmed II et de l'œuvre juridique d'Ahmed Hersekzâde », *Revue des Etudes islamiques*, 38/1 (1970), pp. 163-172.

8 Sur le partage entre taxes figurant dans le *kanunname* et taxes absentes du *kanunname* mais présentes dans le registre qui y fait suite, cf. M. Berindei et G. Veinstein, « Règlements fiscaux et fiscalité de la province de Bender-Aqkerman, 1570 », *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 22/2-3 (1981), pp. 275-312.

9 La *cizye* figure ainsi dans les versions successives du *kanunname* de l'île de Limnos (H. W. Lowry, « A Corpus of Extant Kanunnames for the Island of Limnos as Contained in the Tapu-Tahrir Defter Collection of the Başbakanlık Archives », *OA*, 1 [1980], pp. 41-60); de même que dans le règlement de Chypre (Arbel et Veinstein, « La fiscalité vénéto-chypriote », p. 44).

des activités économiques particulières. Au demeurant, toutes les différences constatables n'ont pas d'explication évidente : tel *kanun* offrira un luxe de détails inespéré sur une taxe, une pratique, une activité économique que l'historien ne trouvera nulle part ailleurs, sans qu'il sache très bien à quoi il doit cette aubaine. La cause en est peut-être dans la curiosité ou la conscience professionnelle d'un législateur particulier ou de son greffier¹⁰. Ces heureuses surprises font d'ailleurs, comme on sait, tout le charme des archives ottomanes.

Quant aux similitudes, elles sont dues à des données fondamentales du régime ottoman qui tend à s'uniformiser aux ^{xv}e et ^{xvi}e siècles : la propriété étatique de la terre qui est dite *miri* ; le système du *timar*, l'usufruit (*tasarruf*) des *reaya* sur leurs tenures (le *çift-hane system* cher à İnalcık¹¹) ; les taxes sur les personnes et les tenures des paysans, les *raiyyet rüsumu*, qui relèvent entièrement du *kanun* ; la dîme sur les récoltes qui, elle, est bien chériatique, mais pour laquelle les Ottomans se sont entièrement écartés du droit classique, en la prélevant, non pas sur les seuls musulmans, mais sur les *zimmi* autant que sur les musulmans¹², avec, généralement (mais pas toujours¹³), un taux identique. Enfin, dans tout *kanunname* réapparaît la même litanie de taxes d'*ihtisab*, de circulation, de commerce local et international, de droits casuels, qui sont autant d'institutions dites *divanî* ou encore *örfî* (coutumières), c'est-à-dire extérieures à la *cherî'a*.

Le kanunname crétois de 1670

C'est avec tout cela que les auteurs du *kanunname* de Candie de 1670 rompent de manière radicale¹⁴. La *cherî'a* seule et non plus ces sources d'inspiration hétérogènes doit servir de base. Il s'agit, comme l'énonce le préambule, d'« illuminer l'île en question des signes de la *cherî'a* et de la magnificence de l'islam ». C'est à un retour en arrière de quelque mille ans qu'il faut procéder, en rejetant tout ce qui a pu survenir depuis lors comme autant d'altérations. Il faut « se conformer aux dispositions de la sublime coutume prophétique (*sünnet-i seniyye-i nebeviyye*) antérieurement en usage dans les territoires conquis au temps des califes bien dirigés ». Cela implique de s'en tenir exclusivement

10 On trouvera par exemple de nombreuses mentions des expressions distinctes, *beytülmal-ı has-sa* et *beytülmal-ı âmme*, mais c'est dans le règlement de Mytilène de 1709 qu'on trouvera précisé le montant à partir duquel un bien sans propriétaire et donc dévolu au fisc passe d'une catégorie à l'autre ; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, p. 336, § 13.

11 H. İnalcık, « The Çift-Hane System : The Organization of Ottoman Rural Society », dans idem avec D. Quataert (éds), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge 1994), pp. 143-154.

12 *EP*, s.v. « 'Ushr » (H. Grohmann), pp. 1106-1107.

13 On trouve des différences – d'ailleurs relativement limitées, dans les dîmes à acquitter par les infidèles et par les musulmans, par exemple, dans les règlements des îles de Mytilène et d'Eubée ; G. Veinstein, « Le législateur ottoman face à l'insularité. L'enseignement des *Kânûnnâme* », dans N. Vatin et G. Veinstein (éds), *Insularités ottomanes* (Paris 2004), p. 103.

14 Depuis l'édition de Barkan citée en n. 1, une nouvelle édition, basée sur BOA, TT 825, pp. 2-5, a été donnée dans Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, pp. 318-320.

et strictement aux préceptes de la *cherî'a*, tels qu'ils sont expliqués dans les ouvrages de *fikh* (*kütüb-i fikhîyyede musarrah olan kaide-i şer'iyye*). Ailleurs dans le texte, il est aussi question de « traités de droit sacré » (*kitab-ı şer'iyye*).

Des conditions particulières de la conquête de l'île, un seul point mérite d'être retenu : les habitants ont capitulé, ce qui est rendu par l'expression *kabul-i zimmet* : ce sont des infidèles qui ont accepté la protection de l'islam. Par conséquent, le droit des *zimmi* s'applique à eux. Il s'en suit que les préceptes édictés à leur sujet ont une valeur sacrée. Les contrevenants n'encourront donc pas seulement le châtimement du sultan ou de ses agents, comme c'est le cas pour les *kanunname* ou pour tout ordre officiel, mais, comme il est écrit à la fin du texte, « la malédiction de Dieu, des anges et de toute l'humanité ».

Dans ces conditions, on ne retrouve pas dans ce règlement de notations, issues d'enquêtes préalables, qui refléteraient des réalités spécifiques de l'île. Contrairement aux *kanun* antérieurs, il fait abstraction de tout contexte spatial ou temporel. Autant qu'un règlement, c'est une leçon de *fikh*, au souci pédagogique bien marqué – un souci d'expliquer méthodiquement les principes élémentaires de la fiscalité chériatique par lequel le législateur semble présupposer que la *cherî'a* est ignorée dans l'empire, qu'elle a besoin d'y être enseignée. Il s'emploie donc à l'exposer tout en faisant ressortir la lumineuse clarté et la cohérence merveilleuse du système.

Il explique ainsi que l'impôt dû par les *zimmi* est de deux sortes. La première, établie par « tête de mécréants » est désignée par le terme de *cizye*. Il y a trois taux différents de la *cizye*, selon qu'on est riche, moyennement aisé ou pauvre. Les trois taux sont exprimés non dans la monnaie du temps, mais en *dirhem* « canoniques » (*dirhem-i şer'iyye*), correspondant à un certain poids d'argent : 48 *dirhem* pour les riches ; 24 pour les moyennement aisés ; 12 pour les revenus modestes¹⁵.

La deuxième sorte de *harac* est perçue sur la terre. Ce *harac-ı arazi* est lui-même de deux sortes : sur la terre arable, laquelle peut comporter également des arbres fruitiers plantés de façon irrégulière, on perçoit le *harac* « proportionnel » (*harac-ı mukaseme*). Il ne porte en réalité pas sur la terre elle-même, mais sur la récolte en grains ou en fruits qu'elle produit. Le taux en est fixé à un cinquième de cette récolte.

Par ailleurs, sur les vignes et les vergers comportant des arbres fruitiers plantés de façon continue, on perçoit un *harac* forfaitaire (*harac-ı mukataa*)¹⁶ qui porte cette fois non

15 Ebussuud rappelait déjà ces taux canoniques dans une *fetva* de la seconde moitié du xvi^e siècle, mais on sait qu'ils ne correspondaient pas alors aux perceptions effectives et que, en particulier, la distinction des taux selon la fortune n'était guère respectée ; G. Veinstein, « Pauvres et riches sous le regard du sultan ottoman », dans J.-P. Pascual (éd.), *Pauvreté et richesse dans le monde musulman méditerranéen* (Paris 2003), pp. 210-213. La réforme de la perception de la *cizye* de 1690 respecte le principe du triple taux, mais ne reprend pas littéralement les montants du *kanunname* crétois : il était question, respectivement, de quatre, deux et un *şerîfî altun* ; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanûnnâmeleri*, t. 1, p. 168.

16 Comme Mme Kermeli l'a souligné dans les discussions du colloque, le législateur, si soucieux par ailleurs de respecter la terminologie du *fikh*, y fait exception ici, en parlant non pas de *harâc-i muvazzâf* (ou *harâc-i wazîfa*), comme le font les traités hanéfites au sujet de cet impôt (cf. B. Johansen, *The Islamic Law on Land Tax and Rent : The Peasants' Loss of Property*

plus sur la récolte, mais sur la surface : il est de 10 *dirhem* canoniques par *cerib*. Le *cerib* est à son tour une unité de mesure canonique, définie dans les traités de droit canonique, les *kütüb-i şer'iyye*.

Une autre conséquence de l'application exclusive de la *cherî'a* est l'abandon du droit foncier ottoman traditionnel : les terres des *zimmi* soumises au *harac* (*arazi-i haraciyye*) sont détenues par ces derniers en pleine propriété : ce sont des *mülk-i sarih*. Comme telles, elles peuvent être achetées, vendues, léguées, soumises à toutes les opérations liées au droit de propriété. Le droit successoral de la *cherî'a* s'applique à elles, c'est-à-dire qu'elles doivent être divisées à parts égales entre les héritiers. C'est ce qui expliquera, entre autres, une des particularités des inventaires après décès de la Crète ottomane : la présence de champs arables (*tarla*) dans les successions¹⁷. Cette disposition allait implicitement à l'encontre de l'appropriation étatique de la terre, du simple usufruit (*tasarruf*) des *reaya* sur leurs tenures (*çift*), et de la transmission de cet usufruit en indivision aux héritiers.

En outre, de manière cette fois explicite, la kyrielle des taxes non chériatiques, les *rüsum-ı divaniyye*, étaient dorénavant « entièrement abolies et supprimées sur l'île de Crète ». Étaient expressément nommés *ispence*, *resm-i tapu*, *resm-i ağnam*, *resm-i küv-vare*, *resm-i deştbanı*, *resm-i otlak*, *resm-i kışlak ve yaylak*, ainsi que les amendes sur les délits et les crimes (*cürm-i cinayet*), les taxes casuelles (*bad-ı hava*), la taxe de mariage (*resm-i arusane*) et l'imposition du sel (*tarh-ı milh*). La liste n'était d'ailleurs pas limitative, puisqu'elle devait être étendue à toutes les autres « innovations blâmables ».

La formulation peut être interprétée comme signifiant que ces taxes avaient été effectivement appliquées sur l'île. Cette question nous amène à faire le point sur les différentes versions dont nous disposons aujourd'hui du règlement de Crète. La version de 1670 – publiée par Barkan et republiée en 2004 par Ersin Gülsoy de manière plus complète puisque l'auteur restitue quelques passages que Barkan avait omis comme étant devenus illisibles – n'est pas la seule existante. Le codex n° 3 des *sicil* d'Héraklion contient une autre copie qu'il faut considérer comme légèrement antérieure, vraisemblablement de 1669. En effet, cette version est rigoureusement identique à celle de 1670, avec cette restriction que le dernier paragraphe est manquant. Ce dernier paragraphe, répondant à une nécessité pratique assez évidente, avait pour objet de préciser les équivalents actuels des unités de mesure citées par les traités de *fikh* sur lesquels il fallait se baser : le *cerib* et le *dirhem*. En ce qui concerne ce dernier, il s'agissait de donner son équivalent en aspres,

Rights as Interpreted in the Hanafite Legal Literature of the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods [Londres 1988], pp. 15-17), mais de *harâc-i mukata'a*. Nous n'avons pas d'explication précise à donner à cet écart. Nous remarquerons seulement que *mukata'a* était un terme arabe couramment utilisé dans la terminologie fiscale ottomane, quoique dans un tout autre sens.

17 Cf. G. Veinstein et Y. Triantafyllidou-Baladié, « Les inventaires après décès ottomans de Crète », dans A. van der Woude et A. Schuurman (éds), *Probate Inventories : A New Source for the Historical Study of Wealth, Material Culture, and Agricultural Development. Papers Presented at the Leeuwenborch Conference (Wageningen, 5-7 May 1980)* (Wageningen 1980), p. 201 ; G. Veinstein, « On the Çiftlik Debate », dans Ç. Keyder et F. Tabak (éds), *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East* (Albany 1991), p. 40.

ce qui ne pouvait être fait qu'*in extremis*, compte tenu de l'extrême variabilité de la monnaie ottomane du temps. Or le texte indique bien qu'on avait attendu l'achèvement complet du registre de recensement, le moment précis où, comme il est dit, « on en a cousu solidement le dos » pour peser les aspres en circulation. On a alors constaté qu'il fallait quatorze de ces aspres pour avoir le poids d'argent d'un *dirhem* canonique, mais cette équivalence ne pouvait être que provisoire et serait constamment à réajuster au cours du temps, la valeur du *dirhem* canonique demeurant toujours l'unique étalon.

Le kanunname crétois de 1650

Par ailleurs Ersin Gülsoy publie également une version antérieure du *kanunname* de Crète, tirée du *tahrir defteri* n° 820¹⁸. Établie par Mehmed Paşa, *beylerbeyi* de Hanya et *defterdar*, elle date de 1650 et a donc été émise postérieurement à la conquête de La Canée, mais en un temps où les troupes ottomanes ne faisaient que piétiner devant Candie. Le règlement n'en est pas moins intitulé *kanunname-i cezire-i Girit ve nefs-i şehri-i Hanya ve gayri*. Il était donc supposé s'appliquer non seulement à La Canée, mais à la totalité de l'île quand elle serait conquise, ce qui, pensait-on, ne devait pas manquer d'arriver. Or cette première version du règlement de Crète est parfaitement classique. Elle ne préfigure en rien la révolution juridique qui interviendra vingt ans plus tard. Avec ses droits d'*ihtisab*, sa dîme sur les récoltes, assortie, comme il se doit, d'une *salariye* (aboutissant à un prélèvement d'un septième et demi), obligatoirement acquittée en nature et non en argent, sa « taxe de déguerpissement » (*çift bozan resmi*), sa double fiscalité sur la vigne selon qu'on est musulman ou *zimmi*, son monopole de vente (*menapolya*) du moût en faveur du *sipahi* pendant 70 jours, sa taxe (*bac*) sur les transactions effectuées au *bazar* d'articles venus de la campagne ou de la mer, et nombre d'autres articles similaires, cette version initiale, dans les principes sinon nécessairement dans les taux énoncés, a tout d'un *kanunname* ordinaire, tel qu'on pouvait l'attendre. En même temps, certaines réalités économiques propres à l'île, y sont fidèlement reflétées à travers la dîme sur les cocons de soie et, vraisemblablement aussi, à travers la part exceptionnelle donnée par ce *kanun* à la fiscalité sur les fabriques et les machines : moulins à eau, mais aussi presses à feutre, tuileries, rouets à fil de soie ou de coton, moulins à huile, métiers à tisser. De même, des dispositions particulières ont trait à la récolte du sel. Parmi les taxes qui seront abolies en 1670, l'*ispence*, le *resm-i arus*, la dîme sur les ruches y sont nommément cités.

Les dispositions douanières

Si nous passons maintenant à un autre volet de la réglementation que nous avons laissé de côté jusqu'ici, qu'en est-il du droit de douane ? Sur ce point aussi le règlement de 1670, publié par Barkan avec une lacune au début et republié de façon complète par Gülsoy, marque un changement radical. Là encore, le legs historique de la douane ottomane,

18 Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, pp. 315-317.

avec ses antécédents byzantins et italiens (le terme ottoman de *gümriük* ayant, comme on sait, pour origine le *kommerkion* byzantin)¹⁹, était rejeté, au nom des prescriptions du *fikh* en la matière. Le mot *gümriük* lui-même disparaissait. On parlait de *öşür*, c'est-à-dire d'une dîme, et les taux retenus étaient bien ceux des traités de *fikh* : 2,5% pour les marchands musulmans et 5% pour les *zimmi* ; quant aux marchands venus du « territoire de la guerre », les *harbi*, ils étaient taxés à 10% quand on ne connaissait pas le taux pratiqué dans leur pays d'origine à l'égard des marchands venus de l'Empire ottoman (« nos marchands », dit le texte). Dans le cas contraire, la réciprocité était de rigueur et si l'autre côté ne percevait rien, le douanier ottoman, à son tour, ne percevrait rien non plus. En outre, la discrimination portait encore sur un autre point : en affirmant sous serment qu'il n'était pas encore rentré dans ses fonds, qu'il était endetté ou qu'il avait déjà acquitté la douane en un autre endroit de l'empire, un marchand pouvait être exempté de douane, mais cette disposition fondée sur la fiabilité du déclarant ne valait que pour les musulmans et les *zimmi*. La déclaration sous serment n'était au contraire pas admise d'un *harbi*. Enfin, une autre mesure ne s'appliquait cette fois qu'au marchand musulman. Elle était formulée ainsi : « s'il dit : 'j'ai donné l'argent à un pauvre' et qu'il le confirme sous serment, à propos de ses marchandises – le bétail étant excepté –, on ne le lésa pas en lui réclamant la douane ». Cette disposition, surprenante de prime abord, ne faisait en réalité que renvoyer à l'essence même du paiement de la douane dans le droit chérifatique : il fait partie de la *zekât*, c'est-à-dire de l'aumône légale, et celle-ci n'est due que par les musulmans.

Cependant, sur la douane comme sur la fiscalité foncière, la réglementation de 1670, déduite du *fikh*, n'était pas la première réglementation donnée par les Ottomans à la Crète, mais la chronologie des versions successives n'est, cette fois, plus la même. Le *kanunname* de La Canée de 1650, publié par Gülsoy, ne comprenait apparemment pas de règlement douanier. En revanche, on trouve dans le codex n° 3 des *sicil* d'Héraklion (p. 398/105) un règlement intitulé *kanunname-i ahval-i gümriük*, et portant la date du 10 *cemaziyelevvel* 1080 (6 octobre 1669). Or ce texte n'a rien à voir avec celui qui sera copié quelques mois plus tard en tête du registre de recensement de l'île. Il s'agit, cette fois, d'un règlement tout à fait classique qui prévoit entre autres un taux de douane de 2% pour les musulmans, 4% pour les *zimmi* et 5% pour les *harbi* et qui stipule également quel taux est à appliquer dans les cas d'associations entre Vénitiens et sujets du sultan. La discrimination existe, bien entendu, entre sujets du sultan et *harbi*, mais le rideau de fer entre *dariü'l-harb* et *dariü'l-islâm* n'y apparaît pas comme aussi pesant que dans la version qui sera tirée du *fikh*.

En réalité, cette première version recopiée dans le *sicil* peu avant la promulgation de la seconde, ne faisait que reproduire, le plus souvent mot pour mot, le règlement douanier d'un autre port en liaison commerciale étroite avec Venise, Avlonya (Vlorë sur la côte sud albanaise). On s'était contenté de reprendre, pour l'appliquer à Candie, la version de 1583 du règlement douanier d'Avlonya qui était lui-même une adaptation et un dévelop-

19 Sur le système douanier ottoman « classique », cf. H. İnalçık, « Customs Zones, Organization and Rates », dans idem avec Quataert (éds), *An Economic and Social History*, pp. 195-204.

pement d'une version précédente remontant au moins à 1520²⁰. Quels avaient été le statut exact, la date initiale d'émission et la durée d'existence de cette version antérieure au règlement douanier de 1670 ? Le peu d'éléments dont nous disposons ne permet pas de répondre précisément. Cette première n'existait pas en 1650, à suivre la publication de Gülsoy, mais sa présence dans le *sicil* d'Héraklion n° 3, laisse penser qu'il était encore en vigueur alors que, par ailleurs, comme nous l'avons vu précédemment, la fiscalité foncière était déjà passée sous le règne de la *cherî'a*, comme si pour la législation douanière, la conversion avait été un peu plus lente et ne s'était finalement accomplie qu'*in extremis*, au moment de l'achèvement du registre de recensement.

Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, un « salafiste » de la fin du XVII^e siècle

Quoiqu'il en soit de cette chronologie, nos observations confirment ce qui est habituellement dit à ce sujet, à savoir que ce tournant législatif radical est lié à la venue en Crète, en novembre 1666, pour « achever le travail », comme on dirait aujourd'hui, du grand vizir Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, même s'il apparaît que cette mutation ne s'est pas faite immédiatement et d'un seul coup. Il revint au grand vizir d'obtenir la reddition de Candie et de l'ensemble de l'île en septembre 1669, et il ne devait quitter la Crète que neuf mois plus tard. Or il convient de rappeler qu'Ahmed Paşa se distinguait de la plupart des autres grands vizirs par son appartenance à l'ouléma. En effet, son père, Mehmed Köprülü qui avait été aussi son prédécesseur, lui avait fait donner une formation aussi poussée que possible de *âlim*. Il avait été patronné dans cette carrière par le fameux mufti et historien Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi et il était devenu à 16 ans l'un des huit *müderris* de la prestigieuse *Sahn-i seman* fondée par Mehmed II, emploi qu'il avait occupé pendant dix ans. En outre, il était sous l'influence, de même que le sultan Mehmed IV qui en fit son cheikh personnel, du prédicateur Vanî Mehmed Efendi. Ahmed Paşa l'avait connu à Erzurum alors qu'il était gouverneur de cette province. Devenu grand vizir, il l'avait fait venir à Istanbul. Vanî Efendi sera ainsi en position, jusqu'à son bannissement en 1683, d'insuffler au cœur même du pouvoir ottoman une idéologie islamiste radicale, celle des *kadızedeli* (du nom de leur maître, Mehmed Kadızade, m. en 1635), qu'on est tenté de rapprocher du salafisme contemporain. Selon ces islamistes radicaux, Istanbul devait devenir la copie conforme de la Médine des premiers temps de l'islam²¹. Il faut sans dou-

20 Tapu ve Kadastro Müdürlüğü Arşivleri, *Kuyud-ı kadime defterleri*, n°62 (février 1583), publié dans H. İnalcık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Süret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara 1954), pp. 123-126 ; et dans Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanûnnâmeleri*, t. 8, pp. 463-464 ; pour une version du début du xvi^e siècle du règlement d'Avlonya, cf. *ibid.*, t. 3, pp. 371-372.

21 Les idées des *kadızedeli* nous sont surtout connues par l'exposé qu'en fait Kâtib Çelebi, *Mizanü'l-Hakk fî İhtiyârî'l-Ahakk*, éd. O. Ş. Gökyay (Istanbul 1980), pp. 106-112 ; traduction anglaise : *The Balance of Truth*, trad. G. L. Lewis (Londres 1957). Sur les *kadızedeli*, cf. également M. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety : The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age, 1600-1800* (Minneapolis 1988), pp. 252, 260-261 ; A. Y. Ocak, « XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış », *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, 17-21/1-2 (1979-1983), pp. 208-223.

te ajouter que la crise inextricable dans laquelle se débattait l'empire depuis plusieurs décennies était favorable en elle-même à toute fuite en avant, dût-elle prendre la forme, en l'occurrence, d'un retour aux sources, à une recherche du salut dans une vision idéalisée du temps des premiers califes²².

Néanmoins, dès avant la mort du grand vizir, en 1676, les réalités reprirent jusqu'à un certain point leurs droits. Dès l'an 1083 de l'Hégire (1672-1673), il fallut réviser à la baisse le prélèvement du cinquième ordonné pour le *harac*, car celui-ci avait été fixé en fonction des parties les plus riches de l'île et qu'on s'était aperçu par la suite qu'elle était en fait constituée pour sa plus grande part d'un « désert de pierres » (*senkistan*). On porta alors le prélèvement à un septième, mais la correction ne s'appliquant pas aux « domaines impériaux » (*havass-ı hümayun*), il en résulta toutes sortes de troubles et de difficultés. C'est pourquoi, lorsque le gouverneur de l'île qui n'était autre alors que Numan Paşa, le propre neveu de Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, reçut l'ordre d'Ahmed III, de recenser de nouveau l'île, dans les années 1704-1706, le prélèvement du septième fut généralisé. C'est ce que nous apprenons du règlement de La Canée publié par Barkan²³.

L'élargissement à d'autres îles

Par ailleurs, nous savions par deux autres règlements publiés par Barkan que la législation nouvelle n'avait pas été limitée à la Crète, mais avait également amené la refonte des anciens *kanunname* de deux autres îles, Mytilène et Thasos²⁴. Quelques documents édités récemment élargissent encore la perspective. On constate à travers deux firmans de 1671 et 1672 qu'un grand nombre d'îles égéennes (des Cyclades, des Sporades et du Dodécanèse) ont été recensées à cette époque, pour beaucoup d'entre elles pour la première fois. Les principes de base de la fiscalité islamique, tels qu'ils avaient été formulés pour Candie, y furent également mis en oeuvre : la *cizye* avec ses trois taux canoniques, selon le niveau de fortune (même s'il est question pour plusieurs de ces îles en 1671 d'un taux effectif unique de trois *kâmil guruş* par tête) ; le *harac-ı mukaseme* et le *harac-ı mukataa* pour des terres qui étaient toutes tenues pour des biens de pleine propriété infidèles, quelle que fût la date de la conquête de ces différentes îles. Le taux de prélèvement était du cinquième ; toutefois pour les musulmans qui avaient pu se rendre propriétaires de ces terres, à Mytilène ou dans d'autres îles, il était réduit à un septième, sous le prétexte que ces terres étaient pierreuses.

Néanmoins, on constate, à bien des signes, que l'exclusivité de la *cherî'a* y était déjà moins strictement respectée que dans le règlement de Candie : sans doute le *tapu-yı ze-min* y était également proscrit au nom des *kütüb-i fıkhiyye*. Les amendes et autres taxes casuelles étaient maintenues, mais relevaient des seules autorités n'appartenant pas aux oulémas (*meşru olmayanlar hâkim ül-vakt olanlar*). Mais, par ailleurs, nombre de taxes

22 J. de Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, trad. J.-J. Hellert, t. 11 (Paris 1838), pp. 113-115, 329-331 ; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, pp. 146-149.

23 Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 353-354.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 332-338 et 341-343.

coutumières, expressément abolies par les règlements de Crète, étaient bel et bien maintenues : *ispence* (dont le taux est néanmoins réduit à Thasos et à Bozbaba/Agios Efstratios qui dépend de Limnos), *resm-i otlak ve yaylak*, *resm-i küvvare*, *resm-i gerdek* (un des éléments de la taxation si contestée des mariages), de même que la fiscalité sur les porcs, pourtant une *bid'at* caractérisée²⁵ !

Enfin, Mytilène et ces nombreuses autres îles conservaient des règlements douaniers « à l'ancienne », proches du règlement douanier d'Avlonya de la fin du XVI^e siècle, précédemment évoqué, avec des taux « classiques » : 2% pour les musulmans, 4% pour les *zimmi*, 5% pour les *harbi*.

Victoire de l'islam ou des élites conquérantes ?

Dans son ouvrage marquant sur la Crète aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, Mme Molly Greene a remis en question les motivations purement religieuses de la révolution juridique opérée sous l'autorité de Fazıl Ahmed Paşa. Elle a souligné que la critique de la propriété foncière étatique au nom de la *cherî'a*, mise en avant pour justifier l'élaboration du *kanun*, n'était en fait que « a minority position in Islamic jurisprudence »²⁶. Sans contester ce point, nous observons que ce n'était peut-être pas la propriété étatique en elle-même qui paraissait condamnable dans le droit foncier ottoman « classique », mais la conséquence qui en résultait dans le contexte pluriconfessionnel des territoires ottomans : elle excluait la distinction entre terres infidèles soumises au *harac* (à tel point que la notion de *harac* avait perdu tout contenu foncier dans la fiscalité ottomane) et terres musulmanes soumises à la dîme. Or ce *distinguo* n'avait, cette fois, rien de minoritaire et était au contraire au cœur de la théorie fiscale hanéfite²⁷. En revanche, Mme Greene qui observe que les questions foncières ne semblent pas avoir été au centre des préoccupations des *kadızađeli*, pour autant qu'on connaisse leur programme, a peut-être raison de rester dubitative sur l'influence directe que ces derniers ont pu avoir sur les options foncières du grand vizir. Celles-ci peuvent, en effet, tenir uniquement à la formation personnelle de ce dernier, sans que l'emprise du courant idéologique dont il était proche par ailleurs soit nécessairement à invoquer sur ce point précis. Il reste néanmoins que la volonté de retour à l'orthodoxie fiscale islamique participait, de toute façon, du même esprit de recherche de la pureté des origines qui constituait l'inspiration générale des *kadızađeli*.

Allant plus loin, Mme Greene a soutenu l'idée que les motivations du *kanunname* de 1670 n'étaient pas – ou pas principalement – d'ordre religieux ; que la pieuse rhétorique déversée dans ce texte n'aurait été qu'un habillage pour l'instauration, à des fins toutes pratiques, en accord avec les évolutions du temps, de la propriété foncière privée qui n'avait existé que de façon limitée dans le régime classique. Elle a cependant quelque peu évolué dans ses conceptions sur le sujet. Dans un premier article paru en 1996,

25 C. Küçük (éd.), *Ege Adalarının Egemenlik Devri Tarihçesi* (Ankara 2001), pp. 102-107.

26 Greene, *A Shared World*, pp. 26-27.

27 Cf. F. Lokkegaard, *Islamic Taxation* (Lahore 1979), pp. 72-91 ; Johansen, *The Islamic Law*, pp. 7-19.

elle attribuait cette démarche à l'Etat lui-même qui se serait ainsi donné les moyens de vendre les terres disponibles à des soldats qui avaient participé à la conquête²⁸. Dans son livre, paru en 2000, l'auteur donne une présentation sensiblement différente, l'influence des travaux de Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, expressément cités, s'étant apparemment exercée entre temps : l'instauration de la propriété privée par le biais du retour à l'orthodoxie juridique islamique devient désormais une victoire des grandes « maisons » (*households*) de dignitaires – celle des Köprülü tout particulièrement. Dans leur concurrence avec l'Etat sultanien, elles ont réussi à imposer, à travers ces dispositions nouvelles, l'instrument juridique dont elles avaient besoin pour mettre la main sur les richesses de la nouvelle conquête : « the Cretan kanunnāme, écrit Molly Greene, represents not fundamentally the “resurgence of Islam” but rather an extraordinary victory on the part of the grandee households »²⁹.

La thèse, ainsi esquissée en peu de mots, sans être démontrée ou étayée davantage, avait de quoi séduire, dans son simplisme même, tous les adeptes des réductionnismes matérialistes de toute origine. Cependant, je la crois difficilement soutenable et non dénuée d'arbitraire.

Il n'est évidemment pas question de nier que le clan Köprülü ait cherché à bénéficier des profits de la conquête ni que la nouvelle législation foncière ait donné lieu à un actif marché foncier, intéressant d'ailleurs des musulmans mais aussi des chrétiens, des grands mais aussi des petits (ce que Mme Greene constate elle-même). J'en ai, moi-même, fait la remarque dans des articles anciens³⁰. Toutefois, il ne faudrait pas prendre ici pour une cause ce qui peut n'être qu'une conséquence.

Mais j'observe surtout que cette révolution juridique n'était pas nécessaire pour atteindre les objectifs présentés tant dans l'article que dans le livre : aussi bien les hauts dignitaires que de plus modestes soldats avaient d'autres moyens, dans le cadre du régime « classique » de tirer abondamment profit des richesses foncières de la conquête. Dans le régime classique, des allocations foncières sous forme de *çift* et de *çiftlik* ont été attribuées de tout temps, y compris d'ailleurs sous forme de propriétés privées, à la suite de *temlikname* accordés par les sultans³¹. En outre, il est bien connu que la constitution de legs pieux (*vakıf*) était un moyen pour les hautes lignées de s'assurer durablement des revenus fonciers, à l'abri des risques de confiscation. Or, Mme Greene montre elle-mê-

28 M. Greene, « An Islamic Experiment ? Ottoman Land Policy on Crete », *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 11/1 (1996), pp. 60-78. L'auteur n'a pas pu tenir compte dans ses raisonnements du règlement de 1650 qui n'instaurait pas de propriété foncière privée, celui-ci n'étant alors pas encore connu.

29 Eadem, *A Shared World*, pp. 27-28.

30 Cf. *supra*, n. 17.

31 Cf. H. İnalçık, « The Emergence of Big Farms, *Çiftlik*s : State, Landlords and Tenants », dans Bacqué-Grammont et Dumont (éds), *Contributions à l'histoire économique*, pp. 108-111 ; G. Veinstein, « Les *çiftlik* de colonisation dans les steppes du nord de la mer Noire au XVI^e siècle », *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 41/1-4 (1982-1983), pp. 177-210, republié dans idem, *Etat et société dans l'Empire ottoman, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles : la terre, la guerre, les communautés* (Aldershot 1994).

me que ces formes anciennes de détention ont été effectivement mises en place en Crète, quelles qu'aient été les innovations du *kanunname* de 1670, comme dans les conquêtes antérieures³². Elle montre également que les domaines de la Couronne (*hass-ı hümayun*), loin d'être évincés par le développement de domaines privés, non seulement existent en Crète, mais progressent même spectaculairement dans les décennies suivant la conquête³³. Ajoutons que le changement foncier était d'autant moins nécessaire en Crète que si l'île produisait évidemment des grains en quantité non négligeable, sa principale richesse agricole, nourrissant l'essentiel de ses exportations, tenait aux raisins et aux olives. Or les unités foncières dans lesquelles étaient obtenues de telles productions (vignes, vergers, potagers) ont toujours pu dans le régime ottoman être détenues en pleine propriété (*mülk*)³⁴, à l'instar des biens immobiliers urbains. Point n'était donc besoin, en ce qui les concerne, d'une abolition solennelle de la propriété foncière *miri*.

On dira que la reconnaissance de la propriété foncière présentait, en tout état de cause, des avantages pour les bénéficiaires, en termes de clarté, de sécurité et de pérennité. Mais il ne faudrait pas omettre cependant les graves inconvénients que l'application de la *cherî'a* apportait à ces mêmes bénéficiaires, tant et si bien que s'ils avaient considéré celle-ci comme une arme au service de leurs intérêts, cette arme était, pour le moins, à double tranchant.

En effet, toutes les terres de Crète étant, d'emblée, réputées terres infidèles, elles étaient toutes assujetties au *harac*, y compris celles acquises par les musulmans, grands ou petits. Il est remarquable que cette transformation de l'ensemble en terre *haracî*, qui s'imposait dans le cas de la Crète, conquête nouvelle des armées musulmanes, fut ensuite étendue, comme nous l'avons vu, à d'autres îles égéennes qui étaient cependant, quant à elles, des possessions ottomanes depuis fort longtemps. Or le *harac* représentait un prélèvement sensiblement plus lourd que la dîme traditionnelle (généralement d'un huitième), même si dans le cas de la Crète, il fut réduit, comme nous l'avons vu du cinquième au septième et si les musulmans de quelques îles ne payaient qu'un septième, au lieu du cinquième des chrétiens.

En outre, si ces règlements instauraient la transmission héréditaire de ces propriétés, ils le faisaient nécessairement selon le droit successoral musulman, c'est-à-dire en attribuant des parts égales à tous les enfants mâles. Or chacun sait combien ce principe égalitaire, par son effet puissamment dissolvant, est contraire à la perpétuation des patrimoines, grands ou petits. Le fait enfin que les dispositions prises pour la Crète aient été étendues – en partie au moins – à une série d'autres îles, anciennes possessions ottomanes,

32 M. Greene signale ainsi un village près de Larani qui avait été accordé comme *temlik* à Fazıl Ahmed Paşa ; *A Shared World*, p. 53. Elle mentionne les *vakıf* créés par l'élite de la société candiotte ; *ibid.*, pp. 30-31, 83.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

34 Nous avons cherché à attirer l'attention sur le fait que d'importantes fortunes foncières pouvaient très bien se constituer sur une telle base ; G. Veinstein, « Le patrimoine foncier de Panayote Bénakis, *Kocabaşı* de Kalamata », dans *Raiyyet Rûsûmu : Essays Presented to Halil İnalıcık* [JTS, 11 (1987)], pp. 211-233 ; republié dans idem, *Etat et société*.

me paraît être une preuve de plus que l'islamisation n'était pas un simple masque délibérément posé sur les luttes d'intérêts précisément liées à la conquête de 1669, mais que l'inspiration dominante dans toute cette affaire était bel et bien de nature idéologique.

On observera, dès lors, qu'en toute logique, notre grand vizir salafiste n'aurait pas dû se préoccuper uniquement de ces îles, mais de toutes les provinces ottomanes qui vivaient depuis des siècles en infraction avec les principes sacrés de la *cherî'a*. On conçoit cependant qu'aussi entreprenant et convaincu qu'il ait pu être, il ait reculé devant une tâche aussi gigantesque et périlleuse. Il a donc limité son œuvre véritablement révolutionnaire à la Crète qui était sa conquête personnelle, ainsi qu'à toute la région avoisinante, non sans y mettre toutefois un peu d'eau dans son vin. Or il se trouvait que cette zone était composée d'îles et nous avons soutenu l'idée dans un article récent que le fait qu'il se soit agi d'îles n'était peut-être pas indifférent : les îles sont apparues de tout temps comme le cadre privilégié d'expérimentation des utopies, et la pureté chériatique qui était visée, n'en était-elle pas une³⁵ ?

Grâce, hier, à Elizabeth Zachariadou et Basile Dimitriadis, grâce aujourd'hui à leurs dynamiques successeurs, la Crète redevient un moment – lors des « Halcyon Days » –, une terre d'utopie au meilleur sens du terme, pour le plus grand profit de la recherche ottomaniste : qu'ils en soient chaleureusement remerciés !

35 Cf. idem, « Le législateur ottoman », pp. 101-106.

CAUGHT IN BETWEEN FAITH AND CASH: THE OTTOMAN LAND SYSTEM OF CRETE, 1645-1670*

In memory of Pinelopi Stathi

Eugenia KERMELI**

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A NEW LAND code in Crete after the final conquest of the island by the Ottomans in 1669 created a peculiar paradox. While contemporary sources – to the best of my knowledge¹ – seem to be aloof about the re-interpretation of the legal status of lands in Crete, it is an issue of heated debate for current scholarship. In 1943, Barkan was the first scholar to comment on the peculiar system introduced by the Ottomans in Crete.² Barkan perceived the new rules as a departure from the painstaking interpretation of the celebrated *şeyhülislam* Ebussuud a mere century earlier. The usage of outwardly Islamic terms like the definition of the lands as *haracî* and the freehold of their occupants (*mülk*), the admonition against the collection of uncanonical taxes, and the use of Qur’anic verses to support the new rules are some of the examples used to support his argument.³ Barkan pointed to the co-existence after 1669 of different land systems in the

* This paper has been in the making for the past decade or so. I have discussed different aspects of land taxation imposed on Crete at three conferences: *The Ottoman Frontier*, 17-20 March 1999, The Skilliter Centre for Ottoman Studies, Cambridge; *Beyond the Border: A New Framework for Understanding the Dynamism of Muslim Societies*, 8-10 October 1999, Kyoto; *La Sublime Porta e l’egemonia del Mediterraneo tra Stati e Imperi: 10th International Congress of Economic and Social History of Turkey*, 28 September-1 October 2004, Venice. I am grateful for all the comments made by participants in these conferences. However, my gratitude goes to Professor Elizabeth Zachariadou who ‘gave me my baptismal in the trade’ and over the years has always assisted me in more ways than one. Professors Zachariadou and Vassilis Demetriadis are pioneers of Ottoman studies in Greece; I would like to thank them both for their influence on my personal formation and for all their efforts to establish serious scholarship in the field.

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1 See Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 10 vols (Istanbul 1896-1938); Mustafa Naima, *Ravzat al-Hüseyn fi Hulasat Ahbar al-Hafikeyn*, 6 vols (Istanbul 1864-1866); Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, ed. A. Refik, 2 vols (Istanbul 1928).

2 Ö.-L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI ıncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları*. Volume I: *Kanunlar* (Istanbul 1943 [1945]), XIX n. 5, XLI, LXIX.

3 Ibid., XLII.

Empire to stress that land and its taxation were determined by the Ottoman administration's choice of adhering to previous custom. Despite the aptness of this statement with regard to *kanunnames* until the end of the sixteenth century, the change brought about by Ebussuud would have to be taken into consideration. Akgündüz's disagreement with Barkan's assertion lies in this point. According to Akgündüz, the implementation of *mülk haracî* land status does not contradict Ebussuud's *miri* land interpretation, as Islamic law permits lands taken by accord to be given to the local population as *haracî* freehold. Even where lands were taken by force, the Sultan retained the right to grant the same status.⁴ To be able to consider this as a valid explanation for the option of characterising all Cretan lands as *haracî*, however, we should consider the impact of Ebussuud and successive muftis on administrative decisions. The argument that law only served to legitimise sultanic decisions might be applicable to many instances. However, when scholars interpret such instances as the norm, they fail to comprehend the complex intellectual and cultural environment in which most of the 'actors' matured.⁵

The acceptance of the *mülk haracî* status of the land in Crete as peculiar has generated further interpretations with regard to the motives underlying this policy. Molly Greene in an article titled 'An Islamic Experiment? Ottoman Land Policy on Crete'⁶ rejected Gilles Veinstein's view that the new land system was a categorical dismissal of the concept of *miri* land "in order, so they [the Ottomans] argued, to return to the true Islamic conception".⁷ Her objection was not directed at the departure from Ebussuud's synthesis, which is taken as granted. She demurred at "a possible connection between the land regime imposed on Crete and the *kadızedeli* movement" as a possible explanation of the 'Islamic' character of the *kanunname*, to argue that "their concerns centred around relations between individuals, rather than the relationship between the subject, the Sultan, and the land".⁸ She concentrated rather on what she termed vaguely "Islamic principles", Latin administrative practice, and general Ottoman trends.⁹ In her book about Ottoman Crete, Greene expands on another possible explanation. She concentrates on the

4 A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, Vol. 8 (Istanbul 1994), 425.

5 This problem of practice versus rule becomes more apparent in the relationship between Sharia and *kanun*. The tension between the two, visible in the *kanunnames* of the sixteenth century, was an issue of concern for the Ottomans, too. The efforts of Ebussuud to harmonise the two is an example of it. Similarly, the interpretations of Cöngi Dede Efendi on sultanic discretionary punishment (*ta'zir*) given almost simultaneously with those of Ebussuud is another aspect of the same endeavour; see E. Kermeli, 'Sa'î bi'l Fesad and Rebels in a Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Court', forthcoming, 7-9.

6 M. Greene, 'An Islamic Experiment? Ottoman Land Policy on Crete', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 2/1 (1996), 61.

7 G. Veinstein, 'On the *Çiftlik* Debate', in Ç. Keyder and F. Tabak (eds), *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East* (Albany 1991), 40.

8 Greene, 'An Islamic Experiment?', 73.

9 *Ibid.*, 78. In another part of the same article Greene accepts that Islamic trends in the seventeenth century received less attention (*ibid.*, 66). Although I would agree with her argument that Ottoman land policies do not indicate a 'unidirectional' influence of Islam, I would not consent to her rejection of its 'cumulative' impact.

activities of the Köprülü family to argue that the new land policy was the victory of elite households who “fought the sultan – more or less successfully, although with some temporary reversals – for more long-term control over revenue sources, particularly the right to pass on their wealth to their heirs”.¹⁰ The Köprülü estates in Crete indeed seem extensive. However, to prove that this was one of the main reasons for the implementation of the new land regime more detailed research in the *sicil* collections is needed.

Veinstein, on the other hand, expanded on the Salafist influence of the Kadızadelis exercised by the personal *şeyh* of the Grand Vizier Köprülüzaade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, Vanî Mehmed Efendi, the leader of the movement in the 1660s.¹¹ This hypothesis is discussed in parallel to an interesting concept, that of the special character of islands in the Ottoman system; taxes and export dues of Thasos, Mytilini, Euboea, Limnos and Cyprus are examined vis-à-vis a new Islamic framework, and the need of defence against corsairs and the fiscal peculiarity of island production are taken into account. Finally, Evangelia Balta, in her Introduction to the edition of the Ottoman cadastral register of Rethymno, considers the example of the Cyprus *kanunname* drawn up in 1571.¹² She implies that since this *kanunname* was in fact drawn up soon after the final formulation of Ebussuud’s land reform, one would expect to find traces of the reform in it. As Balta notes, the Ottoman policy of preserving the previous land system while preparing a new survey is observed. She stresses that in Cyprus, Venetian feudal corvées were retained in the Ottoman period and the rate of land taxation was increased to one-fifth, similar to the rate applied in Crete.¹³

Thus, following this rather vivid discourse on the reasons underlying the new land regime of Crete, there are a number of parameters to consider: the Venetian landowning, registration and taxation system; the impact of Ebussuud’s redefinition of taxes; the comparison of the two *kanunnames* concerning Crete, that is, of 1650 and of 1670; the landowning system imposed after the promulgation of each of these two land laws; the mode of production before and after the new land code of 1670; the judicial impact of the changes on the cultivators; the reasons for the implementation of similar laws on other islands; and, finally, the impact of the Kadızadelis.

Ebussuud’s Definition of Land and Its Taxation, and Its Impact

Ebussuud came to the office of *şeyhülislam* in October 1545 after serving for eight years as the *kadiasker* of Rumelia. In both posts, one of Ebussuud’s main concerns was to rec-

10 Greene, *A Shared World*, 27.

11 G. Veinstein, ‘Le législateur ottoman face à l’insularité. L’enseignement des *Kânûnnâme*’, in N. Vatin and G. Veinstein (eds), *Insularités ottomanes* (Paris 2004), 101-106. For the Kadızadelis see M. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age, 1600-1800* (Minneapolis 1988), 146-149; Eadem, ‘The Kadızadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 45/4 (1986), 251-269.

12 E. Balta and M. Oğuz, *To othomaniko ktematologio tou Rethymnou* [The Ottoman Cadastral Register of Rethymno] (Rethymno 2007), 24.

13 Ibid.

oncile theory and practice in land taxation. The *kanunname* of Buda was the means for Ebussuud to elucidate a juristic theory of land and tax. His arguments, based on the *fetvas* of prominent Hanafi jurists like Qadikhan, Ibn Bazzaz and Kemalpaşazade, reflect the depth of Ebussuud's erudition.¹⁴ His judicial opinions were enacted as sultanic decrees and remained subsequently, through the medium of the *kanunname-i cedit-i sultanî* (1673), the standard text on land tenure until 1858.¹⁵ Although Ebussuud's assertion was that he normalised the laws of land and its taxation, current scholarship rightfully considers these changes as an 'islamisation' process. Ebussuud, by identifying the *öşür* (tithe) as *harac-ı mukaseme* and the *çift* tax as *harac-ı muvazzafe*, not only set at peace "pious Muslim tax payers forced otherwise to pay uncanonical taxes", but also benefited the Sultan's revenues by increasing the percentages of taxation.¹⁶ Another of his legal fictions endeavoured to put an end to the treatment of land as a commodity, subject to the normal laws of property exchange. Thus, when *miri* land was transformed into *arazi-i memleket*, that is, state land, the real substance of the land (*rakabe*) was *de jure* the property of the Treasury; the peasants had it merely as a loan (*ariyet*),¹⁷ and *tapu* was the 'advance rent' for the occupancy rather than the use of the land, since the peasant had the use of it as a loan from the Sultan.¹⁸ Therefore, in the *timar* system, the *sipahis* were granted the right to collect taxes on their allotments while new occupants cultivated the land after paying the *sipahi* the advanced rent (*tapu*) or right of settlement (*hakk-ı karar*).¹⁹ Transfer of *tapu* disregarded the Islamic laws of inheritance: the sons of cultivators had preference, whereas daughters could inherit the *tapu* upon condition of paying the fee that an outsider would have given.²⁰

In the *kanunname* of Thessalonica and Skopje (1567-1568), Ebussuud discussed the way former *haracî* land became *miri*. He explained that "if the land [at the time of the conquest] had been given to its owners, it would have been divided on their deaths among many heirs, so that each one of them would receive only a tiny portion. Since it would be extremely arduous and difficult, and indeed impossible to distribute and allocate each person's tribute, the ownership of the land was kept for the Muslim Treasury, and [the usufruct] given to the peasants by way of a loan".²¹ A tentative look at *kanunnames* promulgated soon after Ebussuud's redefinition of land and its taxation, such as those of Cyprus (1570-1571) and Georgia (1570), has shown that the rate of the tax increased to one-fifth. Thus, although the elaborate equation of the *öşür* as *harac-ı mukaseme* and the *çift* tax as *harac-ı muvazzafe* is not used, one of the main aims of Ebussuud's

14 C. Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud: The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Stanford 1997), 123-125.

15 H. İnalçık, 'Suleyman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law', *ArchOtt*, 1 (1969), 105-138; Idem, 'Islamization of Ottoman Laws on Land and Land Tax', in Idem, *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul 1998), 155-169; *EP*², s.v. 'Kānūn' and 'Kānūnnāme' (H. İnalçık); Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 123.

16 İnalçık, 'Islamization of Ottoman Laws', 163-164; Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 125-128.

17 İnalçık, 'Islamization of Ottoman Laws', 158-159; Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 120-122.

18 İnalçık, 'Islamization of Ottoman Laws', 159; Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 123.

19 İnalçık, 'Islamization of Ottoman Laws', 161; Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 130.

20 Ibid., 129.

21 Ibid., 124.

changes, that is, the increase of the tax rate, is observed.²² Similarly, the general Ottoman policy of preserving customary dues is also observed, as seen in the corvée duties of the Cypriot *parikož*.²³

The only *kanunname* which pronounces on the definitions of land and its canonical taxes is that of Sivas (1578).²⁴ This *kanunname*, promulgated four years after the death of Ebussuud (1574), describes the legal status of all the Ottoman lands. The Holy Cities and Basra are *arz-ı öşriye*; the lands are private properties and the tax is the Islamic *öşür* designated for the poor and indigent. The Iraqi lands are *arz-ı haraciye* and *mülk*; their owners, Muslims and *zimmis*, pay *harac-ı mukaseme* and *harac-ı muvazzafe*. Some of the Iraqi lands are not *arz-ı öşriye* or *haraciye*, but *arz-ı memleket*;²⁵ the *rakabe* of the land belongs to the Treasury and the cultivators use this land by defective lease (*icare-i fasid*). The rest of the land in Anatolia and Rumelia, according to the Sivas *kanunname*, is also *arz-ı memleket*, known as *arz-ı miri*. The prescriptions of Ebussuud with regard to the tenure and transfer of land are repeated.²⁶ Finally, the reason for the elaborate reiteration of Ebussuud's stipulations is expounded when the land system of Amasya and Sivas is described. The *öşür* is of two types, *öşr-i divanî* payable to the *sipahi* and *öşr-i malikâne* due to the owners of *mülk* and *vakıf* land.²⁷ The definition of the *öşr-i malikâne* in Sivas and Amasya is the percentage of produce given by the cultivators to the freehold owners of land after tax. The *kanunname* considers that land reclaimed for cultivation has become freehold, while the cultivators acquired the land through rent (*icare tariki ile*).²⁸ Since landholding and taxation in Amasya and Sivas were quite different from the pattern in *miri* lands, it is not surprising that the *kanunname* diverged from the usual repetition of customary taxes collected at 'canonical' rates. For purposes of comparison, the description of the agrarian *icare* in the *kanunname* would be also relevant when we discuss the *kanunname* of Crete, as *icare* and *müzaraa* contracts are prescribed to avoid loss of income for the Treasury.

The orderly classification of landholding and taxation, however, did not resolve confusion for the public. The work of Üskübî Pir Mehmed Efendi (d. 1611) is representative of this confusion. In his treatise on the *kanun* titled *Zahirî'l-kudat* (The Kadis' As-

22 H. İnalcık, 'State, Land and Peasant', in Idem with D. Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge 1994), 113; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 197-200 and 349-350.

23 Ibid., 349.

24 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 8: 425-428.

25 The explanation follows Ebussuud's opinion to be found in the *kanunname* of Thessalonica and Skopje.

26 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 8: 427.

27 Ibid., 8: 428. One of the prime concerns was to alleviate the possibility of mixing up the term *malikâne* with the dual ownership of taxes bearing the same name. The *kanunname* explains that it is *malikâne* on which the proportional land tax is paid at the rate of one-fifth shared by different groups.

28 Ibid. It is interesting to note that the term used to describe the owners is *malik* and *ayan*. Over time the peasants can pass the right to cultivate the rented plots to their heirs provided that – after they paid their taxes to the Treasury – they hand over to the owner an amount unspecified in the *kanunname* of *öşür* called *icare-i arz*.

sistant), there is a collection of *fetvas* of Ottoman muftis.²⁹ The *fetvas* generally relate to agrarian and fiscal questions; in their replies, the muftis refer to the *kanun*, *fermans* and cadastral registers.³⁰ The confusion in the use of the term *öşür* with the canonical one paid in *arz-ı öşriye* is obvious in the following question:

Question: Zeyd has the usufruct of a *miri* plot and cultivates barley. After he delivered the *öşür* to his rich *sipahi* Amr, should he give a portion of his produce to the poor?

Answer: No. The *öşür* he gave is not *öşür*. That is to say, it [*öşür*] is the surplus of produce. *Miri* land is *haracî*. It is inconceivable that it would be *öşür*. The portion that is given is *harac-ı mukaseme* and the canonical right (*hakk-ı şer'î*) of the *sipahi*. Only the Holy Land is *öşrî* land and the *öşür* tax taken is given to the poor.³¹

Ebussuud as the author of this *fetva* is at pains to explain the difference between the canonical tithe and the *kanun* tithe. As the *fetva* is included in this collection, it seems that the confusion persisted.

Zahirü'l-kudat not only tries to remedy the confusion stemming from the canonical classification of land taxes and dues. A large part of the *risale* deals with defining *mülk* properties,³² and the widespread transfer to third parties of the right to cultivate or collect land taxes. Undoubtedly, the upheaval of the *celali* revolts and the disruption of cultivation are reflected in the *fetvas* which will set the tone for the transformation of the mode of production and land-tax collection. Thus, before embarking upon discussing administrative decisions about the land system of Crete, we would have to take into consideration these gradual changes.

Loss of income is not justifiable and the right of the Sultan to set up the rates of taxation is confirmed in the following *fetva*:

Question: Zeyd migrated from his village to the city to be educated (*ilim öğrenmek için*). While Zeyd is still in possession of his *çiftlik* from the city, is the *sahib-i arz* allowed to take [tax] at the rate of 1/8 from the *çiftlik*?

29 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, Vol. 9 (Istanbul 1996), 394-486; 'Kanunname-i Cedid ve Muteber', *Millî Tettebbüler Mecmuası*, 1 (1913), 306. It contains *fetvas* of *şeyhülislams* like Yahya, Bahai, and Hanafi to mention but a few.

30 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 9: 404: "koyun kimin ise kuzu dâhî anındır deyü şâyî"; ancak bu makûlede veliyyü'l-emre mürâacat olunur". According to İnalcık (*EP*², s.v. 'Kânûn' and 'Kânûnâme'), the compiler of the *kanunname-i cedid-i sultanî* drew many of the *fetvas* quoted from this treatise. From the time of Ahmed I, there is trend to include *fetvas* on topics previously dealt with by the *nişancı*s, in particular problems of land law and law concerning the *sipahis*.

31 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 9: 421. The *fetva* following this one inquires whether after giving the portion of *harac* to the *sipahi*, one would also have to give *zekât*; and the answer is no (*ibid.*).

32 *Ibid.*, 9: 409; Question: Is the *sipahi* Zeyd allowed to collect a tax under the name of *ma'rifet akçesi* from sold (*bey olunan*) vineyards, orchards, olive groves and mills on the border of his village? Answer: No. They are *mülk* and not liable to [*sipahi*'s] permission. The *sipahi* cannot interfere in selling and buying. He can only collect tax and *öşür*.

Answer: In any case, the *harac-ı mukaseme* is collected. With an imperial decree, he can take the tax at the rate of 1/8.³³

The following *fetvas* of Zekeriyazade Yahya Efendi quoted in the *risale*³⁴ relate to problems arising from the temporary – through lease – or permanent – through sale – transfer of cultivation rights. The sale of the usufruct is disguised – following Ebussuud's prescription – under the notion of delegation (*tefviz*), the only other suitable term that the juristic tradition had to offer.³⁵ In such a transaction, the *sipahi* is not allowed to interfere and cancel the sale or transfer of usufruct.³⁶

Question: Zeyd commissioned (*sipariş*) his field to Amr. While he was away, Amr cultivated the plot and paid the *sahib-i arz* the *öşür* tax. If six years have elapsed, can the *sahib-i arz* take the land away and give it by *tapu* to another?

Answer: No. Zeyd's right is not removed.³⁷

Question: Zeyd delegated (*tefviz eylediği*) the usufruct of his lands to Amr. Is the *sipahi* going to collect the money for his permission from Zeyd or from Amr?

Answer: From Amr.³⁸

Members of the tax-exempt *askeri* class are also involved in the sale and buying of usufruct, thus creating a number of problems.³⁹ In the following *fetva* the *mütevelli* of a *vakıf* is not certain that he could collect the tithe if the lands were to be given to a soldier. Thus, the mufti, following the principle that steady flow of tax cash is preferable, permits the *mütevelli* to cancel the sale.

Question: The *zimmi* Zeyd delegated the usufruct of his *vakıf* lands to the soldier (*askeri*) Amr. The *mütevelli* did not give his permission, saying that it would be impossible to receive the *öşür* tax from Amr. Is the *mütevelli* allowed to give possession to Zeyd of the said lands once more?

Answer: This is what will happen. It is his [the *mütevelli*'s] right to refuse permission.⁴⁰

33 Ibid.

34 *İlmiye Salnamesi: Meşihat-ı Celile-i İslamiyenin Ceride-i Resmîyesine Mülhakdır* (Istanbul 1916), 441. He became *şeyhülislam* three times before his death in 1644. He is considered to be as important as Ebussuud by the author of the *İlmiye Salnamesi*.

35 Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 131.

36 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 9: 418; Question: Zeyd delegated to Amr the usufruct of his plot. Can the *sipahi* become obstinate and refuse permission on the basis of vicious prejudice? Answer: No.

37 Ibid., 416.

38 Ibid., 417.

39 The involvement of the *askeri* class in production is not new. See the 1544 *kanunname* for Mytilini in J. C. Alexander, *Toward a History of Post-Byzantine Greece: The Ottoman Kanunnames for the Greek Lands, circa 1500-circa 1600* (Athens 1985), 199.

40 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 9: 451. This is a *fetva* of Mehmed Bahai Efendi (see n.

Question: Zeyd delegated to the janissary Amr the usufruct of a plot. However, the *sahib-i arz* himself did not give his permission to Amr. Is he allowed to say “I will give these lands to Zeyd’s daughter Hind”?

Answer: He cannot say “I will give [them] to Hind, the daughter”. However, if by giving the lands to the janissary, there would be real animosity, he is allowed. Yet, if the janissary is a peaceful man (*kendi halinde adam*), there would be no compulsion.⁴¹

This *fetva* illustrates another problem which will become prominent in the course of the seventeenth century, that is, the involvement of the *askeri* class in land exploitation. According to Ebussuud’s rulings, a daughter is entitled to the usufruct of her father’s lands if she pays the *tapu* that an outsider would have paid. The *fetva* somehow implies the use of force in the persuasion of the father to sell his usufruct rights to the janissary. The mufti is aware of this unspoken compulsion and comments upon it in his answer.

The right of pre-emption to lease is established in Mehmed Bahai Efendi’s⁴² *fetvas*, especially with regard to mixed-ownership areas. However, the uninterrupted flow of tax remains the mufti’s main concern.

Question: Zeyd has a private house on *mukataalu* land of a village. In his courtyard adjacent to his house there is a one and half *dönüm* of extra land with fruit-bearing trees. The administrator of the *mukataa* registered it as *çift*. Is he allowed to say that I gave it to another person?

Answer: If Zeyd is to give the same amount that another would have paid for the place next to his yard and trees, then he should be preferred. If Zeyd’s renting period has not elapsed and he is overcharged for the usufruct, then it is not allowed to remove [the plot] from his hands.⁴³

Question: Zeyd has the possession of a plot by *mukataa*. He planted fruit-bearing trees with the permission of the administrator. However, over time the trees dried up and the plot became *tarla*. Zeyd left the place uncultivated for three years. Thus, the adminis-

42 below). In one of his *fetvas* related to the change of personal status and the inflation of the number of janissaries, Mehmed Bahai stresses that a new janissary cannot escape the burden of taxation; Question: Amr, the son of the *reaya* Zeyd, became a janissary. The inhabitants of his village where Amr has land and *mülks* told him to help them by participating in the taxation. Is Amr the janissary allowed to refrain from helping out by saying “I have become a janissary”? Answer: The prescribed taxes on land and *mülk* are like a part of property (*ibid.*, 444).

41 *Ibid.*, 439. This is again a *fetva* of Mehmed Bahai Efendi.

42 Mehmed Bahai Efendi became a *şeyhülislam* twice. His first term from 1649 to 1651 resulted in his removal by Melek Ahmed Paşa because of the unfortunate episode of the English ambassador’s house arrest imposed by Bahai Efendi. His second term was from 1652 to 1654. He was then renowned for his quarrels with important administrative figures. Early on in his career, he was sacked from the post of judge of Aleppo when the *beylerbeyi* Ahmed Paşa accused him of smoking (*elinden tütünü çubuğu düşürmez. İcrayı akhâm-ı şer’iye etmeye şuurı yokdur*); see *İlmiye Salnamesi*, 458.

43 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 9: 398.

trator wished to give away the uncultivated land. Is it permissible to hinder the administrator who argues that Zeyd, by not paying his *mukataa*, is not entitled to a *tapu*?

Answer: [If Zeyd], after not paying the *mukataa*, gives *öşür* or the equivalent to *öşür* tax, so much the better. However, [the administrator] can give [the land] by *tapu* to another and collect the *öşür*.⁴⁴

Finally, tax collection and complications with regard to seed in sharecropping figure in early-seventeenth-century *fetvas*.

Question: Zeyd paid for the villages of the *zeamet* of Amr so many thousand *akçes* and assumed the *maktu*. After he made his collection by *iltizam*, he [Zeyd] handed it over to Amr and took an oath that he did not take a surplus. Is Amr allowed to take from Zeyd the amount of *iltizam* which was agreed upon?

Answer: No.⁴⁵

Question: Zeyd cultivates a *miri* plot. At harvest, the seed and the *hakk-ı deştbanî* are extracted from the produce. The rest is divided into two parts. The *emin* takes half for the Treasury and the other half goes to Zeyd according to the ancient law. For one year, Zeyd's men sowed the land. However, owing to strong rain only a small part of the seed grew. If there is not much produce, is the *emin* allowed – according to the Sharia – to extract half of the seed and divide the other half?

Answer: Without the Sultan's order, the old established custom must not be altered. However, in accordance with the Sharia, seed cannot be extracted.⁴⁶

This preliminary survey of the *kanunnames* and *fetvas* compiled after Ebussuud's re-definition in canonical terms of land and its taxation produces interesting conclusions. It took some time for the *nişancı*s drafting the *kanunnames* to adjust to the new classification. They seemed to have followed Ebussuud's prescriptions with regard to the rate of land tax, which was increased significantly to one-fifth. The customary mode of production and taxes were kept intact in the *kanunnames* after the 1570s. The only exception is the *kanunname* of Sivas. The repetition of Ebussuud's legal classification of lands in the Empire is employed to explain the payment by the cultivators of both tax and rent, to the Treasury and the owner of the land, respectively. Another interesting aspect of the Sivas *kanunname* is the description of the *icare* contracts and the legal rights of both cultivators and owners.

Although the impact of Ebussuud's rulings developed gradually in the Imperial Chancery, jurisprudence seems to be freed from the earlier restraint on commenting on *kanun* issues. The *risale* of Üskübî Pir Mehmed Efendi, *Zahirü'l-kudat*, is a very important ex-

44 Ibid., 443.

45 Ibid., 419. This is a *fetva* of Hanefî Mehmed Efendi, who became a *şeyhülislam* for four months in 1656. Köprülü removed him from his post on the pretext that he was in poor health; *İlmiye Salnamesi*, 461.

46 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 9: 431. For a comprehensive view on *ortakçılar*, see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 90-93, 112. This is an excellent example of the legal tension between the two systems.

ample of the constant efforts of jurists to adjust to their new role. Apart from *fetvas* of Ebussuud and İbn Kemal, the *risale* also includes later editions of the *fetvas* of three *şeyhülislams*, Hanefi Efendi, Bahai Efendi and Yahya Efendi, who served at the post from 1634 to 1656. The main concern in these *fetvas* was to retain a steady cash flow to the Treasury. Thus, the proprietary rights of the owners of usufruct are protected, if tax is paid. The involvement of the *askeri* class in the buying of the right to cultivate is not welcomed, and the *fetvas* imply that the use of force might have been used in most of these dealings. The other important issue is that land is not personally cultivated by the owner of the usufruct. He could simply use labour, and his right to employ labour is protected as long as his labourers paid the land taxes in full. Finally, *iltizam* on land taxes works to the benefit of the *mültezim*, who is still treated as an *emin*.⁴⁷ The examination of these *fetvas* is significant for two reasons. Firstly, as *fetvas* in Ottoman jurisprudence are responses to actual questions and not a product of juristic fiction, it is imperative to look at solutions provided by the jurists to newly introduced changes. Secondly, as İnalçık has noted, from the time of Ahmed I onwards, a new trend is apparent in the drafting of *kanunnames* with the inclusion of muftis' *fetvas* concerning land issues.⁴⁸ The compilation of the *kanunname-i cedit-i sultanî* (1673) is an example of the departure from the *kanunnames* of the 'classical age' and of the 'triumph' of Ebussuud's efforts.⁴⁹ Thus, it is not surprising that, in a decree of 1696, the use of the word *kanun* side by side with the word *Sharia* was forbidden.⁵⁰

The Kanunname of Rethymno (1650)

The system introduced in Crete for the first time after the conquest of the western part of the island in 1645 seems to follow Ebussuud's definitions. The *kanunname* of Crete dated 25 December 1650-30 January 1651 published by Ersin Gülsoy⁵¹ established that in every *sancak*, *zeamets* and *timars* were allocated. The tax to be paid on the produce was *öşür* and *salariye* at the rate of one-seventh for cereals, grape juice, olive oil, and cotton. All the *kanun* taxes were to be collected, and *çift bozan* for those peasants who cultivated the land of *sipahis* other than their own was established at 300 *akçes*. In this case, the cultivator was responsible for paying two *öşürs*, one due to his former *sipahi* and one to the one whose lands he cultivated. In the *kanunname*, the rule that the status of the land rather than that of its cultivator determines its taxation was followed. Thus, a Muslim peasant buying the vineyard of a non-Muslim would have to pay tax at the rate that the former owner paid. The only exception to this rule is when a Muslim peasant planted a vineyard,

47 See K. Akpınar, 'İltizam in the *Fetvas* of Ottoman *Şeyhülislams*', unpublished M.A. thesis, Bilkent University, 2000; L. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden 1996), 119-152.

48 *EP*, s.v. 'Kānūnnāme'.

49 *EP*, s.v. 'Kānūn'.

50 *Ibid.*

51 E. Gülsoy, 'Osmanlı Tahrir Geleneğinde Bir Değişim Örneği: Girit Eyaleti'nin 1650 ve 1670 Tarihli Sayımları', in K. Çiçek (ed.), *Pax Ottomana: Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç* (Ankara 2001), 197-200.

in which case he was responsible for paying *öşür* at the rate of 20 *akçes* per *dönüm*. The *kanunname* strictly forbids the tax recipients from forcing the peasants to pay their *öşür* in cash instead of kind.⁵² There is, however, an important addition to the earliest *kanunname* of Crete, which will set the tone about proprietary rights of land on the island. It is ordered that if the occupants of olive groves and other lands (*zeytun ağaçları ve sair*) did not accept their *reaya* status and fled to the enemy, their properties would be sold by the Treasury as private properties (*mülk*) to interested parties. These *mülks* would have to pay the *öşür*. From the *sicil* entries of Rethymno we will see this process repeated with great frequency and disputes arising between buyers and former occupants, Christians, Muslims and new-Muslims alike.⁵³ Notwithstanding the need to appease the local population and reward those loyal to the Ottomans, one cannot but wonder as to the practicalities of changing the status of the land from *miri* to *mülk* as early as the 1650s.

Landownership Patterns and Taxation Prior to 1669

In a *sicil* entry of the Rethymno court dated 7-15 July 1654, whether land formerly belonged to the Franks (Venetians) or not was the factor which determined the amount of tax to be paid.⁵⁴ Yorgi Talafi took to court the *sipahi* of his village, Hasan Bey. He argued that, although previously he was paying the *öşür* at the rate of 1/7, now Hasan Bey asked for 2/7. In his statement, the *sipahi* complained that the peasant was not paying him the *tapu hakkı* and *ispence*, adding that the field was previously land belonging to Venetians (*frenk toprağıdır*).⁵⁵ Finally, after local people verified that the field was the private property of Yorgi, the *sipahi* lost his case.

52 This is a common complaint of peasants, as in the seventeenth century tax was more frequently collected by proxy.

53 The earliest *sicil defters* of Crete are those of Rethymno. They are stored in the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, in Istanbul. The first two were examined by M. Oğuz, 'Girit (Resmo) Şer'iyeh Sicil Defterleri (1061-1067)', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Marmara University, 2002. For a description of the *sicil* collection see A. N. Adıyeke and N. Adıyeke, 'Newly Discovered in Turkish Archives: Kadı Registers and Other Documents on Crete', *Turcica*, 32 (2000), 447-463. The general conclusion of Karen Barkey and Ronan Van Rossem that "the courts played an important role in channeling contention through its institutionalized forms of conflict resolution" is very applicable in the court records of Crete; K. Barkey and R. Van Rossem, 'Networks of Contention: Villages and Regional Structure in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 102/5 (1997), 1379.

54 Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (Istanbul), Resmo Kadı Sicilleri, Defter No. 57, p. 7 (from now on: Resmo, 57: 7).

55 Using the argument that the land was *frenk* did not always win a case. On 1-12 September 1654, Manoli accused Papas Kaloyeri that the latter unlawfully occupied 22 olive trees, a four-*irgadlık* vineyard and four fields which were his parental right. The priest, most probably a monk, argued that he took the land from the Venetians (*ben frenkden aldum*). Three witnesses, among whom was another monk, Kaloyeros Melas, verified that the properties were inherited by Manoli (*fi'l-hakika eşya-yı mezkûre mezbur Manoli'nin babasından irsle intikal etmiş mülk-i mevrusdur*) (Resmo, 57: 19).

The differentiation between Venetian and local Cretan property also determined the status of the land. On 1-11 September 1655, Şaban Beşe claimed that the forty-*ırgadlık* olive grove and fifteen-*muzur*⁵⁶ seed field that he had bought from the Treasury was occupied by Mehmed Bey. He also produced in court an order (*buyurdu-ı şerif*) supporting his claim. The other litigant, Mehmed Bey, stated that he bought the properties from a *zimmi*, Yanaki Kuromiti, and added that the lands were Greek properties.⁵⁷ The imperial order did not help Şaban Beşe much after two Christian witnesses verified that the properties had belonged to Yanaki for more than 30 years and that they were Greek *mülk*.

The *sipahis* granted the usufruct of *miri* lands by *tapu* to interested cultivators. In 1655, Server Ağa granted to İbrahim Beşe the use of a three-*muzur* seed field for a *tapu* of six *guruş* which was previously in the hands of a *zimmi* named Limo. As the owner of the *zeamet*, Server Ağa, explained, the field was flooded five years before, and the previous cultivator refused to plant it, thus severely affecting his income. The second reason that the *sipahi* gave was that the *zimmi* did not have a valid *tapu* (*müstahikk-ı tapu*).⁵⁸ The fact that he came up with this argument five years after the land was left fallow, and despite the provision in the *kanunname* that flooded lands are not considered to be arable, implies that, soon after the conquest of Chania and Rethymno, the lands were left in the hands of their previous cultivators without the burden of confirming their right of usufruct.

The local population by 1654 was not yet accustomed to Ottoman rules relating to the ownership of the usufruct of *miri* land. Thus, in 1654, the son of Papa Nikolo took to court his *sipahi*, Mehmed Bey, saying that, although he had inherited a field from his late wife in the *timar* of Mehmed Bey, he was obstructed from cultivating it. The *sipahi* responded by questioning the eligibility of the husband to inherit land from his wife. He asked whether it was canonical (*emr şer'in*) for a spouse to occupy land by inheritance from a deceased spouse. The answer of the *kadı* is illuminating with regard to *kanun* land laws: "according to the imperial *kanun*, land should not be attained by way of inheritance from spouse to spouse".⁵⁹ The *kadı* of Rethymno, being aware of the illegality of *kanun* law on land transfer, although asked to comment on the Sharia law, referred to the imperial *kanun*.

56 A *muzur* is estimated to be approximately 400 square metres; see Ch. Gasparis, *He ge kai hoi agrotēs ste mesaionike Krete, 13os-14os ai.* [Land and Peasants in Medieval Crete, Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries] (Athens 1997), 43.

57 Resmo, 57: 40 (*ben bağ-ı mezburı Yanaki Kuromiti nam zimmiden aldum, Rum yeridir*).

58 Resmo, 57: 40 (12-21 September 1655). Two Armenians paid the *tapu* tax and were granted the right of usufruct on formerly abandoned fields dedicated to the *evkaf-ı hümayun*. The *öşür* on the *vakıf* lands was at the lower rate of 1/8, adding an advantage to cultivators (Resmo, 56: 257 [12-22 September 1654]). Two fields of abandoned, uncultivated land with their fruit-bearing trees and vineyards were given by *tapu* to a woman, Manolica Kaloyeri, in 1649 and 1650 (Resmo, 56: 66 [1 December 1649 and 26 October-24 November 1650]).

59 Resmo, 57: 17 (15 August-12 September 1654) (*kanun-ı padişahî üzere zevceden zevce bihasibi'l-irs toprak değmemekle*). In another case, Ramazan, the *sipahi* of Agios Yannis, gave by a *tapu* of two and a half *riyal guruş* the fields of the late Andonya Kurila, who died without heirs, to, probably her husband or relative Marko Kurila (Resmo, 57: 51 [10 November 1654]).

The rather complicated issue of ownership of usufruct is apparent when three Christians from the village of Amnatos took to court the Prior of the Çanlı Monastery Gumeño Papas. As we are informed by the entry, with the permission of the owner of taxes, they had taken possession by *maktu* of the *öşür* and the other *kanun* taxes (*sahib-i arz ma'rifetiyle ber vech-i maktu âşar ve rüsum ve bad-ı hava ve mahsulatına vâzu'l-yed olan ...*). As representatives of the owner of taxes, they gave to the said Papas a *tapu* of 15 *guruş* for a forty-*muzur* field previously owned by a *zimmi*, Frenke Savanaco, who died six months earlier without issue. The condition was that the prior of the monastery would cultivate the land and pay the *öşür* to the *sahib-i arz*. The right of usufruct and the produce after the deduction of the tax due to the *sipahi* was then made into a *vakıf* for the monks of the Çanlı Monastery according “to their worthless religion”.⁶⁰

From the examples seen so far, the two types of landed property, that is, privately-owned and state-owned, co-existed before 1669, although I have not been able to establish the exact ratio of the former to the latter. However, the infrequency of entries from the *kadı* court of Rethymno of *miri* lands might be an indication that over time private property might have been more frequent than *miri*. In terms of taxation, there is no difference between the two types of ownership; only proprietary rights, like inheritance, sale and pledge, made *mülks* more attractive.

To comprehend the changes introduced by the 1670 *kanunname* we would have to examine two more areas, namely tax collection and cultivation methods. As far as tax collection in seventeenth-century Crete is concerned, it followed the general trends in other parts of the Empire. The land taxes were leased by their owners to *mültezims* as *maktu*. The yearly taxes of 1651 from villages belonging to the *evkaf-ı hümayun* were given in return for 1,000 *riyal guruş* to the administrator of the *vakıf*, Kurd Ağa. He was accused of charging more than he should, but the villagers could not prove their case.⁶¹ Christians, like Muslims, bid successfully in leasing tax-collection rights. Papa Tito, a priest, obtained the sheep tax of Muslim villages for 5 *akçe* per head and 1 *akçe* as registration fee (*yazıcı akçesi*).⁶² The leasing of land taxes occasionally created misunderstandings. On 18 September 1652, Hüseyin, the *alaybeyi* of Rethymno, gave to Mustafa Bey a *timar* worth 6,000 *akçe*, which belonged to a deceased Kenan. The entry depicts one of the frequent problems of sub-contracting; it mentions that “Hüseyin the *alaybeyi* should not claim that ‘Kenan was my own man, thus I have given by *maktu* all taxes to the so and so janissary; therefore, there is nothing for you [Mustafa] to claim for this year’”.⁶³

60 Resmo, 56: 10 (9-18 November 1656).

61 Resmo, 56: 67 (10 August 1651). In a similar case, the *sipahi* Ahmed sold the 1652 taxes of Saytures village as *maktu* to Ahmed Çelebi for 125 *guruş*.

62 Resmo, 56: 82 (undated). Veli Ağa gave the revenue for the year 1063 of his son, Ali's, *serbest zeamet* – a former property of the Venetians (*frenk mülkleri*) – by *maktu* for 700 *riyal guruş* to Lorenzo Patelaro and Coni Berito. According to the entry, they could collect the full *mahsulat*, *cürm-i cinayet*, *bad-ı hava*, and *kul ve cariye müjdegânesi* (Resmo, 56: 95 [25 August 1652]).

63 Resmo, 56: 95 (... *timara mutasarrıf olan Kenan fevt olup tımarı mahlûl oldukta işbu darende-i huruf rüsumatın ahz u kabz etmek istedikde sabıka liva-yı mezbur alaybeyisi olan Hüseyin nam kimesne mezbur Kenan benim ademüm idi, maktuan cümle mahsulın [...] nam yeniçeriye*

Peasants, on their part, would organise themselves to raise their taxes and hand them over either directly to the recipient or his representative.⁶⁴ Unlawful claims and over-taxation are regular complaints of the peasants.⁶⁵

Although the Ottomans did impose a new taxation system on the island, previous practices were still a point of dispute between owners of land and cultivators. Nikolo Sagonaco, most probably a Venetian lord, claimed in court that Konstantin used to give him during the Venetian time land tax (*yer hakkı*) for his nineteen-*muzur* *mülk* fields, adding that Konstantin subsequently refused to pay any more, since the arrival of the victorious army of the Muslims. Konstantin in his defence explained that the fields were his inherited private property and that Nikolo used to be their *sipahi* during the Venetian period. He argued that the *yer hakkı* was taken by way of *öşür*, concluding that he paid his tax now to his *sipahi*. As Nikolo could not prove ownership, he lost the case.⁶⁶ In a similar case, Mihali took to court Franci claiming that the latter had bought during the Venetian period the *nevelle*⁶⁷ of a field and a vineyard from a man called Papas. Franci was supposed to cultivate the land and pay the *nevelle* to Papas, who would then pass it on to Mihali. His complaint was that since the Ottoman conquest Franci had not paid. Franci explained that in the time of the Venetians *nevelle* was a kind of *öşür*. Since the conquest, the village was given as *timar*, and the *öşür* was paid to the *sipahis* Osman and Mustafa. According to the court decision, as it was not allowed to pay taxes twice for the same private property, Mihali was reprimanded and his case was dismissed.⁶⁸

virmişimdür, bu senenin mahsulinden sana aid nesne yoktur, deyü buna aid ve raci ve tahvil ve tarihine düşen mahsulün virmeye mani olmağla buyruldu). For the *iltizam* on land taxes see above, n. 47.

64 Resmo, 57: 28 (19-28 March 1655). A *zimmi* took to court two other *zimmi*s who were responsible for collecting the *miri* taxes of the village, because after the collection they claimed that there was still money missing and they had therefore to ask for more from all villagers. It was decided that the loss should become their personal burden.

65 Mehmed Çelebi – who leased the taxes of H. 1064 of the village of Yerani from its *zaim* Hüseyin Ağa – was accused that he collected the *öşür* at rates ranging from 1/3 to 1/8 (Resmo, 57: 12 [12 August 1654]). Similarly, new Muslims tried to get themselves exempted from land taxes to no avail; Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 23-24, No. 35.

66 Resmo, 57: 8 (18 July 1654).

67 According to J. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Istanbul 1890), 881, ‘neval’ means “gift, present, a share”, whereas ‘nevale’ is “portion, a single thing given as a gift”. According to F. Develioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat* (Ankara 1982), 990, ‘nevale’ also bears the meaning of ‘tax’.

68 Resmo, 56: 25 (27-31 March 1657). There is a follow-up to the dispute between the two men. On the same day Franci this time took to court Mihali claiming that he was obstructing him from the use of his privately owned field and olive trees inherited by his father. Mihali argued that he had bought these properties during the Venetian times from a *zimmi* called Papas and that he was not aware that they were the private property of another. He lost this case, too (Resmo, 56: 25).

Mode of Production Prior to 1669

There are two factors to explain with regard to the mode of production in newly conquered Ottoman Crete. The first one is the custom of sharecropping, or employment of labour followed in the Venetian period. The second one is the type of cultivation; from the seventeenth century onwards, it seems that the majority of cultivations were vineyards and olive groves.⁶⁹ Frenka Kalergi complained in court that 25 years ago Yani Manusaki's father had planted a vineyard on her three-*muzur mülk* field, on the condition of handing over 2/3 of the produce. However, although since the Ottoman conquest the vineyard had been destroyed and left fallow, two years ago Yani started cultivating it again without giving her a share. In his defence, Yani said that he found the vineyard in his possession and assumed that it was Venetian property without being aware that it belonged to Frenka's father. The court's decision was to grant seven out of fourteen olive trees to Yani and leave the ownership of the land and of the remaining trees to Frenka.⁷⁰

The Ottomans continued this system of shared cultivation. The *alaybeyi* of Rethymno, Hüseyin Ağa, gave for cultivation his three *mülk* fields and olive trees to a Muslim and a Christian. They declined the offer, thinking that it was not advantageous for them (*mukaddema virilmişiken akçaları değmeyüb*). He then gave the properties to their previous cultivators, three Christians and a Muslim, on two conditions, namely that three years after replanting they should pay 45 *riyal guruş* from the produce, and that every year they

69 Despite the Venetian policies designed to ensure the supply of grain for the island, cereal production had ceased to meet local demand and grain had to be imported, largely from Anatolia; Y. Triantafyllidou-Baladié, *To emporio kai he oikonomia tes Kretes (1669-1795)* [The Trade and Economy of Crete (1669-1795)] (Heraklion 1988), 48. The wine trade was so lucrative that peasants paid their obligatory 1/3 tax in wheat (*terzaria*) in addition to 1/3 of the must; *ibid.*, 168. Apart from free property belonging to the Venetian nobility, conditional or limited ownership was extensive. This was a perpetual contract of sharecropping obliging the cultivator to pay 1/2 of the produce to the owner of the land. Sharecropping was used when extensive labour was required to reclaim wasteland or for the planting of new trees. Tenants were the actual owners of 1/4 of the plot and were free to alienate it. The tenants could lose their rights only if they had not fulfilled their obligations to the landlord. The system of *gonicari* was based on long residence and the payment of rent. Unlike the serfs (*villani*), they could not be dispossessed of the land and moved to other properties. Although the rate of rent was established at 1/3, in seigniorial estates the rent would be from 1/3 to 1/10 of the harvest according to the custom of each estate. For more detailed information see A. Kasdagli, 'Notarial Documents as a Source for Agrarian History', in S. Davies and J. L. Davis (eds), *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece* (Princeton 2007), 55-70, and A. B. Stallsmith, 'One Colony, Two Mother Cities: Cretan Agriculture under Venetian and Ottoman Rule', in *ibid.*, 151-172.

70 Resmo, 57: 10 (undated). From another entry, we found that Frenka Kalergi was a big landowner. She sued the peasants of her former village on the grounds that they demanded taxes from her although she paid her *cizye* and *ispence* in Rethymno, where she had moved. The peasants proved that she was the owner of half of the village lands and ensured that she would pay her share on all land taxes (Resmo, 57: 12 [12 August 1654]).

would pay 20 *muzurs*⁷¹ of barley and 1/7 as *öşür* for the olive trees. The duration of the contract was three years.⁷² This is in principle a *müsakat* contract, the lease of a plantation for one crop period, with profit-sharing. The contract for such a lease is between the owner of the plantation and a husbandman, who undertakes to tend the trees or vines of the plantation for one season, at the end of which the proceeds of the crop are divided in agreed portions between the two contracting parties. The landowner's portion constitutes his rent (*udjra, ücret*). As the fields were replanted with cereals and vines, the owner expected his rent to be paid at the end of the three-period contract. As to the second clause, the yearly payment of taxes was the sole responsibility of the cultivators; thus, they were asked to pay the *öşür*.⁷³ Occasionally members of the *askeri* class were involved in sharecropping (*müzaraa*). In an imperial order dated 8 June-7 July 1652 it was established that members of the *askeri* were involved in a partnership with the peasants of Piskopi village to cultivate the fields of the villages belonging to the *hass-ı hümayun* in Crete. However, in the calculation of the *öşür*, instead of collecting 1/10 for their share and 1/7 for the peasants' share, they just collected 1/10 from all, thus damaging the income of the *hass*; the *askeri* were warned against this practice.⁷⁴

Apart from *müzaraa* and *müsakat* contracts, another method of production was the *icare*, the hire of services in return for a fee. Until recently, Yakumi was cultivating Antoni's *metochi* for a fee through an *icare* contract. They both agreed in court that henceforth Yakumi would provide Antoni with 12 *muzurs* of barley per year, regardless of whether he cultivated the land or not.⁷⁵ This was presumably the rent of the land when his contract was transferred from *icare* to *müzaraa*. As part of the Ottoman effort to promote dervish activities in Crete, former lands of Venetians granted to the *evkaf-ı hümayun* were given to Derviş Mehmed to cultivate, for an advance fee of 10 *akçes* per month payable to the *vakıf*. He was also held responsible for all the land taxes again payable to the *vakıf*. Mehmed, on his part, established ownership of this right for all his descendants (*kendişi ve kendiinden sonra evladı ve evlad u evladı karnen ba'de karnın ve neslen ba'de neslin sair emlâk sahipleri gibi mutasarrıf olup*).⁷⁶

71 This is a measurement for grain and should not be confused with the measurement of land by the same name. According to Greene, *A Shared World*, 125, it is equal to 12-15 *okkas* depending on the product.

72 Resmo, 56: 93 (20 July 1652).

73 Although, according to Abu Hanifa, in a contract of tenancy (*icare*), as the *müsakat* contract is, it was always the responsibility of the proprietor to pay *harac-ı muvazzaf* and *harac-ı mukaseme*, his disciples in the eighth and ninth centuries tended to shift the tax burden from the lessor to the tenant. Abu Yusuf decided that the tenant is responsible for the *öşür* in the *icare* contracts and in the sharecropping (*müzaraa*) ones; B. Johansen, *The Islamic Law on Land Tax and Rent: The Peasants' Loss of Property Rights as Interpreted in the Hanafite Legal Literature of the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (London 1988), 16.

74 Resmo, 56: 93.

75 Resmo, 56: 9 (undated).

76 Resmo, 56: 72 (3-12 April 1651). The same dervish got even more land by this method; see Resmo, 56: 90 (3-12 April 1651).

It seems, thus, that after the conquest of 1645, the Ottomans, hoping to appease the local population in the on-going war with the Venetians, introduced in Crete a hybrid system of *miri* and *mülk* landed properties. The Treasury confiscated vacant lands belonging to the 'Franks' (*Frenk*) and sold them as private properties to Muslims and Christians alike. Christians who fled from the battlefield were allowed to return and reclaim their properties. This is the case of Kalica, who escaped from Rethymno as the army advanced and in 1647 after a safe conduct was granted (*aman virilmekle*), she returned to her house and property. The imperial order that she obtained strictly forbade anyone from harassing her.⁷⁷ However, the choice to allow extensive private landed property on the island could not be merely the result of political manoeuvring and propaganda. When we look into the way that taxes were collected and the mode of production, it is apparent that Empire-wide seventeenth-century trends are followed. The *timar* land and taxation system was rapidly being transformed. Agricultural and other taxes of the *sipahis* were given to *em-ins* or *mültezims*, and constant complaints of injustice about the collection of taxes were registered by the peasants.⁷⁸ On 30 August 1657, Zaim Hüseyin Ağa admitted in the presence of the villagers of Yerani that for years he gave the collection of taxes by *maktu* to third parties. Tax collectors had oppressed the population, and Hüseyin promised in court to collect the taxes in person, not to employ an assessor but to set the tax after going to the fields, and to take the *öşür* at the rate of 1/7. In return, his villagers gave him a loan of 100 *muzurs* of wheat and 100 *muzurs* of barley to be deducted from the taxes of the following year.⁷⁹ The relatively small *timars* of Crete could not have been attractive to *sipahis*, and in the *sicils* there are frequent references to vacant *timars*.⁸⁰ Muslims and Christians were involved in tax collection, which gave them, as we have seen, the right even to allocate *tapus* subsequently made into *vakıfs*, as seen earlier. There is only one type of ownership equally advantageous to *mülk* and that is the usufruct of *vakıf* and imperial *hass* lands with their special tax exemptions and low payments in *maktu*.⁸¹ Finally, the Venetian sharecropping methods continued during the Ottoman period under the contract of *müsakat*.⁸²

77 Resmo, 56: 74 (6 February 1647-26 January 1648).

78 Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 77-78, No. 107 (14 October 1658). The *voyvoda* of Rethymno obtained the collection of taxes of Piskopi village and sold the right to collect to Mahmud Beşe for 50,000 *akçes*.

79 Ibid., I: 47, No. 68.

80 Ibid., I: 66-67, No. 92 (26 July 1658): An *ağa* was appointed as the *emin* to collect the taxes of vacant *timars* on behalf of the Treasury; Resmo, 56: 58 (21-29 June 1650 and 11-20 June 1650), 56: 59 (1 June 1650), and 56: 447 (2 March 1651). In Resmo, 56: 55 (12 March 1652), two *sipahis* reached an agreement (*sulh*) about the taxes of a 6,000-*akçe timar* which was claimed by both.

81 Resmo, 56: 63 (25 December 1650-3 January 1651), 56: 4 (20 August 1656); Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 61-62, No. 85 (10 October 1657).

82 In *müsakat* contracts the rights of the cultivator are protected; Question: Zeyd gave his orchard to Amr and they had agreed to share the fruit between them. After they concluded a *müsakat* contract according to the Sharia, Amr cultivated the orchard (*timar edüb*). If, when the fruit becomes ripe, Zeyd takes possession of all the produce, can Amr claim half of it from Zeyd? An-

Thus, 12 years before the final conquest of the island and the promulgation of the *kanunname* of Crete in 1669-1670 there was a combination of *miri* and *mülk* lands already in place; taxes – even those due in kind⁸³ – were collected in cash by representatives and tax collectors, whereas fields were cultivated by sharecropping methods.

The Kanunname of 1670

Molly Greene and Ersin Gülsoy supplemented the blank spaces of the *kanunname* of Crete published by Barkan.⁸⁴ Outwardly, the *kanunname* seems to depart from the classic format and wording of its kind. Gilles Veinstein has observed the peculiar Islamic character of the *kanunname* with its reference to the glorious past of the first Caliphs, the use of canonical terms like *cerib* and *dirhem*, the quotation from the Qur'an and, most importantly, the change of the legal status of the land from *miri* to *haracî*.⁸⁵ Upon introducing the *harac* tax, the compiler of the *kanunnane* feels obliged to re-educate his readers. To avoid any possible misunderstandings, he explains that the poll tax known as *cizye* is actually *harac*.⁸⁶

When it comes to the introduction of the second type of *harac*, that is, the *harac-ı arazi*, the lands of Crete are categorised as *arazi-i haraciye*. Following the Hanafi prescriptions, *haracî* land is the freehold of its cultivators; thus, the legislator repeats the proprietary rights of peasants who can sell, buy and exchange their properties at will. Then he specifies that the *harac-ı arazi* is of two types, the first applied to fields and land with few fruit-bearing trees. After this type of land is measured, the *harac-ı mukaseme* at the rate of 1/5 is levied. According to the provisions, if the land is left uncultivated for a year, no tax is demanded. Equally, if it produces two crops in a year, then the tax is due

swer: Yes, he can (Çatalcalı Ali Efendi, *Fetava*, Vol. II [Istanbul 1893], 732). For the same *fetva* see Abdurrahim Efendi, *Fetava*, Vol. I [Istanbul 1827], 137. Even if the produce cannot cover the obligation of the cultivator, the landowner cannot demand any payment; Question: Zeyd gave his *mülk* fig orchard to Amr to cultivate for a year. They concluded a *müsakat* contract on condition that Amr would give Zeyd 40 *kantars* of figs and keep the rest. Amr cultivated the orchard for a year and collected the produce. However, it did not amount to 40 *kantars*. Although Amr gave an account to Zeyd and took an oath that he had not kept any surplus, Zeyd was not convinced. By saying “we had agreed that you hand me over 40 *kantars* of figs”, is it permissible to take them from Amr? Answer: No, and Amr can take the fair fee for his work (*ecr-i misl*) (ibid.). Upon completion of the contract, no claim changing the status of the land can be accepted; Question: Zeyd, Amr and Bekr received from Beşr an orchard by way of *müsakat*. While they were cultivating it, they claimed that the aforementioned orchard given to them in writing was previously their own *mülk*. Is it allowed to hear their legal case? Answer: No (ibid.).

83 Resmo, 56: 6 (19 October 1656 and 25 September 1656), 56: 75 (undated).

84 Gülsoy, ‘Osmanlı Tahrir Geleneğinde Bir Değişim Örneği’, 200-203; Greene, ‘An Islamic Experiment?’, 62-65.

85 Veinstein, ‘Le législateur ottoman face à l’insularité’, 103-104.

86 Gülsoy, ‘Osmanlı Tahrir Geleneğinde Bir Değişim Örneği’, 200: “harâc iki nev üzere mebnî olup nev-i evvel ki keferenin rû’usuna vaz olunur cizye ile müsemmâdır”. This is the *harac-ı rîius* or *harac-ı baş*; see *TDVİA*, s.v. ‘Haraç’, 90.

twice. The second type of land tax regards vineyards and orchards. After they are measured, *harac-ı mukataa* is payable as a fixed amount of money per unit of land. The use of the term *harac-ı mukataa* instead of the expected *harac-ı muvazzaf* is intriguing.⁸⁷ The compiler, aware of this peculiar term, hastens to explain that the tax is established in the written Sharia (*ketb-i şer'iyede tayin buyrulan* – it is rather difficult to trace which “written Sharia” he refers to) as *harac-ı mukataa*. This tax should be levied at the rate of 10 *dirhems* per *cerib* of vineyards and orchards; no more or less should be demanded.

The uneasiness stemming from the introduction of this new classification of land tax is apparent when this section of the *kanunname* is completed by the sentence that the tax of this type of land is *harac-ı mukataa* (*harac-ı arzın bu nevi harac-ı mukataadır*). In classic Hanafite doctrine and Ebussuud's definitions, both *harac-ı mukaseme* and *harac-ı muvazzaf* are to be collected from the same plot of land. However, in Crete we see a division in the land taxation according to the type of cultivation. Moreover, *harac-ı muvazzaf* is a fixed sum of money whose amount depends on the size and quality of the land, and not on the type of cultivation.⁸⁸ If we are thus to equate *harac-ı muvazzaf* with *harac-ı mukataa* as used in the *kanunname*, we are faced with a discrepancy, as the latter is defined as a tax depending upon the size of a specific type of cultivation, i.e., fruit-bearing trees.⁸⁹

To solve the problem of the use of the rather curious term *harac-ı mukataa* – only found once more in the later dated *kanunname* of Mytilini island in 1709⁹⁰ – we would have to look at the terminology used for the taxation of orchards and vineyards in Ottoman *kanunnames*. Based on the *kanunname* of the Hüdavendigâr district published by Barkan, cultivators had to pay for orchards and vineyards a tithe on production. However, an estimated fee was decided under the name of *harac*, because of the difficulty which peasants had in paying the tax. This fee varies from province to province. Thus, *kesim* is collected for the tithe of orchards and vineyards.⁹¹ This concept is elaborated in the

87 According to Baber Johansen, the *harac-ı muvazzaf* in the legal tradition of the Hanafite school “is a *mu'na*, a burden on the productive land which has to be accepted as a personal obligation by any person enjoying property rights on such lands”; Johansen, *The Islamic Law on Land Tax*, 89.

88 Ibid., 15.

89 The term *mukataa* with regard to land was used in Persia as an assessment method together with *masaha* and *mukasama*; *EP*, s.v. ‘Kharadj’ (A. Lambton). Under *masaha*, the amount due in kind or cash was based on the measurement of land. However, peasants had to pay tax even if they suffered losses from natural disasters or the breakdown of the irrigation system. The actual Ottoman practice according to İnalcık was this assessment method, as tithes were fixed not at every harvest year but for quite a long period up to even 30 years; İnalcık, ‘Islamization of Ottoman Laws’, 164. Under the *mukasama* method, tax depended upon the crop yield. This assessment method also safeguarded the taxpayer in the event of partial or total crop failures. Finally, *mukataa* prevailed in the remotest areas of Persia, and developed in parallel to the extension of *ikta* from the tenth century onwards; *EP*, s.v. ‘Kharadj’. One of the main problems of the *mukataa* method was that assessments were frequently out of date.

90 Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 332-338; Veinstein, ‘Le législateur ottoman face à l’insularité’, 104.

91 Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 4.

kanunname of Malatya. The tithe on orchards was registered as *maktu* and paid in cash. The *kanunname* adds that in some customs and *kanuns* this tax is registered as *harac*.⁹² As custom prescribed the payment of the tithe on orchards and vineyards as *maktu* and *kesim* (two synonymous words) due in cash under the name *harac*, we can perhaps trace the reasoning behind the use of the term *harac-ı mukataa*. We have to emphasise, though, that the term *harac-ı mukataa*, rather than being a canonical tax, is a reflection of Ottoman customary law. This is perhaps the reason why the *kanunname* of 1670 is so insistent in explaining the tax in Islamic terminology.

Finally, the produce of vineyards and orchards is correlated to the feasibility of profit. Unlike the case of other lands in Crete, the owners of orchards and vineyards were not allowed to leave their lands fallow and avoid paying their taxes (*Arzla intifaın imkânına talallûk ider. İntifa mümkün iken sahibi tatil eylese yine haracı mütekerrir olmayub taleb olunmaz*).⁹³ It is added that if the owner escapes or leaves the land fallow, despite being capable of cultivating it, then the land should be given away by means of *müzaraa* or *icare* to others who would pay the tax.⁹⁴ As we have seen from the earlier *sicils* of Rethymno, this was already a mode of cultivation in practice.

Therefore, profit-making cultivations, like olive trees and vineyards, are bound to have attracted the attention of the lawgiver, who would attempt to safeguard the fiscal benefits of the Treasury. I suspect that the *harac-ı mukataa* was 'invented' to explain a new tax on profit-making crops. As we have already seen in the *sicils* before 1669, these crops constituted the majority of agrarian produce on the island,⁹⁵ and their taxes were collected by tax collectors by *maktu*.

Interestingly, although so far the land system of freehold property introduced in Crete after 1669 is presented as unique, in fact Dina Khoury in her work on Basra has stressed the similarities between the two areas.⁹⁶ Basra was first conquered by Süleyman the Lawgiver in 1546. The city fell briefly to the Safavids, but their rule remained nominal. The Ottomans finally subjugated Basra in 1669. According to Khoury, in an effort to appease the local elites after the re-conquest of the city, the Ottomans accepted the *de facto* right of urban and tribal elites to the lands they had been cultivating, by declaring them pri-

92 Ibid., 115-116.

93 Gülsoy, 'Osmanlı Tahrir Geleneğinde Bir Değişim Örneği', 201.

94 Ibid.

95 The surveys of the lands of Rethymno carried out sometime between 1670 and 1673 published by Balta and Oğuz verify that the majority of the cultivations were fruit-bearing trees, whereas the percentage of grain-producing fields was relatively small; Balta and Oğuz, *Othomaniko ktematologio, passim*. Even before the Ottomans landed on the island, olive groves were flourishing in Crete; E. Balta, 'Olive Cultivation in Crete at the Time of the Ottoman Conquest', *OA*, 20 (2000), 147. For the legal status of orchards and fruit-bearing trees see C. Imber, 'The Status of Orchards and Fruit-Trees in Ottoman Law', in Idem, *Studies in Ottoman History and Law* (Istanbul 1996), 207-217.

96 D. R. Khoury, 'Administrative Practice between Religious Law (*Shari'a*) and State Law (*Kanun*) on the Eastern Frontiers of the Ottoman Empire', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 5/4 (2001), 305-330.

vate.⁹⁷ Similarities are not only confined to the legal status of the land. More interestingly, Khoury asserts that following re-conquest, Basra “experienced a strong commercial revival, bolstered by an expansion in the cultivation of cash crops such as rice and dates”.⁹⁸ Commercial agricultural produce was not new to Basra; however “by the seventeenth century commercial production of dates spearheaded the property in the area and date trees and groves were privately owned, often in partnership with others”.⁹⁹ The cadastral register of Basra compiled soon after shows a great resemblance to the one of Resmo published by Balta and Oğuz. They both list not only villages and taxes, but also the number of trees – in the case of Crete, olive trees – owned by individuals as private property.¹⁰⁰ Women in Crete, as in Basra, are registered as owners.¹⁰¹ Since Greene’s proposed explanation for the new land system – as an Ottoman effort to attract Muslim settlers by using the classic Islamic concept of taxing conquered territories – is not applicable to Basra, Khoury discusses the influence of the reforming Köprülü viziers.¹⁰² Moreover, I would add that the Köprülü reforms seemed to have the same model with regard to the legal status and taxation of commercial agricultural produce.

The ban on all *örfî* taxes is another point considered as proof of the Islamic character of the text. Logically, as the legal status of the land altered, all *örfî* taxes should have been banned. The compiler resorts this time to the *fikh* books to prove that all these taxes are dangerous innovations (*bid’at*).¹⁰³ The *kanunname* finally included contemporary measurements and currency equivalent to Islamic terms, another sign of a practical spirit.¹⁰⁴

The Implementation of the 1670 Kanunname

After the issue of the 1670 *kanunname* there was still confusion about existing *miri* lands as parts of *timars*. In 1671, Ioasaf, the Prior of the Jerusalem Monastery, complained that

97 Ibid., 316.

98 Ibid., 317.

99 Ibid., 318.

100 See Balta and Oğuz, *Othomaniko ktematologio*, *passim*.

101 Khoury, ‘Administrative Practice’, 318, 319.

102 Ibid., 320.

103 It is interesting that the curse quoted is from the Qur’an (Âli Imrân, 87 refers to non-Muslims): “fealeyhi la’netullâhi ve’l-melâiketi ve’n-nâsi ecma’in” (Their requital shall be rejection by God, and by the angels, and by all [righteous] men).

104 The text defines *cerib* as 60 by 60 *ziras* and each *zira* as seven *kabzas*. C. E. Bosworth (*EP*, s.v. ‘Misāha’) argues that each ‘djarib’ is different, depending on whether it is irrigated land or not, with an average of 1,600 square metres. The Cretan one is rather large, approximately 2,328 to 4,422 square metres, if we bear in mind that *zira* was somewhere between 48.25 metres and the *dhira al-misaha*, which had an average of 66.5 metres; see *EP*, s.v. ‘Dhira’ (W. Hinz). The text established the price of one *dirhem* at 14 *ağşes*. Thus, the tax per *cerib* was 140 *ağşes*. As *cerib* is a large unit for the small freehold of local Cretans, after 1669 the term *cerib* is used very infrequently; see, for instance, Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 254, No. 350. The terms used are *muzur* and *dönüm* (which approximates to 939 square metres; *EP*, s.v. ‘Misāha’).

the two *sipahis* of the village of Loutraki, in the province of Maleviz, were demanding tax from him. He explained in court that the *tarla* and vineyard in question were granted to Mustafa Ağa of the Baghdad garrison. The prior then rented them for a *maktu* of 4,000 *akçes*. He explained that he paid for the taxes of 1669 and even of 1670 when the *timar* was cancelled and became part of the village, which apparently created the confusion.¹⁰⁵

The court activities of a Christian *sipahi* in 1673, three years after the new *kanun-name* was issued, are of particular interest. Andreas Barotsis, the engineer working for the Ottoman army who proved instrumental during the siege of Candia, was given as a reward a *hass* (*mutassarıf olduğu hass karyelerinden*) of the two villages of Temenos and Anayortes.¹⁰⁶ In 1673, he obtained two *fermans* issued in Edirne, addressing the *kadı* of Kandiye. In the first one, he complained that, although his villages were free from the jurisdiction of *beylerbeyis*, *sancakbeyis*, *voyvodas* and *subaşıs*, these were interfering and collecting *cürm-i cinayet*, *bad-ı hava* and *resm-i arusane*.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, if a *reaya* was sentenced to death, the punishment was carried out outside his jurisdiction. The *ferman* forbids such practices as well as blood money fees. In the second *ferman*, Barotsis complained that his *reaya* had fled from his *hass* to other places, thus damaging his income. The *ferman* ordered that the peasants should be told that they were not allowed to cultivate other people's land. If they did not obey, then they would be punished by having to pay their land tax at a double rate.¹⁰⁸ As seen from the first *ferman* of Barotsis, taxes explicitly forbidden in the *kanunname* were still expected and collected. Both entries were eventually crossed out from the *defter* with the note that they were against the *hatt-ı hümayun* and the imperial *defter*. Eventually, Andreas Barotsis exchanged his *hass* in Kandiye with the village of Harkousi on Chios in 1677.¹⁰⁹

In another case, a Christian named Karavelas from the village of Skizma took to court Hamid, son of Abdullah, accusing him of illegally occupying three plots of land in the village of Lakonia. The Christian claimed that the usufruct of the plots was given to him by the *sipahi* (*ma'rifet-i sipahi ile tasarrufunda iken*). He lost the case when Hamid produced his title deeds. The date of the entry is 22 January 1671, almost two years after the promulgation of the *kanunname*.¹¹⁰

The Collection of Agrarian Taxes

The collection of taxes by *maktu* continued, occasionally creating friction between tax collectors and peasants. On 16-20 October 1670, there was a dispute between the monks

105 Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 14, No. 550.

106 Idem, 'Andreas Mparotses, ho prodotes tou Megalou Kastrou' [Andreas Barotsis, the Traitor of the Great Castle (Candia)], *Kretika Chronika*, 1 (1947), 293-430.

107 Idem, *Metaphraseis*, II: 56-57, No. 611. Cf. *ibid.*, I: 315-317, No. 400 (19 March 1669).

108 *Ibid.*, II: 57-58, No. 612.

109 *Ibid.*, II: 280, No. 896. His *hass* was given in the same year to the Vizier Ahmed Paşa as a *hass* of 100,000 *akçes*.

110 *Ibid.*, I: 214-215, No. 313. For the tension created by the eviction from their lands of cultivators by *tapu* by previous owners, see *fetvas infra*.

of Cretan monasteries and *sipahis*.¹¹¹ The Sultan ordered that the lands be measured and their *maktu* be registered. Nobody should force the monks to re-measure the land after they paid the *maktu* equal to *öşür*.

Taxes were farmed out by *iltizam* and the return was either placed in the Treasury or paid directly wherever needed. The taxes of the *nahiye* of Milopotamo for the year 1083 were a *maktu* worth 9 *yüks*, 48,982 *akçes*. A certain Ömer Ağa took them by *iltizam*. The produce was designated for the food of the janissaries of the Kandiye castle.¹¹²

Some *iltizam* holders became quite professional. On 28 Rebiyülevvel 1083/31 July 1672, Hacı Ahmed Ağa obtained as *iltizam* the *mukataa* of the *yave cizyesi* (poll tax paid by foreign non-Muslim merchants) paid as *maktu* worth 50,000 *akçes* per year.¹¹³ On the same day, he obtained another *iltizam*, the collection of the *maktu* of all monasteries in Crete from March onwards. This *maktu* was worth 5 *yüks*, 8,229 *akçes*. In the entry, the official profession of Ahmed Ağa is mentioned; he was the *mütevelli* of the *defterdar paşa's vakıf* (that must be Ahmed Paşa mentioned below), a position which must have allowed him to collect important inside information about various *iltizam* auctions. This inside information explains why some months later he declined to continue collecting the *yave cizyesi*, which was subsequently given to a Mustafa Ağa.¹¹⁴ However, his luck did not last long. Almost a year later, the Vizier İbrahim Paşa sent an order to the *defterdar* Ahmed Paşa and the *kadı* of Kandiye.¹¹⁵ Apparently, Hacı Ahmed Ağa subcontracted the *maktu* of the monasteries to another person who created problems. The *defterdar* and the *kadı* were ordered to punish him and give the *iltizam* to another.

Although the land tax was due in kind, tax collectors demanded it in cash. Ali Beşe sent a petition to Fazıl Ahmed Paşa saying that the pasha's representative charged with the collection of the land tax on wheat from the fields of the village of Kartero, instead of coming to the fields as invited, demanded the tax in cash. In his prompt response to the *naib*, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa forbade this act.¹¹⁶

Mode of Production After 1669

As for the system of cultivation, Venetian sharecropping practices found their way into the court records of Kandiye. On 23 December 1670, Nikolas came to court as the representative of his under-age nephew. He argued that his late brother Frangias gave the accused,

111 TAH, Vol. 4, p. 6 (from now on: TAH, 4: 6): "Cezire-i mezburede vaki tasarruflarında olan yerlerinin hin-i tahrir-i cedidde hak üzere mesaha olunduktan sonra defter-i cedide maktu kayd olunub bunlar dahı öşre muadil maktularını eda itmeğe razılar iken sipahileri olanlar kanaat itmeyub mücerred ahz ve celb için tasarrufunuzda olan yerleri tekrar ölceruz deyü rencide itmekden hali olmadıkların bildirüb men ü def olunmak babında emr-i şerifim rica itmeğin ...".

112 TAH, 4: 6 (15 Muharrem 1084/3 May 1673).

113 TAH, 4: 5.

114 TAH, 4: 4 (22 Zilkade 1083/11 March 1673).

115 TAH, 4: 2 (6 Muharrem 1084/23 April 1673).

116 Stavriniadis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 327, No. 411 (11 October 1671).

Ioannis, fifty-*muzur* lands to cultivate on condition that he would hand over half the produce. The litigant added that now the cultivator Ioannis demanded half the land. In his defence, Ioannis argued that he got the sharecropping contract during the Venetian period. As he explained, at that time cultivators on a half or one-third rent contract acquired property rights on the land of an equal percentage. He, thus, possessed the land on this basis. The judge reasoned that as these contracts were canonically void, Ioannis could not claim ownership of half of the lands that he was previously cultivating as a sharecropper.¹¹⁷

Ownership would have to be established firmly to accept the claim of a cultivator; however, this did not hinder some from trying. On 18 March 1671, a new Muslim, Ahmed Beşe, son and sole heir of the late Papa Nikolas, who had become Muslim after the death of the latter, came to court to claim a vineyard of three *dönüms* from Papa Ioasaf. Papa Ioasaf explained that the vineyard belonged to the monastery and the late Papa Nikolas was cultivating it on condition of paying 1/3 to the monastery. After the late Papa Nikolas' death, it was cultivated under the same conditions by the deceased's brother Ignatios. The new Muslim lost the case when the priest presented his witnesses.¹¹⁸

Even years later, Venetian practices were still the cause of law disputes. On 28 September 1672, Yorgis, son of Marko, resident in the village Venerato, sued Peri, son of Lorenzo, from the village of Avgeniki. Yorgis said: "I have in my possession from my late father, Marko, a vineyard of four *muzurs*. That was in my father's possession for 30 years and I have had it for 25 years. I have paid all the taxes. Peri is claiming that, as his father Lorenzo was a lord in the Venetian times (*Frenk zamanında babam mezbur Loran-so arhonda olmağla*), he received 1/3 of the produce of our vineyards and that after the death of his father, he [Peri] received this percentage for some years. Now he is insisting that I should give him the 1/3". When the *kadı* interrogated Peri, the latter admitted that the vineyard had belonged to Yorgis for many years. He was subsequently forbidden from interfering.¹¹⁹ Finally, in another case, İbrahim Bey, son of Mustafa, sued Yermanos, son of Nikolas, a priest of the Angarato Monastery. On 4 November 1672, İbrahim claimed that he had given a plot of land of 15 *muzurs* to Yermanos on condition that the latter would pay the *sipahi* 1/5, İbrahim Bey another 1/5, and the rest would remain with him. However, Yermanos, after paying the 1/5 to the *sipahi*, refused to give İbrahim his share. Yermanos answered that the land was not fertile and that it was given to him on condition of only paying the *sipahi*'s 1/5. İbrahim failed to present witnesses and thus demanded that Yermanos should take an oath. Yermanos took the oath and the litigant was forbidden from interfering again.¹²⁰

From the examples mentioned above, it is apparent that conformity to the new regulations took some time to attain. Apart from the abolition of *kanun* taxes and the change in the legal status of land, the system of taxation collected by *emins* or tax farmers continued and land was still cultivated by *müsakat* contracts. Although the lands of Crete

117 Ibid., I: 215-216, No. 314.

118 Ibid., I: 233-235, No. 338.

119 TAH, 4: 95 (4 Cemaziyelâhir 1083/28 September 1672).

120 TAH, 4: 128 (12 Receb 1083/4 November 1672).

became private properties, the collection of land taxes and the methods of production remained the same as before 1669. It seems that the trend towards freehold property that we witnessed in the early judicial records of Rethymno came to a head in the 20 years prior to the full conquest of the island in 1669. The Ottomans were thus faced, as in their other conquests, with the need to incorporate local custom into the new land taxation system. However, the sharecropping Venetian system, granting ownership of a percentage of the land to the cultivators, seems to be very complicated. Thus, Ottoman judges opted for recognising proprietary rights to the cultivators. As the Venetians were defeated, the maintenance of their seigniorial rights could not have received approval among the local population. One issue, though, still remains open to investigation. What was the reaction of peasants in possession of the usufruct, when the previous owners returned to reclaim their freehold land after a general amnesty was granted?

Ottoman Jurisprudence on the Cretan Land System

If the purpose of the issuing of the *kanunname* was to adhere to the principles of Islam and to return to the pious practices of the early Caliphs, then the local Muslim population must all have been supportive of the new land system. Discontent, though, is traceable in a series of *fetvas* of Abdurrahim Efendi issued or collected before 1709. Towards the end of a rather long chapter on border issues between the Abode of War (*dariü'l-harb*) and the Abode of Islam (*dariü'l-islâm*), he included two sub-chapters on land on the frontier and especially in Crete.¹²¹

Question: When Crete was in the hands of the infidels, the army of Islam invaded and conquered by force (*anveten*) some castles. Some of the infidels residing in these castles refused to agree to become *zimmis* and fled to the Abode of War. The *defterdar*, whose responsibility it was, took their lands away and gave them in return for an amount of *akçes* to some people on condition that they cultivate the land and pay the tax on produce (*öşür*) to the *sahib-i arz*. If they [cultivators] had not been given the ownership of the lands (*temlik etmemiş olsa*), but for many years they have been given the usufruct in the manner indicated above, could the representative of the Treasury with an imperial order still give away the aforementioned lands to those offering to pay *harac-ı muvazzaf* and *mukaseme* or the amount of the *harac* by *icare*? Is it permissible?

Answer: Yes.¹²²

The problem in this *fetva* is twofold. Firstly, cultivators owning the usufruct but not the essence (*rakabe*) of the land, although they had been conscientious taxpayers, lost their lands to others willing to pay the higher taxes of *harac-ı muvazzaf* and *mukaseme*.

121 Although Abdurrahim Efendi spent less than two years in the office of the *şeyhülislam*, his collection tends to include *fetvas* of previous muftis as well. It seems that his aim was to create a comprehensive judicial guide.

122 Abdurrahim, *Fetava*, 1: 69.

Secondly, this competition and gross injustice, as presumed from the wording of the question, is imposed upon them with an imperial decree. As the law of the Sultan is final, the jurisconsult is left with no other option but to confirm the imperial will.

Question: After the conquest of Crete, the Treasury prepared some lands from the state ones (*aradi'l-mamlaka*) and handed them over to some people to cultivate them. The cultivators were to give the *harac* to those entitled to it (*haracı tayin olunan erbabına*). However, although they had permission to possess the lands in this manner, they were not given the full ownership of the land (*rakabeleri temlik olunmamış olsa*). If they have been cultivating the land for many years and they have paid their taxes, is it still permissible to remove the land from their hands by imperial order and give it to those who offered to pay *harac-ı mukaseme* and *harac-ı muvazzaf* or the amount of *harac* as rent (*icare*)?

Answer: Yes, it is.¹²³

In this case, the questioner is wondering about the fate of lands which used to be *miri*. It seems that one of the loopholes of the 1670 *kanunname* is exactly this: what happens to lands which had no specific owner and were thus exploited by cultivators who now found themselves in the position of competing with outsiders prepared to pay heavier tax?

The second problem arose when infidels agreed to pay tribute and they were allowed to become claimants of land.

Question: When the island of Crete was conquered, some lands did not have owners (*kimesneye temlik olunmayub*), and were thus seized as state lands (*aradi'l-mamlaka*). Some people gave an amount of *akçes* to the Treasury and were given permission to have the usufruct, provided that they paid the *harac* to those entitled. If they have the usufruct for an extended period of time, and they have paid in full their money to the Treasury, is it permissible to remove the land from their hands with an imperial order and give it to infidels accepting *zimmet* [who agreed to pay] an estimated *harac-ı mukaseme* and *harac-ı muvazzaf*? Alternatively, can the Treasury give [the lands] to bidders by way of sharecropping (*müzaraa tariki ile*)?

Answer: Yes.¹²⁴

The questioner stressed that the cultivators were in possession for a long period and that they had complied with all their financial obligations, only to find themselves overriden by newcomers and sharecroppers prepared to pay rent in addition to taxes.

The resentment towards infidels agreeing to pay tribute and enter the market is apparent in the following *fetva* which, although it does not name Crete, describes the state of cultivation in areas of constant warfare.

Question: Infidels invade an area of the *darü'l-islâm*. They pillage the neighbouring *miri* lands and they ruin those in possession of them (*mutasarrıfları olanlar*); and be-

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

cause of the continuous attacks of the infidels for 20 years the land was left vacant (*muattal*) and no agriculture was carried out. Then they made peace with Islam and fear was removed. The previous owners of the land returned. Are they allowed to possess (*zabt*) the land and own it as formerly?

Answer: If there is an imperial order, they can.¹²⁵

Peasants expressed their resentment at the fact that those responsible for their losses were allowed to return and reclaim their lands.¹²⁶ Once more, the jurist admitted that the reinstatement of land could only happen with an imperial order.

The next two *fetvas* reflect the confusion when lands in Crete were given back to their owners as private properties.

Question: An area in the Abode of War was taken by force and the land in the hands of the *reaya* was confirmed. *Cizye* was imposed on their heads and *harac* on their lands. After they had occupied the lands by inheritance for many years, some oppressors invaded the land and ruined the peasants. Because they did not cultivate their lands for three years, the *sipahis* of the villages in return for an amount of money gave the lands to some Muslims by *tapu*. The *reaya* were given *istimalet* and returned to their places. Because their lands were inherited *mülk*, is it allowed to possess them as formerly and remove them from those who took them?

Answer: Yes.¹²⁷

The efforts of *sipahis* to retain their cash flow cannot override proprietary rights. In the *kanunname*, if lands are left fallow, they can be rented through *icare* or *müzaraa*. Giving them away by *tapu*, though, changes the status of the land.

Question: An area in the Abode of War was taken by force. The land in the hands of the *reaya* was confirmed. *Cizye* was imposed on their heads and *harac* on their lands. Is this land an evident/valid (*sarih*) *mülk*, like the rest of the *reaya's* *mülk* properties?

Answer: Yes, it is.¹²⁸

On this issue:

125 Ibid., 1: 68.

126 In another variation of this *fetva*, the questioner is asking whether former enemies returning by *sulh* are allowed to reclaim their *tapus*. The answer is the same: "Yes, by imperial order". In an interesting *fetva*, though, it is suggested that if the land was not left uncultivated, the jurists do not permit the former infidel to return to his rights; Question: In a region conquered by force, some of the lands were attached to a *timar* and were given to Amr. After Amr gave part of the land to Bekr by *tapu*, the enemy Beşr returned and he was pardoned (*aman ile*). If he agreed to pay tribute and claimed that before the conquest the land belonged to his father, can Beşr take the land back? Answer: No.

127 Ibid., 1: 69.

128 Ibid.

Question: If the *harac-ı muvazzaf* and the *harac-ı mukaseme* have been tied to a *timar* and the owners of this *mülk arazi* die, can the *erbab-ı timar* not allow the heirs to take possession but give them the land by *tapu*?

Answer: No, they cannot do so.¹²⁹

The first *fetva* is a reflection of complications in the legal status of the land due to the Venetian-Ottoman war. The peasants have affirmed their hereditary rights on private landed property and have agreed to pay their taxes. The question is whether the *fetva* addresses the problem of ownership prior to or after the 1670 changes. The fact that the *si-pahi* allocated the land by *tapu* instead of opting for a *müisakat* contract and the vague mention of *harac* as land tax without explicitly mentioning *harac-ı muvazzaf* and *harac-ı mukaseme* might indicate that the *fetva* antedates 1670. As we have seen, early *sicil* entries from Rethymno confirm that Christian peasants claimed their privately-owned land and disposed it at will. From the nature of the question it is obvious that the confusion of the newly introduced system was much greater than we have estimated. The *sipahi* was not familiar with the new categorisation of land ownership and still employed archaic methods to reduce his losses.

The following two *fetvas* are related to the taxation system before and after the 1670 changes.

Question: When the island of Crete was conquered, the land was registered and the *harac* was assessed at a low rate. While the amount of the *harac-ı muvazzaf* was about to be set according to the prescriptions of Hazreti Amr, may God be pleased with him, and the *harac-ı mukaseme* was to be determined as 1/2 or 1/3 or 1/4 or 1/5, an imperial order was issued; can [the taxes] be determined in the manner explained (*vech-i meşruh*)?

Answer: Yes.¹³⁰

Once more, the final decision on tax rates is at the discretion of the Sultan. The amount of corruption in the estimation of land tax and its leasing created a number of problems solved by imperial intervention.

Question: When Crete was in the hands of fighting infidels, the army of Islam invaded and conquered some castles. Some of the infidels did not accept *zimmet* and fled to the enemy. Their lands were given as *mülk* by the *serdarasker* to some Muslims. Their annual *öşür* was made into a *mukataa* of a certain amount of *akçes*, and they [the new owners] were given an illustrious *berat*. However, if the *mukataa* was much less (*noksan fahiş*) than the *öşür*, can the Treasury by imperial order refuse to take the *mukataa* and demand the *öşür*?

Answer: Yes, it can.¹³¹

129 Ibid.

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid.

Question: After the conquest of Crete, authorised *serdars* and *defterdars* sold by proxy some of the lands of *aradi'l mamlaka*. However, they [the lands] were sold below their marketable price (*gabn-i fahiş*). Because an imperial order arrived, lands sold below their marketable price were removed from the possession of the buyers and were to be sold at an equal [to similar properties] price. Can [the lands] be reclaimed, and sold at their proper price?

Answer: Yes, they can.¹³²

Through these *fetvas* it becomes obvious that the process of selling and taxing land on Crete was a complicated affair. Previous cultivators of lands resented the fact that new rivals – prepared to pay more – would have access to their lands. They were appalled that even former enemies could reclaim their rights by imperial orders, as the jurist repeatedly stressed. Local racketeers misappropriated taxes and lands, hindered only by the prompt intercession of the Sultan. *Sipahis*, not yet re-educated to avoid treating *mülk* as *miri*, insisted on demanding *tapu* money. Finally, *fetvas* do not use the term *harac-ı mukataa* even once. This is proof of the uncanonical nature of the newly introduced tax. For the jurists of the end of the seventeenth century there are only two types of *harac* tax, *harac-ı muvazzaf* and *harac-ı mukaseme*.

In Lieu of a Conclusion

The scholarly discourse on seventeenth-century landholding in the Ottoman Empire is primarily focused on the emergence of big estates (*çiftlik*). Firstly, the underlying motive is an effort to explain eighteenth-century developments and the emergence of the *ayan*. Secondly, the *çiftlik* debate lies at the centre of questions relating to the mode of incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the world capitalist system.¹³³ Çağlar Keyder has offered certain reasons which obstructed the functioning of big estates as large-scale commercial exploitations. One of them is the failure of the *ayan* to develop into the Western European model of an aristocracy of hereditary landownership.¹³⁴ According to this view, the *ayan* in an Ottoman ‘absolutist’ system were more content to exploit tax collection rather than agrarian production. Another reason proposed is the Ottoman legal context of land and property.¹³⁵ According to Keyder, the transformation of feudalism in

132 Ibid. The use of the term *gabn-i fahiş* (*laesio enormis*, grave deception) is used to guarantee the retrieval of properties, since in the event of fraud there is little inclination to protect the victim unless grave deception was employed; see J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford 1964), 117.

133 See, in particular, the dialogue between H. İnalçık and G. Veinstein on the *çiftlik* debate; H. İnalçık, ‘The Emergence of Big Farms, *Çiftliks*: State, Landlords, and Tenants’, in Keyder and Tabak (eds), *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture*, 17-34, and Veinstein, ‘On the *Çiftlik* Debate’, 35-53.

134 Ç. Keyder, ‘Introduction: Large-Scale Commercial Agriculture in the Ottoman Empire?’ in idem and Tabak (eds), *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture*, 9.

135 Ibid., 10-11.

Europe applied Roman concepts of absolute property rights to feudal practice. Thus, conditional property of the lord and of the serfs contained the concept of 'private' property. Unlike Europe, absolute property was never recognised in the Ottoman Empire. The legal dictum of the Sultan enjoying the 'ownership' of the entire realm and the confiscation practice impaired the transition to capitalist property rights.

Notwithstanding the importance of this hypothesis as a starting-point, it would be important to look into empirical evidence especially for the transitional seventeenth century. Ebussuud's legal fiction of recognising the Sultan as the owner of *miri* lands – or, rather, the administrator of land on behalf of the Muslim community, to be precise – apart from a general theoretical recognition, found little appeal in practice. Muftis aware of the discrepancy between theory and practice disguised the sale of land by peasants under acceptable legal terms. As we have seen in the seventeenth-century *fetvas*, peasants sold their usufruct right recognised in Ottoman law as property right, rented it, and pledged it. The only difference of ownership of the usufruct from full proprietary rights was inheritance. Both taxes and the exploitation of land were frequently delegated, and the rights of peasants were protected if taxes were paid in full. Peasants employing labour is not an odd occurrence and janissaries – despite the efforts of the jurists – are included in the list of potential buyers of usufruct.¹³⁶ Therefore, although the system seems to be unaltered over centuries, new developments in land exploitation and taxation found their way into Ottoman jurisprudence.¹³⁷

It is true that the seventeenth century was a period of adjustment to new realities. Transformation was perhaps 'painful' as it was enforced by the challenges of political and military upheaval. As Darling has argued, "the external threat posed by Iran or Austria was secondary to the internal danger that the interdependency between rulers and ruled would break down, cultivation would stop, soldiers would go unpaid, and the ruler's power would vanish".¹³⁸ Advice literature addressed this fear.¹³⁹ However, even in doing so, seventeenth-century writers were themselves part of the Empire-wide transformation; they were inclined to record popular as well as regal sentiments, as they reflected on contemporary developments.¹⁴⁰ Seventeenth-century subjects not only obeyed, but also questioned their sovereign. The preaching of the Kadızadelis, apart from being an extension of factional Istanbul politics, also functioned as a check and balance mechanism. Thus, even Murad IV, not a favourite of the Kadızadelis, nevertheless, implemented part

136 S. Faroqi, 'Crisis and Change, 1590-1699', in İnalcık with Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, 447.

137 If we consider that law is more conservative than actual practice, then the inclusion of many new applications on land and its taxation in seventeenth-century collections is remarkable.

138 Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy*, 294.

139 R. A. Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (New York 1991).

140 R. Murphey, 'Ottoman Historical Writing in the Seventeenth Century: A Survey of the General Development of the Genre after the Reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617)', *ArchOtt*, 13 (1993-1994), 280.

of their programme.¹⁴¹ Thus, the negotiation between subject and ruler already in place before takes a new form in the seventeenth century. Subjects use the judiciary more effectively, and the Ottoman courts are frequented by peasants in pursuit of justice. Petitions are used as a weapon against the powerful. The transformation in legal consciousness is not limited only to judicial practice, though. Apart from Ebussuud, others among his contemporaries, such as Cöngi Efendi, attempted to alleviate the tension between the Sultan's *kanun* and the Holy Sharia. This is the underlying reason behind the increase in the responsibilities of the judge (*kadı*) and the ease of the jurist in commenting on previously exclusive *kanun* matters, including land tax. This is also the reason for the gradual inclusion of muftis' *fetvas* in the new-styled *kanunnames* from the time of Ahmed I onwards. Thus, from the early seventeenth century the incorporation of custom into the Sharia made the use of the term *kanun* obsolete until its use as an antonym to Sharia was finally prohibited in 1696.

These were the underlying trends when the two Cretan *kanunnames* of 1650 and 1670 were promulgated. When we examine the consequences of the introduction of freehold lands in Crete, we observe the same pattern following Ebussuud's stipulations. Even if the legal status of land is unchanged, Ottoman fiscal policy introduced a new, heavier rate of land tax. Machiel Kiel has recently published a *deFTER* for the small Aegean islands (TKGM105), contemporary to the *kanunname* of Crete, as it is dated 1670-1671. According to this text, the land tax traditionally paid in the islands as *maktu* is increased to the rate of 1/5, just as in Crete.¹⁴² However, taxes characterised as uncanonical are still charged (i.e., the tax on pigs, *bad-ı hava* and *cürm-i cinayet*).¹⁴³ Only the *kanunname* of Mytilini island in 1709 follows closely the new terminology on the legal status of the land.¹⁴⁴

It is certain that Crete was an experiment, even if not an Islamic one. The Islamic rhetoric might seem alien to us; however, given the advancement of bureaucratic proliferation in the seventeenth century the language of discourse would be more elaborated, nay formally Islamic. As we have seen, the *kanunname* of 1670, although it employs an Islamic terminology, follows the long fiscal Ottoman tradition of incorporating pre-conquest customary taxes. The use of the peculiar *harac-ı mukataa* term for vineyards and olive groves is acknowledged by the compiler – who is at pains to explain it – as a type of the canonical *harac* land tax. The complete lack of usage of the term in juristic opinions regarding the land system of Crete is evidence enough of the peculiarity of the term in Islamic law. These *fetvas* reflect the agony of transition from the *miri* exploita-

141 Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 164.

142 M. Kiel, 'The Smaller Aegean Islands in the 16th-18th Centuries according to Ottoman Administrative Documents', in Davies and Davis (eds), *Between Venice and Istanbul*, 37, 44, 48-49.

143 Ibid., 49 (the taxation of the island of Kea). The term *harac-ı arazi* appears c. 1670 in the case of Patmos island; N. Vatin, 'Les Patmiotes, contribuables ottomans (XV^e-XVII^e siècles)', *Turcica*, 38 (2006), 132-133.

144 One cannot but wonder whether the same profit-making crops were behind the proclamation of all land as freehold in Mytilini as well.

tion of land to *mülk*. Peasants found themselves more and more vulnerable to cultivators who were willing to pay not only tax at a higher rate (this is the main function of the legal fiction of *harac-ı muvazzaf* and *harac-ı mukaseme*), but also rent on lands held under the *icare* and *miüzaraa* contracts. This trend is also apparent in the *kanunname*. The key point in the new system is intensification of the production of profit-making crops and maximisation of land revenue. The same trend we observe in Basra after 1669, whereupon commercial agricultural produce is similarly taxed and the status of the land is freehold. Additionally, the Islamic concept of rent incorporated in land tax reappears to address the new trends.

Like most of Ottoman experimentations, the change in the land system was based on custom and a strong sense of realism. As we have seen, even after the 1650s, when the *miri* land system was introduced, freehold land was sold in court. The exploitation of land continued the Venetian practice of sharecropping. Land taxes were collected by representatives or tax collectors. This reality was taken into account when after 1670 the Ottomans had to decide about the legal status of land. Their decision, though, was not disassociated from general trends in Ottoman taxation of land and its exploitation in the seventeenth century. Thus, Crete is a hybrid of changes which were to become more apparent in other parts of the Empire from the eighteenth century onwards.¹⁴⁵ If it was a successful experiment, though, is hard to tell. The rate of taxation in Crete was reduced a few years later and the *kadı* records frequently register peasants having trouble in meeting their financial burden. Naima reflects this difficulty in a story related to him by his father. When a financial department official asked Kara Mehmed Ağa, a veteran of the Cretan War, to pay a contribution to the Treasury, his response was revealing:

Go back to your chief, the defterdar, and relate to him my response which is as follows: "I have come from the front in Crete. Aside from the ornament of gunpowder gloss and the sheen from oil-soaked lead shot I can boast no finery. We veterans know of such things as sable and ambergris only by report, we ourselves have never seen them. As for coin, we are able to procure the necessities of life only on borrowed money". Go take this our answer to your patron with our best greetings.¹⁴⁶

In conclusion, we can safely say that Crete was an experiment in profit-making crops cultivated by sharecropping methods. The Ottomans transformed local custom vis-à-vis their needs. Moreover, while doing so, they were faithful to their own tradition as prescribed by Ebussuud a century earlier. The use of Islamic terms to articulate their needs was a reflection of the changes that the Empire was going through. Ultimately, though, we may argue that the Ottomans were caught once more between faith and cash.

145 Ö. Ergenç, 'XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Anadolu'sunda Tarım Üretiminde Yeni Boyutlar: Muzara'a ve Muraba'a Sözleşmeleri', *Kebikeç*, 23 (2007), 129-139; K. Cuno, 'The Origins of Private Ownership of Land in Egypt: A Reappraisal', *IJMES*, 12/3 (1980), 245-275.

146 The translation is by Murphey, 'Ottoman Historical Writing', 300.

THE LEGAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE *REAYA* OF CRETE DURING OTTOMAN RULE (1645-1670)

Ersin GÜLSOY*

CRETE, WHICH SEPARATES THE MEDITERRANEAN from the Aegean Sea, is the second biggest island in the eastern Mediterranean after Cyprus with an area of 8,259 km². The length of Crete is about 260 km in the east-west direction, and its width is from about 15 to 50 km.¹ As mountains descend sheer, the south coast of the island has no calm waters and there are no ports. On the other hand, in the north there are mostly moderate coastal areas, since the mountains descend gradually. As a result of these features, there is little land appropriate for agriculture in the south; agricultural areas and urban settlements are more numerous on the north coast. The three big cities of the island, Chania (Ott. Hanya), Rethymno (Ott. Resmo), and Candia (Ott. Kandiye), are situated in the northern coastal parts.²

Crete has always played important roles in the history of the eastern Mediterranean since it is close to Anatolia and the Peloponnese, and is in a location that can control the trade from the Mediterranean countries to Istanbul. In the Middle Ages, the war to obtain control of this island had become tantamount to the struggle for domination in the Mediterranean. The fact that Venice came to own Crete in 1204 provided the former with naval superiority in the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean regions.³ In the course of time, the island became the citadel and centre of Venice's Levantine empire. The Serenissima began to arrange its commercial activities by means of the Dukedom of Crete.⁴ Through

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1 TDVİA, s.v. 'Girit' (C. Tükin), 85.

2 Idem, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Girit İsyanları: 1821 Yılına Kadar Girit', *Belleten*, IX/34 (1945), 163-164; Piri Reis, after giving an explanation of the geographical situation of Crete in his book *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, talks about ports and bays (Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, Vol. IV, ed. E. Z. Ökte [Ankara 1988], 1679-1707).

3 E. Eickhoff, 'Denizcilik Tarihinde Kandiye Muharebesi' (trans. M. Eren), in *Atatürk Konferansları 1964-1968*, Vol. II (Ankara 1970), 149.

4 For the relations of Venice with the Seljuk state and Turkish principalities of Anatolia, and the agreements signed, see O. Turan, *Anadolu Selçukluları Hakkında Resmî Vesikalar. Metin, Tercüme, Araştırmalar* (Ankara 1988); E. A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian*

commercial agreements, Venice imported cereals, rice, corn, live animals, wax, timber, and hemp, and in return exported cloth, ambergris, soap, tin, and wine.⁵

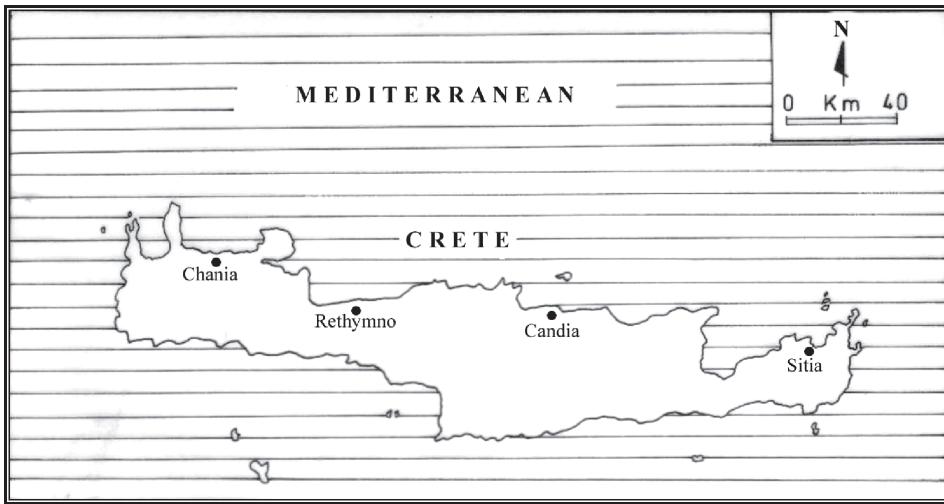
After the Ottomans provided unity in Anatolia by eliminating the other principalities in the peninsula, Venice applied to them, and obtained the right to carry on trade there.⁶ Eastern Mediterranean trade occupied an important place in Ottoman-Venetian relations. Venice wanted to maintain the right of commercial freedom at all costs through agreements concerning the Ottoman territories. At the end of wars against the Ottomans, the Venetians immediately took the initiative to re-invigorate commerce, and renewed their commercial agreements. The most important feature strengthening Levant trade was the carriage of goods from the Far East and India to Europe. The goods brought from the coasts of the Far East reached the Syrian ports and Alexandria by means of two different routes; thereafter, the ports between Alexandria and Iskenderun were the most important starting-points. The goods were distributed by means of ships to Venice and from that point they were taken to the interior parts of Europe.⁷ The distribution of these goods to the interior of Europe was carried out by Venice, which had the strongest commercial fleet in the Mediterranean. At this period, Crete was used as a staging-point in terms of the shipment of goods from the Far East and India to Europe. The convoys of Venetian ships stopped in Candia on their way to the Syrian ports.

This trade began to move from the Levant to Lisbon from the beginning of the sixteenth century as a result of the arrival of the Portuguese in the Far East after rounding the Cape of Good Hope.⁸ In spite of this negative development, from the sixteenth century onwards Crete occupied a much more important place than just being a station on the route of the trade between the East and Venice. With the end of domestic revolts, the land on the island which became available for agriculture increased and Crete began to export its own products. The most important among these were wine, butter, cheese, and honey. In the course of time, through the development of the wine business in Maleviz, near Candia, wine began to occupy the most important place among export products and was sought after in every part of Europe.⁹

Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1415) (Venice 1983); Ş. Turan, *Türkiye-İtalya İlişkileri: Selçuklular'dan Bizans'ın Sona Erişine*, Vol. I (Istanbul 1990); M. Delilbaşı, 'Ortaçağda Türk Hükümdarları Tarafından Batılılara Ahidnâmelerle Verilen İmtiyazlara Genel Bir Bakış', *Belleten*, XLVIII/185 (1984), 95-103.

- 5 W. Heyd, *Yakındoğu Ticaret Tarihi*, trans. E. Z. Karal, Vol. I (Ankara 1975), 608.
- 6 For early Ottoman-Venetian relations and the relevant agreements, see Turan, *Türkiye-İtalya*, 191-324; M. Spremic, 'XV. Yüzyılda Venedik Cumhuriyeti'nin Şarkta Ödediği Haraçlar' (trans. M. H. Şakiroğlu), *Belleten*, XLVII/185 (1984), 363-390; M. Delilbaşı, *Selânik (Thessaloniki)'in Fethi Hakkında Bir Tarih* (Ankara 1989); TDVİA, s.v. 'İmtiyâzât' (H. İnalçık), 245-252; M. Kaçan, 'XVI-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı-Venedik Ahidnâmeleri', unpublished M.A. thesis, Marmara University, 1995.
- 7 C. Orhonlu, 'XVI. Asrın İlk Yarısında Kızıldeniz Sahillerinde Osmanlılar', *TD*, XII/16 (1962), 2.
- 8 S. Özbaran, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Hindistan Yolu', *TD*, XXXI (1978), 73-80; F. Braudel, *Akdeniz ve Akdeniz Dünyası*, trans. M. A. Kılıçbay, Vol. I (Istanbul 1989), 367-368.
- 9 M. Greene, 'Commerce and the Ottoman Conquest of Kandiye', *NPT*, 10 (1994), 98.

Crete, as a most important place in Mediterranean commerce, was on the sea route to Egypt, Tunisia, and Algeria, and threatened the goods coming from these countries to Istanbul. That is why the Ottomans, after conquering Cyprus, began to look for the appropriate time and opportunity to campaign for Crete. The incident of Sünbül Ağa provided such an opportunity. The campaign which started in 1645 ended with the surrender of Candia in 1669.¹⁰ At first, the Ottomans did not include the places conquered in a province in terms of administration. In 1647, two years after the military campaign started, the Chania province was established and the Ottoman lands in Crete were made subject to this province. The *beylerbeylik* of which the centre was Chania consisted of four *sancaks* and 20 *nahiyes* in 1650. This administrative structure was maintained until the conquest of Candia. With the conquest of that city by Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, the administrative centre of the province was transferred there from Chania. Under this new arrangement, Crete was still divided into four *sancaks* and 20 *nahiyes*.¹¹



Map: The *sancaks* of Crete as an Ottoman province (1645-1670)

The Ottomans subjected the newly conquered lands to a survey (*tahrir*) in order to determine the ways in which the land could be used. The results of these surveys were recorded in two groups of inventories called *mufassal* and *icmal*. *Mufassal* inventories contained the detailed results of the surveys, while the distribution of the revenues of government lands was shown in *icmal* inventories.¹² By means of these inventories it is possible

10 For further information, see Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 23-184.

11 For the names of the *sancaks* and *nahiyes* on both dates, see *ibid.*, 223-227.

12 On *tahrirs* and the relevant inventories, see Ö. L. Barkan and E. Meriçli, *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri*, Vol. I (Ankara 1988), 1-144; H. İnalcık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara 1987), XI-XXXI; F. M. Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazâsı* (An-

to see the male taxpayers who lived in a town or village at a certain period of time, the amount of land that they possessed, and the tax that they had to pay. Through these inventories it can be clearly determined who owned *hass*, *timar*, *mülk* or *vakıf* land, as well as what types of products were produced and what animals were bred.¹³ The *kanunnames* (codes of regulations) which were inserted at the very outset of these inventories were intended for provinces where the *timar* system applied and were meant to prevent and solve the disagreements between the *reaya* and the *timar* owners. The governors' councils (*beylerbeyi divan*) and the *kadı* courts were to decide litigations and other issues according to these laws. *Sancak kanunnames* include the most comprehensive information on *reaya* taxes and land laws.¹⁴ With the beginning of the conquest of Crete, the Ottoman tradition of carrying out *tahrir* in newly conquered lands was applied here too. Yusuf Paşa, after conquering Chania, appointed Hasan Efendi as *tahrir emini* and ordered him to record waqfs, land, shops, and other buildings.¹⁵ As can be seen from the result of the survey, this order included rural areas as well. Thus, the inventories which were completed in May 1647 (Rebiyülâhır 1057) and sent to Istanbul by Deli Hüseyin Paşa, include the records of the places which had been conquered up to then.¹⁶ While the conquest was going on on the island, at the end of the Islamic year 1056 (beginning of 1647), Şaban Efendi, one of the officials of Mustafa Paşa, governor of Chania, was appointed as the revenue officer (*defterdar*) of Crete and a new order for *tahrir* was issued. But Hüseyin Paşa put off compliance with this order for some time; he just permitted the *tahrir* of the *nahiyeh* of the *sancak* of Chania in April 1647 (Rebiyülevvel 1057).¹⁷

These first two *tahrirs* have not been found in the archives up to now. The first inventories available contain the survey carried out by Mehmed Paşa, governor and *defterdar* of Chania, in 1650. By a *ferman* which was sent to Mehmed Paşa on 13 March 1650 (10 Rebiyülevvel 1060), he was ordered to record Ottoman land on the island.¹⁸ On this order, Mehmed Paşa carried out the registration. The *mufasssal* results of this survey are in the inventories of BOA, TD 820, while the *icmal* records are in TD 785.¹⁹ As noted above, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, after he had conquered Candia on 6 September 1669 (9 Rebiyülevvel 1080), transferred the centre of the province to this city; furthermore, he

kara 1989), 2-3; E. Afyoncu, 'Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilâtında Defterhâne-i Âmire (XVI-XVIII. Yüzyıllar)', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Marmara University, 1997, 15-40.

13 Ö. L. Barkan, 'Türkiye'de İmparatorluk Devrinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri ve Hakana Mahsus İstatistik Defterleri (1)', *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, II/1 (1940), 20.

14 *TDVİA*, s.v. 'Kanunnâme' (H. İnalçık), 334-335.

15 Piri Paşazade Hüseyin, *Tarih-i Feth-i Hanya*, Süleymaniye Library Microfilm Archive, No. 1920, 70b; Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, Vol. II (Istanbul 1297), 267.

16 *Ibid.*, 297-298.

17 *Ibid.*, 294.

18 *Ibid.*, 358.

19 For the dating of this inventory and for diplomatic and technical features, see E. Gülsoy, 'Osmanlı Tahrir Geleneğinde Bir Değişim Örneği: Girit Eyâleti'nin 1650 ve 1670 Tarihli Sayımları', in K. Çiçek (ed.), *Pax Ottomana: Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç* (Haarlem and Ankara 2001), 186-190.

appointed Defterdarzade Mehmed Efendi, who was one of the scribes of the janissary corps, as head of the *tahrir* and ordered him to register the whole island.²⁰ The *mufasssal* inventories of this *tahrir*, which was completed in 1670, are in BOA, TD 822 and 825; the *icmal* records are in TD 801, and the *cizye* inventory is in TD 980.²¹

Legal Situation

With Ottoman sovereignty on Crete, the land came to be evaluated within the Ottoman land system, and the *öşür* land status was applied. Within this system, the inhabitants of Crete paid the *öşür* (tithe) tax on their agricultural products, such as grains, legumes, grape juice, olive oil, etc. Most of the land of the province was *miri* land; besides, *vakıf* and *mülk* villages also existed. Farmers were called *timar raiyeti*, *hass raiyeti*, or *vakıf raiyeti* according to the status of their village. But the classification of villages as *hass*, *zeamet*, *timar*, *vakıf*, or *mülk* did not make any difference in terms of the responsibilities of the *reaya*.²² After state land had been divided into *hass*, *zeamet*, and *timar*, it was further divided into farms, and villagers were given deeds (*tapu*) for the land that they possessed. Under this regime, the lands were recorded as *raiye* farms, which passed from father to son but could not be sold, dedicated as waqf or donated. The villagers had to cultivate their land and provide the necessary farming implements. In return for possession of the land, they had to pay the tithe to the government and the *sipahi* according to law.²³

In Crete, the amount of the *öşür* taken from the products was 1/10 in 1650.²⁴ In addition to this, the *salariye* was taken at a rate of 1/30.²⁵ The total amount of these two taxes

20 Erzurumlu Osman Dede, *Tarih-i Fazıl Ahmed Paşa*, Süleymaniye Library, Hamidiye Department, No. 909, 79a.

21 For the dating of these inventories and their features, see Gülsoy, 'Girit Eyâleti'nin 1650 ve 1670 Tarihli Sayımları', 190-195.

22 Emecen, *Manisa Kazâst*, 228 n. 27.

23 H. İnalçık, 'Köy, Köylü ve İmparatorluk', in his *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Toplum ve Ekonomi* (Istanbul 1993), 4.

24 The tithe (*öşür*), which is a Sharia tax, had been applied from the very beginning of Islam and existed in all Muslim states. In the Ottoman era, this tax was collected on the harvest. The percentage which was really collected displayed some differences between regions. The exact rate was recorded in each *sancak*'s *kanunname*, and ranged from one-tenth to one half of the harvest (L. Güçer, *XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler* [Istanbul 1964], 51-52). The *öşür* was 1/10 in Crete. In the *kanunname* of Crete, which was issued in 1650, it is written that "... gallatdan ve hububatdan ve şireden öşür alındıktan sonra otuzda bir salariye alınur ki cümle on beşde iki kile olur ..." (BOA, TD 820, 4). The amount of 2/15 is the sum of *öşür* and *salariye*. Since *salariye* was taken at a rate of 1/30, the remaining part of the tax – about 1/10 – must have been *öşür*.

25 BOA, TD 820, 4. *Salariye* is the name of a tax which applied to the whole Empire. It was accepted by the Ottoman government, and was meant to replace the various small responsibilities that villagers had towards the *beylerbeyi*, the *sancakbeyi*, their *zaim* or their *timar* holder; those officials had a right to tax the villagers in order to provide food for themselves and fodder for their animals throughout harvest time (Güçer, *Hububat Meselesi*, 52).

on products such as grains, legumes, olive oil, cotton and grape juice which was used to make wine was 2/15. The *sipahi* collected these taxes in kind, and could not demand payment in cash. The Muslims who settled on the island afterwards would be subject to the same taxation system if they had bought their vineyards from non-Muslims. But if abandoned vineyards were brought under cultivation again by Muslims, the taxation system concerned would not apply; 20 *akçes* would be paid as *öşür* for each *dönüm* (about 1/4 of an acre). If a *reaya* abandoned his or his father's land and went to the land of another *sipahi*, he would have to pay *ispence* as well as the *çift bozan* tax, which was officially set at 300 *akçes*. Villagers would pay two *öşürs* if they had left their lands fallow and cultivated another *sipahi's* land. One of these *öşürs* would be given to their own *sipahi* and the other to the *sipahi* whose land they cultivated. The lands of those who bought the olive groves and other lands formerly belonging to people who had abandoned Ottoman territory during the war for Crete would be considered private (*mülk arazi*), and would only be subject to *öşür*.²⁶

The villagers of Crete paid, according to law, the following *örfî* taxes: *resm-i tapu*, *resm-i ağnam*, *resm-i küvvare*, *resm-i deştbanî*, *resm-i otlak*, *yaylak* and *kışlak*, *cürm-i cinayet*, and *bad-ı hava*.²⁷ According to the *mufassal* inventories, at this period all the villagers who cultivated land on the island were non-Muslim. That is why they paid *ispence* as *raiyyet resmi*.²⁸ Every adult male non-Muslim paid this tax, and it was 40 *akçes*.²⁹ *Bive resmi*, which was taken from non-Muslim widowed women in the Ottoman lands, was

26 BOA, TD 820, 5.

27 BOA, TD 820, various pages. As an example, a chart showing the tax taken from Anaboli village in the *nahiye* of Pedye in the *sancak* of Candia is given below:

Karye-i Anaboli tabi-i mezbur

<i>İspence</i> <i>Neferan 53</i> <i>Kıymet 2080</i>	<i>Hınta</i> <i>Kile 250</i> <i>Kıymet 10000</i>	<i>Şair</i> <i>Kile 150</i> <i>Kıymet 3000</i>	<i>Alef</i> <i>Kile 50</i> <i>Kıymet 1000</i>	<i>Bakla</i> <i>Kile 25</i> <i>Kıymet 1000</i>	<i>Nohud</i> <i>Kile 10</i> <i>Kıymet 400</i>	<i>Mercimek</i> <i>Kile 10</i> <i>Kıymet 400</i>
<i>Burçak</i> <i>Kile 10</i> <i>Kıymet 200</i>	<i>Fiğ</i> <i>Kile 10</i> <i>Kıymet 200</i>	<i>Resm-i ketan</i> <i>Kıymet 150</i>	<i>Resm-i küüvare</i> <i>Kıymet 250</i>	<i>Resm-i asiyab</i> <i>Kıymet 120</i>	<i>Resm-i arusane</i> <i>Kıymet 60</i>	<i>Resm-i bid'at</i> <i>Kıymet 150</i>
<i>Öşr-i bostan</i> <i>Kıymet 250</i>	<i>Öşr-i penbe</i> <i>Kıymet 550</i>	<i>Öşr-i şıra-ı hamr</i> <i>Medre 100</i> <i>Kıymet 1600</i>	<i>Öşr-i revgan-ı zeyt</i> <i>Medre 30</i> <i>Kıymet 1200</i>	<i>Bad-ı hava ve tapu-yı zemin ve deştbanı maa hakkü'l-karar</i> <i>Kıymet 310</i>		<i>Yekûn</i> <i>23000</i>
Source: BOA, TD 820, 157						

28 Some Ottoman jurists attempted to equate *ispence*, which is in fact an *örfî* poll tax, with the *resm-i çift* that Muslims had to pay (H. İnalçık, 'Osmanlılarda Raiyyet Rüsûmu', in his *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Toplum ve Ekonomi*, 57). The person in charge of this *tahrir*, Mehmed Paşa, in the same vein considered *ispence* as equal to *resm-i çift*. Thus, by the expression "... ve resm-i raiyyet defter-i mufassalda kaydolunduğı üzere alalar ...", found in the *kanunname*, *ispence* was equated with *resm-i çift* (BOA, TD 820, 5).

29 Children who were not liable to *ispence* were differentiated by the term *sabi*, which signified that the tax was not collected from them (BOA, TD 820, various pages).

not applied in Crete. The *avarız* tax was collected, but imams, *hatibs*, muezzins, village *kethüdas*, priests, notables (*purutuger*), the blind, the handicapped, and the sick were exempt from it.³⁰

After Candia was taken, the administrative structure of the island was re-arranged. In addition, the arrangement of the *tahrirs* was reformed in terms of both the legal status of the people of the province and administrative structure. From this date, all the lands in the province were classified as *haracî*. In the *kanunname* it is written on this issue that “... cezire-i mezbure keferesinin tasarrufunda bulunan arazi arazi-i haraciye olmak üzere yedlerinde mukarrer ve ibka kılınub ...”.³¹ It is indicated that the people who obeyed Ottoman rule and had not left the island were given the very land that they had possessed before, and in return they would be subject to the *harac* tax. In this system the owner of the land had full possession of it, and had the right to buy, sell, bequeath or inherit land. In the event of the death of the owner, the land would be divided among the heirs. If the heirs were unable to cultivate the land, or had escaped Ottoman rule, the land would be leased to third parties and thus the *harac* would be collected. Even if a Muslim cultivated this kind of land, its status would not change and he would still pay the *harac*.³²

This land tax was of two types depending on the products taxed. The tax taken from the land on which olives, cereals and legumes were cultivated was called *harac-ı mukaseme*; that for vineyards and gardens was called *harac-ı mukataa*. All land on the island used for grains and legumes was divided into two groups, productive and of medium productivity, and was measured in *ceribs*.³³ After the land had been measured, it was estimated that one *cerib* of productive land would yield a harvest of 5 *kiles*, and one *cerib* of land of medium productivity would yield a harvest of 2.5 *kiles*; the *harac-ı mukaseme* was collected at a rate of 1/5 of the calculation above. In the case of olive trees, it was estimated that each tree would give five *kıyyes*³⁴ of oil and the *harac-ı mukaseme* was collected accordingly, again at a rate of 1/5. If the farmers let the land lie fallow, the *harac-ı mukaseme* would not be taken that year. If harvest was obtained twice a year, 1/5 would be collected as *harac-ı mukaseme* for each harvest.³⁵

30 BOA, TD 820, 4.

31 BOA, TD 825, 2-3.

32 “... ve arazi-i haraciye sahiblerinin mülk-i sarıhleri olub bey ve şiraya ve sair tasarrufata kadirlerdir ve fevt olduklarında emlak-ı saireleri gibi cümle varisleri beyinde ale'l-farizati'l-şer'iye taksim olunur ve arazi-i haracî sahibi firar idüb yahud yedinde olan araziye ziraata iktidarı olmaduğı suretde tatil eylese ol makule arazi mezari veyahud icare tarikiyle âhar kimesneye virülüb hâsıl olan galleden ol arazinin haracı alınur ...” (BOA, TD 825, 3).

33 In the *kanunname*, the *cerib* was used for land measurement: 7 *kabzas* equalled one *zira*; one *cerib* equalled 60x60 *ziras* (BOA, TD 825, 3). The *cerib* was one of the Ottoman measurements of land; it was similar to the *dönüm* (about 1/4 of an acre) and equalled 958 square metres in the sixteenth century (W. Hinz, ‘İslamda Ölçü Sistemleri’ [trans. A. Sevim], *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5 [1990], 81).

34 *Okka*, *vukıyye* or *kıyye* was the basic unit of measurement of the Ottoman weight system; it was divided into 400 *dirhems* and equalled 1.2828 kg (H. İnalçık, ‘Osmanlı Metrolojisine Giriş’ [trans. E. B. Özbilen], *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi*, LXXIII [1991], 27-28).

35 “... kısım-ı evvel ziraat itdikleri arazi mesaha olunub ve eşcar-ı muttasıla olmayub mabeynü'l-

The *harac-ı mukataa* was taken from vineyards, gardens, and orchards. These lands were divided into productive, moderately productive, and unproductive, and were measured in *ceribs* as well. On this basis, the annual *harac-ı mukataa* was fixed at about 120 *akçes* per *cerib* from productive vineyards and gardens, about 60 *akçes* from the moderately productive, and about 30 *akçes* from the unproductive ones. Even if these lands were left fallow by their owners, they still had to pay *harac-ı mukataa* for that year. On the other hand, if their owners could harvest twice a year, they would not pay *harac* for the second harvest.³⁶

With this new *tahrir*, the taxes taken from non-Muslims, such as the *ispence*, the *resm-i tapu*, the *resm-i ağnam*, the *resm-i küvvare*, the *resm-i deştbanı*, the *resm-i otlak*, *kışlak* and *yaylak*, the *cürm-i cinayet*, the *bad-ı hava*, the *resm-i arus* and the *tarh-ı milh*, were declared arbitrary and were prohibited. Verse 87 of the Qur’anic Sura *Âli Imrân*

eşcar ziraat mümkün olan yerleri ve eşcar-ı müsmireleri hâsılından harac-ı mukaseme min el-hums vaz olunub yani yedlerinde ibka ve mukarrer olunan araziye enva-ı hububatdan her ne zer iderler ise mahsulünden beş keylde bir keyl alınmak üzere tahrir ve defter olunmuşdur amma bu suret ki harac-ı mukaseme min el-humsdur arzdan haric olana taalluk ider meselâ sahibi tatil eylediği suretde tasarrufunda olan arzın haracı taleb olunmaz ve bir senede harici mütekerrir olsa haracı dahi mütekerrir olur yani sene-i vahidede iki defa mahsul alur ise harac-ı araziye dahi iki defa eda ider ...” (BOA, TD 825, 3). As an example, the *harac-ı mukaseme* which was collected on the land and olive trees in Küçük Galata village in the *nahiye* of Chania in the *sancak* of Chania is listed below (BOA, TD 822, 6):

Tarla-ı âlâ cerib: 389 beher cerib fi 5 keyl mahsul keyl: 1945 harac-ı mukaseme min el-hums keyl: 389 fi 30 hâsıl: 11670	Tarla-ı mutavassıt cerib: 194 beher cerib fi 2,5 keyl mahsul keyl: 485 harac-ı mukaseme min el-hums keyl: 97 fi 30 hâsıl: 2910	Eşcar-ı zeytun aded: 934 beher dirahî fi 5 kıyye mahsul kıyye: 4670 harac-ı mukaseme min el-hums kıyye: 934 fi 3 hâsıl: 2802
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36 “... kısım-ı sani ki bağları ve eşcar-ı müsmire-i muttasılayı müştemil bağçeleri mesaha olunub kütüb-i şer’iyede tayin buyurulan harac-ı mukataa olmak üzere her bir cerib bağ veyahud bağçeden on dirhem-i şer’î vaz olunub ziyade ve noksan taleb olunmaz ve harac-ı arzın bu nevi ki harac-ı mukataadır arzla intifan imkânına taalluk ider intifa mümkün iken sahibi tatil eylese yine haracını eda ider ve bir senede harici mütekerrir olur ise haracı mütekerrir olmayub taleb olunmaz ...” (BOA, TD 825, 3). The *harac-ı mukataa* which was collected on the vineyards of the Apostolos village in the *nahiye* of Pedye in the *sancak* of Candia is listed below (BOA, TD 825, 41):

Bağ-ı âlâ ber muceb-i mesaha cerib: 250 harac-ı mukataa beher cerib fi 120 akçe hâsıl: 30000	Bağ-ı mutavassıt ber muceb-i mesaha cerib: 75 harac-ı mukataa beher cerib fi 60 akçe hâsıl: 4500	Bağ-ı edna ber muceb-i mesaha cerib: 38 harac-ı mukataa beher cerib fi 30 akçe hâsıl: 1140
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was cited in order to support the status of the new tax system, and those who wished to change it were cursed.³⁷

The definition and amount of the *cizye* tax to be collected from non-Muslims were also indicated in this *tahrir*. Non-Muslims were divided into three groups in accordance with their income: rich, of medium income and poor; the amount of the tax was determined according to this division. In this way, 48 *dirhem-i şer'î* would be collected from the rich as *cizye*, 24 from those of medium income, and 12 from the poor.³⁸ The meaning of *dirhem-i şer'î* and its equivalence to the *akçe* were also explained in the register. Since it was indicated in the books of canonical jurisprudence (*fikh*) that 1 *dirhem* equalled 14 *kırats* and 1 *kırat* equalled 5 grains of barley, it was determined that at that time 14 *akçes* equalled one *dirhem*. On the basis of this calculation, 672 *akçes* of *cizye* were taken from rich non-Muslims, 336 *akçes* from those of medium income, and 168 *akçes* from the poor.³⁹

Economic Situation

The seventeenth-century Ottoman economy was largely dependent upon agriculture. Grain and legume production occupied the first place. Cereals, olive, and wine were the chief products of Crete. While cereals, especially barley, were the chief product of the villagers, wine and olive oil had an important role in the commercial activities of the island. The Venetian administration, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, supported grape production in order to increase the production of sweet wine which was exported to Europe.⁴⁰ Villagers in Crete turned towards viniculture, and cereal production decreased. In the middle of the sixteenth century, cereal production on the island could meet the consumption of a six or eight-month period at most. The rest of the requirements in cereals were met with imports from the Ottoman lands. Ottoman producers sold their surplus cereals to Crete since they were more expensive in Venice than in Ottoman markets and because of the ease of sea transport. The Cretan people, who could meet their needs in cereals by this means, used their lands for activities which would provide higher profit, such as viniculture, olive production, citrus fruit cultivation, and honey making, in spite of the decision of the Venetian Senate to uproot vineyards and sow cereals. Among

37 "... rüsum-ı divaniyeden olan ispençe ve resm-i tapu ve rüsum-ı ağnam ve küvvare ve deştbanı ve resm-i otlak ve kışlak ve yaylak ve cürm ü cinayet ve bad-ı hava ve resm-i arusane ve tarh-ı milh ve sair bidaşetti ferman-ı hümayun ile Girid Ceziresi'nden bi'l-küllîye men ve ref ve ilga olunmuşdur minba'd iade olunmayub cezire-i mezbureden ancak kütüb-i fıkhiyeden istihrac olunub balâda mestur olan rüsum-ı şer'îye taleb olunub ..." (BOA, TD 825, 4).

38 "... nev-i evvel ki keferenin rüsumuna vaz olunur cizye ile müsemmadır hâlâ kütüb-i şer'iyede tasrih ve tayin olunduğı nesak üzere keferenin rüsum-ı cizyeleri üç kısıma münkasımdır gani olan zimmiden kırk sekiz dirhem-i şer'î ve mutavassıtü'l-halden yigirmi dört dirhem-i şer'î ve fakir-i kasıbdan on iki dirhem-i şer'î rüsum-ı cizyeleri tahrir ve vech-i şer'î üzere tahsil olunur ziyade ve noksan taleb olunmaz ..." (BOA, TD 825, 2).

39 BOA, TD 825, 4.

40 A. Brumfield, 'Osmanlı Giriti'nde Tarım ve Kırsal Yerleşme, 1669-1898' (trans. B. Altınok), in U. Baram and L. Carroll (eds), *Osmanlı Arkeolojisi* (Istanbul 2004), 54.

the Cretan export products, wine was sold to the whole of Europe, but most other products were sent to Istanbul. Its close distance, without any risk of not being able to sell the products, and the prices made this market very attractive.⁴¹

With the Ottoman conquest of Crete, cereal and legume production rapidly increased. Cereal production and preservation within the country were always an important issue for Ottoman administrators. This is why the export of cereals was prohibited. The government had an absolute need of cereals in order to feed the overgrown army, which fought wars against both eastern and western neighbours and within the country against the *celalis*.⁴² During the siege of Candia, the production of cereals in Crete was constantly encouraged by Ottoman commanders, and exportation was forbidden, because some of the provisioning needs of the troops involved in the siege were met from this local production. According to the 1650 *tahrir*, cereals were the most widely cultivated agricultural product in Crete.

<i>Sancak</i>	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Broad beans	Lentils	Chickpeas	Vetch	Wild vetch
Candia	41,656	42,610	10,684	5,727	2,055	2,400	2,490	2,210
Chania	27,152	26,459	4,792	3,353	1,678	1,798	2,141	1,899
Rethymno	20,577	20,857	3,700	2,671	1,284	1,570	1,762	1,471
Sitia	12,975	12,717	3,002	2,187	642	655	895	795
Total	102,360	102,643	22,178	13,938	5,659	6,423	7,288	6,375

Table I: The amount of *öşür* taken from cereals and legumes in Crete in 1650 (in *kiles*)

In 1650, as was stated above, the amount of *öşür* and *salariye* taken from agricultural products in Crete was 2/15. When these tax figures are multiplied by 7.5, it is possible to determine the harvest of cereals and legumes produced in the province in terms of *kiles*.⁴³ Cereals and legumes produced in Crete were, according to the data of Table I, mostly obtained in the *sancak* of Candia, followed by the *sancaks* of Chania, Rethymno, and Sitia. Among these products barley and wheat were in the first place, followed by oats, broad beans, vetch, chickpeas, wild vetch, and lentils.⁴⁴

41 B. Simon, 'Onaltıncı Yüzyıl Ortalarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit İlişkileri Hakkında Birkaç Not', in *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Vol. IV (Ankara 1993), 1815-1817.

42 Güçer, *Hububat Meselesi*, 40; for the products whose export from the Ottoman state was prohibited, see also Z. Arıkan, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İhracı Yasak Mallar (Memnu Meta)', in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (İstanbul 1991), 279-306.

43 As was frequently stated during the Cretan War, the current *kile* was the *kile* of Istanbul; one *kile* of Istanbul equalled 25.659 kg (Hinz, 'Ölçü Sistemleri', 51; İnalçık, 'Osmanlı Metrolojisine Giriş', 38). When the *kile* values given above are multiplied by this number, the amount of cereals and legumes in terms of kilograms can be calculated.

44 The *tahrir* values of these products are given as follows: 40 *akçes* for the *kile* of wheat, beans, and chickpeas; 20 *akçes* for the *kile* of barley, oat, vetch and wild vetch (BOA, TD 820, various pages).

As industrial plants, flax and cotton were significant products. But, since the *öşür* was taken at a fixed price from these products, it is impossible to determine their production in terms of quantity. At that period, the flax tax which was taken from the whole province amounted to 175,982 *akçes*, and the *öşür* on cotton was 172,388 *akçes*. In the light of the amount of tax, Candia was again in the front rank in terms of flax and cotton production among the *sancaks*. As with cereals and legumes, it was followed by the *sancaks* of Chania, Rethymno and Sitia. A total of 93,550 *akçes* was collected from the whole island as the tax from small-scale industrial enterprises where these industrial products were processed. But they were not separately listed in the *tahrir*; they were recorded under *resm-i asiyab*. Water-mills for flour, rice, felt cloth and olive oil, cloth presses, and cotton and silk mills were included in the *resm-i asiyab*. That is why it is impossible to know exactly how many mills there were in the province.⁴⁵

While Crete was under the rule of Venice, viniculture was very common and the wine produced on the island was exported to Europe. Viniculture was more profitable than cereal production; therefore, Cretan villagers preferred to engage in it.⁴⁶ According to the census of 1650, viniculture was carried out in all villages. 55,729 *medres*⁴⁷ (771,556 litres) was collected as *öşür* from grape juice production on the island. This gives a total annual production of 417,966 *medres* (4,286,659 litres) of grape juice. The *tahrir* value of each *medre* of juice was set at 16 *akçes*.⁴⁸

<i>Sancak</i>	Amount of <i>öşür</i>	Total production
Candia	20,282	152,115
Chania	14,715	110,362
Rethymno	12,167	91,252
Sitia	8,565	64,237
Total	55,729	417,966

Table II: The amount of *öşür* taken from wine production and total production in Crete in 1650 (in *medres*)

Olive oil production had an important place among the means of livelihood of non-Muslims in the province. The amount of *öşür* taken from olive oil production in 1650 was 24,754 *medres* (253,877 litres) and the amount of production is thus estimated as 185,654 *medres* (1,904,067 litres). At the beginning of the Ottoman conquest, grape production

45 According to the *kanunname*, people who ran the flour mills for one year would pay 60 *akçes*, for six months 30 *akçes*; in the case of rice in the husk, 30 *akçes* would be collected annually as tax for each cauldron (*dig*); 20 *akçes* per *kebe* mill (*kebe* is a kind of thick felt); 30 *akçes* per silk wheel; 30 *akçes* per olive oil press; 15 *akçes* per cloth press; 15 *akçes* per cotton wheel (BOA, TD 820, 4).

46 Simon, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit İlişkileri', 1816-1817.

47 *Medre* was a measure of liquid, equal to 10.256 litres; it consisted of 4 *kilindirs*, each of which equalled 2 *kryyes* (Hinz, 'Ölçü Sistemleri', 55).

48 BOA, TD 820, various pages.

was higher than olive oil production. That is why the amount of grape juice which was produced on the island was twice the amount of olive oil.

<i>Sancak</i>	<i>Amount of öşür</i>	<i>Total production</i>
Candia	8,712	65,340
Chania	6,683	50,122
Rethymno	5,027	37,702
Sitia	4,332	32,490
Total	24,754	185,654

Table III: The amount of *öşür* from olive oil production and total production of olive oil in Crete in 1650 (in *medres*)

Stock-farming and bee-keeping were also among the means of livelihood of the villagers of Crete. Cheese and honey were the most important export products after wine and olive oil. In the Ottoman state, the tax taken from sheep and goats was called *âdet-i ağnam*; it was collected without discrimination at the same rate from Muslims and non-Muslims.⁴⁹ In Crete, in 1650, the name of the tax which was collected on the sheep and goats of the four *sancaks* of the province was stated as *âdet-i ağnam* in the *timar* inventory showing the sultan's *hasses*, but such a tax does not occur in the *kanunname*; here the expression “... her can-verden dahi ikişer akçe alına ...” seems to indicate the *ağnam* tax.⁵⁰ The amount of the sheep tax was 320,000 *akçes* in Crete in 1650.⁵¹ Since this tax was collected at a rate of two *akçes* per sheep or goat, in 1650 there must have been 160,000 sheep and goats on the island. The *reaya* of the *sancak* of Chania with 60,000 sheep came first in comparison with the other *sancaks*' *reaya*. They were followed by the villagers of Candia with 50,000 sheep and goats, and by those of the Rethymno and Sitia *sancaks* with 25,000 sheep and goats each.

The bee-keeping activities of the Cretan people were also taxed; for each hive two *akçes* was taken as the tax called *resm-i küvvare*.⁵² The amount of the tax collected from the whole province in 1650 was 176,802 *akçes*. That is, there were 88,401 hives on the island.⁵³

Fruit and vegetable production did not have an important place on the island. Since the tithe on these products was collected as a fixed sum of money, it is impossible to de-

49 N. Çağatay, ‘Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Reâyâdan Alınan Vergi ve Resimler’, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, V/5 (1947), 495.

50 The tax on the sheep and goats of the four *sancaks* of Crete was known by this name. As an example, the statement for Candia reads: “An mahsul-i âdet-i ağnam-ı liva-yı Kandiye fi sene 100000” (BOA, TD 785, 11).

51 100,000 *akçes* was taken from Candia, 120,000 *akçes* from Chania, 50,000 *akçes* from Rethymno, and 50,000 *akçes* from Sitia (BOA, TD 785, 11).

52 BOA, TD 820, 5.

53 31,309 of these hives were in Candia, 26,482 in Chania, 20,450 in Rethymno, 10,160 in Sitia (BOA, TD 820).

termine the exact production. In 1650, the amount of the tax under the name of *öyr-i bostan* which was taken from such activities on the whole island was 159,200 *akçes*. In 1670, only one per cent of the land under cultivation was for fruit and vegetables.⁵⁴

As mentioned above, with the conquest of Candia some very important changes occurred in the legal status of the *reaya* of the island, as well as in the style of compiling the inventories. Thanks to the contents of the surviving inventories of the seventeenth century, it is possible to determine the amount of land appropriate for agriculture, its productivity level, and the number of olive trees. In other words, the amount of cereals and legumes sown, the amount of land on which viniculture was carried out, the amount in *dönüms* of fallow or unowned land can be observed. In addition, the land on which cereals and legumes were sown and the productivity level of grape cultivation were also recorded in these inventories.

<i>Sancak</i>	Cereals and legumes	Vineyards	Gardens and kitchen gardens	Fallow land	Total
Candia	218,840.5	26,608	3,015	21,357	269,820.5
Chania	74,281	10,635.5	405	4,569	89,890.5
Rethymno	52,748.5	11,342.5	458	9,886	74,435
Sitia	54,185.5	6,235	702.5	23,442.5	84,595.5
Total	400,055.5	54,821	4,580.5	59,284.5	518,741.5

Table IV: The distribution of land on which agriculture was carried out in Crete in 1670 according to the crops sown⁵⁵

As can be seen above, the agricultural areas in the biggest *sancak* of the province in terms of the number of villages and *nahiyes*, Candia, exceeded the total of the other three *sancaks*. The total amount of land appropriate for agriculture on the island was 518,741.5 *ceribs* (496,954,357 m² = 49,695 hectares). Eleven per cent of this land (59,284.5 *ceribs*) was fallow and not cultivated; this situation was recorded in the inventories as follows: “arz-ı hâli bilâ sahib”.⁵⁶ In terms of the amount of land appropriate for agriculture, the most uncultivated land was in the *sancak* of Sitia. On the other hand, the *sancak* with the highest percentage of land in use was Chania. The lands of the province in which agricultural activities were carried out were used for cereals and legumes (87%), and grape

54 BOA, TD 820; BOA, TD 822, 825.

55 Only in the *sancak* of Candia were the meadows, marshy places, and areas of rice in the husk shown in the list of gardens and kitchen gardens.

56 The record of fallow lands in the Panaya village in the *nahiye* of Pedye in the *sancak* of Candia is as follows (BOA, TD 825, 57):

arz-ı hâli bilâ sahib
zıra-ı salihâ
cerib: 664
ber vech-i mezari
beher cerib fi 12 akçe
hâsil: 7968.

production (about 12%), while 1 per cent of these lands consisted of fruit and vegetable gardens, rice fields, meadows and low-lying wet lands. The productivity status of the island can also be calculated by means of the contents of the inventories. As mentioned before, the information about the productivity level of the land – productive, moderately productive, unproductive – and the amounts of *harac* which would be collected accordingly were recorded in the inventories, and can be used for this calculation.⁵⁷

One of the important features of the 1670 *tahrir* concerns olive groves on the island. By means of the taxation system of this production, it is possible to discover the number of olive trees accurately. At this date, the tax taken from the olive oil production was calculated per tree. According to the inventory, there were 121,123 olive trees in the *sancak* of Candia, 139,307 in the *sancak* of Sitia, 248,130 in the *sancak* of Chania, 157,455 in the *sancak* of Rethymno, and in total 666,015 olive trees in Crete in 1670.

<i>Sancak</i>	Number of olive trees	Annual production
Candia	121,123	605,615
Sitia	139,307	696,535
Chania	248,130	1,240,650
Rethymno	157,455	1,216,290
Total	666,015	3,759,090

Table V: Number of olive trees and olive oil production in Crete in 1670 (in *kıyyes*)

Olive trees were taxed by *harac-ı mukaseme* on the basis of the estimate that in all *sancaks*, except for Rethymno, 5 *kıyyes* of oil would be obtained from each tree. In Rethymno the situation was different, because the most productive olive groves of the province were considered to be there. Therefore, in this *sancak*, olive trees in the *nahiyes* of Milopotamo, Amari and Ayovasili were taxed according to the estimate that 10 *kıyyes* of olive oil would be obtained from each tree annually. Only in Rethymno were the trees included in the 5-*kıyye* per tree assessment. That is, 85,803 olive trees out of a total of 157,455 were taxed at the 10 *kıyyes* rate, and 71,652 were taxed at the 5 *kıyyes* rate.⁵⁸

Olive oil production in Crete showed a great increase in 1670 in comparison with 1650. As can be seen from Table V, among the *sancaks*, the most olive oil was produced in Chania. Rethymno and Sitia came next and Candia was last. On the other hand, in 1650 within the whole province the most olive oil was produced in the *sancak* of Candia. There are two important reasons for this change. The first is the administrative arrangement in the province in 1670. At this date, the centre of the province was transferred from Chania to Candia, and the *nahiye* of Lasithi, which was formerly dependent on Candia, was now transferred to the *sancak* of Sitia. The second apparent reason is that because of the long-drawn-out war at Candia and its environs, most of the olive groves there had been destroyed.

57 On the productivity status of the lands in the province and the distribution according to *sancaks*, see Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 286-291.

58 The tax rate that the government applied was 1/5. In the inventory, the tax is described as "harac-ı mukasem min el-hums" (BOA, TD 822, 825, various pages).

The *cizye* inventory which was attached to the end of the tax census clearly displays the economic condition of non-Muslims, because the *cizye* tax was collected according to the economic standing of the *reaya* in the light of the tax arrangement which was imposed on the island.

<i>Sancak</i>	Rich	Middle-class	Poor	Total
Candia	4,536	3,305	1,371	9,212
Chania	1,903	2,440	1,702	6,045
Rethymno	3,650	2,010	440	6,100
Sitia	2,490	2,043	614	5,147
Total	12,579	9,798	4,127	26,504

Table VI: The economic condition of the *reaya* who lived in rural areas in Crete in 1670 according to the *cizye* rates that they paid⁵⁹

As can be seen from Table VI, 15.5 per cent of the population subject to the *cizye* and living in the rural areas of the province was registered as poor, and 84.5 per cent as rich and middle-class; taxpayers had to pay the *cizye* according to this assessment. According to the census, the poverty rate in Chania was 28 per cent, in Candia 15 per cent, in Sitia 12 per cent and in Rethymno 7 per cent; the highest percentage of poor people is thus seen to have been in Chania. On the other hand, the highest level of wealth appears in Rethymno.⁶⁰

Evaluation and Epilogue

In the period studied here (1645-1670), the Ottomans treated the legal status of the *reaya* in Crete from two different angles. The first was applied from the beginning of their conquests on the island up to the conquest of Candia. The second one was implemented after Candia was conquered. This difference is mainly centred on the status that was attributed to the land on the island and the use of *ictihad* for the determination of the tax that the *reaya* would have to pay. In the 24 years from the conquest of Chania to the conquest of Candia, all land was assessed as having the status of *öşrî* land. In this system, the *reaya* paid their *örfî* taxes, as set out in the *kanunname*, after paying *öşür* and *salaria* at a rate of 2/15 of the products that they produced, such as cereals, legumes, olive oil, grape juice, and cotton. The inventories which contain the results of the *tahrir* carried out in 1650 in Crete clearly reflect the 'traditional' Ottoman *tahrir* style. In terms of arrangement of its material, in the *mufassal* inventory of this *tahrir*, after the *hasses* of the Sultan and the governor (*beylerbeyi*) in the entire province were listed, *vakıf* and *mülk* registrations followed. After that, rural areas the incomes of which belonged to *dirliks* of *zaims*

⁵⁹ This figure does not include the people who lived in the cities or the villagers of the *nahiye* of Esfakya in the *sancak* of Chania, who were excluded from the *cizye*, since their region belonged to the waqf of Mecca and Medina.

⁶⁰ BOA, TD 980.

and *sipahis* were registered. In registering rural areas, the classic style of Ottoman *mufassal tahrirs* was applied. That is, first the name of the village was indicated and below this the names and fathers' names of the male taxpayers were stated. Boys, who were not responsible for the payment of any tax, were recorded as "sabilerdir". Below this, the taxes taken from the *reaya* were given under the heading "hâsıl". In the inventory displaying the *icmal* records of this *tahrir*, the classic inventory structure of Ottoman *tahrir* tradition is seen again. First, the Sultan's *hass* on the whole island was registered by *nahiye*, followed by the *hass* of the governor of Crete. The pages which follow show the incomes of the owners of *zeamets* and *timars* on the island. First came the name of the owner of the *zeamet* or the *timar*, and then, after indicating the village where he had his *dirlik*, the annual income from it was registered.

With the conquest of Candia in 1669, new administrative arrangements meant that many important changes can be seen in the legal status of the *reaya* of the province, in taxation, and especially in the form of the *mufassal* inventories. The new style of registration is paralleled by fundamental changes concerning the *timar* system as seen through *tahrirs* from all over the Empire, and especially *tahrirs* regarding the Aegean islands.⁶¹ In 1670, all the *örffî* taxes taken from the *reaya* of Crete were prohibited, as they were considered to be *bid'at*, and the amount of land and its productivity status were taken into account as regards taxation. Many important changes also occurred in the determination of the *cizye*, which was a Sharia tax. That is, the *reaya* were divided into three groups – rich, middle class, poor – according to their economic standing, and the *cizye* was collected on the basis of this classification; thus, in the collection of the *cizye*, individual taxation was applied instead of collective taxation. The purpose here was to provide the Sharia appropriateness of the *cizye* as indicated in *fikh* books. These measures were introduced through the influence of Vanî Mehmed Efendi, who was one of the important representatives of the Kadızadeli movement, on Grand Vizier Fazıl Ahmed Paşa and Sultan Mehmed IV. The *cizye* tax system of Crete was applied all over the Ottoman Empire in 1691 in order to establish just one collection system throughout its territories and with the same Sharia purpose.⁶²

61 This style of recording is first seen in the *tahrir* prepared after Tenedos had been re-obtained from Venice in 1657. For the evaluation of the information in this *tahrir*, see C. Orhonlu, '1657 Tarihli Bozcaada Tahrîri ve Adadaki Türk Eserlerine Ait Bazı Notlar', *TD*, XXVI (1972), 67-74; E. Gülsoy, 'Bozcaada (Tenedos) Before and After Its Capture by Venice in 1656', in İ. Bostan and S. H. Başeren (eds), *II. National Aegean Islands Symposium. 2-3 July 2004, Gökçeada-Çanakkale* (Istanbul 2004), 71-79.

62 B. J. Slot claims that in Crete and especially on the island of Naxos at this date the *cizye* had been increased excessively and had become a very difficult burden for the *reaya* (B. J. Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus. Les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane, c. 1500-1718*, Vol. I [Istanbul 1982], 211-213). However, the Ottomans considered all *örffî* taxes that they had collected from the Cretan people until 1670 as *bid'at* and cancelled them; instead, they fixed the *cizye* in the way explained above. The abolished *örffî* taxes were the following: *ispence*, *resm-i tapu*, *resm-i ağnam*, *resm-i kiivvare*, *resm-i deştbanî*, *resm-i otlak*, *yaylak* and *kışlak*, *cürm-i cinayet* and *bad-ı hava*. If we take into account that none of these taxes was any longer collected, the increase in *cizye* looks reasonable.

The *mufassal tahrirs*, which were prepared in 1670, contain records of the land. Regarding the form of the inventories, first the name of the village was entered, then the whole land used was registered under the person of the owner of the land, which was introduced by the word ‘*zemin*’, that is, ‘land’. Below this, it was indicated whether it was a farm or a vineyard, and its size was recorded. Here, the owner’s being Christian or Muslim was shown through the use of different styles in recording their names. If the owner was Muslim, “*arz-ı haracî der yed-i ...*” was written diagonally over “*zemin*”. If this person was Christian, “*der yed-i ...*” was written below “*zemin*”. After the whole land of a village – vineyards, gardens, kitchen gardens and olive trees – had been determined, the grand total was shown by category. Then the tax that was to be taken from the lands – vineyards, gardens, olive groves – was registered under the heading “*hâsıl*”. In the inventory it was also noted whom the taxes belonged to. Apart from the villages and *mezraas* whose incomes were assigned as *muhafız dirlikleri* to those appointed as guards in the fortresses of the province, all other settlements and lands were indicated. That is, units whose incomes were assigned to *hasses*, *mülks* and *vakıfs* were also indicated. But for the *zeamets* and *timars* this information was not considered to be necessary.

This situation caused some problems during my research. For example, in the previous *tahrir*, the taxes were assigned on the basis of the products produced, and thus it is possible to determine the types and quantities of cereals and legumes cultivated on the island. In the later inventory, especially when it comes to cereal and legume production, there is no information about the sorts of products cultivated, because farms were taxed according to productivity status on the basis of *ceribs*; whatever the crops sown by the farmer, he had to pay the tax which was formerly determined. There are also some problems about discovering the demographic structure of the island’s population. For the same reason explained above, the male population living on the island is not registered in the *mufassal* inventories. The non-Muslim population can be calculated by means of the *cizye* inventories, but the problem remains for an estimate of the Muslims. In fact, as was previously mentioned, the lands possessed by Muslims were recorded in a different style. Though it is very tiring to discover the Muslim people with land by means of this information, it is possible. But still it seems impossible to determine accurately the number of villagers who were Muslim but did not have any land and the ones who lived in cities.⁶³

The prominent feature of these inventories is that the lands considered appropriate for agriculture on the island can accurately be determined. That is, it can be accurately shown how many acres of farms, vineyards, gardens, etc. there were in a village, *nahiye*

63 By means of this *tahrir*, an inventory of buildings, shops, land etc. in Candia was compiled with a view to selling them to interested parties (BOA, TD 798). Some information about only the Muslims living in Candia can be obtained from this inventory. But this information is not sufficient for the whole Muslim population in the city, and, as for the other cities of Crete, there is no sound information available. I have examined this inventory in a different study: E. Gülsoy, ‘Osmanlı İdaresinde Kandiye ve Şehrin İlk Sâkinleri’, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi Anadolu’da Tarihi Yollar ve Şehirler Semineri* (İstanbul 2002), 99-133.

or *sancak*. As for olive groves, the situation is even better. Thanks to the taxation system of this production, the number of olive trees at the time when the inventory was compiled can be determined.

In addition to changes in the administrative and fiscal arrangements concerning the province, as seen in the *tahrir* of 1670, the *timar* system also changed. Under the new system, *sipahi timars* were abandoned and all the *zeamets* and *timars* were assigned to those who were appointed to the fortresses of Candia, Chania, Rethymno, Kisamos, and Ierapetra as guards; these were fortress commanders, as well as the officers and soldiers of the troops of the *gönüllüs*, the *azabs*, the *farisan*, the *lağımçıs*, and the *humbaracıs*.⁶⁴

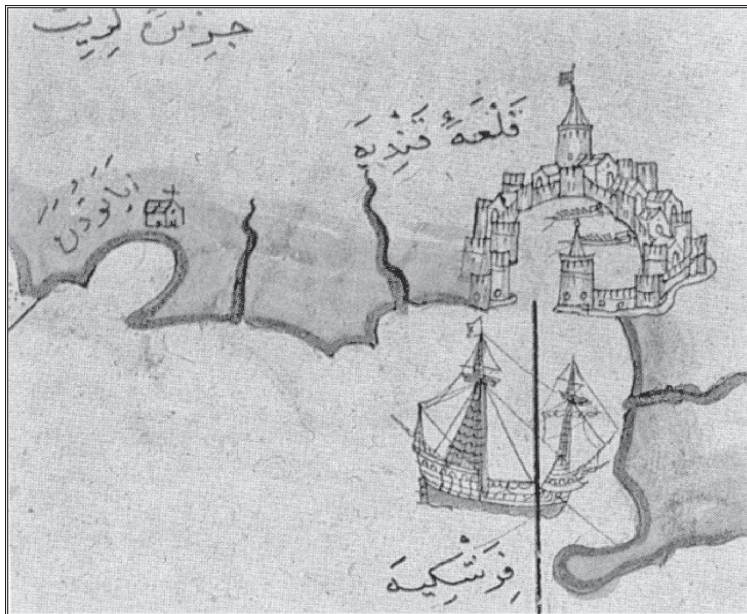
Instead of a conclusion, I would like to issue a reminder that while Crete was under the rule of Venice, the most important production activity was viniculture. That is why the most prominent export product was wine. Cereal, legume and olive oil production were inferior to wine production. According to the first Ottoman *tahrirs* available, while cereal and legume production was rapidly increasing, viniculture still occupied an important place, and wine production was much higher than olive oil production. Thus, 4,286,669 litres of grape juice were obtained in 1650, as against 1,904,067 litres of olive oil. In the course of the next twenty years, the situation changed in favour of olive oil. In 1670, the quantity of olive oil from the island was 3,759,090 *kıyyes*, and only 12 per cent of the land appropriate for agriculture was used for viniculture. This is mainly because of the encouragement of olive oil production by the government, and also because this kind of activity required fewer agricultural skills and techniques in comparison with viniculture. Thus, olive oil became the most important export product of Ottoman Crete, and as famous as its wine.⁶⁵ For instance, the British traveller Bernard Randolph, who visited the island ten years after it was conquered by the Ottomans, wrote that olive oil production was superior to wine production and commented on it as follows: "Here they keep their oyl in great Vessels called *Tini*, which are square and made of wood, some will hold 20 Tunns. They have a special regard to preserve the esteem of their oyl, nor will they force a merchant to take any longer than it comes clear, not mixing the bottoms, as in some parts they will, by taking a hollow cane, and putting it to the bottom, by blowing through which they raise the foot of the oyl, so that thick and thin goes together. Here they sell the Foot of the oyl at an under price; and this serves to make sope. Most parts of Turkey [sic] have an Esteem for *Canea* oyl above others. Some will have it to be the better for that the trees are all so young; others impute it to their care in the making, for here they gather all their Olives, whereas in the *Morea* they thrash them down with poles".⁶⁶

64 For these records, see BOA, TD 801.

65 Because of these different features of the island, Molly Greene calls Venetian Crete "the island of wine" and Ottoman Crete "the island of oil" (Greene, *A Shared World*, 110-140).

66 B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago, (or Arches), Sea of Constantinople, and Gulph of Smyrna; with the Islands of Candia, and Rhodes ...* (Oxford 1687), 91.

APPENDIX

The Castle of Chania in Piri Reis' *Kitab-ı Bahriye*The Castle of Candia in Piri Reis' *Kitab-ı Bahriye*

SPHAKIA IN OTTOMAN CENSUS RECORDS: A VAKIF AND ITS AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

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Machiel KIEL, and Lucia NIXON*

Introduction

THIS PAPER ARISES OUT OF OUR WORK on an archaeological field survey of Sphakia (SW Crete). The survey begins back in the Prehistoric period (c. 4400 BC) and runs through the Graeco-Roman period to around the time that the Ottomans leave Crete (1898), so over 6,000 years.¹ The survey is investigating settlement patterns, land use, and population sizes in all three epochs (Prehistoric, Graeco-Roman, and Byzantine-Venetian-Ottoman). We integrate material evidence (buildings, pottery, etc.) with written evidence (inscriptions, travellers, official reports, and Ottoman survey records, the focus of this paper) (Fig. 1).

Our interest in census data is shared with other field surveys in Greece and Turkey. A number of other archaeological surveys in Greece and Turkey also have a serious interest in the Venetian and Ottoman periods, and use census and other data from those periods.²

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1 L. Nixon and S. Price, *The Sphakia Survey (Greece): Methods and Results* (1995) [a 50-minute educational videotape, shown twice on Greek national television in 1996; available with Greek subtitles]; L. Nixon, J. Moody, S. Price and O. Rackham, *The Sphakia Survey: Internet Edition* (2000), <http://sphakia.classics.ox.ac.uk/> [a full bibliography of Survey publications is given here]; L. Nixon and S. Price, 'The Diachronic Analysis of Pastoralism through Comparative Variables', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 96 (2001), 395-424; L. Nixon, 'Seeing Voices and Changing Relationships: Film, Archaeological Reporting and the Landscape of People in Sphakia', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105 (2001), 77-97, reprinted with addendum in A. Stroulia and S. Buck Sutton (eds), *Archaeology in Situ* (London 2007); S. Price and L. Nixon, 'Ancient Greek Agricultural Terraces: Evidence from Texts and Archaeological Survey', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 109 (2005), 665-694; L. Nixon, *Making a Landscape Sacred: Outlying Churches and Icon Stands in Sphakia, Crete, A.D. 1000-2000* (Oxford 2006). For more details see the final print publication of the Survey by S. Price, L. Nixon, J. Moody and O. Rackham, to be published by Oxford University Press (2009).

2 Balboura: M. Kiel in J. J. Coulton *et alii*, *Balboura: A Highland City and its Territory. Results*



Fig. 1: Map of Sphakia. Map of principal settlements in Sphakia in the Ottoman period. The names in brackets are not separate villages (*karye*) in the censuses: Askaphou is linked with Vouvas; Imbros, Asphendou and Kallikrati are summer settlements only; Nomikiana, if it existed in the seventeenth century, must have been counted with Vouvas. The boundary indicates the likely extent of the territory of the eleven villages of the *vakif*; the three eastern villages, Kapsodasos, Skaloti and Argoule, did not form part of the *vakif*, but were included in the province (eparchy) of Sphakia only in the mid-nineteenth century. The contours are at every 400 m, with an extra contour at 200 m. The inset map of Crete shows the location of Sphakia.

of the 1985-1993 Survey Project in Southwest Anatolia, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph (2008 or 2009).

Boeotia and Lokris Surveys: M. Kiel, 'The Village of Goriani (Gavriani, Gavryeni, Agoryani etc.) on the Othrys in the Former Kaza of Izdin (Lamia) According to the Ottoman Census and Taxation Records of the Fifteenth-Seventeenth Century', *Pharos*, 7 (1999), 111-122; Idem, 'The Ottoman Imperial Registers: Central Greece and Northern Bulgaria in the Fifteenth-Nineteenth Century: The Demographic Development of Two Areas Compared', in J. Bintliff and K. Sbonias (eds), *Reconstructing Past Population Trends in Mediterranean Europe (3000 B.C.-A.D. 1800)* (Oxford 1999), 195-218. Cf. also Idem, 'The Smaller Aegean Islands in the 16th-18th Centuries according to Ottoman Administrative Documents', in S. Davies and J. L. Davis (eds), *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece* (Princeton 2007), 35-54.

Kythera: C. Broodbank and E. Kyriatzi, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/kip/> [with list of publications].

Ottomanists have also studied Ottoman census data very intensively,³ but sometimes with only a belated interest in the actual landscape and its resources which are recorded in the censuses. Those working on archaeological field surveys know the terrain, and are committed to bringing together material and textual evidence.

For Sphakia it is sometimes held that the area was never really subject to the Ottomans, which if true would entail that there were no Ottoman census records for Sphakia. This local claim that Sphakia was never really subject to the Ottomans is a piece of myth-making, a part of the claim to contemporary independence for this proud area.⁴ Knowing this, we asked Prof. Machiel Kiel (who has played such an important role for archaeologists in the exploitation of Ottoman census data) to see if he could discover anything for us in the Turkish archives. To our amazement, in 1994 and 1995 he discovered six splendid documents, five in Istanbul and one in Ankara. He generously transcribed the key elements in the texts, furnished us with xeroxes of some of them, and gave us a preliminary analysis of them. This paper would not exist without his work and his enormous scholarly generosity in permitting us to make full use of his work.

In this paper, we discuss just two issues that arise from these records: first the creation of the *vakıf* of Sphakia, and secondly, one aspect of the census data, that for agricultural production.

Documents

1. BOA, Istanbul: Tahrir Defter 820 (*Defter-i Hanya*). This document, which covers all four *sancaks* of Crete, contains 660 pages, of which pages 48 and 97-102 are on Sphakia. It lists both people and agricultural produce. Fig. 2 reproduces the entry for one village, Patsianos.

Prof. Kiel reasons that, of the two early *tahrirs* extant for Sphakia (Tahrir Defter 820 and 822), Tahrir Defter 820 is the earlier of the two. Immediately after the conquest, two

Phaistos: V. Watrous, D. Hadzi-Vallianou and H. Blitzer, *The Plain of Phaistos: Cycles of Social Complexity in the Mesara Region of Crete* (Los Angeles 2004).

Pylos Regional Archaeology Project: S. Davies, 'Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part VI: Land and Settlement in Venetian Navarino', *Hesperia*, 73 (2004), 59-120; F. Zarinebaf, J. Bennet and J. L. Davis, *A Historical and Economic Geography of Ottoman Greece: The South-western Morea in the Eighteenth Century* ([Princeton] 2005).

Vrokastro: A. Brumfield, 'Agriculture and Rural Settlement in Ottoman Crete, 1669-1898', in U. Baram and L. Carroll (eds), *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground* (New York 2000), 37-78; B. J. Hayden, *Reports on the Vrokastro Area, Eastern Crete*. Vol. I: *Catalogue of Pottery from the Bronze and Early Iron Age Settlement of Vrokastro*; Vol. II: *The Settlement History of the Vrokastro Area and Related Studies*; Vol. III: *The Vrokastro Regional Survey Project Sites and Pottery* (Philadelphia 2003).

3 E. Balta, *L'Eubée à la fin du XV^e siècle: économie et population. Les registres de l'année 1474* (Athens 1989); H. W. Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos* (Istanbul 2002).

4 S. Damer, *Cretan Highlanders: The Making of the Sphakiot Legend* (Glasgow 1989); Nixon, 'Seeing Voices'.

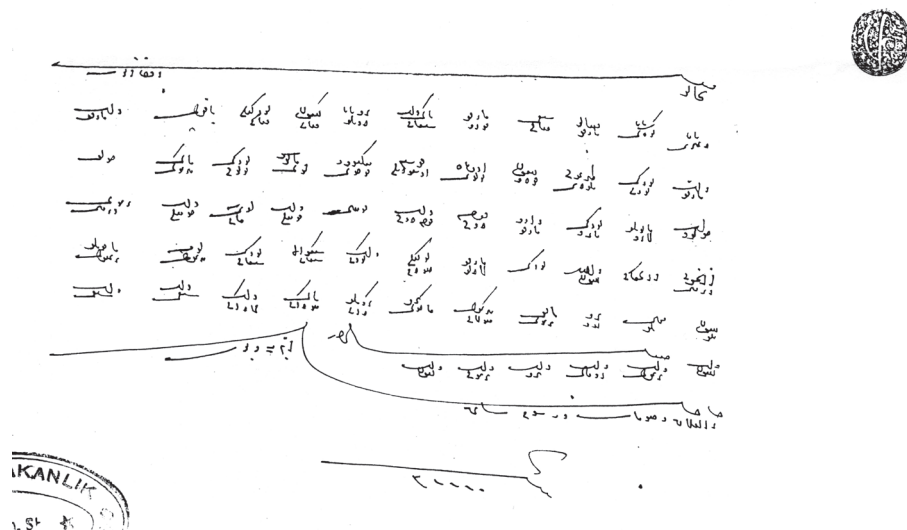


Fig. 3: Entry for Patsianos from Tahrir Defter 822, p. 323

order, grouped by fathers and their married, or unmarried sons; Prof. Kiel has shown this by a close study of two Sphakiote villages, Vraskas and Kolokasia. The spellings of the names are different (which shows that the two documents were independently compiled), and there are fewer unmarried sons in the second document, but the overall number of names for the eleven *vakıf* villages is almost identical (867 and 864). It must have been made between five and ten years after Tahrir Defter 820 (so c. 1655). Gülsoy states that this document dates a generation later, in 1670, but he does not take account of these arguments for an early date, and his own argument for a later date is purely circumstantial.⁷ There are clear parallels both from Crete and from other parts of the Empire for a sequence of *defters* only a few years apart.

The Sphakiote villages, according to Prof. Kiel, seem not to have been included in the poll-tax register (*cizye defter*) of 1077 (1666-1667), now in Istanbul, covering the whole of the western half of the island, presumably because they were not liable to poll tax.

3. BOA, Istanbul: Maliyeden Müdevver 4717, Evkaf Muhasebe Defter (Account Book of the *Vakıfs*) dated 4 Ramazan 1069 (26 May 1659). This document includes the *vakıf* of Sphakia.

4. Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara: Defter 1, Eski 489. A register of 1116-1117 (AD 1704-1705); 20 x 57 cm; old leather binding with golden *şemsiyes* (3) on front and back cover; 330 folia; paper and ink in perfect shape; large gilded and coloured (blue and rose) *tuğra* of Sultan Ahmed bin Mehmed (Ahmed III) on fol. 5^r. It includes the population of the *vakıf* villages of Sphakia (at pages 80^v-82^r).

7 Ibid., xxii-xxiii.

5. BOA, Istanbul: Cevdet Evkaf 27749. Two petitions from Fatma Hanım Sultan in 1185 (AD 1771); Chinese water-based ink on thick, polished paper. The larger petition includes comments and decisions.

6. BOA, Istanbul: Evkaf Nezareti, Haremeyn Muhasebeciliği 8550. A *vakıf* account register of 1817-1818 gives the total number of the population of the *vakıf* villages paying *cizye* as well as their agricultural production; the script is very hard to read and we have not fully exploited this text.

The Organisation of the Vakıf

The Creation of the *Vakıf*

The Ottoman fleet set sail from Istanbul for Crete at the end of April 1645. Most of the island was conquered quite quickly. Chania fell on 22 August.

The Sphakiotes were defending a key position on the north side of the White Mountains (which lie between Chania and Sphakia), but in early December (according to Camillo Gonzaga, a Venetian spy, reporting at the time) the Sphakiotes, faced with a seemingly invincible force of 30,000 infantry, abandoned their position and “submitted to the Turk”.⁸ The Ottoman forces then pressed on eastwards, and by autumn 1647 held all the island except for Candia (which held out until 1669) and the islet forts of Spinalonga, Souda and Grambousa.

However, in the summer or autumn of 1647 the regions of Rethymno and Sphakia revolted (the revolt is known only through the unpublished report of Mormori).⁹ In 1648 Sphakia was invaded and again subjugated. But Deli Hüseyin Paşa treated Sphakia mildly; he declared an amnesty, and “applied a systematic policy of protection of the rural population, their cattle and their crops”.¹⁰ Sphakia for a period was problematic for the Ottomans, because of Sphakiote support for the Venetians besieged in Candia.¹¹ However, by the time that the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi passed through in 1668, he notes that a fort (either Chora Sphakion or Frangokastello) had been ruined by the Ottoman capture of it, and that it was not garrisoned.¹² He also claims that the Ottomans had captured a ring

8 A. Papadhia[-Lala], ‘Ekthese tou Camillo Gonzaga gia ta prota chronia (1645-1647) tou Kretikou Polemou’ [Report of Camillo Gonzaga on the Early Years (1645-1647) of the Cretan War], *Thesavrismata*, 13 (1976), lines 246, 874; G. Grintakis, *He kataktese tes dytikēs Kretēs apo tous Tourkous* [The Conquest of West Crete by the Turks] (Rethymno 1998), 129.

9 Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia, MS Ital. VII. 1563 (7596), cited by E. Eickhoff, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen. Umbruch in Südosteuropa 1645-1700* (Munich 1970), 48. Cf. also N. S. Stavrinidis, ‘Symvole eis ten historian ton Sphakion (1645-1770)’ [Contribution to the History of Sphakia (1645-1770)], *Kretika Chronika*, 9 (1955), 226-227, 231 n. 7.

10 Eickhoff, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen*, 48.

11 A. E. Karathanasis, ‘Anekdotē allelographia tou Fr. Morozini kai allon Veneton me Kretikous sta chronia tou Polemou (1659-1660)’ [Unpublished Correspondence of Fr. Morozini and Other Venetians with Cretans during the War (1659-1660)], *Kretika Chronika*, 25 (1973), 21-124.

12 *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. 8. *Kitap*, eds S. A. Kahraman, Y. Dağlı and R. Dankoff (Istanbul 2003), 240; Greek translation: Evlia Tselebi, *Hodoiporiko sten Hellada (1668-1671): Pelopon-*

of four forts round Sphakia, commanding the only routes into the area, which had made possible the final conquest of Sphakia, but this account is very confused.¹³

In the meantime, an Ottoman census of the whole island (excluding the area still held by the Venetians) was commenced.¹⁴ Deli Hüseyin Paşa, straight after the conquest of Chania, started to organise a census of people and revenues, village by village, including Sphakia; in this respect the Ottomans followed the precedent of the Venetians, who had long compiled lists of individual towns (*ville*).¹⁵ But Venetian censuses were incomplete for the area of Sphakia, which lay on the margins of Venetian control. In drawing up a complete census for Sphakia within a few years of conquest, the Ottoman Empire thus had a more microscopic knowledge of Sphakia than Venice had ever acquired. The level of detailed knowledge and control was considerable. We know from a later document, of 1671, that around 1650 (“twenty years ago”) escheated land (*mahlûl*) in the Anopolis Plain was deemed to belong to the Ottomans. Three Ottoman officials, Kasım Ağa, Mehmed Ağa and Turak Bey, were responsible for selling such land, presumably to ensure the maximum tax base for the *vakıf*. The document of 1671 was an appeal to the Ottoman authorities over the ownership of a piece of land in the Anopolis Plain that had been so sold.¹⁶

The original census document was called by its classical name – it is a *tahrir defteri* – but a close examination shows that its main purpose was no longer to establish the *timar* system, at least not in Sphakia. Indeed, as Molly Greene has shown, the system instituted elsewhere on Crete bore little resemblance to the original *timar* system; this system became redundant in the seventeenth century as a result of military changes (cavalry, paid for by the *timar* system, ceased to be the key element in Ottoman forces).¹⁷ We wonder whether in the case of Sphakia it should be seen as a continuation of what was left of the Venetian system of manorial lordships.

The circumstances of Crete’s incorporation in the Empire, therefore, are unusual. Crete was the main territory won for the Ottoman Empire long after the golden age of expansion had come to a halt. The other conquests were Neuhäusel/Nové Zámky in Slovakia in 1663, and Podolia (in the Ukraine) in 1672 (whose *defter* has been splendidly published

nesos-Nesia Ioniou-Krete-Nesia Aigaïou [Travels in Greece (1668-1671): Peloponnese-Ionian Islands-Crete-Aegean Islands], ed. and trans. D. Loupis (Athens 2005 [3rd ed.]), 278-279.

13 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. 8. *Kitap*, 246; Evlia Tselebi, *Hodoiporiko*, 292-293.

14 The official label of the survey is “Girid kanunnamesiyle Girid’in nüfus ve hasılâtını ve Girid evkafını havi mufassal tahrir defteri”.

15 See, for instance, F. Barozzi, *Descrittione dell’ isola di Creta*, ed. S. Kaklamanis (Heraklion 2004), 282, 285; cf. digests of Venetian documentation in P. Faure, ‘Villes et villages du nome de Rhéthymnon. Listes inédites (1577-1629)’, *Kretologia*, 12-13 (1981), 221-244 (reprinted in Idem, *Recherches de toponymie crétoise. Opera selecta* [Amsterdam 1989], 403-426); Idem, ‘Villes et villages de la Crète occidentale. Listes inédites (1577-1644)’, *Kretologia*, 14-15 (1982), 77-104 (reprinted in Idem, *Recherches*, 427-454).

16 Stavriniadis, ‘Symvole’, 239-240 = Idem, *Metaphraseis*, No. 493 = Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, No. 176.

17 Greene, *A Shared World*, 33-35.

by Kołodziejczyk);¹⁸ the Morea was retaken in 1715; and as late as 1727-1728 a new series of poll-tax registers was drawn up in both the eastern and northern borderlands of the Empire. Crete and these other areas were organised as Ottoman provinces well after the *tapu tahrirs* had fallen into disuse at the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁹ However, the conquerors would have recognised the remains of the parallel Venetian system, still in theory organising the administration of the island.

The Ottomans, moreover, took over, or introduced, a complex system of taxes, rents, and dues, including the *mukataa* (any tax whose revenues were collected through state agents or farmed out to private individuals), some owed to the beneficiaries of the *timar* system and some to the state. As in the rest of the Empire, they introduced the *cizye* tax on Christians, a tax paid by non-Muslim adult males, in exchange for retaining their religion under Islamic rule.

None of the revenue recorded for Sphakia is earmarked for the provincial cavalry, which was the theoretical purpose of the *timar* system. The three eastern villages of modern Sphakia – Kapsodasos, Skaloti and Argoule – in Venetian and early Ottoman times belonged to the district of Agios Vasileios; they sent their taxes along to the central treasury as part of the income of the *hass-ı hümayun* rather than to a *timar* lord, in accordance with the seventeenth-century policy of assigning revenue away from those serving in the provinces, and towards Istanbul.

The revenues of the eleven villages included in the Ottoman district of Sphakia (*nahiye-i Esfakya*) were assigned to the religious endowment of Mecca and Medina. That is, these eleven villages had a special status, as forming a religious endowment (*vakıf*). The endowment was founded in the earliest years of Ottoman rule. Evliya Çelebi writes that Deli Hüseyin Paşa conquered Sphakia on the order of Melek Ahmed Paşa, Grand Vizier 1650-1651.²⁰ The nature of Ottoman rule in Sphakia during these war years is somewhat murky, but the eleven villages of Sphakia have a special status already in the first two surviving *tahrir defters* (820, 1650, and 822, c. 1655). The first *tahrir defter* (820) contains the notation “Vakıf-ı Medine-i Münevvere” next to the data for each of the eleven villages. The second *tahrir defter* (822: 321) includes the following set of statements about Sphakia (Fig. 4):

The eleven villages (*karye*) and the arable, but uninhabited, piece of land called Guta [the island of Gavdos?], situated in the aforesaid *nahiye* [district, of Sphakia] have been entered into the New Imperial Register (*tahrir-i cedit defterlerine*) as being free and outside the normal administrative procedure.

The yearly occurring revenue of 5,000 *guruş*, including the Poll Tax (*cizye*), shall be taken by the Treasurer (*defterdar*) of the aforesaid island and shall be sent to the

18 D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681) = Defter-i Mufasssal-i Eyalet-i Kamañçe*, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass. 2004).

19 *Tapu tahrirs* for the *timar* system are not found after 1600 (L. T. Darling, *Revenue-raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* [Leiden 1996], 15; cf. Kiel, ‘Ottoman Imperial Registers’, 195).

20 Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnâmesi*. 8. *Kitap*, 240; Evlia Tselebi, *Hodoiporiko*, 278.

Threshold of Felicity [in Istanbul] and shall from there be the Yearly Gift (*sürre*), of which 3,000 *guruş* shall be sent to the poor of Medina the Radiant and 2,000 *guruş* to the pious of Mecca the Brilliant.

And from the summer pastures on mountains and hills (*tilal ve cibal yaylakları*) of the aforementioned district and from the sown but uninhabited land (*mezraa*) from the subjects, and from their *metochia*, which from old have been connected with these villages, tithes shall be taken (for the *vakıf*).

And the public and special revenues (*beytülmal*) and the custom duties of the ports and altogether all other revenues shall be taken for the *vakıf*.

Because the subjects [of Sphakia] are free and outside the normal administrative procedure, they shall, when one of them commits a weighty crime, for which the death penalty or cutting off of limbs is due, he should not be taken out of the district but shall be taken (directly) by the Defterdar. [followed by golden *kuyruklu imza* and seal]²¹

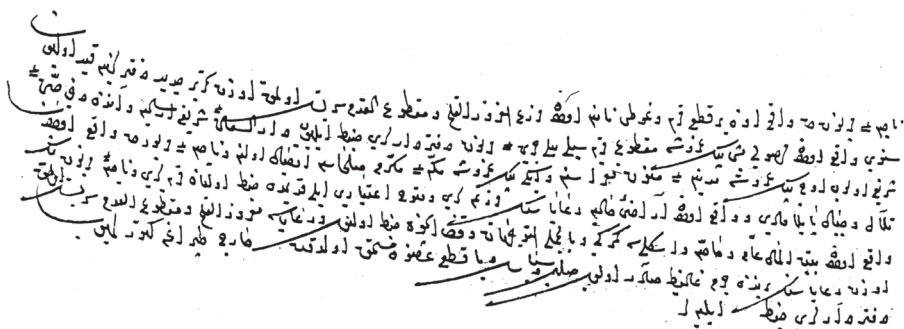


Fig. 4: General rules for Sphakia from Tahrir Defter 822, p. 321

Sphakia, formally registered as being “free and outside the normal administrative procedure”, paid a global sum of 5,000 *gurus* (to include the usual poll tax); tithes for the *vakıf* were to be derived from the whole territory of the villages; indirect taxes were to be raised for the *vakıf*; and Sphakiotes were to have special judicial privileges in the most serious offences.

21 We are most grateful to Prof. Kiel for the translation of this passage.

Guruş and *Akçe*

At this point a small excursus is needed, on the relationship between the 5,000 *guruş*, the global sum to be paid, and the 207,000 *akçes* specified later in the actual census. The *akçe* was the basic Ottoman coin and unit of account, but the *guruş*, a non-Ottoman coin, is harder to pin down. One might think that it is the Venetian gold ducat, which was the leading foreign currency in the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. But from the later sixteenth century large silver coins were imported into the Ottoman Empire by Western merchants, and in the seventeenth century they became the leading foreign currencies in most parts of the Empire.²² By the 1640s many of the provincial *defterdars*, from Cyprus to Syria, kept their accounts in terms of these foreign silver coins.²³

Two main sorts of coins were in circulation, Spanish *riyal guruş* (also known as *piasters*), and Dutch thalers or lion dollars (*esedi guruş* or *aslanlı guruş*); in addition there were French coins, known as *sülye guruş*. These coins posed accounting problems for the Ottoman state, because they varied in size and silver content, and therefore had varying *akçe* values. The conversion rates varied considerably over time, partly because of the ongoing debasement of the *akçe* (whose silver content fell from 0.682 grams in 1572 to 0.256 grams in 1685).²⁴ To complicate things further, local conversion rates sometimes varied from those used in Istanbul.

In the state budget for 1582-1583 the most common type of *guruş*, the *esedi guruş*, was valued at 39 *akçes* (with other types valued at 55, 48 and 40 *akçes*).²⁵ From 1588 until 1659 the Istanbul conversion rate for the *esedi guruş* went from 70 to around 80 *akçes*. It subsequently moved further upwards, from 100 *akçes* in 1668 to 144 *akçes* in 1725.²⁶

The earliest attested local Cretan exchange rate for the *esedi guruş* (the coin in which Cretan taxes were assessed) is 88 *akçes* in 1671;²⁷ from the following year, 1672, it had increased to 120 *akçes*.²⁸

The rate for c. 1655, the date of TD 822, will have been slightly less than the 88 *akçes* attested in 1671. We assume a rate of 80 *akçes* for this year (which falls within the range of rates attested for Istanbul). From this it follows that the 5,000 *guruş* of TD 822 was the equivalent of 400,000 *akçes*. This is almost exactly double the 207,000 *akçes* specified in the census. The difference must have been made up by other, indirect, taxes specified in

22 Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge 2000), 92-111, 134; cf. also Idem, 'Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914' in H. İnalcık with D. Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge 1994), 961-966.

23 H. Sahillioğlu, *Studies on Ottoman Economic and Social History* (Istanbul 1999), 46.

24 TDVİA, s.v. 'Akçe' (H. Sahillioğlu).

25 Sahillioğlu, *Studies*, 41 and Table 5 at pp. 58-59.

26 Pamuk, *Monetary History*, 144.

27 Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, No. 694; mistranslated by Stavrinidis, *Metaphra-seis*, No. 415 as 88 *paras*.

28 Ibid., No. 506 = Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, No. 318. Cf. table in Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, xxvi.

the same document – “public and special revenues and the custom duties of the ports and altogether all other revenues” – which were destined for the *vakıf*.

The Preservation of *Vakıf* Status

The formal arrangements for the endowment of the *vakıf* were recorded a few years later, just before the death of Deli Hüseyin Paşa in late 1658. Two deeds recording Deli Hüseyin Paşa's endowments in Crete, including Sphakia, are dated 1658.²⁹ The one concerning Sphakia, known to us only from an obscure Greek translation, has a good story. In 1909, a decade after the Ottomans had left and Crete formed an autonomous state, there was local dissension as to whether or not Sphakia had ever been subject to the Ottomans. The Secretary General of the Cretan State therefore wrote to the Sublime Porte asking for a ruling. The reply consisted of a copy of Deli Hüseyin Paşa's endowment document, then held in Istanbul by the Directorate of *Vakıfs*, and now probably in the Archives of the General Directorate of the *Vakıfs* in Ankara. In order to end the local dissension, the Secretary General, Kalaisakis, published a Greek translation of this document. It reads as follows:

The conqueror of Crete, Gazi Hüseyin Paşa, has declared before the Islamic Court, which was convened in the Cretan camp, that those villages, which by virtue of the imperial rule were under his possession and were situated in the eparchy of Sphakia, that is, Anopolis, Agia Roumeli, Ovtzikas, Komitades, Samaria, Agios Ioannis, Semalo, Vouvas, Askyprou, Kolokasia, Mitraska, the Castle of Mesochori (i.e., Chora Sphakion) and the territory of Gavdi (i.e., the islands of Gavdos and Gavdopoula), along with all the inhabitants subject to them, with their offspring, with the hills, the mountains, their pasturages, with the fields of those subjects who live in free territories, with the little villages (the so-called ‘metochia’), with the tithe and all the rights, with the capitation tax of those villages and with all the rest, all this he dedicates, together with the public and private property in this eparchy, to the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina and appoints İbrahim Ağa, the son of Ahmed, as *Mouteveli* (i.e., *mütevelli*, Administrator) of the dedication (i.e., *vakıf*) on the following conditions:

1. that there should be sent each year 3,000 *guruş* to the poor of Medina and 2,000 *guruş* to the poor of Mecca out of the revenues from those villages and the capitation tax;
2. that whoever is Imperial High Eunuch at the time shall oversee the dedication (i.e., *vakıf*);

29 G. I. Kalaisakis, ‘Aphieroterion tes eparchias Sphakion’ [Endowment Document of the Province of Sphakia], *Kretike Stoa*, 2 (1909), 173-175, gives a Greek translation of the Sphakiote document (then held in Istanbul by the Administration of *Vakıfs*; we translate from his Greek); K. Schwarz, ‘Die Stiftungen Deli Hüseyin Paschas auf Kreta’, *SF*, 41 (1982), 117-129, reports a different document, now in Berlin, of exactly the same date in 1658, on his other Cretan endowments. Cf. Stavrinidis, ‘Symvole’, 214, 231-234. Cf. document of 1674 in *ibid.*, 241-243 = *Idem*, *Metaphraseis*, No. 733.

3. that for as long as the dedicator lives, the 5,000 *guruş* offered for the poor of the two cities should be divided as stated, out of the incomes of the dedication (i.e., *vakıf*); that the dedicator should keep and have at his free disposal all the remaining income;
4. that after the death of the dedicator, the supervision, the dedication (i.e., *vakıf*) and the remainder of the incomes of all the aforesaid villages should pass on to his offspring, and to his descendants, according to the rights of succession, to the senior child of the family; and
5. that if ever the family of the dedicator vanishes, the aforesaid Imperial High Eunuchs shall see to the appointment of a loyal and pious warden and the annual assignment of the appointed 5,000 *guruş* to the poor of the holy cities.

Following the above declaration of the dedicator and after the aforesaid İbrahim had accepted the appointment of the supervision of the dedication (i.e., *vakıf*), all the necessary religious formulations took place and the Islamic Court acknowledged the validity of this dedication (i.e., *vakıf*). 10 Rabi Al-Akhar 1068 (i.e., 14 January 1658).

This document formalised the special status of the eleven villages of Sphakia – but three of the names are not certainly identifiable with the canonical names – making clearer the tax arrangements mentioned in the earlier *tahrir defter* of c. 1655, and arranging for their long term administration. In the following year, 1659, the eleven *vakıf* villages of Sphakia are included in a general account book of the *vakıfs* of Deli Hüseyin Paşa dated June 1659 (the third of Prof. Kiel's documents); it mentions the villages as part of the *vakıf* of Medina and gives the same amounts of taxes to be paid as in both *tahrir defters*.³⁰ In the same year, 1659, "one of the inhabitants of Askopolis [i.e., Anopolis] in the province of Sphakia, whose revenue from taxation is released to the outstanding conqueror Kaptan Paşa", appeared before the court in Rethymno; the seemingly irrelevant point about the revenues of Anopolis was made no doubt because the man concerned was appearing voluntarily before the court to report on Venetian piracy.³¹

These documents make it clear that Sphakia became part of a pious endowment very soon after the Ottomans arrived in Crete and that it was Sphakia's conqueror, Deli Hüseyin Paşa, who founded the *vakıf* as a means of ensuring long-term profit for himself and his family from the conquest.

The reason for the separate treatment of the eleven villages of western Sphakia lies in the Venetian past. In the early fourteenth century the island was divided into four large units or provinces ('territorii'), each subdivided into regions ('castelli' or 'castellanie');

30 BOA, Evkaf Muhasebe Defter, Maliyeden Müdevver 4717.

31 Y. Z. Papiomytoglou (ed.), *Eggrapha hierodikeiou Rethymnes 17^{os}-18^{os} ai.: hoi metaphraseis tou 'Vematos' Rethymnes* [Documents of the Kadi Court of Rethymno, Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries: Translations of the 'Vima' Newspaper of Rethymno] (Rethymno 1995), No. 81; cf. also No. 218 (AD 1723) for trials outside Sphakia.

this system lasted with minor alterations until the twentieth century. The area of Sphakia fell into two different provinces: the eastern part, known as ‘Castel Franco’ or ‘San-to Nichita’, fell within Rethymno province; the western part, Castel di Sfachià, which formed the bulk of Sphakia, fell within Chania province.³² The boundary between these two provinces was drawn right through the middle of the Frangokastello Plain: on a drawing of 1615 by Basilicata a line (labelled as “Linea del confin”) runs between the adjacent villages of Patsianos and Kapsodasos down to the west side of the fort of Frangokastello on the shore.³³

The Castel di Sfachià had a special status under the Venetians. In a charter seemingly of 1191 the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelos confirms the governance and revenues of a territory dependent on Anopolis to the Skordylis family.³⁴ This land grant, allegedly of the late Byzantine period, but current in early Venetian times, defined as a single unit the whole area from the coast below Vouvas in the east, round via the southern part of the Askyphou Plain and the north side of the White Mountains, down the Samaria Gorge to Agia Roumeli in the west. The Skordylis family, one of the Twelve Noble Families (*archontopouloi*) of Crete, continued in the early Venetian period to lay claim to their allegedly ancestral rights, and membership of this family remained a legal privilege throughout the Venetian period.³⁵ Within their region lay all the eleven villages of the Ottoman *vakıf*.

The separate treatment by the Ottomans of the three eastern villages of modern Sphakia (Kapsodasos, Skaloti and Argoule) conforms to Venetian precedent. These three villages, not part of the Skordylis grant, fell within a different province from the rest of Sphakia. Though Tahrir Defter 820 places them in “*nahiye-i Esfakya*”, it records them fifty pages apart from the other Sphakiote villages, and places them, as we have seen, in the Imperial Domain. Their tax position was therefore quite different.

The revenues of the eleven villages, 5,000 *guruş* per year, were assigned to the religious endowment of Mecca and Medina. Religious endowments (*vakıf*) were an important aspect of the Ottoman system, especially in its later centuries. Any private source of revenue – a rural or urban property, such as a bathhouse, even the interest generated by cash loans – could be designated *vakıf*. Such a designation meant that the income was permanently assigned to some charitable or religious purpose. Sphakia was part of the endowment of Mecca the Radiant and Medina the Brilliant, and is so described in court documents from Crete.

32 S. Xanthoudidis, *He Enetokratia en Krete kai hoi kata ton Eneton agones ton Kreton* [Venetian Rule on Crete and the Struggles of the Cretans against the Venetians] (Athens 1939), 15-16.

33 Illustrated in M. Andrianakis, *The Frangokastello at Sfakia* (Athens 1998), 11.

34 S. Xanthoudidis, ‘To diploma (provelegion) ton Skordylon Kretes’ [The Diploma (Privilege) of the Skordylis Family of Crete], *Epeteris Hetaireias Kretikon Spoudon*, 2 (1939), 299-312.

35 Ch. A. Maltezou, ‘Byzantine “Consuetudines” in Venetian Crete’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49 (1995), 269-280; Eadem, ‘Byzantine Legends in Venetian Crete’, in I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (eds), *Aetos: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1998), 233-242.

Not that all the region's revenue ended up in Mecca and Medina. Typically, a *vakıf*'s income paid for items such as the salaries of the endowment's employees and the up-keep of its buildings. The founder's family was very often also the beneficiary of these funds; this was one of the main attractions in establishing a *vakıf*. The poor of Mecca and Medina might benefit only once the family line had died out.³⁶ As to where and to whom Sphakiot revenues were dispensed, this can only be ascertained by a thorough examination of the endowment's documents. It cannot be determined from the *tahrir defter*, which is concerned to identify sources of revenue, rather than their disbursement.

After Deli Hüseyin Paşa's death, his son, Mehmed Ağa b. Hüseyin, became the *mütevelli*, despite the fact that his father had been executed for alleged treason, and he was still in place at the very end of the century.³⁷ A granddaughter of Deli Hüseyin Paşa, Fatma Hanım Sultan, is attested as *mütevelli* in 1762,³⁸ but as she was also a member of the imperial family, the relationship to the Sultan himself became closer. By the 1720s the Sultan gave rulings on matters of Sphakiot taxation, and in turn was petitioned by the inhabitants of the province of Sphakia: "From the *vakıf* of the province of Sphakia belonging to the Sultan's family ...".³⁹ The special status of Sphakia was maintained even after the major revolts of 1770 and 1821. In the first instance this was because the Sultana, Fatma Hanım Sultan, who had already in 1765 upheld the liberties of the province,⁴⁰ petitioned twice in 1771 that Sphakia retain its *vakıf* status (the fifth of the documents which we know thanks to Prof. Kiel).⁴¹ After the Egyptian takeover of Crete (1830-1840), the new government tried to impose standard levies and practices on the Sphakiot (as on the rest of Crete). To the credit of the new rulers, they responded favourably to Sphakiot representations of their traditional immunity from special levies.⁴² After the restoration of the rule of Istanbul, the *vakıf* status of Sphakia continued until the end of the nineteenth century; it was terminated finally only in 1901, after the ending of Ottoman control of Crete.⁴³

36 See M. Hoexter, *Endowments, Rulers and Community: Waqf al-Haramayn in Ottoman Algiers* (Leiden 1998), for an admirably clear discussion of the complicated matter of *vakıf* finances. Her study focuses on Algiers where "the poor of the two holy cities of Islam were hardly ever designated as the primary beneficiary ... In the vast majority of cases they figured as the ultimate beneficiary, preceded by a line of private ones ... Only when the entire family died out, would the poor of Mecca and Medina come into the picture as the ultimate beneficiary" (ibid., 9).

37 Stavrinidis, 'Symvole', 252-254 = Idem, *Metaphraseis*, Nos 1287 and 1338 (AD 1695).

38 Ibid., No. 2776 = Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, No. 849.

39 Papiomytoglou, *Eggrapha*, Nos 172 (AD 1721), 175 (AD 1722).

40 Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, No. 2834.

41 BOA, Cevdet Evkaf 27749 (H. 1185).

42 N. V. Tomadakis, 'Tourkograikika' [Turkish-Greek Matters], *Epeteris Hetaireias Kretikon Spoudon*, 1 (1938), 133-134, No. 2 (AD 1833).

43 Stavrinidis, 'Symvole', 233.

Sphakia and Changing Provincial Administration

The *vakıf* status of Sphakia fits in with seventeenth-century trends in provincial administration.⁴⁴ The decline of the *timar* system meant that, more and more, the Sultan relied on high-ranking officials, such as Deli Hüseyin Paşa, to provide troops for campaigns as the need arose. Some way had to be found of helping these pashas maintain their large households; one option was to grant state lands in private ownership. This is almost certainly how Deli Hüseyin Paşa came into possession of Sphakia, since it was very common to create pious endowments from such grants. The granting of land as private property meant that a permanent relationship was established between a specific group of villages and an elite household. In this case Sphakia should have had such a relationship to the household of Deli Hüseyin Paşa, but in practice the *vakıf* seems merely to have allowed the Sphakiotes to pay up and then enjoy quite a degree of freedom (according to the Ottoman state, as we have seen, the Sphakiotes were “free and outside the normal administrative procedure”).

The recording of *vakıf* revenues in a *tahrir* might seem to be an indication of the peculiar nature of the *tahrirs* generated by the conquest of Crete. One might think that a region whose revenue was earmarked for a religious endowment would not appear in a *tahrir*, since *vakıfs* were unconnected to the military system that *tahrirs* were intended to support; freedom from central government control and taxation was an important, indeed an essential aspect, of a religious endowment, whereas the *tahrir* lay at the heart of the state's claims over the revenue of the Empire. In fact, most sixteenth-century *tahrirs* give a survey of all *vakıf* property and revenue at the end of the register, following the *hass*, *zeamet*, and *timar* sections. In addition to recording revenue available for *timar* grants, *tahrirs* thus provided a full register of newly conquered territory. A completed survey, kept by the central administration in Istanbul, would give the new overlords essential information on the area's population, its settlement patterns and the types of crops it produced (as did Domesday Book for England in 1086). Therefore, the central administration would want to include the entire area, *vakıf* and all. In an earlier age there was no conflict, since newly conquered areas were wholly subsumed into the *timar* system. Only later on might some revenues pass out of the control of the central government (at which point those lands would disappear from the *tahrir*). By the time Crete was conquered, however, the *timar* system had sufficiently deteriorated that Sphakia had already passed into the control of a private individual even before the area had been surveyed. Nevertheless, it was important to have a complete record of what had been conquered, regardless of who controlled the revenues. The *tahrir*, in other words, still had a cadastral function, and therefore included Deli Hüseyin Paşa's endowment.

Court records from Crete strongly suggest an additional reason for the inclusion of the *vakıf* in the *tahrir*. The *vakıf*'s founder might well have thought that this was the best way to secure his property rights, now and in the future, and to secure the land to his fam-

44 Hoexter, *Endowments, Rulers and Community*, 1, notes that *vakıf* laws need much more study. D. Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* (Albany 1996), 114-139, studies landownership and taxation around Jerusalem in this period.

ily should his own head ever be forfeit. A close parallel is the awarding of villages to the Grand Vizier who conquered Podolia in 1672. He immediately converted the gift into a *vakıf*, and specified all the details in a separate deed (*vakfiye*); in this case the supporting documentation, including a perambulation, survives.⁴⁵ For Sphakia, Cretan records show that, when disputes occurred over what the villagers owed, state officials backed up the claims of the *vakıf*, sometimes with explicit reference to what was written in the survey document.⁴⁶ The question remains as to how to square this reality with the common view of *vakıf* land as land that had “escaped state control”.⁴⁷

Cretans as a whole were better off under the Ottomans in that they no longer had to do the hated Venetian labour services in the galleys or on public works (*angarie*). This freedom was offset by a new and complex system of taxation, and a much more efficient administration than the Venetians had imposed.

For Sphakiotes, the conquest would have brought a change for the worse, since they had already been exempt from the services but still had to pay the new dues. But they still enjoyed a privileged status and were better off than most Cretans. *Vakıf* status relieved the people from some of the taxes and from having to support an often tyrannous and rapacious local lord. In practice they still kept something of their privileged status in the late Venetian period. The province’s dues to the *vakıf*, 5,000 *guruş* a year,⁴⁸ equivalent to something like £1,000 in the money of the time or 150,000 euros today, seem not particularly onerous by modern standards.

Much of Sphakia’s income seems to have come from seafaring activities out of reach of the *mukataa*. If Sphakiotes chose not to pay the dues, their distant, institutional overlord would have found it difficult to collect. The *cizye*, too, seems to have turned into a nominal payment, divorced from the actual number of menfolk, who would have been particularly difficult to count in a land of mountaineers and seafarers. For the first forty years the Sphakiotes, or some of them, seem to have been content; occasionally they expressly said so.⁴⁹

Sphakia had, as under the Venetians, something of a reputation for lawlessness. In 1659 the *hayduds*, brigands, were said to be based there. In 1671-1672 a Cretan was murdered in the very rooms of the provincial governor, probably in Chora Sphakion castle.⁵⁰

45 Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia*, I: 51-57, 469-478. The editor writes (ibid., I: 20): “Judging by the way the Podolian *defters* were used, the Ottomans still regarded the provincial *defters* as an authoritative legal document, according to which all territorial claims could be checked and resolved. It was no accident that even the grand vizir, Kara Mustafa, was concerned to include and confirm his *vakıf* documents in the provincial register. He must have believed that this was the best way to secure his and his descendants’ future claims”.

46 See Stavrinidis, ‘Symvole’, 243-244, No. 5 = Idem, *Metaphraseis*, No. 1110.

47 H. İnalcık, ‘The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600’, in Idem with Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History*, 124.

48 Stavrinidis, ‘Symvole’, 252-254 = Idem, *Metaphraseis*, No. 1287.

49 Idem, ‘Symvole’, 241-243 = Idem, *Metaphraseis*, No. 733.

50 Idem, *Metaphraseis*, Nos 139, 630.

However, Ottoman census officials and taxgatherers seem to have penetrated the remotest parts of Sphakia with impunity. The *tahrir defter* includes the names of all heads of households and unmarried adult males, and a census of crops, mills, and other taxable activities, which they could hardly have done without the people's co-operation.

Trouble enters the record in 1689, when the system of assessing *cizye* was reorganised throughout Crete (as it was to be in the rest of the Empire from 1690 onwards): instead of a flat-rate payment per head, those liable were organised into three categories. This reorganisation of the tax system was very unpopular in Sphakia, because the inhabitants of the *vakıf* had not previously been liable to poll tax. In 1704-1705 a great register of the western half of Crete was made, listing the male heads of households in every village in every castellate and assessing them for tax (this is the fourth of Prof. Kiel's documents listed above). "Nahiye-i Esfakya" again appears divided into eleven *karyes*, or villages. Whereas as a rule the *defter* does not give the names of the heads of households, but only all their immovable property, in the case of Sphakia the recording is reversed. Property is not recorded, but instead the names of all the heads of households are listed, village by village. The tax per village was then specified, but any connection with the actual number of people seems to have been abandoned: Vraskas with 32 households paid the same tax (20,000 *akçes*) as Patsianos with 61 households, and not much less than Chora Sphakion, whose 228 households paid only 30,000 *akçes*. The new arrangement seems to have worked to the Sphakiotes' disadvantage, especially since the dues to Mecca and Medina were treated as a supplementary *cizye* rather than being assessed separately. Apparently other *vakıf* estates were entitled to exemption from *cizye*, but not Sphakia. This gave rise to a long string of disputes and lawsuits, involving teams of *kapetanoi* representing the various villages in Sphakia.

In 1817-1818 (after the 1770 Revolt of Daskaloyannis, but before the major revolt of 1821) a *vakıf* account register includes the *vakıf* of Sphakia (the sixth of Prof. Kiel's documents listed above). It gives the total number of the population of the *vakıf* villages as well as their agricultural production. This is the same type of data as in *Tahrir Defter* 820, but the unit of measure is specified as *muzur* (which is the old Venetian term, to which we will return below). Unfortunately, we have not been able to make full use of this text (though it should cast unique light on the state of Sphakia before the disasters of the 1821 revolt).

Fig. 5: Household and agricultural taxes (from Tahrir Defter 820)

Tabulated are the values in *akçes* of the various taxable commodities, by village. The last three villages are in modern, but not Ottoman, Sphakia, and are included in the total.

+++ >5 times the average tax per inhabitant --- <1/5 the average per inhabitant
 ++ 3-5 times -- 1/5-1/3
 + 2-3 times - 1/3-1/2
 1 1/2-2 times - 1/2-2/3

Village name (and Sphakia Survey number)	Sa-ma-ria (1.22)	Ag. Rou-meli (1.29)	Ag. Ioan-nis (3.08)	Ara-daina (3.20)	Ano-polis (4.20)	Chora Spha-kion (6.12)	Komi-tades (8.02)	Vra-skas (8.04)	Vouvas (8.05) / Ask-y-phou (7.14)	Kolo-kasia (8.26)	Patsia-nos (8.42)	Kapso-dasos (8.51)	Skaloti (8.70)	Argou-le (8.77)	Total	Amount per inha-bitant
Household (<i>ispence</i>)	1240	2040	1820	1200	6160	8000	2000	800	2640	680	1240	920	760	440	29940	8.4
Wheat (<i>lunta</i>)	3000	4000	6000	2000	8000	14000	6000	8000	4000	3000	6000	6000	2000	2000	74000	20.8
Barley (<i>şair</i>)	2000	3000	2000	1800	3000	6000	2000	4000	2000	2000	4000	4000	100	400	36300	10.2
Oats (<i>ulaf</i>)	200	600	200	400	1000	1000	400	400	400	200	800	400	100	400	6500	1.8
Broad beans (<i>bakla</i>)	400	0	800	600	800	4000	1600	2000	800	600	600	400	2200	600	15400	4.3
Chickpeas (<i>nohud</i>)	200	800	200	400	600	400	400	400	200	200	200	400	0	400	4800	1.4
Lentils (<i>mercimek</i>)	400	400	400	200	400	600	600	400	200	400	400	400	0	200	5000	1.4
Vetch (<i>burcak</i>)	300	400	400	300	300	200	400	300	200	300	300	100	0	200	3700	1.1

Common vetch (<i>fiğ</i>)	200 ++	200	200	100	200	400	100	100	+	200	200	400	100	250	650	200	300	0	100 ++	2700	0.8
Grazing tax (<i>resm-i griyah</i>)	150	250	150	250	150	250	150	250	++	250	250	150	250	250	650	250	250	0	1200 ++++	4100	1.2
Beehive tax (<i>resm-i kûvvere</i>)	250 ++	350 +	250	250	250	250	250	250	++	250	250	250	250	350	350	150	150	200 ++++	200 +++	3600	1.0
Water mill tax (<i>resm-i asıyah</i>)	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120		120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	0	120	1560	0.4
Marriage tax (<i>resm-i arusanı</i>)	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60		60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	840	0.3
Pig tax (<i>resm-i bid'at</i>)	120	320	280	220	320	220	320	220	+	220	220	220	220	320	220	150	150	540 ++++	250 ++++	3720	1.0
Kitchen garden tithe (<i>öşr-i bostan</i>)	160 +	200	220	100	260	100	260	100		200	200	200	200	200	260 (+)	250	250	0	150 +++	2500	0.7
Cotton tithe (<i>öşr-i penbe</i>)	100	200	200	100	300	100	300	100		200	200	200	200	200	200	250	250	0	200 ++++	2450	0.7
Grape must tithe (<i>öşr-i şire-i hamr</i>)	400	800	800	800	3200	1600	3200	1600	++	800	1600	800	1600	400	1600 (+)	1600	1600	800 +++	400 +	14960	4.2

cont. →

Village name (and Sphakia Survey number)	Sa-ma-ria (1.22)	Ag-Rou-meli (1.29)	Ag-Ioanis (3.08)	Ara-daina (3.20)	Ano-polis (4.20)	Chora Sphakion (6.12)	Komitades (8.02)	Vrasakas (8.04)	Vouvas (8.05) / Askaphou (7.14)	Kolokasia (8.26)	Patsianos (8.42)	Kapsodasos (8.51)	Skaloti (8.70)	Argoule (8.77)	Total	Amount per inhabitant
Olive oil tithe (<i>ôÿr-i revgan-i zeyfi</i>)	400	800	400	1000	4000 (+)	2000 --	1000	400	800 -	400	600	2000	600 ++	400 +	14800	4.2
Misc.*	200	500	400	200	1000	800 -	400	220 +	200 ---	220 +	200 -	250	540 +++++	200 ++	5330	1.5
Actual total	9900 (+)	15040	14900	10000	30220 (-)	40000 (-)	18000 (+)	19320 +++)	13000 -	10000 ++	18000	18000	7900 ++	7920 ++	232200	63.1
Official total	10000 (+)	15000	15000	10000	30000 (-)	40000 (-)	20000 (+)	20000 +++)	12000 -	10000 ++	20000	18000	7000 +	3000	230000	64.5

* Miscellaneous levies and leges for title deeds and contribution to guard the fields (*bad-ı hava ve tapu-yı zemin ve deştbanı ma ...*); cf. J. C. Alexander, *Toward a History of Post-Byzantine Greece: The Ottoman Kanunnames for the Greek Lands, circa 1500 – circa 1600* (Athens 1985), 449-454.

Agricultural Production

These documents shed light on two other topics: the demography of Sphakia; and agricultural production. Here we will explore only the implications for agriculture.

Cretans were supposed to render, among other taxes, one-seventh of their agricultural produce. The tax registers give the valuation of the produce and the amount payable. The key register is Tahrir Defter 820, the first of Prof. Kiel's four documents, which alone lists agricultural production village by village.

None of the mountain plains is recorded separately, except Anopolis; Askypheou is explicitly listed with Vouvas. We conjecture that (as in the nineteenth century) Imbros belongs to Vraskas, Asphendou to Kolokasia, and Kallikrati to Patsianos and Kapsodasos, though this is not stated. That is, the settlements on the minor mountain plains are the *metochia*, "which from old have been connected with these villages" (in the words of Tahrir Defter 822; above, p. 77), and are therefore not listed separately.

It has been argued that actual production figures cannot be calculated from *tahrir defters*, because these documents record expected revenues, based on arbitrary ratios between different crops imposed by the tax assessors.⁵¹ There is some truth in this case. It would never have been practicable to collect an actual proportion of the product of each and every terrace in Sphakia, which would have varied enormously from year to year. But the taxes on agricultural products do seem to reflect average yields.

The crops subjected to tax were ones specific to Crete. As the rather different list of taxes imposed on Podolia at around the same time shows,⁵² the tax assessors did not seek to tax the same set of crops across the whole Empire. The taxes also seem to be based on real estimates of crop production. In two cases only was the tax set at a uniform level for each village. The tax on mills was assessed at a flat rate of 120 *akçes* per village, except for Skaloti. And the tax on marriages was assessed at 60 *akçes* per village, regardless of the size of the village; it simply assumes an average of one marriage per village per year. But the other taxes do vary from village to village: the variation is not simply in proportion to the number of households of those villages, and it is also notable that the figures for wheat and barley do not neatly co-vary. The taxes were therefore assessed on estimates of actual production. The figures are of course rounded, but are not implausible. We surmise that the Ottomans, recognising that it would be impracticable to inspect and measure every terrace in Sphakia year by year, or to count the marriages or even the mills, came to terms with the inhabitants and negotiated a composition fee in money.

In the cases of crops (wheat, barley, oats, beans etc.) and also grape must and olive oil the document records not only the monetary tax, but also the units of assessment. As the regulations (*kanunname*) at the beginning of the document state that one-seventh of the harvest was to be taken as tax (slightly more than in mainland Greece), it is possi-

51 J. C. Alexander, 'Counting the Grains: Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Reading the Ottoman *Mufasssal Tahrir Defters*', in A. Temimi (ed.), *Mélanges Prof. Machiel Kiel [Arab Historical Review for Ottoman Studies]*, 19-20 (Zaghouan 1999), 55-70.

52 Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia*, I: 64-68.

ble to calculate the assumed annual production of each crop by each village. For the dry measures, the calculation is a little complex. The unit of measurement is not stated in this document, but in the account book of the *vakf* of 1817-1818 the local measure is called the *muzur*. This Veneto-Cretan unit of volume (*misura* in Venetian, *mouzouri* in Greek) is 18.44 litres, roughly equal to 15 (or sometimes 16) *okkas* (or c. 19.2 kg) of wheat or 13 *okkas* (or c. 16.6 kg) of barley (the amount varies because these grains differ in density) (Fig. 6).⁵³ For liquids (grape must and olive oil) the Venetian unit of volume, the *mistaton*, remained in use in Ottoman Crete. The *defter* uses the term *medre*, usually a translation of the Greek *metron*, but here probably the equivalent of *mistaton*. The *mistaton* at this period corresponded to 10 *okkas* (12.8 kg) of oil and 9-12 *okkas* (11.5-15.4 kg) of wine, depending on the region.⁵⁴ These weights are the equivalent in litres (bearing in mind the different specific gravities of oil and wine) of 12 litres for oil and 12-15 litres for wine (Fig. 7).⁵⁵

The global production figures implied by the *tahrir defter* for Sphakia (Fig. 8) can be compared to other production figures for this area. There are no Venetian figures, because Sphakia did not receive the precise censuses found in the rest of Crete, but we do have credible data for the mid-nineteenth century. The French consul in Chania, M. Hittier, made a special study of the agriculture of the island, on the basis of systematic local enquiries, and established production figures for each region for a typical year, c. 1847. He did not publish his statistics, but made them available to the French geographer Raulin (Fig. 9).⁵⁶ For dry goods, the balance of production between wheat and barley, and the total production of both, is very different. In the Ottoman document, the eleven *vakf* villages of Sphakia produced 215 metric tons of wheat and 185 tons of barley per year,

53 Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, No. 861 (AD 1685), No. 1077 (AD 1692), No. 1220 (AD 1694), No. 1374 (AD 1694); Y. Triantaphyllidou-Baladié, 'Dominations étrangères et transformations de l'agriculture crétoise entre le XVI^e et le XIX^e siècle', *The Greek Review of Social Research*. Special Number: *Aspects du changement social dans la campagne grecque* (1981), 180-190; K. I. Geronymakis, *Laographiko sphakiano lexilogio hermeneutiko* [Ethnographic Sphakiotite Interpretative Word-List] (Chania 1999), 60; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, xxvii. D. A. Petropoulos, 'Symvole eis ten ereunan ton laikon metron kai stathmon' [Contribution to the Study of Popular Weights and Measures], *Epeteris tou Laographikou Archeiou*, 7 (1953), 68, gives slightly different figures. Cf. M. Papadogiannis, 'To mouzouri kai to mistaton sten Krete: symvole ste mechri semera parousia tous' [The Mouzouri and Mistaton in Crete: Contribution to their Existence to the Present Day], *Amaltheia*, 18 (1987), 71-111.

54 Petropoulos, 'Symvole', 81; Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 5 n. 3; cf. also Papadogiannis, 'To mouzouri'.

55 We will use 13.5 litres for wine as the basis for calculations below. The *medre* was in fact of a similar size. It varied regionally, but the editor of the Limnos *defter* has calculated a median figure for the Aegean, of 15.023 litres: Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities*, 100-101.

56 V. Raulin, *Description physique de l'île de Crète*, Vol. 1 (Paris 1869), 249. Raulin expressed the data in 'quint. m.', i.e., the French metric quintal of 100 kg. Because of the systematic nature of Hittier's work, we do not think that he was misled by the Levantine *kantar*, pronounced identically in Cretan French, of 44 *okkas*, 56.2 kg. Nor was he using the pre-1800 measurement of the quintal (= 100 livres, or c. 49 kg), because he refers explicitly to "cent kilogrammes".

while according to Hitier, Sphakia produced almost three times as much wheat, 600 tons, but very little barley, only 90 tons.⁵⁷

As the overall population of Sphakia in 1650 and 1847 was roughly the same, indeed if anything slightly larger in 1847, the differences in the overall production figures are worth exploring. At a very rough estimate, we would expect a hectare of land to produce 2.5 metric tons of grain per year. The total production of 467 tons in 1650 implies a cultivated area of around 190 ha (for grain and beans). To take one village, Anopolis, which produced 52 metric tons of grain and beans, will have needed 21 ha of level ground. There will have been ample space in the mountain plain of Anopolis to grow this amount of crops without resorting to terracing, even if the land was cropped only in alternate years and if some of the space was taken up with vines and the other crops specified in the *defter*. However, production would have varied greatly from year to year, and later in the Ottoman period Sphakia often failed to grow enough grain to support itself. Thus, in 1724 the Sultan Ahmed III noted that Sphakia, “being situated in high and mountainous regions”, was “unsuitable for growing and harvesting cereals” and hitherto had bought grain from other parts of Crete, and by a *ferman* commanded the police not to interfere with that trade. His successor twice repeated the order.⁵⁸

The production of about 700 tons of grain in 1847 implies nearly twice this cultivated area. This may correspond to the huge extent of now abandoned terraces all over the less rocky and less steep slopes up to some 1,200 m. altitude. How and when the Sphakiotes in the preceding 200 years found the time and energy to construct these terraces remains to be investigated. Why they developed a taste for wheat, instead of the barley which ought to have grown better in this harsh environment, also remains unknown.

It is also worth relating the grain production figures to the size of the population. In 1650 the 727 households in the eleven *vakıf* villages of Sphakia produced 432 metric tons of grain. This gives an average annual grain production per household of around 600 kg. This is a very poor rate of production by comparison with the rich land of Boeotia, where in the mid-sixteenth century annual production was around 2,500-2,700 kg per household,⁵⁹ which implies either very large households or people specialising in producing grain, but is plausible as a production level at or below subsistence. If the 1650 census data is converted into population figures, we get a population of 3,357, and on the assumption of average annual consumption/head of 128 kg, there was demand for 430 tons.⁶⁰ To this must be added 20% for seed corn for the following year, which leads to a

57 We have considered the possibility that the 90 tons of barley should be 900 tons. This would give a more normal ratio between wheat and barley. But the figure of 90 tons is embedded in the calculations of the table (i.e., it is not a simple typographical error), and so we have not emended the figure.

58 Stavriniadis, *Metaphraseis*, No. 2146 (AD 1724), No. 2197 (AD 1732), No. 2241B (AD 1735).

59 M. Kiel, Appendix 2, in S. E. J. Gerstel, M. Munn *et alii*, ‘A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton’, *Hesperia*, 72 (2003), 229-231.

60 Our population calculation assumes a family multiplier of 4.42, plus the specified unmarried adult males. The figure of 128 kg is taken from J. L. Davis, ‘Contributions to a Mediterranean

total annual need for 516 tons. The demand is thus about 20% above production, which fits with the eighteenth-century claims of Sphakiote insufficiency in grain production. The 1847 production figure of 690 tons of grain production marks a move towards self-sufficiency. A population for the same eleven villages of 4,084 people had an estimated demand for 627 tons (including seed corn), which is slightly less than the amount produced.⁶¹ Overall, these calculations serve to confirm the overall plausibility of the production data: they form what has been termed a “wigwam argument”, in which a number of independent elements, each on their own somewhat fragile, produce a mutually reinforcing structure.⁶² They also suggest an improvement in local self-sufficiency by the mid-nineteenth century, maybe because seafaring and woodcutting have declined.

For liquid goods, the Ottoman census implies c. 72,000 litres of grape must and 25,000 litres of olive oil for the eleven *vakıf* villages of Sphakia. By comparison, Hitier claims for the same area ca. 125,000 litres of wine, 3,500 litres of spirits (*raki*) and just 80 quintals (8,000 kg, or c. 7,360 litres) of olive oil production. From this it looks as though wine production had increased greatly, but olive oil production had decreased dramatically. The figure for olive oil production is indeed extremely small, in comparison both with 1650 and with the other provinces of Crete in 1847. A possible reason is that in 1824 the Ottoman army, which camped in the Anopolis Plain for 17 days, devastated the more than 2,000 olive trees; according to Pashley, it consumed “the greater part of the olive-trees” as firewood. Pashley also says somewhat mysteriously that “the olives were all cut so low that none of them recovered”.⁶³ Pashley’s claim about the large number of olive trees before 1824 confirms in a general way the Ottoman census document, in which Anopolis produced about a third of all the olive oil in Sphakia. In other words, taking into account later events, the implied Ottoman production figures for grape must and olive oil are highly plausible.

Rural Archaeology: Historical Case Studies from the Ottoman Cyclades’, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 4 (1991), 166.

61 The population for ‘1847’ is taken as the mid-point between the data for 1834 (3,749) and 1881 (4,419).

62 K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge 1978), 19-20.

63 R. Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge and London 1839; reprinted: Amsterdam 1970), 243.

Fig. 6: Production figures in kilograms: *muzur* x 7 (the tithe for Crete) x 19.2 kg for wheat or 16.6 kg for barley and other products

Village name (and Sphakia Survey number)	Samaría (1.22)	Ag. Roumeli (1.29)	Ag. Ioannis (3.08)	Aradaina (3.20)	Anopolis (4.20)	Choraspheion (6.12)	Komitades (8.02)	Vrasakas (8.04)	Vouvas (8.05) / Askaphou (7.14)	Kolokasia (8.26)	Patsianos (8.42)	Kapsodasos (8.51)	Skaltiti (8.70)	Argoule (8.77)	Total
Wheat (<i>muzur</i>)	75	100	150	50	200	350	150	200	100	75	150	150	50	50	1850 <i>muzurs</i>
Wheat (kg)	10080	13440	20160	6720	26880	47040	20160	26880	13440	10080	20160	20160	6720	6720	248640 kg
Barley (<i>muzur</i>)	100	150	100	90	150	300	100	200	100	100	200	200	50	10	1850 <i>muzurs</i>
Barley (kg)	11620	17430	11620	10458	17430	34860	11620	23240	11620	11620	23240	23240	23240	1162	214970 kg
Oats (<i>muzur</i>)	10	30	10	10	50	50	25	20	20	10	40	20	5	20	320 <i>muzurs</i>
Oats (kg)	1162	3486	1162	1162	5810	5810	2905	2324	2324	1162	4648	2324	581	2324	37184 kg
Broad beans (<i>muzur</i>)	10	0	20	15	20	100	40	50	20	15	15	10	55	15	385 <i>muzurs</i>
Broad beans (kg)	1162	0	2324	1743	2324	11620	4648	5810	2324	1743	1743	1162	6391	1743	44737 kg
Chickpeas (<i>muzur</i>)	5	20	5	10	15	10	10	5	5	5	5	10	0	10	115 <i>muzurs</i>
Chickpeas (kg)	581	2324	581	1162	1743	1162	1162	581	581	581	581	1162	0	1162	13363 kg
Lentils (<i>muzur</i>)	10	10	10	5	10	15	15	10	5	10	10	10	0	5	125 <i>muzurs</i>
Lentils (kg)	1162	1162	1162	581	1162	1743	1743	1162	581	1162	1162	1162	0	581	14525 kg

cont. →

Village name (and Sphakia Survey number)	Samaria (1.22)	Ag. Roumeli (1.29)	Ag. Ioannis (3.08)	Aradaina (3.20)	Anopolis (4.20)	Chorasphakion (6.12)	Komitades (8.02)	Vrasikas (8.04)	Vouvass (8.05) / Askiphou (7.14)	Kolokasia (8.26)	Patsianos (8.42)	Kapsodasos (8.51)	Skalti (8.70)	Argoule (8.77)	Total
Vetch (<i>muzur</i>)	15	20	20	15	15	10	20	15	10	15	15	5	0	10	185 <i>muzurs</i>
Vetch (kg)	1743	2324	2324	1743	1743	1162	1162	2324	1743	1743	1743	581	0	1162	21497 kg
Vik (<i>muzur</i>)	10	5	10	5	10	20	10	20	5	5	10	15	0	5	130 <i>muzurs</i>
Vik (kg)	1162	581	1162	581	1162	2324	1162	2324	581	581	1162	1743	0	581	15106 kg
Grape must (<i>medre</i>)	25	50	50	50	200	100	100	50	10	25	100	100	50	25	935 <i>medres</i>
Grape must (litres)	2363	4725	4725	4725	18900	9450	9450	4725	945	2363	9450	9450	4725	2363	88358 litres [71820 litres for <i>vakif</i> villages]
Oil (<i>medre</i>)	10	20	10	25	100	50	25	10	20	10	15	50	15	10	370 <i>medres</i>
Oil (litres)	840	1680	840	2100	8400	4200	2100	840	1680	840	1260	4200	1260	840	31080 litres [24780 litres for <i>vakif</i> villages]

Fig. 7: Production figures in litres: *medre* x 7 (the tithe for Crete) x 13.5 litres (for wine) and 12 litres (for oil)

	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans	Total
Taxable seventh in <i>muzurs</i> (for 11 villages)	1600	1590	320	385	3895
Total weight (metric tons)	215	185	37	35	467
Amount in kg for each of 3357 inhabitants	64.0	55.1	11.0	10.4	139.1
Kg per day per head	0.175	0.150	0.030	0.029	0.381
Hectares of land needed at 2.5 ton/ha	86	74	15	14	187

Fig. 8: 1650 production figures in kilograms: *muzur* x 7 (the tithe for Crete) x 19.2 kg for wheat or 16.6 kg for barley and other products

	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans	Total
Production in quint. m.	6000	900	0	1200	8100
Total weight (metric tons)	600	90	0	120	810
Amount in kg for each of 4084 inhabitants	146.9	22.0	0	29.4	198.3
Kg per day per head	0.403	0.060	0	0.081	0.543
Hectares of land needed at 2.5 ton/ha	240	36	0	48	324

Fig. 9: 1847 production figures (from Raulin, *Description physique de l'île de Crète*, I: 249)

Sheep and goats, which will have been important in Sphakia then (as now), are not directly attested in this type of document, since they were taxed and recorded separately. However, the grazing tax can be used as an index of the importance of pastoralism (which we have other grounds for thinking important in Sphakia).⁶⁴

The statistics seem to show that every village in Sphakia grew at least some of almost every crop. It might be possible to read some significance into, for example, the great preponderance of wheat over barley in Anopolis and Komitades compared to Samaria or Patsianos. Argoule was rated particularly high on grazing, and Anopolis and Chora Sphakion particularly low, which is most unexpected. Vraskas and Kolokasia were highly rated on most types of produce, but we dare not say whether that was because they were good farmers or poor negotiators.

Although the details of the statistics are inextricably complicated by bureaucratic fiction, some general conclusions can be drawn. Everywhere had some cropland. Legumes of five kinds were a crop comparable in importance to the major cereals, not least because they provided a protein source. Wine and oil were minor to middling crops in comparison to other produce. To grow these crops in most of Sphakia required terracing, which is a

64 Cf. Nixon and Price, 'Diachronic Analysis of Pastoralism'.

very prominent feature of the landscape today. Dating terraces is difficult, but we have shown that terracing was extensive in the Venetian-Ottoman periods.⁶⁵ For example, in the centre of the Samaria Gorge, there are terraces on the east side of the gorge above the hamlet of Ano Samaria, up to a height of 480 m, and 540 m on the Pyrgos ridge. The terraces predate the building of the Ottoman fort on the Pyrgos ridge in 1867 (because they were damaged by the new mule track built up to the fort), and must have been used by the village of Samaria in the Venetian and earlier Ottoman periods. In some of the places which were taxed on their olive oil production we have found olive trees which date back to this period. For example, below the village of Komitades are olive trees around 500 years old, growing on their own terraces.

Cotton, although only a minor crop, is of great interest in that it was apparently grown in many places. Such a water-demanding crop should have been difficult to grow in Sphakia at all, let alone in Anopolis or Aradaina with no water source other than rain. According to the sixteenth-century *tahrirs* of the *sancaks* of Thessaly, Boeotia and Attica, a bale (*teker*) of cotton cost 6 *akçes*. Assuming that prices remained stable a century later, the tax on Sphakia would be the equivalent of 408 bales; as the tax was assessed at one-seventh of production, total production was 2,856 bales. As a *teker* weighed 4 *okkas* or 5.08 kg,⁶⁶ 2,856 bales weighed 14.5 tons. This is not a trivial amount. Cotton was certainly an important crop on Crete in the Venetian and Ottoman periods, and there is evidence from the nineteenth century for its growth in Sphakia. We know that according to Hitier in c. 1847 18 tons of cotton were grown annually in Sphakia (2% of the total Cretan production).⁶⁷ The two production figures are of the same order of magnitude. Was this production an effect of the Little Ice Age, a period between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries of climatic instability, with an increased frequency of extreme events: frost, heat-waves, drought, and floods?⁶⁸

Cotton-growing may be related to the tax on water mills (*asiyab*).⁶⁹ Such a tax also seems rather implausible, as Sphakia today is extremely dry, and water mills have operated in living memory only in the Samaria Gorge (which has a strong river). We have

65 Price and Nixon, 'Ancient Greek Agricultural Terraces', 674-675.

66 BOA, Tahrir Defter 367, 137 (*kanunname* of the *sancak* of Eğriboz/Euboea from 1521): "Teker veznide dört vukiyedir" ("The *teker* is four *okkas* in weight"); text and translation in J. C. Alexander, *Toward a History of Post-Byzantine Greece: The Ottoman Kanunnames for the Greek Lands, circa 1500 – circa 1600* (Athens 1985), 138, 305.

67 Raulin, *Description physique de l'île de Crète*, I: 249. Cf. Watrous *et alii*, *The Plain of Phaiastos*, 408, with evidence for Cretan cotton production from the early Venetian period onwards.

68 J. M. Grove and A. Conterio, 'The Climate of Crete in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Climatic Change*, 30 (1995), 223-247; Grove, *Little Ice Ages: Ancient and Modern*, 2 vols (London and New York 2004), I: 376-380, II: 631-633.

69 *Asiyab* comes from the Persian, where the suffix '-ab' is indicative of water. But the word is used in the Limnos *defters*, with different suffixes, for both windmills (*asiyab-i yelleri*) and water mills (*asiyab-i abî*), which are taxed at different rates (because in use for different lengths of time) (Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities*, 118). It can also be used, with another suffix (*revgan*) to mean 'olive-press' (Zarinebaf *et alii*, *Historical and Economic Geography of Ottoman Greece*, 56 n. 17).

noted remains of water mills in two other locations (at the mouth of the Aradaina Gorge and east of Argoule). We found only two windmills, at Loutro and Frangokastello, both of them probably later than the *defter*. In villages with no evidence for windmills or water mills the tax could have been on olive-presses, which are known from six villages.⁷⁰ However, from 1625, just 25 years before the census, there is a list of 28 Cretan rivers “abounding in good water” – important to Venetian galleys, which needed to fill up their drinking water every few days and operated in late summer, when streams were at their lowest.⁷¹ Out of these 28 rivers, only four abound in good water today (and only five when Raulin studied Crete in 1847). The most plausible explanation is that rain and snow were more evenly spread round the year than now. So water mills, even in Sphakia, were more possible in the seventeenth century than they are today.

In short, the agricultural data employed in the first census is obviously the result of local negotiations, but it is worth emphasising the overall match with the data collected two hundred years later by Hitier. Though the Ottoman census does not include much related to sheep and goats, which were probably an important part of the local economy, it does seem a reliable source of data. But the data has to be read in the light of the changing environment and with knowledge of the physical topography.

Conclusions

The value of collecting environmental and archaeological data for literate periods has often been discussed and sometimes neglected in Mediterranean survey projects. “Why bother to collect pottery fragments when there are documents which can give us such minuscule detail?” is a common refrain. But the Sphakia Survey has tried to adhere to the principle of ‘enforced consistency’ – if something is important for one epoch, then it is important for all of them. Collecting environmental, vegetational and archaeological data is important for all epochs.

There are three reasons for this. The first is epistemological: why ignore a source of evidence if you have got it? There is no point in deliberately ignoring a whole data set that might prove useful. Secondly, one type of evidence can act as a yardstick for a completely different kind of evidence. It can act as a means of checking the accuracy and nature of that second type of evidence. Thirdly, using more than one kind of evidence can suggest further questions. For example, what is the reason for the different assessments of the resources of Argoule in the Ottoman census and in our own knowledge of the area, or how could there be a common tax on water mills in Ottoman Sphakia?

In addition to these general comments, the Survey has added some specific points that the documentary evidence alone could not:

70 We recorded olive-presses at Samaria (1.22); Anopolis: Kambos (4.19); Livaniana (5.08); and Dichalomata (6.09), and others are mentioned in the nineteenth century at Kolokasia (8.26; 2 presses), and Patsianos (8.42; 3 presses).

71 F. Basilicata, Archivio di Stato di Venezia: MS Ital. 340 (5750).

1. A check on accuracy – our detailed knowledge of the micro-landscapes of the different villages permits us to check, and largely confirm the plausibility of the individual taxes. Autopsy can provide a check on just how accurate the imperialists were in selecting things to be taxed, and in setting the rates of individual taxes.
2. How Ottomanised was an area? Sphakia, though it made much of its special status within, even independence from, the Ottoman Empire, shared many aspects of a widespread Ottoman culture. Sphakia was relatively poor and unurbanised, had no resident Muslims except a few officials and (at times) soldiers, and suffered very significant losses as a result of the failed revolts from 1770 onwards. It thus has no large-scale Ottoman architecture, no *hamams*, no fountains, and no mosques. The architectural exception was the chain of Ottoman forts built in 1867 as a final attempt to prevent future revolts. There was also practically no permanent use of Ottoman writing (the only exception is an Ottoman inscription preserved as the threshold to the sanctuary of the church of Agioi Apostoloi at Tholos, Chora Sphakion). On the other hand, Sphakia borrowed deeply from Ottoman culture. The region's involvement in a market exchange system wider than its own area was intensified. This change can be seen in increased prosperity measured through ownership of imported luxury ceramics.⁷² Contact with northern Italy, established under the Venetians, seems to have stopped, but products of southern Italy and western Greece were reaching Sphakia in significant quantities. In even larger quantities a wide range of wares from the ceramic factories of the northern Aegean was reaching Sphakia. And trade in ceramics within Crete itself, beyond Chania, developed significantly under Ottoman rule. The Greek of Sphakia was no more or less influenced by the Turkish language than the language on other parts of Crete. Houses had corner hearths, called by the Turkish name (*tzaki*). Embroidery patterns were adapted from Turkish motifs. Another major change could be the method of building mule tracks, now called by a term, *kaldirimia*, derived from the Turkish *kaldırım*; Crete had these before the Ottomans (when they were called by the Venetian name *strade commune*), but perhaps there was a new way of doing it that brought the new name (as for hearths). As these routes were fundamental to trade and other connections, their building and maintenance is a matter of some importance.

Crete was ruled by an Ottoman authority with all the usual imperialist bureaucratic mechanisms. Our examination of the material culture of the time shows a widespread penetration of Ottoman material culture. But this penetration was limited in comparison to cities like Chania, with its minarets, *hamams*, fountains, and inscriptions.

There are aspects of Ottoman Crete and Sphakia which are not at all discussed in the Ottoman taxation documents. If we had not done a survey which collected archaeological

⁷² We owe this point to Dr P. Armstrong, who is publishing the Venetian and Ottoman period pottery from Sphakia.

evidence for all periods, we would not be able to say anything about cheese production, trade, church-building, or vernacular architecture.

In setting up mechanisms for determining and collecting taxes in Sphakia, the Ottomans built on their Venetian predecessors. The Venetians had compiled lists of towns, villages and hamlets, to which the Ottomans added the detail necessary for the direct taxation of a region which had largely escaped the normally eagle-eyed Venetian officials. The Ottomans did not seek to change or improve on the boundaries that had existed under the Venetians. To take the diachronic perspective that underpins the whole enterprise of the Sphakia Survey, we can point out that these two aspects of Ottoman administration in Sphakia – the conservative tendency to incorporate previous systems, and the omission of all topics not directly relevant to assessment – can be seen in other examples of new administrations. For example, the Mycenaean administrators of Crete, whose work can be seen in the Linear B tablets, built heavily on previous systems, and the Linear B texts are notorious for saying practically nothing about important connections between Crete and other areas in the Mediterranean and further afield.⁷³

Thus examination of documentary and material evidence permits us to situate Sphakia in terms of Ottoman administrative procedures and in terms of the penetration of Ottoman material culture in a specific region of the Ottoman Empire. As people have shown elsewhere, it is crucial to collect all available kinds of evidence, to check one type of information against another, and then to construct a synthetic analysis.

73 For an exemplary analysis of the Linear B tablets from Pylos in the Peloponnese, see J. Bennet, 'The Linear B Archives and the Kingdom of Nestor', in J. L. Davis (ed.), *Sandy Pylos: An Archaeological History from Nestor to Navarino* (Austin, TX 1998), 111-133.

PART TWO

MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS
IN OTTOMAN CRETE

A TOWN FOR THE BESIEGERS: SOCIAL LIFE AND MARRIAGE IN OTTOMAN CANDIA OUTSIDE CANDIA (1650-1669)*

Elias KOLOVOS**

The Construction of an Ottoman Fortress Outside Candia (1650)

BETWEEN 1645 AND 1648 THE OTTOMAN troops taxed with the conquest of Crete managed to conquer almost all the important land fortresses on the island.¹ In January 1651, a detailed tax census (*tahrir*) of all of the conquered towns and countryside of the island, already made an Ottoman *eyalet*, was completed by the *beylerbeyi* of Chania and *defterdar* of Crete, Mehmed Paşa.² However, the Ottoman army was not able (and was not to be for two more decades, until 1669) to conquer the fortress of Candia (Ott. Kandiye, mod. Heraklion), the Venetian capital of Crete. This was mainly the result of Venice's successful strategy of blockading the Dardanelles with its fleet, thus preventing the regular supply of the Cretan expedition from Istanbul with men and ammunition.³ At the same years, the Ottoman war in Crete was fought against a background of administrative instability

* I would like to thank Prof. E. A. Zachariadou, in whose honour this volume appears. She kindly suggested to me this research into the Ottoman camp and fortress outside Candia on the basis of the relevant pages of the judicial registers of Heraklion. I had the privilege of working with her in the same office in my first years in Crete, as a young researcher under the Programme of Turkish Studies of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FO.R.T.H., and benefiting so much from her vast knowledge of Ottoman history.

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1 For an account of the events, according to the Ottoman sources, see Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 27-59. For the general context of the beginning of the Ottoman expedition to Crete, see Greene, *A Shared World*, 13-18.

2 See Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, xxi-xxii, 223-226. The register of this *tahrir* is kept in BOA, Tapu Tahrir 820. A summary register was also prepared: Tapu Tahrir 785.

3 In many cases between 1648 and 1656, the Ottoman fleet was prevented from coming out of the Straits, and was defeated in two major encounters, in 1651 in the waters of Naxos and in 1656 at the entrance to the Dardanelles. This second defeat even permitted the Venetians to occupy the islands of Imvros and Limnos. For an account of the events, see Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 95-112.

in Istanbul, especially during the years between the deposition of Sultan İbrahim (1648) and the appointment of Köprülü Mehmed Paşa as Grand Vizier (1656).⁴

Under these circumstances, the *serdar* Deli Hüseyin Paşa, the commander of the Ottoman army in Crete between 1646 and 1658, who had deployed his troops outside Candia already in the summer of 1647, was waiting in vain for the necessary reinforcements for the siege of the Venetian stronghold.⁵ According to Kâtib Çelebi and Mustafa Naima, in the summer of 1649, the *serdar* encountered a rebellion of his soldiers, who refused to enter the trenches before the expected arrival of the fleet and even looted and burnt down his headquarters in the camp of the besiegers. The soldiers demanded permission to leave the island and return to their homes. We are informed that their request was recorded by the *kadı* of the imperial army (*ordu-yı hümayun*) in a *sicil*, which was sent to the imperial council (*divan-ı hümayun*).⁶ Later, in the autumn of the same year, after an unsuccessful effort against the walls of Candia, the soldiers requested from the Pasha permission to leave the trenches and spend the winter in fortresses which should be built around the besieged town. The *serdar* again forwarded this new request to Istanbul, adding that it would not be possible for the siege of Candia to continue if these soldiers left Crete. Indeed, on 29 Zilkade 1059/24 November 1649, the imperial council decided to send a positive reply.⁷

This was the background of the construction of the Ottoman fortress of Kal'a-ı Cedid (New Fortress), or Candia Nova in Venetian and Greek sources, known later also by the name of İnadiye – eloquently manifesting the obstinacy (*inad*) of the besiegers during the long siege of Candia.⁸ The construction of a fortress shows the decision of the Ottoman leadership in Istanbul and Crete that they had to adapt themselves to the circumstances of a long siege.

After the arrival in Crete, on 9 Zilhicce 1059/4 December 1649, of the *hatt-ı hümayun* which contained the permission of the imperial council, the leadership of the Cretan expedition prepared itself immediately for the construction of the fortress, which it was decided should be built to the south of Candia, on the hill today called Fortezza. Despite Deli Hüseyin Paşa's requests to Istanbul, the construction of the fortress, estimated by the army's judge (*ordu kadısı*) and the Ottoman engineers at a cost of 250,000 *guruş*, had to be financed from local resources. Actually, the *serdar* was ordered to start the tax census mentioned above on 10 Rebiyülevvel 1060/3 March 1650, precisely in the con-

4 For an account of the successive fights for power in Istanbul during these years, see C. Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1923* (London 2005), 228-252.

5 For an account of this first period of the siege, according to the Ottoman sources, see Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 57, 60-72.

6 Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, Vol. 2 (Istanbul 1287/1870-1871), 350-351; Mustafa Naima, *Tarih-i Naima*, Vol. 4 (Istanbul 1282/1865), 439-444; cf. R. Murphey, 'Forms of Differentiation and Expression of Individuality in Ottoman Society', *Turcica*, 34 (2002), 161-162.

7 Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 2: 354-355; Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 64-66. Christian dates are OS.

8 On this symbolic function of the fortress, cf. the comment of the Venetian Admiral Francesco Morosini in 1660; P. Quagliano, 'Un momento della Guerra di Candia nella relazione del Capitan Generale Francesco Morosini (1660)', *Annali dell'Università di Ferrara*, Sezione Storia, 3 (2006), 167-168, 177.

text of the construction of the Kal'a-ı Cedid. The construction work, which started on 20 Rebiyülâhır 1060/12 April 1650 according to Kâtib Çelebi, was carried out by the soldiers themselves, divided into four groups: the soldiers of Hüseyin Paşa, the soldiers from Rumelia, the soldiers from Anatolia, and the janissaries. Three hundred stonemasons from the local population of Chania and Rethymno, as well as carpenters from the nearby countryside, and a hundred and fifty prisoners to work in the lime-kilns were employed in the construction.⁹ According to Evliya Çelebi, who visited in 1667-1668 the *kal'a-ı üstüvar-ı İnadiye*, which he compares to an "Alexander's rampart" (*sedd-i İskender*), the soldiers had finished the construction of the fortress in three months. The fortress was built of stone and filled in with earth. It had a pentagonal shape, with five ramparts, and four gates: the Gate of Candia (*Kandiye Kapısı*) to the north, the Gate of the Mountain (*Dağ Kapısı*) to the south, opposite mount Youhtas, the Gate of the Suburb (*Varoş Kapısı*) to the west, and a fourth gate to the east.¹⁰

The Venetians of Candia immediately after the construction of the fortress sent a spy to prepare a detailed plan of it, now preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Venice.¹¹ The fortress, according to the Venetian *modello*, had six ramparts with cannons on them. The contemporary Venetian reports emphasise that it was built hastily, using quicklime, a fact which resulted in the collapse of some of its parts at the beginning of the next winter.¹² This could explain why Evliya Çelebi described it later as having only five ramparts. According to a report of a Venetian general in 1651, the construction was hurried for fear of an attack from Candia or a rebellion of the Ottoman soldiers.¹³ As we will argue below, besides its defensive function, the Kal'a-ı Cedid was to be also, or even primarily, a centre of the Ottoman soldiers' social life in Crete during the long siege of Candia.

From Military Camp to Ottoman Town (1650-1667)

Our sources show that, following its construction, the new fortress became the heart of a kind of a town for the besiegers of the Ottoman imperial camp, an Ottoman Candia outside Venetian Candia. The fortress, according to the description of Evliya Çelebi, had 500 houses made of stone (*kârgir bina evler*), an armoury (*cebehane*), storehouses for cereals, cisterns, and three fountains. Its inhabitants were served by six places of wor-

9 Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 2: 357-358; Naima, *Tarih*, 5 (Istanbul 1282/1865): 3; Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 66-67. In the detailed register of the census of 1650, I have located a reference to the walls of the Kal'a-ı Cedid, which were set as the eastern boundaries of the deserted village of Bursa; BOA, TT 820, 62.

10 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. 8. *Kitap*, eds S. A. Kahraman, Y. Dağlı and R. Dankoff (Istanbul 2003), 178.

11 The Venetian plan was located and published by I. Steriotou, 'Nea stoicheia gia to phrourio ton Tourkon 'Nea Kantia' ston oikismo Fortetza tou Herakleiou' [New Data for the 'Nea Candia' Fortress of the Turks at the Fortezza Settlement of Heraklion], *Kretika Chronika*, 26 (1986), 141-142 and Table ΑΔ'.

12 According to a letter of Zorzi Morosini, dated 4 November 1650 (*ibid.*, 143-144).

13 *Ibid.*, 144.

ship (*mabedgâh*) inside its walls, the biggest one being the stone-built mosque of Sultan İbrahim, with six domes. In any case, however, the necessities for the siege were all around the fortress. The İbrahim Mosque had no minaret, for fear of an attack. Moreover, it was not functioning: it was used as a powder magazine, guarded night and day by the garrison, which consisted of 300 men under a *dizdar*.¹⁴

Outside the fortress, to the west and north of it, a much bigger settlement was created by the besiegers. Evliya Çelebi describes it in 1667-1668 as “the great suburb of İnadiye” (*varoş-ı azîm-i İnadiye*). This is corroborated by contemporary Venetian drawings from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Marciana (see illustrations at the end of the paper). In one of them, the settlement is named as the *borgo* of Candia Nova. Another drawing shows a market square, to the north of the fortress, around the residences of the Ottoman officials and the tents of the soldiers.¹⁵ According to Evliya Çelebi, the suburb included 77,000 houses and rooms for the unmarried men (*bekârhane odalar*). It had seven mosques, again without minarets, and covered with earth, forty *mescids*, three *medreses*, five *mek-tebs*, two *tekkes*, six very small *hamams*, seven *hans* and a total of 2,000 workshops. All the buildings, however, were made of wood and rubbish.¹⁶

The siege was pretty much a virtual one between 1650 and 1667. In early 1656 the leadership of the Cretan campaign complained to Istanbul that it had not the adequate forces even to keep its position outside Candia. Indeed, the Venetians launched a counter-attack twice in the next year.¹⁷ And even when the Ottoman fleet managed to lift the Venetian blockade of the Straits in 1657, thanks to the efforts of the new Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paşa, the necessary reinforcements for the defence of the Ottoman camp outside Candia were never sent. Moreover, in 1658 the Grand Vizier discharged Deli Hüseyin Paşa from the *serdarlık*.¹⁸ The war in Crete was no longer a priority for Köprülü, who had to punish Rakoczi in Transylvania and to suppress the rebellion of Abaza Hasan Paşa in Anatolia.¹⁹ This state of affairs, furthermore, endangered the Ottomans’ position in Crete. In 1660, an allied French-Venetian fleet pillaged the environs of Chania and the suburb of İnadiye outside Candia, even laying siege to the Kal’a-ı Cedid.²⁰ Again, no reinforcements were sent to the Cretan frontier.

Vice Versa: From Ottoman Town to Military Camp (1667-1669)

Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, the son of Köprülü Mehmed Paşa, succeeded his father as a Grand Vizier in 1661. However, Ottoman policies on the Cretan front did not change until after

14 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 178.

15 Steriotou, ‘Nea stoicheia’, 146-149, and Tables ΑΕ-ΜΣΤ’.

16 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 178.

17 Gülsoy, *Girit’in Fethi*, 69, 71-72.

18 *Ibid.*, 72.

19 Finkel, *Osman’s Dream*, 256-262.

20 Cf. the relation of the attack by Marinos Tzane Bounialis, *Ho Kretikos Polemos (1645-1669)* [The Cretan War (1645-1669)], eds S. Alexiou and M. Aposkiti (Athens 1995), 387-392, and *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 178-179.

the Treaty of Vasvar, in 1664. Following an unsuccessful campaign against the Austrians, Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa decided to restore the siege of Candia.²¹ At the head of a large expedition, the Grand Vizier arrived on the island of Crete on 5 Cemaziyelevvel 1077/24 October 1666. From 29 Zilkade 1077/13 May 1667 he settled in the suburb of İnadiye, seventeen years after the construction of the Kal'a-ı Cedid. This was the beginning of the final siege of Candia, which ended with the surrender of the keys of the town by its Venetian commander on 1 Cemaziyelevvel 1080/17 September 1669.²²

The effort for the final siege of Candia made the Ottoman town of İnadiye unnecessary, or even an obstacle for the Grand Vizier. In the winter of 1667-1668, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa ordered the soldiers to build small rooms in the trenches before the walls instead of retreating to the suburb of İnadiye.²³ The soldiers had to spend one more winter, that of 1668-1669, in the trenches outside Candia. It is interesting to note that in the spring of 1669, the Grand Vizier had to cope twice with a rebellion of 500 *serdengeçtis* who demanded to leave the trenches.²⁴ Eventually, it was also because of this tension that, according to Evliya Çelebi, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa ordered the soldiers to pull down the houses in the suburb of İnadiye, including the *hans*, the mosques and the market place (*çarşu-yı bazar*), in order to use the wood for the offensive constructions against the walls of Candia.²⁵ This impressive event is also confirmed by the Venetian sources.²⁶ The contemporary Rethymnian poet of the Cretan War, Marinos Tzane Bounialis, adds that the Grand Vizier had also the psychology of the soldiers in mind when ordering the demolition of the *varoş* of İnadiye: "They should have no hope to come back, or to stay alive, unless they win".²⁷ The town, which had developed in order to host the Ottoman besiegers after their failure to conclude the siege promptly, had to be put out of use for the siege to start over again.²⁸

The Surviving Registers of the Imperial Camp Outside Candia (1661-1665)

This paper investigates aspects of the social life in the Ottoman military camp which developed, as I have tried to show, into an Ottoman town outside Candia, through the few pages surviving, unfortunately in a very bad condition, from the registers of the judge of the imperial camp (*ordu-yı hümayun kadısı*). These amount to 26 pages in total, bound together with pages from the *kadı* of Kandiye's registers in what today is preserved as the

21 Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 68-76, 112-119.

22 For an account of the campaign of Fazıl Ahmed Paşa in Crete between 1666 and 1669, see *ibid.*, 127-165.

23 *Ibid.*, 139-140.

24 *Ibid.*, 152-153.

25 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 179.

26 Steriotou, 'Nea stoicheia', 141.

27 Bounialis, *Kretikos Polemos*, 425.

28 On İnadiye see the online database of the Ottoman monuments of Crete published by the Programme of Turkish Studies of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FO.R.T.H. (ed. E. Kolovos) at <http://digitalcrete.ims.forth.gr> (Fortress of İnadiye).

Second Volume of the so-called Turkish Archive of Heraklion.²⁹ These pages contain entries dating from various periods between the years 1661 and 1665, i.e., from the last period of the Ottoman town outside Candia, before the arrival of Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa in Crete. The assumption that these were pages from the registers of the imperial camp is firmly based on an entry from page 5, undated, but written between entries dated Cemaziyelâhir 1071/February 1661. The entry mentions that the ex-judge of the imperial camp (*sabıka ordu-yı hümayun kadısı*), Mustafa Efendi, who is mentioned among the *şühudü'l-hal* as the active *kadı* of Esfakya (Sphakia),³⁰ had appointed the *sipahi* Mehmed bin Süleyman as the guardian of the minor Mustafa, the son of the deceased Piyale, a *sipahi* of Kandiye, who had held as a *timar* a village in Maleviz (Malevizi). The active judge of the imperial camp (*hâkim-i mevkiyü'l-kitab*) confirmed the appointment, delivering to the guardian 240 *guruş* from the revenue of the *timar*, and fixing a maintenance allowance (*nafaka ve kisve*) of 4 *akçes* per diem for the minor, again from his father's *timar*.

The institution of the judgeship of the imperial camp had been created in case the Sultan did not participate himself in a campaign, accompanied by the two *kadıaskers* of Rumelia and Anatolia. When the leadership in a campaign was confined to a *serdar*, as was the case in Crete, a special judge of the imperial camp was appointed, as a deputy of the *kadıaskers*, selected from among the former great *mollas* of the Ottoman Empire.³¹

From the study of these fragments of the imperial camp's *sicils* emerges the only information that we can trace through the surviving sources on the social life of the besiegers of Candia, especially on their economic activities, on the local population, and, more important, on their interaction through marriages.

Economic Activities in Ottoman Candia Outside Candia as Reflected in the Court Registers

The Ottoman pashas who served in Crete appear in our source as holders of agricultural estates in the area of İnadiye. An entry of 1661³² describes, for example, the estate sold two years earlier by a janissary officer to the well-known Katircioğlu Mehmed Paşa,

29 Today the registers are preserved at the Vikelia Municipal Library of Heraklion. I would like to thank Andreas Savvakis, who has facilitated my research for this paper in the library. Thanks to Andreas, research in the Ottoman Archive of Heraklion has been improved and become more and more stimulating.

30 On some of the *ulema* who held the post of the *kadı* of the imperial camp during these years, see M. Sariyannis, 'He dikastike organose kai to hierodikeio tou Chandaka ste neokataktemene Krete' [Judicial Organisation and the *Kadı* Court of Kandiye in Newly Conquered Crete], in Varoucha, Chaireti and Sariyannis, *Pemptos kodikas* I, 21-22.

31 A special ceremony was held in the *seyhülislam*'s residence for his appointment. The judges of the imperial camp were afterwards appointed to higher posts and as *kadis* of Mecca; see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı* (Ankara 1965), 131-132.

32 TAH, Vol. 2, p. 2 (henceforth: TAH, 2: 2); cf. the Greek translation by Stavriniadis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 127-128, No. 175.

who had saved İnadıye with his soldiers in 1660 from the Venetian-French attack.³³ It consisted of a house in the imperial camp, with its provisions, three fields in its vicinity and 1,000 sheep. This was later known as the farm (*çiftlik*) of Katırcıoğlu Mehmed Paşa; in 1667 it was assigned to host a Venetian ambassador to Fazıl Ahmed Paşa.³⁴ From other entries as well, it appears that landholding near the imperial camp was an activity favoured by many of the pashas serving in Crete, like the *sancakbeyi* of Köstendil Pir Mehmed eş-şehir bi-Şemspaşazade, Ömer Paşa, the *sancakbeyi* of Tırhala Mehmed Paşa, or the *sancakbeyi* of Chania and *defterdar* of Crete Timurhasoğlu Mehmed Paşa.³⁵ And this is exactly what the Grand Vizier Fazıl Ahmed Paşa did as well, after the fall of Candia. He obtained, as a gift from the Sultan, all the land surrounding the city of Candia which fell within the range of a shot of a cannonball from the walls (*top altı*), which he organised as a farm (*çiftlik*). Molly Greene has interpreted this entrepreneurial activity on the part of the Ottoman officials in the context of the rise of the powerful elite households in Istanbul politics.³⁶

At a lower level, the *sipahis* and the janissaries mentioned in our source appear interested in money-lending. From a dispute registered on 18 Zilkade 1071/5 July 1661 we learn that a priest and another Christian from the village of Limnes in Kastel Merambello had taken as a loan 100 *riyal gurus* from a Muslim *timar*-holder in Kandiye; as they had paid him back 95 *gurus* plus 56 *muzurs* of wheat and 26 *mistata* of olive oil, they were asking from him back the extra price for the commodities that they had delivered to him. The timariot, however, kept the wheat and the olive oil that they had given to him as his profit (*verdiğim akçenin faydasına dutarım*) and refused to pay anything back to them. The court of the imperial camp warned him to give the Christians back 40 *gurus*.³⁷ Three low-rank janissaries (*beşe*) appear on 1 Cemaziyelâhir 1071/22 January 1661 as creditors of four Muslim non-military captives, who apparently had used the money that they had borrowed in order to pay for their ransom.³⁸ Another low-rank janissary had registered in the court of the imperial camp a loan of money to three Christian residents of the town of Yerapetre (Ierapetra) on 11-20 Cemaziyelevvel 1071/2-11 January 1661.³⁹ We should perhaps assume that the Christians needed the money in order to pay for the poll tax of the town, as in the case of the village of Malya below. In this case dated 11-20 Cemaziyelâhir 1071/1-10 February 1661, three imperial janissaries (*dergâh-ı âli yeniçerileri*) sued three *zimmis* of the village of Malya (Malia) in Pedye (Pediada), who had been the guarantors of a loan of 305 *riyal-i kebir gurus* to three priests of the same village, responsible for the payment of the poll tax of the village community. The three priests, however, had fled the village, without paying back their debt to the janissaries. The court obliged the guaran-

33 See Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 71 and 74.

34 The ambassador died there before meeting the Grand Vizier; see *ibid.*, 173.

35 TAH, 2: 6; Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 130-131, No. 179.

36 Greene, *A Shared World*, 29-30.

37 TAH, 2: 10; Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 135-136, No. 185.

38 TAH, 2: 3.

39 TAH, 2: 1.

tors to settle the debt.⁴⁰ The involvement of the janissaries in credit activities in particular is evidenced in post-war Candia as well.⁴¹

As is clear from the above example concerning the village of Malya, tax collection must have been a fundamental occupation for the Ottoman soldiers, *sipahis* or janissaries, and their officers who had been assigned revenues on the island. It is interesting to note that, in our source, it appears that converts to Islam from the local population were involved in the process as tax collectors. In a case presented to the court in the last ten days of Cemaziyelevvel 1071/12-21 January 1661, Ahmed Ağa, an officer at the imperial camp, sued the tax collector Şaban bin Abdullah, apparently a convert, asking for a total of 210 *guruş* that he had not delivered to him from the tax revenue of the village of Piskopi (Episkopi). The village belonged to the *hass* revenues of Ahmed Bey and was farmed out to Mustafa Bey, the *sancakbeyi* of Çorum. The defendant was able to present two witnesses, Süleyman bin Abdullah and Ahmed bin Abdullah, converts as well, who testified that he had delivered the money to Mustafa Bey, before the latter's death. The lawsuit was dismissed.⁴²

Christians in Ottoman Candia Outside Candia

The registers of the court of the imperial camp show that there were also Christians living in İnadiye, both Orthodox and Armenian. An entry dated 26 Zilkade 1071/13 July 1661 mentions a lawsuit of a proxy of Yako Ali Paşa against the *zimmi* Manoli veled-i Yani, a tailor (*hayyat*) who had built, without obtaining a permission, a workshop, on the ground assigned to be the storeroom of the Pasha's house. The court, on the occasion of this case, proclaimed publicly that the *zimmi*s of the fortress of İnadiye should not build, without the necessary permission, on the plots which had been earlier distributed in order to be built upon by the Muslim *mücahids*.⁴³

It appears that the Christians of all the adjacent areas were also clients of the court of the imperial camp outside Candia. In a case registered on 13 Zilkade 1071/30 June 1661, for example, the *zimmi* Nikolaki veled-i Manyo, a *reaya* of a village in Monofaç (Monofatsi), sued before the court of the imperial camp Mehmed Bey ibn Ali, a *sipahi* from Zeytun. The *zimmi* claimed that the *sipahi* had previously taken from him 55 *riyal guruş*, which he had already paid to Ahmed Ağa, the *kethüda* of the *kethüda* of Tavukçu Mustafa Paşa, as a fine (*cerime*). What is noticeable in this case is that, after the testimony of four other *zimmi*s, the claim of the *zimmi* was accepted by the court, even if the Muslim defendant had denied it.⁴⁴ This kind of evidence suggests that the *kadı* of the imperial camp had to act as an intermediary between the soldiers and the local population, providing, through the administration of law, a way for local society to adapt itself to the new rulers of the island.

40 TAH, 2: 6.

41 Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, μδ'-μγ'.

42 TAH, 2: 3.

43 TAH, 2: 8.

44 TAH, 2: 10.

Marriage Records

The surviving evidence from the registers of the imperial camp outside Candia suggests that the Ottoman court on the newly conquered island had developed as a standard part of its function the registration of marriages. Sixteen out of the surviving twenty-six pages of the judicial registers from the imperial camp outside Candia are almost filled up with a total of 230 marriage records, dating from October 1662 to May 1664 and from January to June 1665; three of these records are from earlier dates, in February 1661, July 1661 and June 1662 (See Table I and Appendix).

	1661	1662	1663	1664	1665
January			7	6	2
February	1		11	9	10
March			7	10	5
April			8	5	21
May			13	6	21
June		1	10		2
July	1		8		
August			17		
September			7		
October		5	11		
November		14	6		
December		3	3		
Total	2	23	108	36	61

Table I: Marriage records in the judicial registers of the imperial camp outside Candia⁴⁵

There is evidence for the recording of a marriage in the *kadı* court, not compulsory according to Islamic law,⁴⁶ as a practice⁴⁷ in some Ottoman towns,⁴⁸ such as Sofia,⁴⁹ Mostar,⁵⁰ Patras,⁵¹ or Jerusalem.⁵² No marriage records, however, appear in the published

45 Table I shows that, unlike other parts of the Balkans, where most marriages took place after the autumn harvest and before the spring planting, in Crete marriages took place all around the year; cf. E. Gara, 'Marrying in Seventeenth-Century Mostar', in E. Kolovos, Ph. Kotzageorgis, S. Laiou and M. Sariyannis (eds), *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History. Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander* (Istanbul 2007), 122-123.

46 J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford 1964), 161-163.

47 The sixteenth-century Ottoman şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi quotes in one of his *fetvas* that an imperial decree had made registration of marriages compulsory. According to Ebussuud, the registration provided evidence in cases of dispute and prevented irregular or illicit unions; C. Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud: The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Edinburgh 1997), 165-166.

48 See the overview by Gara, 'Marrying in Seventeenth-Century Mostar', 116-119.

49 G. Galabov and H. Duda, *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia* (Munich 1960), 9-86 (1550).

50 Gara, 'Marrying in Seventeenth-Century Mostar'.

51 J. C. Alexander, 'Law of the Conqueror (the Ottoman State) and Law of the Conquered (the Orthodox Church): The Case of Marriage and Divorce', in Au. Nitschke (ed.), *XVI^e Congrès international des Sciences historiques. Rapports*, Vol. I (Stuttgart 1985), 370.

52 D. Ze'evi, 'Women in 17th-Century Jerusalem: Western and Indigenous Perspectives', *IJMES*,

registers from many other towns.⁵³ In Crete, the practice of marriage registration, established in the imperial camp outside Candia, was transferred to Candia itself after its conquest. In the *kadı sicil* of 1669-1673 from Kandiye, 11.3 per cent of the total entries are marriage records.⁵⁴ The percentage of marriage records in the *sicil* of the same town for the years 1673-1675 rises to 16.4 per cent,⁵⁵ whereas 13.4 per cent of the entries of the *sicil* of 1688-1689 are marriage records.⁵⁶ A considerable number of pages of the Cretan judicial registers continued to be dedicated to the registration of marriages in the subsequent centuries as well; in the nineteenth century, this practice was institutionalised with the appearance of separate marriage registers (*enkiha defterleri*).⁵⁷

Marriage Patterns: Muslim, Mixed and Cretan Marriages

Marriages between Muslim couples form only a little more than half (56.33%) of the marriages registered in the court of the imperial camp outside Candia, according to our sample from the 1660s. This is because of a striking rate of mixed marriages: it appears that one out of three marriages (33.19%) in our sample united a Muslim man to a Christian bride.⁵⁸ Finally, a considerable number of marriages between Christian couples (10.48%) were also registered before the same Ottoman court (see Table II).⁵⁹

Marriages between Muslim couples	129	56.33%
Mixed marriages	76	33.19%
Marriages between Christian couples	24	10.48%
Total	229	100.00%

Table II: Marriages in the judicial registers of the imperial camp outside Candia⁶⁰

We should stress that a great number of the Cretan marriages in the 1660s involved converts to Islam. Table III shows that 38.05% of the Muslim grooms appearing in our

27/2 (1995), 160, 163; J. Tucker, *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Berkeley 1998), 39, 71.

53 See Gara, 'Marrying in Seventeenth-Century Mostar', 117 n. 4.

54 Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, ξβ'.

55 Varoucha, Chairiti and Sariyannis, *Pemptos kodikas* I.

56 Varoucha, Chairiti and Sariyannis, *Pemptos kodikas* II.

57 Cf. A. N. Adıyeke and N. Adıyeke, 'Newly Discovered in Turkish Archives: Kadı Registers and Other Documents on Crete', *Turcica*, 32 (2000), 447-463; N. Adıyeke, 'Girit Nikâh Defterleri ve Girit'teki Evlilikler', in A. N. Adıyeke and N. Adıyeke, *Fethinden Kaybına Girit* (Istanbul 2006), 59.

58 Cf. N. Adıyeke, 'Girit'te Cemaatler Arası Evlilikler', in Adıyeke and Adıyeke, *Fethinden Kaybına Girit*, 74-76. As we would expect, in later years, the rate of mixed marriages fell considerably. After 1821 no more mixed marriages were found in the registers from Crete which have been examined.

59 Cf. N. Adıyeke, 'Kadı Mahkemelerinde Yapılan Hristiyan Evlilikleri ve Girit Örneği', in Adıyeke and Adıyeke, *Fethinden Kaybına Girit*, 80-91.

60 The total in Table II is 229, because in one case we do not know the religious identity of one of the spouses.

sample were converts to Islam.⁶¹ This rate could be even higher, because in many cases we do not know the patronymic of the groom. In one case (No. 178), in February 1665, the groom, a certain Abdullah, converted to Islam (*islâm ile müşerref [oldu]*) just upon his marriage with Fatma Abdullah from the village of Anaboli in Pedye. In the case of brides, the great majority (69.77%) were either converts to Islam or daughters of converts to Islam. In four cases in our sample, the brides converted to Islam at that same moment that they went to the court with their spouse for the registration of their marriage. In one, quite impressive, case (No. 18), a bride is recorded as a convert to Islam (*bint Abdullah*), even though she had kept her Christian name, İrina (Eirini). She was a resident of the Kal'a-i Cedid and got married to Veli Ağa.

	Grooms		Brides	
Muslim-born	127	61.95%	39	30.23%
Children of converts to Islam	0	0.00%	15	11.63%
Converts to Islam	78	38.05%	75	58.14%
Total	205	100.00%	129	100.00%

Table III: Muslim grooms and brides in the judicial registers of the imperial camp outside Candia

We should also note that Muslim men, either converts or not, who married Christian women, or Christian couples who married before the *kadı* court in the imperial camp, might be making use of the institution of temporary marriage (*müt'a* or *kebin*), a practice documented as widespread in the Balkans and the Aegean islands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to this institution, recognised by the Shiis and practised informally by the Sunnis as well,⁶² marriage had a specific duration, after which the man could leave the woman, who received the *mehr* agreed upon on their marriage; Islamic law recognised their children as legitimate, with full rights to inheritance and support. However, the duration of the marriage, achieved through informal agreements, was not mentioned in the marriage contract written by the Sunni *kadıs*; thus, one cannot conclude whether the marriages registered were temporary or not.⁶³ In the light of this fact,

61 Converts to Islam usually bore the patronymic *bin/bint Abdullah*. We counted all *bin Abdullahs* as converts, with the exception of two janissaries from Egypt (see marriage records Nos 97 and 117), who were, in all probability, sons of real Abdullahs in Egypt.

62 See Schacht, *Islamic Law*, 163.

63 *EP*, s.v. 'Mut'a' (W. Heffening). For a recent overview on the matter of *müt'a/kebin* marriages, see S. Laiou, 'Christian Women in an Ottoman World: Interpersonal and Family Cases Brought before the Shari'a Courts during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Cases Involving the Greek Community)', in A. Buturović and I. C. Schick (eds), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans: Gender, Culture and History* (London and New York 2007), 246-247. See also Alexander, 'Law of the Conqueror'; N. Pantazopoulos, 'Kepinion. Symvole eis ten ereunan tou thesmou tou politikou gamou epi Tourkokratias' [Kepinion: A Contribution to Research on the Institution of Civil Marriage during the Period of Turkish Rule], *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Scholes ton Nomikon kai Oikonomikon Epistemon*, 19/3 (1986), 489-520. Another recent paper on the issue is C. Imber, 'Guillaume Postel on Temporary Marriage', in S. Prätör and C. K.

it would not be strange if at least some of the marriages between the Muslim soldiers serving in Crete for some years and expecting to return to their homelands and the local brides were arranged for a specific period of time.

Actually, the great majority of the registered marriages involved both grooms and brides of local Cretan origin, either Christian or converts to Islam; only 15.7% involved Muslims of non-Cretan origin.

Who Marries Whom?

According to our sample, the majority of Muslim-born grooms in the imperial camp outside Candia married either converts to Islam (37.80%) or daughters of converts to Islam (6.30%). Many of them (27.56%) married Christian brides. On the other hand, a considerable number of marriages (28.35%) were between Muslim-born couples.

In the case of converts, one out of two (52.56%) married a Christian bride. Most of the others (34.62%) married a convert to Islam as well, or a daughter of a convert to Islam (8.97%). Only in three cases (3.85%) was a convert married to a Muslim-born bride. Thus, with the exception of the above three cases, all other Muslim-born brides (92.31%) in the imperial camp were married to Muslim-born grooms.

Most of the women who converted to Islam also married with Muslim-born grooms (64%). On the other hand, a considerable number of marriages (36%) were between couples of converts to Islam.

Daughters of converts to Islam were almost equally divided between Muslim-born grooms (53.33%) and converts to Islam (46.67%). Likewise, Christian brides were almost equally divided between converts to Islam (53.95%) and Muslim-born grooms (46.05%).

This evidence suggests that marriages in the newly Ottoman island of Crete were arranged either to satisfy the (maybe temporary) needs of the Ottoman soldiers serving in Crete or, in their majority, the new community of local converts to Islam; the latter group, however, looks as though they could not achieve a marriage with a Muslim-born bride. This could be attributed to what was, we can reasonably assume, the rather tiny pool of Muslim-born brides who had followed their fathers to the island. We can also suggest that such marriages were not seen as socially appropriate for the new converts to Islam.

Minors, Virgins and Widows

The majority of the brides appearing in our sample (57.64%) are described according to their status at the time of their marriage. Only thirty-six brides (15.72%) are described as virgins; if, however, we add minors and orphans (16.16%), and we assume that for the – mostly Christian – women who were recorded without any qualification in the register (42.36%), this was their first marriage, we can conclude that three out of four marriages (74.24%) were

Neumann (eds), *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte: Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich/Arts, Women and Scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture. Festschrift Hans Georg Majer* (Istanbul 2002), 179-183.

first unions for women. Only fourteen women were described as widows (6.11%), either converts to Islam or Christians.⁶⁴ Forty-five women (19.65%), almost all of them converts to Islam, are qualified as 'ladies' (*hatun*); I assume that these were women who had lost or divorced their Christian husbands. In one case (No. 128), that of the convert Ayşe Hatun, from the village of Asites in Maleviz, the bride had divorced her husband Mihelis Kakouros, who had refused to convert to Islam, before marrying the convert Ali Abdullah.

Our sample (see Table IV) shows that child marriage, even in the case of girls not orphaned, was a common practice in Crete in the 1660s, both for Muslims and Christians; it looks as though it was especially widespread among converts to Islam, who sought to marry their daughters, before they reached legal adulthood, to Muslims or other converts. As regards men, only four Muslim grooms were minors, two of them orphans. In all four cases, they were married to Muslim brides who were minors as well.

There is no information as to whether men were married to more than one wife. Many of our grooms had the same names and patronymics; however, it is impossible to identify any case of a man who had concluded two marriages. Polygamy was not widespread; however, it should not be excluded as a possibility for Crete in the 1660s.⁶⁵

	Muslim-born	Daughters of converts to Islam	Converts to Islam	Christians	Total
Minors (<i>sagire</i>)	17	12		5	34
Orphans (<i>yetime</i>) and minors (<i>sagire</i>)	3				3
Virgins (<i>bakire</i> , <i>bakire ve baliğa</i>)	14	3	9	10	36
Ladies (<i>hatun</i>)	1		43	1	45
Widows (<i>seyyibe</i>)			6	8	14
Not defined	4		17	76	97
Total	39	15	75	100	229

Table IV: Status of brides in the imperial camp outside Candia

Sipahis and Janissaries

In exactly 50 per cent of our sample, the grooms are recorded with their honorific titles (see Table V). In some cases, information on their occupation is included in the records as well.⁶⁶ Exactly half of them, including some converts to Islam, bore the title of *bey*. Seven

64 No Muslim widows appear in our sample. We should not, however, exclude the possibility that Muslim widows married again without registering their marriage in the *kadı* court.

65 My colleague Marinos Sariyannis has kindly informed me that he has encountered three or four cases of polygamy in the fifth *kadı* register of Heraklion.

66 On the issue of elite status in seventeenth-century judicial records, see E. Gara, 'Moneylenders and Landowners: In Search of Urban Muslim Elites in the Early Modern Balkans', in A. Anastasopoulos (ed.), *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire. Halcyon Days in Crete V. A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 10-12 January 2003* (Rethymno 2005), 138-144. See also G. Tülüveli, 'Honorific Titles in Ottoman Parlance: A Reevaluation', *IJTS*, 11/1-2 (2005), 17-27.

of these *beys* were *sipahis*, five of them of Balkan origin (Köstendil, Filibe, Avlonya, Yan-ya). On the other hand, one of these *beys* was recorded as a *mütefferrika* and another one as a *kul*, both from Egypt.⁶⁷ Six more *sipahis* (one of them from Sofia) are recorded among the grooms in the imperial camp without an honorific title. The next large group, including again a few converts to Islam, was that of *beşes*, including almost 1/4 of the grooms with honorific titles. *Beşes* belonged to the janissaries; in some cases their units are recorded as well. Three more janissaries are recorded among the grooms of our sample, without, however, the title of *beşe*.⁶⁸ The group of *ağas*, most of them Muslim-born, was much smaller, including six men; one of them is recorded as a *sipahi* officer (*çeribaşı*).⁶⁹ Four Muslim-born *çavuşes* also appear in our sample. *Beys*, *ağas*, and *çavuşes* belonged to the military elite; *beşes* were common janissaries. On the other hand, the group of *efendis* (a title basically denoting a member of the religious or bureaucratic elite) included only seven men; one of them was actually an imam and all but one Muslim-born. In the same group of *ulema* we should add the two Muslim-born *haces* of our sample.⁷⁰ Our sample includes also six Muslim-born *çelebis*; this was a title for educated men.⁷¹ The two *ustas* of our sample most probably represent the *esnaf* (guilds) of the imperial camp. Finally, three of our grooms, who had made the pilgrimage to the Holy Cities of Islam, bore the title of *hacı*, and another one was recorded as a prominent notable (*ayan*).⁷²

	Muslim-born	Converts to Islam	Total
<i>Ağas</i>	5	1	6
<i>Ayan (fahri'l-ayan)</i>	1		1
<i>Beşes</i>	22	4	26
<i>Beys</i>	46	11 ⁷³	57
<i>Çavuşes</i>	4		4
<i>Çelebis</i>	6		6
<i>Efendis</i>	6	1	7
<i>Hacıs</i>	2 ⁷⁴		2
<i>Haces</i>	2		2
<i>Ustas</i>	2 ⁷⁵		2
Total	96	17	113

Table V: Honorific titles of the grooms in the imperial camp outside Candia

67 Two more Egyptians, an *azab* and a *mustahfiz* respectively, are also recorded in our sample, without, however, an honorific title.

68 One of them originated from Egypt.

69 Another *çeribaşı* was recorded without an honorific title.

70 One of them originated from the town of Aydonot in Delvine.

71 One of them was from Elbasan, and another one originated from Selânik.

72 In one case, we have a reference to a *dellâl* (No. 140).

73 In one case, a Muslim *bey*, Kenan Bey ibn Abdullah, also bore the honorific title of *efendi*. He was a scribe in the *divan-ı şehriyârî* (No. 79).

74 One more Muslim *ağa* also bore the title of *hacı* (No. 228).

75 One more Muslim *bey* also bore the title of *usta* (No. 196).

On the other hand, we should note that among the 79 remaining Muslim grooms without an honorific title or an occupation, 60 were converts to Islam. Eight of them were recorded as villagers.

Our sample includes much less information on honorific titles and occupations of the brides' fathers, mostly Muslim-born military men. Three of them were *sipahis* (of whom two were converts to Islam) marrying their daughters, minors, to other men. Only in one case can we suspect a marriage of a woman to a man of lower social status: this is the case of Saliha bint Mehmed Beşe from Elbasan, from the village of Vorou in Pedye, who married in May 1664 a convert by the name of İbrahim ibn Abdullah (No. 164).

The Imperial Camp and Villages

In the case of very few grooms in our sample do we have information on their residence. One Muslim-born orphan and minor, five converts and four Christian grooms were villagers. In only one case is the groom described as a resident of the imperial camp; we assume, however, that all the other grooms in our sample actually resided in the imperial camp.

On the other hand, in the case of brides we have plenty of information on their residence, at least before marriage. Most of them (65.07%), certainly Christians and converts to Islam, were villagers. However, brides who lived in the imperial camp were usually converts to Islam, including also Muslim-born and Christians.⁷⁶

Agents, Guardians and Witnesses

In the imperial camp outside Candia, it was not unusual for men and women to appear in court in person to register their marriages.⁷⁷ Eighty-six grooms (37.55%), Muslim-born, converts to Islam, or Christians, appeared in person for the registration of their marriage. There were maybe more grooms appearing in person before the *kadı*, since in many cases the record does not mention any agent for them. During the Cretan campaign, it was quite normal for military men to arrange their marriages in person. Converts to Islam or Christians perhaps lacked any Muslim or Christian relatives (or, in the case of marriages between Christian couples, they maybe lacked any relatives who wished to follow them to the Islamic court). On the other hand, far fewer brides (5.68%), only Christian or converts to Islam, appeared before the *kadı* in person. Does this imply a say in the choice of

⁷⁶ In one case (No. 93), Serrac Mustafa Çelebi married his daughter, Raziye, a minor who actually lived in the town of Chania, to Çengelci Mehmed Beşe in the imperial camp outside Candia. In another case (No. 70), Uzun Ahmed Bey married his daughter, Ayşe, a minor, who actually lived in the town of Aydonot, in the sancak of Delvine, to Ali Hacı from the same town. It is probable that both men participated in the Cretan campaign. It is also probable that Ali Hacı was never in Crete. His father-in-law could have arranged the marriage of his daughter from afar.

⁷⁷ Cf. Adıyeke, 'Girit Nikâh Defterleri ve Girit'teki Evlilikler', 61 for later years.

their partner? It is difficult to answer affirmatively. These women again perhaps lacked any Muslim or Christian relatives.

It was as usual for the couple to be present at the registration of the marriage in Crete as it was also to be represented by agents.⁷⁸ In the case of grooms, agents in most cases were not their fathers. Fathers appear only in four cases, in two of them marrying their underage sons. The third case is that of Ömer Ağa, *alaybeyi* of Kandiye, who appeared before the court to marry his son, Osman Bey, to Hadice, the underage daughter of Mustafa Ağa, a *çorbacı* of the *dergâh-ı âli* and former *muhzır* of the court (No. 119); we could perhaps assume that Osman Bey was a minor as well. The fourth case (No. 171) is the case of the marriage of a Christian couple, Manolis and Anezina, from the village of Piskyo (?), concluded before the court by their fathers, Yani and Tzortzi, respectively. Was this a case of child marriage? In another case (No. 143), the groom, a Muslim minor and orphan from the village of Yerakari in Rethymno, was represented in court by the underage bride's father, Ramazan Beşe ibn Abdullah, from the same village. Finally, there is one more case (No. 44) in which the underage groom's guardian (*vasi-i şer'î*), Mehmed Bey Arnavud, arranges a marriage with his own daughter, the minor Hadice.

In all other cases, Muslim-born grooms in particular were represented in court by other men, not their relatives. In many cases, we can conclude that they were other members of the military elite, as in the case (No. 58) of the marriage between Şahin bin Hüseyin, a janissary of the 38th *bölük* and the virgin Fatma, daughter of Mustafa, a janissary of the same *bölük*; the couple was represented in court by the janissaries Abdullah Çelebi and Veli Ahmed Beşe, again from the same *bölük*. Converts to Islam were in most cases represented by Muslim-born men, as in the case (No. 209) of the marriage between Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah and Ayşe bint Abdullah, a widow from the village of İnya (?), *kaza* of Rizo. The couple was represented in court by İbrahim Sipah ibn Ahmed and Receb Sipah ibn Mahmud, respectively. Finally, very few Christians (in two cases they were Armenians) appear in court as agents of other Christians. In one case (No. 34), however, the agent was a Christian monk (*keşiş*) (!).⁷⁹

On the other hand, in the case of brides, fathers and brothers appear very often in the court to represent their daughters or sisters. More often, however, – in 112 cases – brides were represented by agents other than their relatives, especially in the case of converts to Islam or Christian brides represented by Muslim-born men. In the case (No. 45) of Kali bint Nikolo, for instance, married to Derviş Mehmed, represented by a Muslim man, her agent was a Muslim sheikh.⁸⁰ In another impressive case (No. 200), the bride, a convert by the name of Rabia bint Abdullah, married to a Muslim, was represented in court by a Christian (!), Konstantinos. In many cases, the agents were people connected with the grooms rather than the brides, as in the case (No. 138) of Fatma bint Abdullah, a lady re-

78 See *ibid.*, 61–62, for an order of the governor of Crete of 1651 asking the *kadı* of Rethymno not to endorse marriages without the presence of the agents in person.

79 Cf. Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 81, No. 116, where Papa Yakumi was the agent in a marriage between Christians before the Ottoman court of Rethymno in 1658.

80 Cf. No. 130.

siding in the imperial camp, originally from the village of Ruzkaka in Sitia, who got married to İbrahim Bey ibn Osman, a *sipahi* from the *nahiye* of Filibe. Both groom and bride were represented in court by Mustafa Bey ibn Mehmed from Filibe.

The marriage records of the court of the imperial camp include also names of witnesses to the procedure of registration: they were usually Muslims, chiefly military men. In some cases, *ulema* and especially dervishes appear in the court as witnesses. For example, the registration of the marriage between Şahin bin Hüseyin, a janissary, and the virgin Fatma, daughter of a janissary, was attended by the *kadı* (*fahriü'l-kuzat*) Ahmed Efendi, a Bektashi *dede*, Ali Bey,⁸¹ Derviş Ali, and the janissary officer (*topî odabaşı*) Ahmed Beşe (No. 58). Christian witnesses appear in some cases of marriage of a Christian bride, or a convert to Islam. The registration, in another example, of the marriage between a janissary convert to Islam, Yusuf Beşe Abdullah, from the 35th *bölük*, to Fatma bint Abdullah, a lady from the village of Apano Arhanes, in the *kaza* of Temenes (Temenos), represented in court by Eyyüb Bey ibn Hasan, was attended by Christians from the bride's village, Mihali Nyovaşoti (?) and Yani veled-i Seryano, who, in all probability, were her relatives (No. 224). In some of the cases of marriages, especially between Christians, a Muslim or Christian translator (*tercüman*) was also present and registered among the witnesses.

The Nuptial Gift (Mehr)

According to Islamic law, the wife has the right to a nuptial gift (*mehr*), determined with regard to her social position and her other qualities. Customarily, part of the *mehr* was paid immediately by the groom, while the payment of the rest was postponed until the marriage was terminated by divorce or death of the husband. This actually happens once in our sample, in the case (No. 202) of the marriage between Cafer Ağa ibn Halil and Hadice, a minor, daughter of the late es-Seyyid Mehmed Efendi, represented in court by her stepfather, Ahmed Efendi, with the consent of her mother, Rabia. The groom actually paid 30,000 *akçes* in advance (*mehr-i muaccel*) and deferred the payment of another 20,000 *akçes* (*mehr-i müeccel*). This was actually the largest sum of *mehr* in our sample, 50,000 *akçes* in total. In all other cases, as elsewhere in the Balkans,⁸² the *mehr* was registered as a fixed sum to be paid at the termination of the marriage by death or divorce, at a value which ranged between 100 and 40,000 *akçes*.⁸³

81 This person can be identified with the Bektashi sheikh Horasanîzade Mevlâna Derviş Ali Dede, the founder of a *tekke* near the fortress of İnadıye in 1650. On him and his *tekke* see Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 258-259; *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 179, 229; O. F. Köprülü, 'Usta-zâde Yunus Bey'in Meçhul Kalmış Bir Makalesi: Bektaşîliğin Girit'de İntişârı', *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 8-9 (1979-1980), 41-47; <http://digitalcrete.ims.forth.gr> (Bektashi *tekke* of Horasanîzade in Ambelokipoi, Heraklion).

82 See Gara, 'Marrying in Seventeenth-Century Mostar', 127-129.

83 In two cases of marriages, between converts to Islam and Christians respectively, no *mehr* was mentioned in the record. Cf. Adıyeke, 'Girit Nikâh Defterleri ve Girit'teki Evlilikler', 63.

As in Mostar,⁸⁴ in Crete there was not dramatic difference between town and country in terms of averages: the average *mehr* in the town was 3,640.28 and in the villages 2,061.48 *akçes*. The average difference, however, was considerable in the case of marriages of Muslim-born brides (8,861.54 *akçes*) as compared to marriages of other brides, daughters of converts to Islam, converts and Christians (3,480, 2,521.62 and 1,220.20 *akçes*, respectively), as well as between marriages of minors (7,813.51 *akçes*) and marriages of virgins, ladies or widows (3,000, 2,334.09 and 1,371.43 *akçes*, respectively).

	Minors	Virgins	Ladies	Widows	Total average <i>mehr</i>
Muslim-born brides	11,470.00	3,942.86	2,000.00		8,861.54
Daughters of converts	3,558.33	3,166.67			3,480.00
Converts to Islam		3,111.11	2,373.81	2,183.33	2,521.62
Christians	3,400.00	1,530.00	1,000.00	762.50	1,220.20
Total average <i>mehr</i>	7,813.51	3,000.00	2,334.09	1,371.43	3,106.14

Table VI: The nuptial gift (*mehr*)

Marriage Records and Marriages

Our data (see Table I) include a complete sample of marriages only for the year 1663, amounting to slightly more than a hundred marriages. Was this a complete record of marriages concluded that year in the jurisdiction of the court of the imperial camp? This is a difficult question to answer. Given that a 'normal' annual marriage rate in a traditional population is supposed not to exceed ten per thousand inhabitants,⁸⁵ the rate for 1663 would indicate a population of about 10,000 people in Ottoman Candia outside Candia and its surroundings, including both Muslims and Christians. This is a number which cannot be very far from the truth. The tax register of 1650 had counted 12,538 non-Muslim households and 3,794 unmarried men in the *sancak* of Kandiye.⁸⁶ This suggests a population of around 50,000-65,000 non-Muslims in all the area included in the district of Kandiye.

Conclusions: Marriages and the Formation of a Muslim Community in Crete

The examination of marriage patterns registered in Ottoman Candia outside Candia during the early 1660s suggests that the Ottomanisation of Crete, in progress already from the years of the Cretan War, was not only the result of an effort by the Ottoman elite to incorporate the local population, but mainly the result of the efforts of the local population to adapt itself to the new situation, mainly through conversion to Islam; Greene has suggested that this was very much the outcome of the conditions of the long war of conquest.⁸⁷ During the long siege of Candia, soldiers serving in the imperial camp, who might have

⁸⁴ Cf. Gara, 'Marrying in Seventeenth-Century Mostar', 128.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 120-122.

⁸⁶ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 280.

⁸⁷ Greene, *A Shared World*, 39-44.

left the island thereafter, got married to women from the local population, who were not necessarily obliged to convert to Islam. At the same time, males from the local population who had converted to Islam, many of them in order to serve in the Ottoman army, were married to local women, many of them converts as well. This was a trend which continued also in post-war Candia, as the *sicils* of the early years of Ottoman rule show.⁸⁸ The fact that, in the case of the records of the imperial camp, very few marriages were arranged between converts to Islam and Muslim-born brides (see above, 'Who Marries Whom?') shows that a certain gap existed between the two groups at the social level. Cretan society, however, was shaped mainly by the presence of the latter group, that is, the converts. The existence of this group could also explain, at least partly, the fact that registration of marriages in the *kadı* court became an established practice on the island.⁸⁹

During the long siege of Candia, a new population began to emerge on the island, the Cretan Muslims, or *Tourkokretikoi* in Greek, mostly Greek-speaking,⁹⁰ who were afterwards to dominate the society of Crete, both urban and rural, until the exchange of populations in 1924, when all Cretan Muslims had to leave for Turkey. In its first years, this was a society, as Greene has suggested, characterised by an instability in terms of religious identity rather than a society of crystallised religiously defined communities.⁹¹ In the conditions of the seventeenth century, as compared to those of the sixteenth, the Ottoman Empire, even if it was still able to mobilise a great number of soldiers in order to conquer Crete, had to be much more open, at the societal level, to newcomers, even to the military class; in the case of Crete the newcomers were the local population. This facilitated the Ottoman conquest of the island a great deal, creating, at the same time, an almost unique environment.

In this respect, İnadiye, Ottoman Candia outside Candia, the town which emerged out of the imperial camp of the Ottoman army, when the fall of Candia became a complex issue, was, in a way, a miniature, or a blueprint, of this environment, which was going to become dominant in the early modern and modern history of the island. After all, the very existence of Ottoman Candia outside Candia determined considerably what Candia would be as a town after its surrender to Fazıl Ahmed Paşa in 1669: it was the residents of İnadiye who flooded the empty town, transferring there a more or less already structured society, a society of "half civilian, half military soldiers".⁹² The creation of Ottoman Candia outside Candia was a crucial factor which determined the development of this type of society, precisely in the difficult circumstances of the war for Crete.

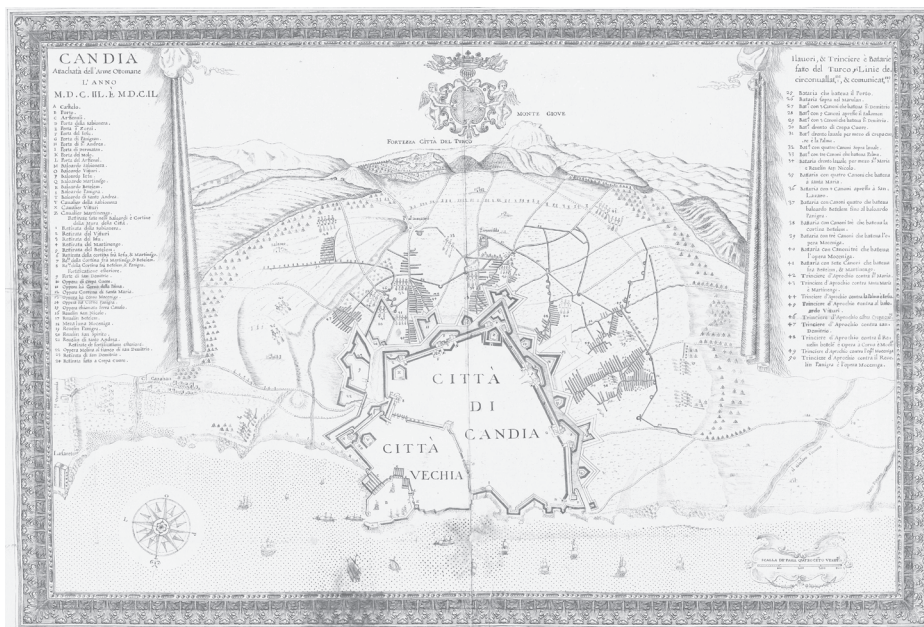
88 Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, ξβ'-ξστ'.

89 Cf. Gara, 'Marrying in Seventeenth-Century Mostar', 131-134.

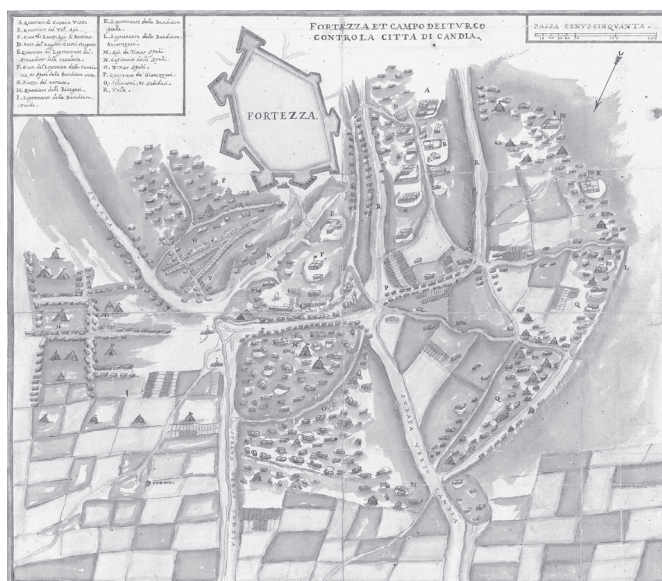
90 On the *Grecophonía* of the Cretan Muslims see K. Özbayrı and E. Zakhos-Papazakharıou, 'Documents de tradition orale des turcs d'origine crétoise. Documents relatifs à l'Islam crétois I', *Turcica*, 8/1 (1976), 70-86; M. Kappler, 'Fra religione e lingua/grafia nei Balcani: i musulmani grecofoni (XVIII-XIX sec.) e un dizionario rimato ottomano-greco di Creta', *Oriente Moderno*, n.s. XV (LXXVI)/3 (1996), 79-112.

91 Greene, *A Shared World*, 5.

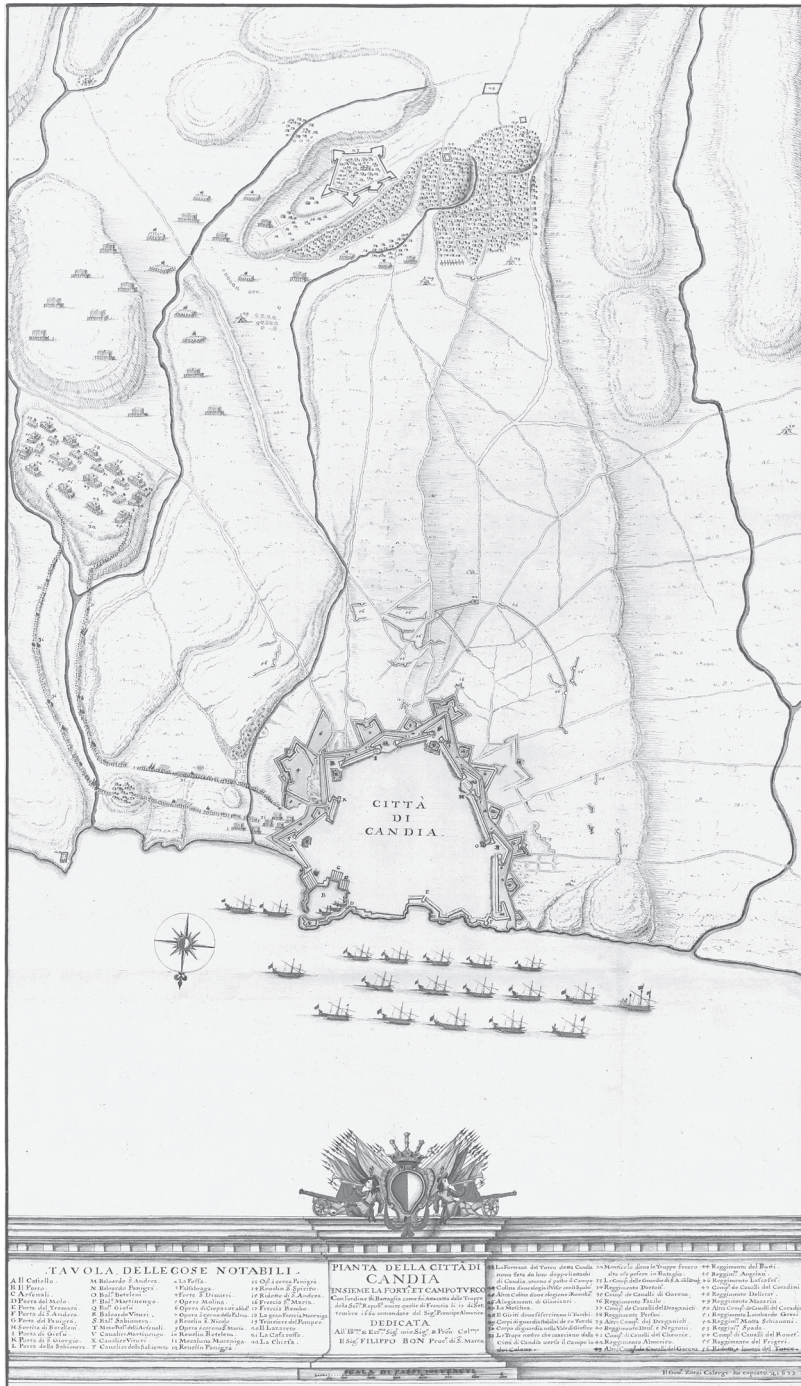
92 For the post-war society of Candia, see *ibid.*, 78-109; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, Introduction.



III. 1: The siege of Candia by the Ottomans. In the background, the “Fortezza Città del Turco” can be seen (Biblioteca Marciana, It. VII, 200 [10050], 88; reprinted by permission of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice).



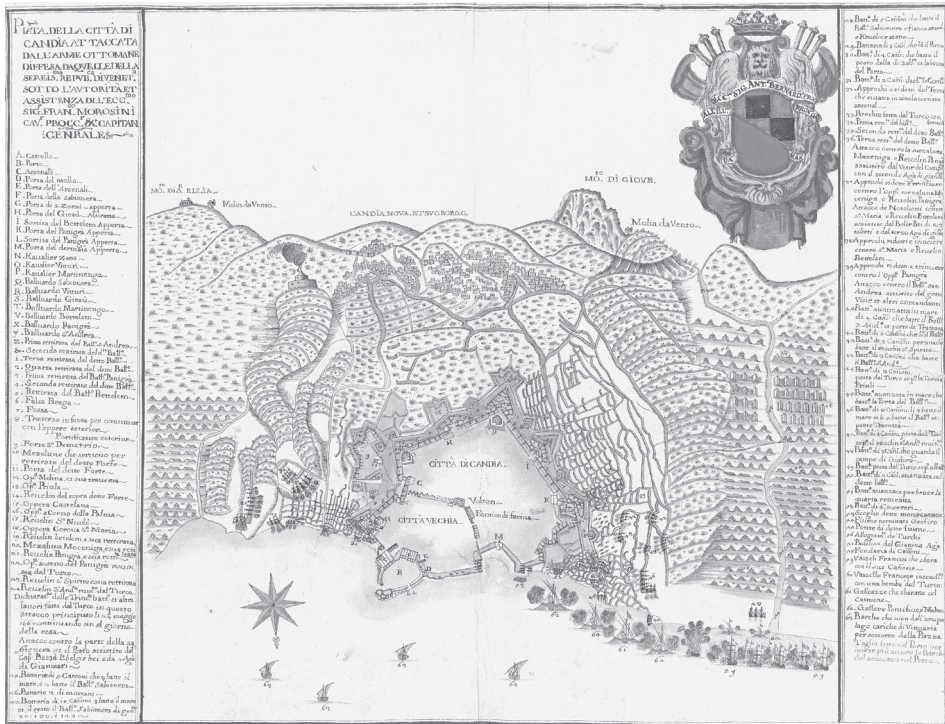
III. 2: The Ottoman fortress and camp opposite Candia (Biblioteca Marciana, It. VII, 200 [10050], 212; reprinted by permission of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice).



III. 3: Candia, and the Ottoman fortress and camp (Biblioteca Marciana, It. VII, 200 [10050], 214; reprinted by permission of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice).



III. 4: The siege of Candia by the Ottomans. In the background, the Ottoman fortress and town (Biblioteca Marciana, It. VII, 200 [10050], 228; reprinted by permission of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice).



III. 5: The siege of Candia by the Ottomans. Up on the hills, “Candia Nova et suo Borgo” (Biblioteca Marciana, It. VII, 200 [10050], 238; reprinted by permission of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice).

APPENDIX

Marriage records in the surviving pages of the judicial registers of the imperial camp outside Candia (1661-1665)¹

No.	Page	Date (OS)	Husband (<i>zevc, talib</i>)	Residence and/or origin	His agent (<i>vekilhii, vekil-i zevc</i>)	Wife (<i>zevce, menkıha</i>)	Residence and/or origin	Her agent or guardian (<i>vekil-ha, veliyü'l-milicbir</i>)	Deferred dower [in <i>akçes</i>] (<i>mehr-i miteccel</i>)	Witnesses (<i>şühud, şühudü'l-hal</i>)
1.	5	III Cemazîl 1071 (11-19 Feb 1661)	Mustafa Bey bin Mehmed			Marya	Ordu-yı Hümayun		200	Abdi Çeri, Derviş Yusuf, Rüstem Sipahi ²
2.	10	20 Zilkade 1071 (7 July 1661 Sun)	Mustafa		Hüseyin Çavuş, by the testimony of Aydın Sipahi and Mehmed Sipahi	Hadice, virgin (<i>bakire</i>)		Ali Beşe	8,000	Ahmed Efendi “el-kâtib”, İbrahim Beşe Çuhadar, Abdülkerim
3.	15	2 Zilkade 1072 (9 June 1662 Mon)	Mustafa Bey ibn Mehmed			Raziye bint Abdullah, widow (<i>seyyibe</i>)	Kal'a-ı Cedid		2,000	Ahmed Sipahi, Süleyman Çavuş, Mürtaza Bey Laz [?], Abdülkerim Sipahi

¹ Vikelaia Municipal Library of Heraklion, Turkish Archive, Register No. 2, pp. 1-26.

² Cf. Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 129, No. 177.

cont.										
4.	11	23 Rebi'l 1073 (26 Oct 1662 Sun)	Seyfî Efendi		Veli Bey, by the testimony of Abdülke- rim and Seyfî Sipahi	Elena bint Yorgi, virgin		her father, Yorgi	2,000	Ahmed Efendi “el-müderriş”, Kenan Efendi “el-kâtib”, el-Hac Derviş Mustafa Bektaşî
5.	11	24 Rebi'l 1073 (27 Oct 1662 Mon)	Ali Bey Sipahi[?]	from Köstendil	Hasan Bey ibn Mustafa, from Köstendil	Sofya Varva- va bint Yani, <i>zimmîye</i>	from the village of Malya [Malia]	her mother, Ergina	600	Mahmud Bey ibn Mustafa, from Köstendil, Ha- san Bey ibn Ali, from Köstendil ³
6.	11	=//=	Murad Kanber[?]	ibn Kanber[?]	Hasan Bey	Kali bint Miheli, vir- gin	village of Rafti [Raphtis], Kenuryo	her brot- her, Hasan Abdullah	1,000	Hasan Bey ibn Kasım, Hasan Bey ibn Ali
7.	11	26 Rebi'l 1073 (29 Oct 1662 Wed)	Mehmed Çelebi ibn İbrahim			Salıha bint Abdullah	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Hasan Bey ibn Ah- med	2,000	Mehmed Çe- lebi [the gro- om], in person (<i>hazret binef- sili</i>), Müte- velli Ali Efen- di, Halil Ağa [...], Ali Efendi “kâtib” ⁴

3 Cf. *ibid.*, 136, No. 186.

4 Cf. *ibid.*, 136, No. 187.

<i>cont.</i>									
8.	11	28 RebiI 1073 (31 Oct 1662 Fri)	Ahmed ibn Abdullah			Ayşe bint Abdullah, virgin	Kal'a-ı Cedit		1,000 ⁵
9.	11	3 RebiII 1073 (5 Nov 1662 Wed)	Mustafa ibn Abdullah			Maryeta bint Yorgi	from the village of Rodyana [Rogdia], Maleviz	her brother, Marko	800
10.	11	5 RebiII 1073 (7 Nov 1662 Fri)	Hasan Bey	"Mısır mütefer- rikaların- dan"	Mustafa bin Abdullah, "Mı- sır müteferrika- larından"	Maryeta bint Corci	village of Şıva [Si- va], Ma- leviz		4,000
11.	11	=//=	Ali bin Ab- dullah		Mustafa bin Abdullah	Elena bint Yorgi Pılati	village of Meşez [Meşil], Rizo Kas- tel	[her father,] Yorgi Pılati	600
12.	11	=//=	Derviş Bey ibn Mehmed			Elena bint Yani	İskurvula [Skour- voula], Kenuryo	her brother, Dirako	1,000
									Hasan Bey ibn Receb, İbra- him Bey ibn Ahmed, Derviş [the groom], in person

5 Cf. *ibid.*, 136, No. 188.

6 Cf. *ibid.*, 137, No. 189.

7 Cf. *ibid.*, 137, No. 190.

cont.										
13.	11	=//=	Mustafa				Elya bint Nikolo, <i>zimmiye</i>	resident in the Ordu-yı Hümayun, from the village of Kraşi [Kras], Pedye	100	Seyfî Sipahi, Ebu Bekir Efendi
14.	11	8 RebiII 1073 (10 Nov 1662 Mon)	Ahmed Beşe ibn [<i>vacat</i>]	Ahmed Bey bin Hüseyin, “sol koldan”			Ayşe bint Yusuf	Mağaralıköy [now Agios Vlasis]	2,000	Hasan Beşe ibn Receb, Abdülkerim Sipahi
15.	11	9 RebiII 1073 (11 Nov 1662 Tue)	Mehmed Abdullah	Abdulfettah Beşe			Marya [?] bint Harkomata	village of Kelya [Kelia], Pedye	2,000	Abdülkerim, Seyfî Bey
16.	11	12 RebiII 1073 (14 Nov 1662 Fri)	Hasan Çelebi ibn Hızır	Hasan Bey			Anezina bint Miheli, widow	village of İstavrakı [Stavrakia], Maleviz	500	Hüseyin ibn Ali, İbrahim Abdullah
17.	15	[16 RebiII] 1073 (18 Nov 1662 Tue)	Kostantin				Marya, widow	Matrahor Çiftliği, Temenos	300	Yusuf Sipahi, Manol <i>zimmi</i>
18.	15	16 RebiII 1073 (18 Nov 1662 Tue)	Veli Ağa	Mustafa Ağa			İrina bint Abdullah, widow	Kal’a-ı Cedid	6,000	Veli Ağa [the groom], in person, Ahmed Çeribaşı, Mahmud Abdülbaki

cont.										
19.	15	[16] RebiII 1073 (18 Nov 1662 Tue)	Ali bin Nasuh	“Mısır azabların- dan”		Meryem, minor (<i>sagi- re</i>), daughter of Mehmed Abdullah	village of Finike [Foi- nikia]		20 <i>gü- rüş</i>	in the presence of [her father] Mehmed Ab- dullah, Ali bin Nasuh [the gro- om], in person, Ahmed bin Sü- leyman, Hasan bin Bayram
20.	12	21 RebiII 1073 (23 Nov 1662 Sun)	Mehmed Bey		Mehmed Bey ibn Fethullah	Raziye bint Abdullah, lady (<i>hatun</i>)	Vutes [?] [Voutes], Maleviz	Kalender Bey ibn Kartal [?]	800	Serşah Bey ibn Ebu Bekir, Mustafa Bey ibn Ahmed
21.	12	26 RebiII 1073 (28 Nov 1662 Fri)	Mustafa Ab- dullah			Elena bint Nikolo	Kal’a-ı Ce- did	Mustafa Bey ibn Ali	400	İsmail Bey ibn Ebu Bekir, Mustafa Bey ibn Ahmed
22.	12	27 RebiII 1073 (29 Nov 1662 Sat)	Andurlı veled-i An- drya, <i>zımmi</i>			Katarina bint Yorgi, <i>zımmiye</i>	village of Piskopi [Episkopi Pediados]	Osman Seyfi Bey	2,000	Kurt [?], <i>terci- man</i>
23.	12	1 Cemazil 1073 (2 Dec 1662 Tue)	[...] Bey	“sağ kol Filibe na- hiyesi- nden”	İbrahim Ağa ibn Hüseyin	Ayşe, virgin, daughter of Mustafa Be- şe, “52 bö- lük yoldaş”		[her father,] Mustafa Beşe ibn Ali “52”	4,000	Mehmed Beşe ibn Mustafa, Yusuf Bey ibn Hüseyin

cont.										
24.	12	3 Cemazil 1073 (4 Dec 1662 Tue)	Ömer Bey ibn Şaban	from Selânik		Zanbeta bint Yorgi, <i>zim-miye</i>	village of Elya [Elia], Pedye	her brother, Franga	800	Ramazan Bey ibn Şaban[?], Yusuf Bey ibn Ali
25.	12	21 Cemazil 1073 (22 Dec 1662 Mon)	Ramazan Bey		[the same] Ramazan Bey	Kali bint Mihali	village of Moho [Mochos], Pedye	Halil Bey	1,000	Mehmed Beşe, Abdülkerim Bey
26.	12	9 CemazilII 1073 (9 Jan 1663 Fri)	Receb			Fatma bint Abdullah, lady	village of Kartesma [?]		800	Receb Beşe ibn Bayram [the groom?], Ali Beşe ibn Hüseyin, İbrahim Çavuş
27.	12	[9] CemazilII 1073 (9 Jan 1663 Fri)	Ahmed Çavuş		Ahmed Sipahi	Ayşe bint Ali, virgin	village of Peza, <i>nahiye</i> of Pedye	[her father,] Ali bin Abdullāh	1,000	
28.	12	18 CemazilII 1073 (18 Jan 1663 Sun)	Mustafa Çavuş		Ahmed Bey	Marya bint Yorgi, adult virgin (<i>ba-kire ve bali-ğā</i>), Christian (<i>nasra-niye</i>)	from the village of Mad-ya [Mathia], Pedye Kastel		2,000	el-Hac Mustafa Ağa, [...] Efen-di, Mehmed Sipahi Tırhala, Veli Beşe “c[emaat] 50”
29.	12	=//=	Ömer Bey ibn Mehmed			Fatma bint Şehid, adult virgin	village of Kalivya [Kalyvia Monofats-ioul], <i>nahiye</i> of Rizo		6,000	Mehmed Bey ibn Oruc, Bekir Beşe ibn Mehmed, Hasan Beşe ibn Hüseyin

cont.											
30.	12	23 Cemazîl III 1073 (23 Jan 1663 Fri)	Memi Sipahi				Kali bint Yanni, <i>zimmiye</i>	Kal'a-ı Cedit	Şahin Ağa	2,500	Mehmed Sipahi ibn Hüseyin, Mustafa Bey ibn Ali
31.	12	26 Cemazîl II 1073 (26 Jan 1663 Mon)	Ali bin Abdullah				Katarina bint Kostantin, widow	village of Pendemodi [Pentamodi], <i>nahiye</i> of Maleviz	Miheli veled-i Yorgi	200	Ali bin Abdullah [the groom], in person, Zümri [?] Efendi
32.	13	1 Receb 1073 (30 Jan 1663 Fri)	Hasan Bey			<i>sipahi</i> of Karya [?]	Ayşe bint Abdullah, adult virgin	village of Aşimi [Ase-mil], <i>nahiye</i> of Monofaç	her father, Matyo	2,000	Yusuf Bey ibn [?] Halil, Halil Bey
33.	13	4 Receb 1073 (2 Feb 1663 Mon)	Mehmed bin Abdullah				Ayşe bint Abdullah, lady, “şeref-i islâm ile müşerref”	village of Malya [Malia], <i>nahiye</i> of Pedye		1,000	Hüseyin Sipahi Köstendil, Ahmed Sipahi ibn Abdullah
34.	13	5 Receb 1073 (3 Feb 1663 Tue)	Mikail veled-i Vatane			[?], monk (<i>keşiş</i>)	Veneta, minor	village of Kraşi [Kraş], <i>kaza</i> of Pedye	her father, Nikolo, <i>zimmi</i>	2,000	Murad Ermeni, Karaoğlu
35.	13	=//=	Çelebi Bey				Rabia bint Abdullah, lady	village of Gurnyes [?] [Gontes?], <i>nahiye</i> of Pedye	Toktamış Bey	200	İbrahim Çavuş, Mustafa Sipahi ibn Mehmed

<i>cont.</i>									
36.	13	7 [Receb] 1073 (5 Feb 1663 Thu)	Hasan bin Abdullah	village of Morahor [?]		Andryana bint Yorgila, <i>zimmiye</i>	village of Morahor [?]	500	Hüseyin Efen-di, Hüsameddin Efendi, Kâtib Ali Çelebi
37.	13	7 Receb 1073 (5 Feb 1663 Thu)	Ali bin Abdullah		Mustafa Ağa, by the testimony of Ali Bey and Süleyman Bey	Ergina bint Yorgi, lady, <i>zimmiye</i>	from the village of Panasos [Panastos], <i>kaza</i> of Kenuryo, now in the service (<i>hizmet</i>) of Körzade Veli Bey	1,000	Ahmed bin Abdullah, by the testimony of Ali Bey and Süleyman Bey
38.	13	10 Receb 1073 (8 Feb 1663 Sun)	Ibrahim bin Mustafa		Mahmud bin Musa, by the testimony of Hasan Sipahi and Mehmed Bey ibn Musli	Lorenca, minor, <i>zimmiye</i> , daughter of <i>zimmi</i> Yakumi	from the village of İskurvula [Skourvoulai], <i>kaza</i> of Kenuryo	3,000	
39.	13	13 Receb 1073 (11 Feb 1663 Wed)	Yusuf ibn Abdullah	village of Anopolis, Pedye		Elya bint Yani, <i>zimmiye</i>	from the village of Anopoli [Anopolis], Pedye	400	Hüseyin Beşe [...], Mustafa bin Abdullah
40.	13	21 Receb 1073 (19 Feb 1663 Thu)	Mahmud Efendi			Marya bint [vaca], widow	Ordu-yı Hümayun	600	Mehmed Çelebi ibn Hüseyin, eş-Şeyh [...]

cont.										
41.	13	26 Receb 1073 (24 Feb 1663 Tue)	Bali Bey ibn Ramazan		Ahmed Bey	Ayşe bint Osman, virgin	[Mustafa] Paşa Çiftlikli, near the village of Finike [Foinikia]	Yusuf bin Abdullah	1,200	Ali Beşe, Mustafa Bey
42.	13	=//=	Nikolo veled-i İştamadı			Ergina bint Yorgi, <i>zimiye</i>	Mustafa Paşa Çiftlikli	İlyas veled-i Paraşkeva	200	Nikolo [the groom, in person], Yanuli veled-i Yorgi, <i>terciman</i> Kurd
43.	13	28 Receb 1073 (26 Feb 1663 Thu)	Ali bin Abdullah			Kali bint Domodo, Christian (<i>nasraniye</i>)	from the village of İskala, <i>kaza</i> of Kenuryo	Matyo Liğori	1,000	Mehmed Bey ibn Derviş, Ebu Bekir Efendi
44.	14	2 Şaban 1073 (2 Mar 1663 Mon)	Ebu Bekir, minor, son of the late Mehmed [?] Bey, who had died defending Resme			Hadice, minor, daughter of Mehmed Bey Arnavud, the groom's guardian (<i>vasi-i şer'i</i>)			6,000	Zaimî [?] Efendi, “pîr-i Bektaşîyan [...]”, from the <i>nahiye</i> of Pedye, Mehmed Bey Sinnan Katakala, from the <i>eyalet</i> of Tırhala, Abdülkerim Bey, Seyfî Bey

cont.										
45.	13	4 Şaban 1073 (4 Mar 1663 Wed)	Derviş Mehmed		Cavullah [?]	Kali bint Nikolo	Ordu-yı Hümayun	eş-Şeyh [...]	1,000	eş-Şeyh Hasan, Tiryakî Mehmed el-[...]
46.	13	7 Şaban 1073 (7 Mar 1663 Sat)	Osman Beşe, “66 [...]”			Katarina bint Filipo	from the village of Apostol [Apostoloi], Pedye	Hasan Bey	3,000	Osman Beşe [the groom], in person, Halil Ağa, [...] Hasan Bey
47.	13	10 Şaban 1073 (10 Mar 1663 Tue)	Franga veled-i Matyo, <i>zimmi</i>	village of Piğayduri [Piğaidouri]		Zanbeta bint Yani, <i>zimmiye</i>	from the village of Piğayduri [Piğaidouri]	Sava	1,000	Ebu Bekir Efendi, el-Hac Mustafa
48.	13	17 Şaban 1073 (17 Mar 1663 Tue)	Hüseyin Bey ibn Abdullah			Raziye bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hümayun		4,000	Ebu Bekir Efendi, Abdullah Çeribaşı, İbrahim Bey
49.	13	20 Şaban 1073 (20 Mar 1663 Fri)	Abdülfehtah Beşe ibn Mehmed [?], “23 cemaati yoldaşların-dan”			İzmirli Fatma bint [vacat], lady	Ordu-yı Hümayun		2,000	es-Seyyid Ali ibn Musa, Hasan Beşe Abdullah
50.	14	2 Ramazan 1073 (31 Mar 1663 Tue)	Nikolo veled-i Andoni, <i>zimmi</i>			Marya bint Marko, <i>zimmiye</i>	from the village of Piskopi [Episkopi], <i>nahiye</i> of Pedye		500	Hüseyin Beşe, İbrahim Çavuş

cont.										
51.	14	4 Ramazan 1073 (2 Apr 1663 Thu)	Abdullah Bey				Ergina bint Burtala, <i>zîmmîye</i>	village of İskalani [Skalanı]	600	Halil Ağa, Ebu Bekir Ağa, Şahin Ağa
52.	14	=//=	Yusuf Abdullah				Marya bint [<i>vacat</i>], <i>zîmmîye</i>	[village of] Aya Kraka [?], Maleviz	500	Ahmed Efendi, imam, Ahmed ibn Abdullah
53.	14	6 Ramazan 1073 (4 Apr 1663 Sat)	Halil Beşe ibn Hasan				Fatma bint Mustafa, adult virgin	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	1,000	Nasuh Beşe, Mehmed Beşe ibn Mustafa, Şahin Ağa “ez- zaim”
54.	14	12 Ramazan 1073 (10 Apr 1663 Fri)	Ramazan Bey ibn Kasım				Ayşe bint Abdullah, lady	from Astra- hi [Astrakoi], Pedye	6,000	Hüseyin Bey, Osman, Halil Beşe [?], Hü- seyin Efendi
55.	14	13 Ramazan 1073 (11 Apr 1663 Sat)	Ahmed Abdullah			Osman	Ayşe bint Abdullah, lady	from the vil- lage of Kraşi [Krasil], Pedye	3,000	Mürtaza Bey, İbrahim
56.	14	17 Ramazan 1073 (15 Apr 1663 Wed)	Mustafa Bey ibn Bayezid				Sofya bint Mavrakos- ta, widow	from the vil- lage of Masuto [Mesi?], Rizo Kastel	2,000	Mehmed Bey ibn Yusuf, Has- an Bey ibn Me- hmed, Mustafa [the groom], in person

cont.										
57.	14	23 Ramazan 1073 (21 Apr 1663 Tue)	Murad bin [...]			Aneza, <i>zīm- miye</i>	village of Karidi [?], Pedye	1,000	Aneza [the bride], in per- son, Murad [the groom], in per- son, Halil Ağa, Abdülkerim Bey	
58.	14	28 Ramazan 1073 (26 Apr 1663 Sun)	Şahin bin Hü- seyin “an bö- lük 38”	Abdullah Çe- lebi “an bölük 38”	Fatma bint Mustafa “38”, vir- gin		Veli Ah- med Beşe “an [bölülk 38”	1,500	Ahmed Efendi “fahri’l-kuzat”, Ali Bey Dede el-Bektaş,ı, Derviş Ali, Ahmed Beşe “topf odabaşı”	
59.	14	3 Şevval 1073 (1 May 1663 Fri)	Halil [?] Bey ibn Abdullah	from the <i>eyalet</i> of Avlonya	Mustafa Bey, from the <i>eyalet</i> of Üsküb [?], by the testi- mony of Ali Bey ibn Oruç, from the <i>eyalet</i> of Üsküb and Kara Mustafa Bey ibn Ali “an sağ kol”	Aneza bint Matyo	from the vil- lage of Ek- şandi [Exan- tis], “mine muzafat-ı Manafatsa”	1,400 [?]	Mustafa Bey [...], Şaban Si- pahi ibn Ma- zan [?], [...] Çelebi “tabi-i Abdülkerim Bey”, Seyfi Bey	
										Zeybek [?] Bey ibn Kaplan [?] “an sağ kol”, by the testimony of Ali Bey ibn Oruç, from the <i>eyalet</i> of Üsküb, and Kara Mus- tafa Bey ibn Ali “an sağ kol”

cont.										
60.	14	5 Şevval 1073 (3 May 1663 Sun)	Yusuf Abdul- lah		[...]	Elya bint Manoli, widow	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Yusuf	1,000	Matyo
61.	14	=//=	Yani veled-i [...], in person	from the village of Mesomu- ri [Meso- mouri], Pedye		Aneza bint Manoli, widow	from the village of Mesomuri, Pedye	Yorgi veled-i Nikolo, by the testi- mony of Mehmed Bey ibn Hüseyin and Yorgi veled-i Ma- nol	500 [?]	Mehmed “ağa-ı etmekçiyan”, Zamir [?] Efendi
62.	14	7 Şevval 1073 (5 May 1663 Tue)	Çakır [?] Bey ibn Kamber [?]			Fatma bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun, from the <i>nahiye</i> of Seline	Ali Bey	500	Çakır [?] Bey ibn Kanber [?] [the groom], in person, Şüca Bey, another Ali Bey
63.	14	8 Şevval 1073 (6 May 1663 Wed)	Receb Beşe ibn Nebi		Ahmed Beşe ibn Süleyman	Şehbaz bint Abdullah, virgin	village of Yofiraki [Yo- phyrakial, <i>nahiye</i> of Maleviz	her brother, Şahin	4,000	İsmail Beşe “2 Ağa bölük”, İvaz Bey Ab- dullah
64.	14	=//=	Kasım Beşe		Hüseyin Beşe ibn [...]	Ayşe bint Abdullah, widow	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Hüseyin [?] Beşe, “ce- beci [...]”	600	[...] Beşe ibn [...], Mehmed Beşe ibn Hü- seyin

cont.										
65.	26	14 Şevval 1073 (12 May 1663 Tue)	Ömer bin Abdullah		Mehmed Bey	Ayşe bint Abdullah, lady	from the village of Zoforoz [Zophoroi], <i>nahiye</i> of Pedye	Bali Bey	1,000	Ahmed Bey, Ali Dede
66.	26	15 Şevval 1073 (13 May 1663 Wed)	Osman Bey	“Mısır kullarından”		Rabia, minor, daughter of Ahmed Bey ibn Mustafa	Ordu-yı Hümayun		5,000	Abdülkerim Bey, Seyfî Bey, [the bride's father] Ahmed, in person, Osman [the groom], in person
67.	26	17 Şevval 1073 (15 May 1663 Fri)	Hüseyin Çelebi bin Mustafa	“Elbasan sakinlerinden”	Ahmed Çavuş ibn Mehmed	Fatma bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Mehmed Bey ibn Mustafa	4,000	Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah, Bali Bey ibn Ali
68.	26	=//=	Ali Abdullah		Mehmed Beşe	Kali bint Yorgi, virgin	village of Krası [Kraşil], Pedye	her mother, Marya	1,500	Mustafa Beşe bin İbrahim
69.	26	29 Şevval 1073 (27 May 1663 Wed)	Mehmed bin Abdullah			Maria bint [vacat], <i>zimmîye</i>	village of Mahera [Machairas], Rizo Kaste		400	İbrahim Beşe, Balci Mehmed

cont.									
70.	26	2 Zilkade 1073 (29 May 1663 Fri)	Ali Hacı	from the <i>kasaba</i> of Aydonot [Aydonat], <i>sancak</i> of Delvine	Ayşe, minor, daughter of Uzun Ahmed Bey	“nefs-i Aydonot” [Aydonat], <i>sancak</i> of Delvine	her father, Uzun Ahmed Bey	8,000	“fahri”-emas-il ve’l-ayan” Hasan Efendi <i>seralay-ı</i> Delvine, Abdullah Efendi, Hızır Bey Berber, Hüseyin Bey, Mustafa Bey, Mahmud Bey, Hüseyin Bey
71.	26	=//=	Hasan Abdullah		Zülfikar Abdullah	Ayşe, minor, daughter of Mustafa Abdullah	from the village of Aşitez [Asites], Maleviz	1,200	[her father] Mustafa, in person, Bali Bey Abd[ullah], Yunus Ahmed
72.	26	5 Zilkade 1073 (1 June 1663 Mon)	Mehmed Beşe		Ahmed Beşe	Raziye bint Abdullah	from the village of Varvaroi, now Myrtia], Pedye	800	Mehmed Beşe ibn Ali, Ali Beşe ibn Mehmed
73.	26	14 Zilkade 1073 (10 June 1663 Wed)	Mehmed bin Abdullah	Ordu		Elena bint Fanur, <i>zimmiye</i>	Ordu	200	Elena bint Fanuryo [the bride], in person, Mehmed Abdullah [the groom], in person, Hacı Mustafa, Ebu Bekir Efendi

cont.										
74.	26	=//=	Yusuf Abdullah		Yusuf Beşe	Zanbeta bint Yana [?], virgin	village of Galipe, <i>nahiyeye</i> of Pedye	Yani Çankarapul[lo]	3,000	Mehmed Beşe “120”, Çığır Beşe
75.	26	=//=	Mehmed Abdullah			Maria bint Yorğaki	from the village of Rodya [Rogdial], Maleviz	Marko Kursari	500	Mehmed [the groom], in person, İbrahim Bey ibn Mustafa, Mustafa Abdullah
76.	26	16 Zilkade 1073 (12 June 1663 Fri)	Şahin bin Abdullah	from the village of Piskopi, Pedye		Rabia, minor, daughter of Receb bin Abdullah	from the village of Piskopi [Episkopi], Pedye	[her father,] Receb bin Abdullah, in person	7,000	Şahin [the groom], in person, [the bride’s father] Receb Abdullah, Abdülkerim Bey, Seyfi Bey
77.	26	20 Zilkade 1073 (16 June 1663 Tue)	Veli Bey		Yusuf Ağa	Kali bint Panayot, <i>zimmîye</i>	village of Kiso [Kissos], Piryotıça	Halil Sipahi	400	Hasan Sipahi “sağ kol”, Ömer Sipahi “sağ kol”
78.	26	21 Zilkade 1073 (17 June 1663 Wed)	Mehmed Beşe ibn [...]		Habib Beşe	Sofya bint Kostantin, virgin	from [the village of] Apomarma, Kenuryo	Ayvaz Abdullah	800	Ramazan Beşe, Mehmed Abdullah

<i>cont.</i>										
79.	26	22 Zilkade 1073 (18 June 1663 Thu)	Kenan Bey ibn Abdullah “nam efendi, divan-ı şehri- yarı kâtib- lerinden”		Kasım Çelebi ibn Yusuf	Fatma bint Osman, virgin	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	her stepfa- ther, Osman bin Abdul- lah, with the consent of her “mürazaa valide Emine nam hatun”	7,000	Mustafa Çelebi Abdullah, Ahmed Çelebi Berber
80.	26	24 Zilkade 1073 (20 June 1663 Sat)	Ermeni Ser- kiz “nam er- meni”		Ermeni Sefer	Maryeta bint Miha- li, <i>zimme</i> ye	from the vil- lage of To- doraki [Do- raki], Rizo	her brother, Kostantin	500	Seyfi Sipahi, Hüseyin Efen- di ⁸
81.	26	=//=	Veli Efendi			Fatma bint Abdullah, virgin	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun		2,000	Fatma [the bri- de], in person, Veli Efendi [the groom], in per- son, Hüseyin Efendi, Mustafa Bey
82.	26	5 [?] Zilhicce 1073 (1 July 1663 Wed)	Mustafa ibn Abdullah		Kenan Efendi	Meryem bint Abdul- lah	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun, from Hanya	Mustafa Çelebi	500	Osman Bey ibn Abdullah, Ahmed Bey ibn Hasan ⁹
83.	26	14 [?] Zilhicce 1073 (10 July 1663 Fri)	Hasan Beşe ibn Abdullah	from “nefs-i Pedye”		Maryeta bint Ma- noli	from the vil- lage of Mul- ya [Moulia], Kenuryo	Ahmed Ab- dullah	2,500	Mustafa Ağa [...], Halil Abdullah [...]

8 Cf. *ibid.*, 142, No. 200.

9 Cf. *ibid.*, 142, No. 201.

cont.											
84.	25	20 Zilhicce 1073 (16 July 1663 Thu)	Osman [...]	bin		Salih Bey “an [...] Mısır”	Halime, minor, daughter of Mehmed Bey ibn Mustafa	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	[her father,] Mehmed Bey, in per- son	3,000	Hasan Beşe ibn Mehmed, Sü- leyman Beşe ibn Osman
85.	25	29 Zilhicce 1073 (25 July 1663 Sat)	Mehmed				Anezina bint Niko- la, <i>zimmîye</i>	village of Ayo Vılaş [Agios Vla- sis]		600	
86.	25	=//=	Zağoralı Ali Bey ibn Ab- dullah				Ayşe bint Abdullah, lady	from the vil- lage of Gal- ya [Galial], Kenuryo		1,500	the bride in person, Ahmed Efendi, Seyfî Bey
87.	25	4 Muharrem 1074 (29 July 1663 Wed)	Mustafa Hü- seyin			Abdi Mustafa	Kali bint Manoli		her brother, Aleksa	800	Mustafa Bey, Ali Bey, [...] Ali Efendi, Yakub Bey
88.	25	5 Muharrem 1074 (30 July 1663 Thu)	Kasım Çeri- başı			Zülfikar Ça- vuş	Ayşe bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Bali Bey	2,000	Hüseyin Bey, Hasan Bey
89.	25	6 Muharrem 1074 (31 July 1663 Fri)	Yusuf Ağa ibn Abdullah			Mehmed Bey	Gülistan bint Abdul- lah	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Muharrem Ağa	3,000	Ebu Bekir Bey, Muharrem Bey
90.	25	9 Muharrem 1074 (3 Aug 1663 Mon)	Ali Ağazade Süleyman Çelebi		from Ay- donad [Aydonat]	Hüseyin Bey Abdullah	Ülfi [?], daughter of the <i>alay- beyi</i> of Del- vine Hasan Efendi		[her father,] Hasan Efen- di, in person	25,000	Hüseyin Bey [...], İlyas Bey, Osman Ağa, Ahmed Bey ibn İbrahim [...] Beyzade

cont.										
91.	25	14 Muharrem 1074 (8 Aug 1663 Sat)	İvaz bin Abdullah, in person			Fatma bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Kenan Abdullah, <i>ser-rac</i>	1,800	Mehmed, <i>dellâlbâşı</i> , Ömer bin İbrahim
92.	25	24 Muharrem 1074 (18 Aug 1663 Tue)	Ali Bey, minor, son of Mehmed Ağa, “Sarı Bayrak[?] yamağı çorbacısı”	his father, Mehmed Ağa, in person	Zeynî, minor, daughter of Ahmed Bey ibn Mustafa			[her father,] Ahmed Bey, in person	5,000	Osman Ağa, Seyyidî Ahmed Bey
93.	25	25 Muharrem 1074 (19 Aug 1663 Wed)	Çengelci Mehmed Beşe	Ali Beşe ibn İbrahim	Raziye, minor, daughter of Serrac Mustafa Çelebi		medine-i Hanya	[her father,] Mustafa, in person	6,000	Osman Efendi, Siyavuş Bey
94.	25	27 Muharrem 1074 (21 Aug 1663 Fri)	Yusuf Bey ibn Abdullah	“Avlonya sancığı sipahilerinden”	Meryem bint Abdullah, lady		Ordu-yı Hümayun	Hüseyin Si-pahi		the groom Yusuf Bey, in person, Memişah Bey Avlonya, Ali Bey <i>sancığı</i> Avlonya
95.	25	29 Muharrem 1074 (23 Aug 1663 Sun)	Ali Abdullah		Zanbeta bint Yani		from the village of Elya [Elia], Pedye	her brother, Yorgi	500	Ali, in person, Ahmed Abdullah, [...]

cont.										
96.	18	III Muharrem 1074 (15-24 Aug 1663)	Nikolo veled- i Marko, <i>zimmi</i>	from the village of Mulya [Moulia]		Anezina bint Cas- ti [?], <i>zim- miye</i>	village of Piğaydaki [Piğaidakia], <i>kaza</i> of Ken- uryo	Dimitri veled-i To- dos, [village of] Mulya	400	Nikolo [the groom], in per- son, Memi Ab- dullah, Nikolo veled-i Girmani
97.	25	=//=	Seyyidî Ke- nan Abdullah	“Mısır yeniçeri- lerinden”		Elya, mi- nor, daugh- ter of Ni- kolo Fara- co, <i>zimmi</i>	from the village of Abanuri [?] [Emparos?], Pedye	Mustafa Ab- dullah	5,000	the groom Kenan in per- son, her brother Syedos, her paternal uncle Yorgi
98.	25	2 Safer 1074 (26 Aug 1663 Wed)	Ahmed Beşe ibn Mustafa		Mustafa Beşe Abdi	Madya bint Miheli	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Hüseyin İbrahim	800	Odabaşı Mah- mud Beşe, Hü- seyin Dede <i>me- fluc</i> [?]
99.	25	3 Safer 1074 (27 Aug 1663 Thu)	Ahmed Bey veled-i Ka- sım [?]		Mehmed Beşe	Fatma bint Abdullah	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Mustafa Bey	1,500	
100.	25	=//= ¹⁰	Mihe- li Mağari, <i>zimmi</i>	“Laşıtlı”, from Aya Yorgi [Agios Georgios]		Paraşkevi bint Miheli Argirena, <i>zimmiye</i>	from the vil- lage of Kraşi [Kraşi], Pedye			Marko veled- i Yani, Manoli veled-i Yani, Arab Çeribaşı, Kurd, <i>tercimân</i>
101.	25	=//=	Şahin Abdul- lah	from [the village of] Paçi- dero [Pat- sideros]		Ayşe bint Mehmed, minor	from [the village of] Aya Vasil [Agios Vasi- leios Kreva- tas], Rizo [?]	her cousin (<i>ammisi oğ- lu</i>), İvaz Ab- dullah	2,000	

10 Issuance of a new document for the marriage, because the old one had been lost; cf. *ibid.*, 141-142, No. 199.

cont.										
102.	25	4 Safer 1074 (28 Aug 1663 Fri)	Yusuf Beşe			Ayşe, minor, daughter of Mustafa Abdullah	from [the village of] Enbaro [Em-paros], Ped-ye	[her father,] Mustafa, in person	2,000	[the groom] Yusuf Beşe, Dila-ver Bey, Şahin Abdullah
103.	26	5 Safer 1074 (29 Aug 1663 Sat)	Mısırlı Cevher [?] Bey			Fatma, minor, daughter of Bayram Abdullah	from Limer-ya, Milopotamo	[her father,] Bayram, in person	3,000	Cevher [?] [the groom], in person, Hasan Efendi, el-Hac Ömer bin Naim
104.	26	=//=	Mustafa Abdullah			Hadice bint Abdullah, lady	Kal'a-ı Cedit	Ahmed Şahin	1,000	Mustafa [the groom], in person, Ahmed Beşe, <i>cebeci</i> , Yusuf Sipahi
105.	26	6 Safer 1074 (30 Aug 1663 Sun)	Ali Bey ibn Hüseyin			Marya bint Kostantin, <i>zimmiye</i>	Ordu-yı Hümayun	İvaz Abdullah	500	Ali [the groom], in person, Mustafa Beşe, Ömer Beşe
106.	17	7 Safer 1074 (31 Aug 1663 Mon)	Bayram Abdullah			Rabia bint Abdullah, lady	from the village of Gunavuz [Kounavoil], Pedye	Yusuf Abdullah	1,000	Bayram [the groom], in person, Mehmed Çelebi, <i>derzi</i> , Mustafa Bey

cont.											
107.	17	8 [?] Safer 1074 (1 Sep 1663 Tue)	Mustafa Bey bin Abdullah				Meryem bint Abdul- lah, lady	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	[...]	1,000	Mustafa [the groom], in per- son, Mehmed Efendi, Os- iman Beşe “21 c[emaat]”
108.	17	=//=	Mustafa Bey ibn Hasan Beşe	el-veli [?] Mustafa Ab- dullah			Rabia, minor, daughter of Derviş Bey ibn Hasan	from the vil- lage of Vutez [Voutes], <i>na- hiye</i> of Ma- leviz	Tayyib [?] İsmail ibn Ahmed [?]	4,000	Osman ibn Ebu Bekir, Hasan Bey ibn Hü- seyin
109.	17	25 Safer 1074 (18 Sep 1663 Fri)	Serrac Musta- fa Bey				Manusa, virgin	Ordu	Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah	1,000	Serrac Mustafa [the groom], in person, Mustafa Bey, Yahşi Bey
110.	17	26 Safer 1074 (19 Sep 1663 Sat)	Şahin Abdul- lah	Şahin Ağa “ez-zaim”			Rabia bint Abdullah, lady	village of Sokora [So- karas], Mo- nofaç	Nasuh Ab- dullah	3,000	Hasan Abdul- lah, Osman Ab- dullah
111.	17	6 RebiI 1074 (28 Sep 1663 Mon)	İvaz Abdullah				Ergina bint Yorgi, <i>zim- miye</i>	from the village of Botamyuz [Potamies], Pedye		500	Ergina [the bride], in per- son, İvaz [the groom], in person, Ebu Bekir Efendi, Kadıızade Me- hmed Beşe

cont.										
112.	17	7 Rebi'l 1074 (29 Sep 1663 Tue)	Nazar veled-i Kazar Ermeni		Sinan [?] veled-i Bar- gire	Aneza bint Kostantin, virgin	from the village of Gunavuz [Kounavoil], Pedye	her brother, Manoli	1,000	Kirkor veled- i Handaşa [?], Alivizi veled-i Yorgi
113.	17	=//=	Mehmed, mi- nor, son of “diyar-ı Mısır yeniçerilerin- den” Meh- med Beşe ibn Ömer		Mehmed [his father], in per- son	Fatma bint Hüseyin, orphan (<i>yetime</i>), minor daughter of Ayşe bint Abdullah	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	her stepfa- ther (<i>üvey</i> <i>babası</i>), Sey- yidî Yusuf [...]	3,000	Mustafa ibn Ahmed, Seyyi- dî Abdullah el- Mistrî
114.	17	9 Rebi'l 1074 (1 Oct 1663 Thu)	Andruli Vi- laho			Kali bint Yorgi, <i>zim- miye</i>	from the village of Kakohorya [Kako Cho- rio], Mono- faç	her brother, Franga	200	Andruli [the groom], in per- son, Franga Murya, Matyo Arvazo [?]
115.	17	11 Rebi'l 1074 (3 Oct 1663 Sat)	Ali Bey ibn Abdullah		Mustafa Bey ibn Ahmed	Ayşe bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun		1,000	Ayşe [the bride], in per- son, Süleyman Bey, Ömer Bey ibn Hüseyin, Yusuf Bey el- Mistrî

cont.										
116.	17	12 RebiI 1074 (4 Oct 1663 Sun)	Mehmed Si- pahi ibn Ab- dullah			Maryeta, minor, <i>zim- miye</i>	from the vil- lage of Gal- ibe [Galipe], Pedye	her father, Kostantin Çağo veled-i Mihali	4,000	the groom Meh- med Abdullah, Ali Çelebi Ab- dullah, Abdül- kerim Bey
117.	17	18 RebiI 1074 (10 Oct 1663 Sat)	Dilaver Ab- dullah	“Mısır mustah- fizların- dan”		Rabia, mi- nor, daugh- ter of Ayşe bint Abdul- lah	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	her stepfather, Şeyh Hasan	30 <i>eşedi</i> [<i>guruş</i>]	Dilaver [the groom], in per- son, es-Seyyid el[...] Ebu Be- kir, Üstür Kaçar [...], Mustafa Beşe
118.	17	20 RebiI 1074 (12 Oct 1663 Mon)	Mehmed Ab- dullah			Fatma bint Abdullah	from the village of İskalani [Skalani], Pedye	Halil Bey	1,000	Mehmed [the groom], in per- son, Ali Abdul- lah, Mustafa Bey
119.	17	23 RebiI 1074 (15 Oct 1663 Thu)	Osman Bey, son of the <i>alaybeyi</i> of Kandiye Ömer Ağa		[his father,] Ömer Ağa, in person	Hadice, minor	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	her father, Mustafa Ağa, “dergâh- ı âli çorba- cılarından, intihazî'l- emasil ve'l- ayan, muhır- ı sabık”, in person	40,000	Ali, <i>tercîl- man</i> , Yusuf Ağa, Ebu Bekir Efendi, Kara Hace ibn Hü- seyin [?] Beşe, Ebu Bekir Ağa, Ali Çelebi, <i>müteve/- li</i> , “altıncı odabaşısı” Hü- seyin Beşe, “el- li iki odabaşısı” Ali Beşe

cont.											
120.	17	24 RebiI 1074 (16 Oct 1663 Fri)	Nikolo veled- i Yanya, <i>zimmi</i>				Aneza bint Matyo Çaderi, <i>zimmiye</i>	from [the village of] Piskopi [Episkopi], Pedye	her brother, Miheli	500	Nikolo [the groom], in person, “Yanya’dan [...]” Çavuş, [...] <i>zimmi</i>
121.	17	30 RebiI 1074 (22 Oct 1663 Thu)	Hasan ibn Mustafa				Elya bint [<i>vacat</i>], <i>zimmiye</i>	from the vil- lage of Fini- ke [Foinikia]	Ebu Bekir Bey	1,000	Hasan [the gro- om], in person, [...] Mehmed Beşe, Mehmed Abdullah
122.	17	=//=	Mehmed Bey ibn İbrahim				Ayşe, orp- han (<i>ye- time</i>), daughter of the late Hüseyin Bey		Fatma and Hızır Bey	20,000	Mehmed Bey [the groom], in person, İvaz Bey, Abdülker- im [?] Bey
123.	17	1 RebiII 1074 (23 Oct 1663 Fri)	Matyo				Marya bint Matyo	from [the village of] Melese [Meleses], Pedye		1,000	Marya [the bride], in per- son, Matyo [the groom], in per- son, Mustafa Bey [?]
124.	17	7 RebiII 1074 (29 Oct 1663 Thu)	Musli Beşe ibn Ahmed			Hasan Bey	Rabia, da- ughter of Kalaycı Mahmud Beşe ibn Abdülke- rim	village of Finike [Foinikia]		30,000	[her father] Mahmud Beşe, in person, [...], Osman Bey

cont.										
125.	18	15 RebiII 1074 (6 Nov 1663 Fri)	Ahmed Abdullah			Maryeta bint Yani, virgin	from [the village of] Armaha [Armacha], Pedye	Matyo	1,500	Ahmed [the groom], in per- son, Abdülke- rim Bey, Ah- med Ağa, Meh- med
126.	18	=//=	Nikolo, <i>zimmi</i>	from the vil- lage of Petroke- fali, Ma- leviz		Maryeta bint Nikolo	from the village of Petrokefali, Maleviz	Maloparda veled-i Niko- lo	500	Nikolo [the groom], in per- son, Ali Bey, Abdülkerim Si- pahi
127.	18	23 RebiII 1074 (14 Nov 1663 Sat)	Ahmed Çavuş ibn Hasan		Ali Bey bin Mustafa	Hadice bint Abdul- lah, virgin	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Nebi Beşe ibn Abdurrahman	1,000	Emir Çelebi, Nimet [?] Beşe ibn Mehmed, Gayri [?] Beşe
128.	18	8 Cemazil 1074 (28 Nov 1663 Sat)	Ali Abdullah			Ayşe, lady, “şeref-i is- lâm ile mü- şerref” ¹¹	from the vil- lage of Aşı- tez [Asites], Maleviz		1,000	Ayşe [the bride], in per- son, Ali [the groom], in per- son, Ahmed Bey [...] “sipa- hisi [?]”, Me- hmed ibn İsmail

11 Before this marriage, she had divorced her ex-husband Mihel Kakuro, who had refused to convert to Islam; cf. *ibid.*, 139, No. 194.

cont.										
129.	18	=//=	Yusuf Abdullah		Receb Beşe ibn Hasan, “ç[emaat] 22”	Kali bint [vacat], <i>zim- miye</i>	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Hasan Beşe ibn Süleyman “ç[emaat] 6”	600	Mustafa Beşe “22 ç[emaat]”, Süleyman Beşe “22 ç[emaat]”
130.	18	9 Cemazîl 1074 (29 Nov 1663 Sun)	Dilaver Ab- dullah		Yusuf Dede	Ergina bint Yorgi	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Şeyh Hasan	300	Şeyh Gâ?, Şeyh Ak Kükçi?
131.	18	5 CemazîlII 1074 (25 Dec 1663 Fri)	Ahmed Ab- dullah		Hamdi Beşe	Ergina, <i>zim- miye</i>	from Gones [Gonies]	Kostantin Yorgi	1,000	Ali Abdullah, Seyfi Bey
132.	18	=//=	Mustafa Bey ibn Veli	from Sarı Bayrak		Fatma bint Abdullah, virgin	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Ahmed Bey	2,000	Mustafa Bey [the groom], in person, Me- hmed ibn Müir- taza, Hasan Bey ibn Abdullah
133.	18	6 CemazîlII 1074 (26 Dec 1663 Sat)	Laz Mustafa Çavuş		Demir Me- hmed Bey	Fatma, mi- nor, daugh- ter of Ali Çavuş, <i>si- pahî</i> of “Ak Su, cezîre-i Giride di- van çavuşlar- ından”		[...] Hüseyin Bey	20,000	Serrac Mehmed Bey, Çınar Mustafa Bey, Süleyman Hacı [...], Ebu Bekir Efendi

cont.										
134.	18	23 CemazilII 1074 (12 Jan 1664 Tue)	Şaban Abdullah	from the village of Gersoni- sa [Cher- sonisos], <i>nahiye</i> of Pedye		Kali bint Yorgi, <i>zim- miye</i>	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Arslan Bey, village of İskurvula [Skourvoula]	1,000	Şaban Abdullah [the groom], in person, Kenan Çavuş Kandiye, Ahmed Beşe, <i>yeniçeri</i>
135.	18	1 Receb 1074 (19 Jan 1664 Tue)	Ali Bey ibn Mustafa		Şaban Beşe ibn Mustafa, Nebi Beşe ibn Abdurrahman	Esmahan, minor, daughter of “Kandiye sancacı sipa- hilerinden” Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah		her father	9,000	Ali Bey ibn Sü- leyman, another Ali Bey ibn Mehmed
136.	18	1 Receb 1074 (19-28 Jan 1664)	Mehmed Efendi ibn Abdullah		Ali Efendi, “el-hatib”	Esmahan, minor, dau- ghter of el- Hac Yusuf	“Ordu-yı Hümayunda Kal’a-ı Ce- did”	her father, el- Hac Yusuf, in person	15,000	İbrahim Beşe, <i>kayyum</i> , el-Hac Mehmed, <i>kay- yum</i> ¹²
137.	18	12 Receb 1074 (30 Jan 1664 Sat)	Yusuf Abdul- lah			Kali bint Nikolo	[from the village of] Piskopi [Episkopi], Pedye	Ali Beşe [...]	1,500	Manoli veled- i Corci, Ko- stantin veled-i Yorgi, Yusuf [the groom], in person, Gürci Mustafa Ağa, İbrahim Abdul- lah

12 Cf. *ibid.*, 139-140, No. 195.

cont.										
138.	18	=//=	İbrahim Bey ibn Osman	“Filibe nahiyesi sipahiler- inden”	Mustafa Bey ibn Mehmed, [from] Filibe	Fatma bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun, from the village of Ruzkaka [Roukaka], <i>nahiye</i> of İs- tiye	Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah, [from] Filibe	2,000	İsa Bey ibn Ha- san Çelebi, Yu- suf Bey, Seyyid [?] Bey ¹³
139.	19	13 Receb 1074 (31 Jan 1664 Sun)	Hasan Ab- dullah			Aneza bint [<i>vacat</i>], <i>zim- miye</i>	from the vil- lage of Me- lesez [Mele- ses], Pedye	Yusuf bin Mehmed	1,000	Hasan [the gro- om], in person, Mustafa Beşe ibn Abdullah, Mehmed Beşe, <i>topç</i>
140.	18	16 Receb 1074 (3 Feb 1664 Wed)	Kara Şaban, <i>dellâl</i>			Fatma bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Hüseyin Çavuş ibn Ab- dullah	1,400	Kara Şaban [the groom], in person, Osman Bey ibn Veli, Mehmed Beşe, <i>su yolcu</i>

¹³ Cf. *ibid.*

<i>cont.</i>									
141.	19	18 Receb 1074 (5 Feb 1664 Fri)	İbrahim Beşe ibn Mehmed			Fatma bint Abdullah, lady	village of Mer- tokamaro [Kamari], <i>kaza</i> of Ma- leviz	1,500	Fatma [the bride], in per- son, İbrahim [the groom], in person, Hüseyin Bey ibn Mus- tafa, Mehmed Beşe ibn Mus- tafa, Mustafa Abdullah, Mus- tafa Abdullah
142.	19	=//=	Hüseyin Bey ibn Mehmed	“Yanya sancığı sipahiler- inden”	Osman Bey ibn Mustafa	Şerife, adult virgin		10,000	her brother, Hüseyin Bey ibn Kurd Ça- vuş, “Yanya sancığı sipa- hilerinden”
143.	19	21 Receb 1074 (8 Feb 1664 Mon)	Mustafa, mi- nor, son of the late Hü- seyin Beşe	from the village of Yerakari	[the bride’s father,] Rama- zan Beşe, in person “bi’l- vesayet”	Mitica [?], minor	from the vil- lage of Yera- kari, <i>nahiye</i> of Amari, <i>sancak</i> of Resmo	4,000	Kadızade Meh- med Beşe, Ab- dülkerim Sipahi
144.	19	24 Receb 1074 (11 Feb 1664 Thu)	Bayram Ab- dullah		Yusuf Abdul- lah	Aneza bint Yani, <i>zim- miye</i>	from [the village of] Arhanuz [Archanes]	1,000	Seyfi Bey, Şa- hin Beşe Ab- dullah

cont.											
145.	19	28 Receb 1074 (15 Feb 1664 Mon)	Yusuf Abdul- lah				Matyazina bint [...]	from [the village of] İskalani [Skalani]	[...] Bey	2,000	Yusuf [the groom], in per- son, Abdülker- im, Mehmed Abdullah
146.	19	=//=	“fahri’l- ayan” Selim ibn Salih	Mehmed Efendi ibn Mustafa			Fatma bint Abdullah, virgin	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Tüfekci Mir- za Beşe ibn Ramazan	10,000	“fahri’l-ayan” İsmail Ağa, Ali Bey Abdul- lah, Ebu Bekir Efendi, İbrahim Bey
147.	19	30 Receb 1074 (17 Feb 1664 Wed)	Ahmed Ab- dullah				Zanbeta bint Dimitri, <i>zim- miye</i>	from the vil- lage of Yofi- raki [Yophy- rakia], Ma- leviz	her brother, Matyo	500	Ahmed [the groom], in person, Gürcî Mustafa Ağa, Seyfi Bey
148.	19	1 Şaban 1074 (18 Feb 1664 Thu)	Süleyman bin Abdullah	Mustafa Ab- dullah	from the village of Venerato		Ergina bint Yani, <i>zim- miye</i>	from the vil- lage of Vene- rato	[her father,] Yani veled-i Yakumi	2,200	Halil Ağa, Ebu Bekir Efendi, Matyo veled-i Kokoli, Nikolo veled-i Yani
149.	19	13 Şaban 1074 (1 Mar 1664 Tue)	Sofyalı Ha- san Sipahi ibn Yusuf	Bikr [?] ibn [...]			Rabia, mi- nor, daugh- ter of Ceza- yirli Mustafa Bey	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	[her father,] Mustafa Bey, in person	1,400	Mahmud Bey ibn Hasan, Ömer Bey ibn Hüseyin

cont.										
150.	19	14 Şaban 1074 (2 Mar 1664 Wed)	Hüseyin Beşe, “94 cemaat yoldaşlarından”			Fatma, lady, “şeref-i islâm ile müşerref”	village of Mukdaru [Mouktaroil], Pedye		2,000	[the bride], in person, [the groom], in person, Mustafa Bey, Ali Beşe, Mehmed Beşe, Hüseyin Beşe, İbrahim Çavuş
151.	19	20 Şaban 1074 (8 Mar 1664 Tue)	el-Hac Ömer			Gülistan, minor, daughter of Şaban bin Kurd	Ordu-yı Hümayun	[her father,] Şaban, in person	3,000	el-Hac Ömer [the groom], in person, eş-Şeyh Mehmed Çelebi, eş-Şeyh Hasan Hasan
152.	19	=//=	Yani veled-i Andrya	[from?] Anoya [?]	Yorgi veled-i Petro	Ergina bint Marko, <i>zimmiye</i>	from the village of Acipades [Atsipades], Monofaç	Hasan Abdullah	1,000	Bayram Abdullah, Kurd, <i>terciiman</i> , Sifi veled-i Todori
153.	19	=//=	Mustafa Efendi		Mehmed Dede	Fatma bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Hüseyin Ağa	50 <i>riyal-i kebir guruş</i>	Mehmed Bey ibn Şaban, Hasan Bey ibn Hüseyin
154.	19	28 Şaban 1074 (16 Mar 1664 Wed)	Ömer Ağa ibn Süleyman		Musli Çavuş ibn Osman	Ayşe bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hümayun	her brother, Mustafa Abdullah	6,000	Elhan [?] Ağa, Mehmed Bey ibn Osman

cont.										
155.	19	29 Şaban 1074 (17 Mar 1664 Thu)	Mürtaza		Durak [?] Bey	Elya bint Marko	from the village of Moho [Mohos], Pedye	her brother, Manoli	600	Ahmed Bey ibn Mustafa, Behram Bey ibn Sefer
156.	20	1 Ramazan 1074 (18 Mar 1664 Fri)	Yanyalı Memi Beşe		Mehmed Bey ibn Ali	Rabia, minor, daughter of Mehmed Abdullah	village of Skiluz [Skilous], <i>kaza</i> of Pedye	[her father,] Mehmed, in person	4,000	Dilaver Abdullah, Hüseyin Bey ibn Mehmed, Mehmed Abdullah
157.	20	2 Ramazan 1074 (19 Mar 1664 Sat)	Usta İbrahim ibn Dulak [?]			Hadice bint Mehmed, virgin	Ordu-yı Hümayun	[her father,] Mehmed, in person	3,000	İbrahim [the groom], in person, [...], Abdi Bey, Usta Dilaver, Usta İsmail Çelebi
158.	20	9 Ramazan 1074 (26 Mar 1664 Sat)	Matyo veled-i Covani			Ergina bint Manoli	from the village of [...]	her brother, [...]	300	Matyo [the groom], in person, Mahmud Bey, Manli Turilo [?], Kurd, <i>terciiman</i>
159.	20	23 Ramazan 1074 (9 Apr 1664 Sat)	Ahmed Bey ibn Mustafa Beşe		Mustafa Çavuş	Saima bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Hasan Efendi	2,000	İbrahim Bey ibn Mahmud, Mehmed Çavuş, <i>dellâl</i> [...]

cont.										
160.	20	3 Şevval 1074 (19 Apr 1664 Tue)	Mehmed Abdullâh		Hüseyin Beşe ibn Süleyman	Salîha, minor, daughter of Kenan ibn Abdullâh	Ordu-yı Hümayun	[her father,] in person	3,000	Mehmed Çelebi [...], Usta Hüseyin ibn Ahmed
161.	20	=//=	Ömer Beşe		Hüseyin ibn Hasan	Hem [?] Sa [?] bint Abdullâh, lady	village of Rafti [Raphitis], <i>nahiye</i> of Kenuryo	Ömer ibn Abdullâh	4,000	Ahmed Beşe ibn Osman, Ahmed Beşe ibn [...]
162.	20	7 Şevval 1074 (23 Apr 1664 Sat)	Manoli bin Kostantin	from the village of İpezomata [?], Pedye		Kali bint To-doş	from the village of İpezomata [?], Pedye	Yorgi	500	Manoli [the groom], in person, Süleyman Beşe [...], Ali Abdullâh
163.	20	11 Şevval 1074 (27 Apr 1664 Wed)	Ali Efendi		Hüseyin Çavuş ibn Abdullâh	Raziye bint Ahmed, virgin	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Mehmed Çavuş ibn Hızır Pehlivan [?]	6,000	Çuhadar Hüseyin, Ahmed Bey [...]
164.	20	19 Şevval 1074 (5 May 1664 Thu)	İbrahim ibn Abdullâh		Ramazan ibn Ahmed	Salîha bint Mehmed Beşe	from the village of Voru [Vorou], <i>kaza</i> of Pedye	[her father,] Mehmed Beşe Elbasanî	2,000	Usta [...] Kara Mustafa [...], Mustafa Bey ibn Ramazan, İbrahim Beşe ibn Ali

cont.										
165.	20	29 Şevval 1074 (15 May 1664 Sun)	Mustafa Bey ibn Demir Mehmed Bey		Mehmed Bey Hüseyin [...]	Esmahan, minor, daughter of the late Sofî Mehmed Paşa, "cezire-i Giride defterdar-ı mîrî-i vilâyet", with the consent of her mother, Ner-sim [?]		Abdullah Efendi, imam	25,000	Ömer "alaybeyi-i Kandiye", Halil Ağa [?], Göznel[?] ¹⁴ zade İbrahim, Ak Sakal Ali Beşe, Abdullah Efendi ¹⁴
166.	20	III Şevval 1074 (7-15 May 1664)	Ali Bey ibn Mehmed		Kasım Çeribaşı	Fatma bint Mustafa, virgin	Ordu-yı Hümayun	İbrahim Bey ibn Mahmud	4,000	Mehmed Bey ibn Süleyman, Mustafa Bey ibn [...], İbrahim Bey ibn Ahmed, [...]zade İbrahim Bey
167.	20	3 Zilkade 1074 (18 May 1664 Wed)	Osman Bey ibn Mustafa	from Yanya	Mustafa Çavuş	Saliha, minor, daughter of Mustafa Çavuş, "Kelye sipahisi", <i>kaza</i> of Pedye		[her father,] Mustafa Çavuş, in person	4,000	Ali Bey ibn Arslan, Ahmed Bey ibn Abdullah, Ali Bey ibn Abdullah

14 Cf. *ibid.*, 140, No. 196.

cont.										
173.	21	=//=	Mustafa Bey ibn Ali		Çengelci Me- hmed Beşe	Meryem bint Abdullah	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	Hüseyin Beşe	1,500	Ömer bin Mus- tafa, Mehmed Bey ibn Ayas
174.	21	4 Şaban 1075 (10 Feb 1665 Fri)	Hüseyin Bey ibn Mehmed			Ayşe bint Mehmed, virgin	from the vil- lage of Pirgo [Pyrgos Mo- notatsiou]	[her father,] Mehmed	1,000	Hüseyin [the groom], in per- son, Ali Abdul- lah, Sarı Meh- med Bey, Mus- tafa Abdullah
175.	21	7 Şaban 1075 (13 Feb 1665 Mon)	Yusuf Abdul- lah		Hasan Bey ibn Abdullah	Rabia, mi- nor, daugh- ter of Musta- fa Abdullah	from [the village of] Askos [As- koi]		2,500	Yusuf [the groom], in per- son, Resul Bey, İbrahim Abdul- lah
176.	21	13 Şaban 1075 (19 Feb 1665 Sun)	Mehmed Be- şe ibn Veli, “35 bölük yoldaşların- dan”			Hadice bint Abdullah, lady	from the vil- lage of Ay- monoz [Ai- monas], Mi- lopotamo	Hasan Bey	1,500	Mehmed Beşe [the groom], in person, Yusuf Beşe ibn Abdul- lah, Yusuf Beşe ibn Abdullah ¹⁵

¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 141, No. 197.

cont.											
177.	21	=//=	Dimitri veled-i Todori				Elya bint Karavi [?], minor	from [the village of] Finike [Foinikia]	her mother, Ergina	1,000	Ergina [the bride's mother], in person, Dimitri [the groom], in person, [...] Hüseyin, Pero veled-i Nikolo, [...] Yorgi veled-i Pero
178.	21	18 Şaban 1075 (24 Feb 1665 Fri)	Abdullah, "İslâm ile müşerref"				Fatma Abdullah	from [the village of] Anaboli [Anopolis], Pedye		10,000	Fatma [the bride], in person, Abdullah [the groom], in person, Mustafa Çavuş [...], es-Seyyid <i>alaybeyi</i> Yusuf Ağa, Mehmed [...]
179.	21	II Şaban 1075 (17-26 Feb 1665)	Süleyman Beşe ibn Mehmed				Ayşe bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Abdülbaki Beşe ibn Ali	2,000	the groom, in person, Yusuf Beşe ibn Musa, Çuhadar Hüseyin Beşe, Abdülkerim Bey
180.	21	III Şaban 1075 (27 Feb-7 Mar 1665)	Ahmed Beşe ibn Ali		Ali Efendi, <i>hatib</i>		Salih bint Abdullah, virgin	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Berber Ali Çelebi	3,000	[...] Mehmed, <i>odabaşı</i> , Ahmed, <i>odabaşı</i> , İbrahim Beşe, Mehmed Beşe

cont.										
181.	21	Şaban 1075 (7 Feb-7 Mar 1665)	Dilaver Sipahi			Kali bint Kostantin, <i>zimmiye</i>	from the village of Mochos	Manoli	1,000	the groom, in person, Hüseyin Sipah, Hamza [...], [...]
182.	21	2 Ramazan 1075 (9 Mar 1665 Thu)	İbrahim Efendi, imam	Mehmed Efendi, imam		Ayşe Abdullah	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Cebeci Ali Beşe	1,000	Mehmed Dede, [...]
183.	21	5 Ramazan 1075 (12 Mar 1665 Sun)	Mehmed ibn Abdullah			Meryem bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Mustafa Dede	2,000	Mehmed [the groom], in person, Hasan [...], [...], Mustafa
184.	21	1 Ramazan 1075 (8-17 Mar 1665)	Nikita [?] veled-i Yani, <i>zimmi</i>	from [the village of] Krasuna		Marya bint İstamat, <i>zimmiye</i>	from the village of Peri [Peri], <i>nahiye</i> of Kenuryo	Corci	1,000	Kostantin Yani [...], [...] veled-i Yani, <i>terciman</i> , Ahmed Beşe, Hüseyin [...]
185.	21	[1 Ramazan] 1075 (8-17 Mar 1665)	Derviş Abdurrahman	Veli Bey		Ayşe bint Abdullah, widow	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Durak [?] Bey	1,000	Mustafa Bey
186.	22	22 Ramazan 1075 (29 Mar 1665 Wed)	[...] bin Mehmed	[...]		Rabia [?] bint Abdullah		Piyale bin Abdullah	2,500	Ahmed Sipahi, Çuhadar Hüseyin Beşe, Mehmed Sipahi ibn Abdullah

cont.										
191.	22	=//=	Kalender Bey			Fatma bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Berber Ahmed Çelebi	2,000	Kalender [the groom], in person, Abdullah Bey, Mehmed Beşe ibn Ali
192.	22	9 Şevval 1075 (15 Apr 1665 Sat)	Mustafa Bey ibn Receb			Elya bint Marko, <i>zimme</i>	from the village of Almiro	Ali Bey ibn Hüseyin, from İskenderiye [?]	600	Mustafa [the groom], in person, Ali Bey ibn Mehmed, Hasan Bey bin Ali
193.	22	=//=	Usta Hasan			Ergina bint Kosta	from the village of Hoznos], Milopotamo	her brother, Marko veled-i Kosta	800	Ergina [the bride], in person, Hasan Bey ibn Mustafa ¹⁶ Çolak [?], Çuhadar Hüseyin Beşe, Ahmed Bey
194.	22	10 Şevval 1075 (16 Apr 1665 Sun)	İvaz Beşe ibn Abdullah			Emine bint Abdullah, lady	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Mehmed Beşe Mustafa [?] Beşe [?]	1,000	İvaz [the groom], in person, Ali Beşe ibn Abdullah
195.	22	11 Şevval 1075 (17 Apr 1665 Mon)	Ahmed Beşe Abdullah		Ahmed Abdullah	Katerina bint Yani Rodaki	from the village of Galata [Galatas], Pedye	Ali Beşe Abdullah	4,000	Mehmed İsmail, Çuhadar Hüseyin Beşe, Süleyman Abdullah, Ahmed Bey

¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 141, No. 198.

cont.										
196.	22	=//=	Usta Ramazan Bey			Fatma bint Abdullah, lady	from the village of Potamyuz [Potamies]	Derviş Mustafa Abdullah	3,000	Ramazan [the groom], in person, Mustafa Beşe ibn Ramazan, Mahmud Beşe Abdullah
197.	22	[11 Şevval 1075] (17 Apr 1665 Mon)	Hüseyin Abdullah			Ergina bint Nikolo	from the village of Saba [Sampas], Pedye		1,500	Ergina [the bride], in person, Hüseyin [the groom], in person, Çuhadar Hüseyin Beşe, Ahmed Bey, Mehmed İsmail
198.	23	[12 Şevval 1075] (18 Apr 1665 Tue)	Koçi Bey			Rabia bint Abdullah	from the village of Liğortiz [Liğortynas], Monofaç	[...]	3,500	Koçi Bey [the groom], in person, [...] Ağa, [...] Beşe, [...] Bey
199.	23	12 Şevval 1075 (18 Apr 1665 Tue)	[...]			[...]		Yahya Çelebi	3,000	[...] Bey, [...], [...] Dede, Çuhadar Hüseyin Beşe
200.	23	14 Şevval 1075 (20 Apr 1665 Thu)	Hüseyin ibn [...]	Osman Bey		Rabia bint Abdullah		Kostantin	4,000	Franga, Mehmed Abdullah

cont.										
201.	23	[1]4 Şevval 1075 (20 Apr 1665 Thu)	“onıncı yol- daşı” Musta- fa bin Meh- med Beşe		Halil Ağa	Hadice, mi- nor, daughter of the late es-Seyyid Mehmed Efendi	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun		500	Kaytaz [?] Bey, Ahmed Bey, Mehmed Bey “tabi-i mahkeme”, İbrahim Bey “tabi-i mahkeme”
202.	23	15 Şevval 1075 (21 Apr 1665 Fri)	Cafer Ağa ibn Halil		Halil Ağa	Hadice, mi- nor, daughter of the late es-Seyyid Mehmed Efendi	Ordu-yı Hü- mayun	her stepfather, Ahmed Efendi, with the con- sent of her mo- ther, Rabia	30,000 <i>mehr-i</i> <i>muac-</i> <i>cel</i> and 20,000 <i>mehr-i</i> <i>miitec-</i> <i>cel</i>	Ömer Ağa “mirliva-i Kandiye”, Mehmed Ağa, imam, Ali Ağa, <i>terciiman</i> , Ebu Bekir Ağa, Çuhadar Hü- seyin Beşe, Ahmed Bey
203.	23	17 Şevval 1075 (23 Apr 1665 Sun)	Yusuf Abdul- lah			Kali bint [<i>vacat</i>], <i>zim-</i> <i>miye</i>	from the vil- lage of Gala- ta [Galatas], Pedye	Hüseyin Bey, <i>sipahi</i> of the village of Galata	1,000	Yusuf [the groom], in person, Kadızade Mehmed Beşe, Mehmed İsmail, Mehmed Bey
204.	23	=//=	Yusuf Abdul- lah		[...] Mustafa Bey	Meryem bint Abdullah	from the vil- lage of Sukur [?] [Sokaras?], Monofaç	her brother, Hasan Abdul- lah	2,000	Yusuf Bey Abdullah, Kadızade Mehmed Beşe
205.	23	20 Şevval 1075 (26 Apr 1665 Wed)	el-Hac Veli bin İvaz		Kadızade Mehmed Beşe	Fatma bint Abdullah, adult virgin	from the vil- lage of [...], <i>kaza</i> of Rizo	her brother, Mustafa Ab- dullah	3,000	Çınar [?] Musta- fa Beşe, Hüseyin Abdullah, Arab [?] Çeribaşı

cont.											
206.	23	=//=	Mehmed Sipahi hi ibn Murad				Aneza bint Kulura, <i>zimmiye</i>	from the village of Anaboli [Anopolis]	Kostantin Çan- garapula	1,200	Mehmed Sipahi [the groom], in person, Arab [?] Çeribaşı, Osman Bey ibn İsa
207.	23	=//=	İyall'paşa- zade Ali Bey			Derviş Bey ibn Hacı	Anezi- na, minor, daughter of Corci veled- i Kostantin, <i>zimmi</i>	from the village of İskalani [Skalani], Pedye		6,000	Corci [the bride's father], in person, el- Hac Mustafa, Ahmed Bey ibn Abdullah, Ahmed Bey ibn Hüseyin, Ahmed Bey
208.	23	26 Şevval 1075 (2 May 1665 Tue)	Yani Franga, <i>zimmi</i>	from the village of Dolyana			Zanbeta bint Kostantin, Christian (<i>nasraniye</i>)	village of Piskopi [Episkopi], Pedye	her mother, Marya	500	Yani [the groom], in per- son, Hacı Mus- tafa, Ahmed Bey, Ahmed Bey, Hüseyin Beşe Çuhadar, Mudaço, Yorgi

cont.										
209.	23	=//=	Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah		İbrahim Sipah ibn Ahmed	Ayşe bint Abdullah, widow	village of İnya [ʔ] [İnia], <i>kaza</i> of Rizo	Receb Sipah ibn Mahmud	3,000	Receb Sipah bin Durmuş, Mehmed bin Hüseyin, Ahmed Çelebi, Hüseyin Çu- hadar
210.	22	29 Şevval 1075 (5 May 1665 Fri)	Osman bin Ali	from the <i>sancak</i> of Yanya	Kâto Ah- med Bey ibn Mustafa, from the <i>liva</i> of Yanya	Ayşe bint Ahmed, vir- gin	from [the village of] Peza	Her paternal uncle (<i>amm</i>), Ömer Bey ibn Mehmed, from the village of Peza	4,000	[...] Ahmed Si- pahi, [...] Ah- med Sipah, Hüseyin Efen- di [...]
211.	22	=//=	Ali ibn Ab- dullah	[village of] Ka- valu	Osman Beşe Veli, from the village of Kolena [Kolena], “merd-i[ʔ] 63”	Aneza bint Nikolo, wi- dow	from the vil- lage of Kutu [Koutou], <i>kaza</i> of Mo- nofaç	her father, Nikolo Verğari, from the vil- lage of Kutu	1,000	İbrahim, “si- pah-i Kavalu”, Mustafa, “si- pah-i karye-i mezburë”, Hü- seyin Beşe, Ah- med Bey, Efen- di, <i>hatib</i>
212.	23	2 Zilkade 1075 (7 May 1665 Sun)	Mustafa ibn Abdullah		İvaz Abdul- lah	Zanbeta bint Yorgi, <i>zim- miye</i>	from [the village of] Aymonoz [Aimonas], Milopotamo	her brother, Nikolo	200	Kurd, <i>tercil- man</i> , Çuhadar Hüseyin Beşe, Cebeci Ahmed Bey, Yorgi Sa- va, Miheli Pan- galo

cont.										
213.	23	5 Zilkade 1075 (10 May 1665 Wed)	İbrahim Abdullāh			Kali bint Nīkolo	from [the village of] Hondro [Chontros], Rizo	Mustafa Çavuş	6,000	İbrahim [the groom], in person, Çuhadar Hüseyin Beşe, Kurd, <i>tercîlman</i> , Ahmed Bey, Ali Bey
214.	24	=//=	Yusuf Abdullāh		Mumcī [?] Muslī Beşe	Fatma bint Abdullāh	Ordu-yı Hümayun	Mustafa Bey ibn Mehmed	1,000	Osman Beşe Ömer, Mehmed Bey ibn Kasım, Abdi Bey ibn Mehmed
215.	24	6 Zilkade 1075 (11 May 1665 Thu)	İbrahim Ağa, <i>çeribaşı</i> [?]		Süleyman Çavuş	Saliha bint Abdullāh, lady	Kal'a-ı Cedid	Kadızade Yahya Beşe	8,000	İbrahim Beşe [...], el-Hac Hasan Beşe [...], Ali [?] Ağa, Süleyman Ağa [...], Çuhadar Hüseyin Beşe
216.	24	=//=	Mehmed Beşe ibn Ali			Fatma bint Abdullāh, lady	from “nefs-i Kanlı Kasteli” [Temenos, now Prophitis Ilias]	Süleyman bin Ömer	1,500	Mehmed Beşe [the groom], in person, Mehmed Abdullāh, Mehmed Abdullāh, Çuhadar Hüseyin Beşe

cont.											
217.	24	=//=	Ömer bin Abdullah				Ayşe bint Abdullah	from [the village of] Kalu [Kalou]	Yusuf Ağa [...]	1,500	Ömer [the groom], in person, Abdullah Beşe ibn Ömer, Ahmed Beşe ibn Mustafa
218.	24	=//=	Şahin Bey ibn Abdullah, <i>sipahi</i> of the village of Kırmuş [Kyrmousi]		Musli Çavuş	Esmahan, minor, daughter of Boşnak Oruc Bey [...]	village of Kırmuş [Kyrmousi], Kenuryo	İvaz Bey Abdullah, with the consent of her mother, Fatma	6,000	Halil Ağa, Receb Bey, Mahmud Çavuş	
219.	24	8 Zilkade 1075 (13 May 1665 Sat)	Miheli veled-i Matyo			Marya bint Marko	from the village of Piskopi [Episkopi], Pedye		500	Marya [the bride], in person, Miheli [the groom], in person, Mehmed Bey, [...] Mustafa Ağa, Pero [?]	
220.	24	12 Zilkade 1075 (17 May 1665 Wed)	Nikolo veled-i Yani			Katerina bint Miheli	from the village of Yeniköy [Kainourgio Chorio], Pedye	Dirako veled-i Filipo [...]	1,000	Nikolo [the groom], in person, mastro-Miheli [...], Nikolo [?] [...]	

<i>cont.</i>									
225.	24	20 Zilkade 1075 (25 May 1665 Thu)	Hasan Abdullah				Rabia, minor, daughter of Mehmed Bey ibn Abdullah, <i>sipahi</i> of Saba		Mehmed Bey [the bride's father], in person, [Hasan Abdullah], in person, Mehmed Bey ibn Musli, Mehmed İsmail, İbrahim Abdullah, Mustafa Abdullah, Ali Sipahi Abdullah
226.	24	II Zilkade 1075 (16-25 May 1665)	Halil Bey ibn Mehmed				Fatma bint Abdullah	from [the village of] Garipa, Rizo	Halil Bey [the groom], in person, Ilyas Bey ibn Mustafa, Musli Bey ibn Abdullah , Ahmed Bey
227.	24	26 Zilkade 1075 (31 May 1665 Wed)	Selânikli Mehmed Çelebi				Hadice bint Mehmed, virgin	from the village of Birgo [Pyrgos], Monofaç	Mehmed Çelebi [the groom], in person, Usta Hüseyin, Ahmed Bey, Çu- medar Hüseyin Beşe

cont.										
228.	24	III Zilkade 1075 (26 May-4 June 1665)	el-Hac Hüseyin Ağa			Hadice bint Abdullah, lady, “şeref-i islâm ile müşerref”	from the vil- lage of Gar- ipa [?], Rizo Kastel		5,000	Ali Çelebi, Hüseyin Efendi, İbrahim Efen- di Hanyalı, Kadızzade Me- hmed Şeyh
229.	24	6 Zilhicce 1075 (10 June 1665 Sat)	Mehmed Bey ibn Abdullah			Katarina bint Labrâ Karçoni, Christian (<i>nasraniye</i>)	village of Marta [Mar- tha], <i>nahiye</i> of Pedye	her brother, Manoli Karçoni	2,500	Mehmed Bey [the groom], in person, Yu- suf Bey, <i>sipahi</i> of [the village of] Ayovasil, Ahmed Bey [...], Mehmed Bey, brother of [...], Musli Bey Yusuf, Manoli Mardala, Rama- zan Bey, from Aymona, Matyo papa[?]
230.	24	7 Zilhicce 1075 (11 June 1665 Sun)	Hüseyin Bey Abdullah	Mehmed Abdullah		Meryem Ab- dullah	from the vil- lage of İs- kalani [Ska- lani]	Halil Ağa	6,000	Çuhadar Hüse- yin Beşe

ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS AND THE OTTOMAN AUTHORITY IN LATE-SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CRETE*

Rossitsa GRADEVA**

THE CONQUEST OF CRETE (1645-1669), the last enduring territorial acquisition for the Ottomans, was undertaken at a time of structural changes for the Empire, which affected all spheres of life ranging from the dynasty and the pattern of succession to the role of the Sultan, the Palace and the high administration in the management of state affairs, to the relations between the capital city and the provinces, taxation, and social structure.¹

Furthermore, Europe-wide, the seventeenth century was highly charged with prophetic and messianic fervour for Christians, Muslims, and Jews alike.² Its Ottoman projection had a lasting effect on the subsequent development of the major confessional communities. Undoubtedly, the most significant incident for the Muslim community is the movement of the Kadızadelis,³ whose roots can be traced back to the ideas of Mehmed Birgevi in the late sixteenth century. As a distinct trend, however, it took shape and gained momentum in the 1620s and with several ups and downs dominated political and social life in Istanbul until its sharp decline after the Ottoman debacle at the gates of Vienna in 1683, the subsequent falling into disgrace of its leader at the time, Mehmed Vanî Efendi, and the dethronement of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687). The main goal of the Kadızadelis was the purification of Islam and its stripping of innovations, ranging from various ritual practices, especially those of the various Sufi brotherhoods, to the use of coffee, to-

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1 See an overview of seventeenth-century developments in S. Faroqhi, 'Crisis and Change, 1590-1699', in H. İnalcık with D. Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge 1994), 413-636; L. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York and Oxford 1993), 91-112, 153-265.

2 See an overview of the religious and intellectual 'fermentation' in Western Europe and among Jews in particular, in M. Goldish, *The Sabbatean Prophets* (Cambridge, Mass. 2004), 8-40.

3 On them, see M. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)* (Minneapolis 1988); M. Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (New York and Oxford 2008), 63-80.

bacco, and opium, spoons and underwear by Muslims. Having begun as a movement of *vaizan*, and more generally, of *ulema* of lower standing with a predominantly provincial background, it soon gained popularity and won support in all echelons of Ottoman society, including, though with different motivation, the Sultans Murad IV (1623-1640) and Mehmed IV, the Valide Sultan Hadice Turhan, and the Grand Vizier Fazıl Ahmed Paşa of the powerful Köprülü family (in office 1661-1676). As a distinct trend, the Kadızadelis went into eclipse in the late 1680s, at least as far as their role in 'high politics' is concerned; but their long-term impact in the centre and in the provinces still needs to be explored and cannot be dismissed when evaluating the parameters of inter-confessional relations in the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth century and later.

The Jewish communities were also troubled by religious unrest. In the Ottoman Empire it erupted in the messianic movement of Sabbatai Sevi and led to massive conversion to Islam among his followers after their leader's decision to adopt Islam in the presence of the Sultan in 1666.⁴

No parallel movement of comparable magnitude has been identified among the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman state. Yet, they were not bypassed by their own commotions on a smaller scale. During the seventeenth century, Patriarchs and the higher clergy showed a leaning towards co-operation with and often sought support from Western Christian powers. This made them look unreliable and suspect in the eyes of the Ottoman authority, which in its turn supported competition within the ranks of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The Patriarchate itself was torn by internal struggles whose outcome more and more depended on the intervention of influential laymen. Among the major power centres, it is worth mentioning the ever expanding influence, especially in the Balkans, of Mount Athos, regarded by rank-and-file believers as a centre of religious life which was more independent than the Patriarch in Istanbul from direct Ottoman interference and less exposed to external (Western) influences. Several other monasteries such as those of St John of Patmos, Meteora, Rila, and others built their own networks of dependent monastic, educational, and economic institutions. Finally, one should not bypass the frictions among the autocephalous and autonomous churches within the Orthodox Church, which often played their own games, even openly against the Patriarch and the Synod in Istanbul, and engaged in bitter competitions with it. In this sense, very important with respect to Crete is the role of the Monastery of St Catherine of Mount Sinai. At the same time, under the protection and with the support of the Catholic states, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith at the Papacy, Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins became increasingly active, establishing bases in various places in the Ottoman Empire, and expanded their proselytising activities among Orthodox Christians, Armenians, and members of the Jacobite Syrian Church. Complaints about the activities of

4 There is a considerable amount of literature on the Sabbatean movement and the *dönmes*. See, for instance, the classic work of G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah* (Princeton 1971); Goldish, *The Sabbatean Prophets*, 56-173. On Sevi's conversion as part of the proselytising spirit at the time of the reign of Sultan Mehmed IV, see Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, 122-132.

the Catholic missionaries among their flock by representatives of the respective churches in various parts of the Ottoman Empire abound in the *mühimme defters* of the late seventeenth century.⁵ This tension, but also a certain degree of symbiosis, between the Orthodox Christians and Catholics at the level of everyday life surface also in travel accounts, especially as to the contested territories, such as the islands in the Mediterranean, some of which had inherited considerable Catholic communities from the Latin period.

These developments in the Ottoman Empire exerted a strong influence on the relations of Muslims with the non-Muslim communities.⁶ During the seventeenth century, as part of the upheaval caused by the Kadızadeli movement, attempts were undertaken to arrive at a more stringent delineation and application of the formal status of the non-Muslims in line with the prescriptions of the so-called Pact of Umar.⁷ While not universally applied, the term *kefere* instead of the more neutral *zimmi* was being increasingly used in Ottoman official documentation and literary texts to designate Orthodox Christians.⁸ *Kadı* records from the second half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century show that the term *reaya* was undergoing an important transformation. Its meaning as tax-paying common people, both Muslims and non-Muslims, evolved, and the term came to designate Orthodox Christians in particular, the opposition becoming 'Muslims and *reaya*'.⁹ Construction and reconstruction of churches and synagogues could occasionally lead to severe clashes between Muslims and the respec-

5 For a sample, see BOA, MD (= Mühimme Defterleri) 110: 217, docs 973 and 974; 276, doc. 1263; 438, doc. 1941. Hereafter, I shall refer only to the series and number of the respective registers. For a general background, see Ch. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923* (London and New York 1983), 114-126.

6 Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 150-159; Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, 81-138, 163-203.

7 More generally on the Pact and the status of non-Muslims in Islamic states, see A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam* (Beirut 1958); M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore 1955), 175-222; *EP*², s.v. 'Dhimma' (C. Cahen); A. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects* (London 1970). For the several attempts at a strict application of the sumptuary laws, see P. Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677 Containing the Reigns of the Three Last Emperors*, viz. Sultan Morat or Amurat IV., Sultan Ibrahim, and Sultan Mahomet IV. his Son, the XIII. Empereur Now Reigning (London 1680), 41 (1662); J. de Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*. Vol. 11: 1656-1676 (Istanbul 2000), 73 (1662); and Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 152. More generally on sumptuary laws, see D. Quataert, 'Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829', *IJMES*, 29 (1997), 403-425. In parallel, there were also numerous attempts at the prohibition of the sale and consumption of wine, coffee, *boza*, tobacco, and opium: Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 282-285 (1670, where he also includes the *ferman* received by the *kadı* of Izmir); Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 11: 152, 178-179 (1670); *ibid.*, Vol. 12: 1676-1699 (Istanbul 2000), 30 (1680), and *passim*; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 136ff.

8 This observation is shared also by E. Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden and Boston 2004), 38-39.

9 I have discussed this problem in 'Between the Hinterland and the Frontier: Ottoman Vidin, 15th to 18th Centuries', in A. Peacock (ed.), *Frontiers of the Ottoman World* (Oxford, in press).

tive non-Muslim community.¹⁰ In the wake of the great conflagrations first in Galata and later in Istanbul's core area in the 1660s, Christians and Jews were evicted from some of their traditional residential areas, and from the neighbourhoods in the vicinity of the Yeni Valide Mosque at Eminönü in particular. In these circumstances, which coincided with a peak in the Kadızadeli movement and the rise of Vanî Efendi to power, non-Muslims lost their places of worship in line with the strict application of Islamic law, which prohibited reconstruction of non-Muslim places of worship destroyed to their foundations.¹¹ The resettlement of Jews and Christians in (predominantly) Muslim *mahalles* caused inter-confessional tensions and complaints by the Muslim residents, who insisted on the removal of the newcomers, usually on the grounds that their houses were adjacent to a mosque or a *mescid*, or that they in some way impeded Muslims from practising their faith properly.¹² Mixed neighbourhoods did exist in many Ottoman towns in the earlier period, but an eventual 'loss of the Muslim character' of a *mahalle* was seen as a problem even then, and muftis in their *fetvas* urged the prevention of such a development.¹³ From the late seventeenth century onwards and especially in the eighteenth century, however, demands were being raised on a growing scale by Muslim neighbourhoods, not only in the capital city but also in some provincial towns, for the preservation of religious homogeneity and the prevention of the settlement of non-Muslims on their territory.¹⁴ It is not

10 For one such case in Bursa in 1642, see Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 150.

11 See a discussion of the views of an important jurist on this issue in S. Ward, 'Taqi al-Din al-Subki on Construction, Continuance, and Repair of Churches and Synagogues in Islamic Law', in W. Brinner and St. Ricks (eds), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, Vol. 2 (Atlanta 1989), 169-188. For the policy with respect to churches and synagogues specifically after the Great Fire, see M. Baer, 'The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamisation of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul', *IJMES*, 36 (2004), 159-181, and the contemporary account of Rycout, who adds that in the final analysis, by God's intervention, Christians "preserved most of the churches, which though again uncovered, yet were redeemed for money from the possession of the Turks" (Rycout, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 104-105). More generally on Ottoman policy on the issue in the pre-Tanzimat period, see R. Gradeva, 'Ottoman Policy towards Christian Church Buildings', *EB*, 30/4 (1994), 14-36, and the bibliography referred to there.

12 Baer, 'The Great Fire of 1660', 171. A mosque or some other holy building could, but did not necessarily always, serve as a pretext/grounds for the expulsion of non-Muslims from their places of residence.

13 See, for example, Ebussuud's views on the co-habitation of Muslims and non-Muslims in mixed settlements; M. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuûd Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı* (Istanbul 1972), 91-97. Ebussuud allows non-Muslims' settlement in Muslim neighbourhoods unless it leads to the Muslims' becoming the minority there. In the latter case, the non-Muslims were to sell their properties back to Muslims, or Muslims were not to be allowed to sell houses or other properties to non-Muslims.

14 See A. Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)* (Istanbul 1988), 105, for an order to the Chief Architect in Istanbul which reads as follows: "It has been discovered that some people secretly sell their houses to non-Muslims in Istanbul and its periphery although this has been prohibited ..."; the non-Muslims were ordered to move out. There are also cases from Bursa with different outcomes; in 1574, the central government's decision was in favour of non-Muslims' keeping their rented shops (M. Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi: Mit*

yet clear whether this trend stemmed from the Kadızadeli movement or only gained momentum under its influence, which seems to have lasted long after its political downfall. In the later Ottoman times, the religiously mixed neighbourhood was to become a rarer phenomenon in urban landscapes. The Kadızadeli period affected yet another aspect of the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. Vanî Efendi added expansion of Islam at the expense of the non-Muslim population and their places of worship as an important principle to the movement's platform. Whether as a direct result of the proselytising efforts of the Kadızadeli or for some other reasons, the mid- and late seventeenth century has been identified as one of the peaks in the Islamisation of non-Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Balkans.¹⁵ In the eighteenth century the rate of conversions

ve Gerçek [Istanbul 2004], 323), but in several other instances, from the end of the eighteenth century, the authorities in Istanbul supported the Muslims (H. Balcı, 'B 171/347 Nolu Bursa Mahkeme Sicili', unpublished M.A. thesis, Bursa-U.Ü.S.B.E., 2000, 49; BOA, Cevdet Adliye 2786). An interesting case which runs contrary to this trend is brought to light by T. Stoianovich, 'Model and Mirror of the Premodern Balkan City', in N. Todorov (ed.), *La ville balkanique, XV^e-XIX^e ss* [*Studia Balcanica*, 3 (1970)], 96. According to him, "[w]hen, as a result of the long Turko-Venetian war of Candy, the Moslem population of Sofia began to fall, Christian Bulgarians moved into some of the Moslem *mahallas*. In 1669, Mehmed IV issued a *ferman* sanctioning the settlement of Jews and Christians in the Moslem *mahallas*, and Christians soon introduced themselves into the Moslem neighbourhoods of other Ottoman cities. The ultimate effect of the weakening of the principle of segregation may have been to stimulate a latent propensity for innovation". Unfortunately, my search in Bulgarian and Turkish archives which would reveal the documentary basis for this statement has failed, especially since the author gives no reference to his source; the date coincides with that of a Sofia *kadı sicili* which disappeared during the Second World War. I am unable at this stage to deliberate on the plausibility of Stoianovich's statement. In fact, my findings so far show exactly the opposite tendency, towards clearer delineation of space among religious communities.

- 15 Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 148-149, 150, 153-154. On the special interest of Sultan Mehmed IV, his mother and the Grand Vizier in the spread of Islam and the conversion of Christians and Jews, see Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, 179-202. A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kısve Bahası Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730* (Leiden and Boston 2004), *passim*, also explores the Islamisation of non-Muslims at the same period, regarding it as the peak in the conversion process in general, unfortunately very much out of the historical context. From a completely different perspective, which does not take into account the contemporary developments Empire-wide either, the Islamisation process is the focus in the study of E. Grodzanova, *Bălgarskata narodnost prez XVII vek: Demografsko izsledvane* [The Bulgarian Nation during the Seventeenth Century: A Demographic Study] (Sofia 1989), 569-586. Paul Rycha brings forward an interesting detail which must have contributed to the acceleration of the conversion process, especially among Christian women. According to him, in 1672 the Ecumenical Patriarch tried, with the help of the Ottoman authorities, to prevent temporary family unions of Muslims with Christian women (*kebin*), thus leading to the issuing of an order which forbade this practice to Muslims unless the Christian women had previously converted to Islam; P. Rycha, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (London 1678), 314-317. See also the comments on mixed marriages of R. Pococke, *Voyage de Richard Pococke, membre de la Société Royale, & de celle des Antiquités de Londres, &c. en Orient, dans l'Égypte, l'Arabie, la Palestine, la Syrie, la Grèce, la Thrace, &c. ...*, Vol. 4 (Paris 1772), 316.

among Christians continued to be very high, despite the conspicuous stagnation in the Ottoman economy and the decline of Ottoman military might in the face of the growing threat from the Ottomans' Christian neighbours.

The development of the relations between Muslims and non-Muslim communities, however, was not going in a rectilinear line from bad to evil. Several factors counteracted the trends in Ottoman politics outlined above. One of the most important among them is the rise of the Phanariot families' importance in Ottoman political life in the last decades of the seventeenth century. While factional collisions within this powerful group certainly had a negative effect on the general position of the Orthodox Christian community, in the final analysis, Phanariots were occasionally able to procure more favourable conditions for its institutions against the pressure of Islam and in competition with Catholicism, especially in disputed territories such as the Holy Places in Jerusalem and Palestine, in the Mediterranean islands, and elsewhere where Catholics lived in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶ The efforts of the Western Powers, France in particular, to negotiate advantages for the Catholics should not be overlooked either. They, however, were often neutralised by competitions among the Western Powers themselves or were at the expense of the Orthodox Christians. Finally, one should not forget the role of the disastrous wars for the Ottomans from the late seventeenth century onwards which forced the central authority to pursue a more careful policy with respect to the non-Muslims.

Thus, after several decades of hardening of the central authority's attitude towards non-Muslims and of expanding the domain of Islam at their expense, in the last years of the seventeenth century, under the influence of a complex of factors, its policy seems to have been slightly mitigated. Some modification occurred around 1670, and later in the mid-1680s, when, under the pressure of mainly the French, Catholics in Istanbul were

There is an enormous literature in the Bulgarian language on Islamisation. One of the focuses is that of the Rhodope population, the so-called Pomaks, also dated usually to the 1660s and usually seen in direct connection with the Cretan War. See an overview in R. Gradeva, 'Conversion to Islam in Bulgarian Historiography', in J. Nielsen (ed.), *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space* (forthcoming). For the Islamisation process in the Rhodopes in particular, see M. Kiel, 'Razprostranenie na isliama v bălgarskoto selo prez osmanskata epoha (XV-XVIII v.): kolonizatsiya i isliamizatsiya' [The Spread of Islam in Bulgarian Rural Areas in the Ottoman Period (Fifteenth-Eighteenth Centuries): Colonisation and Islamisation], in R. Gradeva and S. Ivanova (eds), *Musiulmanskata kultura po bălgarskite zemi: Izsledvaniya* [Muslim Culture in Bulgarian Lands: Studies] (Sofia 1998), 57-82, 106 (Table). Similarly, in the second half of the seventeenth century, Islamisation of the local population gained momentum in Albania and other Balkan parts; A. Zheliazkova, *Razprostranenie na isliama v Zapadnobalkanskite zemi pod osmanska vlast, XV-XVIII vek* [The Spread of Islam in the Western Balkan Lands under Ottoman Rule (Fifteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)] (Sofia 1990), 150-202. See also the bibliography on Sabbatai Sevi and the emergence of the *dönme* group in n. 4 above.

16 For a contemporary evaluation of the role of Panayotakis Nikousios, see Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 279; J. Spon and G. Wheeler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait les années 1675 & 1676*, Vol. 1 (Lyon 1678), 269; Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 11: 191-192, 198, 223.

allowed to restore some of the churches that they had lost in the Galata conflagration.¹⁷ The devastating results in the first years of the war with the Holy League (1683-1699) and the fact that, despite the traditional animosity between Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity, the Habsburgs were in places supported by the local Orthodox Christians and their religious leaders forced the Ottoman government to reconsider in 1690 its very restrictive policy with respect to the Orthodox subjects in particular.¹⁸ The victory of the Holy League gave grounds for all its members to demand the inclusion of a special article concerning the free (re)construction of churches, the right to 'protect' the churches in the Holy Land, free access of pilgrims to them, and better opportunities for the Catholic monastic orders which deployed their missionary activities in the Ottoman realm.¹⁹ The complex impact of internal and international considerations can be seen as the main reason for the launching of a more relaxed policy with respect to the (re)construction of non-Muslim places of worship,²⁰ probably as an integral element in the attempt of the Ottomans to win back their Orthodox Christian subjects in the first place.²¹

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- 17 At the same time, however, Catholics lost hold of the Holy Sepulchre (Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 11: 198), and of the churches that they had on the island of Chios (ibid., 11: 108-109; 12: 101, 103-104). On the fate of the Latin churches in Galata, see L. Mitler, 'The Genoese in Galata, 1453-1682', *IJMES*, 10 (1979), 86-90, and the brief overview in S. Sezer-Darnault, *Latin Catholic Buildings in Istanbul: A Historical Perspective (1839-1923)* (Istanbul 2004), 21-59.
 - 18 Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 12: 158-159, 166; according to Hammer, the introduction of three classes in the payment of the *cizye* along with the orders to the governors of "Greece, Armenia, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Albania" as to a milder treatment of Christians in their provinces should be seen in the context of the attempt of the Ottoman authorities to win back their Orthodox subjects.
 - 19 See, for example, the issues brought forward in the preliminary peace talks between Poland and the Ottomans in 1688, where "... la restitution des saints lieux comme il avait été convenu dans la paix de Zurawna; pour les chrétiens, la liberté de construire de nouvelles églises, de réparer les anciennes, de sonner les cloches, et de se rendre librement à Jerusalem exempts de tout tribut ..." formed a core circle of demands for the Poles (Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 12: 152), and for the Imperial representatives at Karlowitz (ibid., 236, 240).
 - 20 More specifically on the synagogues, although from a different perspective – the mythology around the conquest of Constantinople and the relations between the non-Muslim communities and the conquerors – see G. Veinstein, 'La prise de Constantinople et le destin des *Zimmî* Ottomans', *ArchOtt*, 23 (2005/2006), 335-346, where he discusses the status of Jewish places of worship in the city after the Ottoman conquest on the basis of a *ferman* from 1693, which cancelled the orders from the 1660s and shortly thereafter, and opened up the possibilities for the restoration of the Jewish places of worship in the towns; see also Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicride*, 10, 11-13.
 - 21 As will be demonstrated below, this turn in the policy of the Ottoman state does not mean that permissions were not granted before or after the period in question. There are random orders in this respect, but it seems that then permissions were even more difficult to secure.

How did these events reflect on the island of Crete in particular? The surrender of Candia in September 1669 put an end to 25 years of warfare on the island and, despite the several small bases preserved in the region, to Venetian naval domination in the eastern Mediterranean. Crete became an Ottoman province in which Ottoman administration and laws were introduced.²² The conquest also changed the 'balance' among the cults and religious institutions already existing on the island. Probably the most dramatic change was the emergence of a large Muslim community, the result mainly of a conversion process among local Christians which can be defined as explosive and massive, with entire villages choosing Islam even before the fall of Candia. It involved men and women, Orthodox Christians and Catholics, people of higher and lower ranks, in single and group acts. Apart from the purely pragmatic considerations, the reasons for this development are usually seen in the erosion of Orthodox institutions on the island after centuries of Venetian domination.²³ Besides, the conquest coincided with the peak of the Kadızadeli movement one of whose aspects, as pointed out above, included proselytising among the *zimmi* communities, and active appropriation/neutralisation of their houses of worship.

22 For the first decades of Ottoman rule on the island and the introduction of Ottoman law and administration, see Greene, *A Shared World*, 18-109; E. Gülsoy, 'Osmanlı Tahrir Geleneğinde Bir Değişim Örneği: Girit Eyaleti'nin 1650 ve 1670 Tarihli Sayımları', in K. Çiçek (ed.), *Pax Otomana: Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç* (Haarlem and Ankara 2001), 183-203; E. Balta and M. Oğuz, *To othomaniko ktematologio tou Rethymnou: Tapu-Tahrir 822* [The Ottoman Cadastral Register of Rethymno: *Tapu Tahrir 822*] (Rethymno 2007). Unfortunately the last-named publication includes only the part of the register on Rethymno.

23 For a discussion of the process, see Greene, *A Shared World*, 39-44, 52-53; for the relationship between conversion to Islam and the opportunity for the local men to join the janissary corps, see *ibid.*, 103-109. Most of the contemporary observers, both Ottomans (*ibid.*, 109) and foreign travellers, to whose works I shall refer below, consider this process the result of mainly pragmatic motivation – to avoid the payment of the capitation tax and/or to join the local elite. Travellers usually add also scathing remarks about the converts. See a typical evaluation in J. P. de Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*. Vol. 1: *L'Archipel grec*, introduction-notes-bibliography S. Yerasimos (Paris 1982), 67, 105-106: "La plupart des Turcs de l'île sont renégats ou fils de renégats; les renégats sont ordinairement moins honnêtes que les vrais Turcs. Un bon Turc ne dit mot quand il voit des chrétiens manger du cochon et boire du vin; les renégats qui en mangent et qui en boivent en cachette les grondent et les insultent. Il faut avouer que ces malheureux vendent leur âme à bon marché; ils ne gagnent à changer de religions qu'une veste et le privilège d'être exempts de la capitation, laquelle n'est pourtant que d'environ 5 écus par an", or in Richard Pococke, *Voyage*, 4: 317: "La plupart des villages sont habités par des Turcs & d'autres par des Renégats qui ont renoncé à leur foi, les uns pour éviter le châtimement qu'ils avaient mérité, les autres pour se venger d'un Turc qui les avait offensés, et qu'il est défendu aux chrétiens de frapper, & d'autres enfin pour ne point payer les impôts ...". For similar observations, only for the island of Cyprus in 1599, see R. J. Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban* (Paris 1675), 31-32: "... de 30 mille habitants et plus qui se trouvent dans Nicosie, à peine y en a t'il 4 ou 5 mille de Turcs, et il n'y en a pas 12 ou 13 mille dans toute l'île, dont la plus grande partie est des renégats qui sont faits Mahometans pour être plus à leur aise ...". Compare with cases from Cretan *kadı* records, registered long before the fall of Candia, quoted in E. Bayraktar, 'The Implementation of Ottoman Religious Policies in Crete, 1645-1735: Men of Faith as Actors in the Kadi Court', unpublished M.A. thesis, Bilkent University, 2005, 76-88.

The long war and the fact that most of the towns on the island were subjected to destructive sieges with subsequent withdrawal of the majority of their surviving inhabitants are no less important factors for the way the relations between non-Muslim communities and Muslims were shaped.²⁴

The Ottoman conquest brought back to the island the higher Orthodox hierarchy which had been banished during Latin rule. This, however, was accompanied by major frictions between power centres within the Orthodox Church, the main actors on the island being the representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and those of the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai.²⁵ The dichotomy which lasted from the first years of the conquest (1651)²⁶ until well into the eighteenth century, a period when the Archbishop of Crete was deprived of a church in which to officiate, and hence of significant revenues and a see, certainly did not contribute to the strengthening of Orthodox Christianity. The complex situation on the island led to the emergence of a spectrum of blurred religious identities, a tendency which became aggravated with the establishment of the Ottomans on the island.

In this paper I do not aim to examine the relations between Orthodox Christianity and the Ottoman authority on the island in their entirety. My goal is to add some details to the general picture which reflect the complex influence of the general trends described above in Ottoman political and religious life and in international relations on the developments in Crete in the period between the final conquest of the island in 1669 and the beginning of the eighteenth century. The focus is on two specific issues, namely the changes in the spatial location of Christians and Muslims in Chania in the period between the conquest of the city by the Ottomans in 1645 and the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the local parameters of the wave of permissions for church and monastery repairs. These issues will serve as a point of departure in the discussion of some more general problems with respect to the source basis and its reliability.

My major source in this endeavour is a number of orders from the registers of important affairs (*mühimme defterleri*)²⁷ which will be referred to below. They are complemented by observations of Western travellers and residents in the region, such as Girola-

24 Compare with the situation in Istanbul: E. Zachariadou, 'La chute de Constantinople en 1453 et la mythologie postérieure', in Eadem, *Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans* (London 2007), 1021ff.

25 In fact its administrative status within Eastern Orthodoxy even today is ambiguous, the question being whether it is autocephalous or simply autonomous under the jurisdiction of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

26 In 1651 the Patriarch appointed – with the permission of the Ottoman government – the first Archbishop of Crete. This was Neophytos Patelaros, a Cretan himself, a native of Chania and monk from the Monastery of Arkadi.

27 On the *mühimme* registers as a historical source and their diplomatics, see U. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine, 1552-1615: A Study of the Firman according to the Mühimme Defteri* (Oxford 1960), 1-31; G. Dávid, 'The *Mühimme Defteri* as a Source for the Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry in the Sixteenth Century', *ArchOtt*, 20 (2002), 167-209. Unfortunately both studies discuss the early *mühimme defters*. My experience with the later volumes shows some specifics which still need to be studied from the point of view of diplomatics.

mo Dandini (1599),²⁸ Paul Rycaut (British consul in Izmir, 1667-1678),²⁹ Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (early 1670s),³⁰ Jacob Spon and George Wheeler (1675-1676),³¹ Joseph Piton de Tournefort (1700-1701),³² and Richard Pococke (1739),³³ who provide us with the view of the engaged outsider, and also of the insider Evliya Çelebi (1667-1670).³⁴ Unfortunately I have had no access to the local *kadı* registers,³⁵ which no doubt would have significantly enriched the picture drawn below. It is hoped that this can be done at a next stage, upon the completion of the project for the publication of the local *kadı sicils* undertaken by our colleagues at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FO.R.T.H. and the University of Crete.

The Chania/Hanya Case

Chania surrendered to the Ottomans on 17 August 1645 after a siege of less than two months and two furious assaults on the fortress. The official capitulation stipulated the free retreat of its inhabitants and a guarantee for their lives and properties. On 23 August the luggage of the besieged was loaded on to five boats, followed the next day by the defenders and their families. The Ottomans entered the fortress on the same day and converted at least three of its churches into mosques.³⁶ Chania, a town which owed its emergence mainly to the Venetians,³⁷ seems to have been populated mainly by Greeks

28 Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban*.

29 Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*; Idem, *The History of the Turks Beginning with the Year 1679 Being at Full Relation of the Last Troubles in Hungary ...* (London 1700); Idem, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire ...* (London 1686); Idem, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*.

30 J.-B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Chevalier Baron d'Aubonne, qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes ...*, Vol. 1 (Paris 1681).

31 Spon and Wheeler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*.

32 Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*, 1: 65-110.

33 Pococke, *Voyage*.

34 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi*, Vol. 8 (Istanbul 1985), 220-344, which covers the period of the final attack upon and fall of Candia in the late 1660s.

35 On collections of *kadı sicilleri* from Crete, see A. N. Adıyeke and N. Adıyeke, 'Newly Discovered in Turkish Archives: Kadı Registers and Other Documents on Crete', *Turcica*, 32 (2000), 447-462; E. Balta, 'Ottoman Archives in Greece', in Eadem, *Ottoman Studies and Archives in Greece* (Istanbul 2003), 97; E. Zachariadou, 'The Turkish Archive of the Vikelaia Municipality Library of Herakleion (Kandiye)', in *Balkanlar ve İtalya'da Şehir ve Manastır Arşivlerindeki Türkçe Belgeler Semineri (16-17 Kasım 2000)* (Ankara 2003), 25-29.

36 Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*. Vol. 10: 1640-1656 (Istanbul 1999), 54-55. According to Pococke (*Voyage*, 4: 223, 226), "[l]a plupart des églises ont été converties en mosquées. Il y en avait 25 y compris les chapelles"; but he does not say how many remained in the hands of Christians from the pre-Ottoman ones, nor whether new ones had been built. Capuchins had, however, meanwhile established themselves in the town with a small convent.

37 Chania/La Canea/Hanya was built on the site of the ancient city of Kydonia. Before 1252, when the Venetians fortified it, it seems to have been just a small settlement. See Greene, *A Shared World*, 111 n. 8, and the bibliography cited there.

in the pre-Ottoman period.³⁸ According to Evliya Çelebi, who visited the town in the late 1660s, this was also the case after its fall into the hands of the Ottomans: apart from the numerous Ottoman garrison, “bütün reayası ve berayası Rum keferesi olup”.³⁹ By 1700 Chania had evolved into Crete’s commercial centre, especially in the trade in olive oil, its second most important town and fortress. Tournefort estimated its population at around 1,500 ‘Turks’, 2,000 Greeks, 50 Jews, 10-12 French merchants permanently settled there, as well as transit merchants of different ethnicities,⁴⁰ a fact which reflected the rise of the town as a trade hub. In 1739, all the ‘Turks’ who inhabited the town, numbering around 3,000 men capable of carrying weapons, belonged to one military body or another. Besides them, as estimated by Pococke, there were 300 Greek families, four or five families of Armenians, and 50 of Jews, as well as a number of foreigners, merchants and members of Catholic missions.⁴¹ Until the fall of Candia in 1669, when it became the centre of the respective *sancak*, Chania had been the seat of the governor of the newly-established province. According to Nükhet and Nuri Adıyeke, the *kadı* of the town was regarded as hierarchically superior to the rest of the *kadıs* on the island and was sometimes addressed in orders from the capital as the “*kadı* of Crete”.⁴² The consuls of France and England, as well as the missions of Capuchins and Franciscans also had their headquarters on the island in Chania.

After the ‘change of guard’, the town was abandoned by its garrison and their families, but some of its Greek Orthodox and even of its Venetian Latin rite inhabitants remained,⁴³ a situation completely different from the one with which the Ottomans had to deal after the fall of Candia 25 years later.⁴⁴ As already indicated, 20 years later Evliya

38 According to Dandini (1599), like Candia with its garrison of nearly 2,000 men, Chania had some garrison, but the rest of the inhabitants “sont presque tous Grecs de nation, parmi lesquels il y a aussi quelques nobles Venitiens ...”; Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban*, 13-15.

39 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi*, 8: 223.

40 Tournefort, *Voyage d’un botaniste*, 1: 67.

41 Pococke, *Voyage*, 4: 223.

42 Adıyeke and Adıyeke, ‘Newly Discovered’, 448. However, bearing in mind the chronological span covered by the preserved *kadı sicilleri* from Chania, I am reluctant to project this situation on to the earlier Ottoman period. On other similar cases of administrative hierarchy in the judiciary during the same period, see R. Gradeva, ‘On Judicial Hierarchy in the Ottoman Empire: The Case of Sofia from the Seventeenth to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century’, in M. Masud, R. Peters and D. Powers (eds), *Dispensing Justice in Islam: Qadis and their Judgments* (Leiden 2006), 271-298.

43 I. Bierman, ‘The Ottomanization of Crete’, in Eadem, R. Abou-El-Haj and D. Preziosi (eds), *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order* (New Rochelle 1991), 55, but the author does not specify her sources either for Chania, or for Rethymno.

44 According to Hammer (*Histoire de l’Empire ottoman*, 11: 173-174), after its official surrender, Candia was evacuated by all its inhabitants, garrison, and ordinary citizens, and the Ottomans were met by only two Greek priests, one woman, and three Jews (this evidence originates in a contemporary Venetian source, and is repeated later by Rycout and Randolph [Greene, *A Shared World*, 81]; the Venetian source, however, speaks also of a small group of soldiers who converted to Islam on the spot). This situation confronted the Ottomans with the problem of

Çelebi identifies the majority of Chania's *reaya* as Greeks (*Rum keferesi*). He does not speak of any specific spatial separation of Muslims and Christians, nor does he mention the existence of a *varoş* in the town, although he usually does register it elsewhere,⁴⁵ and is very sensitive with regard to 'infidels' status and inter-confessional relations in general. A Venetian dispatch dated 3 May 1670 reports a radical change in the arrangement: "In Canea the *vezir* has imposed great hardships upon those few Christians who have remained there, for he has confiscated all their houses and properties ... allowing them to build themselves only in the villages that existed on the fringes of the city before the war".⁴⁶ Bernard Randolph (1680) describes the result of this decision as follows: "No Greeks live within the city. They have a new town built to the South, about half a mile off, where there are two long streets, very commodious, and there they enjoy all the liberty they desire". This special neighbourhood outside the proper town was known as the *varoş*.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, no documentation comparable in amount and quality to that which has reached us from Candia seems to have been preserved for Chania, nor are *si-cils* available for the earlier Ottoman history of the town.⁴⁸ This hinders the reconstruction of the events after the fall of the town into Ottoman hands and the establishment of the circumstances under which the local Christians were expelled. Indeed, banishment of non-Muslims from the fortified parts of newly captured fortresses was nothing new in Ottoman practice, especially in places which fell by assault. This was, for example, the situation with Famagusta, where after the conquest "on ne permet à aucun Chrétien de loger dans la ville ... Les Chrétiens ne peuvent entrer dans la ville, ni en sortir qu'à pied".⁴⁹ In 1680, 35 years after the fall of the town, the arrangement in Chania seems to have become similar to that in Famagusta; Greeks, local artisans, and other inhabitants, were obliged to sleep in the suburb (the *varoş*) and returned to the town as soon as the land gate opened in the morning.⁵⁰

Chania surrendered in circumstances close to those in Candia 25 years later, where the treaty of capitulation stipulated the preservation of the property of its inhabitants, and

how to deal with the abandoned property – which according to the peace treaty was to be left in possession of its owners – and the even more serious problem of how to attract the citizens of Candia to return or new ones to settle there. On the Ottoman policy in Candia, see Greene, *A Shared World*, 83-86, and the paper of Svetlana Ivanova in this volume.

45 See, for example, his descriptions of the *varoşes* of Acısu Kalesi and Rethymno/Resmo (Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi*, 8: 225, 226-227), both on the island of Crete. In none of the cases is the *varoş* necessarily a residential area allocated uniquely to non-Muslims.

46 Quoted from Greene, *A Shared World*, 87.

47 Unfortunately I have been unable to find in libraries which were accessible to me the travel account of B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago* (London 1687), quoted by Greene, *A Shared World*, 87.

48 Cf. Adıyeke and Adıyeke, 'Newly Discovered', 447-462, where the dates of the extant *si-cils* from Chania kept in Istanbul are given; Balta, 'Ottoman Archives in Greece', 97.

49 Pococke, *Voyage*, 141ff; Stoianovich, 'Model and Mirror of the Premodern Balkan City', 101. A similar situation occurred in February 1695, when the Ottomans re-conquered Chios after a brief Venetian occupation; Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*, 1: 297-299.

50 This is how the situation is described already *post factum*; *ibid.*, 1: 71.

it seems that the Ottomans did try to attract the non-Muslims back to the city. However, probably because very few, if any, of its indigenous citizens chose to remain, all properties within the walls of Candia were sold first to high-ranking Ottoman officials, who subsequently established pious foundations based on them, re-sold or simply rented them to secondary bidders, including non-Muslims.⁵¹ No *varoş* as a place of Christian residence was established in that city,⁵² even though, slowly, local people from the hinterland, both converts to Islam and Christians, moved to Candia. Jews abandoned their ghetto and also bought or rented property in other parts of the city. Armenians, and even a few 'Frenks', settled in Candia as well.⁵³

The few sources for Chania from the period of the Candian War do not indicate any significant spatial displacements on a communal basis, except for, of course, the departure of the garrison and a significant number of the inhabitants, especially Catholics who – as in Candia – were soon replaced by Muslims from other Ottoman provinces and local converts, probably also some Orthodox Christians. Thus, the time of the banishment of Christians from the fortified part of the town can in all probability be fixed at the time of the final siege of Candia (1666-1669) or immediately after its fall. One of the possible dates is after the attempt of the Venetians to re-conquer Chania in 1666. In that case, however, it should have been known to and recorded by Evliya Çelebi. With all the uncertainty due to the vague sources, I am more inclined to regard it as a step undertaken immediately after the war, probably contemporaneous with the sale of the abandoned properties in Candia, that is, in late 1669 or early 1670, and thus to think that the Venetian dispatch reacts to very recent events. Another enigma which is posed by this document concerns the identity of the "*vezir*" who initiated the banishment of the Christians from Chania. This could have been the Grand Vizier, Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed, who led the siege of Candia in its last three years. Before leaving Crete in late April 1670, he had toured the whole island and ordered the compilation of a survey of the non-Muslim taxpayers.⁵⁴ The decision about Chania could have been made before his departure from the island, but unfortunately none of the contemporaries whose accounts of the events I have consulted reports anything on the subject. There is also a chance that this was the decision of the provincial governor who held the title of *vezir*.⁵⁵

Another 20 years had passed after Randolph's visit and the *varoş* of Chania already belonged to history. In 1700, immediately after the war with the Holy League, the ruins of the

51 Greene, *A Shared World*, 83-87; see also the paper by Ivanova in the present volume.

52 The so-called New Candia, another 'twin' town built near the site of Knossos during the long siege by the Ottomans, was destroyed on the orders of Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa at the start of the last stage in the siege of Candia; for more details, see the paper of Elias Kolovos in this volume. In Candia, despite the lack of a *varoş*, the majority of the Christians also lived outside the fortress walls, but a considerable number of them as well as of Jews were housed in the fortified part of the city; Greene, *A Shared World*, 96-97.

53 Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*, 1: 80; Greene, *A Shared World*, 95-101.

54 Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 281.

55 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi*, 8: 221; see also the orders from the *mühimme defters* referred to below.

once thriving and lively suburb were still visible. As is usually the case, there are at least two explanations of the events, and probably both contain a grain of truth. One of them is furnished by Tournefort – that during the war against the Holy League (in 1692), when the Venetians undertook another attempt to re-conquer Chania, the Ottomans set the *varoş* on fire, fearing that the stone buildings there might be used by their enemies; after the danger had passed, there were attempts to force the Greeks to go back to the suburb but they failed because of the great poverty of the Christians.⁵⁶ A somewhat different story emerges from a couple of related documents from the *mühimme defters* which are contemporaneous with, even slightly later than Tournefort's account, which reflects the situation in April-July 1700.⁵⁷ Though very laconic, the two orders complement, confirm, clarify, and, in some details, modify the information provided by the travel accounts discussed above. They show that at the time of Tournefort's visit the problem about the re-settlement of the Christians in the fortified part of Chania had not yet been resolved – despite, as we shall see below, some significant steps towards a decision in their favour. In brief, both tell us that:

1. On an unknown date, but prior to the date of the first document (26 September-5 October 1699), 52 men (*nefer*) of the non-Muslim community (*zimmiyan taifesinden*), of the taxpayers of Chania (*mahmiye-i Hanya reayasından*), who at the time of the [Ottoman] conquest (*hîn-i fetihde*) and then, during the siege [by the Venetians] (*eyyam-ı muhasarasıda*) inhabited the fortified part of the town, appeared in the Sharia court in the town.
2. They explained that some time after the conquest by a decision of the governors of that time (*biraz eyyamdan sonra rey-i vülât ile*) a *varoş* was constructed and they had to transfer their residences there.
3. However, during the Venetian invasion (*istilâ*) [in 1692] their quarters were burnt.⁵⁸ The Christians in question withdrew to the fortress where they served [the Ottomans] loyally and honestly (*sadakat ve istikamet ile hizmetde bulunub*) against the Venetians. They requested to be allowed to remain in the fortress.

56 Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*, 1: 71. Actually, a *cizye* register from 1693-1694 lists a *varoş* for both Chania and Rethymno; Greene, *A Shared World*, 87. In this case, however, the term indicates the community of the Orthodox Christians who lived in Chania without implying a spatial unit. On the various meanings of the term, see S. Ivanova, 'Varoş: The Elites of the Reaya in the Towns of Rumeli, Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries', in A. Anastasopoulos (ed.), *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire. Halcyon Days in Crete V. A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 10-12 January 2003* (Rethymno 2005), 201-226.

57 MD 111: 129, doc. 1, evail-i Rebiyülâhır 1111 (26 September-5 October 1699)/*ıtlak* 27 Şevval 1112 (6 April 1701); 505, doc. 1, evail-i Şaban 1112 (11-20 January 1701)/*ıtlak* evail-i Zilhicce 1112 (9-19 May 1701). For the time being, I am unable to offer a proper translation for '*ıtlak*'.

58 No explanation is given as to who did it, but it is possible that Tournefort's information is correct. In the 1720s, when janissaries in Vidin initiated the banishment of Christians from the fortified part of the city, one of their requirements for their new houses was that they should not be built of stone, in order to prevent their eventual use by attacking enemies; *EP*², s.v. 'Widin' (S. Ivanova), 206; Gradeva, 'Between the Hinterland and the Frontier'.

4. The Christians' application was supported by the local *ayan* and the (Muslim) population of the province (*ahali-i vilâyet*). In line with this, the *kadı* of Chania sent an *arz* interceding for an imperial order to the provincial governor to start an investigation into the matter and into the possibilities for the Christians to settle permanently in the fortress in return for their faithful service during the siege.
5. In response to the *arz*, Ali Paşa, the *vali* of Crete and *muhafız* of Candia, was commanded to carry out an investigation and find out whether it was appropriate for the applicants to settle permanently in the fortified part of the city.
6. The second order (11-20 January 1701) explains that meanwhile the petitioners had received a "document of agreement" (*ma'mulün bih sened*) from Ali Paşa, the by then "former *muhafız*" of Candia.
7. This second, and probably final, order of the Sultan prescribed to the *muhafız* of Candia and to the *kadı* of Chania that "the 52 men who from the time of the conquest (*hîn-i fetihden beri*) have been living in the fortress and served faithfully during the siege should be allowed to settle in their private houses in the fortress (*derun-ı kalede kendi mülk hanelerinde*)", and that "they should not be oppressed with demands and offers to re-settle elsewhere outside the fortress".

In Lieu of a Conclusion

The saga of the Chania (Orthodox) Christians started probably towards the end of the Candian War, or immediately after the fall of the Venetian stronghold, but not later than the end of April/beginning of May 1670. For reasons yet unknown, the Grand Vizier or, less probable in my view, the provincial governor ordered the banishment of the Christians who had remained in or had moved into the fortified part of the town after the Venetian garrison had left.⁵⁹ This act is contemporaneous with others undertaken under the influence of the militant Kadızadeli spirit, which aimed at preventing the co-habitation of Muslims and non-Muslims in one neighbourhood, especially in the central parts of a town and near mosques. Even this general background and the prevalent atmosphere of confrontation with the non-Muslims, however, do not explain such a decision, unless something extra-ordinary had taken place in Chania at that moment which justified the Ottomans' different policies in Chania as compared to the rest of the fortified places in Crete. Whatever the reason, for some 20 years the Christian residential area, the *varoş*, had developed as a twin city to Chania where places of entertainment were concentrated.⁶⁰ This must also have been the centre of religious life for the Orthodox Christians,

⁵⁹ The two orders actually carry different 'messages'. The first speaks about their being in the fortress "at the time of the conquest", the second "since the conquest". At this stage, I am unable to resolve this controversy.

⁶⁰ The earliest evidence that taverns (*meyhane*) were located outside the walls, probably in the "villages on the fringes of the city", belongs to Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi*, 8: 224. Randolph speaks of "all the liberty" enjoyed by the Greeks in the *varoş* (see n. 47 above); this 'liberty' might have been related to possibilities for the profession of the cult, but also to practices

although this is difficult to establish.⁶¹ According to Irene Bierman only one Orthodox Greek church was converted into a mosque by the Ottomans in the Cretan towns,⁶² probably because most of them during the Venetian period were located in the hinterland of the island,⁶³ while those allowed in the cities were relatively modest. It is not quite clear what the situation was in Chania at the time of the conquest, but probably the Orthodox churches were among the less opulent, and concentrated more on the town's periphery, where Evliya Çelebi saw the taverns. The *varoş* was only a residential area, and according to Tournefort most of its inhabitants continued to work in the fortified part of Chania during the daytime.

The eviction of the Christians to the *varoş* did not last long. During the siege of the town by the Venetians in 1692 the suburb was destroyed and burnt, probably by the Ottomans themselves. A few years later Tournefort saw only its ruins amidst gardens. More importantly, as the result of the faithful service of 52 Orthodox Christians against the Venetians during the war, they were allowed to re-settle temporarily in the fortified part of the city. Their permanent settlement, however, proved not an easy move. Apparently after the cessation of military activities and the Venetians' withdrawal, there were attempts to expel them again but it is not clear who undertook them. Sometime prior to September 1699, the 52 men in question appeared in the Sharia court and declared their wish to be allowed to re-settle permanently in the fortified town. Their application was supported by local leaders of the Muslims, described as *ayan*, military and religious functionaries, and directed through an *arz* of the *kadı* of Chania to the imperial *divan* in Istanbul. As is usually the case with applications,⁶⁴ at the subsequent stage the Sultan's order to the provincial governor commanded him to investigate the case, and report back on the 'real situation' and the possibilities of having them settled in the town. The second order reveals that the applicants had acquired the required 'document of agreement' from the *vali*, and the final order from the centre was in line with the request of the Christians.

such as drinking and gambling condemned by Islam and persecuted in the years of Kadızadeli domination. Tournefort somewhat vaguely refers to the *varoş* as the place where Westerners went for entertainment, probably gambling and other pleasures; Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*, 1: 71: "Personne n'a profité de la destruction de varouil [*varoş*] que nos Français qui s'y ruinoient en plaisirs".

61 According to a manuscript of 1659, Kydonia was the seat of one of the twelve bishoprics in Crete; Th. Detorakis, 'Brief Historical Review of the Holy Archdiocese of Crete', available at www.orthodoxresearchinstitute.org/articles/church_history/detorakis_brief_historical_review.htm.

62 Bierman, 'The Ottomanization of Crete', 66. She is more explicit about Candia where, in her view, the Orthodox had only a cathedral, as well as meeting-places, but no other formal churches.

63 Ibid., 58.

64 On petitions and petitioning, see H. İnalcık, 'Osmanlı Bürokrasinde Aklâm ve Muamelât', *OA*, 1 (1980), 1-14; Idem, 'Şikâyet Hakkı: 'Arz-i Hâl ve 'Arz-i Mahzar'lar', *OA*, 7-8 (1988), 33-54; S. Faroqhi, 'Political Initiatives 'From the Bottom Up' in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire', in Eadem, *Coping with the State: Political Conflict and Crime in the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1720* (Istanbul 1995), 25-35.

The two orders shed light on some details but many questions remain and new ones are raised. Thus, while the time of the banishment can more or less be fixed at immediately after the fall of Candia, what caused this act remains unknown, especially since it dates from more than two decades after the actual conquest of Chania: was it the result of some act of disobedience of the local Christians? Something related to the Venetian attack in 1666, the siege of Candia, or the situation in Chania after its fall? Or should it be attributed simply to the spirit of the Kadızadelis and the natural tension between the faiths on the *serhad* (frontier)? The last is indeed quite possible, bearing in mind that it was under the influence of the Kadızadelis that the first attempts at a stricter separation of the faiths were undertaken in Istanbul and other Ottoman cities.⁶⁵ Yet this alone cannot explain why in Chania, and in 1669/1670, but not elsewhere on the island, and not earlier. Until new sources are discovered, it seems that this question will have to remain.

Further questions concern the occupation of these 52 men who had been living in the fortress during the Ottoman conquest or after the fall of Chania, and who during the Venetian siege in 1692 served the Ottomans “loyally”. Bearing in mind the time which had elapsed since the conquest (1645), and even since the establishment of the *varoş* (c. 1670), I am inclined to think that the orders speak of families traditionally engaged in the defence of the fortress, rather than of the same individuals, who could hardly have been active 50 years earlier. What their service was is yet another question, especially since it was considered adequate to outweigh the earlier decision on the banishment. A curious detail which appears in the second order explains that the men in question were allowed to settle in the houses that they already had in private possession inside the fortress. Were these houses theirs from before, or newly acquired? If Christian properties in the town were confiscated, how did they manage to preserve/acquire them? All these are also questions whose answers depend on additional sources. What is important is that the changed realities in the late 1690s brought about a change in the relations between the communities both at the local and central levels.

Forty years later Pococke did not consider the *varoş* and its troubled past an important subject to touch upon; he probably had not even heard about it. He simply relates the components of an ethnically and religiously diverse population, but does not indicate any spatial separation between the major communities. It seems that the loyal conduct of the Orthodox Christians at the time of dire straits had remedied the strain on the inter-confessional relations in Chania at the end of the Candian War. How long this lasted is another question.

65 Indeed, Rycout indicates that in 1662 there were even plans that “Greeks and Armenians and all other Christians who had dwellings or possessions within the walls of the city [Istanbul] should within 40 days sell those habitations and depart, which otherwise should be confiscated to the Grand Signior”. He is somewhat vague as to why this decision was abandoned, just concludes that “God who supports the faithful in trials of persecution moderated this decree, and reserved still his Church in the midst of infidels ...”; Rycout, *The History of the Turkish Empire*, 105.

The Church Restoration Issue

At the time of the Ottoman conquest, Crete was deeply divided between Catholics and Orthodox.⁶⁶ During the four centuries of Venetian rule, the higher hierarchy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate was banished from the island, and Orthodox bishops were not allowed even to visit Crete, while much of the Orthodox Church's property was confiscated. This made ordination very difficult, as priests had to go to places where an Orthodox hierarchy existed, either to the Byzantine (later Ottoman) provinces, or to the Ionian islands, and certainly it was an obstacle to Orthodox Christians pursuing a normal religious life. Orthodox priests were allowed to conduct services, but only if they recognised the superiority of the Catholic Church. For most of the Venetian period the Orthodox Church was regarded by the Venetian administration as potentially subversive, although it did try to avoid direct religious conflict. The rise of the Ottoman threat, especially after the fall of Constantinople and Ottoman expansion in the eastern Mediterranean, made the Venetians more careful in handling Orthodox Christianity on the island, yet they never allowed, even in the seventeenth century, direct contacts with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul. In these circumstances, it is difficult to establish the real state of the parish network and the number of churches actually serving the Orthodox cult at the beginning of the Ottoman rule, but it seems that the former was quite dense.⁶⁷ Additionally, the Orthodox Church was based on the powerful monasteries, which in the view of contemporary Greek historians had turned into its strongholds. Indeed, Orthodox monasteries not only continued their existence but some thrived under Latin rule, and new ones were founded, especially from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards.⁶⁸

In the pre-Ottoman period, however, Crete was divided not only between Catholicism and Orthodoxy; there were also divisions and frictions within the Orthodox Church. An important actor on the island, and independent from the Patriarchate, was the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai, which had several dependencies (*metochia*, churches,

66 The overview of the religious situation in Crete is based on Greene, *A Shared World*, 174-205; Bayraktar, 'The Implementation of Ottoman Religious Policies', 27-56; and Detorakis, 'Brief Historical Review', *passim*.

67 According to church historians, on the eve of the Ottoman conquest there were 113 Orthodox and 17 Catholic churches in Candia alone; Greene, *A Shared World*, 176-186. See also a case cited below (n. 72) which shows that a village of around 40 houses might have had no fewer than three churches in the pre-Ottoman period. It is difficult to judge how representative it is of the general situation, but priests (*papas*) appear at every step of the travel accounts of foreigners in Crete.

68 Among them is one of the most famous and wealthiest institutions in Crete, the Monastery of Arkadi, founded probably during the sixteenth century. So is the other monastery which appears in the documents that I shall analyse below, Panaya Halevi, founded probably in the seventeenth century. See the explanation for the boom in the foundation of monasteries in the Greek islands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in S. Yerasimos, 'Introduction', in Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*, 1: 17-18, who relates it to the emergence of new social forces there. In his view, these forces supported the restoration of the dominant influence of the Orthodox Church in the region.

and schools) on its territory.⁶⁹ A number of Cretans became its abbots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This further strengthened the connection between the monastery and Crete, and gives grounds for scholars to define these two centuries as a 'Cretan period' in the history of the Sinai Monastery.

While generally supporting Orthodox Christianity against Catholicism, the Ottoman conquest introduced new divisions and aggravated the already existing contentions. For various reasons, which I shall not discuss here, the Monastery of St Catherine received strong support earlier from the Venetian, and later from the Ottoman, government. Power struggles within the Patriarchate, personal likes and dislikes made the monastery the preferred Orthodox institution even for the powerful chief dragoman Panayotakis Nikousios, who on the fall of Candia secured one church in the city for the needs of the Orthodox Christians. Instead of the archbishop appointed by the Patriarch, however, this was granted to the Sinai monks. In effect, the Ecumenical Patriarchate officially restored its authority over the island but the head of its hierarchy there was deprived of a church in which to hold services. After several futile attempts it was only in 1735 that the permission to construct a small church in Candia was finally enforced.⁷⁰ In this struggle, as early as 1654 many of the largest Orthodox monasteries changed their status, becoming *stavropegial*, that is, they were excluded from the control of the Archbishop and were made directly dependent on the Patriarch in Istanbul. Not only this, a further split occurred within the ranks of the Orthodox Christians on Crete. The long period of Latin rule, which cut the island off from Constantinople/Istanbul, and of parallel and conflicting Orthodox ecclesiastical authorities in the post-conquest century, those of the Archbishop appointed by the Patriarch in Istanbul and of the monks of St Catherine of Mount Sinai, peaked in 1715 in a short-lived declaration of independence of the Orthodox hierarchy of Crete from the Ecumenical Patriarchate. After 1725, the relations between the local and central ecclesiastical hierarchy started to be soothed, and the Cretans were gradually integrated into the Great Church. Finally, while restoring Orthodox Christianity as the dominant Christian denomination on the island, directly and indirectly the establishment of Ottoman rule delivered a serious blow to its material infrastructure. At the time of the conquest, it was mainly churches belonging to the Catholics which were converted in-

69 Among them was the "second nicest" – in the opinion of Tournefort – monastery on the island, Holy Trinity near Chania (Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*, 1: 74); see also Pococke, *Voyage*, 4: 244. It was founded in 1612 by the son of the Venetian governor of the town. The Monastery of St Catherine had many dependencies in Crete and on other islands.

70 It seems that the Archbishop of Crete was on several occasions close to his goal, having acquired permissions/*fermans* for a church to be built; Greene, *A Shared World*, 182. Pococke in 1739 registers the changed situation in Candia which had "... environ 14 mosquées qui servoient autrefois d'églises; les Armeniens y ont une église, et les Grecs deux, dont l'une dépend du couvent du mont Sinai et l'autre du metropolitain. Les Capucins y ont un petit couvent & une chapelle pour le consul et les marchands françois; et les Juifs une synagogue"; Pococke, *Voyage*, 4: 280-281. So far in my work with Ottoman documentation concerning churches and synagogues, despite the considerable number of new ones attested in other sources, I have not encountered any explicit permission for the construction of a church in Candia.

to mosques, the majority of them being in the fortified settlements.⁷¹ Probably far more consequential with respect to the Orthodox Christian parish network was the subsequent period which saw the deployment of the process of conversion to Islam among the local population. This inevitably led to the loss of houses of worship also for the Orthodox Church in the rural areas,⁷² a process which had started with the conquest and continued throughout the period of Ottoman rule on the island.

In these circumstances, what were the parameters of the wave of petitions and permissions for the restoration of churches and monasteries described above? Before drawing any conclusions, it is important first to discuss some specifics of the series of *mühimme defters*, my main source in this case. It should be pointed out that the collection is rather 'thin' for the period between the 1620s and the late 1680s. The existing volumes for these decades do not cover all years, and are usually literally thin, with often fewer than a hundred pages for a period of two years, sometimes even longer.⁷³ It is only from 1689-1690 onwards that the collection becomes again (after the late sixteenth – early seventeenth century) more representative of the activities of the imperial *divan*. For much of the 1690s and the first decades of the eighteenth century the volumes contain hundreds of pages and there are sometimes overlapping volumes for the same years.⁷⁴ This makes very contingent any 'statistics', especially for the mid-seventeenth century, that I might refer to below. Another problem about the 'statistics' based on these registers concerns the correlation between the orders which were actually issued and those which were recorded in the series. For the time being I am unable to speak about this problem's concrete dimensions, as this requires an in-depth study of various parallel series which run consistently for the specific period, including also the *şikâyet defters* and the respective *kadı sicils*, and probably collections of single documents as well. This may eventually

71 The political meaning of this act is studied as to the examples of Candia, Rethymno and Chania by Bierman, 'The Ottomanization of Crete', 59ff.

72 Classic in this respect is a case from the practice of the Candia court. In 1672, a group of Muslim (some of whom first generation) inhabitants of the village of Yannitsi in the district of Ierapetra appeared in court to complain that the Church of Agios Georgios next to their houses was disturbing them. The *naib* of Ierapetra inspected the village and found that indeed the church was surrounded by the houses of 25 Muslims, a situation reflecting the rapid spread of Islam among the local villagers. It was also discovered that there were two more churches in good condition near the local *zimnis*' 15 residences. The Muslims also produced a *ferman* issued in response to their petition forbidding ritual practices in the Church of Agios Georgios. The court's decision was to prohibit worship in the church; Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 419-420, doc. 516/Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 186-187, doc. 370 (15 Zilkade 1082/14 March 1672), quoted from Bayraktar, 'The Implementation of Ottoman Religious Policies', 87.

73 Significant gaps exist between 1646 (MD 91, 160 pp.) and 1656-1658 (MD 92, 69 pp.); between 1664-1665 (MD 95, 93 pp.) and 1678-1679 (MD 96, 205 pp.); between 1679-1681 (MD 97, 78 pp.) and 1688-1689 (MD 98, 191 pp.).

74 Even for this period, however, there are years, such as 1693 (MD 105, 1693-1694, 159 pp.), which are barely covered by the *mühimme defters*. The reasons for the parallel keeping of two registers still need to be explored.

allow the drawing of a more precise picture of the procedures and practices observed in the application process concerning the repair/restoration of non-Muslim places of worship. My impression, based on material for other parts of the Empire, is that even when the three above-mentioned series are available, they may not include all documents reflecting the stages in these procedures. Not all documents issued by the central authorities seem to have found their way into the *sicils*. Probably they stayed with the applicants, who produced them only when deemed necessary. For some reason even then these orders were not always recorded in the *kadı* court registers. Not all stages in the procedure reflected in the *sicils* have their 'counterparts' in the *mühimme* registers.⁷⁵ All these questions remain to be studied. Probably further research will modify or change the observations sketched above.

A survey of the *mühimme* registers reveals an interesting picture. I have identified the period between 1689 and 1713⁷⁶ as one when several hundred permissions for the restoration of houses of worship were issued,⁷⁷ in the first place to Orthodox Christians, fewer to Catholics, mainly for Jerusalem or where foreign ambassadors and consuls were involved, to Armenians and Jews, very rarely to *Süryanis*. The majority were for the Balkans and Istanbul, but also for some of the Mediterranean islands and Anatolia. Jerusalem features as a unique place, concentrating there many of the struggles among the Western countries for dominance, as well as among Catholics, Orthodox Christians, and Armenians;⁷⁸ there are also several orders for the restoration of synagogues there. Interestingly, apart from the Holy City, and incidental orders for Antakya, Aleppo, Kirkuk and a few more places in the border zone between present-day Turkey, Syria and Iraq, I have not yet discovered any orders in the *mühimme defters* concerning places in present-day Arab countries.⁷⁹

75 The documents recorded in the *sicils* refer to sultanlic orders on the issue, but these orders are not necessarily to be found in the *mühimmes*. And vice versa, orders on behalf of the Sultan refer to investigations carried out by the court, but the *hüccet* has not been discovered in the respective *sicil*; it probably remained with the applicants, who produced it when required. Some of these problems may be attributed to the time span elapsing between each of the stages in procedures which depended on a complex set of objective and subjective factors.

76 Not surprisingly, it begins with the years when the *mühimme defters* become again a coherent series. It also coincides with the orders, mentioned above, of the Grand Vizier of 1690, which aimed at improving the relations between the Ottomans and 'their' non-Muslims.

77 I have consulted all preserved registers between 1646 and 1714. Even between 1689 and 1713 the orders were unevenly distributed among the years, with peaks in: 1690-1692 (MD 102 and MD 104), more than 80; 1696-1702 (MD 110, MD 111, MD 112), more than 400; and 1703-1708 (MD 114A and MD 115), more than 130. I am unable to offer an explanation for this phenomenon.

78 The situation in Jerusalem is studied in O. Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times* (Leiden-Boston-Köln 2001).

79 For the time being, I am unable to explain the absence of many of the Middle Eastern provinces from the map of the 'restoration orders', although clearly such permissions were issued for the various non-Muslim communities there, too. Whether these were subject to different procedures and arrangements still needs to be investigated.

Crete is relatively modestly represented in this process. For the time being I have retrieved only four orders, two concerning village churches – the Church of Meryem Ana, Izmar [Smari], *nahiye* of Pedye, *kaza* of Candia,⁸⁰ and a church whose name is not recorded, Fire [Fres], *nahiye* of Apokoron, *kaza* of Chania –,⁸¹ and two concerning the Monastery of Panaya Halevi in the village of Değirmenlik [Myloi], *nahiye* of Rethymno, *kaza* of Rethymno,⁸² all from 1699. This number is indeed rather small when compared to the 26 for various places on the island of Lesvos/Midilli, but more or less⁸³ on a par with the other islands which feature in the list: Cyprus/Kıbrıs (3), Chios/Sakız (3), Limnos/Limni (1), Santorini/Santor (1), Euboea/Eğriboz (2), Tenedos/Bozcaada (2), Büyük Kızıl Ada (1).⁸⁴

Churches and monasteries, however, were also repaired at other times in the period that I am focusing upon here: Ottoman officials carried out inspections on the sites of the Monastery of Arkadi (1658), the Monastery in Yüksek Tabya in Candia (1671), and the Monastery of Galoz (Gallos) in Rethymno (1674),⁸⁵ that is, during and shortly after the final conquest of the island, which unfortunately coincides with one of the biggest gaps in the series of the *mühimme* registers. These cases reveal that the restrictions for and the principles concerning the functioning of non-Muslim places of worship were immediately introduced and applied on the territory under Ottoman rule even prior to the fall of Candia. Bells were forbidden and, at least officially, removed.⁸⁶ Permissions had to

80 MD 111: 51, doc. 2, evasıt-ı Muharrem 1111 (9-18 July 1699).

81 MD 111: 143, doc. 4, evasıt-ı Rebiyülevvel 1111 (6-15 September 1699).

82 MD 111: 180, doc. 3, evasıt-ı Cemaziyelevvel 1111 (4-13 November 1699); 201, doc. 4, evahir-i Cemaziye'lâhir 1111 (14-22 December 1699).

83 If we take into account the territory of the respective islands as well as the spread of Islam on them and the time of their conquest.

84 Travellers describe most of the smaller islands in the eastern Mediterranean as quasi-independent units whose contacts with the Ottoman authority were limited to occasional short visits of the 'district' *kadı* and payment of fixed annual taxes, collected by bodies of the local population. In these circumstances the maintenance of churches and monasteries was subject to different rules and the Sharia limitations were not strictly applied, if at all. See the analysis of Yerassimos, 'Introduction', 16, on the reasons for and the aspects of this specific regime, as well as the descriptions of Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*, 1: 157 (Mylos), 214 (Amorgos), 242-248 (Myconos); Pococke, *Voyage*, 4: 353-355 (Chios), 357-359 (Psara), 420-425 (Patmos).

85 Bayraktar, 'The Implementation of Ottoman Religious Policies', 101-102, based on material from the local *kadı sicils*.

86 See the case of the Arkadi Monastery in Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 39-40, docs 59 and 60 (24-29 Şevval 1068/24-29 July 1658), quoted from Bayraktar, 'The Implementation of Ottoman Religious Policies', 102. The use or otherwise of bells is in the focus of attention of most of the travellers who visited the islands. See, for example, Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*, 1: 344ff., where he registers the presence of bells in the Monastery of St John of Patmos. According to Pococke, "lorsque les Turcs prirent Candie, les chrétiens avaient deux cloches à chaque église, qu'on s'obligea d'apporter dans les villes. Plusieurs les cachèrent, et leurs scavent encore où elles sont"; he continues by noting that Turks knew this and used it to harass local Christians and exact money from them; Pococke, *Voyage*, 4: 317, 325 (about three villages in Chios which were allowed to have church bells in return for their supply of mastic for the

be secured for any restorations which would be undertaken, although the inspection of the Monastery of Arkadi in 1658 suggests a considerable degree of flexibility manifested by the Ottoman authority: as the commission found out *in situ*, bells had indeed been removed and rooms had been renovated though not enlarged, or so the monks claimed. This was enough for it to be concluded that, despite the lack of court/sultanic permission for the repair works, nothing had been done contrary to the Sharia law, and the case was closed. This flexibility can easily find its explanation in the first place in the still on-going warfare, and, probably no less, in the economic and social power of the monastery.⁸⁷ As the documents from 1699 show, the Ottomans continued to be very flexible in their dealings with this monastery, probably for the same reasons. Two orders from the *mühimme defters* deal with the Monastery of Panaya Halevi, probably a dependency of the Arkadi Monastery (Çanlı). I am not quite sure whether the two orders address the same needs of the monastery as the structures mentioned in them are different, but they reflect the successive stages in the procedure leading to securing the cherished permission. If they are indeed connected, I must say that the speed in dealing with the issue at all stages and levels of Ottoman administration is more than remarkable – just five or six weeks during which: in response to an *arzıhal* on the part of the monks (*rahibler*) from the Arkadi Monastery for the repair of the Monastery of Panaya Halevi, an order to the *vali* of Candia and the *kadı* of Rethymno was issued which reminded the Ottoman officials that repairs should not be undertaken without a *hüccet*;⁸⁸ an inspection on the site was carried out and the relevant *hüccet* by the *kadı* was compiled; the monks of Panaya Halevi itself appeared in the capital, this time in person (*gelüb*); and another order to the *vali* of Candia and the *kadı* of Rethymno was procured, on the grounds of the *mesağ-i şer'îye* (Sharia permission),⁸⁹ giving the green light for the desired repair works.

The two orders for the village churches were initiated by the local population (*Izmar nam karye zimmileri*, *Fire nam karyenin ehl-i zimmet reayası*). Like the monks, in both cases the villagers approached the imperial *divan* directly (*gelüb*) requesting an order to the Sharia judges respectively of Candia and Rethymno to carry out legal inspections and issue permissions which would eventually lead to the sanctioning (second) order on behalf of the Sultan.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, I have not found the latter, a fact which may be attrib-

Sultan's court), 397 (Port de Vahti on Samos). On the other hand, Dandini specifically points out that 27 years after the Ottoman conquest, bells did not mark the divine office in Nicosia; instead, men climbed the bell towers to call Christians to prayer (Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban*, 24-25).

87 See a description of the monastery in Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*, 1: 87-88, repeated also in Pococke, *Voyage*, 4: 287-288.

88 It describes the parts of the structures of the Monastery of Panaya Halevi which needed repairing (in this case the wall and the gate to the monastery's courtyard, and some buildings used for productive/economic purposes), and requests an order from the Sultan for a *kadı* court investigation on the site and the eventual issuance of a Sharia permission.

89 Based on the *hüccet* compiled following an inspection on the site of the monastery, which established the need for repair of two *odas* and another building on the territory of the monastery.

90 Identifying the stages in the legal procedure in securing the needed permission for the restora-

uted to a variety of reasons, and I am thus unable to compare the speed of the Ottoman bureaucracy when a rich monastery and a village needed permission for the restoration of a place of worship. My experience in the case of other parts of the Empire shows that this was normally a very slow process, sometimes taking more than ten years.⁹¹

In Lieu of a Conclusion

In all available cases the grounds for the request were in line with the Sharia law: the structure (church or monastery) was identified as old (*kadimî*) and being left in the hands of the applicants from the time of the conquest (*feth-i hakanîden beri*). Certain parts of it (gate and fence walls, roofed shed for cattle, rooms, and other premises in the monastery; the ceiling or just “some places” in the village churches) had collapsed (*münhedim*) or were in complete ruins (*haraba müşrif*), and this is what justified the application for their repair. Three of the orders are related to the first stage in securing the permission, and order the respective Sharia judges⁹² to carry out an investigation on the site of the place of worship and find out about the real situation there, in terms of its legal status, dimensions, and structure, probably with a view to better monitoring after the repair works had been completed. The second order concerning the monastery sanctions, on the grounds of the *kadî*’s *hüccet*, which served as the *mesağ-i şer’iye*, the repair works and, also in line with the Sharia, warns against any improvement or enlargement of the buildings in question (*bilâ tevsi ve bilâ termim*). If the recipients were lucky and there were no local obstacles, that would normally be the official permission to start the reconstruction.

It is difficult to draw conclusions with respect to the real dimensions of the activeness of Cretans in securing permissions for the restoration of their churches and monasteries when there are so many question marks around the sources and the procedures. A preliminary and cautious observation based on the *mühimme* registers shows them as moderately active as compared to other regions of the Ottoman Empire in securing orders for the reconstruction/repair of churches and monasteries on the island. The lack of enthusiasm can be explained in the first place by the troubled situation of the Orthodox

tion of non-Muslim places of worship is part of my current project *Religion and Politics in the Ottoman Empire: Ottoman Politics with Regard to Non-Muslim Cult Buildings, End of 17th-Beginning of 18th Centuries*. The two documents referred to above – the *hüccets* issued by the *kadîs* of Rethymno (for the Monastery of Galoz) and by the *kadî* of Candia (for the Monastery on Yüksek Tabya) represent exactly this intermediate stage between the two sultanîc orders, providing the Sharia permission. They identify the structures in need of repair, testify to their ‘old age’, from the time of the conquest, and fix their dimensions and material.

91 I have discussed this issue on the basis of material from contemporary Bulgarian settlements in R. Gradeva, ‘On Zimmi and Their Church Buildings: Four Cases from Rumeli’, in E. Kermeli and O. Özel (eds), *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities and ‘Black Holes’*. *Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber* (Istanbul 2006), 230-237.

92 In one of these cases, about the monastery, the *vali* of Candia is also an addressee, which is a rather rare occurrence when compared to the majority of orders dealing with this issue.

Church on the island in those times and can be seen as a result of the strife between the Patriarchate's hierarchy and the Monastery of Mount Sinai. No doubt a very important factor for such a situation was the expansion of Islam and the conversion of a significant number of Cretans.⁹³ On the other hand, this attitude might be attributed to some aspects of the situation in the region or of the procedures which have remained unknown, but permitted the reconstruction of places of worship with fewer complications.⁹⁴ This, however, seems to me only a hypothetical possibility. If there existed any specifics, why would some go through the painful procedure of obtaining a formal permission, and others would not? Or, maybe there are also other sources which would contain an answer to these questions? Or, maybe the repairs undertaken shortly after the conquest of the island, witnessed in the *kadı sicils* of the earlier years, had made such efforts meaningless? Whatever the reasons, all the travellers who visited the island in the post-conquest period attest to the existence of a strong and vital parish network based on economically powerful monasteries and numerous village churches and priests. Many of them often refer to the widespread custom of Greeks in general of building new churches and circumventing the limitations imposed by the Sharia law.⁹⁵ The answer to all the questions raised above probably lies in new sources, an in-depth reading of those that we already have at hand, or in the combination of both. No doubt the situation in Crete once again reveals that the parameters of the general trends and the application of high politics in the provinces could take unexpected turns, subject to the local constellation of factors.

93 On the other hand, Lesvos/Midilli had a considerable Muslim population (Pococke, *Voyage*, 4: 365ff), but Orthodox Christians there were by far more active than any other islanders in securing permissions for the restoration of their churches. Yet, it is important to point out that all applications from the islands come from ones with significant Muslim population.

94 Indeed, many churches and synagogues were constructed in the Ottoman realm despite the existing prohibitions; see Gradeva, 'On Zimmis and Their Church Buildings', *passim*, on such cases in Rusçuk, Tatar Pazarcık and Chervena voda. While these seem to have been relatively rare and difficult to achieve in the core provinces, on the islands construction of churches and monasteries continued during the Ottoman period, probably because of the absence of any Muslims and representatives of the Ottoman authority there.

95 As Tournefort put it, "Comme l'on bâtit à bon marché dans ce pays-là, les Grecs à l'agonie laissent une vingtaine d'écus pour dresser une chapelle et c'est ce qui fait que toutes les îles en sont couvertes"; Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste*, 1: 213. In the view of Pococke, too, Cretan Greeks' devotion found expression in the construction of chapels; Pococke, *Voyage*, 4: 300. He is even more eloquent in his overview of the state of the Orthodox Church at the time of his visit to the eastern Mediterranean: "C'est sans doute la grande quantité de ces gens d'église qui a tant fait multiplier les chapelles en Grèce où on bâtit tous les jours de nouvelles, quoiqu'il faille en acheter la permission du cadı: il est même défendu de relever celles qui sont tombées ou qui ont été brûlées, qu'après avoir payé les droits de cet officier. Chaque *papas* croit être en droit d'avoir une chapelle, de même qu'il a celui d'épouser une femme ..."; *ibid.*, 448, 199. Travellers often indicate newly-constructed churches and monasteries specifically pointing to the existing prohibitions in the realm of Islam.

MULTI-DIMENSIONAL COMPLICATIONS OF CONVERSION TO ISLAM IN OTTOMAN CRETE

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A SIGNIFICANT PRACTICE OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSION was experienced in Crete, which came under Ottoman rule in the middle of the seventeenth century. Muslim soldiers and administrators who settled on the island, and whose number is not known for certain, as well as Bektashi dervishes,¹ who must have been fewer in number, had a certain role to play in this change of religious balance on the island. However, numbers alone cannot provide a complete explanation for religious conversion, which is the most important factor in the formation of a remarkable Muslim population in Crete within a short period of time.² In fact, conversions to Islam continued to take place on the island until the nineteenth century.

Following conversions in Bithynia during the early Ottoman period, and of Bosnian Bogomils later, the third mass conversion wave in Ottoman history was experienced in Crete, starting in the middle of the seventeenth century. The primary goal of conversion was to balance the population on the island; this method may be contrasted with transferring masses of population to the island, which was the case during and after the conquest of the Balkans. In that period, there was neither a sizeable Turkmen population potential feeding Anatolia from the east nor a biological revolution, as suggested by Braudel for the sixteenth century. On the contrary, there was a remarkable shrinkage in population, even in Anatolia.³ Consequently, the idea of migrating masses from Anatolia was out of the question. Thus, the population balance was achieved not by the traditional method of forced migration of populations but by conversion.

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- 1 For the Bektashi settlement in Crete, see O. F. Köprülü, 'Usta-zâde Yunus Bey'in Meçhul Kalmış Bir Makalesi: Bektaşiliğin Girit'de İntişârı', *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 8-9 (1980), 37-89.
- 2 For a general coverage of conversion practices, see A. N. Adıyeke, 'XVII. Yüzyıl Girit (Resmo) Şeriye Sicillerine Göre İhtida Hareketleri ve Girit'te Etnik Dönüşüm', in *XIV. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara: 9-13 Eylül 2002. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Vol. 2, Part 1 (Ankara 2005), 557-568.
- 3 O. Özel, 'Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The 'Demographic Crisis' Reconsidered', *IJMES*, 36 (2004), 189-205.

Conversion to Islam was encouraged by the Ottoman administration. In this paper, however, I will not discuss the conversion policies of the Ottoman administration or how the Church and Christian ideology reacted to these conversion processes. Furthermore, I will not discuss pictures which have been formed in the Christian world about such practices, or the reasons behind the individuals' conversion of their own free will. The fundamental issue of our study is to trace the complications caused by conversions in society.

People who converted in the second half of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century experienced problems not only with the administration, but also with their former religious community as well as with the new one. Such problems regarding economic, legal, and ethical issues, and complications arising in their daily practices, were to some extent reflected in court records. These lawsuit records will constitute my primary source of data.

In this paper, I will concentrate on at least six problem areas based on data that I have gleaned so far. First, there will be a discussion of cases in which people converted to Islam of their own free will alone; although we find cases where the will of the individual is clear enough, there are complications where a father influences his sons and daughters, or brothers influence their sisters. Second, I will discuss complications arising in the case of marriages. Third, complications related to the matter of taxation. Fourth, problems occurring in the case of inheritance and distribution of estates. Fifth, in the collecting up of Muslim orphans by the administration, and, finally, relating to practices in daily life in general.

The first complication that faces us is to find an answer to the question who chose to become a Muslim. First and foremost, it was the adult male and female Christian on the island. However, there were also Jews who converted, the number of whom is not known.⁴ In addition to this, interestingly, there were also slaves and servants of Muslims who also converted.⁵ It is certain that the conversion of these people made their lives considerably easier.

Sometimes the attitude of parents was also a determining factor in the conversion process; they made their children adopt Islam with or without their consent. Mehmed, son of Abdullah, who was living in Vaki (or Daki)⁶ village in Rethymno, filed a lawsuit against

4 In a case dated December 1762, Cani, daughter of Nikola, referred to her ex-husband as: "... Mustafa, the Muslim, son of Avram, the Jew" (General Directorate of Pious Foundations, Istanbul District Administration, Court Records of Rethymno [CRR], No. 60, p. 193 [henceforth: CRR, 60: 193]).

5 The young servant (*emred gulâm*) Yorgo Laguzaki of Ali Zolotaki, from Gallos village, adopted Islam and was named Ali (July 1754) (CRR, 60: 152); Mihali, the servant of Hüseyin Koryorabaki, son of Manoli, adopted Islam and was named Mustafa (22 July 1754) (CRR, 60: 301).

6 A proper reading of the names of individuals as well as of villages is a major difficulty. As these names were entered in court registers in Arabic script by the judge (*kadı*) and his deputies (*naib*), who in general had little or no knowledge of Greek, it is almost impossible to read names in general other than the very common ones. In certain cases the names are left blank in the *kadı* records. This explains why my readings in this paper are also no more than attempts in this direction.

his son Franke in February 1677. Mehmed Efendi said: "I have been honoured for thirty years by choosing Islam as my religion. My son Franke is still a Christian although he is thirty-five years old. Let's invite him to Islam by calling him to court". When Franke was called to court and asked about his opinion, he accepted the offer, professed Islam and was given the Muslim name of Mustafa. In addition, Mustafa, the new Muslim, decided that his little son and daughter would become Muslims as well, and had them registered in the *kadi's* record.⁷

This kind of practice created problems sometimes. For example, in Açıparos (or Açıpadés) village on 29 November 1706, Yorgi, the son of Receb, who had become a Muslim three years earlier, said that he had also become a Muslim at an earlier age simply because he was under the custody of his father at the time, and thus he was registered as a Muslim. He declared that he did not accept this, as he was now an adult, hence he decided to return to his previous religion, Christianity, and wanted this to be registered in court.⁸ In stark opposition to Islamic law, Receb's son Yorgi succeeded in returning to Christianity when he became an adult and was thus registered in the court record.

One source of confusion experienced during conversion arises in cases where one has to determine an individual's religion. In a society with a community system based on one's religion, which religion individuals belong to is a piece of information that has to be known to the religious community members. In August 1674, a group of Muslims complained to the governor of Crete about Sophia, who was living in Prases village in Rethymno. They wanted action to be taken against her, since, although this woman, whose father and husband were janissaries, had become Muslim, and was named Hadice, she was going to church, and had prayed there recently. When Sophia was asked about this accusation, she said that she had never adopted Islam and that she was still a Christian. When other people in her village were asked about this, they testified that she had always been known as a Christian, and this was registered in the court record.⁹

Such problems were not always resolved by reference to the individual's own will as in Sophia's case. On 6 October 1719, Ali Beşe, son of Abdullah, who was from Kandiye, but was a guest at the time in Rethymno, filed a lawsuit against his sister. He claimed that his sister Kâlîçe became Muslim by professing Islam and was named Ayşe in the presence of those who were there when she was a guest in Kirya (or Karya) village eight days previously upon the host's proposal: "Let us become Muslim". When Kâlîçe/Ayşe was asked about this, she denied it. However, when witnesses whom her brother Ali brought to court provided the same information as Ali, it was registered in the record that Kâlîçe's religion was Islam by the court's decision.¹⁰ I do not know how Kâlîçe or Ayşe lived the rest of her life, but she belonged to a religion that she did not choose by herself. Probably, she got stuck between Christianity and Islam.

7 CRR, 85: 59.

8 CRR, 55: 19.

9 CRR, 85: 17-18.

10 CRR, 415: 204.

The problem which religion people belonged to caused more tragic stories in combination with personal security issues. A janissary named Süleyman from Ayo Yani village of the Milopotamo district, got married to the newly converted Meryem from his village. However, some time later, Kethüda İbrahim and janissary Kara İbrahim, Horoz İbrahim, Borum Ahmed and Andonaki broke into Süleyman's house, and said: "Your wife is not a Muslim, she is still a Christian; you made her marry you", and kidnapped the woman. In his complaint, Süleyman stated that his wife was made to marry Borum Ahmed by force and was employed as a servant for Kethüda İbrahim.¹¹ The significant aspect of this case is that seizing Süleyman's wife is justified by her religion. Again, this example shows us that women's conversion to Islam especially was sometimes seen to be the problem of others rather than the individual concerned.

In the conversion process, the discussion about which religion people belonged to sometimes followed them after death beyond the confines of this world. In a sad record (which must be dated 1656 or 1657) it was stated that one of the daughters of a non-Muslim woman, Marusa, who was a resident of the Rethymno suburb, died and was buried in a Christian graveyard. However, upon the complaint of Muslims, it was stated that the girl should have been buried in a Muslim graveyard because she had converted to Islam and was a Muslim, not a Christian, when she died. Later, her body was removed from the Christian graveyard and was re-buried in a Muslim graveyard. İbrahim Paşa, the governor of Rethymno, ordered the Muslim community not to taunt the girl's mother by saying: "Why did you bury your daughter among *giaours* although she was a Muslim?"¹² Furthermore, this indicates that the Christian mother never approved of her daughter's conversion to Islam in her heart.

Conversions could also cause serious problems regarding marriage. The simplest problem was marriage renewal (*tecdid-i nikâh*) proceedings for men who converted to Islam. For example, Rıdvan, who converted to Islam on 18 December 1656, renewed his marriage with his wife Hortaca.¹³ However, the fact that the number of such proceedings is considerably lower than conversion records shows that this proceeding was not compulsory. Women's conversion to Islam brought about very important problems, as it was out of the question for a Muslim woman to be married to a Christian man. By means of this method, women who converted to Islam could terminate their marriages. Molly Greene reports the presence of such cases in the Kandiye *kadı* records. For example, newly converted Ayşe terminated her marriage with her husband Michael, who refused to convert to Islam, and she was married to Abdullah's son Ali.¹⁴ In February 1747, Manoli Papazaki's wife, Elia, the daughter of Yorgi, became a Muslim and was named Fatma in the presence of the mufti, and this was witnessed by very important people.¹⁵ However, there is no clue about the rest of this proceeding. It would have been impossible for for-

11 Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, IV: 177, No. 2169 (29 Muharrem 1141 [4 September 1728]).

12 CRR, 56: 50.

13 CRR, 56: 12.

14 Greene, *A Shared World*, 94.

15 CRR, 365: 156.

mer Elia/new Fatma, who had such a high status that it required the mufti to attend her conversion ceremony, to remain married to Manoli Papazaki.

Economic factors, which are among the most important reasons for the conversion of native Christians to Islam, were also the reason for the most serious confusions following conversion. There were twofold problems. On the one hand, the fact that taxes such as *cizye*, *harac* and *ispence* which were collected from non-Muslims were also collected from those who converted to Islam was a serious problem. Especially at the beginning, many new Muslims filed complaints because these taxes were also demanded from them. Both in the decrees sent from the centre and orders issued by the governors of Crete, it was repeated again and again that these taxes must not be collected from new Muslims. On the other hand, new Muslims wished to be exempted not only from these taxes but also from the other common taxes.¹⁶ Of course, this caused a repetition of complaints by both new Muslims and officials.

The Ottoman administration declared many times that new Muslims were exempted only from taxes such as *cizye* and *harac* which were collected from Christians, and that they should pay the other taxes “mahsullerinden kanun ve defter mucibince”,¹⁷ that is, on the amount written in their respective books representing their properties and products, and “sakin oldukları karye ahali ile ale’s-seviye”,¹⁸ that is, subject to the same conditions as other people in their villages. As is clear, new Muslims demanded remarkable tax exemption by converting to Islam. However, the Ottoman tax system did not provide them with a general tax exemption, but only relieved them from paying the taxes intended for non-Muslims. Conflicts on this issue continued until the middle of the eighteenth century.¹⁹

New Muslims sometimes were confronted with their old co-religionists. This happened especially during inheritance distribution. There are a lot of lawsuits generally in the Cretan court records about the distribution of estates. Two lawsuit entries provide important clues about the issue in question. The first is a lawsuit dated April 1664. Maptopo’s daughter Zambeta, who resided in Pistya (?) village in the district of Amari, filed a lawsuit against her brother. In her statement, she declared that her brother Corci became a Muslim when their mother and father died, and held possession of all properties inherited from their parents. Zambeta claimed that her brother, old Corci/new Hüseyin, did her an injustice and requested the court to correct this.²⁰ The second lawsuit, dated evasıt-ı Ramazan 1132 (about the middle of July 1720), is exactly the opposite of this case. New Muslim Mehmed, resident in Karoti village in Rethymno, filed a complaint against his brother Vasil and said: “Vasil is my full brother. But after our father Yorgi and our moth-

16 “... üzerlerine edası lazım gelen tuz ve zahire baha ve kaftan baha ve voyvodalık akçeleri ve avarız-ı divaniyeler ...” (CRR, 56: 6).

17 CRR, 98: 69.

18 CRR, 98: 65.

19 There are many entries in the Rethymno court records on this subject. See, for example, CRR, 56: 6, 50; CRR, 98: 53, 65, 66, 69, 72.

20 CRR, 55: 61-62.

er Kali died, I became a Muslim. My brother Vasil got possession of all of our parents' properties and refrained from giving me the share inherited by me from my parents legally because I became a Muslim".²¹ Since he is a Muslim, new Muslim Hüseyin in the first case considers that he has the right not to give any inheritance share to his Christian sister. Likewise, in the second case, new Muslim Mehmed also thinks that he is entitled to an inheritance share, and says that his brother deprived him of his rights in the estate because he became a Muslim. As noted above, there are in fact many cases about the distribution of estates in the records of *kadis*. What I would like to emphasise here is the fact that conversion is commonly highlighted as an excuse in solving problems other than religious ones.

As an extension of conversion, I should mention a political problem concerning children born as a result of Muslims' marriages with Christian women. Two orders dated 1707 and 1727 are very interesting and important. According to what is written in the orders to officials in Rethymno, although some people who lived in villages and sub-districts converted to Islam, their wives remained Christian. Later, those new Muslims died or moved to other places, but their children stayed with their Christian mothers, maternal uncles, paternal uncles, brothers or other relatives. Administrators were concerned that these young children would abandon Islam and become inclined to perversion if they stayed with their Christian mothers or relatives. This had to be prevented. That is why they wanted these children to be identified and registered in a book, and to be sent to Kandiye with that book. We do not know what was done as a result of the order dated 1727,²² but, following the order by the governor of Crete Numan Paşa in 1707, a comprehensive investigation was conducted and such a book was prepared. In the book, locations of the children collected from villages in Rethymno, Amari and Ayovasili were registered, and the following information was entered: the village from which the child was taken, the child's name and to whom that child was given. Most of those children were brought to Kandiye to be given to religious people temporarily so that they would be trained and learn Islam as their religion. Those children who had been collected were distributed to different people such as Süleyman Beşe, Hasan Beşe, Mullah İbrahim, Hacı Çavuş, Topçubaşı, Çorbacı Ali Ağa, el-Hac Mustafa Efendi, Mehmed Kethüda. Two of the children ran away at that time. As gleaned from the book, a total of seventeen or a few more children were collected.²³ We do not know whether such a practice was conducted at other times as well.

Lastly, conversions sometimes caused problems which are not clear at once; that is to say, ethical or administrative problems. The most typical example is the problem of circumcision of the men who converted to Islam. In a petition written by Şeyh Rüstem, who was authorised officially on this issue, he expressed his discontent that most of the men

21 "... ben islâm ile müşerref oldum deyü babamızın ve anamızın terekelerinden bi-hasebü'ş-şer isabet iden hissemi virmekden imtina ..." (CRR, 62: 11-12).

22 For the *buyruldu* of 22 Zilhicce 1139 (10 August 1727), see CRR, 48: 55.

23 CRR, 55: 4. During the binding of the record book, a portion of the text was accidentally cut out. I suppose that three or four more children should be added to this figure.

who converted to Islam were not circumcised. In the light of this, the governor of Crete ordered in March 1658 all the *kadıs* in Crete to make all new Muslims who had not been circumcised before be circumcised, and stated that they otherwise would be considered the same as non-Muslims.²⁴ We have no information to indicate how common this problem was.

In conclusion, many people from different groups converted to Islam in Crete from the seventeenth until the nineteenth century. In this context, as exemplified above, certain problems directly arising from conversion and at other times problems somehow connected with conversion were experienced. However, it should be noted that all these complications discussed in this paper did not produce a social trauma caused by conversion. At that period, when security issues were of greater importance for the Ottoman Empire, problems arising from conversion to Islam did not give rise to greater social conflicts in Crete, where social transformation problems were experienced rather as daily problems which were to be resolved by legal means.

24 Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 65, No. 90.

LES RÉSEAUX SOUFIS DANS LA CRÈTE OTTOMANE

Nathalie CLAYER – Alexandre POPOVIC*

Les sources

L'ÉTUDE DU DÉVELOPPEMENT HISTORIQUE des réseaux confrériques pose problème du fait du caractère extrêmement parcellaire et fragmentaire de la documentation. L'étude des réseaux soufis dans la Crète ottomane ne fait pas exception. Certes, nous possédons quelques témoignages de voyageurs de la fin du XIX^e ou du début du XX^e siècle, comme ceux de Spratt, Hall et Hasluck¹, mais ceux-ci évoquent de façon très ponctuelle la situation de l'époque. Nous pouvons lire aussi d'autres évocations très générales, comme celle de Brailsford², qui s'appuient sur des témoignages indirects pour faire des affirmations très généralisantes et, généralement, assez éloignées de la réalité.

Il existe d'ailleurs déjà plusieurs études à ce sujet, parues à partir des années 1960, exploitant et présentant différentes sources. A la fin des années 1960, H. J. Kissling et P. N. Hidirolou ont ainsi analysé chacun de leur côté le témoignage d'Evliya Çelebi³. Le fils de Fuat Köprülü, Orhan F. Köprülü, a édité à la fin des années 1970 le manuscrit de Ustazade Yunus Bey, un musulman bektachi crétois, portant sur le bektachisme en Crète, texte que son père avait recueilli longtemps auparavant⁴. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi a à nou-

* CNRS – EHESS (Etudes turques et ottomanes).

- 1 Captain T. A. B. Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, t. 1 (Londres 1865), pp. 80-83 ; H. R. Hall, « Some Greek Monasteries », *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 35 (1913), pp. 139-149 ; F. W. Hasluck, « Geographical Distribution of the Bektashi », *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 21 (1916), pp. 84-124 et planche XIII, et idem, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, t. II (Oxford 1929), pp. 531 et 534-536.
- 2 H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future* (Londres 1906), pp. 243 et 247.
- 3 H. J. Kissling, « Die ersten Derwischniederlassungen auf der Insel Kreta », dans *Pepragmena tou B' Diethnous Krétologikou Synedriou*, t. IV (Athènes 1969), pp. 206-211 (republié dans H. J. Kissling, *Dissertationes Orientales et Balcanicae*. I. *Das Derwischtum* [Munich 1986], pp. 380-385) ; P. Hidirolou, *Das Religiöse Leben auf Kreta nach Evlija Çelebi* (Leyde 1969) (cf. particulièrement, pp. 18-23, 34-35 et 45-55).
- 4 O. F. Köprülü, « Usta-zâde Yunus Bey'in Meçhul Kalmış Bir Makalesi : Bektaşiliğin Girid'de İntişârı », *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 8-9 (1979-1980), pp. 37-86.

veau utilisé Evliya Çelebi dans le quatrième tome de son fameux ouvrage sur les monuments ottomans en Europe, dont une partie concerne la Crète⁵. Plus récemment, İsmail Kara a exploité différents documents sur la *mevlevihane* de Hanya pour en tirer une étude sur l'établissement et la famille des cheikhs⁶. Enfin quelques autres études font également référence à des confréries implantées en Crète, comme celle d'Alexandre Popovic sur l'islam dans les Balkans⁷, celle de Thierry Zarcone sur les *tekke* kadiris de l'Empire ottoman⁸, ou encore celle de Barbara Kellner-Heinkele et Kerem Kayı à propos d'un petit *divan* rédigé par un *cadi* en poste en Crète au milieu du XIX^e siècle, où l'on trouve quelques renseignements concernant les milieux soufis⁹.

Pour aller plus loin, au-delà de la synthèse des éléments apportés par ces voyageurs et chercheurs, nous avons utilisé ici quelques nouvelles sources, en particulier : le manuscrit d'Osman Nuri Hanyevî, une sorte de *tezkiye*, qui s'avère un ouvrage particulièrement intéressant puisque l'auteur était lui-même affilié à la confrérie des Celvetis comme nous le verrons¹⁰ ; trois ouvrages écrits par le cheikh d'Osman Nuri, en l'occurrence un *divan* et deux *mesnevi* dont l'un porte sur le martyr d'un cheikh halveti de Kandiye (ces trois ouvrages ont été récemment édités à Ankara par des chercheurs turcs)¹¹ ; une trentaine de documents de *vakıf*, conservés aux archives du *Başbakanlık* d'Istanbul, les catalogues des *defter* concernant les *vakıf* des *tekke* d'Héraklion, qui se trouvaient en octobre 1990 à la Bibliothèque publique d'Héraklion (*Vikelaia Dimotiki Vivliothiki*), et enfin les recherches que nous avons faites à cette même époque sur le terrain (y compris au Musée historique d'Héraklion où nous avons trouvé une stèle d'un cheikh kadirî).

- 5 E. H. Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*. Tome IV : *Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Arnavudluk* (Istanbul 1982) (cf. pp. 211-212, 215, 218, 219, 335). Ayverdi utilise également le témoignage de Ustazade Yunus Bey publié par O. F. Köprülü.
- 6 İ. Kara, « Hanya Mevlevîhânesi : Şeyh Ailesi – Müştemilâtı – Vakfiyesi », *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1 (1997), pp. 115-173 et idem, *Hanya/Girit Mevlevîhânesi : Şeyh Ailesi, Müştemilâtı, Vakfiyesi, Mübadelesi* (Istanbul 2006).
- 7 A. Popovic, *L'islam balkanique. Les musulmans du sud-est européen dans la période post-ottomane* (Berlin 1986), p. 132 (en s'appuyant sur Hasluck et EI, s.v. « Mawlawiyya » [D.S. Margoliouth]).
- 8 Th. Zarcone, « Un document inédit sur les *tekke* kâdirî de l'Empire ottoman et du monde musulman au XIX^e siècle », dans J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont et R. Dor (éds), *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin par ses disciples, collègues et amis* (Paris 1992), pp. 275-283 (cf. p. 278).
- 9 B. Kellner-Heinkele et K. Kayı, « A Season in Crete : Hâfiz Nûrî's *Divân* as a Source for Life in the Periphery during the Tanzîmât Period », *ArchOtt*, 17 (1999), pp. 5-77 (cf. pp. 35-40).
- 10 Nuri (Osman Hanyevî), *Düstur* (Ms. or. quart. 1500), Staatsbibliothek preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, fol. 80b-111b. Cet ouvrage a été récemment édité à partir d'un autre manuscrit, conservé à Çorum (Hasan Paşa Kütüphanesi, n° 2113/2) : O. Kurtoglu (éd.), *Nurî Osman Hanyevî : Girit Şâirleri (Tezkire-i Şu'arâ-yı Cezîre-i Girit)* (Ankara 2006). Sur ce texte voir aussi l'article à paraître de Marinos Sariyannis, « The *Düstûr* of Hanyevî Nurî 'Osman as a Source for the Cultural Life of 18th Century Ottoman Crete », *Etudes balkaniques, Cahiers Pierre Belon*.
- 11 Salacıoğlu Mustafa Celvetî, *Giritli Şeyh Mustafa'nın Şehadetî (Manzûm Bir Menâkıpnâme)*, éds M. Tatçı et C. Kurnaz (Ankara 2000) ; Giritli Salacıoğlu Mustafa Celvetî, *Divân*, éds C. Kurnaz, M. Tatçı et Y. Aydemir (Ankara 2000) ; et M. Tatçı, C. Kurnaz et Y. Aydemir, *Giritli Salacıoğlu Mustafa ve Mesnevileri* (Ankara 2001).

A partir de cette documentation, que pouvons nous dire du développement des réseaux confrériques en Crète ?

L'époque de la conquête et le témoignage d'Evliya Çelebi

Il faut bien entendu repartir d'Evliya Çelebi qui se trouvait sur place, en 1667-1669, en particulier au moment de la conquête de Kandiye/Héraklion. Comme d'habitude il s'agit d'une source incontournable, mais qui peut poser problème. Que nous dit le célèbre voyageur ? Il fait état d'une prédominance des *tekke* à Kandiye, ce qui semble dû au lien entre les cheikhs et derviches, d'une part, et les troupes, de l'autre – il existait ainsi un *tekke* des archers dans cette ville. Evliya Çelebi note l'existence de trois *tekke* à Resmo/Réthymnon, dont le *tekke* de Veli Paşa, un établissement bektachi situé en dehors de la forteresse¹², de trois *tekke* à Hanya¹³, de trois *tekke* à İnadiye/Fortezza, parmi lesquels le *tekke* bektachi de Horasanoğlu en dehors de la forteresse¹⁴, tandis qu'il parle de dix-sept *tekke* à Kandiye¹⁵.

En ce qui concerne les confréries présentes, le problème est qu'il ne les mentionne pas toujours. Par ailleurs, pour certaines, nous n'avons pas d'autres renseignements sur leur existence par la suite. C'est le cas de la Bayramiyye¹⁶, de la Fenâiyye¹⁷ et peut-être également de la Melamiyye¹⁸, bien que l'esprit du *melamet* ait imprégné des milieux soufis divers, y compris sur l'île comme nous le verrons plus loin. Pour les autres, il faut noter la présence dès cette époque de la Celvetiyye, de la Kadiriyye, de la Halvetiyye – à travers différentes branches – et de la Bektachiyye. Mais comme nous allons le voir, l'appartenance confrérique fournie par Evliya n'est pas absolument certaine.

Voyons précisément, confrérie par confrérie, ce que l'on sait du développement des réseaux soufis après cette période de conquête.

12 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. 8. *Kitap*, eds S. A. Kahraman, Y. Dağlı and R. Dankoff (Istanbul 2003), p. 177.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 173.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 229. Mais il inclut dans ces *tekke*, à nouveau le *tekke* bektachi de Horasanoğlu.

16 Il mentionne la *hankah* de Şeyh Vahidi à Kandiye, située dans un bastion (*ibid.*, p. 229).

17 Cette confrérie possédait, d'après Evliya, un *tekke* à Kandiye, près de la porte de Panıgrad, appelé *tekke* de la poudrerie (*Cebahane Tekyesi*) (*ibid.*, p. 229). Nous ignorons de quelle confrérie mystique il s'agit. Une branche de la Celvetiyye porte ce nom, mais elle fut fondée plus tard au XVIII^e siècle (H. K. Yılmaz, *Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî ve Celvetiyye Tarikatı* [Istanbul s.d. (1980)], pp. 241-242).

18 En fait, Evliya ne mentionne pas d'établissement de cet ordre, mais un derviche qui faisait des miracles, du nom de Samudî Ali Dede, aussi appelé Summî Dede ou Söylemez Ali Dede (*Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, pp. 199-200).

La Celvetiyye

D'après Evliya Çelebi, la Celvetiyye possédait un relais sur l'île dès les lendemains de la conquête de Kandiye, en l'occurrence le *tekke* de Ali Efendi. Ce dernier aurait été un *halife* de Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi, le fondateur de cette confrérie mystique dont l'*asitane* (ou centre principal) se trouvait à Üsküdar¹⁹. La Crète fit donc très rapidement partie de ce réseau, proche de la Halvetiyye, apparu dans les dernières années du XVI^e siècle et dont les liens avec les milieux du pouvoir favorisèrent une expansion rapide dans l'empire, tant dans la capitale qu'en Anatolie occidentale et centrale, ainsi que dans les Balkans²⁰.

Au siècle suivant, la présence de la Celvetiyye est attestée cette fois à Hanya. Un personnage local qui vécut dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle et dans le premier quart du XIX^e siècle, Salacıoğlu Mustafa Efendi, avait en effet « rapporté » la confrérie d'Üsküdar, ou plutôt une nouvelle version de la Celvetiyye fortement teintée de bektachisme et de melamisme. On possède plusieurs témoignages à ce sujet. Osman Nuri, disciple du cheikh et auteur de ce manuscrit renfermant des biographies de poètes, écrit qu'il était le fils du cheikh halveti de Hanya, Sırrî Ahmed Efendi (m. en 1172/1758-1759). A Üsküdar, il fut initié à la Celvetiyye par le cheikh Bandırmalizade es-Seyyid Haşim Efendi, avant de rentrer à Hanya pour y diriger un *tekke* de la confrérie. Il était encore vivant au moment où Osman Nuri rédigeait son ouvrage (au plus tôt en 1817, au plus tard en 1831)²¹.

Les propres œuvres de Salacıoğlu Mustafa Efendi nous fournissent également des informations, comme l'ont montré Mustafa Tatcı, Cemâl Kurnaz et Yaşar Aydemir qui les ont étudiées et éditées récemment²². On apprend en effet qu'il se présentait sous le nom de Giridî Hanyevî, mais portait aussi le nom de Salacızade, Salacıoğlu ou Salacıdedeoğlu Mustafa. Son père, Şeyh Ahmed Efendi, serait mort alors qu'il était encore enfant. On apprend aussi qu'il entreprit de voyager en dehors de l'île et qu'au bout de ses pérégrinations il s'initia, à Üsküdar, auprès du cheikh Haşim Baba qui l'envoya ensuite dans sa Crète natale en tant que *halife*, capable à son tour d'initier des disciples dans la voie. On apprend encore qu'il s'adressa sous forme d'une *kaside* à Seyyid Mustafa Paşa afin d'obtenir de l'aide pour faire réparer le *tekke* qu'il dirigeait. Surtout, ses écrits – un *divan* et deux *mesnevi*, comme on l'a vu – nous laissent entrevoir ses croyances en l'unicité de l'être (*vahdet-i vücud*), en l'homme parfait (*insan-ı kâmil*), et sa dévotion envers le Prophète, Ali et les gens de la maison du Prophète (*ehl-i beyt*). Sa poésie trahit également un net penchant melami (voie du blâme, qui consiste à faire ce qui est répréhensible afin d'être blâmé ou bien à voiler ses états mystiques et paraître comme le commun des mortels). Tout ceci venait de son affiliation au cheikh Haşim Baba. Celui-ci avait en effet considérablement transformé la voie de la Celvetiyye par des apports venant à la fois de la voie melami, dont il se considérait un pôle (*kutub*) et de la voie bektachi, dont

19 *Ibid.*, p. 229.

20 Yılmaz, *Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî*.

21 Kurtoglu (éd.), *Girit Şâirleri*, pp. 47-52 (ce manuscrit donne comme date de mort de Sırrî Ahmed Efendi 1170/1756-1757 ; voir aussi *infra*, n. 37).

22 Voir n. 11.

il fut aussi un éminent représentant à Istanbul²³. Le soufisme de Salacıoğlu Mustafa, assez hétérodoxe, déviait donc très sensiblement de celui de la Celvetiyye de Aziz Mahmud Hüdayî, relayée au siècle précédent par son *halife* Ali Efendi à Kandiye²⁴. Il mourut à Hanya à une date que nous ignorons, mais en tout cas pas avant 1240/1825 (une date mentionnée dans son *divan*), et non en 1220/1805 comme l'écrivait Bursalı Mehmed Tahir²⁵.

L'influence de ce cheikh crétois semble avoir été importante, si l'on en juge par la diffusion de ses écrits, dont il existe de nombreuses copies encore aujourd'hui dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul²⁶. On sait aussi, d'après des mentions dans ses ouvrages, qu'il eut au moins deux *halife* : Giritli Abdüllâtîf Efendi et Nuri Efendi²⁷. Le premier était un lettré qui traduisit une épître du persan. Quant au second, il portait le nom de Hanyevî Begzade Nuri Efendi ou de Himmetli Nuri Efendi, selon les documents. S'agissait-il de Osman Nuri, l'auteur de la *tezkiye* déjà utilisée ? C'est ce que Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, qui mentionne un certain Nuri Efendi Kolağası Ahmed Beyzade, *halife* de Salacıoğlu, nous pousse à croire²⁸. Nous savons en effet qu'Osman Nuri (né à Hanya en 1181/1767-1768 et m. en 1230/1831-1832) était le fils d'un *ağa* de la cavalerie, nommé Ahmed Beg. Osman Nuri devint scribe des janissaires de la ville et fut gratifié d'un *zeamet* dans le village de Moros. Il connaissait le persan, et écrivit un *divan* et un dictionnaire gréco-turc, en plus de la *tezkiye*²⁹. Au reste, dans celle-ci, la première biographie qu'il présente est celle de Salacıoğlu Şeyh Mustafa.

D'autre part, Salacıoğlu Mustafa a composé un *tarih* à l'occasion de la mort (en 1204/1789-1790) d'un cheikh celveti qui lui fut contemporain, Kandiyele Celvetî Şeyhi Hüseyin Baba, dont le nom laisse penser qu'il exerça à Kandiye³⁰, ce qui voudrait dire que la confrérie était aussi présente dans cette ville. Nous ne savons pas cependant s'il s'agissait de la même branche, ni comment évoluèrent le ou les cercles celvetis de Crète par la suite.

23 Voir *İA*, s.v. « Celvetiyye » (A. Gölpınarlı) et Yılmaz, *Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî*, pp. 242-245.

24 D'après Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, un autre personnage mort à Hanya aurait été un disciple du cheikh Haşım Baba, en l'occurrence un certain Hikmeti Efendi, auteur lui aussi de poésies ; Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, t. I (Istanbul 1333), p. 190 (édition en caractères arabes) ; t. I (Istanbul s.d.), p. 131 (édition en caractères latins).

25 *Ibid.*

26 Il existe dix manuscrits renfermant le *divan* et à sa suite les deux petits *mesnevi* (Tatçı, Kurnaz et Aydemir, *Giritli Salacıoğlu Mustafa ve Mesnevileri*, pp. 29-30).

27 Salacıoğlu Mustafa Celvetî, *Giritli Şeyh Mustafa'nın Şehadeti*, pp. 9-10.

28 Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, t. II, p. 462 (édition en caractères arabes) ; t. II, p. 280 (édition en caractères latins). Mehmed Tahir se trompe probablement en disant qu'il était de Kandiye.

29 Sariyannis, « The Düstûr » (qui montre qu'il avait des liens avec l'élite de Nauplie/Anabolu, en Morée) ; Kurtoğlu (éd.), *Girit Şâirleri*, pp. 15-24. Voir également, au sujet de son dictionnaire, M. Kappler, « Fra religione e lingua/grafia nei Balcani : i musulmani grecofoni (XVIII-XIX sec.) e un dizionario rimato ottomano-greco di Creta », *Oriente Moderno*, n.s. XV (LXXVI)/3 (1996), pp. 79-112.

30 Giritli Salacıoğlu Mustafa Celvetî, *Dîvân*, pp. 43 et 121-122.

La Halvetiyye

En ce qui concerne les Halvetis, Evliya Çelebi mentionnait leur présence à Kandiye, juste après la conquête, avec un *tekke* de la branche *uşşaki*³¹, un autre de la branche *gölşeni* et le *tekke* de Receb Ağa, majordome (*vekilharc*) du grand vizir³². On ne sait pas si le Karabaş Tekkesi qu'il mentionne également, comme étant un grand *tekke* situé à l'intérieur du bastion plat (*yassı tabya*), s'appelait ainsi parce qu'il appartenait à la branche *karabaşıyye* fondée par Karabaş Veli (m. 1685), ce qui voudrait dire du vivant même du fondateur³³. De même, on ne sait pas si d'autres établissements de derviches qu'il mentionne sans préciser la *tarikât* étaient liés à la Halvetiyye, la confrérie la plus répandue dans l'empire par l'intermédiaire de ses diverses ramifications³⁴.

Pour le siècle suivant, c'est encore grâce aux ouvrages d'Osman Nuri et de Salacıoğlu Mustafa Efendi que la présence de la confrérie est attestée dans les deux principales villes de l'île, Hanya et Kandiye. D'après Osman Nuri en effet, la branche *üveysiyye*, dont le centre était à Damas³⁵, aurait essaimé à Hanya au XVIII^e siècle en la personne de Hikmeti Ahmed Efendi. Ce derviche solitaire, qui ne fréquentait pas les mosquées, avait une réputation de sainteté. On sait qu'il écrivit, qu'il pratiquait la divination et la médecine. Il serait mort en 1144/1731-1732³⁶. Osman Nuri mentionne également un autre cheikh halveti, nous l'avons vu plus haut : Sırrî Şeyh Ahmed, le père de Salacıoğlu Mustafa, qui mourut en 1170/1756-1757 ou 1172/1758-1759³⁷. Enfin, dans l'un de ses *mesnevi*, Salacıoğlu Mustafa évoque longuement un cheikh halveti de Kandiye, Çıkrıkcı Şeyh Mustafa (m. en 1170/1757), puisqu'il consacre même cet ouvrage au martyr du cheikh.

Ce personnage avait été « tourneur » (*çıkırıkcı*) dans le Vezir Çarşısı de Kandiye. Il était devenu peu à peu soufi. Il avait eu notamment l'occasion de rencontrer et de s'entretenir longuement avec un saint (*eren*) bektachi venu dans la ville, qui lui conseilla de partir chercher un guide spirituel. Il s'embarqua donc pour Istanbul. Salacıoğlu Mustafa relate son affiliation à la Halvetiyye à Üsküdar, au *tekke* de Feyzi Efendi, qui eut lieu plus tard³⁸ : le jour du rituel (*mukabele*), il tomba en transe, en écoutant le cheikh et pro-

31 Il s'agissait du *tekke* de Şeyh Esedüddin, situé près de la mosquée de Ankebut Ahmed Paşa (*Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, p. 234).

32 Il s'agissait du Şeyh İbrahim Gülşeni Tekkesi (*ibid.*, p. 234).

33 R. Serin, *İslâm Tasavvufunda Halvetilik ve Halvetiler* (Istanbul 1984), pp. 147-149.

34 Cf. N. Clayer, *Mystiques, Etat et société. Les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XV^e siècle à nos jours* (Leyde 1994).

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

36 Kurtoğlu (éd.), *Girit Şâirleri*, pp. 59-61.

37 Le ms. d'Osman Nuri à Berlin (fol. 81b) donne la date de 1172, mais Kurnaz et Tatçı (Salacıoğlu Mustafa Celvetî, *Giritli Şeyh Mustafa'nın Şehadeti*, p. 3), en s'appuyant sur un article paru dans le journal *İntibah* en 1298, donnent celle de 1170 ; tout comme le ms. publié par Kurtoğlu (éd.), *Girit Şâirleri*, p. 47.

38 Ce cheikh appartenait à la branche *muslihiyye* de la Halvetiyye (Zâkir Şükrî Efendi, *Die Istanbul Derwisch-Konvente und ihre Scheiche (Mecmu'a-i Tekaya)*, éd. M. S. Tayşi, introduction – index K. Kreiser [Freiburg im Breisgau 1980], p. 23). Sur cette branche, voir Serin, *Halvetilik*, p. 153.

nonça immédiatement ses vœux d'allégeance. Après avoir accompli son service auprès du cheikh, Feyzi Efendi lui remit son *hilafet* (diplôme d'investiture) et lui annonça qu'il l'envoyait répandre la *tarikât* à Jérusalem. Comme Şeyh Mustafa lui répondit qu'il voulait rentrer à Kandiye, Şeyh Feyzi lui dit que cela se ferait, mais qu'il y connaîtrait le martyr.

D'après le texte de Salacıoğlu Mustafa, le cheikh Mustafa partit pour Kandiye où beaucoup de gens s'attachèrent à lui, y compris le mufti de la ville, et où il devint très proche d'un autre cheikh, Şeyh Mustafa le boiteux (Areci). Cependant, ce qui avait été prédit arriva. Pendant le mois de *ramazan* 1170/1757, il aurait alors été attaqué par un prédicateur (*vaiz*), arrivé à Kandiye, qui s'en serait pris à la pratique du *zîkr* psalmodié à haute voix (*cehri*). Avec des fidèles, le *vaiz* aurait obligé le cadî à fournir une sentence (*ilâm*) contre lui. Puis, face à la pression populaire, le *vali* aurait été obligé de le condamner à mort et de le faire exécuter. Le *mesnevi* relate ensuite un miracle (*keramet*) post-mortem du cheikh et le châtement de Dieu qui apporta la peste³⁹.

Il faut signaler d'autre part qu'un document de *vakîf* du fonds Cevdet Evkaf, datant de 1194/1780, concerne un établissement appelé Karabaş Tekkesi, situé dans la forteresse de Hanya, mais on ne sait pas s'il s'agit d'un *tekke* de la branche *karabaşıyye* de la Halvetiyye. D'autres *tekke* halvetis ont probablement fonctionné sur l'île, avec d'autres cheikhs et derviches durant le XVIII^e siècle, comme le laissent penser les documents dont nous disposons pour le siècle suivant.

En effet, rien que pour la ville de Kandiye, six *defter* de *vakîf* conservés actuellement à Héraklion, concernent plusieurs établissements halvetis du XIX^e siècle. Il n'est pas facile de préciser le nombre exact de ces établissements, étant donné que leurs noms ont pu changer selon les cheikhs ; ils étaient entre deux et quatre, au minimum. Les *defter* en question sont en effet intitulés comme suit : el-Hac Ahmed Baba Efendi (1271-1308, E/171), İbrahim Saib Baba Halveti (1226-1283, E/172), Halveti Nusret Baba (1220-1315, E/176), Halveti Dergâhı (1304-1315, E/178), İbrahim Saib Baba Halveti (1263-1316, E/183), et el-Hac Ahmed Baba, cheikh İbrahim Baba Halveti (1220-1314, E/187)⁴⁰.

Par ailleurs, un document de 1313/1895-1896, trouvé au *Başbakanlık Arşivi* d'Istanbul, atteste la présence de la confrérie à Hanya, puisqu'il concerne une « Halveti zaviyesi » fondée par un certain Şeyh Süleyman⁴¹.

La Kadiriyye

Parmi les confréries citées par Evliya Çelebi, il y avait aussi la Kadiriyye. A Kandiye, en 1669, il avait noté, près d'un monastère (le Kuşaklı Manastır), l'existence d'un *tekke* fondé par un cheikh lié à la ville de Médine, le *tekke* de Medineli Derviş Salih. D'après

39 Salacıoğlu Mustafa Celvetî, *Giritli Şeyh Mustafa'nın Şehadeti*, p. 24 ss.

40 Entre parenthèses figurent les dates (de l'Hégire) couvertes par ces *defter*, et la cote telle qu'elle figurait lors de notre passage en 1990.

41 BOA, Bab-ı Âli Evrak Odası (BEO) (Girit I), 2-61/39, 1313.3.19. Un autre document prouve que le Karabaş Tekkesi fonctionnait encore en 1245/1830 (BOA, Cevdet Evkaf 7230).

lui, il s'agissait d'un établissement dont les revenus étaient très modestes et les derviches qui y vivaient s'y contentaient de peu. Dans le *tekke* bektachi de la ville qui se trouvait dans le Bastion Haut, Evliya Çelebi vit également un derviche kadiri vivre, s'entretenir et faire le rituel avec des Bektachis⁴². Ce détail est intéressant à relever, dans la mesure où nous allons voir d'autres connexions entre la Kadiriyye et la Bektachiyye dans la Crète ottomane. Mais avant cela, il faut ajouter qu'un autre *tekke* kadiri aurait été fondé au xvii^e siècle, à Hanya cette fois, dans le quartier de Cezayirkolu, par Konakçı Ali Paşa (en poste jusqu'en 1105/1693-1694)⁴³.

Pour revenir au témoignage d'Evliya Çelebi, celui-ci pose problème au sujet du *tekke* de Veli Paşa à Réthymnon qu'il présente comme un *tekke* bektachi, alors qu'un document du fonds Cevdet Evkaf datant de février-mars 1734 nous le montre comme ayant été dédié par son fondateur à la confrérie Kadiriyye⁴⁴. Et la confusion entre les deux confréries concernant ce centre ne s'arrête pas là. Cet établissement que plusieurs documents de *vakıf* attestent comme étant kadiri va en effet accueillir à partir de 1764-1765, dans la *medrese* attenante, un baba bektachi qui va se mettre à initier des disciples et à diriger le rituel de sa confrérie, pendant que le *tekke* kadiri continue à fonctionner, comme nous le verrons plus bas.

D'autre part, à la même époque, d'après Mehmed Ali Ayni, ainsi que d'après des *silsile* kadiris de Macédoine, une branche (*kol*) de la Kadiriyye appelée *zinciriyye* ou *zincirliyye* aurait été créée par un personnage originaire de Crète – un certain Ali Baba Giritî ou Ali Resmî, ou encore Mehmed Refi Giritî – et se serait répandue surtout en Macédoine et au Kosovo, en particulier dans les milieux bektachis⁴⁵. D'après les *silsile* kadiris de Macédoine, le personnage, qui aurait laissé plusieurs œuvres manuscrites dont un *divan*, aurait été initié à la Kadiriyye à Bagdad, par le cheikh Süleyman Bagdadî, aux sources mêmes de la Kadiriyye.

Les liens entre les Kadiris de Crète et les provinces arabes, déjà constatés par Evliya Çelebi au sujet de Medineli Dervîş Salih, semblent d'ailleurs s'être répétés, peut-être

42 Evliyâ Çelebi *Seyahatnâmesi*, p. 234.

43 Cf. *Salname-i Vilâyet-i Girid*, 1310/1892-1893, p. 172. Nous remercions vivement Johann Strauss pour cette information qu'il nous a fournie.

44 Cevdet Evkaf 26581, *ramazan* 1146. Dans un autre document (Cevdet Evkaf 33139) concernant un problème de succession au poste de *mütevelli*, on apprend que la *vakfiyye* (acte de fondation) date du mois de *şaban* 1060/août 1650, soit à peine quatre ans après la conquête de la ville.

45 Cf. A. Popovic, « La Qâdiriyya/Kadiriyye dans les Balkans. Une vue d'ensemble », *Journal of the History of Sufism*, 1-2 (2000), pp. 170-171. D'après Filiz Kılıç, qui le considère comme un bektachi uniquement, ce personnage aurait été originaire de Resmo/Réthymnon, savait l'arabe et le turc, et aurait composé divers ouvrages (un *divan*, un recueil de poésie, un ouvrage soufi intitulé *Uyünü'l-Hidaye* et une épître sur le bektachisme). Il serait mort en 1204/1789 et aurait été enterré dans le Erdik (ou Öruk) Baba Tekkesi, à Istanbul (F. Kılıç, « Giritli Divan Şairleri », *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Merkezi*, <http://www.hbektas.gazi.edu.tr/portal/html/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=541>). Dans le *divan* de Salacıoğlu Mustafa, on trouve un *tarih* composé à l'occasion de la mort de ce même personnage, d'après lequel il serait de Resmo et serait mort en 1220/1805-1806 (Giritli Salacıoğlu Mustafa Celvetî, *Dîvân*, pp. 44-45 et 126).

aussi à l'occasion du pèlerinage. Osman Nuri évoque le cas de Lağımcıbaşızade el-Hac Şeyh Ahmed Efendi, connu sous le nom de Meabî. Celui-ci naquit à Kandiye, devint derviche de la Kadiriyye dans son jeune âge et plus tard, à l'occasion d'un séjour à Médine, prit la main du cheikh Şemmas-ı Kadirî. Rentré à Kandiye, il y dirigea un *tekke* de la confrérie. Poète à ses heures (il est l'auteur d'un *divan*), il mourut de la peste en 1213/1798-1799⁴⁶.

La présence de la Kadiriyye sur l'île au XVIII^e siècle est donc attestée à Kandiye et à Resmo. A Kandiye, outre Şeyh Ahmed, un autre cheikh, Hanyevî Şeyh Ali, mourut quelques années avant son collègue, en 1209/1794, d'après une stèle qui se trouvait au Musée historique d'Héraklion lors de notre passage en 1990. Un document de *vakıf* conservé au *Başbakanlık Arşivi* nous indique qu'à sa mort, comme il n'avait pas eu d'enfant, le chef de l'*asitane* kadiri de Tophane à Istanbul demanda à ce qu'à sa place soit nommé Şeyh İbrahim, un *halife* de Şeyh Ali, au poste de cheikh. Lorsque Şeyh Ali avait fondé ce *tekke* dans le quartier de la mosquée d'İbrahim Paşa, il avait en effet fait préciser dans l'acte de fondation que devaient lui succéder ses enfants, sinon ses *halife*, sinon encore les cheikhs du *tekke* kadiri de Tophane⁴⁷. Şeyh Ali se plaçait donc dans le réseau de la branche *rumiyye* de la Kadiriyye dont le centre était le fameux *tekke* de Tophane⁴⁸.

S'agissant de Resmo, on ne sait pas si Ali Resmî, fondateur de cette branche kadiri imprégnée de bektachisme y fut actif. En revanche, plusieurs documents nous renseignent sur la vie religieuse et économique au *tekke* de Veli Paşa. Le *tekke* faisait en réalité partie d'un complexe comprenant également une mosquée, un *mekteb* et une *medrese*. En 1734, vingt-six personnes étaient liées à ces institutions, parmi lesquelles un cheikh et quatre derviches. Les administrateurs (*mütevelli*) étaient les descendants du fondateur, dont une partie vivait dans la capitale ottomane. Dans les années 1730, un conflit éclata au sujet des biens du *tekke*, spoliés par un membre de la famille résidant à Istanbul, profitant du bas âge du petit-fils de Veli Paşa⁴⁹.

Au XIX^e siècle, le *tekke* kadiri de Veli Paşa continua à fonctionner⁵⁰, tout en abritant, dans la *medrese* attenante, la *zaviye* bektachie mentionnée plus haut, et ceci jusqu'en 1830-1831, date à laquelle cette dernière fut transférée dans un bâtiment propre, nous y reviendrons. La *tarikât* avait aussi essaimé à Hanya, puisque, en 1856-1857, Hafız Nuri qui y avait été nommé *cadi*, y fréquenta assidûment le cheikh Abdülhamid qui appartenait à cette confrérie⁵¹. Le *salname*, annuaire officiel, de 1310/1892-1893 mentionnait aussi que le *tekke* kadiri fondé par Konakçı Ali Paşa continuait à fonctionner dans cette

46 Kurtoğlu (éd.), *Girit Şâirleri*, p. 87 (qui lit son nom « Me'âlî »).

47 Cevdet Evkaf 7873.

48 Cf. E. Işın, « La Kadiriyye à Istanbul. Une vue d'ensemble », *Journal of the History of Sufism*, 1-2 (2000), pp. 577-590.

49 Cevdet Evkaf 33139 et 26581. Voir également Cevdet Evkaf 19737 et 17362.

50 Cevdet Evkaf 16788. En particulier, un document daté de 1848 (Cevdet Evkaf 7299 du 24 *receb* 1264/26 juin 1848) nous indique que le cheikh était à cette époque Şeyh Veliyüddin de la *tarikât* Kadiriyye.

51 Kellner-Heinkele et Kayı, « A Season », p. 36.

ville⁵². A Kandiye, enfin, il existait plusieurs *tekke* kadiris fonctionnant en parallèle, dont les *defter* de *vakıf* étaient conservés en 1990 à Héraklion. Nous en avons relevé six qui semblent concerner quatre *tekke* : Kadirî Hanyevî Ali Baba, derviche de Hüseyin Mumi (?) Baba (1282-1308) (E/161) ; Kadirî Hacı Burhan, fondé par Şeyh el-Hac Mehmed Efendi, dont le cheikh est Hüseyin Kami Baba (1311-1316, E/163) ; Hüseyin Kami Baba (1290-1314, E/164) ; *tekke* kadirî Şeyh Kader Baba (1280-1304, E/174) ; *tekke* kadirî (1262-1303, E/195) ; *tekke* kadirî Mustafa Baba (1308-1309, E/196)⁵³.

La Bektachiyye

D'après Evliya Çelebi, la présence des Bektachis fut importante durant les années de la conquête de l'île. Il mentionne le *tekke* de Veli Paşa à Réthymnon, mais nous avons vu que son appartenance à la Bektachiyye est problématique. C'est surtout à Kandiye et dans ses environs, que la confrérie aurait été présente avant et après la conquête. Il mentionne le *tekke* de Horasanoğlu au pied de la forteresse de Fortezza, une fondation de Deli Hüseyin Paşa, où auraient vécu pas moins de 80 derviches⁵⁴. A Kandiye même, il note la présence d'au moins trois établissements de la confrérie : à l'intérieur du Haut Bastion, le *tekke* de Çavuşbaşı Köse İbrahim Ağa où se trouvaient de nombreux derviches *gazi* ; le *tekke* de Ali Dede, à l'intérieur de la Porte de Karanlık ; et le *tekke* bektachi qui se trouvait dans le palais de l'*ağa* des janissaires, Abdurrahman Paşa⁵⁵.

Outre ces *tekke* mentionnés par Evliya Çelebi, Ustazade note l'existence de cinq tombes de martyrs, devenues des lieux de pèlerinage (*ziyaretgâh*) qui, selon lui, remonteraient à l'époque de la conquête et auraient été liées à la confrérie. Il s'agit des tombeaux de Gazi Mustafa et de Gazi Barbuş, situés à 20 minutes au sud de Hanya, du tombeau de Gazi Cafer, situé près de Souda, de celui de Ali Evliya, à 20 minutes au sud de Resmo, dont on pouvait encore voir les restes en octobre 1990, et de celui de Emir Sultan (ou Ali Emir) à l'ouest du village de Defni, dans la région de Kandiye⁵⁶. Mais nous ne pouvons être certains que ces personnages aient appartenu à la confrérie, ni que leur culte ait été immédiatement pris en charge par elle.

Plus sûres en revanche sont les informations fournies par Ustazade sur les débuts de l'histoire du plus important centre bektachi de l'île, à savoir le *tekke* de Horasanoğlu, à Fortezza. Sa fondation est bien étroitement liée aux campagnes militaires, puisque Horasanîzade Derviş Ali Dede, originaire de Kırşehir, aurait été nommé par le *postnişin* de Hacıbektaş, en 1645, pour accompagner l'armée en Crète. Après la conquête de Hanya et de Resmo, au début de l'année 1057/1647, alors que l'armée s'était installée devant Kandiye, Derviş Ali Dede aurait alors fondé un *tekke* temporaire dans le village de Vo-

52 *Salname-i Vilâyet-i Girid*, p. 172. Nous remercions Johann Strauss pour cette information.

53 Notons qu'Ustazade mentionne un cheikh kadirî de Kandiye, du nom de İbrahim Kapudanzade Mehmed Baba (Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », p. 60 n. 17).

54 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, p. 179.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 229.

56 Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », pp. 46-47.

ni/Dedeler. Un an plus tard, l'armée ayant pris ses quartiers à İnadiye, Derviş Ali suivit, laissant quelques derviches sur place. Près de la nouvelle forteresse, le chef de l'armée, Gazi Hüseyin Paşa, lui fit construire un *tekke*, inauguré pendant le mois de *ramazan* 1060/1650. Derviş Ali Dede le dirigea jusqu'à sa mort survenue en 1082/1671-1672, donc peu après le séjour d'Evliya Çelebi. C'est son frère, Hasan Dede, qui lui succéda, mais celui-ci mourut deux ans et demi plus tard en 1085/1674-1675⁵⁷. On ne connaît pas les noms de leurs successeurs, en dehors de celui de Mehmed Dede bin İvaz qui fut nommé par la *pirevi* de Hacıbektaş en *şevval* 1111/mars 1700⁵⁸.

Au XVIII^e siècle, la période de conquête passée, l'activité des Bektachis semble s'être singulièrement réduite. Nous n'avons plus d'informations sur les *tekke* de Kandiye mentionnés par Evliya Çelebi. Quant au *tekke* de Horasanoğlu Derviş Ali, il est présenté dans un document daté du mois de *safer* 1122/avril-mai 1710 comme étant vide et en ruine. Il aurait été refondé un an plus tard, au mois de *ramazan* 1123/octobre-novembre 1711 par Şeyh Mehmed qui aurait été le fils de Hasan Dede, frère du fondateur, et aurait été éduqué à la maison mère de Hacıbektaş⁵⁹. Plusieurs documents conservés au *Başbakanlık* d'Istanbul nous permettent de suivre en pointillé l'histoire du *tekke* au cours de ce siècle : au début des années 1730, le *tekke*, qui était présenté comme ayant été fondé par Horasanoğlu Muhammed Dede et Bektaşî Derviş Ali, connut un problème au sujet de la nomination du cheikh ; en 1732, es-Seyyid Mehmed, fils aîné de Mustafa, fut nommé⁶⁰ ; en 1780, Mustafa Baba était à la tête du *tekke*⁶¹ ; en juin 1783, Mehmed Baba succéda normalement à son père Mustafa Baba aux postes de *zaviyedar* et de *mütevelli* du *vakıf*, à la suite de la mort de ce dernier⁶² ; en 1798, alors que Mehmed Baba était encore à la tête du *tekke*, un document fut émis concernant l'existence de biens dans le village de Voni – des jardins, des vignes et des champs – dont le produit servait à nourrir les derviches⁶³.

A Réthymnon, ce n'est que dans la seconde moitié du siècle que des babas bektachis auraient officié dans la *medrese* du complexe de Veli Paşa. D'après Ustazade en effet, en 1178/1764-1765 serait arrivé un certain Seyyid Mehmed Emin Baba, originaire de Keşan, en Thrace, qui se serait installé donc dans le complexe du *tekke* kadiri. Après avoir initié des disciples pendant 20 ans, il mourut en 1199/1784-1785 et fut remplacé par un cheikh originaire d'Amasya, un certain Sali Dede (m. en 1213/1798-1799), auquel succéda semble-t-il un crétois, Kandiylî Kanber Baba, envoyé par le grand *tekke* bektachi d'Elmalı, près d'Antalya⁶⁴.

57 Un document tiré du registre de cadi (cod. 3, p. 109) atteste que Hasan Dede, fils de Hüdabende, et frère de Ali Dede, était chef du *tekke* au mois de *şaban* 1082/décembre 1671 (le document concerne une affaire de champs situés dans le village de Voni). Nous remercions Mme Elizabeth Zachariadou pour cette information.

58 Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », pp. 48-51.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

60 Cevdet Evkaf 9544, *cemaziyelâhir* 1144/novembre 1732.

61 Cevdet Evkaf 33051, *safer* 1232/décembre 1816-janvier 1817.

62 Cevdet Evkaf 23752, *receb* 1197/juin 1783.

63 Cevdet Evkaf 27340, *şevval* 1212/mars-avril 1798.

64 Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », pp. 61-62.

Le réseau bektachi semble, en fait, s'être considérablement développé au début du XIX^e siècle, peu avant le déclenchement de l'insurrection grecque et l'interdiction de la confrérie par les autorités ottomanes. Le *tekke* de Horasanîzade fut ainsi à nouveau « refondé » au début du siècle, en 1811-1812. D'après la tradition recueillie par Ustazade, le *tekke* serait à nouveau tombé en ruine au début du XIX^e siècle. Et c'est le fils du gardien du *türbe*, Süleyman Baba – un turkmène originaire de Meşhed, initié à la *pirevi* de Hacıbektaş et envoyé par celle-ci en Crète – qui en aurait été à l'origine. Appelé Derviş Ali ou Ali Baba, il aurait reçu son diplôme d'investiture à Hacıbektaş⁶⁵. Dès son arrivée en Crète, il entreprit la construction de nouveaux bâtiments pour le *tekke*, qui furent inaugurés à la fin de l'année 1811 : une pièce pour le rituel (*meydanevi*), une salle pour prendre le café (*kahve ocağı*), une cuisine, une écurie. Il ajouta par la suite une fontaine et une mosquée. Des disciples fortunés contribuèrent également à l'embellissement du *tekke* et à son enrichissement en léguant différentes sortes de biens (champs, oliveraies, jardins ou autres). Après avoir initié de nombreux Crétois, Ali Baba mourut au mois de *zilhicce* 1259/décembre 1843-janvier 1844. Le *tekke* continua à fonctionner pratiquement jusqu'à l'échange de populations de 1923. Parmi les babas qui se succédèrent à la tête de ce *tekke* dont le rayonnement était très important, nous y reviendrons, il y en eut deux qui étaient originaires de Manastır/Bitola en Macédoine. Un autre, Safvet İlhamî Baba (m. en 1322/1904-1905) était originaire de Crète, de Kandiye plus précisément⁶⁶.

Les témoignages de H. R. Hall et de F. W. Hasluck⁶⁷ nous donnent une idée de la situation de l'établissement vers 1912-1915 : le baba d'alors était un Albanais, originaire de Kolonia (au sud de Korçë), qui appartenait à la branche célibataire de l'ordre⁶⁸ ; il y avait autour de lui une douzaine de derviches, dont beaucoup semblaient à Hasluck être également albanais ; même si le *tekke* paraissait prospère, son rayonnement n'était plus celui de la fin du XIX^e siècle, du fait de la diminution très sensible de la population musulmane sur l'île : les affiliés, qui avaient été 5.000 avant 1897, n'étaient plus qu'environ 500, d'après Hasluck⁶⁹.

A côté du *tekke* de Horasanoğlu, nous avons vu qu'à partir de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle avaient officié des babas installés dans la *medrese* du complexe de Veli Paşa, à l'extérieur de la forteresse de Resmo. D'après Ustazade, deux nouveaux babas poursuivirent cette activité dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle : à partir de 1817-1818 et jusqu'à sa mort en 1242/1826-1827, Hacı İbrahim Dede, originaire de Souda, qui fut envoyé par le grand *tekke* bektachi de Abdal Musa à Elmalı ; et à partir de 1245/1829-1830, Sivaslı Salih Dede. Prenant l'initiative d'acheter un terrain et de faire construire des bâti-

65 Il savait le turc, l'arabe et le persan, et aurait appris l'albanais et le grec à Hacıbektaş. Du fait de sa connaissance de l'albanais, certains pensaient qu'il était lui-même Albanais.

66 Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », pp. 54-57.

67 Voir références en n. 1.

68 Il s'agit certainement d'Abidin Baba, mort en 1334/1915-1916 (Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », p. 64).

69 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, t. II, p. 534. Sur l'aspect économique du *tekke*, il faudrait étudier les deux *defter* de *vakıf* se trouvant à Héraklion, sous les cotes E/160 (*mülkname* de 1060, et donations des années 1222-1234) et E/170 (années 1307-1316).

ments dans les environs de Réthymnon, ce dernier quitta la *medrese* et fut à l'origine de la création d'un nouvel établissement. Après sa mort, survenue en 1251/1835-1836 alors qu'il était à Hacıbektaş, plusieurs babas lui succédèrent jusqu'en 1923, qui agrandirent le *tekke*. Parmi eux, deux étaient venus de l'extérieur, mais deux autres étaient crétois : Numanoğlu Arif Baba avait été juge (cadi) dans différents kazas de la région de Kandiye avant de se rendre à Hacıbektaş et d'être envoyé comme baba de l'établissement en 1263/1846-1847 ; et Hacı Hasan Baba, qui appartenait à une famille de notables locaux (les Ustazade), avait été chef de la douane de Resmo, avant de se consacrer à la vie de derviche, d'aller à Hacıbektaş et d'être envoyé comme baba de cet établissement qu'il agrandit encore et où il exerça jusqu'en 1322/1904-1905⁷⁰.

Mais les *tekke* de Fortezza et de Réthymnon ne restèrent pas les seuls centres de rayonnement de la confrérie sur l'île au XIX^e siècle. Un bey originaire d'un village au sud d'Héraklion, qui s'était affilié au *tekke* de Horasanîzade et ensuite était allé prendre la main au *tekke* d'Abdal Musa à Elmalı, fonda en effet un *tekke* dans son village de Magaralıköy (à 10 kilomètres au sud d'Héraklion, au pied de la montagne Yuktas/Karadağ), ainsi que deux *zaviye*, l'une à Hanya et l'autre à Réthymnon. Membre de la riche famille Proyazade, Mustafa Bey fit des études à Kandiye et fréquenta Baba Ali qui dirigeait alors le *tekke* de Horasanoğlu qu'il venait de revivifier. La tradition veut qu'il ait eu un rêve qui le poussa à se rendre au *tekke* d'Abdal Musa. A son retour en 1237/1821-1822, il fonda un *tekke* dans son village dont il devint le chef spirituel et, conformément aux injonctions du baba d'Abdal Musa, il œuvra à répandre la confrérie à Hanya et à Resmo. Pour cela, il fonda des *zaviye*, c'est-à-dire des établissements dirigés par un représentant, lui-même se déplaçant de temps à autre au cours de l'année, pour y rassembler les disciples locaux. A cet effet, à Hanya, il loua une pièce dans la *medrese* de la Hünkâr Camii. A Resmo, il nomma également un représentant, mais la *zaviye* fut fermée au cours de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, pour ne laisser qu'un seul établissement bektachi à Resmo : le *tekke* situé en dehors de la ville, dirigé alors par Hasan Baba.

Le *tekke* bektachi de Magaralıköy a cela de particulier que sa direction resta entre les mains de la même famille, selon les stipulations de l'acte de fondation. A la mort de Mustafa Bey/Mustafa Dede, en 1272/1855-1856, son fils, Ali Baba, qui était allé se former au *tekke* d'Elmalı, lui succéda ; lui-même fut remplacé à sa mort (en 1286/1869-1870) par son fils, Mustafa Baba, qu'il avait initié. A la mort de celui-ci en 1337/1918-1919, c'est son frère, Hayreddin, qui devait lui succéder, mais il se trouvait hors de l'île et ne put y revenir⁷¹.

Dans les toutes dernières années de la présence musulmane en Crète, un nouvel établissement bektachi vit encore le jour. Il s'agit d'une simple maison transformée en *tekke* par un certain İbrahim Baba, originaire d'un village des environs de Kandiye, qui était devenu derviche au *tekke* de Fortezza et avait voyagé dans les terres saintes de l'islam. Comme il ne fut pas choisi baba, à la place d'Abidin Baba (m. en 1334/1915-1916), il

70 Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », pp. 62-63.

71 En dehors du témoignage de Ustazade (Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », pp. 57-60), il faudrait étudier le *defter* de *vakıf* E/168 (pour les années 1261-1315), conservé à Héraklion.

partit pour le *tekke* de Tire, près d'Izmir, où il reçut son diplôme d'investiture. De retour en Crète, il s'installa dans cette maison et commença à initier des fidèles. Trois ans plus tard, il tomba sous les coups de chrétiens⁷².

En octobre 1990, on pouvait encore voir des restes de plusieurs de ces *tekke* bektachis. A Fortezza, non loin de Knossos, au lieu dit Tekes (rebaptisé peu de temps auparavant Nea Alatzata), on pouvait deviner à travers le bâti plusieurs restes du complexe du *tekke* de Horasanîzade datant de la troisième période (c'est-à-dire des XIX^e-XX^e siècles). A Magaralîköy, qui est aujourd'hui le village de Agios Vlassis, on peut voir également les restes du *tekke* et du *türbe*. En revanche, on ne trouve plus de traces du *tekke* de Hasan Baba où s'était installé le baba bektachi de la *medrese* de Veli Paşa et où ensuite Hasan Baba avait bâti un complexe assez important. Il semble qu'à son emplacement se trouve aujourd'hui l'école de musique dans la banlieue de Réthymnon⁷³. A Hanya, la *zaviye* bektachi dépendant de Magaralîköy se trouvait d'après Ustazade dans la *medrese* de la Hünkâr Camii, aujourd'hui transformée en église.

Rifais, Nakşbandis et Mevlevis : des réseaux plus récents ?

Trois autres confréries n'étaient pas mentionnées par Evliya Çelebi et sont par conséquent peut-être d'implantation plus récente sur l'île. Leur présence dans les documents que nous avons pu voir n'est attestée que pour les XIX^e-XX^e siècles : il s'agit de la Rifaiyye, de la Nakşbandiyye et de la Mevleviyye.

La confrérie des Rifais était, semble-t-il, très implantée dans la ville de Kandiye, puisque nous avons pu relever l'existence de cinq *defter* de *vakıf* concernant des *tekke* rifais, qui peuvent correspondre à deux, trois ou quatre *tekke* différents : *tekke* rifai Arif Hüseyin, dans le Balta Mahallesi (1281-1302, E/175) ; *tekke* rifai (1282-1311, E/181) ; *tekke* rifai eş-Şeyh Ahmed Efendi ibn el-Hac Abdurrahman Efendi, dans le quartier Sofu Mehmed (1245-1287, E/191) ; *tekke* rifai (1271-1284, E/193) ; et, enfin, *tekke* rifai Kestericizade Hüseyin Arif Baba Efendi (1282-1305, E/194). Le dossier E/191 contient un *vakıfname* de *zilhicce* 1244/juin-juillet 1829, qui correspond peut-être à la date de fondation du *tekke* de Şeyh Ahmed. Quant au *tekke* de Arif Baba, c'est un dossier conservé aux archives du *Başbakanlık* qui nous renseigne plus précisément. On y apprend qu'en 1893-1894, Arif Baba mourut à l'âge présumé de 110 ans. Il avait combattu dans l'armée ottomane, se distinguant par son courage. En 1237/1821-1822, il avait été fait prisonnier en Russie pendant un certain temps, puis il était rentré à Kandiye où il avait commencé à officier comme instructeur militaire. Parallèlement, il était entré dans la voie mystique et, devenu cheikh de la Rifaiyye, il avait ouvert un *tekke* dans la ville. En outre, il avait

72 Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », pp. 63-64. A l'époque du passage de F. W. Hasluck, vers 1915, il y avait également près de la nouvelle porte de Kandiye la tombe d'un saint bektachi, Risk Baba, dont l'intercession était très recherchée par la population (Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, t. II, p. 535 ; et idem, « Geographical Distribution », planche XIII).

73 Sur ces différents établissements, voir le relevé des inscriptions, ainsi que des photographies du début du XX^e siècle dans Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », p. 66 ss.

contribué à la vie religieuse de la région en faisant également construire une mosquée dans un village des alentours⁷⁴.

D'après un témoignage de Frederick Hasluck, la Rifaiyye se serait répandue également à Hanya, notamment parmi les Tripolitains de Benghazi, appelés Halikuti, qui y vivaient de façon plus ou moins stable⁷⁵.

S'agissant de la Nakşbandiyye, un *tarih* inclus dans le *divan* de Salacıoğlu Mustafa Efendi nous indique qu'un certain Molla Rahmi Efendi de Kandiye, un célèbre contemporain de l'auteur, avait appartenu à cette confrérie, et donc peut-être vécu à Kandiye dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e ou au début du XIX^e siècle⁷⁶. Nous avons aussi trouvé une série de quatre documents de *vakıf* concernant le *tekke* nakşbandi fondé par le commandant de la forteresse de Kandiye (*Kandiye muhafızı*) Derviş Abdullah Paşa. Le premier de ces documents remonte à juin-juillet 1809 et le dernier à l'année 1271/1854-1855⁷⁷. On y apprend que le *tekke* se trouvait dans la ville, que son cheikh était en 1809 un certain el-Hac Mustafa Sıdkı Efendi qui mourut en 1249/1833-1834 et fut remplacé par Şeyh Ali Sırrı. Ces documents concernent l'allocation pour la nourriture des derviches du *tekke*. Nous pourrions en savoir plus lorsque le *defter* de *vakıf* conservé à Héraklion, qui le concerne, aura été étudié. Celui-ci, référencé sous la cote E/165, porte la mention : « *tekke* et mosquée 'Palati' Nakşbandi, dans le quartier de Ağa Balta, fondé par Derviş Abdullah Paşa ibn Gazi İzzet Ahmed Paşa, avant 1256/1840-1841 ». Il couvre les années 1257-1296. Mais ce *tekke* n'est pas le seul centre nakşbandi à avoir fonctionné à Kandiye puisqu'un autre *defter* concerne le *tekke* nakşbandi Şerif Kuri Efendi, pour les années 1289-1316 (E/173)⁷⁸.

Quant à la Mevleviyye, elle n'eut un établissement sur l'île qu'à partir de 1880, avec l'ouverture à cette date d'une *mevlevihane* à Hanya. Cependant, la présence de disciples de cette confrérie remonte probablement à une période plus ancienne, puisque le premier cheikh de la *mevlevihane*, Şeyh Süleyman Şemsî Dede, fut appelé déjà en 1872 par des *muhib* (disciples initiés) mevlevi de Hanya. Et il est possible qu'il y ait eu des Mevlevi crétois bien avant cette période. Un document datant de 1795 atteste par exemple la constitution d'une donation en *vakıf* au profit du cheikh de la *mevlevihane* de Konya, faisant référence à une fontaine située à Hanya, ainsi qu'à une mosquée et à un *mekteb* d'un village des environs⁷⁹. Mais, au milieu du XIX^e siècle, le cadî Hafız Nuri soulignait qu'il n'y avait pas d'établissement mevlevi sur l'île⁸⁰.

En ce qui concerne la *mevlevihane* de Hanya, d'après l'étude d'İsmail Kara, on sait qu'elle fonctionna de 1880 à 1924, donc jusqu'à la fin de la présence massive de musulmans sur l'île. Son premier cheikh était originaire de Konya et dirigeait la *mevlevihane*

74 BEO, Girit I, A MT2.GR.ML., 1311.1.23.

75 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, t. II, p. 535.

76 Giritli Salacıoğlu Mustafa Celvetî, *Dîvân*, pp. 43 et 122.

77 Cevdet Evkaf 12154, 7308, 11195 et 21979.

78 On ne sait pas si la confrérie avait des établissements et des adeptes à Resmo et à Hanya.

79 Cevdet Evkaf 6327, 18 *muharrem* 1210.

80 Kellner-Heinkele et Kayı, « A Season », p. 37 (261.a.11).

de Aydın Güzelhisar quand il fut appelé en Crète. A sa mort en 1886, il fut remplacé par son fils aîné, Mehmed Şemseddinoğlu qui dirigea l'établissement jusqu'à la fin. Il est intéressant de noter que dans les dernières années de la présence musulmane, la *mevlevihane* et la famille des cheikhs jouèrent un rôle central dans la vie religieuse des musulmans de la région de Hanya. Şeyh Mehmed occupa en effet après 1908 la fonction de juge (*naib-i şer'iyye*) et de chef de la communauté musulmane (*cemaat-i islamiyye reisi*), qui lui donnait une responsabilité sur les tribunaux chériatiques, les *vakıf* et les mosquées ; l'un de ses frères, qui avait été désigné par leur père comme administrateur des *vakıf* de la *mevlevihane*, le suppléait comme cheikh du *tekke*, tandis qu'un autre enseignait l'arabe et les sciences religieuses au grand *mekteb* de Hanya⁸¹. L'existence de nombreuses cartes postales représentant la *mevlevihane* et les Mevlevis de Hanya témoigne de l'importance politique et symbolique de cet établissement dans ces dernières années de la présence musulmane en Crète. En automne 1990, on pouvait encore voir des restes de la *mevlevihane*, transformée en orphelinat.

Conclusion : les soufis dans la société crétoise ottomane

Comme on peut le constater, l'image dessinée ici, du développement des réseaux soufis en Crète reste extrêmement fragmentaire. Elle est tributaire de quelques récits de voyageurs et de quelques sources écrites (œuvres littéraires et religieuses produites par quelques cheikhs lettrés, documents concernant l'administration des biens de mainmorte des établissements de derviches, dont certains n'ont pas encore été véritablement exploités). Il est donc évident que nous échappent des pans entiers de l'histoire de cheikhs, de derviches et d'affiliés plus ou moins initiés qui n'ont pas laissé de traces écrites ou dont les traces écrites et orales ne nous sont pas parvenues. Preuve en est par exemple le fait que, d'après le *salname* de 1310/1892-1893, il y aurait eu à cette date 14 *tekke* dans le sandjak de Hanya, 8 dans celui de Resmo et 16 dans celui de Kandiye⁸². Or, nous ne sommes capables d'en identifier que quelques uns parmi ceux-ci, la même constatation étant vraie pour les époques plus anciennes. En outre, ces chiffres ne nous disent rien des processus religieux, sociaux, économiques et politiques qui se « cachent » derrière.

On peut bien sûr imaginer pouvoir préciser cette image en utilisant certains fonds d'archives que nous n'avons pas pu exploiter, notamment : les Archives du *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü* à Ankara, les Archives du *Meclis-i Meşayih* du Müftülük à Istanbul, divers manuscrits et documents comme ceux que le professeur Hazai a mentionnés lors du colloque, et surtout en dépouillant et en analysant tous ces *defter* conservés à Héraklion qui, au moins sur l'aspect économique, devraient apporter de nombreux renseignements supplémentaires. Il n'est pas non plus impossible que d'autres ouvrages religieux et littéraires dormant dans quelque bibliothèque publique ou privée, quelque stèle funéraire

81 Kara, « Hanya Mevlevîhânesi » et *Hanya/Girit Mevlevîhânesi*. Le cheikh Şemsî Dede a écrit un petit *divan*, édité à Istanbul en 1305/1889 par son fils Hüseyin Arif Efendi, sous le titre *Tuhfetü'l-Mesnevi*.

82 Kara, « Hanya Mevlevîhânesi », p. 116.

oubliée dans un dépôt, dans le mur d'un bâtiment ou dans un jardin, ne nous livrent à l'avenir de nouvelles informations. On peut aussi penser que des documents ou bien des bribes de tradition orale soient encore conservés au sein de familles crétoises émigrées en Turquie, comme dans le cas de la famille des cheikhs de la *mevlevihane* de Hanya ou encore dans celui de Ustazade Yunus Bey, bien qu'avec le temps ils aient toujours plus de chance de disparaître.

De ce que nous venons de voir nous pouvons néanmoins tirer quelques enseignements.

Premièrement, la situation insulaire n'implique pas le développement de réseaux en vase clos. Même après la conquête, période qui a amené l'implantation de confréries soufis en étroit lien avec l'arrivée de l'armée et l'instauration du nouveau pouvoir, les cercles soufis crétois faisaient partie, de façon plus ou moins étroite, de réseaux qui s'étendaient dans diverses provinces de l'empire. Les types de contacts qui sont évoqués dans la documentation étudiée sont de divers ordres : plusieurs cheikhs furent initiés et reçurent leur diplôme d'investiture en dehors de l'île, soit parce qu'ils étaient partis pour cela, soit parce que cela se fit à l'occasion d'un voyage dont le but était religieux (pèlerinage, recherche d'un maître), économique ou autre. Revenir avec un tel diplôme devait probablement contribuer à renforcer la légitimité et l'autorité religieuse de celui qui commençait à guider des disciples. D'autres cheikhs furent envoyés sur l'île par des maîtres spirituels, alors qu'ils n'étaient pas crétois. Ceci fut souvent le cas pour la Bektachiyye. Des Crétois, à l'instar de Resmî Ali Baba, ont joué un rôle dans la diffusion de certaines voies mystiques hors de Crète. D'autres tenaient à y revenir, comme Çıkırcı Mustafa Efendi que son maître avait voulu envoyé à Jérusalem, d'après la tradition.

Les régions de l'empire avec lesquelles les soufis crétois étaient en lien étaient très diverses. On a vu que les cheikhs celvetis avaient été très liés à Istanbul (Üsküdar plus exactement), de même que certains centres kadiris, notamment à travers le réseau de la *rumiyye*, dont l'*asitane* se trouvait dans le quartier de Tophane. S'agissant de la Bektachiyye, une confrérie très centralisée s'il en est, on voit bien le lien très fort avec la *pirevi* de Hacıbektaş qui nommait les babas. Mais le célèbre *tekke* d'Abdal Musa à Elmalı, près d'Antalya, joua également un rôle important dans la formation des babas actifs en Crète, ainsi que dans la diffusion de la confrérie sur l'île à partir du XIX^e siècle. C'est ainsi par exemple que Mustafa Bey de Magaralıköy y fut initié, fait cheikh et envoyé dans son village avec l'injonction de fonder un *tekke* et de répandre également la *tarikât* à Kandiye et Resmo⁸³. D'après le témoignage de Ustazade, les Bektachis de l'île furent même en contact avec d'autres centres bektachis anatoliens, tels le *tekke* de Seyyid Ali Sultan ou celui de Tire (près d'Izmir). On retrouve des connexions avec l'Anatolie, dans le cas de la Mevleviyye, dont le centre était Konya. Par ailleurs, d'autres réseaux confrériques crétois semblent avoir eu des liens avec les provinces arabes : la Kadiriyye, notamment dont plusieurs représentants venaient de Médine ou furent initiés à Bagdad ; la Halvetiyye dont la branche *üveysiyye* fondée à Damas aurait essaimé sur l'île ; et la Rifaiyye implantée parmi les Tripolitains qui se trouvaient à Hanya à la fin du XIX^e siècle. Les liens avec la Roumélie, c'est-à-dire avec les Balkans, apparaissent peu dans notre documentation,

83 Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », pp. 58-59.

si ce n'est au sujet de quelques babas bektachis originaires de Thrace ou de Macédoine, qui exercèrent en Crète, ou de l'expansion de cette branche particulière de la Kadiriyye, fondée par Resmî Ali Dede, en Macédoine et au Kosovo.

Deuxièmement, ces réseaux soufis crétois étaient très divers et il faut donc prendre garde de surestimer la présence des Bektachis ou de se focaliser sur eux, comme on le fait trop souvent, en sous-estimant par contrecoup la présence des autres réseaux confrériques. Le terme de « baba », par exemple, n'implique pas forcément un lien avec la Bektachiyye, comme le proposait H. J. Kissling qui voulait souligner la prépondérance bektachi aux lendemains de la conquête⁸⁴. Au reste, on a vu qu'Evliya s'était peut-être trompé au sujet du *tekke* de Veli Paşa à Resmo. D'autre part, il faut tenir compte du fait que nous sommes beaucoup mieux renseignés sur les Bektachis grâce au témoignage de Ustazade que Fuat Köprülü avait recherché, en se focalisant lui aussi sur les Bektachis. Si l'on regarde par exemple les *defter* conservés à Héraklion, on voit que les réseaux des autres confréries étaient très présents sur l'île.

On aura noté cependant – et c'est le troisième point – que les frontières entre confréries ne sont pas toujours très affirmées, de même qu'entre l'islam du *tekke* et celui de la mosquée. Il existe en particulier de multiples occurrences concernant les connexions entre bektachisme et kadirisme dans la Crète ottomane (présence du derviche kadiri dans un *tekke* bektachi de Kandiye après la conquête, double appartenance du complexe de Veli Paşa, branche *zinciriyye* de la Kadiriyye se répandant chez les Bektachis de Roumélie). Même une confrérie orthodoxe comme la Celvetiyye fut renouvelée au XVIII^e siècle par l'apport d'éléments des doctrines melami et bektachi, et ainsi importée d'Istanbul. D'autre part, les Bektachis crétois n'hésitèrent pas à s'installer dans des *medrese* (à Resmo et à Hanya), tandis que, dans les dernières années de la présence musulmane, le cheikh de la *mevlevihane* de Hanya et sa famille jouait un rôle central dans la vie religieuse islamique des musulmans de la région.

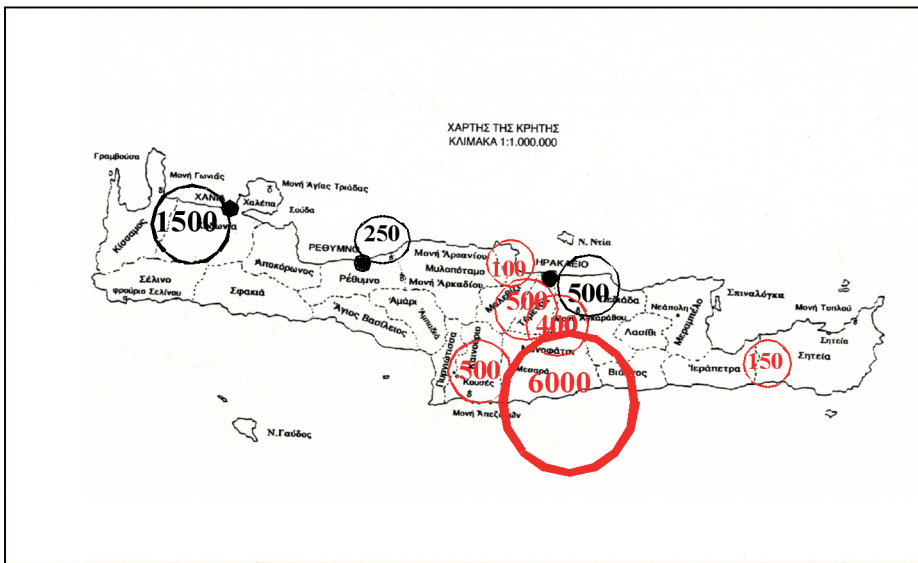
En revanche, les relations avec le christianisme et les chrétiens, si souvent mises en avant lorsqu'on parle des confréries soufies en général et des Bektachis en particulier, ne sont pas absentes des témoignages que nous avons, mais restent pour le moins limitées. On sait que Salacıoğlu Şeyh Mustafa faisait référence aux gens du livre (*ehl-i kitab*) dans ces écrits⁸⁵. On sait aussi que Ali Baba, qui revivifia et dirigea le *tekke* de Horasanoğlu entre 1226/1811 et 1259/1843, initia trois chrétiens qui venaient de passer à l'islam, des nouveaux convertis donc⁸⁶. Pourtant, le renforcement des réseaux confrériques qui se produisit au XIX^e siècle, lorsque les révoltes des chrétiens de l'île se multiplient et que la position des musulmans et de l'autorité ottomane devient de plus en plus fragile, semble être allé de pair avec le nécessaire renforcement de l'identité musulmane et des liens de solidarité entre musulmans. Les relations entre chrétiens et soufis ont en tout cas certainement varié avec le temps, les circonstances et les individus.

84 Kissling, « Die ersten Derwischniederlassungen ».

85 Giritli Salacıoğlu Mustafa Celvetî, *Dîvân*, p. 7.

86 Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », p. 56. Nous verrons plus loin que ce maître spirituel avait initié plus de 1400 disciples, la proportion des convertis était donc très extrêmement faible.

Un quatrième type d'enseignement que nous pouvons tirer de ce qui précède concerne la concentration des établissements de derviches dans ou aux alentours des trois villes principales de l'île, situées sur la côte septentrionale. Presque tous les *tekke* ou *zaviye* évoqués se trouvaient à Kandiye, Resmo ou Hanya. Trois *tekke* bektachis se trouvaient en dehors de ces centres urbains : ceux de Fortezza, de Magaraliköy et le petit *tekke* tardivement fondé par Ibrahim Baba. Le témoignage de Ustazade nous permet de nuancer quelque peu cette vision, au moins pour la Bektachiyye, puisque, pour les autres confréries, rien ne nous est connu du profil des fidèles. Ustazade Yunus Bey a pu en effet consulter des *defter* dans lesquels les babas enregistraient les nouveaux *muhib*, avec leur nom, leurs qualités (*şöhretleri*) et leur lieu de résidence⁸⁷. D'après ces documents, on apprend par exemple que Ali Baba du *tekke* de Horasanoğlu fit 1417 *muhib* entre 1811 et 1843. Parmi eux près de la moitié étaient originaires du kaza de Monofaç, c'est-à-dire de la plaine de la Messara⁸⁸. On apprend aussi que l'un de ses successeurs les plus réputés, Safvet İlhamî Baba, initia environ 1000 *muhib* entre 1882 et 1904-1905 et que ses successeurs firent encore plus de 1700 *muhib* dans les vingt années qui précédèrent l'échange des populations, alors que la Crète était déjà autonome, puis rattachée à la Grèce⁸⁹. D'après Ustazade et le souvenir de disciples bektachis crétois, dans les deux dernières décennies du XIX^e siècle, le nombre des fidèles de la confrérie s'élevait à environ 10.000, chiffre difficile à vérifier. En revanche, il est intéressant de considérer leur répartition géographique (là encore estimée)⁹⁰.



87 Il serait d'ailleurs intéressant de retrouver ces *defter* et de les analyser plus en détail.

88 Köprülü, « Usta-zâde », p. 56.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

Telle qu'elle est représentée sur la carte, cette répartition nous indique qu'en cette fin du XIX^e siècle seulement un peu plus de 20% des disciples bektachis crétois vivaient dans les villes. La très grande majorité d'entre eux vivaient en fait dans les districts ruraux, en particulier dans la plaine de la Messara, au sud de Kandiye. F. W. Hasluck, qui visita l'île vers 1915, donne des estimations un peu inférieures (8.200 disciples avant 1897). Mais celles-ci ne distinguent pas les kazas et ne nous permettent donc pas de constater ce phénomène⁹¹. En revanche, les données qu'il fournit permettent de voir la « fonte » du nombre de disciples après 1897, notamment dans la région de Kandiye où ils étaient dix fois moins nombreux au moment de son passage, conséquence de l'autonomie, puis du rattachement à la Grèce et de l'émigration massive des musulmans⁹².

Il faut aussi souligner que nos sources nous fournissent très peu d'informations sur les profils sociaux des habitants de l'île affiliés aux diverses confréries. Nous avons vu que des courants soufis avaient touché des militaires, des lettrés, et parmi eux des oulémas, voire des artisans. Mais nous ne pouvons tirer de véritables conclusions à ce sujet. S'agissant des babas bektachis, sur lesquels nous sommes les mieux informés, il est à noter que trois d'entre eux étaient issus de familles de notables locaux : la famille Proyazade dans le cas du fondateur du *tekke* de Magaralıköy, la famille Ustazade dans le cas de Hasan Baba qui fit du *tekke* de Resmo un établissement relativement important, et une famille dont on ignore le nom dans le cas de Safvet İlhamî Baba qui dirigea le *tekke* de Horasanoğlu entre 1882 et 1904-1905. Dans les provinces albanaises où la confrérie fleurit aussi au cours du XIX^e siècle, les babas n'appartenaient pas à cette couche sociale. Il y aurait donc ici une spécificité locale.

Le dernier point à souligner est qu'en trois siècles de domination ottomane, les réseaux confrériques ont largement eu le temps de se composer et de se recomposer au gré des transformations politiques, religieuses et sociales locales, mais aussi des évolutions qui se produisaient dans la capitale ottomane ou dans les provinces de l'empire.

91 Entre Hasluck et Ustazade, l'un des deux a inversé les chiffres concernant Resmo et Kandiye, puisque Hasluck a noté la présence d'environ 3000 disciples dans la région de Resmo et seulement 200 dans celle de Hanya, avant la révolte de 1897 (Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, t. II, p. 534).

92 *Ibid.* Paraskevas Konortas donne à peu près les mêmes chiffres globaux que Hasluck, mais en s'appuyant semble-t-il pour la période qui a précédé 1897 sur un recensement fait en 1881 (« Les musulmans en Grèce entre 1821 et 1912 », Mémoire de D.E.A. [inédit], EHESS, Paris 1980, p. 59). D'après ce même recensement, 147 personnes auraient habité dans des *tekke* en 1881 (*ibid.*, p. 58).

PART THREE

STATE POLICIES
AND
THEIR IMPACT ON CRETE

FARMING OUT OF *MUKATAAS* AS *MALİKÂNE* IN CRETE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE RETHYMNO CASE

A. Nükhet ADIYEKE*

AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, the Ottoman Treasury developed a new method for the leasing of tax revenues in order to solve the financial crisis that they faced. *Timar*, one of the methods employed until that time, provided officers who protected those people who were the source of taxes and also met the state's military and security needs; another method, *iltizam*, secured taxes that would be delivered to the Treasury in cash.¹ The idea of farming out tax revenues to a *mültezim* (leaseholder) who would hold the asset as long as he lived, thus ensuring that tax revenues would be delivered to the Treasury in cash year after year, while at the same time motivating him to "revive and perpetuate the tax resource",² led to the birth of the *malikâne* system, replacing the earlier *iltizam*, which had become relatively stable over time. Almost all tax items which were available at the time, except the *cizye* and some taxes collected as *avarız* and *nüzül* price (*bedel*), were to be auctioned. The highest bidder would have the right to keep the *mukataa* (tax item or district) whose annual tax he had undertaken as *malikâne* until his death on condition that he paid 'caution money',³ known as *muaccele*. Thus, the state would be relieved of the burden of farming out tax resources by auction every year, while at the same time securing a high cash flow immediately through the *muaccele*, and being guaranteed collection of the taxes of the years to come by this pre-payment.

In addition to annual payments of an amount of money (*mal*), the *malikâneci* (life leaseholder) also undertook the expenses called *kalemiye*, which were between approximately 5% and 20% of the *mal*. These payments (*mal* and *kalemiye*) were disbursed in three instalments per year.⁴

The main objective of the *malikâne* system was, as noted, to relieve the Treasury; however, also noted in the *ferman* implementing the system was that in the previous sys-

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1 M. Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul 2000), 103-105.

2 Ibid., 105.

3 M. Çizakça, *İslam Dünyasında ve Batıda İş Ortaklıkları Tarihi* (İstanbul 1999), 143.

4 Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, 108.

tem *mültezims* did not protect the rights of the *reaya* (taxpayers), and terrorised the people by appropriating all their income, as they were authorised to hold the tax resource for only one or two years, which ultimately led to a situation where the state suffered the most.⁵ Thus, it was expected that with the new *malikâne* system, the *reaya*, who were the tax resource, would be protected and that *malikânecis* would help the *reaya* to gain more revenue.⁶

To what extent these objectives were achieved is a matter for debate. This paper will analyse the implementation of this new tax system in Crete. We will concentrate mainly on the Rethymno (Resmo) district, and will not go into the well-known details and discussions of the *malikâne* system as a whole.

Initially, the farming out of state-owned tax resources as *malikâne* took place at the imperial capital city. However, it was decided later that resources which had not been farmed out within a certain period of time were to be auctioned in the province where the tax resource itself was located. To this end, special officers were sent by the central authority to the provinces to conduct auctions of such tax resources on the spot.⁷

The first *ferman* indicating the beginning of the implementation of the *malikâne* system in Crete was announced in June 1719. Thus, twenty-four years after the introduction of the system by the Ottoman state in 1695, Crete was also included in it. Mustafa, scribe of the imperial janissaries (*dergâh-ı mualla yeniçeri kâtibi*), was commissioned to auction *malikâne* revenue in Crete. According to the decree, Mustafa was selected because he was considered a reliable and a dependable person. Anything he said or did, or any remark by him, was always well received and approved by the highest authority of the Sultan.⁸ Such unquestioned acceptance at the highest level was overtly underlined in order to deter anyone who might resort to fraud or who might attempt to lease a *malikâne* for a price below its actual value.

Auctions would be conducted in Kandiye. In the authorisation order of Mustafa, the following principles were included regarding the qualities of prospective tax farmers: *malikânes* would not be given to people who were known to be oppressors; rather they would be farmed out to Muslims (*mümin*) with good intentions and to rich people (*müte-mevvil*) who were known as “just and conscientious” and who had the capacity to afford to help the *reaya* when necessary.⁹

Details of the *malikâne* system in Crete were described as follows in the above-mentioned *ferman*:

1. Crete is a large island and tax resources on the island were previously given to unqualified individuals every year, which ultimately proved to be very harmful for

5 The General Directorate of Pious Foundations, Istanbul District Administration, Court Records of Rethymno (CRR), No. 415, pp. 238-239 (henceforth: CRR, 415: 238-239).

6 Ibid.

7 Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, 107.

8 CRR, 415: 237.

9 CRR, 415: 234-235.

the island. A decision has been taken to farm out tax revenues which belong to the state (*miri mukataat*) as *malikâne* to those who are willing to lease them, thus to protect the interests of the public and to ensure reconstruction of the island.

2. Leases will be made by auction and on the basis of rates of *akçe* and wheat (*hinta*) as they are stated in the relevant accounts registered in the records of the treasury of Crete. *Malikânes* will be farmed out to the bidder who offers the highest pre-payment (*muaccele*) in the auction. The *mezad pusulası*, that is, the deed which is presented to the *malikâne* holder and documents the result of the auction, will then be sealed and sent to Istanbul so that a vesting deed be issued afterwards.
3. Holders of *malikânes* will pay to the treasury of Crete other payments, such as annual dues (*yıllık*) and expenditures (*masraf*) other than the *muaccele* price, which is to be paid in instalments in cash. No other payment will ever be demanded from them other than these.
4. There will be no intervention by the state or third parties with the tax resource and the *reaya* of the *malikâne* holder who fulfils all his obligations; the *reaya* will first resort to the *malikâne* holder in any financial matter related to the *malikâne*.
5. Those *malikâne* holders who do not fulfil their obligations or who exert unnecessary pressure on the *reaya* will be investigated through the *kadı*, and the *malikânes* of such holders who are found guilty by law will be taken away from them.
6. *Malikâne* holders have the right voluntarily to transfer their tax resource to someone else (*kasr-ı yed*). Such a proceeding will be carried out on the island; Istanbul will be informed about the transaction and a vesting deed will be issued to the new holder of the tax resource by the central authority.
7. Only these two last clauses provide *kadıs* and *naibs* with the right of intervention in the affairs of *malikâne* holders; other than this, no one has the right to interfere with the affairs of *malikâne* owners regarding any issue.¹⁰

In the orders sent to the districts of the island, it was asked that this *ferman* should be read to the public, and those interested in leasing a *malikâne* were invited to Kandiye.¹¹

In the first year of *malikâne* auctions in Crete, a total of 754 tax resources in the rural and urban parts of the island were transformed into 183 *malikânes*. They were leased by 329 people who paid a total sum of 292,159 *guruş* as *muaccele*.¹²

10 CRR, 415: 238-239.

11 Ibid.

12 H. Ay, 'Girit'te Mukataaların Malikâne Olarak Satılması', unpublished M.A. thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, Türkiye Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 1996, 39.

Districts	Number of tax resources	Number of <i>malikânes</i>	Number of <i>malikâne</i> holders	<i>Muaccele</i> (in <i>guruş</i>)
Kandiye	276	67	120	73,105
Chania	222	65	110	113,405
Rethymno	83	22	46	66,224
Lasithi	173	29	53	39,425
Total	754	183	329	292,159

Table I: Grand totals of Crete *malikânes*

The entrepreneurs who obtained *malikânes* on the island generally resided in the same districts where the relevant tax resource was located. Tax resources other than the tax revenues of important items, such as the olive oil and soap *mukataas*, which we will mention below, were leased by people who lived on the island and were generally members of the military.

Most of these *malikânes* were held by one or two persons. The rest were *malikânes* split into many shares. Rates can be seen in the table below:¹³

<i>Malikâne</i> shares	Percentage
1 person	24%
2 persons	46.2%
3 persons	13.6%
4 persons	14.5%
5 persons	1.5%

Table II: *Malikâne* share rates

We have found that annual tax revenue, other than *muaccele* revenue, which was collected through the farming out of tax resources as *malikâne* on the island, approximated to 15,000,000 *akçes*.¹⁴ Crete treasury records of the previous year indicate that the island's annual tax revenue belonging to the state was 13,000,000 *akçes* only.¹⁵

As can be seen in the Rethymno case, both *muaccele* revenue and *muaccele* value per shareholder increased with re-auctions in time. As is reported by Murat Çizakça, while the number of share holders per *malikâne* increased from two to four, the amount of *muaccele* per person doubled. This means that there was economic improvement on the island and also increases in the income per person. The improvement in the soap industry on the island further contributed to the *malikâne* holders' income and thus eased their payments for the increased amounts of *muaccele*.¹⁶

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 18.

¹⁵ BOA, D.BŞM.GRH, Inventory of Files, No. 8/94, 1.

¹⁶ Çizakça, *İş Ortaklıkları Tarihi*, 153.

A part of the annual taxes of the Cretan *malikânes* was collected in wheat, a practice peculiar to the island. According to Mehmet Genç, wheat, which represented nearly 45% of the total annual taxes, was collected in order to meet the payment needs (*mevacib*) of the local (*yerli*) janissaries who were commissioned on the island.¹⁷

The Ottoman state collected two different and exceptional taxes, under the names *cebelü* price and *cülus* tax, from the *malikâne* holders in Crete. The *cebelü* price was collected especially in war years, and was calculated on the basis of the amount of *muaccele*.¹⁸ We have discovered that the *cebelü* price was collected twice from the *malikâne* holders of Crete in the eighteenth century. The first time was in 1742, when for every 1,000 *guruş* of *muaccele* three soldiers were owed, and for each soldier 50 *guruş* was collected; a total of 16,617 *guruş* was thus collected.¹⁹ The *cebelü* price was collected again in 1772-1773 both from the newly registered *malikânes* and from those registered previously; this time the total amount exceeded 25,000 *guruş*.²⁰ This was collected for the amount of 280,000 *guruş* of *muaccele* value.

<i>Muaccele-i atik</i>	113,539 <i>guruş</i>
<i>Muaccele-i cedid</i>	164,202 <i>guruş</i>
Total	277,741 <i>guruş</i>
<i>Cebelü</i> price	25,249 <i>guruş</i> , 30 <i>paras</i>

Table III: 1186-1187 (1772-1773) *cebelü* price

We have established that the other extra-ordinary payment, the *cülus* tax, was collected once in the period that we studied. As becomes clear from our source, this tax, which was related to the accession of a new Sultan to the throne and the requirement of renewal of all *malikâne* deeds by the new sovereign, had been neglected by the *malikâne* holders in Crete. In a *ferman* issued in October 1731, it is noted that the *malikâne* holders in Crete had not sent their deeds and *cülus* taxes to Istanbul although a new Sultan had come to the throne a year earlier. In this instance the *cülus* tax was declared to be 250 *guruş* for every 1,000 *guruş* of *muaccele*.²¹

Other than these, another payment called *hazariye* (in peace time) and *seferiye* (in war time) was also demanded from the *malikâne* holders in Crete for the use of the guard and the governor of Kandiye. However, these demands created serious problems between *malikâne* holders and local authorities. In an order dated 1727, it was declared that *hass* villages reserved for governors were also farmed out as *malikâne*. For this reason, it was announced that a decision had been taken to add one *akçe* per *kıyye*²² to the olive-oil tax in

17 Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, 101.

18 Genç states that it was reckoned at 50 *guruş* for every soldier (*cebelü*) in the eighteenth century (ibid., 114). It was reckoned at 50 *guruş* in Crete as well (CRR, 59: 169).

19 Ibid.

20 25,249 *guruş*, 30 *paras* (BOA, D.BŞM.GRH.7, Book No. 16814, 8, 12).

21 CRR, 52: 66 (Rebiyülâhır 1144).

22 One *kıyye* or *okka* equals 1.2828 kg.

order to meet the needs of the governors. However, neither when it had been decided to collect this tax nor from which date it would start to be collected were stated clearly.²³

There are also large *malikânes* which constituted large tax items covering revenues from extensive districts, of which Rethymno was only one part, other than the small *malikâne* units which made up local tax resources. It is certain that the olive-oil tax occupied the first place among these. In a *ferman* issued in August 1727, it was stated that the olive-oil tax of the island of Crete belonged to el-Hac Ali as his *malikâne*. According to Ali's *malikâne* vesting deed, a tax of six *akçes* would be collected on each *kıyye* of oil. It was provided that five *akçes* would be collected on behalf of the state, and one *akçe* for the needs of the governor.²⁴ The biggest problem in connection with olive-oil tax revenues was the vastness of the island and practical difficulties in tax collection. A practical solution was developed in response, that is, the above tax would be collected from merchants during the sale of oil.²⁵

The second tax was the revenue gained from the soap industry, which developed very rapidly in Crete in the eighteenth century. Soap was a new and important field of activity on which no kind of tax had been imposed previously. In April 1735, the soap tax of Crete was farmed out to the former *maliye tezkerecisi* Ragıb Mehmed Efendi as a *malikâne* for a pre-payment of 4,010 *guruş*; the annual value of the tax in the context of the *malikâne* was 6,750 *guruş*, excluding other expenses.²⁶ The holder of the soap *malikâne* would collect his tax during the sale of soap to a merchant. As a rule, soap that was sold to a merchant was weighed out on a public scale at the port, and for each *kantar*²⁷ of soap 90 *akçes* was collected as tax and one *akçe* was collected for the use of the governor.²⁸ On the date when Ragıb Mehmed Efendi obtained the *malikâne*, a *ferman* was issued which ordered that all soapworks on the island should be counted and registered.²⁹

When we take a closer look at the implementation of the *malikâne* system in Rethymno, we witness certain clues which indicate an improvement in its application. There were 22 *malikânes*, consisting of 74 villages and 9 monasteries, in Rethymno. The majority of them were located in and around Rethymno, one in the Ayovasili region, one

23 CRR, 48: 37.

24 CRR, 48: 4. This tax was later decreased to 4 *akçes*, 1 for the governor (*vali*) and 3 for the Treasury (CRR, 52: 15).

25 CRR, 48: 4-5. As expected, this was opposed by foreign merchants. Some Western merchants actually avoided paying this tax. They argued that, on the basis of trade agreements signed by their respective governments and Ottoman administration, such taxes had been abolished. However, as stated in a *ferman* sent to Crete in 1730, the tax was still in force and necessary precautions should be taken to collect it (*ibid.*).

26 CRR, 415: 260.

27 One *kantar* equals 56.4496 kg.

28 CRR, 415: 11-12. Weighing the soap at the production site rather than at the wharf led to problems in the collection of the relevant tax. As this practice also reduced the amount of tax to be sent to the Treasury, it was officially ordered that the soap should be weighed at the customs of the place where it was to be sold to the merchants (*ibid.*).

29 CRR, 415: 260.

at Amari and one at Milopotamo. Another *malikâne* unit was Rethymno's port customs taxes. These *malikânes* were held by a total of 46 people. Detailed figures concerning these *malikânes* are given in the table below:³⁰

Regions	<i>Malikâne</i> units	Villages	Monasteries	Number of partners	Cash tax (in <i>akçes</i>)	Wheat tax (in <i>akçes</i>)	Total tax (in <i>akçes</i>)	<i>Muaccele</i> (in <i>guruş</i>)
Rethymno	18	74	7	32	799,103	335,400	1,134,503	33,265
Milopotamo	1	—	—	4	347,080	180,000	527,080	12,500
Ayovasili	1	—	1	4	208,306	—	208,306	6,850
Amari	1	—	1	2	364,877	—	364,877	6,109
Customs	1	—	—	4	130,000	—	130,000	7,500
TOTAL	22	74	9	46	1,849,366	515,400	2,364,766	66,224

Table IV: Rethymno *malikânes*

The largest *malikâne* in Rethymno was the one held jointly by the *bazirgân* (merchant) Mehmed, and *mustahfızan* (fort commanders) Ahmed, Osman, and Ali; it was made up of 11 villages. The tax of this *malikâne*, which had the highest *muaccele* price, was 305,253 *akçes*; its down-payment was 10,460 *guruş*.³¹ Another important *malikâne* was the one owned by el-Hac İncekara Mustafa Ağa, which included seven monasteries. This *malikâne* is one of the important tax units with its 79,500-*akçe* annual tax and 3,025-*guruş muaccele*.³²

Of the *malikânes* which had changed hands the most among the Rethymno *malikânes* were the tax district of the village of Marula and the one attached to it, which was made up of eight villages. This *malikâne* was farmed out to Hasan Ağa and Suyolcuzade İsmail at the first auction. Hasan Ağa died a short time later and thus his share was auctioned again. The auction was held first in Kandiye, but there was no bidder. Later, it was suggested that it be auctioned on the spot, that is, in Rethymno. Moreover, it was requested that the *malikâne* be first offered to Hasan Ağa's sons and, in the event of their not accepting it, it be given to the person who offered the highest pre-payment.³³ Suyolcuzade İsmail, the other partner of the *malikâne*, renounced his share voluntarily after a while and demanded a re-auction. His share was farmed out to Kalaylızade Ali Efendi in Kandiye.³⁴ After Kalaylızade Ali's death a couple of years later, his share was auctioned to a certain

30 For the figures: Ay, 'Mukataaların Satılması', 39, 49-51.

31 Ibid., 49-51.

32 BOA, D.BŞM.GRH, Inventory of Files, No. 9/8.

33 CRR, 62: 106 (27 Zilkade 1132 [30 September 1720]).

34 CRR, 62: 107.

Mustafa.³⁵ The new holder of the *malikâne* rented his share to Bilal Bey for a period of two years for 250 *guruş* in 1730.³⁶

Likewise, the *malikâne* of Yanudi and attached villages in Rethymno was obtained by İbrahim Efendi, the Valide Sultan Mosque's imam. However, after İbrahim's death in 1732, the asset remained without an owner. For this reason, it was offered to a certain Mustafa Beşe for a year in order to prevent the loss of tax income.³⁷

We observe that there is an increase in *muaccele* prices during re-auctions in the course of time. For example, the Ayovasili *malikâne* increased from 6,850 *guruş* to 6,925 *guruş*; and the Milopotamo *malikâne* went up from 12,500 *guruş* to 19,350 *guruş* over time.³⁸

The principle according to which *malikâne* holders would have complete and independent control over their *malikânes* (*min-külli'l-vücuḥ serbestiyet üzere*) as long as they fulfilled their obligations was one of the most sensitive points for the Ottoman administration. Local administrators were warned frequently not to intervene in the affairs of *malikâne* owners. Despite this clear instruction, local administrators could not help intervening with *malikâne* holders, since the *malikâne* system meant that their relationship with tax revenues had almost ended, and they suffered from income loss.³⁹

Even in the earliest periods of implementation of the new system, we can see that certain pressures were exerted on *malikâne* holders, and that there was intervention in the affairs of the *reaya*. To prevent this, a *ferman* was sent to the governor of Kandiye to reiterate once again that there should not be any interference with the affairs of *malikâne* owners even for a single *akçe*.⁴⁰ As this order was repeated over and over again in the years which followed, it is clear that it was impossible to prevent interventions by the local authorities.⁴¹

We further observe that charitable foundation (*vakıf*) trustees also intervened in the *malikâne* owners' affairs on account of conflicts about the foundation villages' borders. For instance, the Veli Paşa foundation's trustee gave trouble to Hasan and Mehmed, who were the holders of a *malikâne* made up of four villages in Rethymno, and claimed that one of these villages, Platanya, was owned by the foundation. It was determined through an investigation in the Treasury records that the said village was located within the borders of the *malikâne*, and local administrators were requested to warn the trustee of the situation.⁴²

35 BOA, D.BŞM.GRH, Inventory of Files, No. 9/54.

36 CRR, 60: 266.

37 CRR, 52: 61.

38 BOA, D.BŞM.GRH, Book No. 16814, 4, 9.

39 "... Resmo muhafazasına memur olanlar taraflarından bilâ-emr-i şerif odun ve kule akçesi namıyla ve sair bahane ile reaya fukarası taciz ve rencide ve perakende ve perişan olmalarına bais ve malikânesi mahsulüne külli noksan tertibine badi oldukları ..." (CRR, 60: 265 [Şevval 1142 (April-May 1730)]).

40 CRR, 62: 105 (23 Cemaziyelâhir 1132 [2 May 1720]).

41 CRR, 48: 33 (14 Cemaziyevvel 1139 [7 January 1727]).

42 CRR, 62: 117 (21 Muharrem 1134 [11 November 1721]).

Two people who dared to exert pressure on *malikâne* holders paid up the hilt. Niko-laki, the chamberlain of the governor of Rethymno Mehmed Paşa, was arrested and punished because he annoyed the villagers by his unjust demands within the borders of a *malikâne*.⁴³ İbrahim Efendi, the deputy of the *kadı* of Rethymno in Ayovasili, was dismissed from office upon the complaint of *malikâne* owners because of his intervention in *malikâne* villages.⁴⁴

We will continue our discussion with some other important issues without reference to the identities, position and administrative authorities of particular *malikâne* owners. *Malikâne* holders had administrative duties as well as their duties in the economic field. In our search of the Rethymno *kadı* records, we have discovered that *malikâne* owners were also addressed, besides local authorities, in the orders and *fermans* which were sent by the central authorities regarding various administrative issues.⁴⁵ Sometimes, *malikâne* owners were asked to provide guarantees for the village *reaya* within the borders of their *malikâne*. For example, in a particular instance that we encountered in a Rethymno register, a payment which could not be collected from the villagers was eventually demanded from the *malikâne* owner.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, we were not able to find any record as to whether the *malikâne* owner met this demand or not.

In addition to the problems that *malikâne* holders faced, as discussed so far, there were also problems which were created by the *malikâne* owners themselves. The most important among them was that they sometimes did not fulfil their obligations and did not finalise their accounts in due time.⁴⁷ As we noted above, on at least one occasion *malikâne* owners in Crete also failed to pay their *cülus* tax in time.

Furthermore, sometimes the *reaya* filed complaints against *malikâne* owners and this led to criminal investigations. For example, el-Hac Ahmed and Hacı Hasan were accused of exerting unjust pressure on the *reaya*, including murder and occasional beatings, and of causing them hardship through false accusations. The military governor of Kandiye ordered the issue to be investigated and offenders to be caught and brought back to Kandiye, and their properties to be seized.⁴⁸ Similarly, the *reaya* of the village Ayo Kostantin complained about the *malikâne* owner Ali Bey and his son, stating that they used the village people for their own service, arrested the people unjustly and seized their properties and money, took their daughters, and demanded too much tithe. In an order that the central administration of the island sent to the *kadı* it was requested that the accusations be investigated and such attitudes be prevented.⁴⁹

We have also established that sometimes *malikâne* owners were inclined to misuse their economic and administrative authority. For example, in a *cizye* collection in 1727,

43 CRR, 415: 226 (10 Safer 1132 [23 December 1719]).

44 CRR, 415: 257 (4 Şevval 1147 [27 February 1735]).

45 CRR, 48: 55 and 415: 459, 461.

46 CRR, 415: 159 (27 Rebiyülevvel 1173 [18 November 1759]).

47 CRR, 48: 46.

48 CRR, 48: 52-53 (13 Rebiyülevvel 1139 [8 November 1726]).

49 CRR, 48: 25 (15 Muharrem 1139 [12 September 1726]).

a group of *cizye* taxpayers resorted to *malikâne* owners, and avoided paying the tax. In a *ferman* issued concerning this issue, a reminder was given that *malikâne* owners had no right to intervene in the collection of the *cizye*.⁵⁰ Furthermore, another court record suggests that *malikâne* owners prevented the *reaya* from resorting to the *kadı* or his deputy about various legal issues, and wanted to solve them internally. In a warning issued by the governor of Crete about this matter, it was emphasised that all legal cases, be they minor or major, should be resolved in the *kadı* court and those who dared to act to the contrary were to be reported.⁵¹

This paper aimed at uncovering certain consequences of the implementation of the *malikâne* system in Crete. However, as can easily be deduced from this limited account of facts, a proper analysis of the implementation of the system requires a thorough study of many economic, social, and administrative dimensions. Most important, the identities and impacts of the acts of *malikâne* owners should be undertaken in a separate study primarily devoted to such individuals – who would later become the *ayan* of the Ottoman Empire.

50 CRR, 62: 113.

51 CRR, 415: 20 (16 Şaban 1131 [4 July 1719]).

FIFTY YEARS AFTER THE CONQUEST: EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY REFORMS IN OTTOMAN CRETE

Suraiya FAROQHI*

IN THIS PAPER, WE WILL DISCUSS OTTOMAN POLICY with respect to Crete, in the period following the consolidation of the Sultans' rule on the island. From the legal and administrative historian's point of view, the first decades of Ottoman government are something very special. When the Sultans' officials first arrived, they began by imposing a set of 'traditional' taxes, of the type that were found throughout the Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This was normal practice, as has been known ever since Halil İnalcık's seminal article, now over fifty years old.¹ The new province was recorded in a first tax register (*tahrir*), as had also been typical of early Ottoman practice. However, by the mid-seventeenth century, this enterprise could be considered a novelty limited to newly acquired territories. After all the preparation of *tahrirs* had been largely given up when in the late 1500s tax-farming replaced the allotting of military tax grants (*timar*) as the dominant mode of local administration and dues collection.²

But very shortly after the conquest of Crete, the Sultan's administration changed over to a completely new mode; this was to be valid for the province itself and extended to some of the Aegean islands as well. Now the notion that the ruler was the supreme owner of all agricultural land and the peasants his lifelong tenants was given up, although this had been a fundamental assumption of Ottoman government throughout the 1400s, 1500s and earlier 1600s. Instead, a set of legal statements was promulgated that closely conformed to Islamic law. This meant, among other things, that private property in land was instituted, while state-owned (*miri*) holdings became the exception and not the rule.³ This new legal system included as a major principle the ruling that Muslims as well as non-Muslims paid *harac* taxes on their fields, gardens and vineyards. These amounted to

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1 H. İnalcık, 'Ottoman Methods of Conquest', *SI*, 3 (1954), 103-129.

2 In the 1670s and early 1680s when the Ottomans briefly conquered the formerly Polish province of Kamañice/Kamieneć Podolsk, they also had a *tahrir* prepared: D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681): Defter-i Mufasssal-i Eyalet-i Kamañice*, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass. 2004).

3 Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 298-310.

one-fifth of the harvest, and it was a matter of indifference whether the taxpayer in question was a Muslim or not.⁴ Moreover the concept of alms taxes (*zekât*), sanctified by religious law but hitherto confined to the world of juridical teaching and debate, was now applied in practice. From certain products of the rural world, villagers were now expected to pay *zekât* at the canonical rate of one-fortieth of yearly produce.⁵

These momentous changes have been diversely interpreted: Ersin Gülsoy has emphasised that they involved a thorough streamlining of the taxation system and resulted in reduced collection costs.⁶ Taxpayers also must have found it convenient to deal with just one or two authorities rather than with a multitude of collectors; after all, even though these men time and again were forbidden to demand 'unofficial' taxes for their own benefit, it was well known that this abuse never could be totally prevented. Moreover, quite a few of the recently acquired subjects of the Sultan, insofar as they cultivated land, may well have been gratified by this grant of full property rights, and the legitimacy of Ottoman rule was thus enhanced.

It has further been surmised that the administration's dramatically novel departure was due to the background and networks of Köprülüade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, Grand Vizier at the time when the conquest of the island was completed. Trained as a religious scholar, the latter at least in some matters was sympathetic to the protest movement of the Kadızadelis, a group of Muslims who advocated a return to the conditions of original Islam, as had obtained under the first four Caliphs.⁷ But no document has so far come to light proving that the Kadızadelis had anything to do with the Cretan system of landholding and taxation.⁸ In the same way, suggestions have been put forward that the new system facilitated the sale of land, and may thus be regarded as a response to an increased monetisation of the Ottoman economy. Once again, while it is certainly true that in the first decades after the conquest, some property-holders engaged in profitable land speculation, we do not know whether this consideration played any role in the institution of the new system.⁹ To the frustration of modern historians, Ottoman officials did not normally give many explanations of why they instituted certain measures; after all their discourse was directed at colleagues who were just as familiar with the social and political background as the office-holders themselves.

4 Ibid., 286.

5 For discussions of the problem of state ownership of agricultural lands, as formulated in the sixteenth century, compare Ö. L. Barkan, 'Türk Toprak Hukuku Tatbikatının Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aldığı Şekiller: İmparatorluk Devrinde Toprak Mülk ve Vakıflarının Hususiyeti (1)', in his *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi. Toplu Eserler*, Vol. 1, eds A. Nesimi, M. Şahin and A. Özkan (Istanbul 1980), 249-280, and H. İnalcık, 'The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600', in Idem with D. Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge 1997), 110-114.

6 Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 284 n. 231.

7 M. Zilfi, 'Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul', *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 45/4 (1986), 251-269.

8 Greene, *A Shared World*, 27.

9 Compare the paper by Elizabeth Zachariadou at the Symposium.

Our study concerns the three-year period between 1719 and 1721. Thus time-wise it links up with the fundamental work of Molly Greene, who ended her study about 1720, after attempts of the Venetians to re-establish themselves in the eastern Mediterranean had definitely come to naught with the loss of the Morea (1714-1715). However, Greene's study focuses on the island itself, and she has explicated in detail what kind of dynamics – on the domestic and commercial but also on the international level – allowed the Ottomans to stabilise their rule in Crete, their last major conquest. Using the *kadi* registers of Crete as one of her major sources, she has thus worked her way from the periphery to the centre.

On the other hand, the twenty-odd documents to be discussed here, which have been culled from the enormous and – unfortunately for the modern historian – extremely disparate registers of the central bureaucracy, give us the opposite view, namely from the imperial centre towards the periphery.¹⁰ In other words, what did the Ottoman administration expect from this island, now that the hopes of Evliya Çelebi – and perhaps his friends in the governing elite – that Crete would be a second Egypt had turned out to be excessively sanguine? What measures were taken to maximise benefits from an area which was rich in agricultural resources by the standards of the time, while at the same time maintaining a reasonable rapport with the local population both Muslim and non-Muslim?¹¹ For owing to the exposed position of the island, a sizeable group of Cretans profoundly dissatisfied with Ottoman rule could cause the central government a great deal of trouble, both by co-operation with Maltese and other corsairs and by attacks on the many small forts by which the Sultan's administration sought to control the island.

Thus the investigation of central policies with respect to Crete fits into the long tradition of centre-periphery studies. These have taught us that while the Sultans and their officials sent out orders and expected them to be obeyed, what happened on the periphery also had an impact on the centre. Given the pragmatic orientation of the Ottoman bureaucracy, officials were quite willing to proceed by trial and error. We will see that both the resources and the special problems of the province of Crete were taken into account in Istanbul; for as it turns out, the island did have a significant role to play in the centre's political projects.

Involving the Balkan frontier regions as well as Anatolia and northern Syria, the Sultan's administration during the early eighteenth century planned for a number of empire-wide enterprises. After 1718, as already implicit in Orhonlu's work on the *derbendcis*, or peasant guardsmen responsible for the safety of travellers on mountainous roads, Sultan Ahmed III and his Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa embarked on a conscious policy of restoring older practices and institutions intended to serve the public welfare. After all, the latter had been badly run down during the previous forty years, when only short periods had been free of warfare.¹²

10 BOA, section Maliyeden Müdevver (henceforth MAD).

11 Thus non-Muslim widows did not pay the tax they paid in the Balkans: Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 284.

12 C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Derbend Teşkilatı* (Istanbul 1967).

While it has often been said that the Ottomans did not use the relatively peaceful period between 1718 and 1768 to catch up with their European rivals with respect to military affairs, the same thing cannot be said for the civilian sector.¹³ Admittedly, we Ottoman historians have sometimes seen 'systems' where there was more 'muddling through' than coherent policies. But in the present case the situation is different, and fairly systematic and conscious efforts were directed towards reconstruction and restoration. Moreover, these policies were part and parcel of the image that the Ottoman ruling group attempted to convey abroad at that time, for instance vis-à-vis the last Safavid Shah of Iran. Thus Dürri Ahmed, who visited Iran in 1720-1721 as an ambassador to Tehran, proclaimed that Ahmed III had ordered the repair and restructuring of existing pious foundations in the Ottoman Empire, with a view towards ensuring that the payments to *medrese* students and other religious figures, presumably interrupted because of warfare, could be resumed.¹⁴ The Sultan was thus presented not as a war hero, but as a pious Muslim and an effective administrator.

Rebuilding and Re-stocking Fortresses

As both Ahmed III and İbrahim Paşa understood very well, ensuring the safety of communications was a *conditio sine qua non* if trade was to revive and the desired improvements in pious foundations were to be financed. This involved the repair and supplying of fortresses and arsenals, on both the land and maritime borders of the Empire, and also on crucial thoroughfares such as the hajj routes. Even though the eastern Mediterranean was an Ottoman lake, it was frequented by foreign and local merchantmen, and also by numerous pirates and corsairs preying on trade. Although, geographically speaking, Crete was situated in the centre of the Ottoman Empire, the island province thus continued to show certain features otherwise characteristic of borderlands. It is in this context that Cretan affairs came to play a more significant role in early-eighteenth-century bureaucratic correspondence than was true of Ottoman inland provinces such as, for instance, Karaman or Rum in the Anatolian heartlands.

Apart from needing special protection as a recently acquired province, the island possessed considerable potential as a source of taxes and manpower. Thus a high degree of Ottoman control over Crete came to be an important pre-condition for projects to be undertaken in other border provinces. In 1719-1720, when the fortress of Vidin was scheduled for major repairs, the governor and the *kadı* of Kandiye were told that Cretans had

13 B. McGowan, 'The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812', in İnalcık with Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History*, 2: 644.

14 S. Faroqhi, 'Der osmanische Blick nach Osten: Dürri Ahmed Efendi über den Zerfall des Safawidenreichs, 1720-21', in M. Rohrschneider and A. Strohmeier (eds), *Wahrnehmungen des Fremden: Differenzenerfahrungen von Diplomaten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Münster 2007), 375-398; revised English edition: 'Another Mirror for Princes: The Public Image of the Ottoman Sultans and its Reception' (in press).

a very good reputation as builders.¹⁵ According to information received in the Ottoman capital, the building of redoubts (*tabya*) was considered a Cretan specialty.

Therefore, while unskilled labourers were recruited from the Balkans, 100 specialist masons and 20 carpenters were to be brought over from Crete to Vidin. Fifty masons fell to the lot of Kandiye, the provincial capital, while Hanya was expected to send 30 and Resmo 20 artisans.¹⁶ These men, to be selected from among skilled people who were to be neither too young nor too old for the rigours of the journey, must have been Christians, since their leader, the official builder/architect (*mimar*) of Hanya, was an Orthodox individual; if by contrast the group had been mixed, we would have expected a Muslim as its leader. In 1719-1720 the name of the *mimar* of Hanya was recorded as Vanko; he was accompanied by the 'chief workman' of Kandiye, whose first name was Fotya. The unfortunate Vanko may well have died very soon afterwards, for the following year it was a certain Manyo, again the chief builder of Hanya, who headed the contingent of Cretan workmen. This latter personage was allowed to transfer his office to another Christian of his choice during the time he was going to be away, and third parties were specifically ordered to refrain from intervening.¹⁷ Evidently these workmen were not to be settled in Vidin on a permanent basis.

In the manner that had become traditional ever since the sixteenth century, the Cretan builders were to be recorded in a special register and guarantors were to be provided to ensure that "not one man would escape".¹⁸ Presumably to pay for expenses en route, the administrators of the Cretan olive oil tax were to pay out two months' wages for the workmen recruited; later on, this was increased to three.¹⁹ Whether payment was to be made to the foremen, or else to the artisans themselves, unfortunately remains in the dark. From the same fund, a boat was to be hired that would convey the men to Istanbul, and from there a Black Sea ship would take them to Vidin. It was hoped that they would arrive at their destination before late March. However, given the north winds that blow over the Black Sea during the last weeks of winter, it is hard to say whether that was a realistic estimate. It has been suggested that the Cretans, despite their proximity to the sea, were not recruited to serve in the Sultan's navy, as the Ottoman elite considered them more useful as farmers than as seamen.²⁰ This point is well taken. But if the islanders were in such demand as builders, their recruitment for official construction projects may explain exemption from other duties at least in part.

But it was not just remote fortresses that needed to be taken care of. Another serious concern was the safety of the islanders themselves, especially of those who lived in the

15 MAD 9908, p. 51 (Safer 1132/December 1719-January 1720) (henceforth, MAD 9908: 51).

16 MAD 9906: 34 (Muharrem 1132/November-December 1719).

17 MAD 9908: 373 (Receb 1133/April-May 1721).

18 Ö. L. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmaretî İnşaatı*, 2 vols (Ankara 1972, 1979); S. Faroqhi, 'Migrationen in staatlicher Regie: Osmanische Handwerker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts beim Ortswechsel nach Istanbul', in K. Schulz (ed.), *Handwerk in Europa: Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur frühen Neuzeit* (Munich 1999), 277-296.

19 MAD 9906: 34 (Muharrem 1132/November-December 1719).

20 Greene, *A Shared World*, 73.

outlying *nahiye* of İstiye (Sitia) and near the southern fortress town of Yerapetre (Ierapetra), for these areas were never free from worries about possible corsair attacks.²¹ In Yerapetre the fortress garrison consisted of 59 soldiers and in addition there were 127 cavalymen: yet local reports had emphasised the value of foot soldiers as opposed to cavalry, for it was on the former that the defence of the fortress with its guns and ammunition would have to depend.

Presumably the detailed instructions concerning Yerapetre formed part of a larger pattern. For at about the same time, a check-up of all fortress garrisons on the island was ordered, a standard procedure documented by numerous registers from all parts of the Empire. In Crete, the last records of this kind before the 1720s had been prepared in 1714, at the height of the recent war against Venice.²² It had then been established that in the fortresses of Kandiye, Hanya, Resmo, Yerapetre, Acısu, Grambousa and a few others there were 7,069 soldiers to whom, if I understand the phrase correctly, 5,551 *akçes* were due every day. If this figure is correct, then quite a few of these people must have been serving without pay, for otherwise it is difficult to arrive at an average below a single *akçe per diem*, by this time a minimal amount of money. Later on, two smaller castles, namely Spinalonga certainly and Souda probably, received in addition substantial garrisons of over 300 men in each case. Thus the total number of garrison soldiers stationed on the island must have been close to 8,000 men.²³ However, a few years later these figures must have been substantially out of date, especially since some of these soldiers had probably been sent off to fight the Venetians in the Peloponnese. Altogether the increase in garrison soldiers was enormous, for in 1670 there had been no more than 2,000 men serving in this capacity.²⁴

But compiling a new register was not an enviable task: when, after completing the procedure in Kandiye, the official in charge, a certain Mustafa, wanted to do the same in Hanya, he failed miserably; for the local garrison soldiers (*yerlî neferat*) told him that the governor and vizier Esad Paşa either had completed the check-up or would shortly do so, and refused to let Mustafa proceed.²⁵ Not unreasonably, the authorities in Istanbul believed that this was a subterfuge intended to conceal the peculations of the officers in charge; and the vizier was summarily ordered to complete the check-up in the presence of an unnamed official especially sent to the island for this purpose (*mübaşir*), and forward the resulting registers to Istanbul. Some of the possible tricks were explicitly spelled out: thus the officers might get men who were not soldiers at all to parade before the investi-

21 Ibid., 68; MAD 9908: 364 (Receb 1133/April-May 1721).

22 MAD 9906: 365-366 (Receb 1132/May-June 1720).

23 On the castles that the Venetians built on the island, with occasional references to their Ottoman names included, see J. Steriotou, 'Le fortezze del Regno di Candia. L'organizzazione, i progetti, la costruzione', in G. Ortalli (ed.), *Venezia e Creta. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi. Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre-5 ottobre 1997* (Venice 1998), 283-302, and A. Curuni, 'L'edilizia civile all'interno delli luoghi fortificati veneziani', in *Venezia e Creta*, 303-336. I thank Simon Price (Oxford) for his gracious and good-humoured advice, given at an unseasonable morning hour on a serpentine road.

24 Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 279.

25 MAD 9908: 165 (Zilhicce 1133/September-October 1721).

gating officials, and presumably for a consideration protect men who had abandoned the fortresses to which they had been assigned. Therefore the governor and the *mübaşir* were warned that not only were they to put the fear of God into the errant officers, they might also in certain cases have to question individually the men they entered in the registers.

Moreover, a short while earlier, at the end of 1720, a general review of all the military supplies of the Cretan fortresses was ordered; this command concerned Kandiye, Hanya and Resmo, probably İstiye, Yerapetre and a few others that I have not been able to identify.²⁶ Commanders as well as their chief armourers and artillerymen were to assist in the survey, which aimed at recording all the guns and ammunition that had been delivered to these places ever since the year 1703-1704, which corresponded to the year of accession of the reigning Sultan Ahmed III. The commissions were to record all the items that had been remitted to the fortresses in question by the central authorities, including the name of the governor under whose tenure the guns and gunpowder had arrived, always with reference to the relevant sultanic orders. These registers were to be sent to Istanbul, and as of 1720, the officers were warned that if they spent any supplies without orders from the centre, they would lose their positions and be made to pay for the relevant guns and gunpowder out of their own pockets. Evidently whoever formulated this order in Istanbul thought that the use of guns in peacetime could only be an abuse. But how, given such orders, the fortresses were to protect the island against surprise attacks by pirates was a question not addressed in our text.

Taxation: A Perennial Source of Disputes

While the number of people sent to work in foreign parts was limited, taxation involved the population at large and remained a contentious issue in good years and in bad. After 1695, lifetime tax farms (*malikâne*) had been introduced in Crete as elsewhere in the Empire, but there must have been an interruption, for they had to be re-introduced in 1719-1720.²⁷ That short-term tax-farming, in Crete as elsewhere, was of serious disadvantage to the taxpayers had become especially obvious to officials at the centre once they considered the high degree of indebtedness on the part of the taxpayers.²⁸ Because the peasants' harvests often were not sufficient to provide subsistence, pay taxes and defray last year's debts, interest accumulated and often turned into an intolerable burden. Not that this high incidence of debt was necessarily an Ottoman peculiarity: studies on seventeenth-century northern France have long demonstrated that many inhabitants of this area also incurred major debts, due to the frequent conjuncture of natural calamities and over-taxation.²⁹ But that the problem was widespread did not make it any less serious.

26 MAD 9908: 36 (Muharrem 1133/November-December 1720).

27 MAD 9906: 321-322 (Cemaziyelâhir 1132/April-May 1720). I thank Mehmet Genç who has discussed this text with me.

28 S. Faroqhi, 'Indebtedness in the Bursa Area, 1730-1740', in M. Afifi *et alii* (eds), *Sociétés rurales ottomanes/Ottoman Rural Societies* (Cairo 2005), 197-213.

29 P. Goubert, *Cent mille provinciaux au XVII^e siècle* (Paris 1977), 192-193.

Supposedly the re-introduction of lifetime tax farms was to be beneficial to the tax-paying subjects because the holders would be concerned about not killing the goose that laid the golden eggs.³⁰ In particular the authorities hoped that in case of need, lifetime tax farmers would be prepared to assist peasants in procuring seed-corn.³¹ But in real life, the situation was less comforting, as the prominent members of the elite who so often received such lifetime grants did not themselves reside in the places from which they drew their revenues. Rather, they sent underlings who enjoyed no guarantees concerning tenure and often behaved no differently from the nefarious short-term tax farmers of previous years. Something of that kind seems to have happened to two monasteries in the vicinity of Resmo, named Ayo Hristo (Saint Saviour) and Ayo Yorgi (St George).³² The monks complained that while they were quite prepared to pay the regular taxes (*mal-ı maktu*) and regularised fees such as the *kalemiye* and other dues, the sub-contractors of the lifetime tax grantees and even the grantee himself were not satisfied with this. Instead they demanded various payments supposedly destined for their servitors, in addition to a due with the rather weird name of *hoşgeldin akçesi* or 'welcome money'. The central administration verified that in fact the monasteries of Ayo Hristo and Ayo Yorgi, in addition to seven other smaller monasteries, had been farmed to a certain Hacı Mustafa, who was enjoined to cease his illegal vexations, with what result remains unknown.

Another tax dispute concerns the attempt of the Ottoman administration to introduce 'Islamic' taxation on the island. How this affected landholding records and the famous Cretan *tahrirs* has been well discussed, but there were many sides to the novelty. Thus the dispute that the administration needed to resolve in 1720-1721 in part concerned the attempt to replace the sheep tax (*âdet-i aġnam*) collected elsewhere in the Empire with the canonical alms tax (*zekât*) of one-fortieth.³³ In the year 1705-1706 this *zekât* had been recorded in the register compiled by the vizier Numan Paşa, a member of the Köprülü dynasty so powerful in Crete, as being farmed out for 290,000 *akçes*.³⁴

However, it was soon found that people who owned the forty sheep that made them liable for the *zekât* tax were impossible to locate, as those who did own large flocks had them recorded in the names of their various relatives and household members. Therefore Ali Paşa, the former governor of Kandiye, had introduced a novel manner of assessment, supposedly beneficial to the Treasury as well as to the taxpayers: Muslims paid 1 *para* for every two sheep or goats they possessed, while for Christians the rate was double, that is, they paid 1 *para* for every animal. Lambs were not taxed before the end of the year in which they had been born, and the count was actually to be repeated every single year,

30 M. Genç, 'Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Sistemi', in O. Okyar and Ü. Nalbantoğlu (eds), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri. Metinler – Tartışmalar* (Ankara 1975), 231-296.

31 MAD 9906: 321-322 (Cemaziyelâhır 1132/April-May 1720).

32 MAD 9908: 248 (Cemaziyelevvel 1133/March 1721).

33 MAD 9908: 159 (Rebiyülâhır 1133/January-February 1721).

34 For a few remarks on this personage in the French consular reports, see D. Sabatier, 'Les relations commerciales entre Marseille et la Crète dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle', in J.-P. Filippini, L. Meignen, C. Roure, D. Sabatier and G. Stéphanides, *Dossiers sur le commerce français en Méditerranée orientale au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris 1976), 168.

so that sheep-breeders would not suffer by being assessed according to declarations that were far out of date. Presumably the taxpayers also benefited because the re-designed sheep tax was to be farmed by a single individual, and none of the sub-contractors who had made life so difficult for the monks of Ayo Hristo and Ayo Yorgi were to be permitted in this context. Once again a host of supplementary payments demanded by the collectors for themselves were to be abolished.³⁵ As to the notables of Hanya, they were satisfied with the new regulation or at least acquiesced. For we find them – successfully – petitioning the central administration for the official recognition and continuation of the new regime, even though in the preceding years, the *malikâne* revenues had been increased to 400,000 *akçes* in addition to an entry fine of 7,500 *guruş*. Perhaps the promise that moneys collected over and above the specified amounts would be returned to the taxpayers played a role in ensuring local support.

But as so often happens even today when excess taxes need to be repaid, there was trouble, in this case due to the new rules about the taxing of lambs.³⁶ In any case, the lifetime tax farmer Mehmed, superintendent of the gunpowder manufacture of Gelibolu, complained that some ill-intentioned people had accused him of oppressing the taxpayers with a demand for a special tax on ‘the increase of flocks’ (*izdiyad-ı ağnam*).³⁷ In all probability the tax farmer had been demanding money for lambs born in the current year. However, the protesting taxpayers had obtained a sultanic command that abolished the *izdiyad*; presumably the text at issue resembled the one we have just discussed, if the two actually were not identical. Highly frustrated, the lifetime tax farmer and gunpowder superintendent now asked to be informed about the exact conditions under which the tax was to be collected, a request that was graciously granted by the central administration. As yet, I have not been able to find out whether the money that under the new regulations had been illegally collected was really returned to the taxpaying subjects.

Olive Oil

As we have learnt from Greene’s study, olive oil had begun to compete with wine as an export – and more generally as a commercial – crop already during the last years of Venetian rule.³⁸ Viewed in the long term, Cretan wine was in retreat, though by no means absent, because of changes in consumer tastes and the competition from wines grown in continental Europe and in Madeira.³⁹ The agricultural products grown during the early years of Ottoman domination, which also included some grain, were largely traded on a

35 Complaints concerning such payments, illegal but demanded in practice, were frequent in Crete and elsewhere; MAD 9906: 259 (Cemaziyelevvel 1132/March-April 1720) abolished extra fees demanded by the collectors of agricultural taxes.

36 MAD 9906: 276 (27 Cemaziyelevvel 1132/6 April 1720).

37 For the text of this complaint, issued in the name of the taxpaying subjects of Crete, see MAD 9906: 251 (Cemaziyelevvel 1132/March-April 1720).

38 Greene, *A Shared World*, 114.

39 Gülsoy, *Girit’in Fethi*, 294-297.

local basis and have thus been but poorly recorded.⁴⁰ But by the 1720s already the cultivation of olives had greatly increased and the Ottoman administration had earmarked it as a source of revenue.⁴¹ The locals employed olive oil as a basis for soap manufacture, and a comparable industry in the Marseilles region also used substantial amounts of Cretan olive oil; in fact, this was the major reason why French traders frequented the island.⁴² Consuls of the French king were in residence; in accordance with royal policy, the consuls kept a close watch on the traders, and also maintained connections to the Ottoman governing elite.⁴³ And as they wrote frequently to both the Chamber of Commerce in Marseilles and to their superiors in Paris, some information about the olive oil economy is available from both the buyers' and the state's perspectives. We would prefer to know more about the producers, their hopes, fears and calculations, but unfortunately the latter produced few records.

Given an increasing manufacture of olive oil, it is not surprising if our set of texts also contains some information about the collection of the relevant tax and the remission of the resultant revenues to Istanbul. Already in 1717 a tax of 3 *akçes* per *okka* (22%) had been imposed on the export of olive oil.⁴⁴ In 1720-1721, more detailed regulations were issued; by this time the tax had been increased to 6 *akçes* of good alloy in addition to customs duties.⁴⁵ A second text explains the fiscal reasoning behind this doubling of the tax.⁴⁶ In the region of Midilli/Mytilini the tax for the exportation of olive oil had earlier been set at 6 *akçes*, and now there were complaints that traders and particularly foreign exporters no longer visited the ports of this region. After all, they could buy more cheaply in Crete, and this situation resulted in a loss to the Treasury, to say nothing, we might add, of the relevant tax farmers. As a result it was decided that the interests of the exchequer were best served by raising the level of taxes to that already prevailing in Midilli, and the edict in question also pontificated on how equal taxation everywhere would result in 'good order' (*nizam-ı hal*).

Of every 6 *akçes* collected, five were intended for the central administration while the remainder was earmarked as *maaş*, that is, probably set aside for the salaries of local bureaucrats. But we also learn that one-eighth of the dues collected paid for the collector, scribe and supervisor; if this share of 16.5 per cent was supplementary to the 1 *akçe* per *okka* already set aside as *maaş*, the share allotted to salary payments must have been

40 Greene, *A Shared World*, 122-126.

41 Ibid., 131.

42 Y. Triantaphyllidou-Baladié, 'L'industrie du savon en Crète au XVIII^e siècle. Aspects économiques et sociaux', *EB*, 4 (1975), 75-87; P. Boulanger, *Marseille, marché international de l'huile d'olive. Un produit et des hommes de 1725 à 1825* (Marseilles 1996).

43 Sabatier, 'Les relations commerciales'; D. Panzac, 'Négociants ottomans et capitaines français: la caravane maritime en Crète au XVIII^e siècle', in his *Commerce et navigation dans l'Empire ottoman au XVIII^e siècle* (Istanbul 1996), 77-94.

44 Greene, *A Shared World*, 136.

45 MAD 9908: 533 (Şevval 1133/July-August 1721).

46 MAD 9906: 526 (Şevval 1132/August-September 1720).

higher still.⁴⁷ Reducing collection costs was highly desirable in theory but often difficult to achieve in practice.

A major concern behind the issuance of these particular sultanic commands was the manner in which revenues were now to be accounted for. According to the edict, in every port the tax collectors were to record the amount of oil loaded by each and every ship, along with the name (*isim*) and a short physical description (*resim*) of the captain. From the total tax paid, the accountant was to subtract the sums of money that were to be retained locally. The information thus provided by the detailed registers was to be made more digestible by the compilation of summary registers (*icmal*) and memoranda (*tez-kere*). Throughout, special care was to be taken so that no ambiguities remained that might provide loopholes for possible speculators.

In Conclusion

In this spate of sultanic ordinances several points strike the eye: first of all there seems to have been considerable concern on the part of the central administration with a rectification of current abuses, somewhat in the manner of the 'justice edicts' that had been issued at the height of the mercenary rebellions of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁴⁸ This involved an uphill struggle not so much against violence, as had been true around 1600, as against corruption and waste, particularly in the military sector. The latter aspect must have seemed all the more urgent as Ahmed III himself had a reputation for being greatly concerned with the accumulation of a substantial treasury.

Increasing bureaucratic control seemed an answer to the problem: and the preparation of two or more registers was now deemed necessary where one set of records had previously sufficed. Here we can observe the beginnings of bureaucratic expansion that came to characterise the mid-eighteenth-century central administration, when correspondence increased so much that general registers ceased to be very useful and it became necessary to group outgoing commands by provinces. After all, the difficulty experienced by today's researchers, who slowly work their way through weighty tomes when attempting to cover even a relatively well-documented region such as Crete, must have been well known to bureaucrats of the 1720s as well. On the other hand, some of the Sultan's ideas of bureaucratic control must soon have proved unworkable in the everyday life of an isolated district or fortress; but that particularly frustrating aspect of rule by bureaucracy surely is not unique to the eighteenth century.

As to the introduction of lifetime tax farms, it was accompanied by a good deal of rhetoric to the effect that this would protect the subjects from the abuses of short-term tax farmers and usurers. This rhetoric was in use wherever *malikânes* were instituted, and therefore by no means a Cretan peculiarity. We can assume that there was a believable element in these fine words, as the capital scarcity characteristic even of provinces

47 MAD 9908: 457 (Şaban 1133/May-June 1721); MAD 9908: 518 (Şevval 1133/July-August 1721).

48 H. İnalcık, 'Adaletnameler', *Belgeler*, II/3-4 (1965), 42-149.

that were reasonably productive provided opportunities for moneylenders, who might tie entire villages to themselves through the debt nexus.⁴⁹ We do not know whether initially the Sultans' bureaucrats believed that the new regime would be an answer to the subjects' complaints. But if they had done so, disillusionment followed rapidly, and the 1719-1721 set of sultanic commands demonstrated how the subordinates of the *malikâneci* might rapidly nullify the beneficial effects of lifetime tax-farming. At the end of the day, a concern with fiscal revenues normally prevailed, as was exemplified by the correspondence concerning the olive oil tax.⁵⁰

But even so, the documents show that the Ottoman bureaucracy of the time was more willing to reform and experiment than has been claimed in much of the secondary literature. In spite of the distance from Crete to Istanbul, there was quite a bit of correspondence, not only among the different levels of officialdom itself but also between the authorities and certain sectors of the subject class, both Muslims and non-Muslims. This relatively close contact is particularly apparent from the argument over the sheep dues, where we can discern efforts to prevent tax evasion by the proprietors of more than forty sheep while at the same time protecting herders from over-taxation due to premature or even fictitious 'increases in flocks'. That the *zekât* was a canonical tax and had been introduced in a context of 'Islamisation' did not make it sacrosanct: on the contrary, if deemed unworkable, the Sultan's officials were quite willing to change it. Pragmatism thus prevailed; and the correspondences discussed here exemplify the official intention to increase central control while protecting the tax base, but also the limits of Ottoman bureaucratic reform in the pre-Tanzimat period.

49 E. Gara, 'Lending and Borrowing Money in an Ottoman Province Town', in M. Köhbach, G. Procházka-Eisl and C. Römer (eds), *Acta Viennensia Ottomanica. Akten des 13. CIEPO-Symposiums vom 21. bis 25. September 1998 in Wien* (Vienna 1999), 113-119.

50 M. Genç, 'Ottoman Industry in the Eighteenth Century: General Framework, Characteristics and Main Trends', in D. Quataert (ed.), *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950* (Albany 1994), 59-86.

REBELLIOUS JANISSARIES: TWO MILITARY MUTINIES IN CANDIA (1688, 1762) AND THEIR AFTERMATHS

Marinos SARIYANNIS*

MUTINY AND REBELLION IN THE OTTOMAN ARMY constitute a phenomenon that modern historiography has only lately started to explore.¹ In this paper I intend to study, in the first place, a relatively unknown mutiny which occurred in the fortress of Candia (Heraklion, Kandiye) in 1762. Almost all the relevant documents have been published, in Greek translation by Nikolaos Stavrinidis (1985) and recently in summary by Eleni Karantzikou and Pinelopi Photeinou (2003),² but as far as I know they have not been used as yet.³ They are to be found in the corpus of Candia *kadı sicilleri*; most of them were bound in the early twentieth century into Volume 3, which contains mainly entries from the years 1669 to 1673, while others are to be found in Volume 9, consisting partly of entries from 1698-1699.⁴ For comparative purposes, the analysis will be supplemented with a study of a similar, although more serious, revolt of the Candiot janissaries in 1688, which left its traces in contemporary chronicles as well.

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- 1 P. Brummett, 'Classifying Ottoman Mutiny: The Act and Vision of Rebellion', *TSAB*, 22/1 (1998), 91-107; V. Aksan, 'Mutiny and the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Army', *TSAB*, 22/1 (1998), 116-125; Eadem, 'Manning a Black Sea Garrison in the 18th Century: Ochakov and Concepts of Mutiny and Rebellion in the Ottoman Context', *IJTS*, 8/1-2 (2002), 63-72. I do not refer here to revolts in the capital, which were aimed more clearly at political goals; cf. the ground-breaking article by C. Kafadar, 'Janissaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman Istanbul: Rebels Without A Cause?', *IJTS*, 13/1-2 (2007), 113-134.
- 2 Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, Vol. 5; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*.
- 3 Th. Detorakis, *Historia tes Kretes* [History of Crete] (Heraklion 1990), 301, refers to the event (through Stavrinidis' translations), considering it an example of ordinary janissary riot. The mutiny is also mentioned by A. Anastasopoulos, 'In Preparation for the Hajj: The Will of a *Serdengeçti* from Crete (1782)', *ArchOtt*, 23 (2005/6), 87 n. 34.
- 4 Cf. Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: *κγ'*; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, introduction by E. Zachariadou, *κδ'-κε'*.

Molly Greene has described Crete as “the janissaries’ island”.⁵ Indeed, the strategic importance of its towns and fortresses, as well as the massive conversions of Cretans who subsequently manned the local janissary bodies, led to the dominance of the military element, not only in urban centres but also in the countryside. Around 1675, 18 units (*oda*) with 3,269 men were stationed in Candia, as against 8 *odas* with 716 men in Chania (Hanya) and 5 *odas* with 601 men in Rethymno (Resmo, Retimo).⁶ Ten years later, in 1685, 1,735 *yeniçeri serdengeçtis* (that is, volunteers enrolled from among the janissaries with an increase of payment)⁷ were stationed in Chania and 3,086 in Candia; in 1691, 1,460 imperial janissaries were stationed in Candia, while in 1694 the garrison of the fortress amounted to 2,300 men. Half a century later, in 1750, 945 *kapıkulu (odalı) yeniçeris* (i.e., imperial, in contrast with *yerli*, local) had remained in Chania, and only 1,553 in Candia.⁸ One reason for this decrease was the manning of the Spinalonga fortress by imperial janissaries from Candia after its final capture by the Ottomans in 1715.⁹ Another reason (or, perhaps, a consequence) was the increase of *yamak* and local (*yerli*) bodies; after all, Richard Pococke estimated in 1739 that 6,000 men were on service in Candia, obviously most of them (as he himself notes) not regular soldiers.¹⁰

These military bodies were far from disciplined. They mutinied quite frequently, either over payment issues (like the one studied here) or because of an undesirable transfer. In the 1688 case, which we shall also see in more detail below, they killed the governor himself, Zülfikar Paşa, while in 1692 the ex-*ağa* of the local janissaries, dismissed from his position and summoned to the court, was roaming armed and on horseback through the market, ordering the merchants to close their shops and demand the payment of the janissaries.¹¹ One may observe the high percentage of shopkeepers belonging to the janissary

5 Greene, *A Shared World*, 33.

6 Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l-Beyân fî Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, ed. S. İlgürel (Ankara 1998), 152.

7 See M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (Istanbul 1983 [2nd ed.]), s.v. ‘Serdengeçti’; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (London-New York-Toronto 1950), 321 and n. 4.

8 İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*. Vol. I: *Acemi Ocağı ve Yeniçeri Ocağı* (Ankara 1988), 329-330; Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 387 and 449, Nos 1054 and 1150.

9 Idem, ‘Tourkokratia’ [Turkish Rule], in S. Spanakis (ed.), *To Herakleion kai o nomos tou* [Heraklion and its Prefecture] (Heraklion and Athens 1971), 174-213, and especially 191, 192.

10 Greene, *A Shared World*, 98. In 1783 the garrison of the town would have consisted of 3,716 men, 2,016 of them being local (*yerli*); see Ph. de Bonneval and M. Dumas, *Anagorise tes nesou Kretes: mia anecdote mystike ekthese tou 1783* [Reconnaissance of the Island of Crete: An Unpublished Secret Report of 1783], eds G. V. Nikolaou and M. G. Peponakis (Rethymno 2000), 190.

11 Stavrinidis, ‘Tourkokratia’, 188. The document mentioning the latter case (TAH, 7/19) is published in Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 419-420, No. 1100. The practice of the market ‘strike’, the closing of shops in order to exert political pressure, is well documented in Istanbul rebellions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; see, for instance, Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*,

bodies, as deduced from this event but also from the voluminous court registers of Candia; of course, this phenomenon is observed throughout the Empire at this relatively late era.

Rebellious acts of the island's janissaries continued till the beginning of the nineteenth century. The execution of the famous Mehmed Ağa (Memetakas), a mighty janissary from Sitia (İstiye), in 1782 (along with five of his companions), gave rise to a folk song, widespread among Cretan Muslims, which made a hero out of him, while in 1814 the janissaries of Candia rebelled again, reacting to a decision on the transfer of two *or-tas* (company) from the castle. The government answered with systematic persecutions of the powerful janissary *ağas* by the governor Osman Paşa and his successors Kütahyalı Reşid Mustafa Paşa and İbrahim Hilmî Paşa; the persecutions lasted till at least 1818.¹² The possibility of a relation between these events and the bloody rivalry between the Muslim and Christian populations of Crete throughout the nineteenth century (beginning in 1821) remains to be explored.

The 1762 Mutiny and Its Suppression

The particular incident that we propose to study here is first reported in a petition (*arz ve ilâm*) dated 17 Zilkade 1175 (8 June 1762) and signed by the *ağas*, officers and elders of the janissary order, but also by all the *ulema* and other religious functionaries.¹³ They informed the government (*der-i devlet-mekin*) that the payment of the janissary salaries had been delayed for some years back; because of this the *yenîçeri kâtibi* Numan Efendi (elsewhere mentioned as Numan Halife) gave secretly to some janissaries part of their accrued payment, which he took from the money collected for the annual levy of Crete (*irsaliye*) and kept in the armoury (*cebehane*) of Candia.¹⁴ However, this became known

Vol. 2 (Istanbul 1287/1870-1871), 373-374; Mustafa Naima, *Tarih-i Naima*, Vol. 5 (Istanbul 1282/1865), 98-101; R. W. Olson, 'Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul: Social Upheaval and Political Realignment in the Ottoman Empire', *JESHO*, 20/2 (1977), 185-207 and esp. 194-195; in the case of Candia, the owners must have also been janissaries themselves for the most part.

12 On those events see Th. Detorakis, 'Georgiou Nikoletake chronika semeiomata' [Historical Notes of Georgios Nikoletakis], *Kretologia*, 5 (1977), 127, 133-138; Idem, 'Paratereseis sta tragoudia tou Memetaka' [Observations on the Songs about Memetakas], *Amaltheia*, 32 (1977), 253-260; N. Stavriniadis, *Ho kapetan Michales Korakas kai hoi sympolemistes tou* [Kapetan Michalis Korakas and his Companions], Vol. 1 (Heraklion 1971), 49-73; cf. also below, n. 36. These important events differ from the ones I study, inasmuch as the governors seem to be now much more powerful than before. Besides, there are clear provincial connotations in stories such as that of Memetakas, while the two mutinies that I study refer exclusively, as it seems, to troops stationed in the urban centre, Candia. Of course, one cannot make a complete study of the janissary corps in Crete without analysing the whole series of mutinies and persecutions.

13 TAH, 9/365 (Stavriniadis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 193, No. 2767).

14 The sum of the levy started to be kept in the armoury in 1753, in order not to be spent by the *defterdars* for their personal needs, as happened with the then *defterdar* Derviş Mehmed; see TAH, 19/182 (Stavriniadis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 27, No. 2530). The armoury was situated on the

and had a rebellious effect on the rest of the janissaries (the poorer ones, according to the document: *neferat fukarası*): they attacked the residence of their ağa (*ağa kapusına hücum ve guliiv*) and demanded that the aforementioned Numan Efendi, as well as the *yeniçeri ağası* and *turnacıbaşı* Seyyid İbrahim Ağa, be imprisoned in the Sea Tower (Su Kulesi). It seems that their request was accepted (or imposed, in the circumstances); the petitioners asked that the vacant office of the *yeniçeri ağası* be granted, till the appointment and arrival of a new one from Istanbul, to *serturnacı* el-Hac Mehmed Ağa, ex-*ağa* of Damascus, who had been sent to Candia from the capital in order to oversee the repair of the Sultan İbrahim mosque.¹⁵ Mehmed Ağa was purportedly elected to this office by all the inhabitants of Candia (probably meaning Muslims only) and by the elders of the janissaries; there existed, allegedly, a *kadı* resolution (*ilâm-ı şer'î*) and a *buyruldu* to this effect.¹⁶ At the end of their petition, the petitioners asked for the acceleration of the delayed payment of the janissaries for the years [11]73 and [11]74 (AD 1759 and 1760). In a similar petition to the government by the *kadı*, dated the same day, the *defterdar* of Crete, Ahmed Efendi, declared that, from the 24,750 *guruş* of the annual levy of the island for the year 1174, only 5,510.5 *guruş* remained in the armoury.¹⁷ Emissaries of the *kaymakam* and of the court examined the imprisoned janissary officers, Seyyid İbrahim Ağa and Numan Efendi, who claimed that 16,453 *guruş* had been distributed to the janissaries as payment for the year 1173, the rest of the sum having been used for other purposes (1,150 *guruş* had been given by Numan Efendi as a loan to the deceased Çorlulıazade Mustafa Ağa, while 1,636 *guruş* remained as his own debt). Part of this debt will also be mentioned below; here it is interesting to add some information about Çorlulıazade Mustafa Ağa b. Mehmed Beşe, previously chief officer of the imperial janissaries in Candia (*sabıka dergâh-ı âli ... yeniçerilerinin muhafazasına memur*), who had died on 30 Muharrem 1175 (31 August 1761). Apparently he was quite a rich man, as he was maintaining two wives. At the time of his death, he owed 32,000 *paras* to Numan Efendi and 86,000 *guruş* (*sic*) to the “sum of the 1174 levy” (*deyn-i müsbet li-mal-ı irsaliye-i sene 1174*).¹⁸

ground floor of the Venetian *Loggia*, on whose upper floor the *defterdar* had his office (Idem, ‘Tourkokratia’, 176).

15 In two relevant documents, the name of the *emin* for the repair of the mosque is given as Kumbaracıbaşızade Mehmed Ağa from Hanya; he was the proxy (*vekil*) of the *mütevelli* of the mosque; see TAH, 3/364-365 (Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 428-429, Nos 860-861) and cf. TAH, 9/364 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 192-193, No. 2766). However, *turnacıbaşı* Seyyid Mehmed Ağa is mentioned in a document from 1757 as responsible for the guarding of the sultanian janissaries (*yeniçerilerinin muhafazasına memur*). A council regarding the restoration of the exiled mufti of the town was summoned in his house; see TAH, 18/265.

16 I was unable to locate any of these documents, either in Vol. 3 or in Vol. 9 of the registers, which contain the entries of this period.

17 TAH, 9/366 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 193-194, No. 2768).

18 See his *tereke* in TAH, 9/250-254 and cf. n. 33 below. At any rate, Numan Efendi seems to have been a prominent moneylender of the town. The retired janissary Mehmed Ağa b. Abdullah, who died in Istanbul, had a debt of 4,000 *paras* to Numan Efendi and of 800 *paras* to İbrahim Ağa; see a *tereke* dated 21 Rebiyülâhır 1176 (9 November 1762) in TAH, 3/371-372 (Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 433, No. 867).

Istanbul, however, did not react benevolently to this 'internal', so to speak, arrangement about the re-establishment of order. About one month later (which suggests a quite rapid reaction),¹⁹ the Sultan issued several orders imposing severe measures for the punishment of the rebels. With the first order, dated 22 Zilhicce 1175 (14 July 1762), the 42nd *cemaat* and the 30th *bölük* of janissaries²⁰ were transferred from Candia to the castle of Açe in the Crimea.²¹ The *gümriük emini* was to take care of the dispatch of the two units to Gelibolu, as the expenses would be paid from the customs treasury.²² Almost simultaneously another *ferman*, dated the middle of Zilhicce 1175 (3-12 July 1762), was addressed to the local *kadı* and virtually to every military officer of the Candia garrison: *turnacıbaşı* Osman, chief of the garrison (*yeniçeri zâbiti*), the chiefs of the infantry, the retired *çavuşes*, the *bölükbaşıs*, the elders (*ihtiyar*) of the *ocak*, the *odabaşıs*, the *ağas* of the *serdengeçtis*, the *alemdars*, the elders of the *yamaks*, the warden of the castle (*dizdar*), as well as to el-Hac Ahmed Ağa, ex-*zağarcıbaşı* and now sent as *mübaşir* (special emissary) from the janissary *ocak* in Istanbul.²³ The narrative of events according to the *ferman* differs somewhat from the local version of the story, as seen in the initial report/petition: before the mutiny, the janissaries were already roaming the town streets, armed and drunk; they offended the inhabitants' honour, attacked their families and committed acts of robbery; the mutiny itself was somewhat more violent than presented, since the rebels injured the two officers (as well as the *başçavuş*) and threw them themselves into the castle prison. Ahmed Ağa, the *mübaşir*, was commanded to co-operate with the *kadı*

19 For example, a *ferman* written in Istanbul on 15 Cemaziyelevvel 1175 (12 December 1761), arrived in Candia on 25 Receb 1175 (19 February 1762), that is, about two months later; TAH, 9/357 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 190, No. 2762).

20 That is, *ortas* belonging to the *yaya* or *cemaat ortaları* and to the *ağa bölükleri* respectively. Cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1: 156ff. and 167ff.; *EP*, s.v. 'Yeñi çeri' (R. Murphey), 323; C. Georgieva, 'Organisation et fonctions du corps des janissaires dans les terres bulgares du XVI^e jusqu'au milieu du XVIII^e siècles', *Etudes Historiques*, 5 (1970), 319-336, esp. 322.

21 Stavrinidis reads 28 Zilhicce 1175 (19 July 1762); TAH, 3/344 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 194-195, No. 2770; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 415, No. 841). The castle of Açe or Açu was built in 1697, near the mouth of the river Kuban; see Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, ed. A. Özcan (Ankara 1995), 612-613.

22 This could be a regular movement; the *ortas* stationed in fortresses were usually changed every three years (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1: 325; Georgieva, 'Organisation et fonctions', 322). At least from the published documents we know that the most recent transfer from Candia was ordered on 6 Cemaziyelevvel 1171 (25 April 1758), when the 31st *orta* was sent to Damascus; see TAH, 17/134 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 98, No. 2637). Seven years earlier, at the beginning of 1751, the 66th *cemaat* had been ordered from Candia to Naupaktos (Lepanto, İnebahtı), substituted for by the 14th *cemaat* from Naupaktos; TAH, 3/335-336 and 26/216 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, IV: 373-374 and 376, Nos 2468-2469 and 2476; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 411, Nos 830-831). Naupaktos was a usual place of transfer for the garrison of Candia (Stavrinidis, 'Tourkokratia', 188). It seems that (unless otherwise stated in unpublished documents) the 14th *cemaat* remained in Candia till at least 1762; one of the alleged leaders of the mutiny, Bölükbaşıoğlu Halil Beşe, belonged to it.

23 Stavrinidis reads 15 Zilhicce 1175 (6 July 1762); TAH, 3/345-346 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 196-197, No. 2772; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 416, No. 843).

so as to arrest and punish the rebels and restore public order. The relevant measures were to be written down in a special report, which would be sent to the capital. The governor (*muhafız*) and the *dizdar* of Candia were to follow Ahmed Ağa's orders.

A few days later (last third of Zilhicce 1175/13-22 July 1762), another *ferman* ordered Ahmed Ağa to set off immediately from Izmit (İznikmid) and to see that the rebels were enlisted into the 30th and 42nd *ortas*, which were to be sent to the Crimea (according to the simultaneous above-mentioned order); their names were to be registered and sent to the janissary *ocak* in Istanbul.²⁴ The events narrated differ slightly in regard to the descriptions of the previous reports, as there is a reference to the rebels having killed their *başçavuş*;²⁵ we cannot be sure whether this constant dramatisation of the events in the *fermans* is consistent with the reality or should be attributed to usual bureaucratic formulas. The *mübaşir* brought with him a signed and sealed letter by the *yeniçeri ağası* in Istanbul, Mehmed Ağa; the *sicil* records this letter in two versions, one of them identical with the first *ferman* and another with the second.²⁶

The final praxis of the drama occurred about two months later, nearly three and a half months after the actual mutiny, and was recorded in a document dated 2 Rebiyülevvel 1176 (21 September 1762).²⁷ The *serasker* Kâmil Ahmed Paşa, governor of Candia, the *mübaşir* el-Hac Ahmed Ağa and the *turnacıbaşı* Osman Ağa summoned a judicial council (*akd olınan meclis-i şer'*), with the participation of the janissary officers (retired or not), *yerli*, *kapıkulu*, and *yamak*, as well as other notables of the town (*bi'l-cümle ağavat ve ayan-ı vilâyet*). These notables may be seen among the witnesses who subscribe the document (the *şühudü'l-hal*): apart from various military and administration officials, they include various religious functionaries (the imam of the Sultan İbrahim Han mosque, the *hatib* of the Sultan Mehmed Han mosque, a muezzin, the imam of the Valide Sultan mosque, the imam of the Fazıl Ahmed Paşa mosque, the local mufti), as well as Saatçızade Mehmed Efendi, an official of the judicial court (probably a *naib*) sent as its emissary in various other cases.²⁸ The members of this council agreed upon the following measures (I have re-arranged their order so as to facilitate the study):

- a) The rebels would be arrested and punished; those who had escaped should not be allowed to take refuge in Candia.

24 Stavrinidis' translation omits the reference to Izmit; TAH, 3/346-348 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 198-199, No. 2773; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 416-417, No. 844).

25 Both Stavrinidis and Karantzikou and Photeinou translate these references differently, considering the *başçavuş* to be Numan Efendi himself. However, the latter is mentioned later as still alive and in his office; see n. 46 below.

26 TAH, 3/348-350 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 200, No. 2774; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 417, Nos 845-846).

27 TAH, 3/361-363 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 207-209, No. 2778; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 426-427, No. 858). My understanding of the text differs in some points from the published translations.

28 See Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, index s.v. He was also one of the emissaries investigating the imprisoned İbrahim Ağa and Numan Efendi, in TAH 9/366 (see n. 17 above).

- b) Men belonging to the 42nd and 30th *ortas*, which had been ordered to be sent to the Crimea, would not be allowed to be transferred to other *ortas* (a practice mentioned as common three decades earlier by Pococke);²⁹ the same applied to those belonging to the *yamak* order and to the *taslakçıs* (that is, anyone who claimed to be a janissary without being recorded in the register, *bilâ esami olan*).³⁰ More generally also, any transfer from one *orta* to another was prohibited.
- c) The so-called *burma*, that is, people with no means of livelihood who had recently been converted to Islam and ignored its principles (*şürut-ı islâm ve erkânı bilmeyüb raiyet hükminde olan bilâ dirlik burma ta'bir olunur eşhası*), could not be admitted to the janissary bodies, unless they first had served in the neighbourhoods (probably as watchmen), a service called *sofa* (*sofa ta'bir olunur mahalle hidmeti sebkât etmedikçe*);³¹ the entry of these people to the *ortas* is attributed to the cupidity of some officers. The officers therefore were ordered to abstain from this practice, unless there was some special need for the creation of a local *orta*, or a relevant *ferman* or letter from the *yeniçeri ağası* of Istanbul.
- d) Provided their names were already to be found in the catalogues, the *yamaks* would continue their service. However, the bodies of *serdengeçtis* which had recently appeared would be abolished, as they caused a great deal of trouble. Nobody would be permitted to recruit men under his own banner as an *ağa* (*ağalık namıyla*); if needed, such soldiers would be used in the garrison and receive a daily stipend.
- e) The men of the garrison could not claim their salaries unless the sum had been collected and transported to the fortress by the appointed *salyaneci*. As was the case in other border garrisons, the janissaries themselves would bear various expenses related to the payment of their salaries. If any man had a special need, however, he might receive a sum as an advance against his salary.

29 He claimed that “if any one of the companies are ordered away, those only go who please, and they make up their number as they can, and then the persons who refuse to go belong no more to that company, but they frequently go to Constantinople to be put into another company, and return to Candia with a patent to receive their pay”; quoted in Greene, *A Shared World*, 91.

30 This is the definition given in the *ferman*. The *taslakçıs* were normally a kind of candidates for the janissary corps; see Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1: 153; Georgieva, ‘Organisation et fonctions’, 325.

31 Cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1: 153. Both this practice and the existence of *taslakçıs* are innovations of the eighteenth century. The word *burma* (which is constantly used by Greek sources for the Cretan renegades, and in the nineteenth century as a pejorative term for Muslim Cretans) is already mentioned in Evliya Çelebi’s narrative, as Professor E. A. Zachariadou pointed out to me. See *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. 2. Kitap*, eds Z. Kurşun, S. A. Kahraman and Y. Dağlı (Istanbul 1999), 81; *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. 8. Kitap*, eds S. A. Kahraman, Y. Dağlı and R. Dankoff (Istanbul 2003), 247 (instead of *bozma*, I think we have to read *burma*, as it stands in the old edition; cf. *ibid.*, index, s.v. ‘bozma taifesi’ and ‘burma taifesi’).

- f) Janissaries, *yerli* janissaries and other military were not to conceal mutinous colleagues, nor intercede in their favour.

Less than a month later (last third of Rebiyülevvel 1176/8-17 October 1762), a *ferman* to Kâmil Ahmed Paşa, the governor of Candia, confirmed the resolutions agreed upon with the *mübaşir*, noting that these resolutions had arrived in Istanbul and were now kept in the *divan*'s archive.³²

The epilogue of the mutiny seems to be a *ferman* dated 8 Muharrem 1177 (19 July 1763).³³ According to this, the *defterdar* of Crete had ordered *turnacıbaşı* Çorlulu Mustafa, ex-*ağa* of the fortress of Candia, to collect 3,100 *guruş* from the income of the island of the year 1175 (August 1761-July 1762), and deliver the sum to the *salyaneci* in order to pay the janissary salaries for the year 1174. Mustafa took over the sum, but (as we saw earlier) died before delivering it; the janissaries asked that the sum be deducted from his estate, being considered as his debt to them. The *ferman* accedes to their request and orders the governor, the *defterdar* and the *kadı* to take care of the matter. Thus, even after the mutiny the janissaries had trouble in receiving their due payments. It seems that the balance was well tipped to the janissaries' disadvantage after the arrival of the special emissary from Istanbul. Such problems were probably chronic in Candia;³⁴ as a matter of fact, "the trick of leaving pay in arrears", to use the words of Bruce McGowan, was a common practice of the Ottoman state during the eighteenth century.³⁵ We should note here that this situation was not as tragic as it seems, for the janissaries were already extensively intermingling with local trade; the incident we mentioned at the beginning of this paper, with the janissary shops being closed in protest, attests to this.

It is interesting to note that the document stating the measures to be taken seems to have been something of a standard in later mutinies. Twenty years later (15 Rebiyülâhır 1196/30 March 1782), after some rebellious acts that took place in the *nahiyes* of Mono-faç, Kenuryo and Pedye, a similar document was issued, in which the heads of the janissaries declared in front of another *mübaşir* that they would obey the premises of the *hüccet* of 1176/1762, which they repeat in detail.³⁶ In this context, it seems that the 1762

32 TAH, 3/378 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 212-213, No. 2784; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 436-437, No. 872).

33 TAH, 3/396 (Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 449-450, No. 894); cf. n. 18 above.

34 A similar *ferman* dated 2 Muharrem 1167 (30 September 1753) orders the payment to the janissaries of the delayed salaries of the years 1163-1165 (TAH, 19/178; Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 24-25, No. 2526), while the salaries of the year 1169 were distributed not earlier than at the beginning of 1173/1759 (TAH, 9/363). In 1783, the imperial janissaries were owed nine years' pay (de Bonneval and Dumas, *Anagnorise*, 190). Cf. also a document from 18 Şaban 1084 (28 November 1673) in TAH, 5/60-61 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 160, No. 725).

35 B. McGowan, 'The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812', in H. İnalcık with D. Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge 1994), 716. Garrison troops were paid even more irregularly; see M. L. Stein, 'Ottoman Garrison Life: Kanije in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', *TSAB*, 17/1 (1993), 130-134 and especially 133.

36 TAH, 32/88-89; cf. also this promise reiterated a few days later in TAH, 32/85-86. I thank Dr A. Anastasopoulos, who kindly brought these important documents to my attention. These events

mutiny and its suppression became a landmark in the history of the military bodies in Crete, as the state was continually striving thereafter to put the janissaries of the island under its control.

An Alleged Leader: Bölükbaşıoğlu Halil Beşe

Now, who exactly were these mutinous janissaries? The study of the *kadı* registers provides an advantage over historiography narratives in this respect, namely that it allows us a glimpse into the lives of individual protagonists, who did not find their way into official records. In this case, most of the rebels seem to have been punished either *siyaseten* by the *mübaşir* himself or by their own authorities, as no punishment is recorded in the *sicils*;³⁷ one rebel, however, escapes oblivion as he was recorded in two entries of the register. On 12 Rebiyülevvel 1176 (1 October 1762), a *zimmi* named Nikolaki son of Yorgaki declared that he had let out a shop in Candia to Bölükbaşıoğlu Halil Beşe, who participated in the mutiny (*bundan akdem mevacib vak'asında mevcud olmak*).³⁸ This person disappeared as soon as the *mübaşir* arrived from Istanbul; Nikolaki asked that the court make an investigation in the shop. The court discovered that Halil Beşe, before disappearing, had delivered all the money and goods kept in the shop to his father, Ahmed Bölükbaşı,³⁹ while he entrusted the keys to Seyyid Hasan Beşe, *karakollukçıbaşı* of the 14th *orta*. No other objects were found, either in the shop or in his room.

It seems that Halil Beşe did not manage to hide for very long; perhaps the relevant section of the resolutions mentioned above had a role to play. In a document dated 1 Rebiyülâhır 1176 (20 October 1762), he is referred to as arrested and imprisoned in the castle, condemned to death.⁴⁰ What is more, he is named as one of the leaders of the mutiny (*ser-defter-i şekavet-pişe*). Contrary to the imperial order, however, five of his colleagues from the 14th *cemaat*, namely the *odabaşı* Hüseyin b. Mehmed, the *vekil-i harc* Ahmed Beşe b. Osman, the *alemdar* İbrahim Beşe b. [], the *başeski* Hasan Beşe b. İbrahim and the *yazıcı monla* Ömer b. Ali, intervened in favour of Halil Beşe and asked for

are related to the contemporaneous execution of the famous Mehmed Ağa (Memetakas) of Sitia/Istiye; see above, n. 12.

37 On punishment *siyaseten*, see A. Mumcu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Siyaseten Katl* (Ankara 1963); U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, ed. V. L. Ménage (Oxford 1973), 192-195.

The *mübaşir* was explicitly entitled to inflict penalties of imprisonment and exile on the rebels, although the death penalty was not mentioned; see the *fermans* above, n. 23-24.

38 TAH, 3/365-366 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 209-210, No. 2780; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 429, No. 862).

39 He might perhaps be identified with a certain *kayyum* (caretaker of a mosque) Ahmed Bölükbaşı, owner of a house in the Defterdar Ahmed Paşa quarter of Candia; see TAH, 3/356-357 (Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 423, No. 853). More generally, a careful inspection of the registers covering the period previous to the mutiny might reveal more information about Bölükbaşıoğlu Halil Beşe.

40 TAH, 3/382 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 214, No. 2787; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 439, No. 877).

the commutation of his punishment to exile from Crete. The reason they propounded was his very advanced age and his honourable past record. One would be tempted to suppose that at least the first reason was an evident lie, if we consider the mention of his father in the previous document; apparently the special council before which the petitioners appeared (consisting of the governor, his *kethüda* and an emissary from the court) did not have direct knowledge of the persons arrested. I have found no evidence as to whether the mediators' request was granted or not.

The story of Bölükbaşıoğlu Halil Beşe suggests that, after the initial success of the mutiny, the rebels were probably somehow isolated among their own colleagues, who would not dare hide them for long against orders; on the other hand, it would be easy for most of the participants to throw all the responsibility on to some chiefs, making scapegoats out of them. However, fear and specific orders to the opposite effect did not prevent some of the janissaries from interceding in favour of such rebel 'chiefs'. Perhaps, after all, the extent of suppression was smaller than the official documents tend to show. The *yeniçeri ağası* who was imprisoned and replaced by the rebels, İbrahim Ağa, had lost his office by 21 Rebiyülâhır 1176 (9 November 1762), that is, some two months after the suppression of the mutiny;⁴¹ maybe we could see in this some evidence of an actual negotiation and compromise, in spite of the strict and absolute language of the official documents.

What Kind of Mutiny? How Successful a Suppression?

The 1762 mutiny is described in various terms, ranging from the simple "event of the salaries" (*mevacib vak'ası*, in TAH 3/365-366) to the more formulaic "flame of disorder and sedition" (*ateş-i fitne ve fesad*, in TAH 3/382),⁴² while the petition reporting the events (TAH 9/365) claims that the imprisonment of the janissary officials "pacified the forthcoming sedition" (*hudusı melhuz olan fesad teskin olındıktan sonra*) and refers to the danger of further "excitement and disorder" (*dağdağa ve ihtilâl*), should the salaries not be paid in time.

Here we have clearly an instance of a strictly local military mutiny, with neither political aims nor 'revolt' dimensions. All the janissaries asked for was the money owed to them and a new *ağa* they could trust, since the previous one had proved unreliable and factionist, along with his *kâtib*. It is also important to observe that no specific pillages against the Christian population were noted, contrary to the commonly held generalisa-

41 TAH, 3/371-372 (Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 432, No. 867).

42 The latter term is quite common in Ottoman documents; see, for instance, A. Anastasopoulos, 'Lighting the Flame of Disorder: Ayan Infighting and State Intervention in Ottoman Karaferye, 1758-59', *IJTS*, 8/1-2 (2002), 73-88, and especially 76; as for the former, it does not necessarily mean underestimation, since thus were termed major rebellions such as the *çınar vak'ası* of 1656 or the *Edirne vak'ası* of 1703. On terms denoting rebellious actions, see also *ibid.*, 73-74; J. Hathaway, 'Introduction' to *IJTS*, 8/1-2 (2002), 3; Aksan, 'Manning a Black Sea Garrison', 64; M. Sariyannis, "'Mob", "Scamps" and Rebels in 17th Century Istanbul: Some Remarks on Ottoman Social Vocabulary', *IJTS*, 11/1-2 (2005), 1-15.

tions of Greek historians;⁴³ certain attacks against the inhabitants in general are recorded in the *fermans* (which could be exaggerating the facts), but none in the other documents. According to the typology proposed by Palmira Brummett,⁴⁴ the 1762 mutiny was acute, with a definite beginning and end (although it seems that janissaries had been somewhat disorderly for some time before the actual event); its objective was quite definite, with no further political aims related to local power, as the proposed new *yeniçeri ağası* was a foreigner to the town and was at any rate to be waiting for one appointed from Istanbul; the outcome was a complete failure for the rebels, as the mutiny was suppressed and punished without mercy, in spite of the (nominal at least) initial support of the *ayan* of the town. This last point is very interesting, as it suggests some form of intended legitimisation on the part of the rebels. According to the earlier documents that we examined, not only *ulema* and janissary officers, but also both the *defterdar* of the island and the governor himself (with his alleged *buyruldu*) consented to the changes imposed by the mutiny and tried to press Istanbul in favour of the mutineers' financial demands. Of course, it is difficult to know whether they consented deliberately or under compulsion by the force of arms. Stavrinidis deduces, from similar events, that the pashas of Crete had no influence at all on the janissary and other officers, being a prey to the town mob without any real power.⁴⁵

The quick and firm suppression of the mutiny, however, with no sign of any difficulties, seems to imply that the authorities of Candia did have the power to crush unruly soldiers, when so ordered; there is no mention of the *mübaşir* being followed by any special force. Moreover, Numan Efendi, the *yeniçeri kâtibi*, seems to have been restored to his office soon after the arrival of the Istanbul emissary.⁴⁶ More generally, requests of the lower authorities in Candia seem not to have been very favourably heard in Istanbul: two years before, the above-mentioned *defterdar* Ahmed Efendi was accused by *ulema* and janissary officers of not behaving well to the people, but to no avail, as he retained all his positions.⁴⁷

One would be tempted to suggest possible strife between *kapıkulu* (imperial) janissaries and local *yamak* and *yerli* bodies (at that period, this distinction does not correspond

43 See, for example, Stavrinidis, 'Tourkokratia', 188, 192, and Detorakis, *Historia*, 300-301. Cf. *EP*, s.v. 'Yeñi çeri', 327: "to suppose that the net effect of Janissary presence in a locality was always the terrorisation of the local populace seriously overstates the case". It is remarkable that the mutiny is not mentioned at all in any Greek marginal note, while, for instance, similar events of 1782 or 1814 are described; Detorakis, 'Nikoletake', 127, 133 and *passim*.

44 Brummett, 'Classifying Ottoman Mutiny', 97.

45 Stavrinidis, 'Tourkokratia', 175. On the power of the janissary *ağas* as opposed to that of the government officials, cf. de Bonneval and Dumas, *Anagnorise*, 213-214. After all, however, the janissary garrisons were formally independent of the provincial government (Georgieva, 'Organisation et fonctions', 323).

46 He is mentioned as still being *yeniçeri kâtibi* in a document dated 1 Rebiyülevvel 1177 (9 October 1763); TAH, 3/398-399 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 221-222, No. 2796; Karantzikou and Poteinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 452, No. 897).

47 TAH, 27/26 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 134, No. 2684).

to the actual origin of the soldiery, since natives were registered as imperials and foreigners as locals);⁴⁸ the rebellious *ortas* were clearly imperial ones (as stated in the relevant *ferman*: *muhafaza-ı merkumeye memur odalı ve yamakan dergâh-ı muallam yeniçerilerinden ba'zıları*). What is more, the *yerli* soldiers might have had no reason to rebel, as it is noted that they were paid regularly, in contrast with their imperial colleagues.⁴⁹ However, the measures taken on the spot by the *mübaşir* and the other authorities seem to have been equally directed against both imperial and local janissaries; furthermore, they seem based on traditional political thinking about army discipline rather than on actual considerations of the local situation. There is, however, a degree of realism in these measures, as, for instance, no action is taken against the *taslakçıs* as such; it seems that this body, although explicitly against the principle of the janissary corps, was well enough established in the eighteenth century, for even the great Ottoman historian Naima speaks not for their abolition but for their being kept under control.⁵⁰ Let us also note here that the measures taken were implemented only for a short time: *serdengeçtis*, for instance, although formally abolished, still appear some twenty years after the event.⁵¹

Perhaps a key to the quick and easy suppression of the rebellion lies in factors related to the balance of power in the town. For instance, if the administrative authorities were relatively weak for some reason, this would make mutiny easier, while an enhancement

48 Greene, *A Shared World*, 38; on the various auxiliary and apprentice bodies such as the *yamaks* and the *serdengeçtis*, see also Aksan, 'Mutiny', 117-118; on the duties and rewards of *yerli* janissaries in Crete, cf. TAH, 17/154 (Stavriniadis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 108, No. 2647). See also TAH, 4/469 (Stavriniadis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 265, No. 873), where their *ağa* is an imperial janissary, approved by the *yeniçeri ağası* in Istanbul. In other places in the Empire, however, such as Damascus, the distinction between *yerli* and imperial janissaries was still based on origin and culminated in acute economic and political rivalry; see *EP*, s.v. 'Yerliyya' (A.-K. Rafeq) and Idem, 'The Local Forces in Syria in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp (eds), *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East* (London 1975), 277-307. On similar 'factionalist' phenomena in Ottoman provinces, see also J. Hathaway, 'Bilateral Factionalism in the Ottoman Provinces', in A. Anastasopoulos (ed.), *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire. Halcyon Days in Crete V. A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 10-12 January 2003* (Rethymno 2005), 31-38. It remains open whether the distinction between Muslims and Christians determined such a phenomenon in Ottoman Crete.

49 De Bonneval and Dumas, *Anagnorise*, 190. *Yerli* bodies were also prone to disobedience and mutiny, as shown by the events described at the beginning of this article (see n. 12). In 1721 some *yerli* janissaries had fled to Istanbul, where they engaged in accusing their officers; they were arrested at the request of the governor of Candia and imprisoned in two fortresses of the island. They escaped and went on inciting their colleagues to rebel; see TAH 15/300, 303-304 and 16/44 (Stavriniadis, *Metaphraseis*, IV: 74, 106-107, Nos 2005B and 2049).

50 "... Etraf-ı memalikde olan taslakçı zümresi ketm-i hukuk ile miriye ve zuama ve evkafa gadr idemeyeler" (Naima, *Tarih*, 6: Appendix, 53). In Lewis V. Thomas' translation, "[the shaping of the various military organisations] should be done ... to prevent the *taslakçı* class in the provinces from wronging the government, *zaimler* and *evkaf* by concealing what is right"; L. V. Thomas, *A Study of Naima*, ed. N. Itzkowitz (New York 1972), 88. Compare the measures taken in Crete on a similar order from 1728: Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1: 491-493.

51 Anastasopoulos, 'In Preparation for the Hajj'.

of the administrative body later (equipped with explicit imperial orders, for instance) could also enhance its power of military action and control. War conditions or political instability thus tend to make easier the expansion of disorder and lack of discipline. As no less a historian than Naima observed, when the Sultan is weak neither the army nor the rabble can be controlled (*askeri zabtdan dur ve evbaşan u kallaşan rabtdan kalup*).⁵² The causes of such weakness of any given local power could differ. According to Brummett, there is a difference between mutinies taking place during the war and those which are not related to military operations.⁵³ The event that we examine here clearly belongs to the second category: most of the rebels probably had not fought a single battle, as the Ottoman Empire had lived in peace since the mid-1740s.⁵⁴ However, moving to a more local level, one can find some evidence which suggests a rather unstable situation in the Candia of the late 1750s and early 1760s. Already in 1757, janissaries were reported as divided into two factions regarding the execution of an allegedly heretical Halveti dervish, Çıkrıkçı Mustafa Şeyh, who was accused by a then powerful preacher; some of them supported the execution, while others opted for his exile.⁵⁵ It is also interesting to note that, owing to an unusual conjunction of circumstances, some of the most important offices in Candia were vacant or at any rate in a transitional state at the time of the 1762 mutiny. Kâmil Ahmed Paşa, ex-*vali* of Egypt, was appointed governor of Candia on 15 Cemaziyevvel 1175 (11 January 1762), replacing a predecessor probably notorious for his oppression.⁵⁶ The *dizdar* of Candia, İsmail Ağa b. Ahmed, was arrested in summer 1761,

52 Naima, *Tarih*, 2: 263.

53 Brummett, 'Classifying Ottoman Mutiny', 106. Both mutinies studied by Aksan, 'Mutiny', are wartime ones.

54 "The interval of peace", so named by S. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. Vol. 1: *Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808* (Cambridge 1976), 246.

55 The dervish was finally executed, but there is evidence that the 'mild' faction prevailed in the aftermath; more specifically, the mufti of Candia, a friend of Çıkrıkçı Mustafa, who had been exiled to Rethymno under the pressure of the same preacher-led crowds, was reinstated in his post on the demand of the *ulema* and the janissaries of the town; see M. Tatçı, C. Kurnaz and Y. Aydemir (eds), *Giritli Salacıoğlu Mustafa ve Mesnevileri* (Ankara 2001), 111 ("şimdi asker iki fırka oldular/niyyeti gûyâ gazâyâ etdiler/kimisi der işimize gidelim/kimi der gelin bunu nefy edelim"), and cf. TAH, 18/264-265. On this case, see also the contribution by N. Clayner and A. Popovic in the present volume, and cf. M. Sariyannis, 'Henas heterodoxos mousoulmanos sten Krete tou 18ou aiona' [A Heterodox Muslim in Eighteenth-Century Crete], forthcoming in A. Anastasopoulos, E. Kolovos and K. Lappas (eds), *Festschrift Pinelopi Stathi*.

56 TAH, 9/356-357, 360 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 189-191, Nos 2761-2763). Ahmed Kâmil Paşa had already been governor of Candia for two months in 1173/1760 (TAH, 27/16-17, 22; Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 123-124 and 131-132, Nos 2662-2663 and 2678). He is described as rather religious (as shown by the measures that he took against prostitution in Candia; see n. 59 below) and educated, and he seems to have had special ties with Crete (although he came from Belgrade), as he had already been appointed *vali* of Chania for a short time in 1172 (1758-1759); when he was removed from the governorship of Candia (beginning of 1763), he was sent to Rethymno, and then again appointed *vali* of Chania (spring 1763); see Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, ed. N. Akbayar (Istanbul 1996), s.v. 'Ahmed Kâmil Paşa'.

because of charges of oppressive behaviour and financial matters, and then released and reinstated. In October of the same year he asked for a six-month leave, during which he was replaced by Seyyid İsmail Ağa, *ağa* of the *yerli* janissaries.⁵⁷ Even the *kadı* of the town was also temporarily substituted for: the previous *kadı* had been removed and his substitute died in early 1762; until the appointment of a new *kadı*, the office was assigned to Mevlâna Feyzullah, who was *kadı* in Akkerman four years earlier (and apparently *ma-zul*, that is, out of office, since).⁵⁸ More generally, the situation in Candia was allegedly quite disorderly; some six months after the mutiny, the governor issued several orders, in an effort to reduce immorality and prostitution in the town.⁵⁹ This specific governor, after all, however reluctant to oppose his janissaries, was quite rigid in matters of religion and morality: in the middle of the mutiny turmoil, on 4 Safer 1176 (25 August 1762), he took care to forbid *zimmis* from wearing clothes reserved for Muslims.⁶⁰

For the Sake of Comparison: The Mutiny of 1688

An interesting contrast to this rather limited mutiny is provided by the 1688 janissary rebellion, which was grave enough to be recorded by the chroniclers of the capital (and even by Hammer, here following Raşid closely). Indeed, although this event seems to have left few traces in the *kadı* registers, it is described in detail, first by Bakkalzade Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa (d. 1717), then by the *vak'anüvis* Raşid Efendi, who copies him almost word for word; Fındıklılı Silahdar Mehmed Ağa (1658-1726/1727) gives a more concise description.⁶¹

The chroniclers do not date the event exactly, but as will be seen below, we can date it to 13 May 1688.⁶² According to Defterdar's and Raşid's detailed narratives, some

57 TAH, 9/217-218, 351-352, 360 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 162-164, Nos 2730-2731; 188-189, Nos 2759A-2760; 191, No. 2764). On İsmail Ağa, see also below, n. 69.

58 TAH, 3/341 (Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 414, No. 839).

59 TAH, 3/366-369, 380 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 210-212, Nos 2781-2782; 213-214, No. 2786; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 429-430, Nos 863-864; 437, No. 874). See also E. Kermeli, 'Sin and the Sinner: *Folles Femmes* in Ottoman Crete', *Eurasian Studies*, 1/1 (2002), 85-96.

60 TAH, 3/344 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 195, No. 2771; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 415-416, No. 842).

61 Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 290; Raşid Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid* (Istanbul 1282/1865), 2: 41-42; Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, Vol. 2, ed. A. Refik (Istanbul 1928), 362-363. Cf. also Z. Yılmaz (ed.), *İsâ-zâde Târîhi (Metin ve Tahlîl)* (Istanbul 1996), 212; Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, s.v. 'Zülfikâr Paşa (Hacı)'; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, ed. H. Duda (Graz 1963 [2nd ed.]; first published: 1830), 6: 510-511. Cf. also Stavrinidis, 'Tourkokratia', 188 and *Metaphraseis*, II: 351 n. 1 (drawing upon Hammer).

62 The dating is based on the tombstone of one of the victims, Yusuf Ağa; cf. below, n. 68. It is corroborated by the other sources available. Thus, in Defterdar and Raşid's narratives the mutiny occurs after the fall of Grand Vizier Nişancı İsmail Paşa, dated 1 Receb 1099 (2 May 1688); cf. İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Vol. 3 (Istanbul 1950), 465-466. The

“rebels” (*şakiler*) from among the *kapıkulu* janissaries of the Candia fortress mutinied and killed the governor himself, Zülfikar Paşa (ex-*yeniçeri ağası* and a veteran of the Cretan War),⁶³ for “no reason” (*bi-sebeb*). Here Silahdar’s laconic account gives (or, in fact, consists of) an important detail: the governor “was killed by the janissaries because of the provisions” (*zahire hususunda kul elinde küşte olduğu*). Next the rebels massacred (literally “cut to pieces”, *pareleyüb*) a large part of the military elite, in front of the house of the governor: Mustafa Efendi, *mukabeleci* of the fortress, Ömer Ağa, *turnacı-başı* and ex-warden of the castle (*sabika kal’a-ı mezbure muhafazasında olan*, according to Defterdar) or proxy of the local *yeniçeri ağası* (according to Raşid), the warden of the castle (*dizdar*) Yusuf Ağa, Kaba Mahmud, *mütevelli* of the mosque built by the slaughtered governor, and Müstecab Ağa, *kethüda* of the local janissaries. Moreover, they plundered the murdered officials’ houses and “caused injuries and damage to some respectable people” (*nice ehl-i ırzın mallarını talan eyledikleri*). In this case (perhaps because of the quite difficult general situation of the Empire at the time), the only governmental reaction recorded seems to have been to appoint hastily (*kal’a-ı mezbureye ber-vech-i müsaraat muhafız gönderilmek ehemmiyet olmağla*) Köprülüzade Mustafa Paşa as governor of the town. The haste of the action is also evident from the fact that the new governor did not need to come from afar: he had been until then governor of nearby Chania.

Although the court registers do not contain any explicit reference to the rebellion, as in the case of 1762, a closer inspection shows quite a few traces of the protagonists. For a start, we see that most of those executed were quite influential persons in Cretan economic and social life. Müstecab Ağa had rented the tax revenues (*mukataa*) of Rethymno, Agios Vasileios and Amari, in common with two *çorbacı*s of the local janissaries, an investment which proved rather unsuccessful.⁶⁴ The *mütevelli* Kaba Mahmud (b. Ahmed) is mentioned as the guardian of several janissaries’ children; he is also referred to as dead in an entry of 18 Receb 1099 (19 May 1688). He was quite a rich man, since his estate (dated 22 Receb 1099/23 May 1688) reached a total of 259,745 *akçes*, including a 24,000 *akçe*-worth house in Candia and a 24,000 *akçe*-worth *çiftlik*; his wife’s dowry (*mehr-i müeccel*) amounted to the sum of 12,000 *akçes*. His daughter was married in

historian İszade (d. 1689) notes briefly the death of Zülfikar Paşa in the month of Receb, after “an assault by the army upon him” (“üzerine asker hücum edüp, katl eylediler”); Yılmaz (ed.), *İsâ-zâde Târîhi*, 212. According to Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, s.v. ‘Mustafa Paşa (Köprülüzade)’, the mutiny must be dated in the same month (Receb 1099), since Mustafa Paşa was then appointed as the new governor. However, this last date must be slightly corrected to the beginning of Şaban 1099 (1-10 June 1688); see TAH, 5/206 (Stavriniadis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 307-308, No. 945). Silahdar, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 2: 362-363, also dates Mustafa Paşa’s appointment on 15 Şaban, while noting that the news from Crete reached the capital on 11 Şaban.

63 He had been appointed to this post on 16 Muharrem 1098 (2 December 1686); see TAH, 6/51 (Stavriniadis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 283, No. 900). During the siege of Candia he was *kul kethüdası*. Cf. Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, s.v. ‘Zülfikâr Paşa (Hacı)’; N. Adıyeke (ed.), ‘Hikâyet-i Azimet-i Sefer-i Kandiye’, unpublished Yüksek Lisans thesis, Ege Üniversitesi, 1988, index: s.v. ‘Zülfikar Ağa (Kul kethüdası)’; Gülsoy, *Girit’in Fethi*, index: s.v. ‘Zülfikar Ağa’.

64 TAH, 5/221-222.

1674 (with a dower of 10,000 *akçes*) to Serdarzade Mehmed Efendi, a prominent person who seems to have been *bab naibi* and also *kâtib* of the local janissaries. After the rebellion, the same Serdarzade became the guardian of his father-in-law's children, while he was also the guardian of *turnacıbaşı* Ömer Ağa's daughter.⁶⁵ The latter owned at least some landed property in Loutraki, a village near Candia, had lent a total of 3,355 *guruş* to various persons, and owned at least one female slave, worth 70 *guruş*, together with her two children.⁶⁶

Apart from this evidence, two other entries may illuminate somewhat more clearly the causes of the rebellion. In a document dated 15 Şaban 1099 (15 June 1688), the heirs of Kaba Mahmud sued the guardian of Ömer Ağa's other children (not Serdarzade). They stated that the dead *turnacıbaşı* had to distribute the salaries of the *turnacı* and *yamak* janissaries for the year 1098, which were to be paid from the treasury of Tripoli in Syria (*Şam-ı Trablus malından havale olunub*). Because the transfer was delayed, Ömer Ağa was forced to pay the salaries from his own money; he had not enough cash and so he borrowed 1,500 *guruş* from Mahmud, claimed now by his heirs. In a similar entry of 27 Receb 1099 (28 May 1688), the *ex-yeniçeri efendisi* Mustafa Efendi b. Hasan declared that he also had lent 500 *guruş* to Ömer Ağa, for the latter to pay the salaries of the two last trimesters of the year 1099 (13 May-6 November 1687).⁶⁷ It seems very probable, then, that the two mutinies that we studied had similar causes; perhaps Ömer Ağa did not manage to pay all the salaries, after all. If so, Seyyid İbrahim Ağa, almost a century later, had not learnt from his predecessor's bitter lesson.

A tombstone bearing Yusuf Ağa's name and title is preserved in the Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion (No. 115/286); it refers to his being *silahdar* of Deli Hüseyin Paşa, the *serdar* during some periods of the Cretan War, and is dated 12 Receb 1099 (13 May 1688), which constitutes thus an exact dating (or, at least, a *terminus ante quem*) for the mutiny.⁶⁸ He was the first *dizdar* of Candia after the fall of the city, and had a large

65 TAH, 5/173, 200-202, 245. Serdarzade is also mentioned in many other documents of the period and survived as a prominent personality in Candia till at least 1694, when he is mentioned as a *vakıf nazırı* and a *vekil* of the then governor of Crete, Fındık Mehmed Paşa (TAH, 7/154, 8/133 [Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 439, 444, Nos 1133, 1141]). Afterwards, however, he claimed that the aforementioned Mehmed Paşa (now deposed and accused of various similar cases) had extracted money from him (TAH, 8/16 [Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, III: 53-54, No. 1257]). His first appearance in the registers as a witness dates back to 1674 (TAH, 5/115-116). As for Kaba Mahmud, he had been the *mütevelli* since at least 1670, probably since the foundation of the *vakıf* (TAH, 2/141-142 [Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 300-301, No. 387]).

66 TAH, 5/209 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 308-309, No. 947), 226 (ibid., 315-316, No. 956), 247. Cf. also TAH, 5/202-203, 213-214: Ömer Ağa seems to have been quite active in money-lending.

67 TAH, 5/203, 204.

68 The full text goes as follows: "Hacı ve gazi abu'l-feth/serdar-ı ekrem Hüseyin Paşa/hazretlerinin silahdarı/olan Kandiye dizdarı/Yusuf Ağa işbu mah-ı Recebiñ/on ikinci gününde merhum/mağfur leh rahmet vasien/ruhuna rizaen li-İlahi Fatiha./Sene-i mübarek 1099"; P. Chidiroglou, 'Othomanikes epigrafes tes Kretes' [Ottoman Inscriptions of Crete], in Idem, *Symvole sten hellenike tourkologia* [A Contribution to Greek Turcology], Vol. 2 (Athens 1993), 106-107, pub-

estate (*zeamet*) worth 34,723 *akçes* in Melidoni; he seems to have bequeathed both his office and his estate to his descendants for over a whole century; the above-mentioned İsmail, *dizdar* in 1762, was his grandson.⁶⁹ We know almost nothing of Mustafa Efendi and his relation to the causes of the mutiny. His office as *mukabeleci* means that he had to do with the rolls of the janissaries, and so indirectly with their payment as well.⁷⁰ On the other hand, Müstecab Ağa's office suggests that this time the local janissaries may have participated in the mutiny, while Kaba Mahmud was perhaps slain because of his relation with Ömer Ağa rather than his being the *mütevelli* of the governor's *vakıf*. As for the governor, Zülfikar Paşa, he might have had no direct relation with the event, except for his all-responsible post. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that he had already built up a considerable property in Crete from the time of the conquest, part of which was spent in creating the *vakıf* of his mosque in Candia.⁷¹

A slightly different explanation for the rebellion derives from Silahdar's information, namely that the event was due to the matter of "provisions" (*zahire hususu*). The historian's reference is not very clear; a few lines before he had noted that on 14 Receb fourteen ships arrived in Istanbul from Crete and other places, carrying olive oil.⁷² However, it is not very probable that a supposed lack of provisions in the island would raise so much anger on the part of the local garrisons, while a problem concerning the distribution of their salaries makes more sense. After all, Defterdar's and Raşid's much more detailed accounts clearly ignore any motive of the rebels; should a reason have been given in Istanbul, they would have known it for sure. The similarity with the 1762 mutiny corroborates this explanation; Silahdar's information could be corrupted, as happens with oral rumours, unless he meant 'salaries' by 'provisions'. As a matter of fact, a *ferman* of 18 Rebiyülâhır 1099 (21 February 1688; that is, less than three months before the mutiny) ordered that the 2,728 imperial janissaries of the Candia garrison be paid for their provisions in meat and grain (*zarar-ı lahm ve zahire bahaları*), on the occasion of Süleyman II's accession.⁷³ We know that the accession gifts in this case were paid partly from the

lishes the inscription with certain mistakes, among them reading "mah-ı Recebiñ" as "Ramazan". I wish to thank Mr Agesilaos Kaloutsakis and the staff at the Historical Museum of Crete for their kind assistance. The inscription is also mentioned by Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 164 n. 1.

69 TAH, 9/217 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 162-164, No. 2730; cf. *ibid.*, II: 99 n. 1, and TAH, 5/27). Yusuf Ağa's son, Ahmed, was the *dizdar* until his death in 1729, when he was succeeded by İsmail.

70 Cf. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, 1: 131; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, s.v. 'Mukabeleci'.

71 Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 241, 243, 266; TAH, 3/59-60 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, I: 384, No. 479; Karantzikou and Photeinou, *Tritos kodikas*, 75, No. 147), 5/105 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 174-175, No. 745). His son and grandson continued to control the administration of this *vakıf* at least till the beginning of the eighteenth century; TAH, 2/357 and 13/53, 55 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, III: 317, 342-343, Nos 1686, 1743-1744).

72 Silahdar, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 2: 362. The chronicler observes that this did not bring much relief to the poor inhabitants of the city, because of the activity of profiteering middlemen (*madrabaz*).

73 TAH, 5/254. On the *zarar-ı lahm* see Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1: 254-255. Cf. also

revenues of Egypt;⁷⁴ in the Cretan case, a transfer from Syria (as the court registers imply) might have provided the cash needed as well. The difficulty in paying the salaries and other dues to the army is also attested by other documents of the period.⁷⁵ Whatever exact issue led to the rebellion, however, it seems to be related with money owed to the janissaries, just as was the case in 1762.

A Tale of Two Mutinies: Similarities and Differences

The two mutinies differ clearly in intensity, as the earlier one resulted in the death of no less than the governor himself and part of the administrative elite, while the second demanded only the replacement of some lower officers. Despite this difference, however, the central government took much greater pains to quell this second mutiny, by sending a special *mübaşir* and issuing several *fermans*. In contrast, in 1688 the only reaction of Istanbul was to appoint a new governor. Moreover, Köprülüzade Mustafa Paşa did not stay much more than half a year in the governorship of Candia;⁷⁶ this does not mean necessarily that his job was an easy one, but at any rate the difference of reaction is striking. The only known aftermath of the rebellion in Istanbul had to do with a clearly secondary personage: Halil Efendi, a *kâtib* of the Silahdar Ocağı, who had been in the past *defterdar* of the treasury of Crete, was again offered his earlier post on the island. He denied stating that “now the collection of revenues from this island has been disturbed, because of the rebellion of the castle’s janissaries” (*bu vakitte Kandiya kal’asında olan Kul taifesinin tuğyanı sebebi ile, cezire-i mezbureden mal tahsilinde ihtilâl vaki olmuştur*). He paid for his bold (or, perhaps, cowardly) denial with an immediate exile to the island of Limnos.⁷⁷

How can we explain these differences? Needless to say, our material is rather too sparse for us to reach stable conclusions (and remarkably enough, we know fewer details about the causes of the 1688 mutiny, although the sources are more numerous!). However, the observations made above about the relationship between rebellions and the general political situation may help us in this case as well. Contrary to the case of the second mutiny, in 1688 the Ottoman central government was in a desperate condition: war fail-

TAH, 5/60-61 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 160, No. 725), where the *hunta bahaları* of the janissaries for half a year amount to 23,400 *akçes*, that is, about 10 per cent of their salaries (*mevacib*), which were 470,112 *akçes* for a year (document dated 18 Şaban 1084/28 November 1673).

74 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1: 342.

75 TAH, 5/254-258, where, for instance, the *vakıf* expenditures are to be curtailed for the benefit of the army’s needs. Cf. Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 333-336, Nos 980-982.

76 Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, s.v. ‘Mustafa Paşa (Köprülüzâde)’. We know that the janissaries did not like him (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1: 512-513); could we postulate a reputation following him from Crete as well?

77 Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 291. Halil Efendi b. Şeyh Ali Efendi was *defterdar* of Crete in 1095-1096 (1684-1685); for the *termini ante* and *post quem*, see TAH, 4/401 and 462 (Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, II: 239 and 263, Nos 840 and 871).

ures, together with famine, inflation and other economic problems, had led to the deposition of Mehmed IV by a rebelled army (1687). Rebel troops then dominated Istanbul for almost half a year, a domination that was ended just before the Crete mutiny occurred. At the same time, the military situation on the Balkan front was far from happy.⁷⁸ In such a situation, the janissaries at Candia would feel perhaps freer to react more strongly against their authorities, while the central government would hasten to cover things up without caring much about punishment of criminal soldiers in a more or less provincial town. Another reason for the remarkable ferocity of the 1688 janissaries could be the fact that, unlike their eighteenth-century colleagues, they were well battle-scarred and warlike, having probably fought in some of the recent fierce battles against their Habsburg, Polish and Venetian opponents.

Questions in Place of a Conclusion

At any rate, it is clear that we still ignore many features of military mutinies in the Ottoman Empire, which, after all, were fairly frequent. Once we have studied more than a handful of such small-scale rebellions, we may reach more general conclusions concerning the behaviour patterns of local and imperial janissaries in times of crisis.⁷⁹ Such a study could give answers to questions such as: in which cases did they rebel, and in which cases did they just protest? When was the mutiny easier to suppress, and by what kind of measures? What was the exact relation of such provincial mutinies with the general situation of the local administration and economy? What was the role of the local population, and what role did the extent of janissaries' involvement with trade and land

78 For a short overview of the political and military situation, cf. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 1: 218-220; R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris 1989), 241-248.

79 A mutiny of the janissaries in Cyprus, dated 1578, presents striking similarities with the Cretan cases. The janissaries are reported to have killed the governors of the two major cities of the island, Famagusta (Ammochostos, Mağusa) and Nicosia (Lefkousia, Lefkoşa) because of a delay in their payment. According to reports in the Spanish archives, they called Venice, the Papacy and Spain to intervene and recapture the island, until they were suppressed by a flotilla of Kılıç Ali Paşa; see I. Chasiotis (ed.), *Hispanika eggrafa tes kyprakes historias (IST-IZ' ai.)* [Spanish Documents on Cypriot History, Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries] (Nicosia 1972), 5-6, 11-19. Most probably, the latter part of the report is an obvious exaggeration, as the report calls upon the King of Spain to organise an effort for the expulsion of the Ottomans from Cyprus; however, the initial event seems to be authentic. I thank Prof. E. A. Zachariadou who pointed out this source to me. On this event cf. also R. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640* (New York and London 1993), 368; see also *ibid.*, 109 and 114 on a similar (?) mutiny in 1634, when leaders of six janissary *böliks* were accused of having incited their divisions to revolt against the governor of Cyprus. Janissary movements in Cyprus after the end of the seventeenth century present a situation very similar to that of Crete; see Th. Stavridis, 'He apostasia tou Mehmet Mpogiatzoglou (1683-1690)' [Mehmed Boyacıoğlu's Mutiny (1683-1690)], *Epeterida tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon*, 29 (2003), 115-143.

exploitation play?⁸⁰ What was the exact function and status of the local (*yerli*) corps, and its relation with the provincial population, on the one hand, and the imperial janissaries, on the other? In what ways was the daily social and economic life of the town disturbed by a military rebellion?⁸¹ Only a close inspection of the judicial registers can give answers to such questions. More generally, the study of these registers would be of tremendous importance for a re-evaluation of major political events too, a use which has been completely ignored so far in Ottoman political history.⁸² One could wonder, for instance, what insightful details we could gain from studying the Istanbul court registers of 1688, 1703 or 1730, years of major revolts in the Ottoman capital. On the other hand, it is also clear that in cases like the 1688 Candia mutiny, the rich information from the judicial records would make no sense at all for the modern historian, should the event have left no traces in contemporary historiography.

80 On this question compare Olson, 'Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf', and Idem, 'The Esnaf and the Patrona Halil Rebellion of 1730: A Realignment in Ottoman Politics?', *JESHO*, 17 (1974), 329-344; Kafadar, 'Rebels Without A Cause?'.

81 The register for 1688 contains only eight entries for Receb 1099 (six of them concerning Kaba Mahmud's affairs) and seven for Şaban (three of them concerning Ömer Ağa's debts, two being the orders for the new governor's appointment); a general disorder in the sequence of entries is also observable. In the case of 1762, things seem to have been more orderly, presumably because of the less violent rupture in the administrative structure of the town.

82 This point is also stressed by Hathaway, 'Introduction', 6; Kafadar, 'Rebels Without A Cause?', 125 (who notes that unfortunately the records of the Istanbul court are missing for most of the years of the revolt).

PART FOUR

SOURCES
FOR
OTTOMAN CRETE

OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS ABOUT CRETE PRESERVED IN THE ORIENTAL DEPARTMENT OF THE STS CYRIL AND METHODIUS NATIONAL LIBRARY IN SOFIA

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ON RECOMMENDATION OF THE ESTEEMED Professor Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, the purpose of my paper is to present an overview of the official Ottoman documents related to the history of Crete preserved in the Oriental Department of the 'Sts Cyril and Methodius' National Library in Sofia. I will discuss the structure of the three 'Cretan' archival collections of the library against the backdrop of the history of the formation of the Ottoman document collection in Sofia. In particular, I will concentrate on some documents which are more interesting from the point of view of their content, especially as sources for the social, economic, political, and cultural history of Crete.¹ The second part of this paper will dwell on a 'non-Cretan' subject, a problem in the field of Ottoman documentary studies and diplomatic-palaeographic research. The archive in Sofia provides good opportunities to study the bureaucratic procedures related to petitions to the government, that is, documents of the *arz/arzuhal* type on public and private problems. In selecting *arzes* and case-files on them from the archival material on Crete, I will try to illustrate the bureaucratic route associated with these documents, emblematic in respect to the relation between the Ottoman central authorities and the provinces.

I shall first briefly go over two moments in the history of the formation of the documentary resources of the Oriental Department of the National Library in Sofia.² These

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- 1 Unfortunately I have been unable to decipher all the geographical names that I have extracted from the Ottoman documents about Crete; some of them are given here in direct transliteration into the Latin alphabet of their form in the original Ottoman text. I would like to express special thanks to Antonis Anastasopoulos, who edited the present paper and helped me much, in co-operation with Elias Kolovos, with the transcription of terms and names in Turkish and Greek.
- 2 S. Ivanova, 'Komplektuvane, formirane i razkrivane na sbirkite na Orientalския otdel na NBKM (kam patevoditel na Orientalския otdel na NBKM) [Formation, Arrangement and Exposition of the Collections of the Oriental Department of the Sts Cyril and Methodius National Library (Towards a Guidebook to the Oriental Department of the Sts Cyril and Methodius National Library)], *Izvestia na Darjavnite arhivi*, 79 (2001), 3-49.

include, first, documents and registers left behind in Bulgaria from the Ottoman institutions and concerning their functions, such as *kadı sicils*, some *emlâk* and *nüfus defters* from the nineteenth century, *fermans* about the erection of churches, merchants' *berats*, etc. The quantity and quality of these documents are analogous to those of similar collections of Ottoman documents in many other regions of the Balkans, as well as, I presume, Crete. But the Oriental Department preserves a second group of documents, much larger than the first, which concerns all the Balkan, as well as many non-Balkan, provinces of the Ottoman Empire from the fifteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. These are documents that Bulgaria acquired in the early 1930s after they were written off the old Ottoman archives by the Turkish authorities of that time and were sold as paper for recycling. This is an anecdote with a wide circulation among Ottomanist scholars, and it is this discarded scrap paper which formed the present-day collection of over one million sheets of Ottoman documents in Sofia.³

During processing and cataloguing them in the Oriental Department, large portions of these documents, such as loose documents (*evrak-ı perişan*) and registers (*defter*), were grouped in the so called 'local archival collections' ('fond' in Bulgarian), named after geographical designations. The lead principle in the classification of these documents is the geographical location, the town, to which the contents of the document refer, rather than the institution which issued them. Thus, more than 300 artificial archival collections were created at the Oriental Department which do not reflect the actual functioning of the Ottoman institutions or their principles of document recording and keeping. It follows from this that documents about Crete may turn up in different collections and settlement files of the Oriental Department, not only in those designated by a geographical indicator for Crete (see below). It is particularly important, however, to point out the following: the Ottoman administration's logic behind issuing, classifying and storing these documents and the administrative-bureaucratic integrity of the groups of documents which reached Sofia were, in many cases, irreparably lost when they were written off. Their systematic ordering proved to be cumbersome, since the documents found their way to Sofia in a haphazard fashion. Bulgarian archival specialists in Ottoman documents decided that in processing these documents, they could not follow the generally accepted principles of ordering and cataloguing files, for such actually did not exist. This is why they decided to follow another method, and artificial archival collections were created on the basis of the settlement to which the principal contents of a document were related. The emphasis in the processing, ordering and summarily cataloguing the Ottoman documentary material lay on document content, and on how the use of these documents as historical sources for one region or another could be facilitated. One cannot avoid a certain measure of subjectivity in the sorting of the documents, but this is somewhat compensated for by the objective criterion, that is, the geographical connection of the document content with a certain administrative centre or settlement in what was once the Ottoman state. In any

3 *Bulgaristan'a Satılan Evrak ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Arşiv Çalışmaları* (Ankara 1993), 1, 13; see also J. Reychman and A. Zajackowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*, trans. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, ed. T. Halasi-Kun (The Hague and Paris 1968), 24.

case, this principle of ordering of the archives distinguishes them from, for instance, the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi in Istanbul, where, as far as I know, documents have been classified on the basis of the issuing authority or department and category of material according to the structure and bureaucratic logic of the Ottoman central institutions.

After these preliminary remarks, I can now proceed to a review of the documents on Crete. The first part of such a review is the question of what archival collections of the Oriental Department contain Ottoman documents about Crete. First and foremost, these are the three ‘Cretan’ collections: ‘Kandia’, ‘Resmo’, and ‘Hania’. But documents on Crete can also be found in other archival collections of the Oriental Department, such as the largest collection, ‘Istanbul’, the ‘Greece’ collection and other local collections. By way of illustration, I will quote two documents belonging to a collection other than the three proper ‘Cretan’ collections, but containing information on Crete.

Cretan guild workers (*esnaf amele*), trained builders (*kârgir duvarcı amelesi*), professionals in the construction of forts and bastions (*tabya*) – 50 masters (*usta*), 30 from Hania and 20 from Resmo, as well as several assistant masters (*kalfa*) – were commissioned for the building of the fortress of Vidin. They were to receive two months’ advance payment from the Crete olive oil tax, and ships were to be chartered to transport them.⁴

Attention is drawn also to a *kuyudat defter* for the years 1821–1823 from the ‘*defter*’ collection of the Oriental Department. It is related to the Greek War of Independence, and is a very interesting source from the point of view of political and above all social and economic history, as it enumerates the real estate and financial means of “Rumiyan” who had died or fled, seized by the Ottoman state for the *beytülmal*. Among people of the “Rum millet” from Ayvalık, Thessalonica, Bergama, Konya, Chios, Cyprus, Isparta, and Istanbul, inhabitants of Crete were mentioned. For example, the register cites confiscated fields, vineyards, and real estate belonging to several “infidels” (*kâfir*) who are listed by their names, *reaya* from the village of Arhanes (?), *nahiye* of Temenos, Kandiye, who had attacked the *çiftlik* and *konak* of İbrahim, former *kethüda* of Kandiye (1823). Several pages are devoted exclusively to information concerning Crete, the measures of the local authorities, and the assets confiscated from islanders.⁵

The next issue concerns the quantity and the chronological range of the Ottoman documents of the three ‘Cretan’ archival collections: ‘Kandia’ (209, 209A), ‘Resmo’ (210, 210A), and ‘Hania’ (211, 211A).

4 Oriental Department of the Sts Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia (henceforth OrO), Vidin 99/6 (28 November 1719). On this issue, see also the paper of Suraiya Faruqi in this volume.

5 OrO, D309, 56a, 76b–79a. In relation to this issue, cf. V. Demetriades and D. Daskalou (eds), *Ho Kodikas ton Thysson: onomata kai demeumenes periousies ton christianon agoniston tes anatolikes Kretes kata ten Epanastase tou 1821* [The Codex of Sacrifices: Names and Confiscated Properties of the Christian Fighters of Eastern Crete during the Revolution of 1821] (Heraklion 2003).

Archival collection	Number of archival units	Number of folios
209	86	213
209A	992	2,369
210	7	7
210A	269	1,027
211	25	35
211A	1,306	2,568
Total	2,685	6,219

That is, in total, the three ‘Cretan’ archival collections of the Oriental Department contain 2,685 units of 6,219 folios. They cover the period from the middle of the seventeenth century to the ‘80s of the nineteenth century. More than 90 per cent of these documents concern the nineteenth century. At present it is impossible to say how many, from what time and what kind of documents on the history of Crete are contained in the other archival collections of the Oriental Department.⁶ Furthermore, some documents which have been classified mistakenly (because of wrong identification of a given toponym),⁷ or whose essence appeared to the person who classified them to be more relevant to the history of Crete than that of other regions of the Empire mentioned in them, were included in the ‘Cretan’ collections. For instance, an *arz* by the *kadı* of Yanya, in connection with the sending of *lağımçı*s from villages in the *kaza* of Eğrikesri, *sancak* of Avlonya, for the siege of the fort of Candia, dated 1 August 1656,⁸ is as much about the history of Crete as it is about that of Yanya. A similar case is that of a *hüccet* from the court of Silistre, stating that a group of non-Muslims (*zimmi*) had received 300 *guruş* as payment for five workers (*işçi*) whom they had to send together with workers from the other *kazas* of the *liva* of Silistre for the siege of the fort of Candia.⁹ Again in reference to the campaign, we find a *defter* of 1666–1667 of persons recruited from various regions and dispatched to Candia: 1,126 oarsmen (*kürekçiyan*) and 430 sappers (*lağımçı*).¹⁰ As one can also see from some of the documents quoted below, their very classification under one or other of the three ‘Cretan’ collections is also conditional in some cases, because they contain historical information about different regions of Crete at the same time.

From the perspective of Ottoman diplomatics,¹¹ among the documents on Crete most represented are the *evrak-ı perişan* – *fermans*, *berats*, *hüccet-i zahriyes*, *arzuhal*s with marginal notes, multitudes of *tezkeres*, *mazbatas*, *mektubs*, etc. Some *defters* are also to

6 See, for example, J. Theoharidis, *Opis na osmanski dokumenti za Kipar, zapazeni v arhivite na Orientalския otdel na NBKM* [Inventory of Ottoman Documents about Cyprus, Preserved in the Oriental Department of the Sts Cyril and Methodius National Library] (Sofia 1984), No. 155, dated 1819 (OrO, F. 215A, a.u. 320).

7 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 822.

8 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 542.

9 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 543 (12 December 1668).

10 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 794, fol. 4.

11 I will return to these problems in the second part of the paper, which deals with documents of the *arz* type.

be found, mostly fragments of *defTERS*, frequently torn along the middle of the obverse of their pages. Present also are smaller or greater files or bundles of documents from the second half of the nineteenth century, among them documents which are filled-in forms. Some of the documents contain extensive portions in the Greek language, or shorter individual Greek notes, signatures, seals. For example, on a small slip of paper from 1668 there is a text in Greek, but above it a small *tuğra* has been drawn, and there is a short note in Ottoman: “949 *kiles* of flour has yet to be sent from the *sancak* of Kandiye”.¹² The forms of permits for bearing arms (*silâh teslimi ilmühaberdir*) issued to Greeks have a parallel text in Greek and Ottoman.¹³

Some information on the contents of the documents on Crete can be drawn from the handwritten inventory books, available at the Oriental Department, as well as from the published catalogues of the Department.¹⁴ All of them are in the Bulgarian language. Moreover, on the cover page of each archival unit the date of the document and a note on its main subject-matter – in accordance to a classification accepted in the Oriental Department: *timars*, *vakıfs*, revenues, expenditures, trade, military organisation, etc. – are marked. Only one subject-matter is selected for each document; thus, in cases where the contents of a document may concern more than one subject, this is not reflected in the note.

In evaluating this significant deposit of documents from the perspective of its contents, we have to bear in mind the fact that some of the documents are actually fragments. The origins of the archive in Sofia should also be considered, as these are documents which were randomly discarded from the Istanbul archives; everything about this collection is the result of a game of chance, and no system or consistency could be expected in it. The true significance of the documents on Crete in the Oriental Department can only be evaluated in the context of the other historical sources from Crete. Some cases already known from the studies of colleagues working on the history of Crete on the basis of Ottoman documents kept in Istanbul or Crete have inadvertently found their way into even the cursory glance that I present below.¹⁵ Such encounters also occur in the very materials presented at the Halcyon Days Symposium and featured in the present volume.

The dominant portion of the documents in the three ‘Cretan’ archival collections is related to the military organisation in Crete, including forts as military fortifications¹⁶ and

12 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 919.

13 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 675, 814, 815, 889, 891, 990, 991 and others (1868-1869).

14 See E. Radushev, S. Ivanova and R. Kovachev, *Inventory of Ottoman Turkish Documents about Waqf Preserved in the Oriental Department at the St St Cyril and Methodius National Library. Part 1 – Registers* (Sofia 2003), 48.

15 It has not been my task here to meticulously distinguish these cases, nor has it been to compare the information contained in the Sofia documents with similar cases which have been found in other archives and/or appear in publications. For more general information and other relevant literature, see Greene, *A Shared World*; A. Novichev, *Istoria Turtzii* [History of Turkey], 4 vols (Leningrad 1963-1978); S. Shaw and E. Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols (Cambridge 1976-1977).

16 See, for example, OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 80.

their garrisons,¹⁷ and more rarely the navy,¹⁸ as well as the local and imperial janissaries, who constantly spring to the eye.¹⁹ There are dozens of documents referring to salaries²⁰ and the supply of the military with provisions, clothing and, of course, munitions.²¹ During the nineteenth century most of the local expenditures were spent on the army or other military-related needs.²²

From all the types of documents, information of various kinds can be drawn on the administrative structure of the island, individual officials, including many *valis*, *mustahfiz*es, and *kadıs* who are cited by name, and their functions.²³ For example, we find information on the appointment in 1768 of a *sancakbeyi*, or the *muhallefat defteri* of Hasan Paşa who at the time of his death in 1659 was occupying the position of *serdar*;²⁴ these documents also provide information on the functions of these officials. Thus, as a source on the functions of the *vali* in the local administration, of interest might not only be the *kadı sicils* from Crete, but also the *hulâsas* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries preserved in the Oriental Department, containing summaries of different cases with which the *valis* dealt (see below about documents issued by *valis*).

The main part of the documents from the nineteenth century is related to the financing of Kandiye's local authorities, and in this case we can speak of administration in the real sense of the word, albeit considerably militarised. There are many documents on requiring and accounting of costs of an administrative and municipal character, salaries, subsidies and so on, down to the pettiest costs. These are preserved in the Sofia archive in the form of loose documents, entirely handwritten or filled-in forms, with numerous signets of members of the local councils (*meclis*), including Greeks, and numerous additional notes.²⁵ Particularly often one comes upon documents about sums from the local *mal sandığı*.²⁶ Information from individual documents is summarised in various expenditure account books or balance books of accounts. For example, a table of costs for the *vilâyet* of Crete dated March 1871 cites administrative offices with the salaries of their holders and the costs of the various services. Civil servants were ordered in six grades. The first group included the *vali*, the *mutasarrıf*, the *kaymakam*, the *müldirs* of the *nahiy*es and so on; the second group included tax officials like the *defterdar*, the *muhasebeci*, the *mal müdir kâtibi*, the *tahsildar*, the *tapu memuru* and *kâtibi*, the *orman memuru* and others; those who served in the *kadı* court and were responsible for the distribution of estates fell into the third category; the fourth grade included costs and salaries of teachers in the *rüşdiyes*, and those in the post and telegraph; the fifth grade included officials

17 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 402.

18 OrO, F. 211, a.u. 19; F. 211A, a.u. 237.

19 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 509; F. 210A, a.u. 68; F. 210A, a.u. 4; F. 209A, a.u. 552.

20 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 72, 2, 65.

21 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 64; F. 209A, a.u. 463, 928, 930, 931, 878; F. 211A, a.u. 140.

22 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 539, 540, 635, 681, 682, 683, 684, 741, 933, 958.

23 OrO, F. 211, a.u. 21.

24 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 228; F. 211A, a.u. 7.

25 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 686, 623, 627, 630, 632, 778, 762.

26 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 578.

who supervised commerce; as for the sixth grade, this included the gendarmerie (*asker-i zaptiye*) and prison (*hapishane*) guards; there were costs for repairs, for caring for horses, for refugees (*muhacir*), for heating, for the *karakol*, and costs for servicing *timars*, *zeamets* and *vakıfs*, direct payments for mosques and other *vakıfs* and *imarets*.²⁷ The organisation of and costs for the police and gendarmerie forces (*kır serdar zâbit*, *asker-i zaptiye*) on the island were among the main tasks of the local administration and quite a few documents are related to these issues. These documents include records with the names and physical description of policemen, who could be both Muslims and, albeit fewer in number, Christians.²⁸ Documents about revenues are fewer;²⁹ for instance, several summaries of revenue from administrative activity have been preserved: from the court (*mahkeme*) in Kandiye and its six *nahiyes*, from the *mürur tezkeres* issued, from the *kantariye* fee, etc.³⁰

The documents about Crete also provide information on the *timars*, *zeamets*, and *hasses* on the island. For example, a fragment of a *defter* of 1658-1659, similar to the *derdest defters* in the Tapu ve Kadastro Arşivi in Ankara, concerns the transfer of *timars* after they had become vacant.³¹ The Oriental Department furthermore contains documents reflecting the different stages of the dismantling of the *timar* system in Crete.³² These documents confirm that in Crete the *timar-sipahi* system was replaced by the *mukataa* system. *Mukataas* were farmed out as lifelong leases (*malikâne*),³³ and the leading role in these tax farms was played by janissaries. Such phenomena have been observed in other Balkan provinces as well (Vidin, for example) where the janissary establishment took over the public and economic spheres, claiming to be the guardians of the ‘Islamic *serhad* (frontier)’.³⁴ The subsequent history of *malikânes* in Crete is also documented.³⁵

27 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 39; see also F. 211A, a.u. 28 (table of local expenditures, 1866); F. 211A, a.u. 40, 41, 42, 45 (different years between 1857-1877); F. 211A, a.u. 34 (1869); F. 211A, a.u. 46 (1872). See also F. 210A, a.u. 117, 103; F. 209A, a.u. 562, 734, 856, and many others.

28 See, for example, OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 529 (a *defter* from Kandiye on the salaries of the *asker-i zaptiye* for January 1863); F. 210A, a.u. 123 (similar for Resmo, 1877); F. 210A, a.u. 172 (1862); F. 209A, a.u. 789, 922, 866, 676, 677, 911, 885, 886 (Kandiye, 1863-1878); F. 211A, a.u. 110, 114, 115 (Hanya).

29 See, for example, a letter from the *vali* of Crete about 525,000 *guruş* as income from the customs of the island, 1862 (OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 610); or about 97,500 *guruş* from the sale of olive oil, representing the tithe for 1840 (F. 209A, a.u. 728).

30 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 729, 731, 733, 851, 857, 858, 710 (1844-1864); F. 209A, a.u. 749 and 730 (*defters* of incomes from the villages, 1845).

31 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 182.

32 OrO, 211A, a.u. 1-4, 17, 26, 150; F. 210A, a.u. 134, 135, 136, 137, 183, 185, 196, 226-233; F. 209A, a.u. 441, 442, 443, 466, 471, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 952, 960.

33 See, for example, OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 100 (the *mal-ı maktu* income from the Monastery of Hristo Argiri [?] and seven other monasteries amounting to 79,500 *akçes* in 1668 was assigned against a pre-payment [*muaccele*] of 3,075 *guruş*).

34 For example, in a petition dated 1749, three *yamaks* insisted that the “*serhad tezkeresi*” had been given to them (OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 4).

35 For various documents dealing with *mukataa* issues in the second half of the nineteenth centu-

The problems of the *timar* system in Crete are combined with those of *vakıfs* in a case from 1733-1734. The subject here is animal husbandry, in particular sheep and goat farming on the island – a sector of the local economy which was well developed, but one which is discussed rather rarely in our documents, not even as an important source of revenue.³⁶ Three years before the issuing of the document, a dairy farm had been set up by the sheep-breeder Mütevellioğlu Hüseyin Beşe and “the two *kâfırs* attached to him” in the *nahiye* of Maleviz (?) on the *vakıf* land of the Valide Sultan Mosque. These men had a *çiftlik* in *hass* lands in the *nahiyes* of Maleviz and Temenos, and every year at the time when the tax for the *mukataa-ı resm-i ağnam* was due, all the lambs were transferred from the fields on state *hass* land to the grounds of the dairy farm. With the justification that “our lambs are on *vakıf* territory and this is where they graze”, the sheepowners declined to pay the tax. Then, after two or three months had elapsed, they had the lambs return to the *hass* fields.³⁷

It becomes clear from an *arz* of 1728 that the population was not familiar with the conditions for the imposition of the *âdet-i ağnam* in Crete as *malikâne*. According to this document, it turned out that after the quantity of animals for the *zekât* had been calculated and deducted, there was a deficit for the state. Townspeople (*ehl-i bilâd*) were questioned and it was ordered that Muslims in the villages and towns should give 1 *para* per two goats or sheep, and non-Muslims 1 *para* per goat or sheep. The tax on flocks (*eğrek*) was also fixed.³⁸

Few documents in Sofia refer to concrete economic activity in Crete. Most are about the spending of funds from local sources of revenue for the maintenance of the local garrisons and administration in terms of salaries, acquisition of provisions, *çuha*, ammunition, etc. As noted above, as in other Balkan provinces, the military units and their commanders (most commonly the *mustahfiz*es of the three big fortresses, Kandiye, Hanya, and Resmo) took an active part in the management of *mukataas*. But in Crete the *defterdar*, an official who is not commonly mentioned in similar documents from the Bulgarian provinces from the same period, was also involved in this process. We learn from a partially preserved case-file about an *arz* submitted by Seyyid Mehmed, who some time earlier had been appointed to the *defterdarlık* of Crete. Mehmed complained that in spite of the fact that the accounts of the island and his documents (*evrak*) had been kept, checked, and sent to Istanbul, the office was given to Mahmud Ağa, *kapıcıbaşı* of the *dergâh-ı âli*, who on top of everything was against a review of the accounts for 1732-1733, which were then to be sent to the capital.³⁹

ry, see OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 607, 738, 750, 751, 755, 758, 848, 850, 852, 992; see also a *defter-i mukataa-ı bedel* from 1844 about various villages (F. 209A, a.u. 730).

36 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 6 (*malikâne* of *âdet-i ağnam*, 1729).

37 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 188.

38 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 445. This document is interesting not so much for the classes of collection of the tax on sheep and goats, but for the quite rare mention of the *zekât* as a regular practice of Muslim charity.

39 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 837; see also F. 211A, a.u. 235, 244; F. 211A, a.u. 247 (*küçük berat* of the *muhasebeci-i Girid* with a stipend of 30 *akçes* per day, 1737); F. 209A, a.u. 719 (*icmal mu-*

The fact that the income of the military in Crete came mainly from local sources probably connected them with the island, and engaged them in local affairs, either while in active service or after retirement; they formed the Ottoman community or its elite and ensured the so-called 'Ottomanisation' of Cretan society. But much as we learn about the military, dissatisfaction with the rare presence of concrete economic items remains.

As we have already stressed, Ottoman documents about Crete in the Sofia archive form no exception from the general picture: there is a prevalence of documents about costs which contain only indirect information about revenue sources; instead of economically active civilians, we find again and again military who were the users of the fruits of the labours of producers and merchants; there are more records of economic activities related to the state or construction works than of other productive activities, particularly agriculture.⁴⁰ Generally speaking, it is rather difficult for information about the private sector to find its way into the Ottoman state documents. In their studies relating to the nineteenth century, Ottomanist historians have made almost no use of private documentation of economically active subjects, such as merchants (individual or companies), but only of state documents. I will not dwell on the reasons for such a situation, but the Ottoman state documents usually concentrate thematically on certain sectors of social reality at the cost of others, for whose study we have to seek roundabout ways.⁴¹ Below I have chosen documents from the Sofia archive which in a way highlight two significant aspects of production and economic activity in Ottoman Crete: farming the revenues from certain villages as *malikâne*, and taxation of the olive oil trade.

I shall begin with the landed *mukataas* and their farming by local Ottoman officials or elders with special attention to the procedure typical of Crete. Various documents about the tax-farming system in the *sancak* of Kandiye are dispersed in the archival collection of the same name. Today, one can find connections between some of them, and collect parts of correspondence and references which were once one whole. For example, el-Hac Mehmed Bahrî, *serbevab-ı dergâh-ı âli, mübaşir*, sent to Kandiye to participate in the auction of *malikânes*, reported, through a *tahvil tezkeresi*, about the auction of the revenue from two villages in the *sancak* of Kandiye, *nahiye* of Yerapetre, which was obtained by the imperial janissaries (*dergâh-ı âli yeniçerileri*) Mehmed and Ahmed by a pre-payment (*muaccele*) of 600 *guruş*; the two men wanted a *berat* issued to them. The document does not have a date; that date is recorded on another page of what was once

hasebe defteri an mukabele-i cezire-i Girid [nahiyes in the livas of Kandiye and Resmo] for 1676 from the time of Osman Ağa Timurtaşpaşazade, mübaşir of the defterdar).

40 See, for example, an *ilâm* of 1785 by Abdülvahhab, *kadı* of Hanya, according to which, because of the drought that occurred on the island, the year's crop of wheat was poor. He asks for a ban on exports to the capital until the needs of the local population have been met; OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 607 (see S. Andreev [ed.], *Opis na osmanoturški dokumenti za zanaiati i trgovia (XVI-XIX vek) zapazeni v Orientalския otdel na NBKM* [Inventory of the Ottoman Turkish Documents on Trade and Crafts, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries, Preserved in the Oriental Department of the Sts Cyril and Methodius National Library] [Sofia 1993], No. 264).

41 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 605 (see Andreev [ed.], *Opis*, No. 192); F. 210A, a.u. 91 (see *ibid.*, No. 336); F. 209A, a.u. 791; F. 209A, a.u. 465; F. 209A, a.u. 131 (see *ibid.*, No. 364).

one case-file, but has now been split into two archival units of the Oriental Department. To the right of the page, as usual, we have the so-called *derkenar* or quotations from the *defterhane*, made before the final resolution on the issuing of a *berat*. Here we have a *tahvil tezkeresi* exposition, which repeats the information, in places in greater detail. The source of revenue was “Varvaro village and the adjoining ones”, all entered in the *icmal defter* of the treasury of Crete with a total revenue (*mal-ı miri*) of 70,877 *akçes* – 4,877 *akçes* was payable in cash and the remaining 66,000 *akçes*, according to the *nizam-ı hazine*, had to be delivered in the form of wheat crops (1,100 *muzurs*) to the state granary of the island; each *muzur* was equal to 15 *okkas*, with a monetary equivalent of 60 *akçes* – 66,000 *akçes*. For the delivery, a document (*suret-i ruznamçe*) was issued which also described the procedure involving the advance payment of the *muaccele*. The tax farmers Mehmed and Ahmed were reminded not to harass the *reaya* (3 June 1720). Above this text there is a *defter* with the basic information about the farming out through auction of the villages of Apostolus and Varvaro; there is a note: “the *muaccele* should be entered in the *ruznamçe-i hümayun*”. To the left of the page there is a *telhis*, in which, after a repetition of the quoted facts, a suggestion is made: after the buyers submit a receipt (*tezkere*) from the treasury of Crete about the delivery of the pre-payment, as well as an *arz* from the clerk in charge of the lease of the tax item, a *berat* should be issued to them. This should feature the obligations of the tax farmers to make the payments to the treasury every year and to have their accounts checked regularly. Above the *telhis* is the resolution from the vizier’s office: *telhis mucibince şürut ile malikâne berat virilmek buyruldu*.⁴² The revenues of another three villages in the *nahiye* of Yerapetre (annual revenue of 46,894 *guruş*; 530 *muzurs* of wheat were to be delivered to the state granary [*miri ambar*] in Kandiye, and after other obligations had been deducted, 15,094 *akçes* were to be paid to the state treasury) were auctioned at the *divan-ı Girid* to Hüseyin, *kethüda* of the governor of Kandiye, and Mehmed, son of Hüseyin, for a down-payment of 500 *guruş*; the *mukataa* was to be held from March 1720. The new tax farmers presented the required guarantors and delivered the money to the treasury, from which they received a *tahvil tezkeresi*; also *arzes* were compiled by the clerk responsible for the auction of revenues, the scribe (*kâtib*) el-Hac Mustafa Efendi, *dergâh-ı âli yeniçeri*, by the *defterdar* of Crete, and by the scribe (*kâtib*) of the treasury.⁴³

Thus, through these sources, we become acquainted with the main protagonists involved in the tax-farming system, as well as its practical application. We can also imagine what a more or less full set of documents on tax-farming operations looked like. Furthermore, it becomes obvious that in Crete, along with the *timars* and the *hasses*, there was a particularly large number of cases where revenue from the villages paid as *maktu* formed *mukataas*, which began to be farmed out soon after the conquest of the

42 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 827 and 510 (*tezkere* for *berat* dated 2 August 1721); see also F. 209A, a.u. 828 (four villages, including Aya Fotya, leased out to Mehmed Çavuş and el-Hac Ahmed against a *muaccele* of 1,500 *guruş* in 1721).

43 OrO, F. 209, a.u. 721.

island.⁴⁴ The following examples raise the curtain on how claims of discontent with the existing practice accumulated and the need for its reform became imperative. A rescript concerning a *ferman* to the governor (*muhafız*) and the *kadı* of Kandiye and Hanya, and to the *defterdar* of Crete, dated 4 May 1720, describes cases of arbitrary behaviour during the collection of taxes in the *mukataas*, and concludes that one of the main reasons for both the state and the *reaya* suffering is the annual award of revenue sources to the tax farmers for collection.⁴⁵ That is why it was decided that the *mukataas* should be farmed out (literally: sold) for life as *malikâne*. This change is repeated on many occasions in various documents about tax-farming (*iltizam*) in Crete.⁴⁶

Another important innovation was that the bidding procedure had to be held not in the capital but in Crete, where a special agent (*mübaşir*) was sent from Istanbul (for the sale of “*miri maktus*, *mukataas* of other villages and *mezraas*, which were to be given out as *malikâne*”) and with the participation of the *kadı*, a representative of the treasury of Crete, local people, and *ayan*. An *arz*, signed by the *defterdar* of Crete, Seyyid Mehmed, reiterated the decision that the villages and the *mezraas* of Crete be sold as *malikâne*. According to this document, a glorious *hatt-ı hümayun* had arrived on the island describing the procedure to be followed (“*ceziresinde düsturi’l-amel tutulmak üzere nizam virilmişken ...*”), which is the one that we saw above. More specifically, it was explained that once the farmer of the *malikâne* received a receipt (*tahvil tezkeresi*) that the pre-payment had been delivered to the treasury of Crete, he could send it to the capital, and from there a *berat* would be issued. But it was pointed out that it was contrary to the conditions (*şirut*) of this system to hold a *malikâne* only on the grounds of a *tahvil tezkeresi* without a valid *berat*. This practice existed, as is demonstrated by the continuation of this report, which now passes from principles to a real case: half of a *malikâne*, in the *nahiye* of Milopotamo, was farmed out to the former governor (*mutasarrıf*) of Resmo, İbrahim Bey, on condition that 6,500 *guruş* be delivered to the treasury as *muaccele*, and a *tahvil* was issued to him. For 12 years, however, the pre-payment had not been paid to the treasury, and the *malikâne* was held without a *berat*, only by the *tahvil*. As it was discovered, since Crete was distant, this served as an excuse for the *malikâne* to be held without a *berat*, so that the tax farmers would not have to travel to the capital to have this document issued.⁴⁷ The draft of an order to the governor (*muhafız*) of Kandiye, Mehmed Paşa, suggested that this problem be resolved by the auction of the *mukataas* as *malikâne* in Crete through an agent (*mübaşir*) from the central government. Until then, 75 *guruş* out of each 1,000 *guruş* of the main payment and the *muaccele* were paid to the treasury of Crete (for the *serçavuş* of the *dergâh-ı âli*, for the *ruzmançe kalemi*, for the *muaccele kalemi*, as *kalemiye harcı*, for the *sergulâm* and so on). In addition to this, when the owners of the *malikâne*, supplied as required with a *temessük* and an *arz*, came to the capital

44 See, for example, OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 717 (1668).

45 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 244.

46 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 515.

47 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 836 (20 August 1721).

for their *berat*, another 100 *guruş* out of each 1,000 *guruş* had to be paid, whereby they sustained losses. That was why it insisted that for the *berat*, as well as for the submission of the *arz* or the reception of the *temessük* (probably as an accounting document) on the lease of *mukataas* as *malikâne*, the persons involved should not go to the capital but that this part of the procedure should be carried out in writing against a fee (*harc-ı aklâm*) of 37.5 *guruş* for the *berat*.⁴⁸

In fact, it became an established practice in Kandiye to hold auctions through *mübaşirs* in the presence of a representative of the local treasury, the *kadı*, the *ayan*, and other residents of the town.⁴⁹ After the payment of the *muaccele*, the holder of the *malikâne* was given a *tahvil* that the sum of the *muaccele* had been paid to the treasury of Crete, and a relevant entry was made in the local registers. For the *muaccele* paid to be also entered in the *defter-i mal-ı mukataa* in the capital, the *tahvil* issued in Crete was sent to Istanbul, accompanied with an *arz* of the *mübaşir* and of a clerk from the treasury of Crete that a certain person wanted to be issued with a *berat* for the *mukataa* concerned. These documents were sent by the tax farmer or by the functionary who had conducted the auction in Crete (for instance, el-Hac Mustafa Efendi, scribe of the imperial janissaries⁵⁰). The Grand Vizier's office in Istanbul customarily referred the documents to the *defterdar* for verification, and the required checks were made in the *defterhane*; comments and notes were most frequently written on the upper right-hand half of the page of the *arz* or on a separate page (*derkenar*). It was also possible for a *telhis* or *tahvil tezkere* to be prepared in the *defterhane*, presenting the case, quite frequently in much more detail than in earlier documents about it, including citing the statutory instruments for treating the case in point.⁵¹ The new status of the *mukataa* was entered in the *başmuhasebe* registers, and the tax farmer was issued with a *suret-i rużnamçe* by the *defterhane*. Following this, a *telhis* was issued recommending that a *berat* be granted. In most cases, such *telhises* were attached as a second page of the case-file, or were written above the initial *arz* by which the procedure for the *berat* had been commenced. The *telhises* would specify the terms and conditions of the *malikâne* contract (usually underscoring that the tax farmers should pay regularly the sums that they owed and submit their accounts for auditing by the state). Short notes direct the file of documents thus compiled towards finalisation – then follows a *buyruldu* of the Grand Vizier (of the type 'telhis mucibince') requesting a *berat* to be granted with a description of the conditions of the *malikâne* as well as a *tezkere-i beratdade* and the date.⁵²

Several cases enhance our knowledge of the practical application of the tax-farming system. For 487.5 *guruş* as *muaccele* plus *resm-i cülus*, Abdurrahman Ağa and Ahmed

48 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 514 (24 November 1720).

49 Cf. OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 160 (auction of fiscal income in the *nahiye* of Resmo organised by the *mübaşir*, *serbevab-ı dergâh-ı âli* el-Hac Mehmed Bahrî, in the presence of the *defterdar-ı Girid*, the *kâtib-i hazîne-i Girid*, and the *ayan-ı vilâyet*; 1720).

50 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 515 and 516.

51 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 721.

52 See, for example, financial notes from the *defterhane* about sources of income in Crete in 1727 and 1733 (OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 723 and 724).

leased as a *malikâne* one of the *mukataas* of Crete, namely villages in the *nahiye* of Yerapetre with an annual revenue of 7 *yüks* and 4,466 *akçes* as *mal-ı maktu*. After they had paid what was due, and they were given the *suret-i ruznamçe*, they had to be issued with a new *berat*, while the old *berat* would be kept in the capital.⁵³

Half of another *mukataa* in the same *nahiye* (with a revenue of 43,612 *akçes*) was held by Veli, who transferred it of his own free will to the buyer İbrahim. This took place before the *vali* of Kandiye, vizier el-Hac İbrahim Paşa, and the *kadı*, and the *defterdar*, who probably represented his council (*divan*). The new tax farmer received a *hüccet*, which he presented to the treasury of Crete, from which in turn he received a *tahvil tezkeresi*. In the capital, however, the *hüccet* was not found, only the old *berat*. In the end a new *berat* with the terms and conditions of the tax-farming contract had to be issued to İbrahim.⁵⁴

What was once the file of another *malikâne* case, with a total of three pages, is preserved today in two archival units at the Oriental Department. An unidentifiable village (Koskos [?], with a revenue of 27,620 *akçes*), which was held as a *malikâne* by the barber (*berber*) Hüseyin Beşe against a pre-payment of 355 *guruş*, was transferred (*feragat ve kasr-ı yed*) – in fact sold – by his own wish at the *kadı* court to the janissary Hüseyin Beşe; after that person paid the required sums (*mal ve kalemiye*), a *hüccet* was prepared, which was kept at the treasury of Crete, from which, in turn, he received a *tahvil tezkeresi* to be entered in the *başmuhasebe* registers; the document in question, together with an *arz* of the governor (*muhafız*), an *arz* of el-Hac Mehmed Bahrî, the *mübaşir* sent to Kandiye for the auction of *malikânes*, and an *arz* of the *defterdar* (the three *arzes* in question were entered on a separate page attached to the file under discussion), as well as the first (*asıl*) *berat*, were taken to the capital by a man who would be given the new *berat*; as for the original *berat*, it was kept at the Treasury.⁵⁵

In 1720, after an auction held in Crete, Seyyid Mustafa obtained five villages in the *nahiye* of Yerapetre against a *muaccele* of 400 *guruş*. But Mustafa ran away, and another man claimed the *mukataa* and obtained the *malikâne*. However, it was discovered that the *muaccele* had not been paid to the Treasury. A sultanic decree was then issued which ordered that the *başbakı kulu ağası* see to it that the *muaccele* be paid, or else remove the *malikâne* from its holder. The file of this case also includes an *arz* of Mustafa, scribe of the janissary corps, in which more details are given about the mismanagement of this *mukataa*.⁵⁶

In a case of 1733, half of a *mukataa* held as *malikâne* by el-Hac Ahmed was transferred, after his death, by auction to Ahmed Ağa. A few years earlier, in 1728, the *malikâne* of the *dizdar* of Kandiye, Ahmed Ağa, was transferred to none other than his son, İsmail, for a pre-payment of 1,500 *guruş*.⁵⁷

53 OrO, F. 209A (1753).

54 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 830 (1725/1726).

55 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 832 and 833 (26 July 1728).

56 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 515; see also F. 209A, a.u. 839, 829, 722, 825, 827, 828, 517 and others.

57 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 708 and 835; see also F. 209A, a.u. 838 and 986.

The story of tax-farming in Crete continued well into the nineteenth century, about which quite a few documents are kept at the archive of Sofia (some examples will be cited below).

As I explained above, I will now move to the examination of one of the important sectors of the Cretan economy, namely the trade in olive oil (which I distinguish from the production itself, considerably less discussed in our documents). This is most frequently present in the documents under discussion in relation to requests for funds to be obtained from the *mukataa* of the taxation of olive oil exported from the ports of Crete by local and foreign merchants.⁵⁸

Taxation of olive oil took the form of *resm-i revgan-ı zeytun*, imposed both as a domestic and an export duty. At the Sofia archive we came upon a group of documents which shed light on two periods of this tax, 1718-1724 and 1728-1732. One can discern at least two problems facing Ottoman officials in these documents. One is related to the understanding of at least part of the Ottoman administration that merchants, including foreigners, should be accorded protection because of the considerable economic importance of olive oil; the second is how to distribute revenue between the treasury and the local military officers who aspired to the direct collection of the tax. Although the *iltizam* tax-farming system was sometimes recommended as the most appropriate method for a comprehensive collection of state revenue, the provincial military were well-versed in it and were thus able to distort it skillfully. Something of the kind happened in Crete as well. When the *mukataa* of the *revgan-ı zeytun* was farmed out as a *malikâne*, in practice it was distributed between the hierarchies of tax farmers and *emins*, who with their teams were directly engaged in tax collection at the ports. One part of the revenue was paid to the Treasury, and was frequently spent in Crete for military, administrative, infrastructural, and other ends instead of going to the capital; the money was spent by the tax farmers usually with the mediation of the *kadı* court. The farmers obtained *hüccets* and *tahvil tezkeres*, with which they accounted for themselves before the capital, where the relevant deductions from the final sum due were made in the accounting registry of the *mukataa* that they held.⁵⁹ The other part of the *mukataa* revenue was collected directly by local high dignitaries or janissary companies for whom it was intended. It was precisely this that caused the controversy which developed in 1718-1724 and is presented below.⁶⁰

58 See, for example, *hüccet-i zahriyes* for the payment of janissaries: OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 74 (1700) and a.u. 147 (1723). See also various *hüccet-i zahriyes* for the payment of janissary salaries from the *gümriük mukataa* in Kandiye: F. 209A, a.u. 392, 393, 394, 395 (1670-1671), and F. 209A, a.u. 396, 397, 398, 399, 400 (1678).

59 For documentary proceedings on *mukataas*, see L. T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden-New York-Köln 1996); A. Velkov, *Vidove osmanoturški dokumenti. Prinós kam osmanoturškata diplomatika* [Categories of Ottoman Turkish Documents: Contribution to Ottoman Turkish Diplomats] (Sofia 1985).

60 For documents of 1719-1724, see OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 76 (*arz* with additional notes [in one folio 8 documents were entered], and a register of the revenue from *resm-i revgan-ı zeytun*), and F. 211A, a.u. 245.

Vezir İsmail Paşa, governor of Resmo, demanded a portion of the olive oil tax revenue, claiming that the governors of Hanya and Kandiye received such shares from olive oil sold in the ports of the island. An examination made in the capital confirmed that olive oil which was bought by foreign merchants and loaded on to ships at the ports of Kandiye and Hanya was taxed at 6 *akçes* per *okka*. Of this amount the tax farmer (or his *emin*) paid 5 *akçes* to the state treasury and 1 *akçe* to the governor as subsistence (*maişet*). In December 1720 the *divan-ı hümayun* issued an order (*emr*) in this spirit. A detailed report from the *defterhane*, however, pointed out that previously 3 *akçes* was collected as state tax (*resm*) in Crete from foreign merchants (*müstemin taifesi*). But because 6 *akçes* was collected in Mytilini, another 3 *akçes* had been added to the *resm-i revgan-ı zeytun* collected in Crete. Then, 2 more *akçes* was added to the 6 for the wages of the guards of Kandiye and Hanya. The Consul of France (*Fransa konsolosu*) in Hanya and the French merchants protested against this regime, which they called arbitrary, before the *kadı* court. Furthermore, they declared that they no longer wished to buy olive oil on such terms, and that they would stop both pre-paying the owners of olive oil and loading it on to local ships. This threat was judged damaging for the local producers and shipowners; therefore, so the document of the *defterhane* continues, the *kadı* of Hanya sent a report (*arz*) to Istanbul. According to the *defterhane*, the peculiar boycott on the part of the French merchants reduced the revenue of the Treasury and caused great losses to the Sultan's subjects, "God's servants". Eventually, it was decided in 1724 that the *resm-i revgan-ı zeytun* should remain at 6 *akçes*.

Other documents from the Oriental Department provide further information on the taxation of Cretan olive oil. For instance, an excerpt, drawn on 12 April 1724 from the revenue registers for the *resm-i revgan-ı zeytun* and the customs of Crete, contains summarised data for the period from the end of 1717 to 1720. According to it, the following amounts of money had been collected from the ports of the island: Hanya, a total of 2,850,621 *akçes*; Resmo, 1,413,427 *akçes*; Merambello and Kandiye, 496,318 *akçes*. Out of a total of 4,760,366 *akçes*, 595,046 *akçes* was discounted for expenses, thus leaving a net income of 4,165,320 *akçes* or 34,711 *paras*.⁶¹

From a *telhis* dated 27 February 1723 concerning an order to the governor and the *kadı* of Hanya it becomes clear that by that time⁶² the *mukataa* of the *revgan-ı zeytun* was farmed out as a *malikâne*. A year earlier, in 1722, some events occurred (maybe in the context of those that we discussed above), which put the *reaya* in a difficult position. In earlier years the French, who were active in the port of Hanya, purchased olive oil for silver at the established exchange rate, had it loaded on to ships, and paid the customs tax (*resm-i gümrük*); thus, both the state and the *reaya* were content. However, at some point some 'bad protagonists' appeared, the *mültezims* who held the *malikâne*, namely the Hanya residents el-Hac Ali and Sarı el-Hac Ahmed with his sons. Out of self-interest and wishing to eliminate the French merchants from the purchase of olive oil, they began to buy up olive oil from the "poor *reaya*" at unfair prices, thus bringing trade to a standstill. This meant that "neither an *akçe* nor a grain of *resm-i gümrük* is collected from the

61 See also OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 826 (1720).

62 See also OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 266 (1721).

ports", and both the *reaya* and the state sustained losses. Accordingly, it was ordered that el-Hac Ali and Sarı el-Hac Ahmed be prevented from committing jobbery.⁶³

Another group of documents from the Oriental Department sheds light on later years. By March 1731 3 *akçes* was collected as *resm-i revgan-ı zeytun*, but a one-*akçe* deduction was decided upon by a special sultanic decree (*ferman*). The source of revenue, registered as a *mukataa*, was at that time held as a *malikâne* by el-Hac Ali Ağa and his sons Mehmed Ağa and Ahmed Ağa (I cannot say with certainty that these persons were the same as the protagonists of the case described above, but most probably they were). A *defter* of "fair revenue" was compiled with the participation of the *kadı* and the *defterdar* of Crete, Seyyid Mehmed Efendi, so that the revenue from the *mukataa* could be known precisely. The one-year *defter* of revenue was compiled by the *emin* of the port of Kandiye, el-Hac Salih Ağa, and covered the period from March 1731 to February 1732. In it, the quantity of olive oil loaded on to the ships of the foreign (*müstemin*) merchants, and the revenue accruing from the imposition of the two-*akçe* state tax were registered. In addition, the *emin* compiled a register of expenditures aligned with those of the preceding years. As to the form of the register, under the names of the ports of Kandiye and Merambello, each entry contains the names of the captain and of the merchant who loaded the goods, and the weight of the olive oil in *okkas* and the tax paid; in total, 214,055.5 *okkas*, for which a *resm* of 3,564 *guruş* and 23 *paras* was collected. The section of costs includes, *inter alia*, items like: salary of the *emin* and rations, 560 *guruş*; salary of the scribe (*kâtib*), 120; rent for *hane* (customs office or residence?) and warehouses, 80; salaries of 20 guards, 20, etc.; total amount, 820 *guruş*. The *defter* was signed by Seyyid Mehmed, *defterdar* of Kandiye, and certified by the *kadı*, Mahmud; it is dated 5 March 1732. A second *defter* which is kept in the Sofia archive and dates from March 1732 is quite similar.⁶⁴ These, and other similar *defters*, such as the two about Resmo in the next paragraph, contain dozens of names of merchants, foreign as well as local Muslim and non-Muslim, and ship captains, in their case mainly subjects of the Empire, both Muslim and Christian.

In Resmo, el-Hac İbrahim Ağa was the *vekil* of el-Hac Ali Ağa and his sons, the *malikâne* holders. The first of the two surviving *defters* was completed on 20 April 1732, and covered the one-year period from March 1731. According to it, state tax (*resm-i miriye*) of 12,737 *guruş* and 3 *paras* was collected from 764,310 *okkas* of olive oil in Resmo. The *defter* was certified by the *defterdar* of Crete and the judge (*müvellâ hilafeten*) of Resmo, İbrahim. The second *defter* is of the same form, and covers the one-year period from March 1732.⁶⁵

In other documents we see captains (*reis*, *kapudan*) shipping other goods, both trade items and state/military supplies, from and to the island, as well as transporting officials and troops.⁶⁶

63 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 245.

64 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 392 and 415.

65 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 86 and 257.

66 See, for example, OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 110, fol. 1-7 (1669); F. 211A, a.u. 20 (1667); F. 211, a.u. 234 (1671); F. 210A, a.u. 46 (1782).

One of the reasons for which I have decided to dwell on the cases of the village *mukataas* and the *resm-i revgan-ı zeytun* here is because these subjects are well represented among the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Ottoman documents of the three ‘Cretan’ archival collections at the Oriental Department in Sofia; quantity was my principal guide. These two topics are undoubtedly related to not insignificant aspects of the economic history of Crete, but obviously not the only important ones. It seems that from the archival materials (‘current correspondence’) of the *maliye* in Istanbul only some batches were set aside for recycling in the 1930s, and were torn apart. When they arrived at the Sofia archive they were dispersed and, thus, were placed in various archival units. Some of them I have managed to put together again as a relic of what once was one unit.

But let us now continue with our review of the documents in Sofia as a source for various aspects of the history of Crete. From documents about *vakıfs*, state construction works, military infrastructure as well as from the titles and identity of the persons signing certain documents we can collect much information on urban planning, architecture, infrastructure, transportation, and communications on the island. This evidence is related to the micro-toponymy of the urban space, and reveals the names of the relevant institutions, which are typically associated with specific architectural types, forms, and designs. This is fragmentary information whose significance can be best evaluated in the context of concrete research, based on other sources in addition to Ottoman documents. For example, information about the old and the new micro-toponymy after the coming of the Ottomans is provided by 44 *mülknames* of properties sold at a sultanic auction in 1669, mainly in the *mahalles* within the walls of Kandiye – mostly houses, but also shops, vineyards, and other items.⁶⁷

There are also interesting documents about the sewage network in the towns of the island; for example, in 1698/1699, state (*miri*) money was used to repair the pipe (*su yolu*) up to a certain Yusuf Paşa Mosque by one Matko *suyolcu*.⁶⁸ Moreover, there are quite a number of documents about repairs of fortifications and their facilities. Documents about

67 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 448, 449, 450, 452, 487, 488, 501, 502, 507, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 704, 705, 706, 707, 718, 744, 817, 818, 819 (uncultivated land granted by *mülkname*, 1676), 925, 926, 946, 984, 985, 989.

68 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 796; see also F. 211A, a.u. 52 (repair of a water conduit [*su yolu*], a tank [*su hazinesi*] and a tap [*musluk*] in Hanya, 1866); F. 210A, a.u. 8 (repair of the Su Kulesi); F. 209A, a.u. 761 (one water conduit from the castle to the end of the settlement out of the fortress and another to the *çeşme* at the port of Kandiye, 1858); F. 209A, a.u. 796 and 494 (ablutions reservoir [*şadırvan*] and water conduit of the Hüdavendigâr Mehmed Han Mosque, 1698 and 1699); F. 209A, a.u. 493 (water conduit, 1704); F. 209A, a.u. 899 (an engineer inspects the water conduit in the fortress [*kal'a*] of Kandiye, 1853); F. 209A, a.u. 671 (regulating [*tesviye tarikiyle*] of water in a fountain of Kandiye by *mühendis kulları ağası* Hüseyin Efendi, 1852); F. 209A, a.u. 409 (Haseki Receb Ağa donates to the *ağa* of the local janissaries, *ayan* Ahmed Ağa, “my *mülk* water” [most probably a fountain] of 32 *muzurs* by way of *malikâne*, 1693).

repairs of government offices are mainly from the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ From time to time repairs were made necessary because of earthquakes.⁷⁰

Information about the road network and infrastructure on the island is provided by a *defter* about the six *menzils* of the island and their supply with provisions to the total value of 192,000 *akçes* in 1669 – Perama, Resmo, İstilož, Hanya, and so on.⁷¹ Other examples include a *defter* of 1668 about the *menzils* in the *nahiye* Maleviz (?), and a bundle of more than 40 folios containing information about repairs in state buildings, ports, etc. In fact, it seems that we can collect much information about the ports and their facilities (*liman*, *iskele*) from documents on their construction and repair. Thus, from a document of 1718 we learn that the port of Resmo had not been dredged since the time of the Ottoman conquest in 1646, and was filled up with sand because of strong winds. A document of 1700 informs us that the harbour master (*serliman*) of Kandiye requested funds for the purchase of beams and the installation of a chain across what is described as “*liman-ı Agzan*”, possibly referring to the entrance of the port.⁷²

Abundant information about urban sites and primarily about Muslim religious and educational establishments can be found in the *vakıf* documentation.⁷³ All these facilities were maintained by *vakıfs* of officials associated with the towns; as examples we can cite the monetary *vakıf* of the late *serdar* Hüseyin Paşa (1664), and the *vakıf* of the late Mahmud Ağa, *kethüda-yı vezir-i mükerrem* Ahmed Paşa in Kandiye (1695).⁷⁴ A *defter* of the *vakıfs* of Crete, dated 1881, is particularly rich in information in this respect.⁷⁵ Individual documents also shed light on the late history of *vakıfs*, when the state managed them quite actively through its central institutions in the context of its centralising policies.⁷⁶

69 From various documents about repair works we learn about several public sites in Resmo: the *kal'a*, where the Muslims were living, the *iç kal'a* and the *iç kal'a kapısı*, the *hapishane*, the *karakol*, the port, the *beylik konağı*, the *hastahane*, the mosque of Gazi el-Hac Hüseyin Paşa and his *imaret*, the mosque of Ahmed Paşa (OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 154, 216, 217, 112, 132, 133, 174, 238, 243, 142, 143, 157 and so on). The same applies to Kandiye: *kal'a*, *kal'a-ı şahane*, *Kızıl Tabya*, *Ak Tabya*, the mosque and school (*mekteb*) of Sultan Mehmed Han, the mosque of the Valide Sultan of Sultan İbrahim I, the mosque of Sultan İbrahim with a school, the mosque of Abdi Paşa, the *hükümet konağı* and so on (F. 209A, a.u. 709, 940, 402, 943, 561, 470, 495, 496, 498, 497, 804, 805, 929, 797, 753, 967; various dates).

70 In 1682 (OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 936); before 1710 (F. 209A, a.u. 904); in 1805/1806 (F. 210A, a.u. 113); in 1814 (F. 210A, a.u. 256 and 113); see also E. Zachariadou (ed.), *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire. Halcyon Days in Crete III: A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 10-12 January 1997* (Rethymno 1999).

71 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 111.

72 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 22; F. 209A, a.u. 798; see also F. 209A, a.u. 795 for the bundle of over 40 sheets of paper about the repair of a number of government offices and other buildings (1862).

73 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 446 (*vakıf defter* from 1842 about Kandiye).

74 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 445 and 943.

75 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 702 (see Radushev, Ivanova and Kovachev, *Inventory*, 167-168, No. 460).

76 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 447.

In our documents the islanders are represented by many Muslims, including many janissaries, as we have already seen. But the signatures and seals of Greek municipal officials in nineteenth-century documents suggest that the Muslims and the Christians often acted jointly in community and other matters. Thus, there are signatures in Greek at the bottom of a document of 1858 concerning the expenses for establishing a school (*mekteb-i riüşdiye*) in Hanya. In another case, a payroll for the remuneration of construction workers in the *sancak* of Resmo in 1871 was signed by the head of the group and 12 workers: three of them were Muslims, and signed by their thumb-marks, while the other nine were Christians and signed by drawing a cross.⁷⁷

In 1733, an *arz* was submitted according to which since the time of the Ottoman conquest a number of officials and staff were based at the Su Kulesi, at the port of Resmo: this time the *mustahfiz* of Kandiye appointed a *reis-i liman* with a salary of 30 *akçes*, a *liman odabaşısı* with a salary of 10 *akçes*, and 13 *liman neferatı* with 8 *akçes* salary each (according to the list, all of the last-named group save one were Christians); in order to avoid any problems in the payment of their salaries by the *ağa* of the fortress in whose *ocak* they were included, it was requested that their payroll would be set apart in a separate *ocak*, as was the situation in the fortresses of Hanya, Souda, and other locations. The same document informs us that the former *liman reisi*, Abdullah, had been relieved of his duties because of old age.⁷⁸

The locals also appear, as expected, as taxpayers, albeit sometimes hidden behind the names of their villages, as in the case of a *defter* in respect to the soldiers in the fortress of Resmo in 1667/1668, which contains the names of 32 villages in 3 *nahiyes* of the *sancak* of Resmo. In a *defter* of annually imposed obligations (*salariye*) for supplies in the *sancaks* of Hanya, Resmo, and Kandiye, one can find the names and obligations of 37 monasteries in 10 *nahiyes*.⁷⁹

Few documents in the Sofia archive are related to the higher Christian clergy, such as the one in which it is noted that Kallinikos, *vekil* of the Metropolitan of Crete Hristo Efendi, received from the Kandiye *mal sandığı* the salary of the Metropolitan.⁸⁰ On the other hand, one encounters from time to time some wealthier non-Muslims, not necessarily Cretans; these were persons who sailed the sea and made fortunes, but also brigands and pirates who collaborated with the Venetians and other enemies. For instance, we learn from a draft of an order to the *kapudan-ı derya*, Seyyid Ali Paşa, that some time earlier, one of the inhabitants of Crete, Hacı Halil, received from the Christian (*zimmi*) Aci Yani of Sulica/Spetses island 550 *riyal gurus* for safekeeping (*emaneten*). After that Yani headed for Kus (?) (possibly Kuşadası) and was killed; now, then, the money should be passed on to his six orphans. After an investigation was carried out by the *hazinedar*

77 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 116; F. 210A, a.u. 210; see also F. 211A, a.u. 54, with identical texts in Ottoman and Greek.

78 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 26.

79 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 743 (21 November 1667).

80 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 685 (1870); for the Catholic bishopric in the nineteenth century, see F. 209A, a.u. 559.

and Ali Paşa, it was decided that the said amount and the interest on it should be collected by Hüseyin Çavuş and returned to the heirs of Yani.⁸¹ In another draft of an order to the *naib* of Hanya, a case involving another *zimmi* Yani, son of Yorgi, of Samos, was discussed. His ship, loaded with 1,505 *kiles* of grain, encountered corsairs from Malta, who captured it and stole the cargo. Half of the grain was loaded on to a ship of one captain (*kapudan*) Giovanni Nikolaki, apparently a collaborator of the corsairs.⁸²

It must be admitted that our documentation is rather poor on issues of social stratification, and the public and private life of individuals and communities, particularly in comparison with the information and conclusions which can be drawn from the *kadı sicilleri*. As I have already explained, the documents kept in the Sofia archive are state documents, which are related to the army, the administration and their upkeep, their material and infrastructural logistics. Private life and business remain on the periphery of their context. There is a prevalence of information about Muslims, and, inasmuch as the Muslim elite was closely involved with the state and the army, it is about this elite that we learn the most from our documents. These include documents which refer to estates collected by the state and, thus, add further lines to the profile of the Muslim elite of Crete; two examples of such cases are the inventories of the estates of the janissary Kethüda İbrahim Ağa, who died in battle in Crete as a “martyr” (*şehid*),⁸³ and of the vizier Zülfikar Paşa, *muhafız* of the fortress of Kandiye.⁸⁴

It is also worth noting that various documents refer to the *ulema*, the scholars who filled positions in the Muslim religious, educational, and judicial institutions. For instance, we learn from a *küçük berat*, issued on a recommendation (*işaret*) by the *şeyhülislam*, about the appointment at the *medrese* of Mahmud Kethüda in Kandiye of Mevlâna Seyyid Ali Efendi with a salary of 20 *akçes* per day.⁸⁵

In Crete, as well as everywhere else in the Ottoman Empire, one finds the practice that one *ulema* combines several positions, in order to attain an acceptable level of remuneration, or simply to increase it; for example, one person was third muezzin, *devrhan* and *kâtib* at the mosque of Abdi Paşa.⁸⁶

The employees at the mosque of Gazi Hüdavendigâr Mehmed Han in Kandiye were as numerous as the taxpayers in a *mahalle* of a small Balkan town. An *arz* in their name reports that to that date they still had not been paid their salaries, and that their names were recorded, according to their *berats*, so that they might receive what they deservedly had to for one year. Instead of signature, under “bende” there is a list of the persons involved and their daily pay, which they received from the *mukataa* of the customs (*gümriük*) of the port of Kandiye. Many of the functionaries held two positions and re-

81 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 65 (1814).

82 OrO, F. 211, a.u. 23 (1799).

83 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 711 (1646).

84 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 552 (30 July 1687); see also F. 209A, a.u. 810 (the estate of *bina emini* Ahmed Bedrî Efendi is collected on behalf of the state, 28 November 1720).

85 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 534 (10 April 1687).

86 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 561 (August 1688).

ceived a separate salary for each. These were 22 people, including imams, muezzins, Qur'an readers, cleaners, a tender of oil lamps (*kandilci*), and a timekeeper (*muvakkit*). Among them the highest pay was received by the first imam and the *hatib* at the mosque (65 *akçes*); the second imam (*şeyh*) received 25 *akçes*, the preacher (*vaiz*) and the librarian (*hâfız-ı kütüb*) (*şeyh*) 60, the Qur'an reader (*şeyh*) 25, while a teacher (*hoca*) and his substitute (*halife*) at the school (*mekteb*) received only 10 and 5 *akçes*, respectively.⁸⁷

The allowances of the religious and educational functionaries were provided by the local *vakıfs*, but also by *mukataas* and similar state revenue sources which were managed by representatives of the military and political elite and were also the source of local wealth, deals, and authority. Thus, according to the conditions of the *evlâdlık vakıf* established for the Arasta Mosque, built in Kandiye by the *reisülküttab* Acemzade Hacı Hüseyin Efendi, it would be administered (*tevliyet*) by the *ağa* of the imperial gunners (*topçu*), Mustafa Ağa.⁸⁸ This case is cited here because it allows us to see how the 'people of the sword' (*seyfiye*) and the *ulema* became inter-connected in a stratum with common interests.

The uniform image and interests of various segments of the Muslim elite in Crete, as well as its involvement in both local and state affairs, is graphically evidenced by the long columns of signatures and seals filling most of the enormous folios of group petitions (*arz*) to the Sublime Porte on local problems; the texts of these petitions frequently take up much less space than the signatures. For example, an *arz* from Kandiye is written on an enormous piece of paper, which is signed and sealed by 31 *ulema*, including one mufti and four *müderresses*, as well as by 121 *askeri*.⁸⁹

In the context of the issue of religion, one could also mention some documents about the spreading of the dervish orders in Crete – a subject of enormous potential within the framework of the more than 200-year history of the origins, development and disappearance of a Muslim community research into which can be carried out in almost 'laboratory' conditions in the case of Crete. In different sorts of documents one discovers small indicators, such as names of people who belonged to dervish brotherhoods: Baba Yusuf (a witness in a court case); Madaralıoğlu (?) Derviş Hüseyin (he received revenue from a *mukataa*); Şeyh Mehmed Efendi (he was appointed *ders-i âm* and *vaiz* at the Valide Sultan Mosque in Kandiye); a Mevlevi dervish (he is mentioned as an inhabitant of Kandiye who was to travel to his *vatan-ı asliye*); Kerim Efendi, an educational official (*maarifçi*) belonging to the Kadiris (his salary and rations were listed among the public local expenses in Kandiye).⁹⁰

87 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 551; see also F. 209A, a.u. 439 (*küçük berat* for the appointment of a person as a *hâfız-ı kitablık* and a *vaiz*, as well as for the *ders-i âm*, with 130 *akçes* per day, following an *arz* by Mevlâna Ahmed Efendi and an *işaret* of the *şeyhülislam*, Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi); F. 209, a.u. 908 (*ilmühaber* for the salary of 30 *guruş* per month of the teacher [*hoca*] in the school [*miri mekteb*] in Kandiye, 1853).

88 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 564.

89 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 249.

90 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 391 (1697); F. 209A, a.u. 956; F. 209A, a.u. 948 (1731); F. 209A, a.u. 562 (1692); F. 209A, a.u. 533; F. 209A, a.u. 874 (1868). For dervish orders in Crete, see also the paper by Nathalie Clayer and Alexandre Popovic in this volume.

More information can be gleaned from documents pertaining to dervish lodges and their occupants. For example, according to a *küçük berat* from the *defterhane*, the applicant Ebu Bekir was appointed to the Bektashi *tekke* of Horasanoğlu in Kandiye, since Mehmed, the person who formerly stayed there (*tekkenişin*) and received an allowance, had passed away.⁹¹ Another example is an *arz* (only part of the folio has been preserved) from Seyyid Ali, one of the heirs to an *evlâdlık vakıf*, which was dedicated to a *tekke* outside the walls of Resmo. Şeyh Abdullah insisted that, according to the stipulations about the *vakıf*, the position of administrator – and consequently, I suppose, the allowance – should be granted to “nişin evlâdlar” (the dervishes who lived in the *tekke*), while Ali pleaded that the founder, his father, had made it a condition that the administration of the *vakıf* (*tevlîyet*) was to be inherited, and should therefore go to him.⁹² In a petition to the Sultan, another Seyyid Ali Efendi, living in the *kaza* of Kırşehir, in the *vilâyet* of Ankara, wrote about the “poor” (*fukara*) dervishes of the Kandiye *dergâh* (‘convent’), known by the name of Üçler Makas, who were in a difficult position. He suggested that Şeyh Hayder Efendi should be accorded by the Treasury an allowance corresponding to his post, but also pointed out that he himself was also very poor. After the relevant checks were carried out, Hayder was allotted 100 *guruş* and Ali 40 *guruş* as an allowance for life.⁹³

The Sofia archive also features a file about Şeyh Azrayi Efendi, a Kurdish dervish who was exiled to Kandiye in 1858/1859 and entitled to an allowance from the town’s *mal sandığı*; from other documents we learn that this allowance amounted to 50 *guruş*. After Azrayi’s death in Kandiye, his wife, two sons and daughter received aid; for example, in the course of 1867/1868, his widow, Rahmana Hatun, received 83 *guruş*. After her death on 12 February 1868, the man holding the position of sheikh (*postnişin*) in the *tekke* built in Kandiye, Şeyh Mehmed Efendi, made an appeal that the allowance should be given by the Sultan to the “poor” (*fukara*) dervishes of the establishment in question as charity (*sadaka*), because they did not have any other sources of revenue.⁹⁴

An appeal, dated 2 November 1809, to the mercy of the Sultan is made in another case as well; such incidents reflect not only the links between some dervish brotherhoods and the state, which are typical of Ottoman reality, but also the place and role of dervishes in the network of Islamic institutions in Crete. We learn from this petition (*arzuhal*), submitted by the sheikh of a dervish lodge (*zaviye*), to which a *telhis* of the Grand Vizier, an *arz* of the governor of Kandiye, vizier Abdülkadir Paşa, and an *ilâm* of the *naib* of Kandiye were attached, that the former governor of the town, the late Abdullah Paşa, built a *zaviye*, but that its dervishes (typically designated “fukara”) were not allotted any revenue “from any source”. Consequently, on the death of the pasha, they had fallen into destitution and their state was severe. The “merciful Sultan” determined by a *hatt-ı hümayun* of 1805 that they should be receiving 1 *muzur* of grain daily and other foods

91 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 562 (10 October 1691).

92 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 80 (23 October 1699).

93 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 527 (16 March 1872).

94 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 934, fol. 1-5; F. 209A, a.u. 672 (1866); F. 209A, a.u. 638, fol. 1-4 and F. 209A, a.u. 942 (1869, text in the Greek language).

from the surplus of the state granary of Kandiye and 12 *akçes*. By the appeal of 1809 the sheikh asked that this order should be put into effect.⁹⁵

In respect of the other pole of social reality, that is, people in need, mainly Muslims, one finds information in documents concerning various social activities, aid and pensions, financed by *vakıfs* but mostly by the state; still, one should bear in mind that these people often came from particular backgrounds. For instance, in the seventeenth century, Crete was familiar with the imperial practice of granting pensions in the form of reduced salaries to people who, nevertheless, belonged to the *askeri*. We learn this from the not inconsiderable number of *hüccet-i zahriyes* concerning Crete and kept at the Oriental Department in Sofia. For example, on the occasion of the renewal of his *berat* on the accession of the new Sultan to the throne, one Mustafa brought forward his old *berat* of 1687 for 22 *akçes* a day from the *mukataa* of the customs (*gümriük*) of Resmo. He was issued with a *berat* for half that sum, which he was actually going to receive as a pension from 19 April 1690. According to the *hüccet* on the back of the attested copy of his *berat*, he had received his money for 1696/1697, but half of the sum, i.e., 3,894 *akçes*, had been kept back because of war needs.⁹⁶

The practice of granting pensions and aid acquired a wider social scope in the nineteenth century. Thus, a letter dated 1869 from the *vali* of Crete addressed to the Treasury related to the date of the new marriage of a woman from the village of Ihromanastır in the *sancak* of Resmo, the widow of a Muslim killed in war, as well as the date of the death of his son, so that their pensions could be terminated.⁹⁷ Usually regional *mal sandığıs* sent requests about covering the expenses of the burials of the poor,⁹⁸ maintenance of prisoners,⁹⁹ expenses for Muslim refugees (*muğacir*) from Belgrade, Fethü'l-islâm in Vidin and Circassia.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, a document of 1843 mentions that support for orphans was being paid since the time when the island was under the rule of the governor of Egypt Mehmed Ali Paşa, although no *berat* for it had been issued.¹⁰¹ Pensions were also accorded to relatives of the victims of bandits, uprisings, and political upheavals. For instance, in 1867 an allowance (*maaş*) of 20 *guruş* was granted to the widow and the three-year-old son of Zeki İbrahim, who died as a "martyr" (*şehid*) in the *sancak* of Resmo, on the mountain of Vrysinas.¹⁰² Finally, dispersed in different archival units, there are several monthly reports (filed in a form) from 1870 to 1876 about the payment by the *mal sandığı* of Resmo of the bread supplied by the baker Pandeli, son of Hristo, to the needy lepers living outside Resmo.¹⁰³

95 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 177.

96 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 391, fol. 1-5 and a.u. 401, fol. 1-8.

97 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 234; see also F. 209A, a.u. 565, 566, 567, 568, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 569.

98 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 120; F. 210A, a.u. 243, 153, 157; F. 209A, a.u. 417, 663, 664, 910, 422.

99 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 120, 243, 153, 157.

100 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 39, fol. 1-2 (1872).

101 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 141.

102 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 218, 215; F. 211A, a.u. 27; F. 209A, a.u. 813, 848.

103 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 257 (1874); F. 210A, a.u. 169 (1870); F. 210A, a.u. 212 (1875); F. 210A,

The nineteenth-century documents from Crete contain some information about hospitals. For instance, there are various documents about the expenses of hospitals in Hanyā, Resmo and elsewhere (*hastahane*, *memleket hastahane*, *gureba hastahane*, *gureba-yı islām hastahane*, *umum hastahane*);¹⁰⁴ very frequently information about hospitals concerns military hospitals. Other than hospitals, quarantine stations (*karantinahane*) were set up in the ports of Crete in the course of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁵

Ottoman documents in Sofia also allow us to discern, as I have already suggested, important political and military events, be that directly or indirectly; it suffices to cite here the Ottoman expedition for the conquest of the island or the attempts of the Venetians to win it back,¹⁰⁶ the period in the 1830s during which the island was placed under the rule of Mehmed Ali Paşa of Egypt,¹⁰⁷ piracy and the participation of local Christians in it, which acquired a certain political aspect. In the Sofia archive, the heading 'National Liberation Movement' includes documents related mainly to non-Muslims and their bandit (*haydut*) activity,¹⁰⁸ anti-Ottoman armed initiatives for shaking off Ottoman rule in the nineteenth century (these are usually called *ihtilâl* in the documents),¹⁰⁹ including the Cretan revolt (*Girid ihtilâlî*) of 1866-1869.¹¹⁰ For example, according to a *sened* and a *mazbata* of the *meclis-i kebir-i eyalet* and the *meclis-i muvakkat-ı askeri*, accounting records were made of the costs of the troops engaged against the revolt in the month of November 1866.¹¹¹

In an *arz* and *ilâm* of the judge (*müvellâ hilafeten*) of Kandiye Mustafa Müderris, dated 1828/1829, it is reported that the *ulema*, *suleha*, *hatibs* and others of Kandiye had come to court. Then follows a listing of the services of the governor (*muhafız*) Süleyman Paşa towards providing the peaceful living and safety of the Muslim population on the island, in the face of the existence of insurgent forces (*gâvur*, *Rumili gâvuru*) against which battles were fought. The report also contains descriptions of the actions of the rebellious elements in which the rural Muslim population was killed or taken into slavery and had its livestock confiscated; this happened while the British fleet had blockaded the

a.u. 220 (prisoners); F. 210A, a.u. 169, fol. 1-3 (*seneds* that the Resmo *mal sandığı* received 1,096 *guruş* for 756 *kiles* of bread for the lepers). On the lepers of Resmo, see M. Varoucha, 'Asthenia, aroge kai ygeionomike politike sto Rethymno tou 19ou aiona: he periptose ton lepron' [Illness, Social Aid and Public Health Policy in Nineteenth-Century Rethymno: The Case of the Lepers], *Kretologika Grammata*, 19 (2004), 87-137.

104 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 174; F. 211A, a.u. 119; F. 209A, a.u. 865, 909; F. 209A, a.u. 871 and 680.

105 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 959 (1851); F. 209A, a.u. 877 (one *karantinahane* to be built in each of the ports of Ayo Nikola, Yerapetre, and İstiye, 1870).

106 See, for instance, OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 927 (1670).

107 See, for instance, OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 141 (*cezire-i Girid Mısır valisi Muhammad Ali Paşa hazretlerinin uhde-i idarelerinde bulunan ...*, 1843); see also F. 210A, a.u. 176 (1865-1868).

108 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 811 (1824).

109 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 159 (1866); see also F. 211A, a.u. 173, 174, 177-199 (1868-1876), and others.

110 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 975.

111 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 812.

island, and supplied the Christians with guns. The signatories of the document requested that help should be sent to all the forts in Crete.¹¹²

Let us stop here with our thematic review. The objective was to give a certain idea of Ottoman archival materials about Crete in Sofia by means of highlighting some interesting cases ranging from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. More comprehensive research into the information contained in these documents can best be achieved through their incorporation into a wider selection of sources and after studying the peculiarities of Cretan history in the context of the Ottoman Empire.

In another respect, I should note that my work on the 'Cretan' archival collections has helped me to better understand the Sofia archive – what and how to look for in it. Concentration on the three 'Cretan' collections, the attempt to sense some peculiarity, or, on the contrary, elements and information which transcend the specific geographical boundaries of Crete, led me to a more general conclusion about the seemingly dispersed archival materials which are kept in Sofia. More specifically, I have come to realise that when documents from the Istanbul Imperial Archives were taken off the record in the 1930s, this was not done haphazardly; they mainly targeted case-files containing what we would today call 'working documentation', by which I mean drafts and other documents which were used for preparing the final official state documents and government registers. However, it is precisely these documents, the ones judged not so important as to be kept in the overflowing archives of an empire that was already history, which provide the opportunity for researchers to approach the intimate mechanisms of administration of the Ottoman provinces by giving them the opportunity to follow the steps of the provincial and central administration's practices – from the formulation of a problem to its resolution in the capital.

Precisely because of this selection, among the 'Cretan' material in Sofia there is a prevalence of single documents (*evrak-ı perişan*) which discuss individual cases in quite considerable detail, or rather there is a 'bunching' of documents on these cases.¹¹³ Here we come upon quite a few documents with numerous additional notes and case-files, i.e., working correspondence, among which I would distinguish quite a number of texts written in what was once the Ottoman province and, on several occasions, cases where the entire correspondence was initiated from the province. The case-files in question reached the capital, where they were supplemented with new records, the results of checks made by the central authorities, after which a final decision was prepared. These case-files remained stored in the capital and on the basis of the bulky case-files short summarising record entries were made on separate folios, while their detailed summaries were entered in the *mühimme defters*, or entries were registered in the *defters* of the *maliye*. Quite naturally, however, we have, on the other hand, a loss of detail in what concerns provincial peculiarities: the voice of the subject or even the provincial functionary is almost unheard

112 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 418.

113 The close examination of the documents contained in the three 'Cretan' collections in the Oriental Department permits the otherwise scattered documents to be gathered in relation to one particular case.

(while it seems to be somewhat more clearly discernible, for example, in the texts of the provincial judges in their *sicils*). And if I have to sum up my impression from the documents about Crete in Sofia I would place one of the stresses precisely on the provincial detail, the details involving the very formulation of a certain problem which is presented before the state, as well as the subsequent decision-making procedure. It is precisely this finding that I shall try to support with arguments in the remaining pages of my paper devoted to the *arz*.

Cretan archival materials at the Oriental Department in Sofia, as, by the way, in other similar collections, render possible a discussion of the administrative-documentary procedure involving *arz*-type petitions to the central authorities – from the moment of their compilation to the issuing of a decree (a *ferman* or a *berat*), which is the formalised form of the decision made by the state on the issue raised through the petition. With respect to such memoranda, and more specifically petitions by the subjects of the Sultan, scholarly literature speaks of a *şikâyet* (protest, complaint) mechanism, with a stress on the appeal, on the fact that the subject seeks protection from the central authorities, which is treated as a political initiative ‘from the bottom up’.¹¹⁴ Since it is my aim here to present some interesting examples from the ‘Cretan’ documents in Sofia, a sort of compendium illustrating the problem-range, I will proceed to a very short review of the general points concerning the *arzuhal*, and at the same time I will try to clarify the manner in which I have structured the examples quoted.

The *arzuhal* can be classified from a diplomatic and palaeographic point of view. As one can see from the documentation regarding the farming of *mukataas* in Crete, we have some single folios preserved on which only the petition appears, but in most cases we encounter *arzes* along with additional entries. In quite a few cases, the case-file or bundle of documents (sometimes sewn together) consisting of two or three folios, some of them of the largest format, has been preserved. In the Sofia archive, some of the case-files about Crete are preserved only in part; some documents from such case-files may have been dispersed and may be contained today in different archival units in the three ‘Cretan’ collections; thus, it is possible that, in the process of work, they can be located and studied again as a whole, as they were centuries ago, before they became part of Sofia’s Ottoman archive.¹¹⁵

Ottoman diplomatics makes a distinction between *arz*, *arzuhal*, *ilâm*, and so on. Some of these sub-types of petitions to the central authorities were compiled by *kadis*, while others by interested parties, individuals, or groups (or in their name), among whom one

114 H. İnalçık, ‘Şikâyet Hakkı: ‘Arz-i Hâl ve ‘Arz-i Mahzar’lar’, *OA*, 7-8 (1988), 33-54; S. Faruqi, ‘Political Initiatives ‘from the Bottom Up’ in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire: Some Evidence for their Existence’, in H. G. Majer (ed.), *Osmanische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. In memoriam Vančo Boškov* (Wiesbaden 1986), 24-33.

115 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 513 (this case-file contains the complete *arz* with marginal notes and the whole correspondence regarding it; however, it is in very poor physical condition).

can distinguish official or private persons. Should one take into consideration the legal procedure within whose context a given petition to the central authorities was compiled, they can be divided into two major groups. The first includes petitions related to the Ottoman administrative-institutional hierarchy and the interests of its members; these petitions reveal the rules and practice of vertical and horizontal correspondence between the various levels of this hierarchy. The second, a considerably smaller group, treats legal problems according to the Sharia and the sultanic *kanun*. Petitions were written in the name of a petitioner and were addressed to legal institutions above the *kadı* (in whose court similar claims were presented personally and verbally): the council (*divan*) of the pasha, and most frequently the *divan-ı hümayun*, the Sultan's imperial council. What was expected by the petitioners was a resolution set down in the form of a *ferman*.

It is the content and context of the legal procedure within which a document is compiled that constitutes the leading criterion that I have used in the presentation of individual *arz* cases below. This criterion is largely determined through the identity of the author/petitioner of a given *arz*.

Among the *arzuhal*s of the 'Cretan' archival collections, there is a prevalence of those which can conditionally be defined as petitions on official matters. In such cases the *arzuhal* played the role of a basic component in the bureaucratic procedure. It is a document embodying the administrative and governance contacts between the Ottoman central authorities and the network of provincial military-administrative and judicial officials.¹¹⁶

Among the *arzuhal*s of 'official' content we can primarily distinguish a large quantity of petitions by members of the *askeri* (including *ulema*) concerning their careers and incomes. In particular the number of petitions containing requests for the issuing of *berats* is very large. Addressed and sent to Istanbul, these *arzes* of the *askeri* passed through various departments, a fact which was recorded in the additional entries on the upper blank section of the folio of the *arz* itself (*derkenar*) or on additional pages; a *berat* was usually issued at the end. For example, an *arz* of 1726, signed by one "bende Hacı Sahir (?)", explained that in the *sancak* of Kandiye, in the *nahiye* of Temenos (?), Dafnes (?) village and the adjacent ones constituted a *timar* of 10,700 *akçes*, which was held by a certain Mahmud, who had passed away without leaving any children. The applicant requested that the vacant *timar* should be given to him since he held a *timar* of 11,200 *akçes* in the *nahiye* of Hatunsaray, from which he did not really draw sufficient revenue.¹¹⁷

In many cases an investigation was called for, and the *arz* eventually resulted in the issuing of a *ferman*. For example, in an *arz* of 1669, signed by "bende Osman silâhdar ba

116 See İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı* (Ankara 1984), 108. There are, however, *arzes* which, although they refer to problems in the provinces, were initiated and prepared in the capital. Among them, at first sight, the *arzes* of the *dariüssaade ağası*, with no additional entries, dusted with golden leaves, stand out. For instance, in 1673, a new servant, whose task was to take care of candles, was appointed with a daily stipend of 10 *akçes* in the *vakıf* of a mosque (*cami-i şerif*) located "within the fortress of Kandiye"; he replaced the blind Ahmed (OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 549).

117 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 693.

yevmiye 20", this person pointed out that he was the son of a *silâhdar* and received his pension from the *mukataa* of Crete, according to a *berat*. Nevertheless, the *emin* refused to pay him, so the appellant wanted an order to be issued on the matter. The *derkenar* note of the *deFTERhane* confirms his claim.¹¹⁸

The man who signed as "esir Mahmud 18. bölük" managed to fit the story of his life into ten lines. According to his petition, by the grace of the Sultan, 16 years earlier his name was entered in the register of the guard of Hanya as a *yamak*; he travelled to Sakız/Chios by ship, but "by the will of God and because of my own sins (*kendü taksiratım sebebiyle*) I was enslaved by the infidels at sea"; he remained in chains in Malta for 16 years (*kâfirin timur ve zincirin çeküp*), and his ordeal caused his body to become sickly. Eventually he was ransomed with money by a friend of his father, called Süleyman Efendi, paid through the French ambassador (*França elçisi*). Now he requested from his *odabaşı*, whose soldier he was, to be entered again in the register of the *yamaks*. As we can see from the additional entries on his petition, his request was granted.¹¹⁹

In some rare cases, the *berat* was requested by the few non-Muslim *reaya* who occupied specific offices. For example, an *arz* with additional entries on it was sent by one Yani, son of Constantine, who asked to be appointed as the dragoman of Crete at the local council of the pasha, as a proxy (*vekil*) of the titular holder, Yanaki, son of Moskaki. The necessary notes (*derkenar*) were entered; the order for the issuing of the *berat* is dated 12 March 1701.¹²⁰

'Official' *arzes* may be signed by more than one person. For instance, an *arz* of 1740 was signed by three soldiers (*nefer*) from the 42nd janissary company (*cemaat*) in Kandiye. They described their participation in Ottoman wars; when "by the will of Allah" they came to the capital, they drew up an *arzuhal*, and the Sultan graciously allowed their names to be entered in the register of the *ağa* in charge of the guard of Kandiye. In spite of the trials and tribulations that they suffered during their appointment after two years' service in Kandiye, when their pay for 1739/1740 arrived and they came to collect it, the *muhafız* told them that their "names were absent" (probably from the lists), so "your [the Sultan's] humble slaves were saddened very much and sustained a lot of damage".¹²¹

One finds more varied contents in the petitions signed by *askeri* who were commissioned with a special function, with the fulfilment of a special task. Among those one comes particularly often upon requests regarding military supplies. For example, a laconic *arz*, signed by "bende-i mezbur" (the latter word being given with the familiar abbreviation, that is, the letter *mim*), requested grain for the gunners at the fortress of Kandiye. One can obtain more detailed information about the specifics of the request, the source of financing or the number of the people in question (297), from the additional entries.¹²² In another case we find an interestingly organised case-file in relation to the request for two

118 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 501.

119 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 345.

120 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 824.

121 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 536.

122 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 550.

small mortar guns (*havan*) to be built for the fortress of Resmo; to that end the necessary raw materials, copper and bronze, were sent in from the capital. What we have at hand is a large folio folded like a *defter*. In the lower right part is the *arz* of the *sertop* Ali – “let the *nazır* of the *kârthane*, Osman Paşazade Mustafa Efendi, be ordered ...”; above it is the resolution, according to which this request should be accounted for in the *başmuhasebe* and entered in its register (*defter*). On the left-hand page, above, we have the *telhis* and a copy of the same *defter*. The resolution is on the top – a *tahvil* should be obtained according to the *telhis* from the *maliye*; at the bottom we find a record of the issuing of a *tezkere-i hümayun* dated 9 December 1702.¹²³

The governor (*vali, muhafız*) of Kandiye, Ali Paşa, sent an *arz*, dated 28 November 1715, according to which the bastion known as Kanlı Tabya had been ruined and unstaffed since the time of the conquest. He wanted the bastion repaired and supplied with 100 men and 10 canons. The *telhis* confirms that this is an important location; there is also an inventory of the servicemen and commanders who would serve at the bastion.¹²⁴

In such *arzuahals* of expert officials, who were not always *askeri*, but also *reaya* – Muslim and non-Muslim – one comes upon a more varied vocabulary; moreover, additional entries frequently go into details, and include original *defters* listing food supplies, construction materials, raw materials for various industries, names and salaries, as well as daily rations for specialists, *reaya* and non-*reaya*, engaged in the work, etc. It is sometimes possible that these *arzes* are short, even carelessly written, while the main information comes from the additional entries which are much more detailed than the *arz* itself, and record the procedure in detail. For example, the signatory of an *arz* of only two and a half lines, the architect el-Hac Mehmed, requested that the payment for purchased wood to its suppliers should be ordered through the *defterdar*. The resolution from the office of the Grand Vizier, written with a thick quill diagonally above the text of the *arz*, is much longer, even unusually so, and it is this which informs us that this is a case of repair of a dungeon (*miri zindan*) located inside the fortress of Kandiye, for which it was necessary to purchase timber, nails, adobes, stones, as well as to pay the salaries and rations of the construction workers (*yapıcı, hamal*), to the total value of 16,048 *paras*, which had to be paid by the Treasury. The *derkenar* text attached to the *defter* is even more detailed.¹²⁵

Skillfully attached to each other, without string and only with a slit and folding, two folios from a small case-file refer to the funds which were necessary for repairing the barracks of the 53rd company (*bölük*) of the imperial janissaries in the fortress of Kandiye. The repair was requested by an *arz* by someone who signed simply as “*odabaşı*”. The *telhis* states that the cost of the repairs was set at 1,405 *paras* after an inspection with the participation of the chief architect (*mimarbaşı*); on the upper right side we find a *defter* listing the necessary materials, and the resolution to the *defterdar* to cover the cost from the Treasury, which is dated 22 January 1705. The second folio, a smaller one, is a *suret-i*

123 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 64; see also F. 209A, a.u. 893 (*arz* for the purchase of 80 casks [*varil*] for the *baruthane* in Kandiye, signed by Salih Ağa, *sercebe-i Kandiye*, 1704).

124 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 512.

125 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 554 (24 June 1703).

masraf-ı ruznamçe whose text in the *divanî* script is as concrete as it gets: “for the repair of the door of the barracks of the imperial janisaries 1,405 *paras*, or 5,820 *akçes*”.¹²⁶

An *arz* with additional entries is signed by 11 blacksmiths (*bende neferat ahenger 11*) who “served the Sultan for money”, and requested payment for 45 days. From the *suret*, as well as from the *defter* to the left above the *arz*, we learn that the cost for the treasury of Crete was set at 5 *paras* per person; the resolution of the Grand Vizier is dated 20 July 1703.¹²⁷

Another *arz* with additional entries and a *suret* on the occasion of repairs of the fortress of Kandiye is in the name of “these servants of yours who process stones”, who wished to be paid according to the accounting *defter*. Part of the folio on which the *defter* was written is torn; one can only see the bread rations for 28 persons, as well as for another 223 *reaya*, who came to drag stones from Cömlekçi village, 160 *reaya*, who had to dig, and so on. The costs totalled 19,358 *paras*, which, according to a copy (*suret*) of the register of expenses (*masraf-ı ruznamçe-i hazine-i Girid*), dated 4 September 1705, amounted to 77,832 *akçes*.¹²⁸

Yet another *arz* with additional entries and a *suret* was signed by a head carpenter (*bende sernacar*); it was quite laconic, as it simply requested payment from the Treasury for the “cost for the above-mentioned needs”. The *defter* above the *arz* clarifies that the costs were for the state granary and the storeroom for rusks (*enbar-ı miri ve enbar-ı peksimet*) in Kandiye; the resolution to the *başdefterdar* was to pay 2,138 *paras*, which according to the *suret-i masraf* were accounted for in the *ruznamçe-i hazine-i Girid*.¹²⁹

Finally, the owner of a vessel sent not a request but what is openly a complaint to the Sublime Porte. He protested that he had not been paid his freight (*navlun*), which was his only means of sustenance, for transporting to the fortress of Grambousa a captain (*kaptan*), a standard bearer (*bayrakdar*), an officer (*kal’a çavuşu*), and 33 soldiers (*nefer*). It becomes clear from the additional entries that the money would be paid to him from the Istanbul *mukataa* of coffee.¹³⁰

The last examples lead us to what may be the smallest group of *arzes*, that is, petitions of *reaya*, Muslim and non-Muslim, on private matters. Albeit strongly filtered and unified, what is conveyed through them is the voice of the subjects, maybe more authentic than in the *mühimme* and *şikayet defters*. What I have in mind are memoranda and appeals which pose problems that required Sharia or *kanun* solutions, while quite a few among them passed through the office of the *defterdar*. From a diplomatic and palaeographic point of view, these *arzes* are no different than the rest – above the *arz* or possibly on an additional folio we can follow the procedural steps which led to what the petitioners aimed for: a *tezkere* (note) for the issuing of a decree (*ferman*, *emr*).

126 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 511.

127 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 745.

128 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 746.

129 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 553 (5 January 1701).

130 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 916 (6 November 1699).

On the other hand, a group of *reaya* could also submit an *arzuhal* on some problem of general interest; classic examples are related to taxation, local order, and criminality, or urban planning, as well as to Muslim or Christian *vakıf* issues.

A typical instance of putting the ‘protest (*şikâyet*) mechanism’ in operation is an *arz* in the name of a group of peasants of Kanatyana (?) village, which was compiled and attested by the *kadı* of the Kenuryo *kaza*. The village had eight households (*hane*), but five *reaya* had died. The remaining *reaya* were incapable of providing flour for the five *hanes* and requested a reduction in taxation.¹³¹ The document is without a date, but I think that it may be related to the next two cases.

Two folios preserved in the Sofia archive reflect problems in the delivery of the tax quota of flour of the *zimmis* in the Kenuryo *nahiye* in 1668/1669. One of the folios features an *arz* from the people of Kenuryo (*bende fukara-yı nefs-i Kenuryo*), who explained that from of old (*kadimden*) they had been allotted 95 *hanes*; of these, five Jewish *hanes* had been subtracted by sultanic decree (*ferman*), which left 90 *hanes*; the people requested a *tezkere*, so as not to provide flour for the five missing households. Their request was granted, according to the resolution dated 28 March 1669. On another folio we have a *telhis*, which was probably compiled in response to another – now missing – petition. Once again, on the occasion of the delivery of flour in return for the *cizye* tax due for 1668/1669, the inhabitants of the *nahiye* pointed out that one of the villages, which had 43 *cizye hanes*, was incapable of providing flour; this is why it was requested that the village should be allowed to pay its monetary equivalent (*bedel*), and that the villagers should not be harassed into delivering flour (14 June 1668).¹³²

Tax problems, this time of several *vakıf* villages, are dealt with in another petition. An *arz* to the Sultan by el-Hac Ahmed, governor of Edirne (?), described the situation of the *reaya* of the *vakıfs* of the late Grand Vizier, Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, in the *sancaks* of Kandiye (villages of Ayo Toma, Aya Varvara), and Resmo (unidentifiable village). From the time of the conquest their *cizye* was collected for the *vakıf*, and the *defterdar* of Crete collected 1,565 *guruş* for the island treasury; the *reaya* from the said villages submitted their receipts for the tax (*cizye evrakı*) to the person appointed by the *mütevelli*, and until that moment there had been no problems on the part of the *defterdar*. But the incumbent *defterdar* of Crete, Ahmed Efendi, sent an *arz* to the Porte and managed to obtain an order (*emr*) that he, his institution, collect the *cizye* of the *vakıf* villages. This, in the opinion of Ahmed, would cause the *reaya* to disperse (here one encounters the words so frequently found in the *şikâyet* documents: *perakende ve perişan*), and the ancient order (*nizam-ı kadim*) would be disrupted. This is why a group petition (*mahzar*) of the *reaya*, and an *arz* and *ilâm* (obviously by the *kadı*) to the Porte requested that the status quo should be preserved and that the *cizye* continue to be collected by the *vakıf*. On a second folio there is a petition, also designated as an *arz*, from the *mütevelli* of the “evlâdiyet ve meşrutiyet vakıflar – Acem sadrazam (?)”, which confirms what is stated in the first. From a *defter*, which is *derkenar*, it becomes clear that the said *vakıfs* of Fazıl

131 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 981.

132 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 884.

Ahmed were recorded along with the *vakıfs* of the Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn treasury, and belonged to the so-called *Top Altı Vakıf*.¹³³

Instead of being on two pages, the *arz* and the relevant correspondence on the next case are positioned on both sides of one folio folded in two. On the one side, an *arz* is positioned along the entire length of the page, and above it there are *derkenar* notes. The other side looks like a folio from a *defter*. In the upper half of its right-hand section there is a *telhis*, and on the lower part of the left-hand section there is another *telhis*, above which there is a resolution, namely a *buyruldu* for the issuing of a *berat*. The upper and the lower parts of the folio, however, are torn, and we have actually restored the case by all these partially preserved records in which one and the same piece of information is repeated in different variants. The question raised in the petition concerned the village of Dafnes (?) and another two villages in the *sancak* of Kandiye, belonging to the Sultan's *hass* with a revenue of 23,496 *akçes*. As was explained in the *arz*, during the Cretan War the *reaya* had dispersed. The author of the *arz* had then expressed the desire that the village be allotted to him with a *berat*, providing that he submitted the revenue to the Treasury through the local treasury of Crete (*hazine-i Girid*); moreover, he undertook the obligation to trace and re-settle the *reaya* in the village. Thus, he had it allotted to him and had held it since the conquest; he submitted his due every year, and he had settled *reaya* in the village. As we learn from the *telhis*, the author of the *arz*, in whose name Dafnes village was recorded, was one Ahmed, resident of Kandiye and *mütevelli* of the *vakıf* of the late *defterdar* Ahmed Paşa. His problem was that, under different pretexts, the pashas and the *defterdars* (of Crete, I presume) wanted to give the village to another person; furthermore, the borders of the village were registered in confusion with those of three other *hass* villages, of which two had been destroyed and the *reaya* had dispersed, their land being left untended, which meant losses for the Treasury. In their reply, the authorities confirmed that Dafnes should be held by the petitioner; moreover, since it was claimed that the villagers were unable to pay extra-ordinary taxes because of the exposed location of their village on a road, Dafnes was exempted from them. In addition to the *arzuhal* from the petitioner about this issue, there was an *arz* from the *defterdar* of Crete.¹³⁴

In cases in which a significant problem for the local population was explained to the Porte, we can expect the *arz* to be compiled by the *kadı*, which does not cancel its essential nature as being collective. Thus, an *arz* of 1802, signed by Abdülhattab, judge (*müvellâ hilafeten*) of Resmo, was compiled in the name of the *ulema*, *suleha*, imams, *hatibs*, *ağas*, *zâbits*, *ihtiyars*, and other inhabitants of Resmo, who came to the court. They complained of the citizen of Resmo *serturna* Ahmed Ağa, who had farmed a *mu-kataa* in the *sancak* of Resmo as a *malikâne*, and whose men caused all kinds of trouble. The governor of Kandiye, Abdullah Paşa, confirmed this protest.¹³⁵

Public order and the fight against bandits constitute a permanent theme of collective complaints, although the example that I will give below clearly enters the political

133 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 700 (1751-1752).

134 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 687.

135 OrO, F. 210A, a.u. 93.

sphere. In 1694, the residents of Kandiye – *ulema*, *suleha*, *ayan*, and other *reaya ve be-raya* – came to court, and at their request a petition to the Porte was compiled against a certain Yanaki, who had been a scribe (*kapı yazıcısı*) at the council of the former governor of Kandiye el-Hac Mehmed Paşa. They accused him of a number of misdeeds and crimes, among which that during the Friday prayer he had not been himself, attacked the people, and caused trouble. To ensure his protection, he had declared himself *martolos* and with his numerous followers organised highway attacks against travellers. Furthermore, he had plotted with the Venetians from Souda, to whom he surrendered his loot and captives; he boarded the enemy vessels (*harbi*), and allying himself with the Venetians by sea and by land, he had enslaved more than 200 Muslims, who remained chained in the hands of the infidels, their property being expropriated and some of them dying as “martyrs” (*şehid*). The petition contains a description of the case of an imam, Mustafa Efendi, who, accompanied by several servants on his way from Resmo to Kandiye, was attacked treacherously and killed. It was, moreover, claimed that Yanaki had crept into the newly-built fort of Esfakya, spied on the Muslim army gathered in Kandiye, and informed the Venetian fleet with the help of lights. In the [then] present year, when the collection of the *cizye* with individual receipts (*evrak*) began,¹³⁶ he incited the *reaya* and became the reason for the delay of its collection. His followers included the heads (*kethüda*) of the Christians of the districts (*kastel*) of Crete, among whom he distributed the *cizye evraks*; they all together claimed that the *cizye* had been paid. Not only this, but the *naibs* in the *nahiyes* were unable to perform their judicial functions according to the Sharia, because Yanaki declared that “our cases should be judged by the *kethüdas* of the *kastels*”; as a result, there were only four *naibs* who could dispense justice. After a description of all of his intrigues and the sufferings of the Muslims and the *reaya* because of him, it was pointed out that his actions would become particularly dangerous in the event of the enemy deciding to attack the island. Thus, a petition had been sent to the then governor (*vali*) el-Hac Mehmed Paşa, the *kadı* court had convened to consider the case, a *hüccet* which included the facts had been compiled, and an *ilâm* had been issued with the request that Yanaki be jailed in Edirne and eliminated. Meanwhile, however, Yanaki continued to be the cause of danger, and his *kethüdas* kept entering the villages, inciting revolt and so on. The resolution above the text of the petition reads: “the case described in the *arz* is a crime (*cinayet*) against religion and Allah; let him be jailed in Edirne, let his property be confiscated, let him be apprehended and let care be taken that he does not escape”. The *tezker*e for an order (*emr*) to the governor of Kandiye, vizier İbrahim Paşa, to the *kadı* and to the *defterdar* is dated 25 February 1695.¹³⁷

To the present group of petitions I will add the next one. It poses a military problem which, nevertheless, directly affected the wider local population in quite a painful way, as

136 The case is dated 1694 and obviously is connected with the introduction of the new system of collecting the tax; see B. Nedkoff, ‘Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Cizye (Baş Vergisi)’, *Belleten*, 8 (1944), 602-603.

137 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 432. For more information on Yanaki’s case, see Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, III: 58-72 (Nos 1261-1273).

is demonstrated by its very emotional tone and the fact that the petition is put forward by a wide range of local representatives. Such petitions, which suggest a high degree of consensus within a local community in the face of problems, I have also encountered in other 'janissary' cities in the Balkans, posing as they do a problem of the janissaries which is presented as significant for all their fellow-citizens and the state. This factor is stressed by underscoring that the authors of the petitions are Muslim and the defenders of Islam, even though the specific request is always quite trivially materialistic.

The petition begins with a portentous, but not unique, text, which situates Crete in the Ottoman geopolitical space: the island was a frontier region (*serhadd-i Bahr-i Sefid*), and the fortress of Kandiye was a stronghold of Islam. The local *ulema*, *suleha*, imams, *hatibs*, *huddam-ı hazîne*, *dergâh-ı âli yeniçeris*, *yerli zâbits*, *ağas*, *ayan-ı vilâyet*, *ocak ihtiyars*, and the other inhabitants of the *serhad* submitted a *mahzar-ı hakikat*. In it, it is stated that the guards of the fortress, the imperial janissaries, who were in the service of the Sultan, served diligently, were up day and night, and deserved to collect the salaries that the Sultan had accorded to them in his mercy. However, from 1766/1767 until the present time, that is, for approximately five years, they had not been paid their salaries from the appointed source of revenue; the delay was without reason, and for it they blamed the clerk in charge. This protest is followed by an emotional description of the dire straits into which their numerous families had fallen, which forced many people to move to other towns in their quest for a better living. Their situation was made even more difficult by the shortage of cereals in the current year and by the rise of prices, which put their families in total disarray, and caused their dispersal.¹³⁸

Quite frequently, the collective petitions of public representation set out problems which could be defined as municipal. For instance, a petition dated 1710 refers to the repair of the mosque and school (*mekteb*) of Mehmed Han Gazi in Kandiye, which had been destroyed by an earthquake and time. The demolished building was abandoned and empty, and most members of its congregation were going elsewhere to pray. An *arzuhal* had been sent to the governor, vizier Yusuf Paşa; on his part, a commission in which the *kadı*, the *ayan-ı vilâyet*, a *kâtib*, other Muslims and the chief architect (*hassa sermimar*) participated, had gone and performed an inspection on the spot. The petition is accompanied by a list (*defter*) of materials and salaries for the repair to the value of 63,572 *paras*, attested with the signature of the *kadı* of Kandiye, Abdullah; additionally, there is a resolution to the *defterdar* and a *suret-i ruznamçe-i cezire-i Girid*.¹³⁹

138 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 249.

139 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 904; see also F. 209A, a.u. 433 (*arz* of 19 June 1710 by Seyyid Derviş Ali, *müivellâ hilafeten* of Kandiye, but in the name of the *suleha*, *ulema*, imams, *hatibs*, *ağas*, *ayan-ı belde*, *huddam-ı hazîne*, *dergâh-ı âli yeniçeriyan*, *yerli zâbits*, *turnacıs*, *hasekis*, *çorbacıs*, *çavuşes*, *serdengeçtis*, *alemdars*, *odalı alemdars*, *yamaks* and other "poor and weak persons" living in the borderland [*serhad*], that is, in Kandiye. They declared in court that "they served in the guard of Kandiye, in the *serhad* in the middle of the sea and at all four winds of the world, in a fortress which guarded the Muslim people from the enemy, serving the Sultan". They had previously drawn attention to the fact that the fortress had been demolished in several places and that the mosque of Sultan İbrahim Han needed to be repaired. A *ferman* was is-

Individual *arzes* on private matters provoked the necessary correspondence, including a possible recommendation or dispatch of an agent from the central authorities, and the issuing of a *ferman*. It is the fact that such *arzes* contain private problems, in conjunction with their formulation as complaints, which distinguishes them as the second group of documents which set in motion the ‘*şikâyet* mechanism’. These *arzes* were in most cases appeals on cases which usually at an earlier stage had been brought before the local *kadı* court; the same cases were then referred by *arz* to the Sultan’s *divan* as judicial instances (provincial governors could also intervene at an intermediate stage). Eventually these cases were returned with *fermans* to the local court for possible further investigation and final consideration by it, but in the presence of a state emissary (*mübâşir*). From a diplomatic and palaeographic point of view these also are *arzes* with additional entries.

The *arz* of one who has signed as “bende papa Dimitri Sfanaki zimmi kulları” contains a complaint against the janissaries (*zümre-i yeniçeriyân*) Mohoğlu Mehmed and his brother Ârif, residents of Pretorya village in the *nahiye* of Monofaç, *kaza* of Kandiye. There follows the story of the plundering of the property of Dimitri, his imprisonment and threats of death, as well as his escape to the capital. Having fallen into poverty, he wanted to return to his homeland, but the brothers were an obstacle. His request has a quite general sound: the appellant wished to be left in peace, with the appropriate orders being given to the chief (*ağa*) of the local janissaries (*evlâd-ı yerlûyan*). A resolution on the matter required the *divan-ı hümayun* to issue an order to this effect.¹⁴⁰

The two folios on which the *arz* on the next case and the subsequent entries are located have been classified under two separate archival units at the Sofia archive, but their distinctive contents allow them to be correlated easily. The *arz* is by an unnamed woman, described in the beginning of the petition as an “orphan” and a “slave” (this is here used figuratively, meaning ‘your servant’). The story is the following: her father, Mehmed, had served in the retinue of the incumbent governor (*vali*, *muhafız*) of Kandiye, Silâhdar Emin Paşa; while the pasha was a *başsofralı* at the *enderun-ı hümayun* in Istanbul, Mehmed, the father, had taken a house for the pasha’s slave woman in the vicinity of the Hoca Paşa quarter, but the house had been paid for by him (Mehmed) and not Emin Paşa; when the pasha left the capital, her father left with him, because of his position; but Mehmed fell ill in Yenişehir and, without settling his financial affairs with the pasha, returned to the capital where he passed away 14 days later. Chaos had come to reign over Mehmed’s property and financial affairs, and there was still a debt of 3 pouches of *akçes* for the house, which was actually owed by the pasha to his former subordinate. The orphaned heiress was trying to defend her rights, reaching right up to the imperial *divan*.

sued in response, which was sent by a special messenger and made public in the town of Kandiye. The *arz* and the *ilâm* in question were sent in order to notify the Porte that the *ferman* had been received).

140 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 421 (4 October 1802); see also F. 210A, a.u. 80 (*arz* concerning a dispute about the *tevlîyet* of an *evlâdlık vakıf* established in favour of a *tekke* out of the *kal’a-ı Resmo*, 1699).

We learn from the *telhis* compiled in the capital on this case that she was trying to have the sum transferred to her, and we can also date the case; the *telhis* is of 14 June 1780.¹⁴¹ This document can be analysed from several points of view: the status of women in Ottoman society, the life of a provincial pasha, of his retinue (or his court, or his *divan*), or of provincial elites, etc. Furthermore, we have the opportunity to follow the steps of the *arzuhal* mechanism in the case of a social group with relatively small presence – women – and also in a theme which is in itself sparsely represented – the private life of subjects seeking justice from the supreme judicial council in the Ottoman Empire. In comparison with the short records of the *şikâyet/mühimme defters*, the texts of the *arzuhal*s, especially when they are accompanied by the entire subsequent administrative correspondence, allow each case to be incorporated much more organically into its social context. A case in point is that of the hundreds of *arzuhal*s in the Sofia archive, including those from Crete.

Another ‘female’ *arz* tells us about the problems of an elite lady related to Crete. Hadice, who signed it, states that she was the wife of Ömer Paşa, who had passed away in Kandiye while he was one of the *ümera-yı derya*. The previous year, one Boşnak Mehmed Ağa had been sent by the central authorities to Kandiye to take a certain İbrahim Paşa’s possessions to Istanbul; apparently the envoy availed himself of his task, and claimed the property of another high-ranking *askeri*, Ömer Paşa. While Hadice was in Midilli/Mytilini, the envoy laid hands on her property, which she had inherited from her father, using lies and force, and in the end her servants and she herself were forced to concede. But then Hadice went to Istanbul with her brother and her documents, and there she appeared before the sultanic *divan*, and lodged a complaint. The *arz* is accompanied by a resolution, and the *tezkere* for the issuing of an order is dated 28 July 1727.¹⁴²

Arz, a petition or complaint to or before the Sublime Porte, stands in the centre of the researchers’ attention; in this respect, the critical analysis and interpretation of documents of this type require the full clarification of their content, from the point of view of legal procedure, but also from a diplomatic and palaeographic point of view. After the citation and analysis of types and examples of *arzes*, I believe that it is worth making a very short review of the path followed by these documents, as well as of the forms of other documents caused by the *arzes*’ bureaucratic trajectory. An *arz* was compiled in the province by a *kadı* or another educated person, but, even when it was compiled by the *kadı*, it was not usually copied in his *sicil* (at least such are my observations in respect to the Sofia collection of these registers); the *arz* was filed by a concrete person or group from a certain Ottoman region (for instance, Crete) in respect of an official, local or private matter, and it could pass through the council (*divan*) of the *vali* as an intermediate stage (on this matter, see below). After that, the document went to the capital, where it passed through various offices of the central institutions, as a result of which the relevant additional notes were entered (*derkenar*) either in the upper empty margin of the folio on which the *arz* had been written, or on a separate folio. Sometimes high officials prepared

141 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 841 and 843.

142 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 32.

memoranda on the matter, which were designed as *arzes* (on financial matters, in particular, there were the very detailed *telhises* or *kaimes* of the *defterdar*); this was how a *telhis* was formulated with a rescript for a response *ferman* to the initial *arz*, which repeated the main points of the *arz*; after that, a *buyruldu* of the Grand Vizier was entered above the *arzuhal*; finally, a *tezkere* for the issuing of a *ferman* was written. The issuing of the *ferman* was accompanied by a brief annotation of the *arz* in a *mühimme* or *şikâyet defter*. The *ferman* was sent to the province from which the *arz* had originated, and was copied in the register (*sicil*) of the *kadı*; other actions in consequence of the *ferman* could also be entered in the *sicil*. But as I noted above, it seems that the copying of the *arzuhal* in the local *sicil* was not a generally accepted practice. This is why most of the documents related to the *arzuhal* mechanism are found amidst the collections of loose documents (*evrak-ı perişan*). These collections are kept in Istanbul, and part of them has found its way to Sofia.

Finally, in the context of the *arzuhal* mechanism and the documents related to it, I would like to dwell on a small group of documents encountered more rarely in the Sofia archive. They are related to a still less well studied provincial institution, namely the *vali* (provincial governor). What I have in mind is the *vali's hulâsa*, that is, an inventory of documents about cases which had been examined by the governor's council (*divan*), prepared to accompany the case-file when it was sent to the capital by the *vali's* office. The folio on which the *hulâsa* inventory was written was attached to the batch of folios which contained the petition and other relevant information. On some occasions, several different cases and the documents related to them could be listed in a single detailed inventory, and sent simultaneously to the capital with it. On others, the case sent from the provincial *divan* to the capital was only one. It did not matter if the case had been dealt with by other institutions previously, if it concerned private or administrative issues, if it had been submitted by one person or a group of individuals. What was important was that at a given stage this case had been considered by the *vali*, and was relayed to the capital from his office. The original petitions are always among the documents which formed the case-file on a certain matter, and were sent to the capital with the *hulâsa*. Thus, instead of a mere *arz/arzuhal* from private individuals, groups, the *kadı*, or other local officials, an entire case-file accompanied by a *hulâsa* arrived in the capital.

The number of documents of *vali divans* available to scholarly research and commented on in historical literature is quite limited. Sources for studying the *vali* institution may be the *kadı sicilleri*, as well as *fermans*, *berats* and *mühimme defters*. At any rate, *vali hulâsas* are documents prepared by the *valis' divans*, and as such are representative of this institution. However, they were not systematically entered/copied in any sort of book of records (*defter, sicil*) or register of outgoing correspondence similar to the Istanbul *mühimme defters*. But the sets of documents described in the *hulâsas* were sent to Istanbul, and I assume that the archives there are, therefore, an important pool of sources for the *vali* institution. A small portion of these documents found their way to Sofia in the 1930s, and some of them belong to the 'Cretan' archival collections. If the impression that the formalisation of the office and functions of the *vali* was relatively slow and somehow never completed is correct, then we should not expect the *valis'* documents to be

of particularly large volume like the documentation of other ‘writing institutions’, such as the *defterhane* in Istanbul or the *kadı* courts in the provinces. Inasmuch as I can compare, the *vali* institution demonstrates regional peculiarities, greater than those typical of other Ottoman institutions, as, for example, the *kadı*. Nevertheless, the *vali* institution is frequently mentioned in the documents of the three ‘Cretan’ collections at the Oriental Department, revealing a varied palette of functions. In this respect, the *vali hulâsas* preserved from Crete are a source for the study both of the history of the *vali* institution in general and of its regional peculiarities.

A document titled “*hulâsa* of the *tahrirat* coming on behalf of the *muhafız* of Hanya *saadetlî* İbrahim Hilmî Paşa”, dated 1 April 1808, contains an inventory of the documents related to a single case presented to the capital. This is evident from the resolution written with a thick quill in the *divanî* script, which ordered that the janissary *ağa* implicated in the case should be informed of the accusations and provide the necessary explanations.

The *hulâsa* itself includes a detailed annotation of an *ilâm* of the *kadı* of Hanya: “saraylı kerime Ayşe Hatun” was in the harem of the former *yeniçeri zâbiti* of the fortress of Hanya, Abdülfettah Ağa. She herself had initiated legal proceedings against him, and claimed that, while in the capital, she had given to him a certain number of things, which he had admitted himself. However, because the woman was accused wrongfully of indecent conduct, she was thrown out of the house and ran away. After she died, what she left behind belonged to the *emin* of the *beytülmal*, and was handed over to him according to the *defter* compiled by the customs officer (*gümrükçi*) Kasım Ağa. But then Abdülfettah Ağa, deceitfully and by claiming that Ayşe was his lawful wife, managed to obtain half of her estate. Moreover, he was again appointed to the office of *ağa* of the Hanya guard and was about to go there. His conduct, however, ran contrary to the rules of the janissary corps, and his unfounded claim eventually was revealed, which came to the knowledge of his colleagues, and obviously the janissary corps’ high officers.

This annotation is followed by the annotation of a second document (it is in the form of a triangle and bears “*şukka*: one item” on it), which contains the prices of the items which were the property of the deceased woman, and were worth 8-9 *keses*. It was for these that Abdülfettah had filed a claim with the assertion that the deceased had been his wife, but this claim was eventually rejected.

Third comes a document which is probably a petition of an investigating authority of the janissary corps, ending with the familiar formula “her halde emr ve ferman devletlî inayetlî sultanım hazretlerindir”: according to the *ferman* which was issued, Abdülfettah Ağa, *zâbit* of the janissaries of the fortress of Hanya, was dismissed. Regardless of the fact that he had returned to the capital, he had failed to report to the head of the corps (*ağa kapısı*). A *mübaşir* was sent to Abdülfettah to examine the matter, since the *ağa* had obviously become “bedridden” because of illness. When he was questioned, Abdülfettah withdrew his claim about the marriage.¹⁴³

143 OrO, F. 211A, a.u. 307.

A *hulâsa* of the documents (*tahriratın hulâsası*) sent by the governor (*muhafız*), vizier Mehmed Paşa, with respect to repairs of the fortress of Hanya, is in very poor condition.¹⁴⁴ We mention it here, because this case-file is not related to the judicial functions of the *divan*, but to its military and administrative governance tasks.

Another term that we encounter as a synonym of *hulâsa* is *takrir*. For example, on the back of a folio someone, maybe in Istanbul, wrote: “*takrir* of Giridli Mahmud Haseki, draft (*müsvedde*); 18 November 1796”. On the front there are several annotations of documents pertaining to several cases: the first is of a document reporting that Haseki Mehmed Ağazade Derviş Mehmed Bey, who belonged to the *hassa silâhşors*, had died while on official duty in Damascus, leaving three orphans for whom the *kadı* court had appointed their mother, Fatma Hanım, as their guardian. But the mother of the deceased, Ciba (?) Hanım, came forward, and declared and gave evidence before the *kassam* that she was the guarantor of the orphans with respect to the debts of the deceased, amounting to 16,395 *guruş*. In relation to this, it was declared how much his property in Crete and Damascus was. The second and third cases described in the *hulâsa* in question again pertain to inheritance problems.¹⁴⁵

An interesting bundle of 11 folios contains *arzuahals*.¹⁴⁶ At least part of the problems treated in these petitions can be identified in the Sofia archive – they are scattered across the ‘Kandia’ archival collection and some of them have been already quoted in the present paper. I assume that these 11 *arzes* were part of a documentary massif, a ‘file’, which was duly kept in Istanbul until the beginning of the twentieth century. At some point, the integrity of this file was disrupted, the documents were mixed, some of them were torn or destroyed, but others found their way to the Sofia archive. But let us return to the content of these petitions. In an *arz* signed by Hüseyin Hasan of the 11th janissary company (*cemaat*), it is reported that he participated as a *yamak* in the campaign of the sultanic army (*sefer-i hümayun*). Currently his *orta* was in Kandiye, and he asked that his diploma (*esame*) be transferred there. Another *arz* from the head of customs (*gümruk emini*) in the capital, Baki Mehmed, suggested that the soap sent by the late vizier İbrahim Paşa, governor (*muhafız*) of Kandiye, to the capital should be measured and the customs due be paid in kind. The next *arz* raises the issue of *hassa* villages in the *sancak* of Kandiye which did not produce revenue; their borders, land, and harvest had a joint record in the *icmal tahrir defter*, and the revenue from each village had not been calculated separately. Another document discusses the need for manning the guard of the fortress of Acısu with soldiers from the *kaza* of Kandiye. In a subsequent *arz*, el-Hac Mehmed Bahrî, *serbevab-ı dergâh-ı âli, mübaşir* (about whom we know from many of the documents quoted above that he was a state agent who carried out auctions of *mukataas* of Kandiye), reported that, after it had been ordered that the state *mukataas*, villages, and *mezraas* be farmed out as *malikâne*, 18 villages had been auctioned in public in the presence of the local people and the notables (*ayan*), and that, in return for a pre-payment of 1,450 *guruş*,

144 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 937 (22 May 1783).

145 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 503.

146 OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 843; see also F. 209A, a.u. 936.

had been given to Çorbacı Hasan Ağa of the 4th *cemaat* of the local janissaries (*yerliyan*), Halil Bey, and Sarraçzade Hasan Çelebi. The farming out of another three and four villages was reported through separate *arzes*, respectively signed by el-Hac Mustafa, former *kâtib-i yeniçeriyân-ı dergâh-ı âli*, and el-Hac Mehmed Bahrî. The 11 documents in question are not dated, but there are sufficient indications to date them. For example, one of the *arzes* treats the case of the daughter of the servant of the *vali*, who had to pay the three pouches owed by Emin Paşa.¹⁴⁷ What unites the documents in the bundle is that they are all related to Kandiye and that the problems that they deal with were referred to Istanbul. I would make the tentative assumption that these were not actual *arzes*, but annotations designed as *arzes*, prepared on the occasion of sending the *hulâsa* to Istanbul; apparently that was how the cases were presented in the capital. I suppose that when the time came to send, maybe through the *vali*, the documents on these 11 cases to Istanbul, they had to be accompanied by an inventory of some sort.

The Ottomans managed to create across the Empire a network of institutions which produced unified documentation. As long as they are written in Ottoman Turkish, documents from any Ottoman province pose no serious problems to historians in terms of deciphering them, or understanding which institution issued a given written deed, even though scholars may ‘stumble’ over toponyms or personal names hinting at the cultural identity of a particular region. Admittedly, this unification is deluding, as it does not encompass the deeper layers of social fabric, but is only the framework which lends a common form to social phenomena. However, the functioning of unified Ottoman institutions was not so immune to the peculiarities of local society. The three ‘Cretan’ archival collections are a convincing confirmation of the need to clearly distinguish the different layers of the reality that existed once, which become accessible through the Ottoman documents. State documents refer to the outermost formal and permeable skin of social reality which could hardly prevent the core of any independent sphere of a given region from developing, according to its traditions, ecology and economy. Moreover, to reach the deeper layers of historical reality, a historian should also work with other sources besides the Ottoman Turkish – something which, albeit somewhat spontaneously, is done in the course of one or another Ottoman paper, book, or project. Research into the *arzuhal* practices provokes historians, not the least because it opens a crack for the voice of the subjects to be heard. Although this was mainly the voice of the *askeri*, and of Muslims aspiring to become *askeri*, and very rarely of ordinary *reaya* Muslims or non-Muslims, the temptation to discern it is enormous.

147 See OrO, F. 209A, a.u. 841.

THE ISLAMIC GRAVESTONES OF OTTOMAN RETHYMNO: PRELIMINARY REMARKS AND THOUGHTS ABOUT THEM

Antonis ANASTASOPOULOS*

RETHYMNO (OTT. RESMO) WAS CONQUERED by the Ottoman army in 1646, and this event marks the beginning of the formation of the Muslim community of this town and its hinterland. Muslim presence persisted for almost three centuries and was brought to an abrupt end by the 1923 agreement between Turkey and Greece on the exchange of populations, with Muslims departing from Rethymno in 1924. Demographic information and data from the nineteenth century suggest that at least throughout this period the town of Rethymno, with a total population of a few thousand people, was heavily dominated by Muslims.¹

Apart from archival and literary sources, several monuments, artefacts, and architectural features from the Ottoman period still survive today in Rethymno. Among the most neglected are the gravestones of the former Muslim cemetery, which was situated to the south of the town, outside the walls, in the area now occupied by the Municipal Garden (*dimotikos kipos*) and around it.²

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1 According to Sieber, who visited Crete in 1817, Rethymno had about 4,000 inhabitants; F. W. Sieber, *Travels in the Island of Crete, in the Year 1817* (London 1823 [repr.: Athens 1975]), 48. According to Pashley, who was in Crete in 1834, the population of Rethymno exceeded 3,000 inhabitants, with only about 80 families being Christian; R. Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge and London 1837 [repr.: Athens 1989]), 104. According to the census of 1881, Rethymno and its environs had a population of 9,274 inhabitants, of whom 6,691 were Muslims and 2,444 Christians; N. Stavrakis, *Statistike tou plethysmou tes Kretes* [Population Census of Crete] (Athens 1890 [repr.: Athens 1978]), 4 (Part II), 78 (Part III).

2 On Bonneval's late-eighteenth-century map of Rethymno, the cemetery does not seem to extend to the west of what must be today's Dimitrakaki Street; Ph. De Bonneval and M. Dumas, *Anagnorise tes nesou Kretes: mia anecdote mystike ekthese tou 1783* [Reconnaissance of the Island of Crete: An Unpublished Secret Report of 1783], ed. and trans. Y. V. Nikolaou and M. G. Peponakis (Rethymno 2000), 168-169. But if the information, communicated orally, that a gravestone in fragmentary condition was discovered at a rather elevated and distant spot to the south of the town (high up on the hill called Mastabas, today part of the town of Rethymno)

An on-going research project which is funded and carried out by the Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FO.R.T.H., with the assistance of the 28th Greek State Ephorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities, has resulted so far in the recording of more than 330 gravestones from Rethymno.³ Almost half of these gravestones bear inscriptions, and, as far as those which have a date are concerned (fewer than a hundred), they cover the period from 1692 to 1900; of these, about 8% were erected prior to 1760, almost 60% come from the years between 1760 and 1820, and the remaining 32% from the period 1820-1900. Most gravestones belong today to the Ephorate of Antiquities, while a few are owned by local people. Their state of preservation varies, but many have survived only in part or, even, are no more than a small fragment of the original, or their inscriptions have suffered considerable damage.⁴

The Muslim cemetery most likely ceased to exist in or around 1919,⁵ when it was taken over by the Municipality of Rethymno, which justified its decision on the grounds of protection of public health, the embellishment of the town, and recovering land for public utility works and buildings;⁶ the existence of a so-called 'new Muslim cemetery', situated to the east of the town (on the road connecting Rethymno with Perivolia, today a suburb of the town), was reported in the local press in 1922.⁷ The transformation of the former cemetery into a Municipal Garden was inaugurated in 1925-1926.⁸ The cem-

is accurate, maybe then the cemetery or at least some graves gradually extended over a rather wide area.

- 3 For a brief description of the project, see A. Anastasopoulos, 'Islamic Tombstones of Rethymno, Crete', in S. Güvenç (ed.), *Common Cultural Heritage: Developing Local Awareness Concerning the Architectural Heritage Left from the Exchange of Populations in Turkey and Greece* (Istanbul 2005), 222-223. Collaborators on the project include Ms Photeini Chaireti, Ms Eirini Kalogeropoulou, Ms Marianna Liaskou, Ms Katerina Limnidi, Dr Marinios Sariyanis, Ms Niki Spanou, Ms Maria Varoucha, Dr Athanasios Vionis, and Mr Zois Xanthopoulos. I wish to thank them all for their conscientious work, as well as Dr Nicolas Vatin of the CNRS – EHESS, who was kind enough to visit Rethymno and help us with checking our readings of the epitaphs of the gravestones.
- 4 The database of the Islamic gravestones of Rethymno has been incorporated in the 'Digital Crete: Mediterranean Cultural Itineraries' project and webpage of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies (<http://digitalcrete.ims.forth.gr>). However, it is sadly still (December 2008) unavailable on-line, because the Greek Ministry of Culture has not yet granted the required permission, even though the relevant application was submitted in 2006.
- 5 According to documents kept in the Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre in Istanbul, the Prefecture of Rethymno asked for the transformation of the cemetery into a public model farm (*dimosion agrokipion*) as early as in 1917, and the expropriation by the Municipality took place in 1918. I would like to thank the Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, and in particular Ms Lorans Tanatar Baruh, for the permission to use these documents.
- 6 Ch. Papadakis, *Ta Chasapia tou Rethymnou kai ochi mono* [The Butchers' Shops in Rethymno and More] (Rethymno 2005), 179 (according to Papadakis, what was expropriated in 1919 was "the largest part of the Muslim cemetery"); cf. Rethymno's newspaper *Kretike Epitheoresis* [Cretan Review], issue No. 602 (24 December 1921), 2.
- 7 *Kretike Epitheoresis*, No. 612 (7 March 1922), 3.
- 8 Papadakis, *Chasapia*, 179-180; the creation of a 'Municipal Garden' was decided upon in 1923

etery's exact size is unknown, but, according to a newspaper item from 1931, the area taken over by the Municipality amounted to about 70,000 square metres (c. 17.3 acres).⁹ In Heraklion (Candia, Ott. Kandiye), a much bigger town, the Muslim cemetery occupied in the early twentieth century an area of several hundreds of thousands of square metres, according to a contemporaneous testimony.¹⁰

There is no concrete information about the provenance of most of the surviving Islamic gravestones, that is, whether they all come from one or more urban or village cemeteries, or, as may be the case, from the courtyards of mosques.¹¹ For instance, a gravestone belonging to el-Hac Kara Musa Paşazade Ali, dated 1170/1756-1757,¹² stood, before the restoration works in this monument (2008), in the courtyard of the mosque which bears the name of his ancestor, Kara Musa Paşa;¹³ however, we do not know if it was

(*Kretike Epitheoresis*, No. 668 [1 July 1923], 2), but was mentioned as early as in 1921 as one of the original purposes of the expropriation of the cemetery (ibid., No. 602 [24 December 1921], 2); works in the 'Garden' began in 1926 (ibid., No. 1089 [19 June 1932], 3). For the disappearance of Ottoman cemeteries, cf. M. Kiel, 'Little-Known Ottoman Gravestones from Some Provincial Centres in the Balkans (Eğriboz/Chalkis, Niğbolu/Nikopol and Rusçuk/Russe)', in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and A. Tibet (eds), *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique/İslâm Dünyasında Mezarlıklar ve Defin Gelenekleri*, Vol. 1 (Ankara 1996), 319.

- 9 *Kretike Epitheoresis*, No. 1040 (5 May 1931), 1. According to the same item, the Municipal Garden occupied more than 25,000 square metres, that is, only part of the area which was expropriated.
- 10 S. Xanthoudidis, *Chandax – Herakleion: historika semeiomata* [Chandax – Heraklion: Historical Notes] (Heraklion 1927), 136-137. Lady Mary Montagu commented about Istanbul that "the burying fields about it are certainly much larger than the whole city"; M. Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters* (London 1994), 99.
- 11 Cf. Xanthoudidis, *Chandax – Herakleion*, 135-136; N. Vatin and S. Yerasimos, *Les cimetières dans la ville. Statut, choix et organisation des lieux d'inhumation dans Istanbul intra-muros* (Istanbul and Paris 2001); E. Eldem, *Death in Istanbul: Death and its Rituals in Ottoman – Islamic Culture* (Istanbul 2005), 20. In Istanbul some people were even buried in the gardens of their houses (N. Vatin, 'L'inhumation intra-muros à Istanbul à l'époque ottomane', in G. Veinstein (ed.), *Les Ottomans et la mort: permanences et mutations* [Leiden-New York-Köln 1996], 159).
- 12 Gravestone No. 168; for an Ali Odabaşı, descended from Kara Musa Paşa, in 1749, see N. Stavrinidis, 'Kara Mousa Pasas, ho santzak vees tes Rethymnes' [Kara Musa Paşa, the *Sancakbeyi* of Rethymno], in *Pepragmena tou III^{ou} Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou* (Rethymnon, 18-23 Septemvriou 1971), Vol. 3 (Athens 1975), 309-310. In Istanbul, burials within the city walls were relatively rare prior to the last quarter of the eighteenth century; on the other hand, el-Hac Kara Musa Paşazade Ali met the legal criteria to be entitled to be buried in the courtyard of the mosque of his ancestor (Vatin, 'L'inhumation intra-muros', 163-166).
- 13 The establishment of this mosque is often attributed to Kara Musa Paşa, *kaptan-ı derya* from late January to June 1647; see, for instance, A. Malagari and Ch. Stratidakis, *Rethymno: hodegos gia ten pole kai ta perichora tes* [Rethymno: A Guide to the City and its Environs] (Athens 1991 [3rd ed.]), 31. However, Nikolaos Stavrinidis' argument that this mosque bears the name of a late-seventeenth-century governor of Rethymno is more convincing; Stavrinidis, 'Kara Mousa Pasas', *passim*, esp. 298 n. 17.

placed there originally, or was transferred in recent decades by the Ephorate of Antiquities, or, maybe somewhat earlier, after the dismantling of the Muslim cemetery. The gravestones of Kara Musa Paşa himself, dated 1692/1693, and of another Kara Musa Paşazade, dated 1261/1845, lie at a storage area of the Ephorate in Misiria, several kilometres away from both the cemetery and the Kara Musa Paşa Mosque, and had previously been in the courtyard of the Venetian Loggia, then the Archaeological Museum of Rethymno and in the Ottoman period also a mosque.¹⁴ Another offspring of a prominent family whose gravestone stands in the courtyard of the Kara Musa Paşa Mosque is a certain Mehmed from “the rose garden of the illustrious Köprülü family” (*hanedan-ı Köprili'nin gülistanından*), who died in 1134/1721-1722 on the way to Bursa.¹⁵ Here again, we do not know whether Mehmed was buried by the mosque (if the grave is not actually a cenotaph¹⁶) instead of in the public cemetery. Recent excavations (2007-2008) around the former Gazi Deli Hüseyin Paşa (Neratze) Mosque brought to light 20 gravestones of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it is again unknown if they lay there originally or were transferred from the old cemetery; on the one hand, there is evidence of graves and burials around the mosque, but, on the other, we know that gravestones of the former main cemetery were transferred in around 1920 to the Muslim Girls' School, very near the Gazi Deli Hüseyin Paşa Mosque.¹⁷

The destruction of Rethymno's Muslim cemetery poses a serious problem to research, since we are obliged to study the gravestones as isolated artefacts and texts, really out of the context that their placement within a cemetery provides. Actually, in most cases we are unable to even match the head and foot gravestones of a given grave. Moreover, we are prevented from studying the ‘social distribution’ of graves across the cemetery, but also between the cemetery and the mosques; for instance, we do not know if prominent families were buried together in a specific section of the cemetery or if social stratification was reflected on the spatial arrangement of the cemetery, as happens elsewhere.¹⁸ And obviously, we are unable to follow the historical development of the cemetery through time.

All surviving gravestones are made of marble, with the exception of extremely few made of local limestone, a material which is much less durable than marble. We do not

14 Gravestones Nos 231 and 233; Stavriniadis, ‘Kara Mousa Pasas’, 297-298.

15 Gravestone No. 150.

16 See, for instance, E. Eldem and N. Vatin, *L'épitaque ottomane musulmane (XVI^e-XX^e siècles). Contribution à une histoire de la culture ottomane* (Paris-Louvain-Dudley, Mass. 2007), 11.

17 Information on the graves and burials comes from Mr Kostas Yapitsoglou, archaeologist of the 28th Ephorate of Antiquities; information on the storage of gravestones in the Girls' School comes from a document of 1924 kept in the Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre in Istanbul.

18 On the arrangement of graves according to the social importance of the deceased in the Sokollu Mehmed Paşa cemetery in Istanbul, see J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, H.-P. Laqueur and N. Vatin, *Stelae Turcicae II. Cimetières de la mosquée de Sokollu Mehmed Paşa à Kadırga Limanı, de Bostancı Ali et du türbe de Sokollu Mehmed Paşa à Eyüb* (Tübingen 1990), 15. Cf. Eldem and Vatin, *L'épitaque ottomane*, 11.

know where the marble came from, but in all probability it was not local. Apparently buying and having a marble gravestone carved entailed a cost which the poorer social strata could not meet. According to a late-nineteenth-century foreign visitor to Rethymno, “the poor content themselves with a plank fixed on the ground or a post, on which they fasten a few strips of discoloured cloth, yellow, red, or light blue”.¹⁹ Thus, the surviving gravestones mirror the taste, ideology, conventions and social etiquette of the middle and upper social strata, and cannot be taken to be representative of the total of the town population.²⁰

The gravestones constitute historical sources both as objects and as texts through their inscriptions. In this short paper I will not dwell on gravestones as objects, valuable as they clearly are in this respect as well. But a few comments on this subject are in order here. For instance, what is very noticeable in terms of the appearance of gravestones is their evolution over time. More specifically, there are considerable differences in terms of size, shape, and decoration between gravestones of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and those of the middle and late nineteenth century; for instance, a comparison between the rather modest gravestone of el-Hac Musa Paşa, the governor of Rethymno, of 1692/1693 and the 1878 lavish gravestone of a young boy from one of the notable families of Rethymno is rather telling in this respect (Ills 1-2).²¹ Of course, not all nineteenth-century gravestones were lavish or extravagant, but the general tendency was towards bigger gravestones and longer and more origi-



Ill. 1: Gravestone of el-Hac [Kara] Musa Paşa (1692/1693) (photo by Efi Moraitaki).

19 *Krete – 1893.Hoi periegetikes anamneseis tou Vittorio Simonelli* [Crete, 1893: Vittorio Simonelli's Travel Memoirs], trans. Ioanna Phountoulaki (Rethymno 1996), 122. Cf. W. J. J. Spry, *Life on the Bosphorus: Doings in the City of the Sultan; Turkey, Past and Present Including Chronicles of the Caliphs from Mahomet to Abdul Hamid II* (London 1895), 105, and Eldem and Vatin, *L'építaphe ottomane*, 84.

20 Cf. Bacqué-Grammont *et alii*, *Stelae Turcicae II*, 17 and n. 36, 18. Bacqué-Grammont notes that marble became accessible to large segments of the population in the course of the eighteenth century; J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, 'L'étude des cimetières ottomans: méthodes et perspectives', in Idem and Tibet (eds), *Cimetières et traditions funéraires*, 1: 136; cf. Eldem and Vatin, *L'építaphe ottomane*, 80, 83-84, 142.

21 Gravestone No. 173.



III. 2: Gravestone of Gazaroğlu Ali Bey (1878)
(photo by Efi Moraitaki).

nal epitaphs.²² The Rethymno gravestones follow trends current all over the Ottoman Empire, and come in various shapes: they are acute or rounded on the top, octagonal, cylindrical, rectangular, or ovoid in shape, with flat or curved backs. As a rule, there does not seem to be any direct correlation between particular gravestone shapes, or decoration styles, and the existence of inscriptions or not, but this is a preliminary observation which may be revised in the future. As in other localities, it is not known whether gravestones were imported half-ready with only their texts (or maybe just the personal information about the deceased and the date) missing, or whether they were fabricated locally; but shapes and decorations are in most cases more or less identical with those from other Ottoman regions, and can be classified following the typologies put forward by Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Hans-Peter Laqueur in their various publications on this subject,²³ which suggests that importation of pre-fabricated gravestones is not unlikely. By a comparative study of the gravestones of Rethymno with the published gravestones of Istanbul and other places, but also with the gravestones of other urban centres in Crete,²⁴ we could detect not only influences and relationships in terms of forms and styles, but also networks with respect to the trade in gravestones.

22 Cf. Eldem and Vatin, *L'építaphe ottomane*, *passim*, esp. 75-108, 161-217.

23 See, for instance, Bacqué-Grammont *et alii*, *Stelae Turcicae II*; H.-P. Laqueur, *Osmanische Friedhöfe und Grabsteine in Istanbul* (Tübingen 1993).

24 Cf. J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and N. Vatin, 'Stelae Turcicae IV. Le cimetière de la bourgade thrace de Karacaköy', *Anatolia Moderna/Yeni Anadolu*, 2 (1991), 10, 12.

Moving now to the epitaphs of Rethymno's Islamic gravestones, the basic information contained in them is, as everywhere, the invocation to God, the name of the deceased, a request that the *fatiha* be recited for his/her soul, and the date of death. For the rest, funerary inscriptions in most cases are based on or fully reproduce a number of specific formulas,²⁵ and become, as noted above, more elaborate, poetical and original in the nineteenth century. As with the shapes of the gravestones, many of the formulas used in the epitaphs of Rethymno are the same as those which are found on gravestones from Istanbul and other regions of the Ottoman Empire.²⁶ However, we should not neglect the fact that much as the formulas preclude the expression of spontaneous or truly personal feelings and concerns, they still presuppose a procedure of selection on the basis of suitability in terms of particular circumstances and personal (or family, or prevailing social) taste. Furthermore, epitaphs sometimes contain small or more significant variations of or additions to the popular formulas, or combinations of formulas. This issue is not only beyond the scope of this paper but also defies easy conclusions; nevertheless, I strongly believe that the question of originality versus reproduction of stereotypes is a very important aspect of studying Ottoman gravestones.

Obviously, the aim of carving an epitaph on a gravestone was neither to provide an exhaustive biography of the deceased nor to give a critical account of his/her deeds; apart from asking for the *fatiha*, the inscriptions were aimed at commemorating and praising the dead.²⁷ Still, their most obvious usefulness for modern historians is as sources of prosopographical information about the deceased and their relatives. Sometimes, it is also possible to study the continuity and, with luck, the social status of a given family through time, when several of its gravestones are available; a few such cases do exist in Rethymno.²⁸ If we distance ourselves from particular names, and focus on the way in which names are cited on gravestones, it is striking – though hardly surprising – that this was done in a gender-specific manner: women were almost always identified as daughters and spouses of men,²⁹ while men were identified through their male lineage. It is in fact noteworthy that if the deceased was male, it was not infrequent, at least for notable families, to cite next to his name not (or, more rarely, not only) his father's but the fam-

25 In the light of corpora of gravestones from Anatolia and the Balkans, Eldem and Vatin, *L'építaphe ottomane*, 95-108, esp. 97, have counted 72 basic formulas and many variations.

26 See *ibid.*, 321-337. On the basis of the formulas which appear in the epitaphs, Eldem and Vatin (*ibid.*, 132) include Crete in the core area of the Ottoman funerary culture.

27 Cf. W. Diem, *The Living and the Dead in Islam: Studies in Arabic Epitaphs*. Vol. 1: *Epitaphs as Texts* (Wiesbaden 2004), 10, as cited by Eldem and Vatin, *L'építaphe ottomane*, 12 n. 13.

28 See, for instance, the gravestones of the Gazzazzade/Gazzazoğlu (gravestones Nos 151 [1275/1858], 172 [1285/1869], 292 [1309/1892]), and of the Cinci Araboğlu families (gravestones Nos 230 [1244/1828-1829], 225 [1275/1858], 223 and 227 [1276/1860], 215 [1293/1876]). There is also the gravestone of a certain Gazaroğlu (gravestone No. 173 [1295/1878]); his family name could be a misreading for Gazzazoğlu, but at Koronaïou Street, Rethymno, there is a small inscription, dated 1210/1795, which commemorates a dedication by Gazaroğlu Osman Ağa.

29 Cf. Eldem and Vatin, *L'építaphe ottomane*, 149-155.

ily name.³⁰ Here we observe a reflection of the phenomenon of ‘aristocratisation’ of the Ottoman elites,³¹ which included the notion of family consciousness and pride. Women are notably absent from this ‘cult’ of family identity,³² at least in Rethymno, with only a few remarkable exceptions, such as the gravestone of 1262/1845-1846 belonging to Baonopula Ayşe Hanım, daughter of Hüseyin Ağa;³³ more often women were indirectly related to their paternal family through a formula of the type ‘X, daughter of Y-zade Z’.³⁴ Viewed from another angle, the fact that some, admittedly few, Muslim family names appear on the gravestones with Greek endings (-aki, -opula), suggests incorporation into or acceptance of a Greek linguistic culture, and may possibly reflect the conversion in the past of certain local families to Islam, even though the latter is a far-fetched assumption without other supporting evidence.³⁵ All available examples of names with Greek endings belong to the nineteenth century; it is maybe not irrelevant to mention here that there are more than one example of Rethymno houses which were renovated in the same century, and bear the year of renovation over their entrance doors in both the Islamic and Christian calendars.

When dealing with gravestones as historical sources we should keep in mind, as many researchers have pointed out, that the principal purpose of setting up a gravestone was to address passers-by, who were asked to recite the *fatiha* for the deceased; it was, therefore, essential that a gravestone should be visible to onlookers and this was a decisive factor for its orientation, which did not necessarily coincide with the orientation of

30 See, for instance, gravestone No. 98 (*Marizade Mustafa Ağa bin Hüseyin Ağa*) (no date).

31 M. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)* (Minneapolis 1988); Ch. K. Neumann, ‘Political and Diplomatic Developments’, in S. N. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839* (Cambridge 2006), 53-54. This phenomenon is not limited to gravestones: provincial *ayan* dynasties of higher or lower standing proudly display their family names in documents and inscriptions of all kinds all over the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

32 I generally tend to interpret the ‘-zade’ and ‘-oğlu’ types appearing on gravestones as family names rather than meaning ‘son of so-and-so’, even though admittedly the distinction is often impossible; cf. N. Vatin, ‘La notation du nom propre sur les stèles funéraires ottomanes’, in A.-M. Christin (ed.), *L’écriture du nom propre* (Paris 1998), 140-141.

33 Gravestone No. 153.

34 See, for instance, gravestone No. 284 (*Karacazade Mustafa Ağa’nın kerimesi merhume ve mağfure cennetmekân Şerife Raziye*) (1260/1844). This formulation sometimes was applied to men as well: gravestone No. 81 (*merhum Ahmed Ağa bin Süleyman Ağa Karakızıoğlu*) (1226/1811).

35 See, for instance, gravestones Nos 95 (Cinaki, no date), 230 (Saranaki [?], 1244/1828-1829), and 331 (Monlazaki, 1288/1871). Muslim family names, which appear in the proper ‘-zade/-oğlu’ form in epitaphs, are cited with Greek ‘-aki’ endings by local Greek scholarship, but also in formal documents and almanacs of professionals of the early twentieth century (for example, Tzintzarapaki for Cinci Araboğlu, or Aliyizitidakis for Ali Yazıcızade) (M. Tsirimonaki, *Autoi pou ephygan, autoi pou erthan: apo ten autonomia os ten antallage* [Those Who Left, Those Who Came: From the Autonomy of Crete to the Exchange of Populations] [Rethymno 2002], 14, 30; ‘Digital Crete’ [<http://digitalcrete.ims.forth.gr>], ‘Neoterioi Chronoi’ [Modern Times Section]).

the grave.³⁶ This is an important parameter in the study of gravestones, as it means that they should not be treated only as sources of names and prosopographical information about particular individuals, but also as conveyors of ‘messages’ from mostly middle and upper-class families, first and foremost to contemporaneous society, and, then, to future generations.³⁷

Moreover, gravestones reveal as much about the attitude and stereotypes of a given community towards death, as they do about issues unrelated to death, such as sources of social pride and eminence, as well as ideals and symbols of status, elegance, and finesse.³⁸ As I mentioned above, the use of formulas and elaborate expressions and metaphors suggests that what was recorded on a gravestone most of the times was not the strictly personal beliefs of the person who had ordered the gravestone, but what was thought of as appropriate in terms of expressing grief for the loss of a beloved person, faith in God’s judgment about and pride in the deceased.

The examination of the Rethymno gravestones may, for instance, corroborate the fact that it was widely accepted on the social level that the notion of ‘martyrdom’ (*şehadet*) applied to many more cases than having been “slain in the way of God”, that is, combating the enemies of the Islamic faith.³⁹ The afore-mentioned Köprülüzade suffered sudden death “şehiden” on the way to Bursa; the particular circumstances are not revealed, only that he suffered “hardship” (*meşakkat*), which seems to be a minimum precondition for being acknowledged as a martyr.⁴⁰ Kabakulak el-Hac İbrahim Paşa (d. 1155/1743), a former Grand Vizier, was beheaded while banished in Rethymno, but this did not prevent those who ordered his gravestone to declare that he had “sacrificed his soul in order to obtain martyrdom” (*şehadet neyline kıldı feda-yı ruh-ü revan*).⁴¹ As to another martyr, Memişzade el-Hac Osman Ağa (d. 1228/1813), only his piety and faith in God are stated, without any further explanation as to how he gained his special status (*nasīb old[um] şehadet menzili bana ki zikr-i tevhid eyledim*).⁴² Two further examples concern women: Ümmügülsüm Hatun died in suffering, and thus it was hoped that she would be resurrected and judged by God as a martyr (*ne dertlerle helak old[um] şehidlerle*

36 Bacqué-Grammont *et alii*, *Stelae Turcicae II*, 13-14, 43-44; Bacqué-Grammont, ‘L’étude des cimetières ottomans’, 136; Eldem and Vatin, *L’építaphe ottomane*, 10-11; Eldem, *Death in Istanbul*, 24.

37 As Bacqué-Grammont and Vatin note, “... en un endroit donné, les notables locaux, quel que fût leur niveau à l’échelle nationale, affichaient dans le cimetière leur prééminence”; Bacqué-Grammont and Vatin, ‘*Stelae Turcicae IV*’, 8. Cf. E. Eldem, ‘Urban Voices from Beyond: Identity, Status and Social Strategies in Ottoman Muslim Funerary Epitaphs of Istanbul (1700-1850)’, in V. H. Aksan and D. Goffman (eds), *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge 2007), 233-255.

38 For a very interesting example of the use of gravestones as a means to enhance the social status of a relative of the deceased, see Eldem, *Death in Istanbul*, 142-143.

39 For *şehadet* and the expansion of its meaning over time, see *EP*², s.v. ‘*Şahīd*’ (E. Kohlberg). Cf. Eldem and Vatin, *L’építaphe ottomane*, 16 n. 29, 173, 202-203, 254-255.

40 Gravestone No. 150.

41 Gravestone No. 169.

42 Gravestone No. 190.



haşr eyle).⁴³ Fatma, on the other hand, was a ten-year-old girl, an avid student of the Qur'an, who, having died of an illness that doctors failed to cure, was also considered to be a martyr (Ill. 3).⁴⁴ Thus, it is only Süfyan Ağa (d. 1246/1831)⁴⁵ and Koşkinaki Hasan (d. 1314/1896)⁴⁶ who were martyred fighting against the enemies of Islam (*merhum el-mağfur şehid* [Süfyan]/*şüheda bezmine katıldı ruhu* [Hasan]).

The inscriptions of the gravestones of the two last-named persons – coming from the turbulent nineteenth century – are, I think, interesting in yet another respect. They are 65 years apart, the first having been erected in 1831 and the second in 1896. According to the 1831 gravestone, Süfyan Ağa “sacrificed his life in the battle against the enemies of the true faith and for the benefit of the eternal, sublime state”, while, in 1896, Koşkinaki Hasan was called “a patriot”, someone “who loved his country” (*muhıbb-i vatan*). Furthermore, in a damaged gravestone, which is in all probability the top part of the stone which bears Hasan's name, this man is referred to as a “fighter of the faith” (*mücahid*), who (in what, I think, can be interpreted as a combination of old religious and new patriotic/national ideals) sacrificed his life in the *gaza* and the service of his country (*vatana hidmet etmek*).⁴⁷ The substitution of *vatan* for *devlet-i aliye-i ebed* could be coincidental, as I base my interpretation on only two gravestones, but it seems to me that it very likely reflects an ideological development rather than a mere difference of nomenclature.⁴⁸ Another ‘modern’ notion is recorded in another late-period gravestone, da-

III. 3: Gravestone of the ten-year-old Fatma (1852) (photo by Efi Moraitaki).

43 Gravestone No. 230 (1244/1828-1829). On women who died prematurely while pregnant or in childbirth and *şehadet*, see Bacqué-Grammont *et alii*, *Stelae Turcicae II*, 19 n. 59, 20, 22.

44 Gravestone No. 149 (1268/1852); cf. Eldem and Vatin, *L'építaphe ottomane*, 335 (No. 62).

45 Gravestone No. 229. Süfyan's monument is the only funerary monument which survives in Rethymno, and in every way the most impressive among the Rethymno gravestones; the deceased was an adopted son of the then governor of Kandiye (gravestones Nos 229, 234, 235, 255, 311).

46 Gravestone No. 125.

47 Gravestone No. 129.

48 Cf. Eldem and Vatin, *L'építaphe ottomane*, 203-208.

ted 1306/1888: *yüzbaşı* Hüseyin Ağa is praised for having suffered for years many afflictions for the *millet*, which should, I think, in this period and context be translated as ‘nation’ rather than as ‘religion’ or ‘the community of Muslims’.⁴⁹ I find this inscription interesting for one more reason: I may be reading too much into it, but it seems to me that it somehow reflects a spirit of pessimism and melancholy at a time when the Ottomans, and the Muslims of Crete in particular, were under pressure. Despite the fact that Hüseyin was a military man, there is nothing heroic about his gravestone. He is not called a martyr or a *gazi*; on the contrary, he is described as someone who in life suffered a lot for the nation and in death found peace, may God have mercy on him and accord him a place in paradise (as it is put in the epitaph).

Archival and literary sources allow us to place the Rethymno gravestones in context, beyond the, seemingly or really, limited information that each one of them individually provides. For instance, it is known from archival and literary sources that Rethymno was in the eighteenth century a place of exile for high officials. This information explains why the gravestones of such persons have been found in this town. These include the gravestones of former Grand Viziers Kabakulak el-Hac İbrahim Paşa (d. 1155/1743) (Ill. 4),⁵⁰ and Tiryakî el-Hac Seyyid Mehmed Paşa (d. 1164/1751) (Ill. 5),⁵¹ and of the Bosnian el-Hac Mehmed Paşa, former governor of Bosnia, Yanya, and Kandiye (d. 1174/1761) (Ill. 6).⁵² A number of entries survive in the *kadı* registers of Kandiye about the last-named pasha; according to them, he was removed from office shortly after his appointment and before reaching the city, and ordered to settle in Rethymno with a retinue of no more than ten persons following accusations of misconduct.⁵³ Kabakulak İbrahim was executed after a ten-year stay in Rethymno,⁵⁴



Ill. 4: Gravestone of the former Grand Vizier Kabakulak el-Hac İbrahim Paşa (1743) (photo by Efi Moraitaki).

49 Gravestone No. 287; *EP*², s.v. ‘Millet’ (M. Ursinus).

50 Gravestone No. 169.

51 Gravestone No. 164.

52 Gravestone No. 232.

53 See, for instance, Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, V: 135 (No. 2687), 138 (No. 2691), 144 (No. 2701), 146-147 (No. 2705), 154-155 (No. 2717); Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî/Osmanlı Ünlüleri*, Vol. 4, ed. N. Akbayer (Istanbul 1996), 1053.

54 *Ibid.*, 3: 782.



but the inscription on his gravestone is, as already noted, full of praise for him. Tiryakî Mehmed is reported to have suffered a natural death;⁵⁵ his gravestone is rather plain, and the inscription only bears the formula *el-muhtac ila rahmet-i rabbihi'l-gafur* [he who is in need of the grace of God All Merciful], even though it does refer to him as being a former Grand Vizier. Bosnian Mehmed's inscription is almost identical to that of Tiryakî Mehmed, that is, very simple, but the gravestone of the disgraced pasha, who had, like the other two, been stripped of the rank of vizier, is decorated with a *kallavi* turban. The three gravestones are similar to one another in terms of shape, and we may rather safely assume that all three must have been crowned with the same headgear.⁵⁶

However, the majority of Rethymno's 'male' gravestones belong to people who were neither pashas nor high officials, and may be described as members of prominent local families and the middle class: merchants, craftsmen, petty officials, dervishes, and military men. Furthermore, we should not overlook the fact that many of the surviving gravestones belong to women, apparently coming from the same social groups; in fact, as the gravestones by necessity reflect demographic trends, we may be right in remarking that women of these strata are better represented in gravestones than in archival or literary sources, which record specific political, social, and economic acts (from which women are largely excluded).⁵⁷ The gravestones provide information about men and women within the limitations of available space and social etiquette briefly described above, and can undoubtedly be best exploited in combination with other sources about local society. The history of Ottoman Rethymno is still largely unknown, but in recent

III. 5: Gravestone of the former Grand Vizier Tiryakî el-Hac Seyyid Mehmed Paşa (1751) (photo by Efi Moraitaki).

⁵⁵ Ibid., 4: 1075.

⁵⁶ It would be useful to compare the inscriptions of these gravestones with those of pashas and Grand Viziers who did not die in disgrace, in order to see if those were any more elaborate. For the gravestone of a vizier who died in a provincial town at a later time (1811), see Kiel, 'Little-Known Ottoman Gravestones', 322-324; the text is longer than the last two cited here, even though neither it nor the gravestone are elaborate at all.

⁵⁷ But see the comments of Eldem, 'Urban Voices', 250-251.

years there have been some important contributions regarding the town and its hinterland in the Ottoman period.⁵⁸ When more becomes available and/or published, it is certain that gravestones will find their place in the larger picture, and contribute towards drawing the profile of Rethymniot society. Until then and in concluding this short paper, I believe that – at this relatively early stage of the study of Ottoman Rethymno – we may observe that the Rethymno gravestones are valuable not only as sources for the members, mentalities, tastes, and fashions of the society which ordered and had them carved and inscribed, but also, and more particularly, as sources and relics of the fate of a community which passed from a position of strength and domination to the status of a minority and eventually to forced migration and (relative?) oblivion. In other words, they reflect in broad outlines the creation, development, and disappearance of the Muslim community of Rethymno.



III. 6: Gravestone of the Bosnian el-Hac Mehmed Paşa, former governor of Bosnia, Yanya, and Kandiye (1761) (photo by Efi Moraitaki).

58 See, for instance, the studies of Nükhet and Nuri Adıyeke collected in A. N. Adıyeke and N. Adıyeke, *Fethinden Kaybına Girit* (Istanbul 2006); Y. Z. Papiomytoglou (ed.), *Eggrapha hierodikeiou Rethymnes, 17^{os}-18^{os} ai.: hoi metaphraseis tou 'Vematos' Rethymnes* [Documents of the *Kadı* Court of Rethymno, Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries: Translations of the 'Vima' Newspaper of Rethymno] (Rethymno 1995); A. N. Adıyeke, 'XVII. Yüzyıl Girit (Resmo) Şer'iye Sicillerine Göre İhtida Hareketleri ve Girit'te Etnik Dönüşüm', in *XIV. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara: 9-13 Eylül 2002. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Vol. 2, Part 1 (Ankara 2005), 557-569; E. Balta and M. Oğuz (eds), *To othomaniko ktematologio tou Rethymnou*: Tapu-Tahrir 822 [The Ottoman Cadastral Register of Rethymno: *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* 822] (Rethymno 2007).

SOURCES NARRATIVES OTTOMANES CONCERNANT L'HISTOIRE DE CRÈTE ET DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE DE L'EST

György HAZAI*

L'IDÉE DU SUJET DE CETTE CONFÉRENCE est née lors du dernier colloque des « Jours de Halcyon », quand mes collègues grecs m'ont demandé si je pouvais partager avec eux mes expériences concernant les sources narratives historiques qui touchent l'histoire de la région de la Méditerranée de l'Est. En effet, pendant les années que j'ai travaillé à l'Université de Chypre, j'ai fait certaines petites recherches, afin de trouver de tels ouvrages pour mes étudiants ; ces recherches ne méritent que le nom de « modestes ». Pendant ces travaux consacrés à un thème particulier, comme c'est toujours le cas, on a gagné certaines expériences d'ordre général. Si l'on veut résumer cela, très brièvement, on pourrait dire qu'un tel travail, soit sur la région de la Méditerranée de l'Est, soit sur le Caucase, est comparable à la recherche d'une aiguille dans une botte de foin.

Les raisons en sont très simples. On possède une énorme masse d'ouvrages qui pourraient être qualifiés de sources narratives de l'Empire ottoman. D'une part ces ouvrages sont loin d'être enregistrés, de l'autre ils sont accompagnés d'une description plutôt modeste que détaillée. La raison est simplement la manque des travaux préliminaires car on ne dispose pas des ouvrages de références ; le chercheur, comme c'est souvent le cas dans le domaine des études ottomanes, ne peut qu'espérer que la chance lui sourira.

Il y a déjà quelques décennies que les chercheurs réclament la composition d'un « nouveau Babinger », c'est-à-dire l'édition d'un guide moderne de l'historiographie ottomane. Il est bien connu que depuis la publication de *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (1927), saluée et aussi critiquée à l'époque, plus de 80 ans se sont écoulés, sans qu'on puisse composer un nouveau manuel. Bien qu'il soit facile de réclamer un nouveau guide, en même temps il faudrait voir aussi les obstacles objectifs qui se trouvent sur la voie de la réalisation d'un tel projet.

A ce propos, je ne voudrais parler que d'un aspect du problème, notamment de la quantité de sources dont le nombre heureusement va aussi augmenter, sans doute, dans l'avenir.

Permettez-moi, donc, de faire un bref résumé du problème.

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La majorité des ouvrages des historiens ottomans se présentent sous la forme de manuscrits qui sont gardés dans les bibliothèques partout dans le monde: en Turquie et ailleurs dans une série de collections importantes ou modestes dans tous les continents. Ces collections sont-elles bien connues ? A cette question on ne peut donner qu'une réponse ambiguë: oui et non. Oui, car nous possédons beaucoup de catalogues détaillés ; non, parce qu'il y a encore une masse énorme de manuscrits qui attendent leur enregistrement et leur catalogisation.

Tout d'abord, jetons un coup d'oeil sur les catalogues mêmes. Au cours des années 1970, deux importantes bibliographies ont été publiées, qui ont donné une information solide sur l'état des choses concernant les différents catalogues publiés, soit comme livre, soit dans les colonnes d'un journal scientifique. Nous devons ces deux ouvrages importants à L. V. Dmitrieva et à A. Turgut Kut¹. Ce sont des outils indispensables pour l'orientation dans le monde des manuscrits.

Le tableau présenté par les deux auteurs a bien changé pendant ces dernières années. Un grand nombre de catalogues a été publié en Turquie et en Europe, en enrichissant considérablement nos connaissances. Bien sûr, il est impossible d'énumérer ici ces ouvrages. Je me contente de mentionner deux grands projets, dont la continuation est d'une grande importance pour nos études ; le premier de ces projets est la *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* et le second est *Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu*.

La description des manuscrits turcs dans les différents catalogues nous présente des renseignements les plus importants concernant les ouvrages connus ou encore inconnus de l'historiographie ottomane.

Ici, il faut mentionner tout de suite que l'accès à ces publications n'est pas simple pour le chercheur. Il y a très peu de bibliothèques, surtout en Turquie, qui possèdent, ne fût-ce qu'en quantité modeste, ces outils de travail. La quantité représentative est le privilège des grandes bibliothèques des Etats Unis et des quelques bibliothèques nationales en Europe. A ce propos, je voudrais souligner l'importance de la Bibliothèque de Berlin (*Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz*) ; son département oriental a toujours attribué une grande importance à l'étude des manuscrits. La coordination du projet mentionné est liée officiellement à cette institution.

Puisque l'accès à ces catalogues n'est pas tellement facile, et pour d'autres raisons également, la rédaction d'une liste cumulative des index de ces importants ouvrages serait utile et indispensable.

Après ce bref tour d'horizon concernant les catalogues mêmes, il nous faut poser cette question: est-ce que nous savons l'ordre de grandeur du point de vue des manuscrits catalogisés et non-catalogisés ? La réponse est malheureusement négative. En principe, et probablement en pratique aussi, il n'est pas exclu que le nombre des manuscrits

1 L. V. Dmitrieva et S. N. Muratov, « Katalogi, spiski i obzory tjurkskich rukopisej XVIII-XXII » [Catalogues, listes et tour d'horizon de manuscrits turcs XVIII-XXII], dans *Pis'mennye pamjatniki Vostoka*, 1969, pp. 145-177 ; A. T. Kut, « Türkçe Yazma Eserler Katalogları Repertuarı », *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı*, 1972, pp. 183-240.

qui n'ont pas encore été enregistrés soit plus grand que celui des manuscrits catalogisés. Tout d'abord, il faut penser aux grandes collections qui se trouvent en Turquie. Il suffit de mentionner celle de la *Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi* ou celle de la *AÜDTCF* (Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi), etc. En ce qui concerne les collections des autres pays, il faut penser par exemple à *UCLA*. A part celà, j'ai pu personnellement me rendre compte que les grandes bibliothèques, dont les catalogues avaient été publiés depuis longtemps, ont fait des acquisitions importantes pendant les dernières décennies. Ainsi, puis-je mentionner Berlin, Dresde, Leipzig et Paris.

Dans ces collections dont la grandeur ne peut pas être estimée, se cachent des ouvrages historiques importants. Comme titre d'exemple, je peux mentionner que le manuscrit d'un ouvrage important de Dimişki, qui était signalé par Fr. Babinger comme égaré (« verschollen »), a été retrouvé parmi les manuscrits non-catalogisés à Berlin. Un autre exemple est la collection de Budapest, où l'on trouve plusieurs ouvrages historiques qui sont encore inconnus dans l'osmanistique. (Sur ce point, je me permets de remarquer que le catalogue de ces manuscrits a été récemment publié grâce au projet commun de M. İsmail Parlâtır, de Mme B. Kellner-Heinkele et de moi-même².)

En conclusion de ce que je viens de dire concernant les manuscrits ottomans du monde, surtout de leur enregistrement et de leur catalogisation, on peut résumer par une phrase: si l'on compare l'état des choses de nos disciplines dans ce secteur avec leur état dans d'autres (par exemple dans les études classiques), on peut voir que nos chercheurs sont très très loin des conditions qui pour les autres signifient des normalités quotidiennes.

Pourtant, on peut apercevoir de belles éclaircies dans notre ciel. Ainsi, on ne peut que saluer l'initiative des chercheurs de Harvard University, qui ont lancé un projet collectif pour établir une banque de données par internet, et combler ainsi la grande lacune de l'historiographie ottomane. On a lu avec grand intérêt le rapport préliminaire de ce projet dans les colonnes du *Toplumsal Tarih* et nous souhaitons un grand succès à cette initiative importante³.

Internet permet bien sûr de profiter les informations enregistrées en cours de travail, c'est-à-dire avant la publication de ce manuel. Mais dans ce cas, il ne faut pas justement oublier cette phrase célèbre relative à l'utilisation de l'ordinateur, c'est-à-dire au remaniement électronique des renseignements: « you can only get out what you put in ».

Voilà, j'en arrive maintenant au point où je voudrais présenter les aiguilles, que j'ai trouvées dans la botte de foin. Il faut dire au préalable que ma recherche était facilitée par le fait que j'avais un bon aimant à ma disposition. Cet aimant est l'index détaillé, qui est vraiment un élément très important de la description et de la présentation des manuscrits. Heureusement les auteurs des catalogues les plus récents accordent une grande attention à cet aspect.

2 İ. Parlâtır, G. Hazai et B. Kellner-Heinkele, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* (Budapest 2007).

3 H. T. Karateke, « Naima, İnternetle Buluşuyor », *Toplumsal Tarih*, 143 (novembre 2005), pp. 14-17 ; voir aussi : <http://cmes.hmdc.harvard.edu/research/hoc> et <http://www.ottomanhistorians.com/>.

Je voudrais commencer ce modeste rapport par la présentation des ouvrages plus larges, consacrés par leurs auteurs en particulier à la région de la Méditerranée de l'Est⁴.

Tout d'abord, je voudrais mentionner deux manuscrits de Berlin. C'est M. K. Schwarz, notre cher collègue malheureusement disparu, qui a attiré l'attention de Mme E. Zachariadou sur ces manuscrits, dont il a envoyé des copies qui se trouvent maintenant dans la bibliothèque de l'Institut des Etudes Méditerranéennes à Réthymnon. Leur sujet est La Canée (Hanya), son histoire et la description du siège de sa forteresse par les Ottomans⁵. C'est par hasard que moi aussi j'ai pris connaissance de ce manuscrit, intitulé *Tarih-i Feth-i Hanya*, écrit par Hüseyin Piripaşazade qui a été témoin des événements, dont il a fait un journal détaillé. Quand j'ai travaillé à Berlin, j'ai proposé à l'un de mes élèves, à M. Alexander Unterberg, de travailler sur ce manuscrit. Il a accepté mon conseil et il a fait la traduction de l'ouvrage en allemand. C'était une partie de sa thèse, soumise en 1998 à l'Université de Humboldt. Ce travail donne un bon aperçu général de l'ouvrage, mais il ne remplace pas son édition, qui ainsi reste à l'ordre de jour⁶.

Notre collègue M. Elias Kolovos a attiré mon attention sur le fait que le chercheur turc M. Ersin Gülsoy, qui a soumis une thèse sous le titre *Girit'in Fethi ve Adada Osmanlı İdaresinin Tesiri*, a bien profité des sources mentionnées et en a intégré d'autres dans son travail⁷.

Voici encore quelques renseignements sur ouvrages qui concernent la Crète.

Le *Tarih-i Fazıl Ahmed Paşa*, connu déjà par Fr. Babinger, mérite notre attention, car il contient la description du siège de Candie⁸.

Le *Divan-ı Kaimî* traite aussi la conquête de Crète, où ses visions mystiques dominent⁹.

De même, nous devons mentionner le *Divan-ı Hafız Nuri* qui était cadi en Crète¹⁰. L'auteur présente une description de son séjour dans l'île. Ainsi, il décrit aussi le tremblement de terre de 1856. Cette oeuvre a fait l'objet de la conférence de Mme Barbara Kellner-Heinkele au Colloque d'Halcyon en 1997¹¹.

Tournons nous maintenant vers Chypre.

4 Abréviations: Flemming = B. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*, t. 1 (Wiesbaden 1968) ; Schmidt = J. Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands* (Leyde 2002) ; Sohrweide = H. Sohrweide, *Türkische Handschriften und einige in den Handschriften enthaltene persische und arabische Werke* (Wiesbaden 1974).

5 Flemming, n° 155.

6 Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Universitätsbibliothek 89 HB 6515.

7 Marmara Üniversitesi, Istanbul, 1997 ; voir aussi Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*.

8 Sohrweide, n° 135.

9 *Ibid.*, n° 212.

10 *Ibid.*, n° 220.

11 B. Kellner-Heinkele, « Tribulations of an Ottoman Kadi in Crete », dans E. Zachariadou (éd.), *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire. Halcyon Days in Crete III. A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 10-12 January 1997* (Réthymnon 1999), pp. 185-192 ; B. Kellner-Heinkele et K. Kayı, « A Season in Crete : Hâfız Nûrî's *Dirvân* as a Source for Life in the Periphery during the Tanzîmât Period », *ArchOtt*, 17 (1999), pp. 5-75.

Le sujet d'un *risale*, écrit par un auteur anonyme, est l'explication de l'importance de *gaza*. Dans ce contexte il présente une description de la conquête de Chypre.

Avec l'ouvrage de Zirek, intitulé *Tarih-i Kıbrıs* ou *Fethname-i Kıbrıs*, dont le manuscrit de Vienne a été déjà mentionné par Babinger, il m'est arrivé une petite aventure¹². J'ai voulu proposer l'édition de ce manuscrit à l'une de mes élèves à Chypre. J'ai reçu les microfilms de Vienne. Peu de temps après, j'ai rencontré à Ankara au Congrès de *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, M. Harid Fedai, éminent osmanisant, Chypriote, qui a consacré sa vie à l'étude de l'histoire des Turcs dans l'île. Il m'a donné quelques uns de ses ouvrages, parmi ceux-ci l'édition de la chronique mentionnée. Bien que l'on ait dû renoncer à la thèse de mon étudiante, d'un certain point de vue on se trouvait en face d'un résultat positif. M. Harid Fedai a travaillé notamment sur un manuscrit d'Istanbul. Ainsi, il est devenu clair que la chronique avait au moins deux manuscrits, notamment à Vienne et à Istanbul. Bien sûr, une édition comparée serait souhaitable¹³.

Parmi les chroniques consacrées aux sièges, il faut encore mentionner l'ouvrage de Nişanî. Sous ce nom d'auteur se cache probablement Mustafa Çelebi. L'auteur présente une description détaillée du siège de Rhodes¹⁴.

Dans ce contexte je voudrais rappeler aussi la description de l'Empire ottoman par Dimişki, dont le manuscrit était longtemps inconnu, comme j'ai noté plus haut. C'est M. Klaus Schwarz qui l'a retrouvé parmi les nouvelles acquisitions de la collection de manuscrits de Berlin. Dans cet ouvrage, Dimişki présente une description géographique et historique des différentes provinces de l'Empire ottoman et ainsi celle de Chypre aussi. Ces renseignements aussi méritent notre attention¹⁵.

A part les *gazavatname* et les descriptions générales, qui déjà à cause de leur volume attirent l'attention des chercheurs, on ne doit pas omettre les petits renseignements qui se cachent dans les manuscrits. Je me permets d'en présenter quelques uns.

Une collection de lettres, dont le manuscrit se trouve à Leyde, contient deux lettres qui concernent La Canée. L'une rapporte les méfaits et les crimes d'un groupe de janissaires et les démarches du consul de France concernant un citoyen de son pays. L'autre est une pétition du *muhafız* de La Canée adressée à la Porte¹⁶.

Un *mecmua*, qui est un supplément à l'ouvrage connu *Şah u Geda*, contient quelques poèmes du poète Birri, qui était en liaison étroite avec le gouverneur de La Canée, et un chronogramme à l'occasion de la fondation du *mekteb* à Candie en 1721-1722, un *kaside* de Şöhret pour Hazineदार Ali Paşa, *muhafız* de Candie. Tous ces renseignements sont des petites mosaïques du tableau de la vie en Crète¹⁷.

12 Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus, H.O. 62 (Flügel 1015) & (Flügel 1111).

13 H. Fedai, *Fethiyye-i Cezire-i Kıbrıs* ([Ankara] 1997).

14 Flemming, n° 144.

15 G. Hazai et I. Dorogi, « Ebu Bekir Dimişki'nin Osmanlı Devletinin Tarihi, Yapısı ve Durumuna Ait Eseri Hakkında », dans *XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara, 5-9 Eylül 1990. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler* (Ankara 1994), pp. 879-882.

16 Schmidt, p. 13.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 442-445.

Dans un manuscrit (*Terceme-i Raṣahat-ı Ayn al-Hayat* de Safi) une note concerne les deux détenteurs du volume. Le dernier était en liaison étroite avec les Kadiriyye à Candie¹⁸.

Un *münşeat* contient une brève vue d'ensemble des étapes d'un voyage à Chypre. L'auteur anonyme de ces pages était envoyé dans l'île pour cadastrer les terres¹⁹.

Dans un volume collectif on trouve un *risale* de Lalizade qui donne des informations sur son père qui a appartenu à la Bayramiyye et qui était banni à Chypre. Après la mort de son père, il s'est lié avec le cheikh de la Nakşbandiyye, Murad Efendi²⁰.

Dans ce contexte on doit mentionner aussi les *fethname* et des *kaside* qui ont été écrits à l'occasion des actions militaires des Ottomans, surtout à l'occasion de la prise des grandes forteresses. Dans les catalogues des manuscrits j'ai trouvé quatre écrits historiques-littéraires de ce genre, qui concernent la Crète, et deux qui concernent Rhodes. Il est bien connu que l'on ne peut pas attendre des renseignements importants de ces sources. Tout de même, elles aussi doivent être enregistrées dans notre répertoire.

Me voici arrivé à la fin de mon rapport concernant mes fouilles dans un petit secteur du monde des manuscrits. C'est mon devoir agréable de rendre à la disposition de l'Institut des Etudes Méditerranéennes cette modeste documentation, les copies des manuscrits, etc., que je possède. Je fais cela dans l'espoir que nos jeunes collègues vont continuer cette enquête, dont les résultats enrichiront sans doute nos connaissances concernant le monde ottoman de la Méditerranée de l'Est.

18 Sohrweide, n° 191.

19 Flemming, n° 245.

20 Sohrweide, n° 71.

PART FIVE

BEYOND CRETE

JOURNEYS AND LANDSCAPES IN THE DATÇA PENINSULA: ALİ AGAKİ OF CRETE AND THE TUHFEZADE DYNASTY*

Tülay ARTAN**

OUT OF THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF ASIA MINOR, just below Bodrum (Halicarnassus) but above Marmaris (Phycus), a long and narrow tongue of a peninsula stretches into the Aegean between Kos and Rhodes, appearing to catch the island of Symi in its pincers. Today this is known as the Datça peninsula, which requires some explanation. Ancient Cnidus, located originally halfway along the isthmus, was once called Stadia (Stadea, Statea, Statia).¹ This was eventually corrupted into (s)Tad[i]ya, Dad[i]ya, Dadya, then Dadça and finally Datça.

The Enigma of Menteşe

According to ethno-archaeological findings, the present people of Datça stand at the tail end of an enormous process of mixing and mingling which has drawn into its vortex Dadians, Rhodians, Cretans and other Aegean islanders, as well as Crimeans, Rumelians, Arabs, Berbers, Egyptians, Sudanese, Ethiopians, Circassians, Jews, Kurds, Armenians, Tahtacı Alevis, Spanish Gypsies, and even Indians.² Many among them have their special histories, inevitably merging fact and fiction, though only some are of an obviously

* I am grateful to Ms Fulya Bayık, a founding member of the Datça Local History Group (*Yerel Tarih Grubu*), for introducing me to the history of the peninsula, and most generously sharing with me her findings about the Tuhfezade family. Not only did she bring numerous primary and secondary sources to my attention, and even provided some of them in hard or soft copy, but she also took me to sites and enabled me to meet people that would have taken me ages to discover on my own. Other than the Tapu Kadastro Gn. Md. Kuyud-u Kadime Arşivi (TK KKA), Ankara, and the Şer'ıye Sicilleri Arşivi (M Defter), Muğla, all archival documents cited are from the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Istanbul.

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1 The well-known site at the western tip of the peninsula was not the original location of the city; see G. Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Meander* (London 1971), 135.

2 B. Ergenekon, 'Dorian Archaeology, History and Local Folklore in Datça', in D. Shankland (ed.), *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, Vol. 2 (Istanbul 2004), 453-464.

post hoc, ideological construction. For example, Berbers from the Maghreb claim to be descended from those taken there by the eminent Grand Admirals of the sixteenth century, Barbaros(sa) Hayreddin Reis/Paşa and Turgut/Dragut. They married local women in North Africa (they say), but forgot neither their homeland nor their Turkishness, and eventually re-migrated to the peninsula. By way of contrast, the dwellers of Emecik (as well as Yakaköy) may tell you that they are descended from Spanish outcasts, from gypsies, or even from lepers who were cast ashore at Sarı Liman, down the road from the Temple of Emecik, who somehow cured themselves with the abundant herbs of the peninsula.

Today Datça is the name of the entire neck of land as well as of a small coastal town on its southern coast (Fig. 1a-b). In the nineteenth century, this Dadya/Datça was one of a dozen or so settlements of comparable size and importance. More specifically, it was one of four villages that for centuries had been bunched close together halfway on the promontory, on the slopes overlooking the Gulf of Symi (Hisarönü). Separated by a couple of kilometres at most, they were called Dadya, Elaki, İlya and Aleksi, and a generically named landing-place, İskele (Skala), served all four.³ In time, it was the last which grew into the modern resort town of Datça, while Dadya became Eski Datça.⁴ A little anchorage turned tourist port,⁵ new Datça at the former İskele is now beyond recognition even for those, like myself, who were there in the late 1970s.

In contrast, in the two older settlements which have survived, that is to say, Dadya (which has become Eski Datça) and Elaki (which has become Reşadiye), the traditional fabric, surrounded by large belts of cultivation, is miraculously well preserved. The rest of the peninsula, too, still retains its connections to the Ottoman past. It offers a challenge to the historian who would stop and wonder about the adventures of its wrinkled, pinkish *Osmanlı* tomatoes, so-called, the terracotta tiles to be found here and there which bear the stamp of a certain *Şirket-i Cezire-i Rodos* (in both Greek and Ottoman), or Giridli Ali Agaki, a local notable who once founded the Tuhfezade dynasty.

3 The administrative centre of the district kept shifting between these three villages (the orthography of which also kept changing). According to Muğla court registers as quoted by M. Çanlı, from 1894 to 1898 the administrative centre was Aleksi; see M. Çanlı, *Eski Hukuki Kaynaklarda Datça. Muğla Şer'îye Sicillerine Göre (1885-1911)* (Muğla 2003): "Dadya nahiyesinin merkez-i hükümeti olan Aleksi karyesi" (Defter 152 [dated 1894-1898], 84/41-211). In 1904, the population of the sub-district (*nahiye*) of Datça had exceeded the population of Marmaris (*kaza*). At that time Dad[i]ya was the administrative centre of the *nahiye*. Then the seat of government was moved yet again, this time to Elaki. In the context of a policy of the re-organisation and renaming of the villages following the 1909 enthronement of Mehmed [Reşad] V, both the whole peninsula and its administrative centre were renamed Reşadiye. The first municipality in the peninsula was established in 1915. Datça/Datya survived in administrative documents, and in 1934 the Reşadiye peninsula was renamed Datça.

4 In the 1890s, a couple of Greek-owned coffee-houses were located at the landing place; see "Dadya İskelesi" in Çanlı, *Eski Hukuki Kaynaklarda Datça*, Defter 154 (dated 1900-1906), 192/67-444. It was in 1947 that the administrative centre of the town was moved from Reşadiye to the landing-place, which was initially called Yeni (New) Datça.

5 F. Stark, *The Lycian Shore* (London 1956), 78.



Fig. 1a: Sketch map of Dadya/Datça and its wider geographical framework.

A More Layered View of the Gentry and Notables

Not all studies on the Ottoman provinces distinguish between (at least) two levels of the gentry and notables: (a) those urban-based dynasties who were closely integrated into the state elites, and (b) a lesser group of rural families whose power and prominence was also sanctioned by the state – but only in a way which was mediated through the patronage of the former.⁶

Of course, the second (rural) group, too, had their clients. These last were even further removed from the centres of power (both geographically and socially). Thus, they were also not in front-line competition for the posts or fortunes coveted by the urban or the first-rank rural notables. Instead, their horizons seem to have been limited to ensuring a prolonged and comfortable existence for their line, perhaps founded in the past by a relatively illustrious ancestor. It is easy to understand why they have been neglected by historians: rarely do they show up in archival sources. The first two groups had a stake in central authority (and vice versa). But the relative remoteness of the third group or tier of families appears to have led to a virtually zero level of visibility for them in the state documents on which Ottoman history has been largely built since the mid-twentieth century.

Occasionally, however, a special case turns up. So it is with a certain family in Dadya, rustic but self-possessed, on which there is a wealth of primary sources, ranging from architecture to court registers, also including oral accounts, mural paintings, wedding

6 For a thought-provoking discussion about the term 'provincial elite' in the Ottoman context, see A. Anastasopoulos, 'Introduction', in Idem (ed.), *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire. Halcyon Days in Crete V. A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 10-12 January 2003* (Rethymno 2005), xi-xxviii.

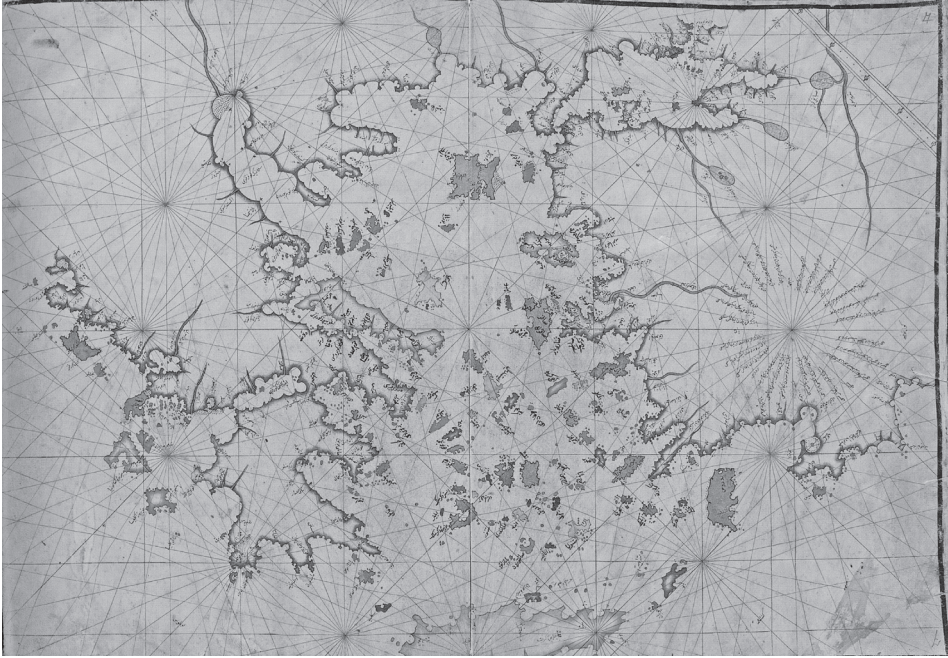


Fig. 1b: Location of Dadya in the eastern Mediterranean perspective. From: İ. Bostan and A. Kurumahmut (eds), *Haritalar ve Coğrafya Eserlerine Göre Ege Denizi ve Ege Adaları* (Ankara 2003), Plate II.

rings, kitchenware, or gravestones. There is a possibility for ethno-archaeological remains, and the streams, rocks, hills, trees and orchards on their estates, to be also taken into account.⁷

An Abundance of Sources, and Scope for Methodological Innovation

All this is so varied and unusual that it virtually calls for a ‘total history’ approach. By itself, this is an invigorating prospect for Ottoman history. At the same time, in this micro-climate, this small world to which the Tuhfezades always stood as outsiders, the nature of the primary sources available is also promising for other avenues and approaches. Since the realities of this quasi-autonomous dynasty were not dictated purely by the centre-periphery relationship (in both its political and financial dimensions), they can and should be told from within. Otherwise put, the material holdings of the family can truly reflect on the secret, unofficial history of another way of life in the Ottoman provinces. Because of a general scarcity of private documentation, this is a rare opportunity in Ottoman history.

⁷ Noteworthy in this regard are U. Baram and L. Carrol (eds), *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground* (New York 2000); T. Takaoğlu (ed.), *Ethnoarchaeological Investigations in Rural Anatolia* (Istanbul 2004).

What we have here, moreover, is not a story of fringe elements or transient carpetbaggers. On the contrary, the Tuhfezades – possibly like many other rural families of wealth and power, whom Ottomanists have not studied enough, either as individual cases or an entire social group – appear to have enjoyed a relatively safe, long, and affluent life in their inaccessible native recess. They were confident, outward-looking, and capable of enjoying the benefits of self-governance in an otherwise incommensurable geography. Distant as they were, they seem to have acquired a distinct identity involving a variety of border-crossings. Since such hybridities undermine the very concept of monolithic cultures or nations (even in the case of an Early Modern empire), the case at hand provides a favourable terrain for transnational history, for the study of permeable and fluid borderlands, diasporas, encounters and travels across all kinds of boundaries – in short, for explorations of processes and relationships which connect separate worlds.⁸ In an area which has seen the intermingling, conquering, reconquering and separation of peoples, distinct yet overlapping and co-existing with each other, nineteenth-century nations are even more emphatically imagined communities rather than entities rooted from time immemorial. On the south-west coast of Asia Minor, there were no natural or permanent lines of demarcation. In contrast with official government business (both central and local) which has provided the standard framework for the post-seventeenth-century centre-periphery paradigm, it is the un-bounded diffusion of people, ideas, practices, and goods that looms large in this corner of the Aegean.

The Early Ottoman Presence in the Region

The promontory's morphology is characterised by igneous mountain ranges stretching east-west, and by plains huddling in their bends. It was this rough and rocky topography that determined the scattered pattern of historical settlement, with most villages along the

8 I originally argued for this dimension in an earlier (and much shorter) version of this paper; see T. Artan, 'Cretans Turned Turks, Venetians, Englishmen: Encounters in Ottoman Space in the 19th Century', paper presented at the Sixth European Social Science History Conference (Section on International Families VI: Cultures of Diaspora), Amsterdam, 22-25 March 2006. Compared and contrasted with other kinds of history (world, regional, comparative and post-colonial) which also aim to transcend national boundaries, transnational history has become an identifiable genre over the last decade: A. Curthoys and M. Lake, 'Introduction', in Eadem (eds), *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra 2005), 5-20. See also L. N. Bacsh, G. Schiller and C. Z. Blanc (eds), *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation States* (London 1994); G. Therborn, *Between Sex and Power: Family in the World, 1900-2000* (London 1994). However, some historians who argue that history has always paid considerable attention to the travels of people, ideas, practices or commodities across geographical, political or cultural borders, question this difference. Some others have pointed to the 'dangers' of transnational history, arguing that, in its sterile international context (of specialised scholarship) it is disconnected from the audience whose history is being written. Some have also claimed, dismissively, that transnational history is in vogue because of globalisation.

southern coast and overlooking the Gulf of Symi (Hisarözü). The northern shore, looking out over the Gulf of Kos (Gökova) is more hostile. Hills are covered by macchia, and valleys with groves of almond and olive trees, both of which probably grew wild in the past. Over a hundred small bays, recurrently called *bük* (Turkish for a thicket or a jungle) in reference to the rich vegetation around them, ring the peninsula from north and south. Over many centuries, they used to shelter, at the confluence of the Aegean and the Mediterranean, both officially licensed corsairs and much feared pirates.⁹

Indeed, it is because of the terribly unsafe waters of the Aegean that so little is known about peninsular settlement in medieval times. Even the history of the larger region of south-western Asia Minor under Ottoman rule is mostly clouded. The House of Menteşe had established itself in Caria in the thirteenth century, only to be nearly overthrown by the conquests of Bayezid I in 1389-1391. Eventually, it was only after the final defeat of the Menteşeoğulları by Murad II in 1424 that the region came firmly under Ottoman control.¹⁰ Paul Wittek's study was the first to introduce a variety of sources, though limited in quantity, for the study of this early Ottoman phase. His eminent student Elizabeth Zachariadou then explored the relations of "trade and crusade" between Venetian Crete and the emirates of Menteşe and Aydın in the same period.¹¹ Hans Theunissen has further contributed to our understanding of commerce and politics in the region with an annotated edition of a corpus of documents pertaining to Ottoman-Venetian diplomacies from the late fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.¹² Two dissertations thirty years apart, by Ekrem Uykucu and Zekâi Mete,¹³ have surveyed several tax registers (*tahrir*) recording

9 "The difference between corsairs and pirates is not always immediately clear to all: pirates fought against everybody while corsairs had their sovereign's permission to fight against its enemies" (M. P. Pedani, 'The Ottoman Empire and the Gulf of Venice (15th-16th C.)', in T. Baykara (ed.), *CIÉPO Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Komitesi XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri. 18-22 Eylül 2000, Çeşme* [Ankara 2004], 585-600). For the Atlantic and the Caribbean, the corresponding Anglo-American term is privateer(ing) rather than corsair(ing). For matters involving pirates and corsairs, also see S. Faroqi, 'The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire (1600-1630)', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 15/2 (1986), 345-384; İ. Bostan, 'Adriyatik'te Ticari Limanların Gelişimine Korsanlığın Etkisi', *Bilim ve Ütopya*, 12/147 (September 2006), 23-29.

10 P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche. Studie zur Geschichte westkleinasiens im 13.-15. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul 1934); reprinted in translation: *Menteşe Beyliği. 13-15'inci Asırda Garbi Küçük Asya Tarihine Ait Tetkik*, trans. O. Ş. Gökyay (Ankara 1944; repr. 1986), 29-30.

11 E. A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1300-1415)* (Venice 1983).

12 H. P. A. Theunissen, 'Ottoman-Venetian Diplomacy: The 'Ahd'-names. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments, together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents', *EJOS – Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, 1/2 (1998), 1-698.

13 E. Uykucu, 'XVI. Yüzyılda Menteşe Sancağı (Tapu Tahrir Defterlerine Göre)', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1974; Idem, *İlçeleriyle Birlikte Muğla Tarihi (Coğrafya ve Sosyal Yapı)* (İstanbul 1983 [1967]); Z. Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2004; *TDVİA*, s.v. 'Menteşe' (Idem). For some elaborations on the sources uncovered by Uykucu, see S. Faroqi, 'Sixteenth Centu-

kazas, karyes, mahalles, hanes, hass, zeamet and *timar* recipients and their revenues, as well as the pious foundations of the *sancak* of Menteşe in the sixteenth century.¹⁴ Both, however, have the common flaw of entirely ignoring the non-Muslim populations, causing many questions to be left unexplored. Further on, the post-seventeenth-century history of Menteşe remains uncharted.

Centres, Districts, Land Tenure

The administrative centre seems to have shifted frequently under Ottoman rule. In other words, a multi-centred *sancak* with an itinerant Pasha appears to be the case for the sixteenth century. Although Muğla then seems to have moved ahead as an urban centre, even in Evliya Çelebi's time Ottoman potentates (*ümera*) and militia of the Menteşe district were being settled at Peçin. Nearby Milas (so close that the former was referred to as *Peçin nam-ı diğer Milas*¹⁵) and Balat also stand out as sizeable settlements, home to a variety of political, cultural or commercial activities. Uykucu identifies some of the governors (*sancakbeyi*) for 1480-1560, as well as the *hass* (crown) lands of the Sultans and princes, and the large prebends of viziers and governors, as recorded in the 1517 and 1530 *tahrirs*.¹⁶ Unfortunately, one archival series that one might immediately think of turning to, i.e., the *Mühimme Defterleri* (Registers of Important Affairs), proves to be of little help. As these were mainly written in response to accusations levelled at local administrators, the implication is that not many complaints from the region (other than those concerning the unruly behaviour of pirates and bandits) reached Istanbul.¹⁷

One of the earliest Ottoman records on the Menteşe district, a tax register dated to the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512), enumerates eight *nahiyes* (Pınaz, Çine, Milas, Peçin,

ry Periodic Markets in Various Anatolian *Sancaks*: İçel, Hamid, Karahisar-ı Sahib, Kütahya, Aydın, and Menteşe', *JESHO*, 22/1 (1979), 32-80; Eadem, 'Menteşeoğullarından Osmanlılara Muğla', in İ. Tekeli (ed.), *Tarih İçinde Muğla* (Ankara 1993).

14 The tax registers in question are BOA, Tapu Tahrir (TD) 39 (n.d., r. Bayezid II [1481-1512], possibly 1483), incomplete, includes only Pınaz and Meğri; BOA, Tapu Tahrir (TD) 47 (n.d., r. Bayezid II), *mufassal*, incomplete; BOA, Tapu Tahrir (TD) 61 (H. 923/1517), *mufassal*, complete; BOA, Tapu Tahrir (TD) 337 (1562/1563), *mufassal*, incomplete; Tapu Kadastro GM Kuyud-u Kadime Arşivi (TK KKA TD) 110 (1583), *mufassal*, complete. There are also registers of important affairs: BOA, Mühimme Defterleri I-IV (1520-1560); BOA, Tapu Tahrir (TD) 176 (1532/1533) recording *cemaats* (= oymak) and *tîrs* (= oba) settled in Menteşe together with a short *kanunname*; and two waqf registers: BOA, TD 338 (1562/1563) and Tapu Kadastro GM Kuyud-u Kadime TK KKA TD 569.

15 C.BLD 31 (21 Cemaziyelâhîr 1275). Peçin was abandoned by the mid-twentieth century.

16 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 70-71 and 105-106.

17 For such bandits, brigands or other outlaws, see *Mühimme Defteri 90* (Istanbul 1993). In the Registers of Important Affairs, what are mostly recorded are the routine communications between the centre and this remote province; see Faroqhi, 'Menteşeoğullarından Osmanlılara Muğla'.

Bozöyük, Muğla, Tavas, Köyceğiz).¹⁸ By 1517, four more had been added: Mazun, Balat, İstavralos and Megri.¹⁹ In 1530, there were still the same 12 settlements, which however had come to be called *kazas*, as well as five cities (*nefs-i şehir*), seven towns (*kasaba*), 548 villages (*kura*), 381 tribal units (*cemaat*), and a total of 34,642 sedentary households.²⁰ At the time, only 64 non-Muslim households were recorded, and even these were to disappear in the course of the next few decades. As gleaned from the 1562 and 1583 surveys, this change has been taken to reflect the complete Turkification of the region in the late sixteenth century. Earlier, Wittek had argued that even before the Ottoman conquest, Menteşe-ili had had an overwhelming presence of ethnic Turks because of the attraction of its highland pastures for nomadic Turcomans,²¹ while the Byzantine Greeks were unable to regain their grip on the area after the initial Seljukid occupation in the eleventh century.²² Nomadic tribes moving into Caria from 1261 onwards had been settled in its three promontories, around the settlements of Tarahya (Trachia), Dadya (Stadia) and Strobilos (in the Bodrum peninsula), before the end of the decade.²³ Wittek further noted that in contrast to those inland (Milas, Muğla, Tavas), quite a few coastal settlements (Dad[i]ya, Mekri/Megri/Meğri [Makri], Darah[i]ya/Tarahya, Gereme, Balat and others) maintained their Greek names. He thereby suggested a possible pact, a rapid fusion and then a mutual dependence, between the conquerors and the conquered.

Population growth in sixteenth-century Anatolia had led to an increased demand for arable land – hence the advances of the Turcoman tribes. The revenues of Menteşe were distributed among the Sultan, the Prince Regent, viziers, *mirlivas*, a few *zeamet*-holders, and numerous timariots. Throughout this period, there were fluctuations in the numbers of units, the high-ranking *dirlik* recipients, and the total revenues allocated. Two of the four tax registers of the sixteenth century, nearly 50 years apart, provide the following figures:²⁴

18 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 72 (based on BOA, Tapu Tahrir 47), revisited by Faroqhi, ‘Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets’, 65. Faroqhi has corrected Uykucu in one regard, indicating that these settlements which were earlier listed as *nahiyes* had come to be called *kazas* in 1530.

19 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 72 (BOA, Tapu Tahrir 61 [H. 923/1517]), revisited by Faroqhi, ‘Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets’, 65. Uykucu’s list of the four *nahiyes* consisted of Mazun, Balat, Megri and Ayasulug. Faroqhi opted for Eserulus as the toponym of the fourth *nahiye*, and provided an explanation in her footnote 105 about why it cannot be transcribed as Ayasulug. Earlier, Sirevolos had been suggested in Pirî Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye. Denizcilik Kitabı*, ed. Y. Senemoğlu (Istanbul 1974), Index, 62. In the transliteration of the 1530 register, İsravalos was preferred; for the full source, see the following footnote.

20 166 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri 937/1530. *Hüdâvendigâr, Biga, Karesi, Saruhân, Aydın, Menteşe, Teke ve Alâiye Livâları* (Ankara 1995), 481-574.

21 In support of Wittek’s argument regarding the Turkification of the western Anatolian seaboard, we find TK KKA TD 110; BOA, TD 337, after Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*; also see TDVİA, s.v. ‘Menteşe’, 151.

22 Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*, 112.

23 Ibid., 24-26.

24 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 106-111.

	H. 923 (AD 1517)		H. 970 (AD 1562/1563)	
	Units	Total revenues	Units	Total revenues
<i>Padişah</i>	6	647,899	21	738,721
<i>Şehzade</i>	–	–	8	274,757
Viziers	10	252,383	4	96,590
<i>Mirliva</i>	5	62,111	5	142,415
Total <i>hass</i>	21	962,348	48	1,252,483
<i>Zeamets</i>	8	110,440	4	231,471
Sum total (of the last two)	29	1,072,788	52	1,483,954

In 1530 the *miri* lands of the Menteşe *sancak* provided for: the *hassha-yı padişah* (with a revenue of 1,945,191 *akçes*); *hassha-yı mirliva* (300,000); *hassha-yı Mevlâna Kadri Çelebi Efendi*, *kadiasker-i vilâyet-i Anadolu* (114,381); *hassha-yı Mahmud Çelebi*, *defterdar-ı huzane-i âmire* (69,352); *hassha-yı mirliva-yı cezair-i Midillü ve Rodos* (88,239); *timarha-yı zuama ve sipahiyan* (2,754,751); *timarha-yı mustahfızan-ı kal'a-ı Peçin ve Bodrum* (79,405); *timarha-yı bazdaran* (22,817); and the revenues of the pious foundations, *evkaf* (484,660).²⁵ Farm land in the *kazas* of Muğla, Milas and Peçin, the three urban centres of the sixteenth century, was strictly limited to units not larger than a *çift* (standard holding).²⁶

The Spread of Tax-Farming

The Menteşe *sancak* maintained stable ties to the capital: Selânikî records a conflict which arose c. early 1588 (H. 995) between the tax farmer (*emin-i mültezim*) of the revenue units (*mukataat*) of the Menteşe *vilâyet* and his alleged guarantors. The latter appealed to the *Divan*, complaining that the Office of Imperial Finances (*defterdarlık*) demanded an advance deposit or down payment (*mal-ı kefalet*) from them as those who had stood surety for the tax farmer (whom Selânikî did not identify by name). Apparently the Office had intervened only after learning of his malpractice. The alleged guarantors claimed that they had no knowledge of the security bond that was in question, and that it had been drawn up in their absence. When the documents in support of the tax farmer's appointment could not be located at the Office, the Grand Vizier, (Makbul) İbrahim Paşa, showing unusual compassion for the guarantors' plight, paid the 100,000 *akçes* of *miri* debt himself with the diamond ring that he took off his finger.²⁷ Selânikî also tells us of another incident in which, in late 1591 (at the turn of H. 1000), the overbearing guardian or inspector of the provincial tax farms (*Menteşe mukataatı müfettişi*) was a certain Mevlâna Bayezid who was simultaneously the judge of Peçin. Mevlâna Bayezid was murdered by two of his relatives, Lûtfullahoğlu Abdülcebbar Bey, a local trustee (*mütevelli*),

25 166 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri, 56.

26 Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 247.

27 Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, ed. M. İpşirli (Istanbul 1989), 184.

and his brother (a *dergâh-ı âli çavuşu*), in a fight over a marriage dispute. Both were executed at the Balık-bazarı (fish market) (in Istanbul?).²⁸ The inspector's murder gives us a glimpse of the Ottoman art of provincial administration: a network of blood-relatives usually holding multiple official positions (or honorary titles).²⁹

These two incidents are all the more important because they reveal the on-going *mukataa*-isation of Menteşe. Revenue units called *mukataa* were originally created out of the *havass-ı hümayun* – that is, the land retained out of the *miri* as royal demesne by/for the Sultan – and their income went directly into the Sultan's treasury.³⁰ From the end of the sixteenth century through the seventeenth century, revenue sources which previously were being distributed to members of the ruling elite as *dirliks* or fiefs conditional upon service were also converted into *mukataas*. In other words, old *timar* lands were being confiscated and re-divided to be 'sold' to tax farmers (*mültezim*). All in all, the *iltizam* system as a form of revenue collection seems to have overtaken Menteşe in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Selânikî's first story reflects today's consensus among historians that sixteenth-century practice had been for the *sahebül-l'hass* – whether Sultan, prince, vizier(s), military judge (*kadiasker*), governor (*sancakbeyi*), or director of the imperial finances (*defterdar*) – to collect his revenues through an *emin*, a semi-official agent, but that later this responsibility was delegated to tax farmers (*mültezim*) over whom the *emin* now stood watch – hence the term *emin-i mültezim*.³¹ The second points to all the intermediaries coming in between the tax source(s) and the central authorities. The guardian or inspector of the province's revenue districts was supposed to protect the tax sources. There was also the *muhasıl*, originally a tax collector charged with the collection of the various routine *havass-ı hümayun* revenues as well as of extra-ordinary taxes, who gradually came to assume administrative responsibilities. In some regions in the seventeenth century, the *muhasıls* grew into local power-holders who were charged with aspects of state administration.³² Treasury income (*hazine*) accruing from Menteşe, together with the revenues of Aydın and Karesi, were all channelled to the Province of Anadolu, according to Topçular Kâtibi Abdülkadir Efendi writing during the Bayburd campaign of the Rumeli *beylerbeyi*, Defterdar Ahmed Paşa.³³ Topçular Kâtibi refers to *muhasıls* as those who supervised

28 Ibid., 257.

29 For blood-relatives holding positions such as *müderriis*, muezzin, imam, *hatib*, *danişmend*, *sipahi*, *kadı*, sheikh or *medrese* student in the *kazas* of Menteşe, see Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 148-149.

30 *Mukataa* refers to "the division of state revenue sources into parts to be distributed in return for a mutually agreed upon price" (*EP*², s.v. 'Mukāta'a' [H. Gerber]). Commercial taxes, such as custom dues or market taxes, state monopolies, such as mints or salt-works, even irregular revenues, such as fines and marriage taxes, could all be carved out and then farmed out as *mukataas*.

31 *TDVİA*, s.v. 'Has' (C. Orhonlu and N. Göyünç).

32 *TDVİA*, s.v. 'Muhasıl' (Y. Özkaya and A. Akyıldız [pp. 18-20] and Z. Mete [pp. 20-21]).

33 *Topçular Kâtibi 'Abdülkâdir (Kadrî) Efendi Tarihi (Metin ve Tahlil)*, Vol. I, ed. Z. Yılmazzer (Ankara 2003), 538.

the collection of those state revenues (*mal-ı miri*) allocated to the expedition. In 1609 (H. 1017), Topçular Kâtibi Abdülkadir Efendi mentions a certain Şems Paşa as being the *muhassılı*'l-emval of Aydın, Akhisar, Gedüz and a few other *livas*, as well as of Menteşe.³⁴ There were also the *mütesellims* in the *kazas* who were entrusted with the task of delivering the taxes to the centre (on which, more below).

Eventually, it is Evliya Çelebi who informs us that (at least for the late seventeenth century) (i) the centre of the Ottoman district or sub-province of Menteşe was Muğla, where the governing Pasha had his residence; (ii) his *hass* revenues added up to 400,800 *akçes*; (iii) he maintained 1,000 fully armed retainers; (iv) together with 52 *zaims* and 381 timariots, the *sancak* raised a military force of 2,000 armed cavalrymen; and (v) numerous were the distinguished personalities who lived in or around Muğla.³⁵ Evliya spent a week in the company of Küçük Hüseyin Paşa (the governor?) and the *ayan-ı vilâyet*, and seems to have had a good time, full of “seyr ü temaşa ve zevk u sefâ”.³⁶ He provides us with a comprehensive account of the cultural and material life which flourished in the midst of anarchy and chaos.

For this was a restless area all through Ottoman times. Over the latter part of the sixteenth century Menteşe suffered from *suhte* revolts – uprisings of *medrese* students. In 1574, bandit leaders of *medrese* origins (*suhte elebaşı*), such as Şemseddin and Kara Sadık, ran riot in the *sancak*, while in 1608, a certain Yusuf Paşa gathered the rebellious male population of the Aydın, Saruhan and Menteşe districts under his command.³⁷ Abdülkadir Efendi relates that in 1606-1607 the Grand Vizier Ferhad Paşa had succeeded in recovering state revenues from the rebellious Yusuf Paşa in Aydın and Menteşe (“mâl-ı mîrîyi Yûsuf Paşa nam hâyinden tahsîl eyleyüp”).³⁸ Eventually, military forces based in Menteşe, together with soldiers gathered from the Aydın, Ma[ğ]nisa and Karesi sub-provinces, were deployed to overcome another doughty character, Canpuladoğlu. Meanwhile, however, new settlers, including Greeks as well as Turcoman nomads, kept moving into Menteşe.

Dadya as a Revenue Unit in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Up to this day, while the history of the Menteşe sub-province under the Ottomans remains fragmentary, the history of the Datça peninsula and its administrative centre has been even more elusive, indeed nebulous. The earliest reference to Dadya that I have been able to find in the Ottoman sources appears in the *tahrir* of 1517, first studied by

34 Ibid., 548.

35 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. 9. *Kitap*, eds Y. Dağlı, S. A. Kahraman and R. Dankoff (Istanbul 2005), 105: “[B]u şehir Anadolu eyâletinde Menteşe paşasının tahtıdır. Taraf-ı padişâhiden paşanın hâss-ı hümayûnu 400,800 akçe eder. Alaybeğisi ve çeribaşısı vardır. Ve hîn-i tahrîrde elli iki erbâb-ı zü'amâ ve 381 erbâb-ı tûmârı vardır ... Ve bu şehir üç yüz pâyesi ile şerîf kazadır. Ve nâhiyesi 105 kurâdır ...”. Also see Hacı Kalfa, *Cihannümâ*, ed. O. Ş. Gökyay (Ankara 1972), 638.

36 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. 9. *Kitap*, 106.

37 After Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Menteseche*, 108.

38 *Topçular Kâtibi 'Abdülkadir (Kadrî) Efendi Tarihi*, 472, 473.

Uykucu.³⁹ The revenues of Dadya, a total of 29,485 *akçes*, are said to have been part of the *hass* of a vizier called Kasım Paşa.⁴⁰ While there were several prominent Kasım Paşas at the time, once more it is Uykucu who has identified this particular *hass*-holder as the tutor (*lala*) of the future Süleyman I during the early years of the Crown Prince's stay in Manisa.⁴¹ Subsequently he appears to have fallen out of favour with Selim I, and to have been dismissed on 8 December 1516 and dispatched to Thessalonica. There he stayed until 1520, when, upon Süleyman's accession to the throne, he was rehabilitated and appointed director of the imperial finances.⁴² What the 1517 *tahrir* has to say about Kasım Paşa fits in with the information provided by a manuscript source, *Dastan-ı Sultan Süleyman*, possibly by Kâtib Çelebi, to the effect that Lala Kasım Paşa had a retirement pension of 200,000 *akçes* at the time (1521?).⁴³ The continuity of the connection between

39 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 105.

40 BOA, TD 61, 191-270. The total *hass* revenues of this Kasım Paşa, also comprising six other revenue units within the same *sancak*, added up to 176,963 *akçes*. He also held a *zeamet* and several *timars* in the various *kazas* of Menteşe. For comparison of the *hass* revenues of the *sancakbeyis*, see TDVİA, s.v. 'Has'.

41 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 105. It is Peçevî/Peçuyulu who, among the viziers of Süleyman I, mentions a certain Koca Kasım Paşa who never made it to the grand vizierate. Apparently he was first the *defterdar* (under Selim I), then Süleyman's *lala*, and was retired because of old age; see Peçuyulu İbrahim Efendi, *Tarih-i Peçuyî*, Vol. I (Istanbul 1283/1866-1867), 28. Matrakçı Nasuh provides the further clarification that Kasım Paşa was Süleyman's *lala* during the early years of the prince's stay in Manisa, and that he subsequently fell out of favour with Selim I and was dismissed on 8 December 1516. The details about his being dispatched to Thessalonica and staying there until Süleyman's accession to the throne come from *Süleymanname*, TSMK Revan 1286, 36a-36b, after F. Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası* (Ankara 1989), 32. After 1520, Kasım Paşa became a vizier at the imperial council. Peçevî actually claims that the fourth vizierate was initiated with the appointment of Kasım Paşa to this post (*Tarih-i Peçuyî*, I: 28). An article on the identity of Kasım Paşa, or rather on the various Kasım Paşas, which does not really clarify the confusion, claims that Koca Kasım Paşa was retired in 1521 (T. Suzuki, 'Kanunî'nin Vüzerası'ndan Koca Kasım Paşa'ya Dair', *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 12 [1982-1998], 311-318). There is another (Kıvamüddin) Kasım Paşa who was the *defterdar* of Rumeli Vilâyeti Timar in 1518, and of the Hazine-i Âmire in 1520. That he was referred to as *Efendi* or *Bey* before Süleyman I's enthronement has led Mübahat Kütükoğlu to conclude that he (too?) became a vizier only after 1520 (M. Kütükoğlu, *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisadî Yapısı* [İzmir 2000], 237-239). Therefore he cannot be the Kasım Paşa who was *hass*-holder in Dadya in 1517. Kütükoğlu adds that this Kasım Paşa (too?) was retired in 1521 and settled in İzmir where his *mülk* and *zeamet* were located. He died there and was buried in the tomb of his mosque complex in 1528.

42 The Chief of Finances in 1520-1521 was Cezerîzade Kasım Paşa, who had held the same position back in 1504-?. His full name at the time was given as Cezerîzade Koca Kasım Safi Çelebi; see Y. Öztuna, *Devletler ve Hânedanlar*, Vol. 2 (Ankara 1969), 1039-1040. For the confusion of Cezerî Kasım with Lala Koca Kasım, see Suzuki, 'Kanunî'nin Vüzerası'ndan Koca Kasım Paşa'ya Dair'.

43 I owe this information to Zeynep Yelçe, who during her Ph.D. research at Sabancı University has gone through and drawn my attention to *Dastan-ı Sultan Süleyman*, TSM, R. 1286. This manuscript confirms the appointment of Süleyman's tutor, Lala Koca Kasım Paşa, as the fourth

the chief *defterdar*'s revenues and the *sancak* of Menteşe is interesting in itself.⁴⁴ As a typical absentee *sahibü'l-hass* of the early sixteenth century, Kasım Paşa must have managed his revenues from Dadya – which, while distant, was still the second largest village of Muğla (after Gökova), and which consisted of 335 *hanes* with a population of 1,675 (taxpayers?) – through the *emanet* system.⁴⁵ No *zeamets* or *timars* were listed in Dadya in the *tahrirs* of 1517, 1530 or 1562-1563.⁴⁶

In the last such tax register available, dated 1583, some new villages appear on the peninsula. Recorded as not independent but subordinate to Dadya and Bedye, these are: Kara, Kızlan, Yazı, Belen, Cumalı/Cumalu, Yaka and Sı[ğ]ındı. It is understood that these villages, like many others elsewhere in the sub-province, came into being as a result of the sedentarisation of the numerous and populous Turcoman tribes who had been flocking to the peninsula. Thus, the population of the peninsular villages, together with those on Menteşe's two other promontories – Bodrum in the north and Bozburun in the south – exceeded the population of the centres on the mainland.⁴⁷ There were 283 tax-paying *hanes* in Dadya in 1500, 355 *hanes* in 1517, 520 *hanes* in 1562, and 476 *hanes* in 1583.⁴⁸ For the same years the numbers of tax-paying *hanes* in Bedye were 265, 244, 588 and 540, respectively.⁴⁹ In 1562-1563, when the number of tax-paying *hanes* in Dadya rose to 520, the total revenue, too, increased by 5,000 *akçes* compared with 45 years earlier to reach 35[,000] *akçes*.⁵⁰ There were no socio-religious complexes other than a mosque (with no waqf), no markets, and no other urban services at Dadya – even though it was more populous than some *kaza* centres of Menteşe, classified as *kasaba* or *şehir*, at the time.

Thus, it was probably owing to its geographical position that Dadya also became an administrative centre on the peninsula. A document from the Registers of Important Affairs, dated to 1580, involves the *kadı* of Dadya in his capacity as an inspector of tax farms, and curiously refers to Dadya – without any urban character, and also lacking the

vizier in the imperial council; his promotion to the vizierate when he was in Thessalonica (36b-37a); his renunciation of the vizierate, and his retirement with a pension (*oturak dirliği*) of 200,000 *akçes* (48a-48b).

44 As mentioned above, in 1530 the revenues of the Defterdar-ı Hızane-i Âmire were collected from Menteşe (and totalled 69,352 *akçes*).

45 TD 61, 239, after Uykucu, 'XVI. Yüzyılda Menteşe Sancağı', 77. Compare with Mesudiye (1517): 237 *hanes*, 1185 people, 20,500 *akçes*; Sermend/Semend/Sı[ğ]ındı (1517): 15 *hanes*, 75 people, 1,989 *akçes*; Marmaris (1517): 9 *hanes*, 45 people, 4,788 *akçes*.

46 The 1517 register records all *timar*-holders in Menteşe together with their revenues, while the 1562-1563 register omits all such information altogether (Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 108).

47 TK KKA 110, 70a, after Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 213-214 and 218-219.

48 TD 47, 170; TD 61, 239; TD 337, 94a; TK KKA TD 110, 92b; all after Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 219.

49 TD 47, 167; TD 61, 252; TD 337, 96a; TK KKA TD 110, 94b; all after Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 219.

50 TD 337, 95, after Uykucu, 'XVI. Yüzyılda Menteşe Sancağı', 77. Compare with Mesudiye (1562-1563): 466 *hanes*, 2,330 people, 22,000 *akçes*; Sermend/Semend/Sı[ğ]ındı (1562-1563): 14 *hanes*, 60 people; Marmaris (1562-1563): 1 *hane*, 5 people, 5,916 *akçes*.

corresponding services or networks – as a *kaza*,⁵¹ thereby suggesting that *kaza* was no more than a certain financial-administrative status. Somewhat later, in documents from around the turn of the century, Dadya is found classified as a *nahiye*.⁵²

The tax registers of Menteşe await further scrutiny to reveal more about Dadya as a revenue unit and tax farm in the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, from the second decade of the seventeenth century onwards, *tapu tahrir* registers were replaced by surveys of *cizye* and *avarız* – direct cash taxes which were made more comprehensive and regular as the *sipahis* and the *timar* system lost their primary function.⁵³ Thus, the 1621 *avarız* register still records Dadya as a village (*karye*) of Muğla.⁵⁴ However, in the later *avarız* registers of 1624, 1676, and 1688, Dadya – together with Eskihisar, Gereme, Sultan, Şahim, Döğer, Talama, Sobuca, Gökabad, Ula and Tarahya – is listed as one of the *kazas* of the Menteşe sub-province.⁵⁵ In addition to *cizye* and *avarız*, there were the substitute taxes for emergencies (*imdadıye*), also regularised in the eighteenth century as a compulsory annual borrowing from wealthy state officials, as well as other levies (such as the *ayaniye*) administered at the *kaza* level by leading local notables along with a judge.⁵⁶ Compiled in the form of the registers of allocations and expenses (*tevzi defterleri*), records of

51 “Liva-yı Menteşe’de vaki havass-ı atika mukataatı müfettişi Dadya kadısı Mevlâna Muslihiddin’e ... hüküm ki ...” (MD 41, 349/745, 20 Zilkade 987/8 January 1580, after Mete, ‘XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla’, 220).

52 İ. Şahin and F. Emecen, *Osmanlılarda Divan, Bürokrasi, Ahkâm. II: Bayezid Dönemine Ait 906/1501 Tarihli Ahkâm Defteri* (İstanbul 1994), 32 (Hüküm 112), after Mete, ‘XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla’, 277.

53 Direct taxation through *cizye*, the poll tax, and *avarız*, originally an extra-ordinary levy in war-time which probably became a regular and annual cash tax during the Habsburg wars of 1593-1606, brought much-needed hard cash into the Treasury. They eventually replaced the *timar* system, which allowed fief-holders to retain agrarian taxes in return for the Ottoman equivalent of knight service. For *cizye* and *avarız* registers, see B. McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade, and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800* (Cambridge and Paris 1981); L. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax-Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden 1990); O. Özel, ‘17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Demografi ve İskan Tarihi İçin Önemli Bir Kaynak: ‘Mufassal’ Avârız Defterleri’, in *XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara, 12-16 Eylül 1994. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Vol. 3 (Ankara 1999), 736-743. For a case study which utilises these ‘new’ tax registers vis-à-vis the site, size, and population composition of a settlement, see M. Kiel, ‘Kuşadası: Genoese Colonial Town of the 1300s or Ottoman Creation of the 17th Century?’, in Baykara (ed.), *CIÉPO XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 403-415. Kiel uses the following registers: İcmal and Mufassal Avarız of 1676 (Kepeci 2791 and TD 802, both dated H. 1087) for the *kaza* of Ania, also known as Kuşadası. Kuşadası, also a pirate base, is comparable to both Datça and Alanya.

54 BOA, KK Mevkufat 2620, 9-10 and MAD 2447, 47-51; see *TDVİA*, s.v. ‘Muğla’ (Z. Mete).

55 BOA, MAD 3399, 5, 7, 9 (n.d.); Kâmil Kepeci Mevkufat 2620, 26 (1624); 2670, 5a (1676); 2672, 6a (1688) (all after *TDVİA*, s.v. ‘Menteşe’ [Z. Mete], 151-152).

56 Y. Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi (XVIII. Yüzyıldan Tanzimat’a Mali Tarih)* (İstanbul 1986), 53-54, 329, 330; Idem, ‘18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Taşrasında Oluşan Yeni Malî Sektörün Mahiyet ve Büyüklüğü Üzerine’, *Düni ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi*, 9 (1996), 89-143.

these new taxes, too, may reveal more about the various administrative ambiguities of the Menteşe sub-province.⁵⁷ It is also possible that they could shed some light on the identity and the status of those (families) who eventually grabbed power in Dadya.⁵⁸

Piri's Geography

Neither does Dadya come up frequently in Ottoman narrative sources. Not surprisingly, the oldest Ottoman account of the promontory and its settlements is that of Piri Reis (d. 1554). In his famous *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, also called *Eşkâl-i Cezair ve Sevahil-i Bahr-i Sefid* (of 1521 and 1526), Piri refers to Dadya as the north-eastern part of the promontory, and Bedye/Bedya/Patya as the south-western part; both appear as two big peninsular settlements belonging to the Menteşe sub-province.⁵⁹ In a section on 'The coastline of Tekir harbour' (*Bu Fasıl Tekir Limanı Kenarın Beyan Eder*),⁶⁰ Piri Reis notes:

These are called the Dadya Bedye shores and belong to the Menteşe sub-province; Dadya and Bedye are two big villages [*köy*]. Bedye is the one close to Cape Tekir, and infidels [*kefere tayifesi*] call this place Kav Kriyo [*Kavu Kiriyo*, Cape Crio]. It is a famous cape where there is a harbour built in the Western [*kâfirî*] style on its southern side. There are many old buildings around the harbour. Before [it is said], this place belonged to a *tekfür* [as a lordship, *tekirlik*]. There is a running water one [nautical] mile to the south from the seaward mouth of the harbour. Ships [reaching

57 Despite what Piri Reis, too, says (below) on Dadya being part of the *sancak* of Menteşe, it seems that Dadya was actually part of the province of Bahr-i Sefid over the latter part of the sixteenth century. Suraiya Faroqhi has touched on the inconsistencies of Ottoman administrative terminology regarding *kaza* and *nahiye*; she argues that only in the nineteenth century was a clear hierarchy established throughout the Empire (Faroqhi, 'Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets', 36-37).

58 Since it was impossible to regularise the collection of at least some of these new taxes, the central government was forced to delegate the authority to collect them to the local notables, and thereby to incorporate these notables into the fiscal apparatus in the provinces. The taxes collected in this way evolved into a third sector (together with the *timar* revenues), and came to equal the revenues of the central treasury; Cezar, '18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Taşrasında Oluşan Yeni Malî Sektörün Mahiyet ve Büyüklüğü Üzerine', 118-119. Naturally, both the centre and the periphery wanted the highest share from the local expenditures (*vilâyet masrafı*); Ch. Neumann, 'Selânik'te Onsekizinci Yüzyılın Sonunda Masarif-i Vilâyet Defterleri, Merkezî Hükûmet, Taşra İdaresi ve Şehir Yönetimi Üçgeninde Malî İşlemler', *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 16 (1998), 69-97.

59 Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, 216 (from the second, 1526, version with 218 maps). For the legend explaining the topographical division, also see B. Ergenekon, 'Dadya Yarımadası Kültürü', *Halk Bilimi. ODTÜ Halk Bilimleri Topluluğu Dergisi*, 1998, 25-29. Although the dialect that people speak these days can be identified as unique to Datça, there are still some linguistic differences which endure between Datça and Beççe; Idem, 'Dorian Archaeology'.

60 *Tekir* is a corruption of *tekfür*, *tekvour* or *takevour*, a name given to the Christian princes of Asia Minor.

Tekir Limanı] use this water. Near the shores of Dadya Bedye there are steep mountains. This place is a [dry] channel having the shape of an island, and its name is Kemer Boğazı. Five miles north-east of Tekir harbour there is a natural [hüdayi] harbour called Mersincik. There is also a fine creek there. The landmark for Mersincik is the islands in front of it and the other [two] islands near Cape Tekir. But this place is not suitable for anchoring. Cape Tekir is a sharp pointed mountain. Five miles east of this mountain, there is a spring called Kalsoğ [Kalımaç] Suyu, the source of which is a shoulder [yumru yerli] of rock. The area around this water is not a good place for anchoring. Ships can take water from there when the sea is calm, or they can do that with small boats. Two miles east of this water, there is a cape called Kaviskandiya [Kavu İskandiye]. Two miles to the east of this cape is a small [flat?] island called Bükü island, and the village across it is called Balamut Bükü. The area between these two is a good place for big ships to drop anchor. Here, wherever you dig the ground two handspans deep on the Anatolian shore, fresh water starts gushing. Rounding İnce Cape from here, even if one goes as far as Değirmendere, one cannot find a very good place to anchor as it is all mountainous. There is no known suitable anchorage for galleys [çekdürür gemiler]. Değirmendere is a bay. There is a creek in Değirmendere bay. The mill [at the foot of the creek] turns with water power. People do not drink it if they do not have to, as it is bitter. The shore near this water is shallow and suitable for anchoring. From here Zönbeki island is two miles to the east.⁶¹

The accompanying map of Piri Reis in *Kitab-ı Bahriye* delineates the *sancak-ı Menteşe* ili of the *vilâyet-i Anadolu*; starting with the channel and going counter-clockwise, he indicates Karye-i Dadya, Doğan Burnı, Liman-ı Mersincik, Tekir Limanı, Karye-i Bedye, Kalsoğ, Balamut Bükü, İnce Burın, Değirmen Deresi, and Ilıca⁶² (Fig. 2).

Evliya on Piracy and the Switch to Life Farms

The most evocative Ottoman account of the promontory and its settlements is provided by Evliya Çelebi, who called it “Dacca” in the 1670s. Leaving Kos (İstanköy) on 29 September 1671 (25 Cemaziyelevvel 1082) for Rhodes, and coming upon eight Christian galleons as they rounded Tekirburnu, Evliya and his comrades saved their lives by taking refuge by the shores of the peninsula (*Menteşe hakkında Poça kıyılarına can atup can kurtarınca ...*). Then, by moving 18 miles eastward along the shores of Poça (?), and another 11 miles along the Dacca shore (*Poça kenarınca şarka on sekiz mil gidiüp Dacca kenarınca on mil dahi ubur edüp*), they reached Kal’a-ı Kiliseli:

... the ruined fortress is on a rocky promontory, but it has a fine bay. Once it was a well-built landing place. On the shores of Menteşe, is the heavenly *kaza* called Dac-

61 Corrected and modified from B. Arı (ed.), *Piri Reis. Kitab-ı Bahriye. Book of Navigation* (Ankara 2002), 190-191.

62 Compare W. Brice, C. Imber and R. Lorch, *The Aegean Sea-Chart of Mehmed Reis ibn Menemenli, A.D. 1590-1* (Manchester 1977).

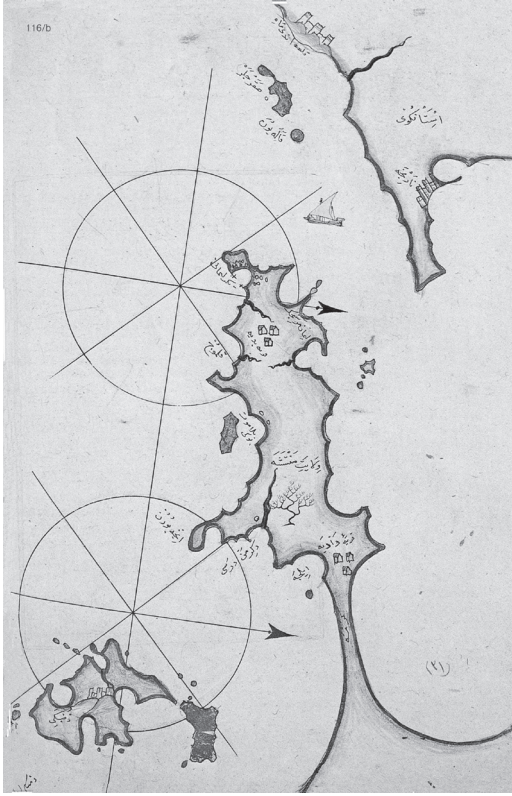


Fig. 2: The map which accompanies the description of Piri Reis in *Kitab-ı Bahriye* delineates the *sancak-ı Menteşe* ili of the *vilâyet-i Anadolu*; starting with the channel and going counter-clockwise, he indicates Karye-i Dadya, Doğan Burnı, Liman-ı Mersincik, Tekir Limanı, Karye-i Bedye, Kalmoç, Balamut Bükü, İnce Burın, Değirmen Deresi, and Ilıca. From: Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, Vol. II (Ankara 1988), 514 (fol. 116b).

ca [Dadya], Becce [Bedye] and Darahiye [Tarahya] with revenues of 80[,000] *akçes*, and with no town whatsoever. Settlements, altogether 47 villages, are all inhabited by rebellious Turks. It is the *hass* of the Pasha of Menteşe, governed by a *voyvoda*. God forfend, it is an inaccessibly steep, hooked and crooked, stony country like Europe. They saw our approach after being driven away by the infidels, but did not have mercy on us, these Turks, not even to offer us some water.⁶³

This is a promontory which measures 80 miles from west to east. To one side are the shores of Symi, and to the other, Kos. The villages are on a cape, and their people are mutinous fighters. Three days before our arrival, Maltese ships brought soldiers to

63 "... bir alçak kaya üzre bir burunda vîrân kal'adır ammâ bir a'lâ yatak yeri limanı var. Mâtekaddem gâyet ma'mûr iskele imiş. Menteşe kenârlarında Dacca ve Poça ve Dârâhiyye kazâsı derler seksen akçe kazâ-i âsumânîdir, aslâ kasabası yoktur. Cümle nâhiyesi kırk yedi pâre âsî Türk kurâlarıdır. Ve dahi Menteşe paşasının hâssıdır. Voyvodası hükmeder. Ne'üzübillâh gâyet sarp ve çengelistân ve sengistân-misâl Frengistân yerlerdir. Bizi kâfir kovup "el-amân" deyü yanaşdığımız görüp ve Türk bizi dūr (?) edüp bir içim su vermediler. Allâhümme âfînâ" (*Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. 9. *Kitap*, 118). I would hereby like to suggest that the toponym which has been transliterated as Poça, and also as Peçe, Püçe or even Yenice, should be read as Becce.

plunder the villages with the intent of obtaining grain and slaves. The aforementioned rebellious Turks, seven or eight thousand of them, gathered in one place and marched to the seashore to shoot at the ships from the rocks and to drive them off. None of the infidels caught ashore was able to run away. They were put to the sword, and those who escaped the sword were enslaved to herd goats on the hills. Although accursed, this is a brave, forceful and mighty people. In the end, not having succeeded in receiving a single loaf of bread from these people ...⁶⁴

Typically, Evliya's figures of around 47 villages (*karyelkura*) inhabited by 7-8,000 unruly Turks (pirates and bandits) are quite inflated. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that even in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Knights of St John, once based in Rhodes and then in Malta, remained a tangible, menacing presence along the Menteşe coastline. Evliya's account of Dadya merits re-reading in the context of the attempt of impoverished communities backwatered by the mainstream of development to compensate themselves through piracy in the golden ages of the Mediterranean *corso*, 1580-1680.⁶⁵ And despite his tendency to exaggerate, he does provide substantial information regarding administrative and tax units: at the time there were no towns (*kasaba*) on the peninsula; Dadya [Dacca] was a *kaza* of Menteşe; it was part of the governor's *hass*, and its taxes were collected by a *voyvoda* sent or assigned by the governor; the revenues of the *kaza* of Dadya (with the centre alternately moving to Bedye or Tarahya) came to 80[,000] *akçes*. Compared with the revenues of Kasım Paşa in 1517, the taxable resources of Dadya seem to have almost tripled over a century and a half. This had gone hand in hand with other, more structural, changes. By the 1670s, for example, it seems that provincial governors no longer relied on agents called *emins* to collect their revenues, but had already begun to farm out this right to local tax farmers who went by titles such as *subaşı*, *voyvoda* or *mütesellim*.⁶⁶ Thus, in this case, the governor's *voyvoda* could have

64 "Ve bu mahal garbdan şarka seksen mîl bir burundur. Bir cânibi Sönbeki adası kıyılarıdır. Ve bir cânibi Gökova körfezidir. Ancak bir burun üzre bu kazâ kurâları âsi tufeng-endâz kavimdir. Ammâ bizden üç gün evvel Malta gemileri bu kenâre asker döküp kurâları gâret edüp zahâyir ve esîr almak murâd edinüp asker döker. Mezkûr âsî Türkler fi'l-hâl yedi sekiz bini bir yere cem' olup hemân leb-i deryâyâ seğırdüp kâfir gemilerin kayalar mâbeyninden kurşum ile döğe döğe alarka ederler. Beri cânibde küffâr karada kalup aslâ birisi halâs olmayup dendân-ı tiğden geçirüp bakıyyetü's-seyfi esîr edüp dağlarında keçî güderler idi. Gerçi mel'ûn kavimdir, ammâ gâyet bahâdır ve pehlivân ve tûvânâ kavimdir. El-hâsıl bu kavimden bir nân-pâre alamayup ..." (ibid., 118).

65 P. Fodor, 'Piracy, Ransom Slavery and Trade: French Participation in the Liberation of Ottoman Slaves from Malta during the 1620s', *Turcica*, 33 (2001), 121, after M. Fontaney, 'The Mediterranean 1500-1800: Social and Economic Perspectives', in V. Mallia-Milanes (ed.), *Hospitaller Malta, 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem* (Msida, Malta 1993), 75-76; W. J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion, 1000-1020/1591-1611* (Berlin 1983). See also E. Ginio, 'Piracy and Redemption in the Aegean Sea during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', *Turcica*, 33 (2001), 135-147.

66 Another name for *voivode* or *voyvoda* was *hass zâbiti*; TDVİA, s.v. 'Has'; E. Ş. Batmaz, 'İltizam Sisteminin XVIII. Yüzyıldaki Boyutları', *AÜ DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 18/29 (1996),

been a local magnate from Dadya (as opposed to notables residing in the district seat of Muğla). This fits in with our modern understanding that the *malikâne* rescript of 1695 simply legalised a *de facto* situation, or at least an on-going process.⁶⁷ In other words, it is quite possible that the *hass*-holder might have already 'sold' his revenue rights or entitlements to a sub-contractor, who would thereby achieve distinction among his local peers.

An Ancien-Régime Complexity

At the turn of the eighteenth century we find Menteşe to have been annexed to Aydın. Since the early seventeenth century, the governors (*mutasarrıf*) of Menteşe had been the *muhasşıls* of Aydın. Together with Canik and the Morea, Aydın enjoyed the status of being governed by those who were appointed primarily as tax collectors of the *havass-ı hümayun*.⁶⁸ The earliest documents pertaining to the appointment of a *muhasşıl* at Menteşe/Aydın identify a certain (Mağsub) Ahmed Paşa in 1714 and then again in 1715.⁶⁹ In the 1717-1718 provincial appointment registers, Menteşe was recorded as *malikâne*, which meant that the governors were no longer appointed from among the *enderun* graduates. Local notables of diverse backgrounds, who could also be non-Muslims, could start climbing up the social ladder by being appointed *mütesellim* or *voyvoda*, and charged with collecting the revenues due to absentee state officers or *malikâne*-holders. Growing rich through such life farms (*malikâne*), some rose further as governors. Küçükçelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi says that this shift in provincial governorships from *enderun* graduates to local power-brokers took place in 1726.⁷⁰ However, given that *muhasşıls* were being entrusted with collecting *sancakbeyis*' revenues from (at least) 1609 onwards, the locals' encroachments or takeover could have started much earlier.

In the registers of 1735-1736, Menteşe's administrative status was once more redefined as *muhasşılık-malikâne*.⁷¹ There was a striking difference between the aforementioned Mağsub Ahmed Paşa and those who followed him over the next decade and more, namely Polad Ahmed Paşa and his two sons: the latter maintained the *muhasşılık* of

39-50; Y. Özkaya, 'XVIII. Yüzyılda Mütesellimlik Müessesesi', *DTCF Dergisi*, 17/3-4 (1970), 369-390.

67 E. Özvar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Uygulaması* (İstanbul 2003), 20 n. 19.

68 Aydın (with the addition [*mülhakat*] of Menteşe and Saruhan), Canik and the Morea were the three *sancaks* which were classified as *muhasşılık*. Kılıç argues that the first *muhasşıl* of Aydın/Menteşe was a certain Abdullah Paşa, and that it was on 11 November 1716 that Menteşe and Saruhan were annexed to Aydın; O. Kılıç, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı. Eyalet ve Sancak Tevcihatı* (Elazığ 1997), 118, 228. Also see other notes below.

69 C.ADL 8/524, 16 March 1714 (29 Safer 1126): Aydın and Menteşe *muhasşısı* Ahmed Paşa; C.DH 57, 26 December 1715 (29 Zilhicce 1127): Menteşe *muhasşısı* Hacı Ahmed.

70 *Tarih-i Çelebizade Asım Efendi* (İstanbul 1282/1865-1866), 441-442; see R. Karagöz, *Canikli Ali Paşa* (Ankara 2003), 5.

71 Bâb-ı Asaî Rûûs Kalemî (A.RSK) No. 1568 (1718) and No. 1572 (1736), both after Kılıç, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı*, 36.

Menteşe *ber vech-i malikâne*. Thus, although there was the appearance of a rapid turnover, the governorship was actually rotating among a few pashas who happened to be related to one another, so that the *malikâne* remained within the family.⁷² The governors of Mentese were no longer residents at the centre.⁷³ In the second half of the eighteenth century, if not earlier, the *muhasşıl*s often appointed proxies from among the *mütesellim*s (by then, the local notables of the region) to collect the tax revenues.

At this point it is necessary to tidy up some confusion in the secondary literature which derives, for the most part, from reliance on the oral testimony of members of prominent families of Muğla in the 1960s. Thus, it has been claimed that the first *mütesellim*s in the Mentese *sancak* made their appearance in 1739, when the collection of Mihrümah Sultan's waqf revenues began to be administered by sub-contractors, *mütesellim*s and *ayan*.⁷⁴ The claim that the state lands in Mentese were mainly the waqf land of Mihrümah

72 Uykucu appears to have been mistaken in identifying a certain Hüseyin Paşa in 1735 (20 Zilhicce 1147) as the earliest *muhasşıl* in Mentese (*Menteşe sancağı mallarına ber vech-i malikâne muhasşılığına*); but he correctly lists his successors: first, Ahmed Paşa (misread Pozad by Uykucu) on 26 February 1735 (3 Şevval 1147); second, Mehmed Paşa Çelik; and third, Ahmed Paşa (Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 133). The last two were the sons of Pulad/Polad Ahmed Paşa; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, Vol. 1 (Istanbul 1996), 218. This Pulad/Polad Ahmed Paşa, of Arab origin, was appointed *beylerbeyi* of Sivas in September 1731, *beylerbeyi* of Adana in July 1733, and then *beylerbeyi* of Aleppo, before coming to be appointed *muhasşıl* of Aydın in 1735. On 29 May 1737, his son, Çelik Mehmed, followed him into office; C.BH 85/4082 (29 Muharrem 1150). On 7 July 1737, the *sancaks* of Aydın and Mentese were given to the same Mehmed Bey, son of Pulad/Polad Ahmed Paşa, *muhasşılık vechiyle ... malikâne deruhde*; A.RSK 1572, 2, after Kılıç, 18. *Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı*, 40, 116. Mehmed was dismissed in December 1738, and his father Ahmed Paşa returned to office. Soon, however, he too was dismissed and exiled to Chios for having failed to capture Sarı Beyoğlu, and was replaced by Sadaret Kaymakamı Ahmed Paşa (?). On 21 February 1742, Pulad/Polad Ahmed is referred to as the late, former *muhasşıl* of Aydın; C.ML 764 (15 Zilhicce 1154). On 24 February 1743, the late, former *muhasşıl* Pulad/Polad Ahmed Paşa's son, Ahmed Bey, was appointed *mir-i miran* of Saruhan and Mentese (to maintain the revenues of *mukataat*, *cizye*, *avarız*, which had been under his late father's jurisdiction); C.DH 73 (29 Zilhicce 1155). In subsequent years we also encounter a Yedekçi Mehmed Paşa and a Yeğen Mehmed Paşa, who may also have been related to Pulad/Polad Ahmed Paşa.

73 It is curious to find that governors of Mentese were not included in the appointment registers of 1717-1730; F. Başar, *Osmanlı Eyâlet Tevcihâtı (1717-1730)* (Ankara 1997). Neither was the entire *eyalet* of Anadolu, and therefore also Mentese, included in the *sancak tevcih* registers of 1735-1736. Records of appointments entered at the beginning of these last-named registers classify Mentese as the *mülhakat* of Aydın *muhasşılığı*; Kılıç, 18. *Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı*, 52-53 n. 40 and n. 44.

74 It seems that this claim was first made by Uykucu shortly after the first edition of his *Muğla Tarihi* in 1967 (K. E. Uykucu, 'Menteşe'nin Türkleşmesi', unpublished study notes, Kızıltoprak Eğitim Enstitüsü, 1969-1970). While Uykucu did not include the assertion that "in 1522, Süleyman I bequeathed 29 units of *çiftlik*s in Mentese to his daughter Mihrümah upon his return from Rhodes" in the 1983 edition of *Muğla Tarihi*, the claim found its way into the secondary literature through Ü. Türkerş, *Muğla İli Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları: Yerkesik* (Istanbul 1971), 86-87 and 112.

Sultan, daughter of Süleyman I, is unfounded.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, there is an insistence on other, precise dates which are close to 1739, such as 1741 for the first recorded *mütesellim* of Muğla.⁷⁶ It is also alleged, in quite detailed fashion, that Mahmud I had appointed a certain Ali Agaki his *kapudan-ı derya*; this is somehow connected with the appointment of a sub-contractor, *mütesellim*, for the peninsula in 1749.⁷⁷ This, too, remains unsubstantiated, though sometimes *kapudans*, like *derebeys*, did become established as notables along the Ottoman seaboard.⁷⁸

But meanwhile, a reverse process was also operating in the *sancak* of Menteşe whereby some of its revenue sources were being allocated out as pensions (*arpalık*) in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and its *arpalık*-recipient absentee governors (*muhasıl*) were being represented by *mütesellims*.⁷⁹ This confirms, if such confirmation were need-

75 My research on the *vakfiyes* of Mihrimah Sultan at the Archives of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara has not yielded any reference to waqfs in the sub-province of Menteşe. Furthermore, in the waqf sections of the various sixteenth-century tax registers for this area, there is no mention of any revenues allocated to Mihrimah. For a long time, waqfs in Muğla were established by local sheikhs and other *ulema*; Ottoman Sultans and top administrators do not appear to have established waqfs in Muğla (at least not until relatively late in the eighteenth century); Faroqhi, 'Menteşeoğullarından Osmanlılara Muğla', 23. In 1793, however, Selim III's mother Mihrişah Sultan (d. 1805) did endow property in the region (deeding thirteen *çiftlik*s in Menteşe, two in Muğla and thirteen in Köyceğiz) to her waqf; Ankara Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi K. 177 (H. 1208/1793). For the names of the thirteen *çiftlik*s in Köyceğiz, see Z. Eroğlu, *Muğla Tarihi* (Izmir 1939), 250. It is possible that Uykucu (and, following him, others) have confused Mihrişah with Mihrimah, and 1793 with 1739. Two documents reflect this confusion. One of them, a document dated 18 May 1837 (12 Safer 1253), indicates that the 29 *çiftlik*s of Mihrişah Sultan were farmed out to Tavaslı Osman Ağa for 135,000 *guruş* for five years and that Hasan Çavuşzade Ebu Bekir Ağa was willing to pay 150,000 *guruş* to take them over (HAT 1303). Another document, dated 13 March 1840 (9 Muharrem 1256), shows that before Tavaslı Osman Ağa's five-year lease came to an end, the 29 *çiftlik*s were farmed out to Ebu Bekir, his brother Osman, and their two sisters (HAT 1425). However, neither the Tavaslıs nor the Çavuşzades were able to benefit from these *çiftlik*s; according to the regulations imposed in 1839, the *çiftlik*s in question were entrusted to the administration of a *muhasıl*.

76 Cevdet Zabtıye 1201 (1741), after Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 126, on Yusuf Bey, the *mütesellim* of Muğla, who was killed by bandits in Megri.

77 N. Tuna, 'Batı Anadolu Kent Devletlerinde Mekan Organizasyonu. Knidos Örneği', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ege Üniversitesi, 1983, 228. Also see note 103 below. This particular allegation apart, for comparing the development of Cnidus with that of Yerkesik in the same period, see Türkeş, *Muğla İli Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları*.

78 A. C. Eren, *Mahmud II. Zamanında Bosna-Hersek* (Istanbul 1965), 22-24; Ç. Uluçay, 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık ve Halk Hareketleri (Istanbul 1955), 14; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Meşhur Rumeli Âyanlarından Tirsinikli İsmail, Yılıkoğlu Süleyman Ağalar ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa* (Istanbul 1942), 5-6.

79 Uykucu claims that this process began after 1751, but provides no source references; Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 124; Idem, *Marmaris Tarihi* (Istanbul 1970), 52. For the 1716 allocation of Menteşe as *arpalık* to Mustafa Paşa, ex-*beylerbeyi* of Bosnia, simultaneously with his appointment as the commander of the Belgrade fortress, see Kılıç, 18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı, 97, 111, 118.

ed, that such terms as *muhassıl* or *mütesellim* did not correspond to the fixed, precisely defined meanings and hierarchies that we associate with modernity, and that especially in local usage they lent themselves to significant slippages.

The Leading Mütesellim Families of Muğla-Menteşe

That said, what I have been able to locate as the earliest evidence on this area's *mütesellims* concerns an *ayan* of Tavas by the name of Hasan Ağa, who is cited as having been murdered at home by brigands on 3 September 1758.⁸⁰ Since an early generation of studies on eighteenth and nineteenth-century Muğla, new documents have become available, enabling us to develop a more precise chronology.⁸¹ On the basis of my own archival research, I would provisionally suggest the following: 1762-1782: Köyceğizli (*ayan* of Milas) Hasan Çavuşzade Hacı Ahmed Ağa; 1782-1786: Tavaslı Hacı Ömer Ağa; 1786-1794: Köyceğizli Hasan Çavuşzade Hacı Ebu Bekir; 1794-1817: Milaslı/Tavaslı Seyyid Ömer Ağa; 1817-1829/1830: a period of confusion, during which Tavaslı Hüseyin Ağa, Mehmed Emin Ağa, and Silâhşor Yahya Bey seem to have been tried out for this position in quick succession; 1829/1830-1848: Tavaslı Osman Ağa, and his son Mehmed as his proxy.

This tentative sequence is not without its problems (on which, more below). Nevertheless, it shows that from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, the descendants of Hasan Ağa, who came to be known as the Tavaslıs or Tavasogulları, were engaged in a constant struggle against their arch-rivals, the Köyceğiz-based Çavuşogulları, as well as a third, Milas-based family known as the Abdülaziz Ağaoğulları, over the office of *mütesellim* and hence over the right to farm the state lands around Muğla. Such notables, seizing deserted *dirliks* or *arpalıks*, appropriated property rights over large landholdings to establish a local power base, and thereby also to carve out an existence autonomous of the centre. In the end, the Tavaslıs were the winners – for which reason they were also called ‘the Menteşe dynasty’ (*Menteşe hanedanı*).⁸² This victory, however, came right on the eve of the Tanzimat – which would terminate the office of *mütesellim*, and begin to replace all this *ancien-régime* complexity with the building blocks of a gradually emerging modern state.

It so happens that we now possess a wealth of documents pertaining to the *mütesellims* of Menteşe. They show, among other things, that these *mütesellims* (or their family members) were granted the honorific of *kapıcıbaşı*, implying a certain recognition by the central authorities. The earliest reference to a *mütesellim* who also became *kapıcıbaşı* concerns the son, Ebu Bekir, of a long-standing *mütesellim*, Hasan Çavuşzade Hacı Ahmed

80 C.ML 146 (29 Zilhicce 1171). For the sixteenth and nineteenth-century history of Tavas, see M. S. Kütükoğlu, XVI. Asırda Tavas Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisâdî Yapısı (Istanbul 2002), and Eadem, XIX. Asır Ortalarında Tavas Kazası (Istanbul 2007).

81 It is especially the information provided by Uykucu (*Muğla Tarihi*, 124-134) on *mütesellims* that needs to be updated in the light of new evidence.

82 For *Menteşe hanedanı*, see A.MTK.UM 81 (7 Zilkade 1271).

Ağa. This Ahmed Ağa himself was never made or called *kapıcıbaşı*, but Ebu Bekir was made *kapıcıbaşı* in 1772, upon his appointment as *başbuğ* of Sakız/Chios, while his aged father was still *mütesellim* at Menteşe/Muğla.⁸³ From early 1782 onwards, Tavaslı Kapıcıbaşı Seyyid Hacı Ömer Ağa (the son-in-law of Milaslı Abdülaziz Ağa) appears as both *mütesellim* and *kapıcıbaşı*.⁸⁴ After the janissary corps was abolished in 1826, only 30 notables, in both the capital and the provinces, kept the title *kapıcıbaşı* while the rest were retired with a pension of 300 *guruş*. Then, in 1840, the chronicler Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi says that the number of *kapıcıbaşıs* was increased to 40, and they were annexed to the imperial stables.

The Tavaslı house was wealthy, powerful, and durable. They were also related by marriage to their rivals, so much so that (especially in the absence of distinctive family names) it is frequently difficult to distinguish between individuals with identical first names who appear to belong to different dynasties but who could also be the same person. For example, during Ömer's tenure as *mütesellim* of Menteşe, two of his brothers, Osman and Hasan, were also referred to as *ayan* of Tavas. In time, of these two brothers it is said to have been Osman who succeeded Ömer as the new *mütesellim*, and remained in office until the Tanzimat, when he was appointed *kaymakam* of Menteşe. As indicated above, around 1840 it was this Tavaslı Osman Ağa who was in power in Muğla. To repeat, he was (said to be) a brother of Ömer – but which Ömer was this? Tavaslı Hacı Ömer Ağa (*mütesellim* over 1782-1786), or Milaslı Ömer Ağa (*mütesellim* over 1794-1817)? Osman and the former are separated by at least 44 years, while between Osman and the latter, there seemingly lies the problem of Tavas vs Milas. But neither can it be ruled out that Tavaslı Ömer and Ömer, the *ayan* of Milas, might have been one and the same.⁸⁵ Ahmed Lûtfî lists the names of the various *kapıcıbaşıs* in his time, and states that those who were retired after 1826 became destitute (having been deprived of their access to means of wealth).⁸⁶ But the *mütesellims* of Menteşe/Muğla are not listed among this select group. The dynastic rule of *mütesellims* in the former *sancak* of Menteşe seems to have come to an end with Tavashioğlu Osman Ağa and his son (Hacı Mütesellim) Me-

83 C.AS 992 (29 Ramazan 1186).

84 C.BH 185/8697 (29 Safer 1196/13 February 1782).

85 Archival sources themselves can be inconsistent in their usage. Thus, in all except one of some 40 documents, *kapıcıbaşı* and later *mütesellim* Ebu Bekir is always referred to as from Köyceğiz, while in that one exception he is mentioned as “Ağrıdos (?) ayanı”. He was appointed to the office of *mütesellim*, however, to replace his father, the *ayan* of Milas. This could also be the case for the (apparently) ‘two’ Ömers in question. Documents referring to a certain Ömer Ağa as being “of Milas” are C.BH 113/5453 (6 Rebiyülevvel 1232), C.DH 42 (27 Ramazan 1205), HAT 209 (29 Zilhicce 1205). The indication that Ömer Ağa was too old to participate in a campaign in 1810 may also suggest his long, but interrupted, tenure in office and regional politics; HAT 632 (20 Rebiyülevvel 1225). Furthermore, it is understood that the family was resident in the village of Hırka in Tavas; Kütükoğlu, *XIX. Asır Ortalarında Tavas Kazası*, 17, 21.

86 Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi, *Vak'anüvis Lûtfî Efendi Tarihi*, Vol. 5 (Istanbul 1999), 820-821. In 1851, yet another adjustment was made vis-à-vis the *kapıcıbaşıs*. The rank or title was finally abolished in 1908; see *TDVİA*, s.v. ‘Kapıcı’ (A. Özcan).

hmed Ağa in the period 1829-1839.⁸⁷ However, both are registered in state documents as bearers of the title of *kapıcıbaşı* – until at least 1852.⁸⁸

A Mid-Nineteenth-Century Encounter

The Tavaslıs' marriage connections extended to yet more peripheral families, too, including the Tuhfezades in Dadya. To put it in another way, this urban-based dynasty at the provincial centre had lesser allies who became instrumental in collecting taxes and recruiting soldiers in the *kazas* and *nahiyes*.⁸⁹ The *mütesellims* of Menteşe certainly needed *voyvodas* in Dadya. Evliya Çelebi's remarks about the hostility of the land and its people should be taken as indicative of the difficulties of maintaining authority and collecting taxes in the area. As Evliya noted, settlements on the unyielding peninsula were few and far between. He did not see many peasants busying themselves with cultivating a land that he chose to describe as steep and rocky. Moreover, he knew the north-western coastline of Becce/Bedye to be all the more barren, remote, and inaccessible.

In the collective memory of today's locals, behind Dadya and Bedye there lurk two (fictive) brothers, Dayî Ağa and Bedî Ağa, who are believed to have established themselves as local magnates at some time. Not surprisingly, their origins are said to have been in plunder. Pirates raiding and pillaging along the Aegean and Mediterranean coastline – as indeed at many other times and places – were embryonic robber-barons, ready to turn into local despots wherever they found the opportunity to settle. The most revealing primary sources on how locals co-operated with pirates, tipping them off about ships carrying precious merchandise, or provisioning and sheltering, even joining them, are court records, or captives' extremely rare first-person narratives.⁹⁰ But both are missing in the case of pre-nineteenth-century Dadya. On the other hand, a few travellers, who were mostly preoccupied with exploring antiquities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, wrote about the peninsula, its dispersed settlements and its people, often including its quasi-piratical local tyrants.

Particularly noteworthy in this regard is the account of Charles Thomas Newton, the explorer of Halicarnassus and ancient Cnidus, who wrote (in 1857/1858):

87 Osman Ağa's wife Ümmügülsüm is mentioned in connection with her charity work in the 1830s. The mosque of Şeyh Sucaeddin in Muğla was restored under her auspices in 1830; Eroğlu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 135, 138.

88 HAT 754 (29 Zilhicce 1250); C.DH 345 (22 Cemaziyelevvel 1251); C.ML 561 (25 Rebiyülâhır 1268).

89 For example, a certain Süleyman Efendi, the judge of Yerkesiği, was famous as the right-hand man of Tavaslıoğlu Osman Ağa in 1830-1848; Türkeş, *Muğla İli Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları*, 86.

90 Invaluable in this regard are the memoirs of a seventeenth-century poet called Esirî (the Captive), whose real name was Hüseyin bin Mehmed, and who was captured by the Maltese in 1625 and held in Messina. His narrative includes his captivity, the torment of his imprisonment, his desperate attempts to escape, and his eventual ransoming; G. Kut, 'Esirî, His 'Sergüzeşt' and Other Works', *JTS*, 10 (1986), 235-244.



Fig. 3: Charles Newton at the Theatre, Cnidus.

I have lately had a visit from a remarkable character, who rules the peninsula like an ancient “tirannos”. His name is Mehemet Ali – he is the Aga of a place called Datscha, halfway between Cape Crio and Djova [Giova: Gökova?], and near the site of ancient Acanthus. Smith [a lieutenant in Newton’s company] paid him a visit in the autumn, when we purchased some timber of him. He is an Aga, and can trace his descent from Dere Beys for several generations⁹¹ (Fig. 3).

The three themes which emerge from Newton’s introduction are that ‘Mehmed Ali’ was a despot; that he was involved in commerce, at least in the timber trade; and that even in their initial encounter ‘Mehmed Ali’ had already boasted of his lineage. They form a convenient framework for the rest of this study. Taking them up in reverse order, I shall start with investigating the origins and genealogy of Newton’s acquaintance. Second, I shall study his family mansion, and especially the murals in its reception room, as perhaps reflecting his complex identity against the background of his political, agricultural, and commercial activities at this junction of the Aegean and the Mediterranean. Fi-

91 C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, Vol. II (London 1865), 162. For ‘derebey’, see *İA*, s.v. ‘Derebeyler’ (J. H. Mordtmann).

nally, I shall explore aspects of his alleged tyranny, or of his being a usurper, *müteğallibe*, with the semi-official title of an *ağa* or a *derebey*, in an insular peninsula in the middle of the nineteenth century.

But first, I have to correct Charles Newton: the person he met in Dadya was not Meh[e]met Ali but Mehmed Halil (who had a son called Mehmed Ali). The celebrated archaeologist's mistake – for which I have no immediate explanation – has been carelessly passed on into the secondary literature, though mostly at the level of popular history. To avoid further confusion, I have inserted the correction 'Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil]' in quoting directly from *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*; otherwise, I have simply referred to the correct identity of the person concerned, namely Mehmed Halil Ağa, even where I have relied only on Newton's account.⁹²

Past, Pride, Pedigree

The pride that Mehmed Halil Ağa took in his ancestry was not a personality quirk, for he belonged to a local dynasty, the Tuhfezades, who had (and have) been boasting of their origins for many centuries. In fact, it is largely thanks to their family pride that we are able to learn anything about the settlement of their ancestors on the peninsula, though the story has yet to be picked up (and corroborated through) any official documentation.

About their beginnings, there exist three different accounts. The first is a genealogy of the Tuhfezade family which has been meticulously updated from one generation to the other. It identifies the head and founder of the family as a certain Ali Agaki (little *ağa* = little lord) from Crete. Curiously, a date, *Hicrî 1100* (H. 1100), is attached to his name, indicating perhaps that he arrived in Dadya around 1690 and settled in Elaki (a corruption of Allaki or Agaki?).⁹³ At Elaki, currently Reşadiye, there stands a mosque which was built by Newton's acquaintance Mehmed Halil Ağa. A much shorter version of the genealogy is displayed on an inscription panel located at the gate of this mosque, tracing Mehmed Halil Ağa's ancestors six generations back – down to a certain Ali-i Girid or Ali Giridî, and roughly to the last decade of the seventeenth century (Fig. 4). There is said to have been a yet shorter version of the family tree carved on rings that the family members proudly wore until perhaps the middle of the twentieth century.⁹⁴ Back to the mosque inscription:⁹⁵ the poet, with Lebib as his pen-name, uses the numerical equivalents of Arabic letters to give the date of construction as 1273/1856 in the last couplet. Mehmed Halil, the patron of the mosque, is praised as a *seyyid* and as *müdir-i Dadya*. He is said to have also built a *medrese* as well as many fountains in various neighbourhoods.

92 I am grateful to Dr Simon Price for bringing the 'Newton Papers' – the unpublished papers of Charles Newton in the British Museum – to my attention. Unfortunately, I have yet to be able to consult this corpus.

93 I am grateful to Fulya Bayık for providing me with copies of this family tree, and informing me that it was put into its current form by Özhan Ulusoy. Also see Ö. Ulusoy, 'Datça Turizmi Gelişme İmkanları', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Ege Üniversitesi, 1971.

94 Fulya Bayık, personal communication.

95 N. Açıkgöz, *Datça Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri* (Datça 2006), 176-177.



Fig. 4: Inscription panel at the gate of Mehmed Halil Ağa's mosque at Elaki.

At the very top, in the first four lines, the poet lists him together with five generations of his ancestors, thus expanding the family history backward over some 150 years: (6) Tuhfezade es-Seyyid Muhammed Halil, son of (5) el-Hac Halil, son of (4) Muhammed, son of (3) el-Hac Halil, son of (2) Muhammed, son of (1) Ali of Crete. Then comes the *tuğra* of Abdülmecid as the reigning Sultan, and two full quatrains followed by the concluding couplet. The full text of the inscription panel is as follows:

Tuhfe-zâde es-Seyyid
 Muhammed Halîl ibn
 el-Hâcc Halîl ibn Muhammed ibn el-Hâcc Halîl ibn
 Muhammed ibn Ali Girîdî
 [Abdülmecid's *tuğra*]
 Müdür-i Dâdiye Seyyid Muhammed sâhibü'l-hayrât
 İki âlemde de sa'yini meşkûr eylesin Mevlâ
 Be-tevfîk-ı Hüdâ mahzar olup ibrâz-ı hayrâtâ
 Bu şehri sû-be-sû her bir cihetden eyledi ihyâ
 Bu vâlâ câmi'i islamiyâna yâdigâr erdi
 İlâ-yevmi'l-kıyâme nâmın ilhâk eyleyib ibkâ
 Yapıb nev medrese bir kaç mahalde çeşmeler icâd
 Ahâliye inâyetler keremler eyledi hakkâ

Lebibâ yek kalemde söyledim târihini ben de
Muhammed Tuhfe-zâde etdi ihyâ câmi'-i ulyâ

Together with and reinforced by this genealogy, Ali Agaki of Crete survives vividly in family memory as the forefather who was given the peninsula as a 'gift' by the Ottoman authorities. This, then, is the meaning and derivation of their family name –Tuhfezadeler, which literally means 'the descendants of the Gift or Grant'.⁹⁶ Since it was in the 1690s that the first *malikânes* were farmed out,⁹⁷ it is quite possible that the Cretan ancestor, who could well have been a man of the sea who sided with the Ottomans during the final phase of the Cretan campaign (and then perhaps into the Great War of 1683-1699?), had been rewarded with some revenue units on the peninsula, which could have been given to him in fief (*dirlik*) as well as in freehold (*temlik*).

Foggy Memories?

The second version of Ali Agaki's story that has kept circulating, spreading from family members to a number of secondary sources, goes much further back, not to the completion of the conquest of Crete in the 1660s but to the conquest of Rhodes in 1522. Here the Tuhfezades are cast as a fief-holding (*zaim* or timariot) *sipahi* family whose ancestor had been assigned as *kâhya* or *kethüda* to Süleyman I's legendary Grand Admiral, Hayreddin Paşa Barbarossa.⁹⁸ When Hızır Reis rose to become Hayreddin Paşa, appointed

96 Much later, in Republican Turkey, descendants of the family took 'Armağan', also meaning gift, as their family name.

97 Since Mehmet Genç's seminal study 'Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Sistemi', in O. Okyar and Ü. Nalbantoğlu (eds), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri. Metinler – Tartışmalar* (Ankara 1975), 231-296, also see D. Günday, 'Tahrir Defterleriyle Mukataa Defterleri Arasında Mukayese', *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1/6 (1980), 207-212; A. Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme Dönemine Girerken Osmanlı Maliyesi* (İstanbul 1985); Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi*; A. Şener, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Vergi Sistemi* (İstanbul 1990); Y. Cezar, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nin Merkez Malî Bürokrasi Tarihine Giriş', *Dünyü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi*, 4 (1993), 129-160; A. Salzmann, 'Measures of Empire: Tax Farmers and the Ottoman Ancien Régime, 1695-1807', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1995; A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri* (İstanbul 1996); Batmaz, 'İltizam Sisteminin XVIII. Yüzyıldaki Boyutları'; E. Özvar, 'XVII. Yüzyılda Taşra Maliyesinde Değişim: Rum Hazine Defterdarlığından Tokat Voyvodalığına Geçiş', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1998; A. Salzmann, 'İmparatorluğu Özelleştirmek: Osmanlı XVIII. Yüzyılında Paşalar ve Ayânlar', in G. Eren (ed.), *Osmanlı*, Vol. III (Ankara 1999), 227-235; M. E. Sarıcaoğlu, *Mâlî Tarih Açısından Osmanlı Devletinde Merkez Taşra İlişkileri (II. Mahmud Döneminde Edirne Örneği)* (Ankara 2001); Özvar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Uygulaması*; B. Çakır, *Osmanlı Mukataa Sistemi (XVI-XVIII. Yüzyıl)* (İstanbul 2003).

98 We have it on M. Fethi Meltem's authority that he heard this version from the nephews and/or nieces of the last Ağa Mehmed Halil; M. F. Meltem, *Dağca'ya Ait Bildiklerim* (n.p. n.d.), 3. An interview with M. Fethi Meltem was conducted by Fulya Bayık on 22 April 2003 as part of the Dağca Oral History Project.

both Commander of the Ottoman navy and Governor-General of the Aegean islands in early 1534, the income of the newly established province of *Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid* (Islands of the White Sea = the Mediterranean) was allocated to the Grand Admiral and his leading captains, who now became governors of its *sancaks*: Gallipoli, Eğriboz, Karlılı, İnebahtı, Midilli, and Rhodes.⁹⁹ Ali Giridî is portrayed as having received his lands, too, somewhere in the midst of this process.

Of course, this is difficult to reconcile with elements of macro-history (Barbarossa, still Hızır Reis, did not personally participate in the siege of Rhodes, but sent a squadron under Kurdoğlu Muslihiddin, who was put in charge of naval operations), as well as with the chronology of the family tree: the H. 1100 date ascribed to Ali Agaki is not accounted for, and six generations are far too few to cover the three centuries or more between an Ali taken back to the 1520s (or 1530s) and the Mehmed Halil that we know in the 1840s-1860s. At the same time, the appearance of an earlier Cretan on the peninsula, granted a fief or freehold, is not altogether impossible. After all, there was an intimate relationship between Venetian Crete and Menteşe even before Ottoman times;¹⁰⁰ there also exist(ed) local families descended from religious or tribal leaders;¹⁰¹ converts had been operating in the area for a very long time, and (as with many pirates in history – a point which has already been made) it was all too common for some of the luckier or more successful ones to receive entry into the local military/landed classes. The Ali Giridî of the late seventeenth century could conceivably be inserted at mid-point into a much longer family history – as, perhaps, somebody who managed to build upon and expand a toehold dating from the 1520s or 1530s.

All this, however, need not imply anything more than that this second story (too) appears to have been woven of locally available, thus relatively plausible, motifs or elements. When we move to matters of evidence, finding documentary support for this version of the Tuhfezades' co-option into the Ottoman system is likely to prove much more problematic. I should note that in the family graveyard at Sındı (originally Sı[ğ]ındı: literally, the one who takes refuge or to whom shelter has been given), there is a tombstone which purports to belong to "Giridli Barbarosaki [= Little Barbarossa] Murad Ağa". It is not an original, and bears the very late date of "12.8.1924". It can only be taken as a pretentious reflection of the family infatuation with legendary links to Crete, to piracy, and to maritime achievement.¹⁰²

To some extent, this is also true of the third version, which claims that it was Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754) who in 1749 appointed a *kapudan-ı derya*, Ali Agaki, as sub-

99 İ. Bostan, 'The Establishment of the Province of Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid', in E. A. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Kapudan Pasha, His Office and His Domain. Halcyon Days in Crete IV. A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 7-9 January 2000* (Rethymno 2002), 241-251. Bostan notes that information about the sub-provinces of the province of Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid, especially in its early years, is insufficient.

100 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 126-136.

101 For a certain Hacı Ali Bey family from Ula, see Türkeş, *Muğla İli Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları*, 113.

102 This tombstone is not listed in Açıkgöz, *Datça Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri*.

contractor (*mütesellim*) for the peninsula.¹⁰³ What is involved here seems to be the grafting of a maritime myth on to more tangible stories of the rise of a family of *mütesellims* in the eighteenth century. The present lack of solid documentation notwithstanding, another tombstone in the family graveyard at Sı[ğ]ındı, dated 1749-1750 and belonging to a certain Tuhfezade Hüseyin Ağa, who is said to have been shot and killed when he was 27, confirms a mid-eighteenth-century presence for the family in Dadya.¹⁰⁴

Evidence for a New Start in the Late Seventeenth Century

Despite the vagueness and variance of all these versions, based on family members' testimony over the last quarter of the twentieth century, which, moreover, were put together by amateur historians without access to official records, the first (supported by the mosque inscription) is clearly stronger than the others, and the H. 1100 date on the pedigree does point in the direction of further explanations. It is just around this time, for example, that Bernard Randolph – an English aristocrat who visited many islands of the Archipelago in the 1680s – relates a number of stories regarding Cretan Greeks who had converted to Islam and then set out to search for their fortunes in these dangerous waters.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, tradition claims that a Maniot pirate by the name of Limberakis Yerakaris had been rowing in the Venetian galleys when he was captured by the Ottomans in 1667, whereupon the Grand Vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa offered to pardon him provided he co-operated with the Ottomans. He did so over the last years of the Cretan War; meanwhile, in his on-going struggle against other local families, and with the support of his new overlords, in 1670 he was able to build three fortresses (Kelefa, Zarnatas, Porto Kagio) across the Aegean from the Datça peninsula to contain Messa Mani. He thus became the *bey* of Mani. Sometime later, Yerakaris is said to have turned against the Ottomans and started attacking their convoys.¹⁰⁶

103 As already indicated (see note 77 above), there is no historical explanation whatsoever for this date, which nevertheless has come to be taken for granted in the secondary literature as well as on the internet. It seems to have been based on an oral account which was first registered in Tuna, 'Batı Anadolu Kent Devletlerinde Mekan Organizasyonu', 228.

104 Açıkgöz, *Datça Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri*, 98-99.

105 B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago (or Arches), Sea of Constantinople, and Gulph of Smyrna; with the Islands of Candia, and Rhodes ...* (Oxford 1687). One such convert had settled in Chios and had had a good life until he ran into trouble in Negroponte (Euboea/Eğriboz); *ibid.*, 2. A number of travellers in the Aegean, ranging from those in search of antiquities (such as Lord Charlemont in 1749 and Richard Chandler in 1764) to soldiers and statesmen (like the English admiral Sir Francis Beaufort in 1811-1812 and the French diplomat J. M. Tancoigne in 1811-1812), mentioned encounters with pirates whose identities may have been 'intranational', 'international' or 'transnational'.

106 After his brief triumph, one of Yerakaris' first acts was to exile his clan's enemies, the Iatriani family and the Stephanopoulos family, both originally of Oitylo. The former family moved to Livorno in 1670, and the latter to Corsica in 1676. Subsequently, Yerakaris himself was forced to flee to Italy. After the conquest of Crete, Maniots continued to fight against the Ottomans. In 1685, the Venetians went on the offensive and cleared the entire Morean peninsula of the Otto-

I shall therefore opt for the possibility that a certain Ali of Crete, also an equally ‘nationless’ pirate, could have proved helpful to the Ottomans during the final campaign (1664-1669) and remained loyal in the aftermath, coming to be rewarded with a fief in this vast yet infertile land. This is how he might have emerged as Ali Agaki, a minor *ağa* in the 1690s (for his revenues were insignificant to begin with). The H. 1100 = AD 1690 date on the pedigree also suggests that the Sultan Süleyman of the second version of Ali Agaki’s origins could be Süleyman II (r. 1687-1691), though certainly not Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566). The second Süleyman was the brother and successor of Mehmed IV, whose reign saw the finalisation of the conquest of Crete as Candia fell in 1669 (but then also defeat outside Vienna in 1683 and the near-collapse of the entire western front). Significantly, Süleyman II’s brief reign witnessed a new wave of land distribution in line with the preparations for the switch to life-farming that would become official in 1695. Furthermore, it was in the 1680s that the first *ayan* elections were undertaken in the provinces, allowing some local notables to assume publicly acknowledged power and authority and to come to represent a *kaza*. So there is a strong case for situating and contexting Ali Giriti’s origins in the midst of all these changes impacting on a remote countryside.

A Hypothetical Path from Piratical Origins to Power and Affluence through Life-Farming

Secondly, *malikâne*-isation and the rise of *ayan* to official recognition may also provide a hinge for unfolding the subsequent history of the family. We have seen that in 1517 and then again in 1671, the *hass* revenues of the grandees or governors in Dadya were being farmed out through intermediaries, initially by an *emin*, later by a sub-contractor or *voyvoda*. If – apart from everything that goes against this assumption – the Tuhfezades were indeed descended from the steward (or any other favourite) of Barbarossa, and given some land under any one or more of the possible revenue-sharing arrangements, they would have been inserted into the multiple transformations of Ottoman land tenure at a relatively early stage. As the *timar* system declined from the late sixteenth century onwards, old fiefs were divided up to be farmed out in parts and parcels to those men of wealth and influence who also had the means to appropriate deserted lands. It was at this time, too, that provincial governors began to sell the right to collect their tax revenues to local tax farmers (*mütesellim*, *subaşı* or *voyvoda*). In the eighteenth century, as the *malikâne-mukataa* system grew and expanded, former *dirlik* revenues were progressive-

mans. Many anti-Ottoman revolts also drove Greek refugees from Asia Minor or Crete to the Mani. Among these, Cretan refugees founded new villages with Cretan names, and enriched the Maniot dialect with Cretan words and idioms (which was not the case in the Dadya peninsula). In 1715, after the Venetians evacuated the Morea, Mani still retained its autonomy and provided a base for the rebels. During these years there were many civil wars between Maniot families. In 1770, the Greeks revolted all over the Morea; see P. Greenhalgh and E. Eliopoulos, *Deep into Mani: Journey to the Southern Tip of Greece* (London 1985); K. Kassis, *Mani’s History* (Athens 1979).

ly incorporated into the state budget; *hass*-holders came to receive salaries, stipends or pensions from the central treasury; and local notables, now with multiple roles as sub-contractors or deputies, were ever more firmly incorporated into the state apparatus. Furthermore, together with statesmen (*ricâl-i devlet*) at the centre, local notables (*ayan-ı vilâyet*), too, came to participate in the *malikâne-mukataa* auctions.

Thus, if it were really the case that the family's founding fathers had settled in the Dağca peninsula in the early sixteenth century, it was in the process of *mukataat*-isation that the Tuhfezades would have found opportunities to sneak past and above their peers, which, in turn, would have paved the way for them to establish themselves as *malikâne*-holders vis-à-vis first the *voyvodas* and then the *derebey*s themselves. Alternatively, if we accept that these founding fathers arrived in Dadya only after the final phase of the Cretan campaign, so that Ali Giridî/Agaki, or his descendants, were initially given land(s) in freehold and/or as *dirlik* only in the 1680s, though they would have entered the stream of tenurial change a century and a half later, there would still have been ample time for them to establish themselves. There are structural similarities between both cases, though we seem to be on more solid ground with a late-seventeenth-century context. This includes not only the dimension of piratical origins but also that of fortune-soldiering. After all, there were numerous *timar* and *zeamet*-holders of Menteşe who went to Crete together with their locally recruited militias.¹⁰⁷

Long-term usurpation 'rights' are likely to have come later, perhaps even after 1715, and in the meantime Ali and his descendants would have had to confront the line of *voyvodas* that Evliya mentions in 1671. While more systematic archival research might yield more information on the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century *voyvodas* or *ayan* of Dadya, the Tuhfezades do not seem to have been among the *malikâne*-holders of the first generation.¹⁰⁸ Leading specialists in the field have argued that after 1695, *miri mukataat* lands began to be (officially) life-farmed in Damascus, Aleppo, Diyarbakir, Mardin, Adana, Malatya, Gaziantep, and Tokat.¹⁰⁹ Menteşe was not among these. On the other hand, we now know that *malikâne*-isation was a product not only of decrees and decisions from above, but also of pressure from below. Thus, in many cases, legalisation from above was an attempt by the state to divert part of already *mukataa*-ised revenue sources to itself (in order to offset its growing fiscal starvation). In support of this we may point to fiefs which became vacant in the course of the eighteenth century (*mahlûl olan dirlikler*), including those which were abandoned by their holders. Unfortunately, so far neither Dadya nor its Tuhfezade lords have turned up in the documentation pertaining to the re-allocation of vacant *timars* to other fief-holders in this period in Menteşe.¹¹⁰

107 TT 786, which records, together with some forty other *kazas*, the *zeamet* and *timar*-holders in Menteşe, and lists those who showed up for the H. 1065 Cretan campaign (*piyadegânın yoklama defteri*).

108 See the exploration of the Tapu Tahrirs for Menteşe, TD 786 (1065), TD 841 and TD 844 (1105), TD 851 (1106), in Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla'.

109 Genç, 'Osmanlı Maliyesi'nde Malikâne Sistemi', 239.

110 Cevdet Timar (C.TZ), Cevdet Maliye (C.ML), and Ali Emiri Sultan Mustafa II (AE.SMST

Other Gaps in Our Knowledge until the Mid-Nineteenth Century

It was in reaction to such growth of local and provincial power, culminating in the *Sened-i İttifak* (Covenant of Union) of October 1808, that first Selim III, and more comprehensively Mahmud II (who succeeded to the throne on 28 July 1808), undertook their centralising measures. Thus, after 1812, these centripetal forces came to be gradually eliminated – by using one dynasty to crush or suppress another, by revoking their tax-collecting contracts, and by not renewing the rights of an *ayan* upon his death. Inevitably, this effort at modern state-making invested society with an increasing degree of homogenisation, so that local magnates or provincial dynasties began to grow more similar over the vast Ottoman geography. Nevertheless, in the absence of concrete evidence, we should not extrapolate from central or other provincial practices to what was actually happening in Dadya.

Still, it can be said, perhaps, that especially when a given local family did not have any great means of manoeuvring against the intimidation or coercive pressure exercised by (alliances of) other magnates, simply ensuring the continuity of family wealth and influence would have been important in itself. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1856 it should have been the officially accepted position of Mehmed Halil as *Müdir-i Dad[i]ya* that came to be inscribed in stone over the portal of the mosque that he commissioned.¹¹¹ Elsewhere in contemporary documents the family was referred to as *dere bey*, *vücu*, *mu'teberan*, *hanedan*, and *izzetlü* (honourable), all reflecting their status as the leading notables in the peninsula – but without attributing any official recognition.¹¹² *Derebey* (or *derre bey*), not in evidence in the state documentation regarding the Tuhfezades, is usually translated as ‘valley lord’ with a negative slant¹¹³ (though Sakaoğlu suggests that what it really meant was ‘distinguished bey’¹¹⁴). *Mütegalibe* is an even more strongly derogatory term which can be rendered as usurper or oppressor (of the *reaya*). In the state papers that I have studied, it, too, is not used to refer to any of the Tuhfezades that we know of. From the absence of these two key, heavily loaded terms, I would infer that the family never entered into open conflict with the central authorities or any comparable form of rivalry with other families of the gentry and notables.

II) have not yielded any results. Another possible location for the fiefs of the Datça peninsula could be the Defterhane-i Âmirî Timar Zeamet (Ruznamçe) Defterleri (DFE.RZ.d), which register the *zeamets* and *timars* of each *sancak*. I have been able to identify 160 registers in which Menteşe is included or mentioned.

111 Misread as “Müdir-i dâriye” in Açıkgöz, *Datça Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri*, 176-177.

112 For “dere bey”, see Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 162; for “vücu”, see M Defter 150 (dated 1885-1894), 46/256-257; for “mu'teberan”, see İ.DH 939/74333 (23 Rebiyülevvel 1302); for “hanedan” and “Elaki karyesi hanedanı”, see M Defter 152 (dated 1894-1898), 148/64-237; for “hanedan-ı belde”, see A.MKT.MHM 427 (8 Şaban 1285); for “izzetlü”, see M Defter 154, 192/67-443.

113 *EP*, s.v. ‘Derebey’ (J. H. Mordtmann).

114 N. Sakaoğlu, *Anadolu Derebeyi Ocaklarından Köse Paşa Hanedanı* (Istanbul 1998), 2-4.

In fact, the Tuhfezades look as if they were quite reconciled to not being on a par with the local elites of Menteşe/Muğla who were ceaselessly struggling for the posts of *mütesellim* and chief notable (*ayanbaşı*) among themselves. While the biggest *malikâne*-holders (originally *rical-i devlet*) were in Istanbul, where the auctions took place, there were also provincial auctions catering to the provincial gentry. Here the likes of the Tavas(lı)oğulları, Çavuşoğulları or Ağaoğulları competed with many others – including members of the bureaucracy, members of the military (*askeri*) class (such as janissaries, former *sancakbeyis* and others with the titles of vizier, pasha and *ağa*), members of the *ulema* (*seyyid*, *şeyh*, *müderres*), as well as locals who carried the *-zade* form of names or titles – for the rural and agricultural taxes as well as the proto-industrial revenues of south-western Anatolia, plus, of course, the power which went with the right to collect such taxes. The local gentry who managed to sub-contract for the *malikânes* of the absentee tax farmers in Istanbul thereby became *mütesellims*. They in turn farmed these revenues out to lesser local notables. The Tuhfezades would have entered this scene if they had been the *malikâne*-holders in Dadya. But in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, no conflict between them and the *mütesellims* of Menteşe is recorded – even though the Tuhfezades were allied with the Tavasogulları, and this could easily have led to problems with the Tavasogulları's arch-rivals from Köyceğiz, the Çavuşogulları, whenever the latter took over as the local sub-contractors or deputy governors. A related point is that while, in terms of their commercial interests, the Tuhfezades were not confined to their regional base and peninsular horizons, neither was there anything political at stake for them when they turned to face out to the Aegean.¹¹⁵

The House and the Household

These, then, are some of the possibilities for the Tuhfezades' eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century history, at the end of which we do see them as having emerged from obscurity into a Muslim, Ottoman, land-holding and power-brokering identity. With regard to the first dimension, it seems that it did not suffice for the successors of the Cretan founder of the family to embrace Islam; in time, they also came to boast of being a *seyyid*, i.e., a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, and had it written into their mosque inscription.¹¹⁶ As for the second aspect, although the Tuhfezades remained outsiders to the central state apparatus, if it had not been for anything else their family mansion would still stand out as the ultimate symbol of their appropriation of Ottomanicity.

As we shall see, both statements need to be qualified. But meanwhile, with regard to the third characteristic, it is Charles Newton, the first eye-witness to provide us with

115 For a distinction between imperial, regional, and local elites, see M. M. Meeker, *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity* (Berkeley 2002), Table 2, 224–225.

116 For a discussion of the significance of the increase in the claim to be a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad especially in the eighteenth century, see H. Canbakal, 'On the 'Nobility' of Provincial Notables', in Anastasopoulos (ed.), *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire*, 39–50.

direct evidence regarding the family, who remarks that, in 1858, Ali Agaki's great-grandson Mehmed Halil Ağa was no longer an adventurer of the seas but lived "in a patriarchal fashion, with four harems, flocks, herds, bee-hives, fig-trees, and gardens innumerable".¹¹⁷ From the family tree, where neither birth nor death dates are indicated, we learn that Mehmed Halil Ağa had two sons and five daughters from his two wives. Newton, however, says that

his progeny is so numerous that he is the putative father of half the children in his village – all these, the offspring of concubines, run about in rags, while the rights of inheritance are reserved for the two recognized sons, both children of a beautiful Circassian, a present from Halil Pasha, the late brother-in-law of the sultan, in exchange for a landed estate in Cos.¹¹⁸

This is a mine of information, though not without its problems. In the genealogy, there is no record of Mehmed Halil Ağa's other wives or concubines, suggesting that Newton's statement could be an exaggeration based on the Islamic consent to taking as many as four wives. The same genealogy does indicate, however, that of the two wives, one, Feriştah Hanım, was the daughter of the *ağa* of Tavas, who at the time was Ömer Ağa. This is noteworthy in itself, for Tavas was quite a distance from Dadya, and Ömer Ağa was a long-time *mütesellim* who also carried the titles of *seyyid*, *hacı* and *kapıcıbaşı*. The other wife was Çerkes Cemalifer Hanım, and she, certainly, was the gift of Halil Paşa whom Newton painstakingly identified.

Concubines and Courtesans

A fine tombstone in the Elaki/Reşadiye mosque graveyard (Fig. 5) reveals that "Tavazlı el-Hacc Ömer Efendi'nin kerîmesi, Tuhfe-zâde el-Hacc Halil Ağa'nın ehli", Feriştah Hanım, had died on 7 September 1810.¹¹⁹ It is embellished with a medallion at the bottom, at the centre of which is a bowl of apricots, while the border is decorated with crescents. Feriştah's father, Ömer Ağa, seems to have become the *mütesellim* of Menteşe on two different occasions: first in 1782-1786, and then in 1794-1812 (assuming, once more, that Tavazlı Hacı Ömer Ağa and Milaslı Seyyid Ömer Ağa are one and the same). In between was a troubled term when their enemies, as represented by Hasan Çavuşzade (Hacı Ahmed oğlu) Hacı Ebu Bekir, rose to the top (1786-1794).¹²⁰ This is the only time

¹¹⁷ Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 162.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ From Açıköz, *Datça Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri*, 82-83: "Hüve'l-hayyu'l-Bâkî/Emr-i Hak'la dürlü emrâz geldi benim tenime/Bulmadı sıhhat vücudum sebep oldu mevtime/Âkibet erdi eccl rihlet göründü canıma/Okuyup bir fâtiha irsal edin rûhuma/Tavazlı el-Hacc Ömer Efendi'nin kerîmesi Tuhfe-zâde el-Hacc Halil Ağa'nın ehli merhume Feriştah Hanım rûhuçün fâtiha. Fî 7 Ş Sene 1225".

¹²⁰ In June 1786, the French Ambassador Choiseul-Gouffier met Hasan Çavuş of Köyceğiz; he was in his eighties at the time, and had settled in Muğla with his sons and grandsons. His



Fig. 5: Feriştah Hanım's tombstone in the Elaki/Reşadiye mosque graveyard (7 Şaban 1225/7 September 1810).

when the lesser politics of this rather remote district came to touch upon and be noticed by Ottoman grand history.¹²¹ Ömer Ağa's second appointment lasted until his death, possibly in early 1812. Feriştah Hanım, Mehmed Halil's first wife, gave birth to two children: Murad Halil Ağa and Hacı Ayşe Hanım.

The name Feriştah (angel) suggests that concubines might have been sent as a gift to the *ağas* of Tavas, too, in which context her mother could also have arrived as a gift from the court in Istanbul. As the Tuhfezade family tree shows, girls' names preferred for the daughters of the family were Verdina (rose of whims and coquetry), Canfeza (a complex musical mode¹²²), Rengigül (colour of rose), Nevcihan (new world), Aynimah (moon-

wealth, as well as the mountainous terrain, had worked in his favour. By waiving half of the routine, state-imposed taxes, he had converted the local people into his own power base. In contrast, the local landlord in the Eskihişar area was signalling his demise. In due course, Choiseul-Gouffier met state forces on the outskirts of Ephesus that were determined to crush this *mütegallibe*; M.-G.-A.-F., Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque dans l'Empire ottoman, en Grèce, dans la Troade, les îles de l'Archipel et sur les côtes de l'Asie-mineure*, Vol. I (Paris 1842 [1782]), 132, 136, 198.

¹²¹ Hasan Çavuş was granted *çiftlik*s in the area extending from the Menderes river to Megri, including agricultural land in Muğla, Marmaris, and Köyceğiz. But his immediate descendants, i.e., his son and grandson, were severely punished by the governor of Anatolia, Ali Paşa, in 1794; Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih*, Vol. 6 (Istanbul 1301-1307/1885-1891), 65.

¹²² Mainly comprising the *saba* and *acemaşiran* modes, with the four *kürdî* modes also added on to the end.

faced beauty), together with a few more Cemalifers and Feriştahs. Standing in stark contrast to more traditional Muslim (peasant or nomadic) women's names, such as Ayşe, Fatma or Emine, these indicate that other Istanbulis must have arrived in Menteşe and Dadya even earlier, resulting in an expansion and diversification of the local names roster. Furthermore, they must have become fashionable, for the court registers for 1885-1911 mention numerous locals, too, who bear the same names.¹²³

Thus, Mehmed Halil Ağa's second wife, Cemalifer Hanım, was also a Circassian, presumably a courtesan from the palace of Halil Rıfâd and Saliha Sultan (her name means 'pertaining to beauty, grace and goodness' as well as 'radiance, lustre, brightness'). At the time of Newton's account, the reigning Sultan was Abdülmecid I (1839-1861), whose immediate circle included Halil Rıfâd Paşa. Between 1830 and 1855, Halil Rıfâd served as Grand Admiral on no fewer than four occasions: in 1830-1832, 1843-1845, 1847-1848, and finally 1854-1855. Soon after his first stint at the admiralty, in 1834, he married the Sultan's half-sister Saliha (d. 1843). In between his third and fourth stints, in 1849, he was also appointed marshal of Aydın (*Aydın müşiri*) and the governor (*mutasarrıf*) of the sub-province of Menteşe.¹²⁴ He died in 1855. Halil Rıfâd must have got to know of Mehmed Halil, and perhaps even to have become personally acquainted with him, perhaps as early as the beginning of the 1830s. They seem to have exchanged favours and gifts, including women. Was the *ağa* of Dadya really capable of presenting him with an estate on the island of Kos/İstanköy? It is an intriguing question.

Women: Imperial, Regional, Local

While three of the daughters born to Mehmed Halil and Çerkes Cemalifer had straightforward Islamic names (Zübeyde, Asiye, Rabia), another was strikingly called Ferişte/Feriştah, perhaps in memory of Mehmed Halil Ağa's first wife, Feriştah Hanım of the Tavasogulları dynasty. Cemalifer of Istanbul is likely to have come to Dadya long after the death of Feriştah, at the earliest in the late 1830s (following Halil Rıfâd's first posting to the admiralty and then his 1834 marriage to Saliha?), and to have given birth to Mehmed Ali and his sisters. So far I have not been able to date Cemalifer Hanım's death.

We also do not know how old Mehmed Halil Ağa was when he met Newton in 1857/1858. If he had married Feriştah in 1800, perhaps when he was as young as 17 or 18, so that at Feriştah's 1810 death (after giving birth to a son and a daughter) he was still in his late 20s, he would have been around 75 by 1857/1858, and he must have died by around 1868. In any case, upon his death the impressive *konak* at Elaki, known as *Goca Ev* (Great House in the local dialect), passed to his younger son, Mehmed Ali Ağa (by Çerkes Cemalifer Hanım). His elder son, Murad Halil (from Feriştah), was not only denied a share in the *konak*. Worse still, his household was allowed to settle not in Elaki but

123 There are 110 *sicils* pertaining to Muğla and its sub-provinces. For Marmaris, eight *sicils* have been located.

124 According to Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 136, for fifteen years after 1852 the *mutasarrıfs* cannot be identified.

in the neighbouring village of Aleksi. There was a family house of Murad Halil Ağa also at Dadya. The family tree indicates that he, too, had two wives. Himself the son of a lady from the Tavasogulları, Murad Halil was first married to a maternal relative from the same line. Thus, (a) Fatma, a daughter of yet another Tavas Ağası (Tavaslı Hacı Selim), seems to have kept house at Aleksi, while there was also (b) a local woman from Dadya, [Ümmü] Gülsüm bint-i [Dadyalı] Süleyman. It was for the second that he appears to have had the house (also called *Goca Ev*) in Dadya.

Murad Halil Ağa died in 1885/1886, and his *tereke* was recorded in 1893/1894.¹²⁵ At first sight, what was submitted as his property, and which was going to be divided among his two wives and six children, was truly modest – comparable to several peasant *tereke*s from the various villages of the peninsula. Eight years after his death, his listed belongings were utterly ordinary: household items ranging from a few mattresses to some caskets. However, the sum total was ordered to be deposited to the *Eytam* (Orphans') Funds, to cover (1) his outstanding *teraküm* tax debts of H. 1303-1311; (2) his outstanding *âşar* debt of H. 1311; (3) his outstanding debts to Ziraat Bankası (the Agricultural Bank); (4) his outstanding debts to the mosque of Marmaris. So, actually, what was submitted as his *tereke* was no more than what was expected to cover these obligations. What is revealed in the process is that he was a taxpayer, someone *bi-berat*, i.e., with no documents to make him tax-exempt as a member of the *askeri* class. In turn, this suggests either that he never undertook any state service, or that, if he did, he must have been provided with some other kind of documentation which was not enough for him to be tax-exempt. Both sons of Mehmed Halil Ağa – Mehmed Ali and his half-brother Murad Halil, as well as their offspring – make a few appearances in official registers as residents of Dadya and Aleksi.¹²⁶ The hierarchy between the two branches of Mehmed Halil's family is further illustrated by the fact that while Mehmed Ali is alternately called *bey* and *ağa* in the later *sicils*, Murad Halil is always and only an *ağa*.

Murad Halil's lesser position (despite his probable seniority) vis-à-vis Mehmed Ali suggests a preference for Mehmed Halil's offspring from Istanbuliot concubines over his heirs from local magnates' daughters. In contrast, there is no obvious hierarchy between Murad Halil's two wives. On the contrary: in his case, the woman from Tavas who was probably his first wife does not seem to have had precedence over the one from Dadya, despite the latter's father's unknown status. Furthermore, when Murad Halil died, and his children from the Dadya woman were found to be underage (further pointing to [Ümmü] Gülsüm as his second wife), the mother was appointed as their guardian and protector.¹²⁷

Nevertheless, the broader lesson seems to be clear: even in distant corners of the Empire, provincial powers were always in search of establishing ties, preferably blood ties, with the capital. While Sultans' aunts, daughters and nieces, married to high-ranking Ottoman dignitaries, played a certain role in the Balkans,¹²⁸ their granddaughters, also

125 M Defter 152, 297/128-320.

126 M Defter 152, 84/41-212; M Defter 154, 81/200-518; M Defter 154, 74/265-549.

127 M Defter 152, 211/41-211.

128 T. Artan, 'Periods and Problems of Ottoman (Women's) Patronage on the Via Egnatia', in E.

hanımefendis, seem to have had a part to play in Anatolian dynastic households that was equally important over the later part of the nineteenth century. One such example has been brought to our attention by Ayda Arel in her remarkable study on the architectural patronage of the Cihanoğulları in and around Aydın.¹²⁹ Remote and isolated, Ali Giridi's descendants faced more limited options when it came to establishing matrimonial alliances with the local elites, let alone the royal house. Meanwhile, other dynasties in the region, like Feriştah's family at Tavas, were also receiving or recruiting rare and precious concubines from Istanbul, thereby establishing their own dynastic ties.

Marriage and Architecture

But as Ayda Arel's article also indicates, marriage alliances were not the only means that local magnates could turn to as they sought for bonding or protection. In many parts of the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Middle East, it was architecture that provided local dynasties with the most appropriate medium for upward mobility and visibility. Buildings in the style of the capital not only emulated Istanbul life; they also constituted a competitive statement. A case in point is the Tuhfezades' family mansion in Elaki/Reşadiye, which has been dated to 1790-1800 mainly on stylistic grounds.¹³⁰ Since Feriştah Hanım, who was most probably Mehmed Halil Ağa's first wife, is known to have died in 1810, the elegant *konak* may have been built (or rebuilt) around 1800 on the occasion of their marriage. It then seems that for the arrival of the second bride from Istanbul, the family house may have been refurbished and adjusted to new needs and tastes. The mural paintings of the reception room testify to restorations and refurnishing in the 1830s.

There are other surviving mansions on the peninsula which belonged to the Tuhfezades. One in Sı[ğ]ındı is a fine example of a regional type¹³¹ (Fig. 6), while another which survives in Çeşme (Selimiye) is a nineteenth-century *konak* in the Aegean (Chios/Rhodes) style which was also distinctively employed in the peninsula¹³² (Fig. 7). The Sı[ğ]ındı mansion, a two-storey dwelling in the middle of cultivated fields dotted with olive trees,

A. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule (1380-1699). Halcyon Days in Crete II. A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 9-11 January 1994* (Rethymno 1996), 19-43.

129 A. Arel, 'Aydın ve Yöresinde Bir Âyân Ailesi ve Mimarlık: Cihanoğulları', in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e. Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar. I. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi. Ankara, 24-26 Mayıs 1993* (Istanbul 1998), 184-221.

130 This dating is based on the decorative pen-work as well as a faded and mostly illegible date on the wall; G. Renda, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı, 1750-1850* (Ankara 1977), 138; Eadem, 'Datça'da Eski Bir Türk Evi', *Sanat Dünyamız*, 2 (1974), 22. For stylistic comparisons, see M. Garidis, *Diakosmetike zographike. Valkania-Mikrasia, 18^{os}-19^{os} aionas* [Decorative Painting: Balkans-Asia Minor, Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries] (Athens 1996).

131 This is a house which belonged to Mehmed Ağa, the uncle of Mümtaz Ağa, who in recent years was still alive, and still commanding some respect as the last representative of a bygone dynasty; Fulya Bayık, personal communication.

132 This is the mansion of Ömer İhsan Bey of Bosnia, a tobacco expert who married into the family (his wife being Fatma Hanım, the aunt of Mümtaz Ağa); Fulya Bayık, personal communication. It was built in 1800 by masons from Rhodes; Ergenekon, 'Dorian Archaeology', 462.



Fig. 6: The Tuhfezades' house at Sı[ğ]ındı. Photographed by the author, summer 2006.

is rather unassuming, but turns out to have provided with all possible comforts for a landowner in his country residence. Made of local stone, the exterior was left unplastered, as with all the other houses in the village. Unfortunately, it is rapidly turning to rubble.

The two-storey urban mansion in Çeşme, on the other hand, was plastered, white-washed, and the interior decorated with fine brushwork in the Empire style. It has five tall windows on the second floor which alternate with pseudo-pillars. The central window is further emphasised by a balcony (which may have been originally surrounded by railings of wrought iron in the Aegean style). The flat roof is hidden behind a low parapet also decorated with late-nineteenth-century motifs.¹³³ Although there is no trace of period furniture in any of the houses in question, it is relatively easy to fill in the missing links by comparing their interiors with those from the islands at this period. A relative claims that the kitchenware used in some of their households carried the family insignia.¹³⁴ A roof-tile shred that I located on the site of the ruins at Sı[ğ]ındı reads on the

¹³³ On this entire style, see S. Faroqi, 'Representing France in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire: A Wealthy French Dwelling in the Peloponnesus, 1770', in Eadem and Ch. Neumann (eds), *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture* (Würzburg 2003), 255-273.

¹³⁴ As told by Mümtaz Ağa's elder sister, Cevher Meltem, wife of Fethi Meltem; Fulya Bayık, personal communication.



Fig. 7: The Tuhfezades' house at Çeşme. Photographed by the author, summer 2006.

back: [ΕΡΓΟΣ]ΤΑΣΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΡΟΔΩ and *Şirket-i Cezire-i Rodos* in Ottoman.¹³⁵ It is possible that not only the construction materials and the workers, but also the furniture, household items, and textiles were brought in from Rhodes or beyond.¹³⁶

Goca Ev: The Family Mansion

The Tuhfezades' *Goca Ev* at Elaki/Reşadiye actually stands in contrast to the traditional fabric of its immediate environs and to the other two surviving mansions of the family on the peninsula.¹³⁷ Also in contrast to the crenellated mansion towers and timber *konaks* of the neighbouring districts in Menteşe, or well-guarded fortress-palaces of the local magnates in more distant provinces, it is an urban residence, occupying a total of a thousand

135 I was not able to locate a brick and tile factory in Rhodes. Still, it is worth noting that there were such companies in several localities in the Aegean. An example is provided by the kilns at Alaçatı and İldırı, where bricks inscribed *Alatsata/Alaçata* and *Litri* were produced in addition to ceramic ware; see İ. Gezgin, *Alacaat'tan Alaçatı'ya. Rüzgarlı Bir Köyün Hikâyesi* (İstanbul 2007), 29.

136 During recent restorations in the family mansion at Elaki, graffiti in Greek were uncovered.

137 Not too far away, the government building (*hükümet konağı*), the only other Elaki building comparable in size and status, and built at the turn of the twentieth century, embodies the so-called Sakız (Chios) style.



Fig. 8: The Tuhfezades' house at Elaki. Photographed by the author, summer 2006.

square metres, spread over two storeys, with rooms arranged around a U-shaped open hall.¹³⁸ The first storey is constructed out of local stone, but the second storey borrows from the timber-filling architecture of the Balkans which became fashionable in western Anatolia in the eighteenth century (Fig. 8). The reception room (*başoda*) on the north-east corner of the U-shaped plan was further accentuated by late-eighteenth-century Istanbuliot floral decoration and murals depicting Istanbul.

From the U-shaped *sofa*, the entrance to the rectangular reception room is from the far end of its long side. In the middle of the upper section of the wall just across from the entrance is a baroque medallion filled by a *maşallah* written in *müsenna* form (that is to say, together with its mirror image). To the left of the medallion is a depiction of a walled settlement, most probably intended as the Topkapı Palace, while to the right is a mosque, perhaps Hagia Sophia, represented by four minarets and a tripartite porch resting on a stepped platform (Fig. 9). A wall which adjoins this monumental mosque representation extends to the other side of the medallion and connects it with the walled settlement in a fashion which is further strongly and realistically reminiscent of (the relationship between) the Topkapı Palace and the Hagia Sophia. These two monumental buildings of the capital are clearly there as symbols of power: the imperial palace and the imperial mosque. The houses along the wall surrounding the palatial settlement are representative of the capital's multi-storey timber houses in the late eighteenth century, and the baroque features on the portico and the gate to the mosque are also stylistically

138 R. Çalıř, 'Fethiye Evleri', *Folklor*, 16-17-18 (1970); O. Kademoğlu, 'Güneybatı Anadolu'nun Açıksofalı Evleri', *Mimarlık*, 5 (1974); A. Mutlu, 'Muğla'nın Beyaz Evleri', *Türkiyemiz*, 26 (1978).



Fig. 9: Murals at the entrance of the Tuhfezades' house at Elaki (www.kocaev.com.tr).

accurate. Likewise, the gate on the forefront of the wall, the garden full of fruit trees and cypresses, and a domed fountain (or baldachin) all correspond to parts or aspects of the Topkapı Palace. Iconographically speaking, it is clearly an allusion to a paradise garden, but it is a worldly paradise.¹³⁹

What makes Mehmed Halil's artistic and architectural patronage quite exceptional is the tripartite panorama occupying the short side of the rectangular reception room, to the right of the entrance and above the cupboard (Fig. 10). It depicts Istanbul at the centre, represented by an arrangement of the historic peninsula, Kadıköy, and Üsküdar. In the middle is a five-portico mosque with four minarets. This must be the Sultanahmed (or Blue) Mosque. The timber houses are very different from the regional architecture in the vicinity of Dadya. Sailboats, row-boats, and the imperial barque, a duck, an eel, and various other fish decorate the forefront of the painting. Flanking the historical peninsula on both sides are imaginary cityscapes, perhaps also pertaining to the capital. To the right is scenery which is divided into two by a river flowing diagonally from upper right to lower left, and crossed by a long bridge. There are two mosques laid out in relation to the bridge; one of them is monumental, carefully depicted, tri-porticoed and with two minarets, while the other is simpler and with a gabled roof. Not far away is a windmill by the river. More multi-storey houses with gabled roofs are interspersed with domed, tomb-like structures surrounded by trees – cypresses and dates in particular. Curiously, an oversized stork with a snake in its beak, a symbol of good luck,¹⁴⁰ and two deer in a hunting park are also part of the scene. To the left of the historic peninsula was yet another cityscape, perhaps showing more of the European side, but this part of the wall-painting has not been well preserved. Larger, gable-roofed houses are visible in the corners.

Much has been written about murals in nineteenth-century Ottoman interiors. First to come to mind are the apartments of Mihrişah Valide Sultan at the Topkapı Palace (1789–1807). There were numerous Westerners in Istanbul at the time, but provincial styles can differ radically from the aesthetics of the capital. Thus, in contrast to the French

139 The painting of a paradise garden with a kiosk in the eighteenth-century Dedebayrak House in Ankara has also been interpreted as evoking a worldly garden of Eden; S. Ögel, 'Eski Bir Ankara Evi', *Türkiyemiz*, 8 (1972), 37–43.

140 For a raptor with a snake in its beak in Siatista, see Garidis, *Diakosmetike zographike*, 45.

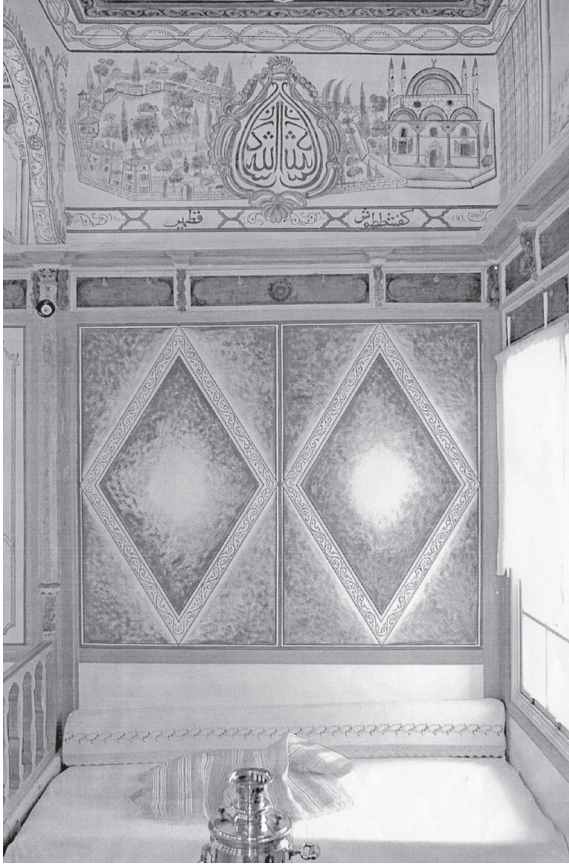


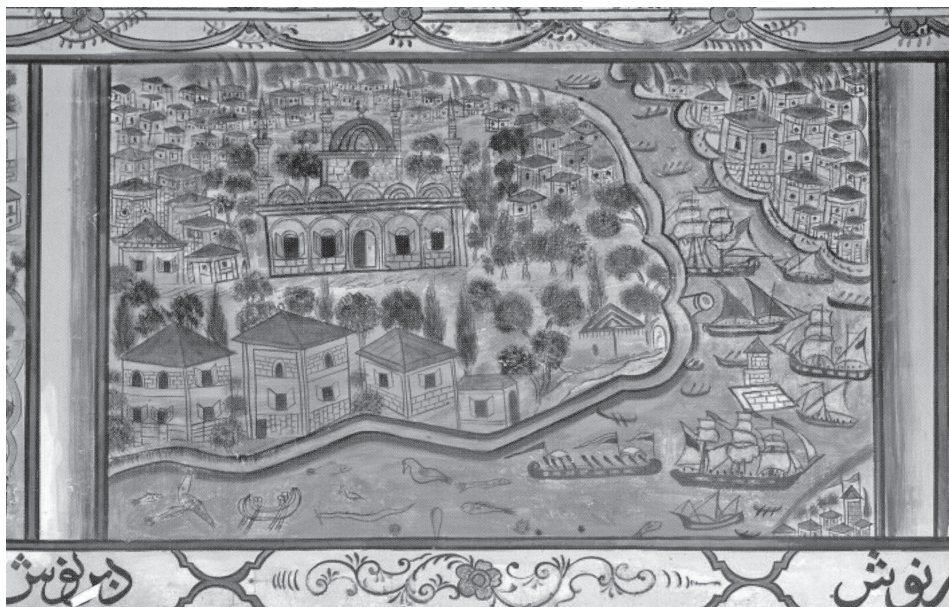
Fig. 10: Depiction of a mosque and a palace across the entrance (left); two sections of the tripartite panorama of Istanbul from the Tuhfezades' house at Elaki (right) (www.kocaev.com.tr).

taste which dominated Istanbuliot elites, in the Aegean it was a predominantly Italian aesthetic, translated into Ottoman via artists, architects and craftsmen operating mostly from Chios.¹⁴¹ In other Balkan, Anatolian, and Middle Eastern houses, too, there were wall-paintings which alluded to Istanbul, but to have complete panoramas of the Ottoman capital decorating stately mansions is quite rare. The best-known is in the mansion of Çakırağa of Birgi, dated to the 1830s.¹⁴² Others are located in the Hadımoğlu mansion at Bayramiç, near Çanakkale (1796); the Hacı Mehmed Ali mansion in Adatepe; the Bayramtaştepe mansion in Manisa (1818); the Hacı Hafızoğulları (Tillioğulları) mansion in Göreme (1825); the Bahaeddin Ağa mansion in Milas; the Sandıkeminiogulları mansion also in Birgi; the Şemaki mansion at Yenişehir, in Bursa; the Nizam House (1803) and the Mujalled House (1810?) in Damascus.¹⁴³ In effect, these are worlds apart, rang-

141 Arel, 'Aydın ve Yöresinde Bir Âyân Ailesi'.

142 Renda, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı*, 145-149.

143 H. Tayla, 'Hadımoğlu Mansion at Bayramiç', *Turkish Treasures*, 1 (1978), 10-19; G. Renda and T. Erol, *Başlangıcından Bugüne Çağdaş Türk Resim Sanatı Tarihi* (Istanbul 1980), 66; G. Renda, 'Göreme'de Korunması Gereken Bir Ev', in *III. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*



ing from some remote villages to major provincial centres, and this makes the aspirations behind them, as well as the patronage and production networks that they embody (involving wandering artists), all the more of a puzzle.¹⁴⁴ In contrast to these, the depictions of Istanbul in the houses of Greek merchants such as Georgios Mavros (Schwartz) and Efthymiadis in Ambelakia go against the well-known silhouette of the Ottoman capital crowned with mosques to suggest a non-Muslim, pre-conquest Constantinople.¹⁴⁵

From Murals to Hints of Syncretism

There is not even a hint of this last strain in the Istanbul panorama at Elaki, and neither did Newton capture any suspicious remark or attitude by Mehmed Halil which may have suggested that the Tuhfezades were crypto-Christians. Instead, he emphasised that the *ağa* was a devoted Muslim. At one point he makes the following observation which is not without its Eurocentric, contemptuous overtones:

On first visiting him in the morning I found him reading the Koran, a ceremony with which he always begins the day. He showed me the book with great pride – it was rather a handsome manuscript. Forgetting that I was in the presence of a Mussulman, I put out my hand to take hold of the volume, when it glided suddenly into its leather case, narrowly escaping pollution from the touch of Giaour. The old fanaticism is not quite dead yet, though they do condescend to ask for British protection.¹⁴⁶

In the Ottoman realm, however, different beliefs and cultures were often melted into a faith with syncretic aspects or dimensions.¹⁴⁷ There is a unique feature of the decorations in the reception room: a finely scripted border below the panoramas which carries the names of the *Eshab-ı Khef*, that is to say, the Seven Sleepers. Counter-clockwise from

(Ankara 1985), 103-132; G. Erim, 'Adatepe'de Eski Bir Türk Evi', *TTOK Belleteni*, 48/327 (1975), 2-8; Ö. Süslü, 'Adatepe'de Hacı Mehmed Ağa Konağının Süslemeleri', *İDMMA Dergisi*, 2 (1978), 99-114; R. Arık, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanatı* (Ankara 1976), 90-93, 94-97; Renda, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı*, 149-150; Eadem, 'Painted Decoration in 19th Century Ottoman Houses: The Damascene Connection', in *Corpus d'archéologie ottomane*, ed. A. Temimi (Zaghouan 1997), 91-105.

144 For changes in mural styles and subjects over the second half of the nineteenth century, see G. Renda's above-cited contributions.

145 Garidis, *Diakosmetike zographike*, 32; A. D. Diamantopoulou, *Ambelakia* (Athens 1987).

146 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 166.

147 For cultural symbiosis and heterodox communities in the Ottoman realm, see A. Y. Ocak, *Alevî ve Bektaşî İnançlarının İslâm Öncesi Temelleri* (Istanbul 2003 [1983]); Idem, *Babailer İsyanı. Aleviliğin Tarihsel Altyapısı yahut Anadolu'da İslâm-Türk Heterodoksisinin Teşekkülü* (Istanbul 2000 [1986]); Idem, 'Anadolu'da XIII.-XV. Yüzyılda Müslim-Gayri Müslim Etkileşimler ve Saint Georges (Aya Yorgi-Hagios Georgios) Kültü', in *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara*, 22-26 Eylül 1986. *Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Vol. III (Ankara 1991), 961-966; Idem, *İslam-Türk İnançlarında Hızır yahut Hızır-İlyas Kültü* (Ankara 1990); Idem, *Kalenderiler (XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllar)* (Ankara 1992); Idem, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler (15.-17. Yüzyıllar)* (Istanbul 1998).

above the entrance, the Islamicised names of the Seven read: *Yemliha*, *Mekselina*, *Misliha*, *Mernuş*, *Debernuş*, *Şazenuş*, *Kefeştatayyuş*, and their dog, *Kitmir*. What is this all about? The legend of the Seven Sleepers is about seven young men accused of Christian belief under the Roman Emperor Decius, around AD 250. In the Christian version, they carry Greek or Latin names.¹⁴⁸ Given time to recant, they distribute their worldly wealth to the poor, and retire to a mountain to pray, where they fall asleep. The Emperor then orders the mouth of the cave to be sealed. After many decades, when some later landowner – usually, under Theodosius (r. 379-395) – decides to re-open the cave, they wake up to a fully Christianised world. They tell the Bishop of Ephesus their miracle story, and die praising God.

The story is not included in the Bible but emerges as part of Christian lore and legend from the sixth century onwards.¹⁴⁹ At the same time, as with so many other myths and legends, there are indications that it harks back to much more ancient origins. Once there was a pagan sovereign who proclaimed himself a god and began to persecute those who would not worship him. A group of youngsters sought refuge from him in a cave, falling asleep and waking up in a new era. Eventually the legend appears to have passed into the Abrahamic religions. Thus, the Jews of Medina are said to have put Muhammad to the test by questioning him about the story – and the Prophet, informed by the angel Gabriel/Jibrail, to have astonished them by recounting it in the version they thought only they knew. In any case, a century or so after its Christian popularisation it also appears in the Qur'an (Sura 18, *Al-Kahf*, verses 9-26) – adapted so as to provide a lesson in the strength

148 In one version, Maximian, Malchus, Martinian, Denis, John, Serapion, and Constantine – though other versions may differ.

149 The earliest record of the story appears in Monophysite (neo-Platonist) Assyrian literature, and is recorded by Mar Yakob (Yakob of Suruç), the Bishop of Suruç (452-521), as his 221st hymn. Somewhat later it is taken up in the West, notably by Gregory of Tours (538-594), and in Paul the Deacon's (720-799) *History of the Lombards*. Possibly the best-known version appears in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, probably compiled around 1260. For the identification and study of the earliest Christian sources on the subject, see the pioneering work of nineteenth-century Oriental linguists, including J. Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende, ihr Ursprung und ihre Verbreitung. Eine mythologisch-literaturgeschichtliche Studie* (Leipzig and Berlin 1883), 82-83; M. Huber, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern. Eine literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig 1910). The mystical and popular aspects of the legend and its circulation were later studied by the twentieth-century Orientalist Louis Massignon, in his, 'Les Sept dormants d'Éphèse en islam et en chrétienté (Ahl al-Kayf)', *Revue d'Études Islamiques*, 22 (1954), 59-112; Idem, 'Les Sept dormants. Apocalypse de l'islam', in Idem, *Opera Minora. Textes recueillis, classés et présentés avec une bibliographie*, Vol. III (Beirut 1963), 104-118. Together with others, Massignon also introduced both Christian and Islamic visual sources for the study of the myth: Idem, E. Dermenghem, L. Mahfoud, S. Ünver and N. Witt, *Les Sept dormants d'Éphèse (Ahl-al-Kahf) en islam et en chrétienté. Recueil documentaire et iconographique* (Paris 1955). For visual renderings of the legend, see Y. Piatnitsky, 'The Cult of 'The Seven Sleepers of Ephesos' in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Painting', in *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposiums. Wien, 1995* (Vienna 1999), 51-53, 361-366. For an informed overview of the existing literature, see Ö. Sert, 'Hristiyan ve İslam Kültürlerinde Eshab-ı Keyf (Yedi Uyurlar) İnancı', unpublished M.A. thesis, Hacettepe University, 2001, 2.

of Islamic faith against any unbelievers. There are other, minor alterations, such as the inclusion of a dog among the sleepers. The sleepers' names and number are not given, but in Muslim popular belief (once more pointing to separate and multiple sources) they come to be known by the names listed in the Tuhfezade reception room.

Two components of the story were most important during the expansion of both Christianity and Islam (and especially in their borderlands): belief in resurrection, and belief in God's protection for the faithful. In time, the legend became quite widespread. It found its way into the Orthodox *martyrologia*. The Latin Church came to commemorate the Seven Sleepers on 7 July, and the Greek Church on 4 August. Muslims, on the other hand, developed the custom of reciting (venerating) the 18th Sura of the Qur'an before Friday prayers.¹⁵⁰ Hadith and *tefsir* contributed to elaborating its contextual meaning. In Christian lore and legend, the cave in question was eventually located in Ephesus, while the Islamic version has led to the identification of numerous caves all over the Islamic world from Spain to Indonesia, including several in Anatolia.

A Legend's Multiple Uses

On the interface between any two (or more) faith systems, the possibility of pursuing old beliefs and practices under a new guise is known to facilitate conversion. The Church actively and consciously pursued this policy in its Dark-Age attempts to convert the Germanic tribes, and Fuad Köprülü wrote extensively about the survival of shamanistic elements in various mystical sects after the Islamicisation of the Turkic tribes of West Asia. Later, in an overwhelmingly Islamic Middle East, such continuity of myths and legends remained important for the movement from the Bible to the Qur'an.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, Sufism seems to have played a special role in this regard. For educated merchants and other non-Muslims of a philosophical bent, the neo-Platonist version of Islam, tinged with echoes of Christian mysticism, and distinguished by its rationalist, egalitarian outlook, was more appealing than the Sunni orthodoxy (preferred by the nobility and the urban lower classes), and facilitated their conversion to Islam.¹⁵² With or without (or before and after) conversion, the story of the Seven Sleepers in *Al-Kahf* did not exclude varying and multiple interpretation, thus creating a space for them (or for crypto-Christians in general) where they could feel comfortable.

As prayers are chosen according to the needs of particular times, so are (were) legends. Thus, the ways in which the story of the Seven Sleepers was told reflected the outlook of the day. It was expected to secure God's protection under harsh conditions, to fortify resistance against hardship, to provide succour in wartime or in the face of natural disasters (including earthquakes, epidemics, famine or solar eclipses) as well as personal misfortune (such as exile). Thus, the names of the Seven Sleepers decorated many

150 Ocak, *İslam-Türk İnançlarında Hızır yahud Hızır-İlyas Kültü*, 43.

151 S. Uludağ, 'Introduction', in Ferîdüddîn Attar, *Tezkiretü'l-Evliyâ*, ed. S. Uludağ (Bursa 1984).

152 M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, Vol. I (Chicago 1974), 390.

charms and amulets: against all possible dangers, but more specifically to avert evil, the evil eye, the crying of children, insomnia, headaches, thieves, or anger.¹⁵³ Their names are also found on city walls to protect the settlement from the plague, on ships to keep the vessels from sinking, on the walls of mosques to protect them from fires, on swords to prevent their breaking, and even on coins. Hasluck, whose interest in Christian and Muslim syncretism took him far afield in Asia Minor at the turn of the twentieth century, found that the Seven Sleepers were not that important in the Greek Church, but had a wide vogue in popular religion – he had not seen any church dedicated to them, or for that matter any icon representing them in a church, but in homes, in domestic space, small icons of the seven young men were fairly common. He relates how the Orthodox regarded a hanging icon of the Seven Sleepers as an effective cure for sleeplessness. He also notes that “the Seven seem to be looked on as special patrons of shipping, especially in the Black Sea, the most dangerous known to the Turks”. The names of the Seven and of their dog Kitmir, often written ornamentally in the form of a ship, also served as a talisman against evil:

The dog is one of the animals admitted to Paradise, and is regarded as a type of guardian: a special kind of dog, named after him Kitmir, is exempted from the ban against the keeping of dogs, as unclean animals, in houses. Kitmir is regarded as presiding specially over letters, which go far or which pass the sea, as a protection to preserve them from miscarriage.¹⁵⁴

Probing Mehmed Halil's Identity and Intentions

Despite this acceptable background in folklore, I will go ahead and ask whether Mehmed Halil might have had something further in mind when he chose this story to be reminded of on a daily basis. Was he looking for some kind of redemption or resurrection, perhaps after the dire straits of the 1840s? Newton has interesting things to say about the *ağa's* outlook:

His activity both of mind and body is most remarkable for an Oriental. He employs all his leisure in reading, shoe-making, and gun-making – Smith saw some very fair locks manufactured by him. He is very fond of history, of which he has got glimpses here and there, through the study of Turkish chronicles, which, like the Monkish annals, begin with Creation and go down through Greek and Roman annals to contemporary times, huddling everything in one confused narrative. Yesterday he rather astonished me by talking about Iskandar, son of Philip (Alexander the Great), Plato, Ar-

153 For an octagonal charm made of carnelian, see S. Kangal (ed.), *War & Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries* (Istanbul 1999), 363. Engraved in the centre is a star formed by the elongated letters of the names of the Seven Sleepers and their dog. The centre field is framed by an inscription: “Oh, you who have opened the Gates, open before us the Gate of God; He is the Helper”. On the reverse side is the inscription “Ashab al-Kahf”.

154 F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. M. M. Hasluck (New York 1929), 309-319.

istotle, and Bokrat (Hippocrates), all of whom he conceived to have lived in the same generation, and to have been on very intimate terms.¹⁵⁵

Against this picture of an agile and curious, if not highly cultivated, intellect, it might not be too naive to expect Mehmed Halil to have also had an interest in ancient myths and legends. The most basic motif of the Seven-Sleepers story, that of prolonged sleep, is to be found in Diogenes Laertius in the second century AD. Diogenes mentions the myth of Epimenides the Cretan (c. 600 BC), who fell asleep in a cave while looking for his lost sheep. He woke up nearly sixty years later, to discover that much had changed.¹⁵⁶ Apart from the fact that such caves are quite common in the carstic soils of the Mediterranean, an emphatically local story with sleep as its central motif relates to the *Hacetevi* mountain on the south-eastern border of Hızırşah village, a few miles from Elaki. Properly performed, taking a nap at the top of Hacetevi is believed to enable your (day)dream to come true.¹⁵⁷ This is surrounded by all kinds of popular and mystic beliefs, with more than a Bektashi-Alevi hint also thrown in. The Mongol invasion of Anatolia in the thirteenth century led Sufi groups to take refuge in remote areas like the Datça peninsula. The pre-Ottoman mosque in Hızırşah, a picturesque village which was also called Yatır – after the burial place of a saint, a colonising dervish, or a missionary – was and has remained quite important for Dadian spiritual life.¹⁵⁸ Such traditions are a reminder that from the fall of western Crete onwards, while conversion to Islam took off especially among the landowning Creto-Venetians, Judaeo-Cretans, too, were becoming Muslims through the active proselytisation of Bektashi dervishes.

The Epimenides paradox is a problem of logic. It is named after the philosopher-prophet to whom the statement “Cretans, always liars” or “Liars are liars, said a liar” are attributed. Could it be that Mehmed Halil had some deception or fraud on the part of his ancestors at the back of his mind? Or, given his roots, was it protection against not so natural dangers that he was looking for? Prolonged sleep carries connotations of hiding in the face of danger. Were his origins now in conflict with his appropriated identity? Or was it simply an expression of wishful thinking for a more secure and promising future at a time when everything was shifting and resettling? Mehmed Halil lived during the reforming reigns of Mahmud II and Abdülmecid. The murals at his house do not carry any symbols of, or other references to, these reforms. Nor are any human figures represented (a choice usually associated with non-Muslim patrons).¹⁵⁹ At the same time, these murals

155 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 163.

156 Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende*, 27.

157 *Hacet bağı* is a piece of cloth tied to the grating of the window of a saint's tomb for the fulfilment of a wish; and *hacet penceresi* is the door or window of a saint's tomb where people pray for the fulfilment of wishes. “Those who have wishes and would like to plead for them to come true to Allah, climb this mountain by sunrise. When they reach the top they perform and recite prayers (*namaz*) ... Then they sit down and take a short nap. They recite their wish in the form of a daydream and then fall asleep. And what they have dreamt of comes true.” (Ergenekon, ‘Dorian Archaeology’, 459).

158 Meltem, *Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 4-5.

159 The symbols of the Tanzimat reforms in mural painting are coaches, trains, railroads, steam-

do bear the artistic characteristics of the time.¹⁶⁰ Of course, in Tavas, Milas, Köyceğiz, Ula and Muğla, there were houses of greater grandeur. But remarkably, Mehmed Halil was able to compete with these more distant patrons, as well as his closer neighbours and rivals,¹⁶¹ in recruiting artists – whether locals from Izmir and the Aegean islands, or from Istanbul and beyond. As we have seen, Newton was totally persuaded about the *ağa*'s Islamic faith. However, he also noted that Mehmed Halil

had that restless inquisitiveness which characterizes the Greek often, but rarely the Turk. I had just received the *Illustrated London News*, with coloured prints of Delhi and other Indian cities. I gave him these – he asked the name of each city, and, taking out his reed pen from his girdle, wrote it on top of the picture, adding a descriptive title, which embodied such scanty information about the place as I was able to give him.¹⁶²

Evidence of a Gentrified Lifestyle

Unfortunately, Newton is then silent about Mehmed Halil's daily life and does not mention any details of his residence, which he appears to have visited more than a few times. It is unlikely, however, that what he saw was the currently surviving *Goca Ev* – because at that time it was the *harem* quarters. As Mehmed Halil had official duties as the district administrator (*müdür-i Dadya*), it is to be understood that there was also a *selâmlık* on his estate at Elaki – a three-storey building in the vicinity of the existing *konak* where his offices were located.¹⁶³ There was also a reception hall to entertain his guests, and next to it was a *cihannümâ*, a glass kiosk from which the *ağa* used to watch horse races and other games taking place at a location known as *bağ harimi*. This must have been the innermost part of the vineyard, indicating perhaps an opening in the midst of his estate.¹⁶⁴

boats, and factories with chimneys. Moreover, daily-life items, such as tables and chairs, armchairs, clocks and cutlery, are inserted as reminders of the on-going cultural transformation, and the emergence of an *alla franca* lifestyle; B. Tanman, 'Merzifon Kara Mustafa Paşa Camii Şadırvanının Kubbesinde Zileli Emin'in Yaratığı 'Osmanlı Dünyası' ve Bu Dünyaya Yansıyan Kişiliği', in *Güner İnal'a Armağan* (Ankara 1993), 491-522.

160 The origins of a taste for mural paintings date from the mid-eighteenth century, and one of the earliest surviving examples is to be found in the Kavafyan House in Bebek, Istanbul, dating from 1750. The paintings, however, are dated to the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839); N. Atasoy, 'İ. Sultan Mahmud Devrinden Bir Abide Ev', *İÜ Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, 6 (1976), 23-43. For the earlier murals of Sadullah Paşa's waterfront mansion (1774-1789), see E. Esin, 'Sadullah Paşa Yalısı', *TTOK Belleteni*, 33/312 (1972), 11-25; Renda, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı*, 115; as for the mansion of the Hahambaşı, the Chief Rabbi, see S. H. Eldem, *Türk Evi*, Vol. I (Istanbul 1984), 262.

161 For the *konak* of the Tavaslı family in Hırka, see *İrade-i Meclis-i Vâlâ*, No. 20414; Kütükoğlu, *XVI. Asırda Tavas Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisâdi Yapısı*, 12. A description of the Çavuşoğlu house and its patron, Hasan Ağa, can be found in M.-G.-A.-F., Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, Vol. I (Paris 1809), 210-216.

162 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 163.

163 Meltem, *Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 12.

164 M. Fethi Meltem also remembers a place to the east of Reşadiye known as Meydanbaşı which,

The extant *başoda* of the former *harem* quarters, too, has a comprehensive view of the plains. The much decorated and symbolically loaded entrance is separated from the rest of the room by two delicate colonettes carrying arches which are also lavishly decorated. Crowning the subdued entrance to the room, the central arch is flat. A fascinating wheel-of-fortune decorates the ceiling at the centre. Akin to the panoramas facing the entrance, its colour scheme, too, catches the eye. The rest of the walls, fenestrated on three sides, are decorated with fine brushwork representing the late-eighteenth-century repertoire known as Ottoman Baroque. Tall vases filled with carnations and roses alternate with bouquets of poppies. It is from here, according to the surviving members of the family, that Mehmed Halil's son Mehmed Ali Ağa (the Younger) would turn his gramophone towards his father's mosque whenever the *ezan* (or the muezzin) bothered him. It is also said that he enjoyed listening to the piano and himself played the violin – improbable as it might sound, a Stradivarius.¹⁶⁵

There are four other rooms on the second storey, each with a fireplace, built-in closets, and windows opening to a view of the plains to the south. Nevertheless, none are as well-lit or decorated as the reception room. Across from the *başoda* at the opposite end of the U-shaped hall is a spacious bathroom and toilet which add to the luxury of the *konak*. Mehmed Halil built an aqueduct to bring running water to his mansion and its extensive flower garden from a spring around Karaköy, which is 5-6 km away.¹⁶⁶ Chambers on the ground floor open to the courtyard and the garden to the north through a portico. The wooden stairs are located midway on the longer side of the U-plan. The walkway surrounding the *konak*, a restored pavement of black and white pebbles (*podima* or *choch-laki*) which broadens around the eastern entrance, is reminiscent of the streets and courtyards in Rhodes.

Further Signs of Cultural Hybridity

Clearly, two (or more) cultures remained blended in Ali GİRİDİ's family, and not only there but to some extent over the entire peninsula – which still had a sizeable Greek population. Desserts are well-known layered pastries of the Mediterranean filled with nuts, spices, and butter, soaked in a syrup of sugar and honey. Much appreciated local dishes and beverages (*dalampa*, *elmascık*, *çıtıramak*, *kısıyak*, *narpız*, *könger*, *garağan*, *gımgıma*, *sepsuyu*, *müirdümiik*, *turpucu*, *celpleme*, *ilabada*, *dalankata*, *ütmek* etc.), however, reflect the herbal riches – mostly endemic to the peninsula. The basic method of cooking them is to boil and serve with olive oil as vegetables or fry them. In more specialised recipes, the cooked herbs and vegetables are enriched with eggs, cheese, or meat. A dish which

his father told him, was the entrance to the fields where horse races and games of *cirid* took place; *ibid.*, 10.

165 H. Unbehaun, *Klientelismus und politische Partizipation in der ländlichen Türkei: Der Kreis Datça (1923-1992)* (Hamburg 1994); republished in Turkish as *Türkiye Kırsalında Kliientalizm ve Siyasal Katılım. Datça Örneği (1923-1992)* (Ankara 2006), 95 n. 60.

166 Meltem, *Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 11.

is cherished to this day is made from snails surfacing in the early spring, locally called *garaville*, consuming which is an Islamic taboo.¹⁶⁷ In Cretan cuisine, snails are treasured because they are easy to find, in contrast with the toil and uncertainty of hunting. But game (birds, hares) and fish were also prepared with considerable amounts of olive oil, supplementing the otherwise meat-poor diet of the inhabitants. During a trip through the countryside, Newton refers to Mehmed Halil's attendants with long guns "some few of which have detonators of French manufacture; the rest the old flint-and-steel"; they shot partridges as they went along, he says, and when they came to the coast, "Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] takes from the hand of an attendant a long reed fishing-rod with tackle manufactured at Trieste", and angles for a dinner. As for other provisions, the villages on the way were bound to provide them.¹⁶⁸ Also hunted were both wild goats and wild boar. Once more, this reflects the eating habits of the Mediterranean coastline, which do not necessarily conform to Islamic rules. As for some other customs still observed in the area, ranging from bull-fights to death-and-burial rituals, it is not easy to ascribe them either to Christianity or Islam.¹⁶⁹

In describing his developing relationship with Mehmed Halil, Newton poses a question for his readers: "Now you may, perhaps, ask why does Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] show so much friendship for me?". The answer seems to be a mixture of mutual admiration and complementary expectations. "The rural life of Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil]", Newton says,

has given his manners a certain homeliness which was to me rather refreshing, after the fake compliments and vapid remarks which generally issue from the lips of official Turks. It seemed to me as if for the first time I had the opportunity of studying a real Turkish country gentleman, full of shrewd observation and mother wit, which he exercised in a good-natured and very amusing way on his suite.¹⁷⁰

He also speaks of their respective needs: while Newton was trying to keep his staff supplied with fresh food,¹⁷¹ Mehmed Halil simply wanted stones from Cnidus to build

167 It is so anathematic as to have given rise to the saying 'Müslüman mahallesinde salyangoz satmak' (selling snails in an Islamic quarter), which is perceived as absurdly impossible.

168 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 164-165.

169 Unbehaun, *Türkiye Kırsalında Kliyalizm*, 94 n. 56.

170 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 164-165.

171 "Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] has one very great merit", Newton remarks, "he is perfectly aware that an Englishman must *eat*". Newton then goes on to relate that "[I]n the present destitution of the Turkish provinces, a party of hungry Englishmen are regarded by the natives as a nuisance, only less than that of the locusts. The difficulties of victualling our small messes at Budrum have required incessant trouble, much of which naturally falls upon me. I had not been two days encamped here before a messenger arrived with ten fowls dangling from his horse's crupper, Mehemet Ali's [= Mehmed Halil] first present to the colony. When he arrived himself, there came a sheep, a good supply of eggs, honey and figs. This morning we had a long and most interesting conversation on the subject of bullocks and vegetables, a question of the greatest importance, as our small party cannot live for ever on salt meat"; *ibid.*

a mosque with, and he hoped to obtain these stones easily through the excavations that Newton's team were carrying out.¹⁷²

Puzzles Surrounding Mehmed Halil's Mosque

Already in the late 1830s, Newton notes, several shiploads of marble had been removed from Cnidus by order of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa of Egypt, who employed them in the construction of a new palace.¹⁷³ According to tradition, it was the stones and statues of the great amphitheatre which were taken to Cairo. Later, it is claimed, more stones were taken away, this time heading to Istanbul, to be used in the construction of the Dolmabahçe Palace. But whether the mosque Mehmed Halil Ağa intended to build with the stones from Cnidus is the one which still stands next to the *konak* at Elaki is not very clear from Newton's account.

On a closer look, problems multiply. Thus, for a start, the dates do not fit. According to its inscription panel, the stately mosque built by Mehmed Halil was completed nearly two years before Newton and Mehmed Halil met – in 1856 (H. 1273). If this is correct, was Mehmed Halil Ağa intending to build yet another mosque elsewhere? Or were the stones from Cnidus intended for some other building(s)? Curiously, while there is also a *medrese* that is mentioned in the inscription panel, there is no indication of its ever being completed. Neither is there any reference to any pious endowments which were usually set up on such occasions. A dubious note which identifies the Reşadiye Mosque as having been converted from a Byzantine church (though clearly it is not), indeed suggests an earlier building on its site.¹⁷⁴ Perhaps related to this point, it is understood that there was a monastery in Elaki/Reşadiye, though like other traces of the Greek presence on the peninsula, it, too, has not survived. Furthermore, there are only a few mosques on the peninsula even today, and Mehmed Halil's mosque at Elaki surpasses all in scale and style.¹⁷⁵ One of the two other mosques that still bear inscription panels was constructed in 1796 at Karaköy by the father of Mehmed Halil Ağa, Tuhfezade el-Hac Halil Ağa (ibn Mehmed Ağa).¹⁷⁶ In

172 Ibid.

173 Ibid., 171.

174 1973 *Muğla İl Yıllığı. Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Muğla* (Izmir 1974), 247. The same source also records Kumyer Kalesi and the mosque at Mesudiye as conversions from Byzantine churches.

175 When compared with urban and semi-urban centres in the area, even in the islands, the lack of monuments related to the Islamic faith in Datça is striking. For a comparative case in point, see M. Kiel, 'The Island of Lesbos-Midilli under the Ottomans, 1462-1912: Remarks on its Population, Economy and Islamic Monuments', in İ. Bostan and S. H. Başeren (eds), *II. National Aegean Islands Symposium. 2-3 July 2004, Gökçeada-Çanakkale* (Istanbul 2004), 54-61. Compare with F. Emecen, 'Historical Process of the Turkish Settlement in the Island of Lesbos', in *ibid.*, 62-70.

176 Its waqf deed survives; VGM Aydın Esamiri 8/1 1942, after Uykucu, *Marmaris Tarihi*, 67. The inscription panel reads: *Bu hayratın sahibine olsun mübarek/Versin Hak muradın tebarek/Sahibü'l-hayrat ve'l-hasenat/Tuhfezade el-Hac Halil Ağa ibn Mehmed Ağa. Sene 1211.*

Dadya, there is also the mosque of Ahmed Ağa bin Halil.¹⁷⁷ Why was Mehmed Halil so interested in mosque-building in 1856-1858, between the completion of the one at Elaki and his asking Newton's help for Cnidus marble for another mosque?

In any case, the mosque at Elaki is built not of Cnidus marble (provided by Newton) but of local stone, possibly procured from spoils in the peninsula. It is a typical provincial mosque, and the likes of it can be found elsewhere in Menteşe and the neighbouring regions.¹⁷⁸ The dome rests on an octagonal drum, and is reinforced on four sides by triangular buttresses located at 90 degrees to mid-point on the side walls. It is a small mosque with a plain interior, lit by pairs of windows pierced on three sides. The entrance on the fourth side is through a three-way arched portico resting on four marble columns.

Did Mehmed Halil not just finance it but also build it himself? For this man of many talents, it is not out of the question. We find in Newton an illuminating note about the ağa's 'engineering' talent, and, perhaps, his interest in architecture:

Before taking leave of me, Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] paid a visit to the carpenters. He watched their work with a keen interest. 'I, too, am a carpenter!' he said, taking up the saw. I offered him a printed plan of the hut – he declined it. 'I have already got the construction here!' he said, pointing to his forehead. Perhaps if he had had the chance, this obscure Aga might have been a Peter Great for his country, and might have introduced the useful arts. When Smith was staying with him, he gave him the dimensions of the dome of the mosque he was about to build, and asked him how many stones of a given size he would require for it. After some trouble Smith solved the problem, and then found out that Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] had calculated it in his head correctly by some rule of thumb.¹⁷⁹

The Retinue and the Mesh of Local Power

In 1858, Mehmed Halil could boast of an immediate retinue comprising "a Cadi, a grey-headed Imam, the head man of a neighbouring village, and a sort of nondescript Greek, who played the part of souffre-douleur or toady".¹⁸⁰ In another instance, Newton remarks that

Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] usually travels about his small peninsular kingdom accompanied by his cadi, imam, and other cabinet ministers, all mounted on small mountain horses: then come three or four peasant attendants, with long guns.¹⁸¹

177 Ahmed Ağa was possibly the great-grandson of Ali of Crete and great-uncle of Mehmed Halil Ağa; VGM Aydın Esamiri 8/2 457, after Uykucu, *Marmaris Tarihi*, 65.

178 R. Duran, 'Menteşe Beyliği Mimarisi', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 1994.

179 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 166-167.

180 Ibid., 164-165.

181 Ibid.

Following the Gülhane Rescript proclaiming the Tanzimat, in January 1840 tax-farming (*iltizam*) was abolished. Simultaneously, through a new set of regulations, *muhasıllık* – a long-standing practice of tax collection, initially by officials of the central government, which, however, had been gradually taken over by locals – was re-organised. At the level of provincial centres and *kazas*, a high council (*meclis-i vâlâ, büyük meclis*) of thirteen members; and in *kazas, kasabas* or *köys* without a *muhasıl*, a secondary council (*küçük meclis*) of five members were established – together with courts of regulations (*nizamiye mahkemesi*).¹⁸² The secondary councils, which would be abolished in 1841, consisted of a proxy of the *muhasıl*, a mufti, a *naib*, and two other dignitaries. These correspond very closely to the core of Mehmed Halil's retinue as described by Newton in 1858. Significantly, Newton was also quite aware of the new measures introduced after the Tanzimat:

The Majlis takes cognizance of a variety of cases, civil as well as criminal. There is also another court, called the Mehkemé, which deals only with real property. Sales of land are ratified in this court, in the presence of the Cadi. A commercial tribunal, the Tijaret Meclis, has been recently introduced in many places.¹⁸³

The judge in the retinue of the *ağa* of Dadya was the *kadı* of the religious court. According to administrative regulations, a *kadı* was to reside at the centre of the *kaza*. Hence the so-called *kadı* of Dadya was actually a *naib*, a deputy of the judge in Muğla, and possibly a local. It was common for *naibs* to have long tenures. Gölioğlu Memi Fakih was the *naib* in Dadya for more than 20 years in 1578.¹⁸⁴ We do not know the circumstances under which he had such a long tenure. But we do know that in spite of various edicts forbidding the practice, many *naibs* would prefer to stay in towns and to farm out their office to a local in faraway places. It was this local, designated as the deputy of the deputy judge, who was likely to hold office for a much longer time than the regular (*naib* or *kadı*) whom he represented. This must have enhanced their local influence. After all, the judge was not there solely to preside over the religious court. He also had the authority of tax collector (*mukataat müfettişi*), and transmitted the central bureaucracy's decisions and instructions to the general public.¹⁸⁵

In the Troubled Waters of Tanzimat Centralisation

Newton mentions but does not identify “the head man of a neighbouring village”. At the time, Elaki and other neighbouring villages had a predominantly Greek population.

182 H. İnalçık, ‘Tanzimat’ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkiler’, *Belleten*, 28/112 (1964), 626-627; İ. Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Sonra Mahalli İdareler (1840-1878)* (Ankara 1974), 13ff.; M. Çadircı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri’nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları* (Ankara 1991), 212-219.

183 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 74.

184 Mete, ‘XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla’, 157 n. 766 (MD XXX 3/9).

185 Ibid., 146-158.

Could this “head man”, too, have been Greek, and maybe even a lesser *kocabaşı*, a representative of the Greeks in the peninsula? If so, he would have been on an equal footing with the *ağa* for tax-collection purposes. But we have no means of knowing. Meanwhile, the only – “nondescript” – Greek in Mehmed Halil’s retinue appears to have been there as a laughing-stock. Newton noted that the *ağa*

was always making one of these [in his retinue] his butt – the Greek, of course, got the worst of it. He imitated the manner in which they make the sign of the cross, and the genuflections to the Panaiya. ‘Let us make a musulman of Demetri,’ he said; ‘I am sure he wishes it in his heart – to-morrow we will perform the usual rite.’ Poor Demetri simpered and looked amiable. I wonder what private end he was serving by eating so much dirt.¹⁸⁶

However meanly Mehmed Halil might have behaved in picking on Demetri, he does not appear to have displayed any malice towards the non-Muslims under his jurisdiction. Or at least, Newton did not observe anything of the sort. Back in 1821, the outbreak of the Greek Revolution had been marked by massive unrest in the Morea. This had then spilled over to Asia Minor. But by the time Newton and Mehmed Halil met, all such after-shocks had died down. The rebels who started riots in urban centres such as Ayvalık and Chios do not seem to have made it to Dadya.¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless, there were those who had run away from trouble to settle in desolate places such as the villages of the Dadya peninsula. There were also the pirates, known as *izbandids*, who kept attacking the Menteşe coastline from June 1821 onwards – so much so that the region’s *kadis*, *naibs*, *ayan*, *voyvodas* as well as the *mütesellim* Mehmed Emin in Muğla were all harshly warned by the central state against any misconduct or negligence.¹⁸⁸ Disturbances spread to Çeşme, just across from Chios, and in 1830 the *kocabaşı* of Çeşme was invited to Istanbul. A nineteenth-century Ottoman treatise on historical geography, based on French geography books and the updates the author received from the imperial council, illustrates the post-Rebellion status of the islanders of the Aegean Sea.¹⁸⁹

While no such troubles beset the Datça peninsula, it was in this same period (1820-1830) that there was a rapid turnover of *mütesellims* at Muğla, too, who were also repeat-

186 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 164-165.

187 M. Küttikoğlu, ‘Yunan İsyanı Sırasında Anadolu ve Adalar Rumlarının Tutumları ve Sonuçları’, in *Türk-Yunan İlişkileri. Üçüncü Askerî Tarih Semineri Bildirileri* (Ankara 1986), 133-161; Z. Arkan, ‘1821 Ayvalık İsyanı’, *Belleten*, 52/203 (1988), 571-600; Ö. Mert, ‘Tanzimat Döneminde Çeşme Kocabaşları (1839-1876)’, in Baykara (ed.), *CIÉPO XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 475-492.

188 MD 239, 108 (Ramazan 1236), after B. Kayhan, ‘Adalar Denizi’nde Rum Korsanları: İzbandidler’, unpublished M.A. thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1996, 19, 30. For Mehmed Emin who was dismissed in 1822, see also HAT 496 (17 Ramazan 1236) and HAT 279 (29 Zilhicce 1238).

189 F. Sarıcaoğlu, ‘Coğrafya-yı Örfî (1827): Örfî Pasha’s Unknown Work of the Aegean Islands in Greek Rebellion’, in Bostan and Başeren (eds), *II. National Aegean Islands Symposium*, 80-85.

edly called to Istanbul.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, there was a considerable population increase, as attested by the newly developing settlements on the peninsula, as well as, more specifically, the 1831 census.¹⁹¹ The latter was an attempt to record those who were migrating in and out. Immigration was mainly from the islands and the Morea, intensifying over the second half of the eighteenth century and then again after 1822. More immigrants arrived from Crete in 1863-1875, settling throughout the larger region. Strikingly, peace and quiet prevailed in Dadya all through these troubled times. Local magnates virtually everywhere had long had to organise and lead the local militia in order to defend their towns and villages against *celalis*, *sekbans* mercenaries or janissaries, who often imposed illegal levies upon peasants in cash and kind. Provincial notables recruited their troops from among precisely the same brigands or mercenary bands. But in the case of the Dadya peninsula, the *ağa* seems to have been quite at ease. Mehmed Halil's retinue included only a few armed men, who seemed to Newton to be no better than peasants with guns.

What a Petty Tyrant Had to Watch Out For

All in all, therefore, Newton presents Mehmed Halil as a relaxed and sophisticated provincial landlord, enjoying the tranquillity of the peninsula while exerting an authority which apparently extended to the islands. This picture stands in striking contrast to Westerners' numerous depictions of *ağas* of other regions. Nevertheless, he too had his adversaries. Once, Newton remarks, Mehmed Halil

confided to me this morning that he has certain enemies at Muğla, who must be put down by the intervention of the Pasha of Smyrna. 'I dare not complain of the wrong that has been done to me, except through a Consul – they would crush me!'.¹⁹²

This remark may go some way towards explaining why the Tuhfezades do not appear in state papers. As already indicated, there had been an initial period of turbulence and confusion in Muğla in 1812-1829/1830, during which Tavaslı Osman Ağa had come, gone and come again to office in early 1829, figuring as the *muhassıl* and *kaymakam* of Menteşe.¹⁹³ In 1848 he was dismissed yet again, before and after which, the documents

190 HAT 1425 (29 Zilhicce 1245): Osman Ağa was received by the Sultan after his appointment as *mütesellim* of Menteşe; HAT 541 (29 Zilhicce 1249): Osman Ağa was brought to Istanbul by force.

191 The census listed 1,282 Muslim males in Dadya; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı* (Ankara 1943), 204-205. See also H. Cantürk, 'Osmanlı Salnamelerine Göre XIX. Yüzyılda Menteşe Sancağı'nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu', unpublished M.A. thesis, Muğla Üniversitesi, 1998.

192 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 165-166.

193 In the 15 years or more following the death of Seyyid Ömer Ağa, there was some confusion over the appointment of a *mütesellim*. Internecine fighting between several members of the Çavuşoğlu family as well as others appears to have come to a halt when Tavaslı Osman Ağa was appointed *mütesellim* and also received by the Sultan in mid-1830; HAT 1425 (29 Zilhicce 1245/21 June 1830). On one occasion he was actually sentenced to death, but then par-

at our disposal do suggest another period of confusion in Muğla. *Muhassıls*, as we have seen earlier, were tax collectors charged with bringing in the various regular as well as extra-ordinary taxes who came to assume other administrative responsibilities in time. In the early eighteenth century, viziers and even some former Grand Viziers were being appointed *muhassıls* of *sancaks*. In Menteşe, one of the last *muhassıls* was a *mütesellim*, though not a local but the *mütesellim* of Teke.¹⁹⁴ In 1848, the local tyrant Tavaslı Osman became the first *muhassıl* with a local power base, and was also designated *kaymakam* to comply with the new Tanzimat regulations.¹⁹⁵ Until Tavaslı Osman died in 1860, there were always many complaints about him.

As we have seen, Mehmed Halil was initially married to Tavaslı Osman's sister (who died in 1810). The perilous position of his patron and brother-in-law seems to have had an impact on Mehmed Halil's relations with the authorities, and especially vis-à-vis the governor in İzmir.¹⁹⁶ The centre pushed hard against the appointment of Osman Ağa's son, Kapıcıbaşı Mehmed Ağa, as *kaymakam* of Menteşe,¹⁹⁷ while his other son, Ali Ağa, was prevented from interfering with the duties of the *müdür*.¹⁹⁸ Such grievances as have accumulated in the state archives also suggest meddling by other local parties such as the Çavuşoğulları and Ağaogulları. Mehmed Halil's appeal led Newton to conclude that

There is no grade of society in Turkey in which the habit of inviting foreign intervention does not prevail. I never refuse to help people if they have any real case – such good offices give much indirect influence and enable me to work the expedition far more economically and efficiently. I wonder how many days I might have waited for eggs and mutton if Mehmed Ali [= Mehmed Halil] had not had a grievance at Mughla.¹⁹⁹

done; he was also asked several times to present himself in Istanbul, most notably in 1834 (HAT 541, 29 Zilhicce 1249/9 May 1834) and 1836 (HAT 1321 and HAT 1323, 29 Zilhicce 1251/16 April 1836). In early 1848, after yet another inspection, he was once more dismissed, and this time it turned out to be final; İ.DH 164 (7 Safer 1264/14 January 1848) and A.AMD 3 (12 Safer 1264/19 January 1848).

194 C.DH 117 (4 Zilhicce 1240/20 July 1825): Ali Bey, the *mütesellim* of Teke, was appointed *muhassıl* of Menteşe (with the rank of *mir-i miran*).

195 For documents referring to Osman Ağa as *muhassıl* and *kaymakam* in the period 1844–1851, see İ.MVL 59 (11 Şevval 1260), İ.DH 113 (17 Zilkade 1261), İ.MVL 87 (14 Muharrem 1263), İ.DH 182 (17 Zilhicce 1264), İ.DH 164 (7 Safer 1264), İ.DH 164 (7 Safer 1264), C.ML 561 (25 Rebiyülâhır 1268), A.MKT.UM 84 (22 Muharrem 1268). In the secondary literature one finds claims to the effect that the rule of *muhassıls* at the provincial centre lasted until 1836, when the *sancak* of Menteşe was annexed to Aydın, and a governor, *müşir-i Aydın*, was appointed as *mutasarrıf* of Menteşe (Karaosmanzade Yakub Paşa); Uluçay, *18 ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık*, 282–284.

196 Governors in İzmir around that time, together with their dates of appointment, were Mustafa Paşa, 28 March 1857; İşkodralıza Mustafa Paşa, 20 January 1858; Kâmil Paşa, 20 December 1858.

197 C.ML 561 (25 Rebiyülâhır 1268); A.MKT.UM 153 (4 Cemaziyelâhır 1270).

198 A.MKT.UM 161 (2 Zilkade 1270); A.MKT.UM 186 (3 Receb 1271).

199 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 165–166.

Big Fish and Small Fry

Newton also reveals bits and pieces about how the family stood in relation to the imperial capital. When asked if he had ever been to Istanbul, Mehmed Halil replied: “Never since my father’s death!”. It was then, he says, that “they stripped me of all my possessions, declaring that my father had left no heir”.²⁰⁰ Normally, confiscation (*müsadere*) was practised only if a man had died without any male heir(s). In this case, however, not only was Mehmed Halil himself (obviously) there, but the family tree also identifies two brothers of his (called Salih and Hüseyin), though it is not clear whether they were (still) alive at the time. If they were, this confiscation would have been truly an extra-ordinary punishment – for what, or as instigated by whom, we cannot say. Neither do we know just when Halil Ağa died (and therefore when the confiscation is likely to have taken place).²⁰¹ In terms of the letter of the law, *müsadere* was abolished in 1830, and private landownership was legalised in 1858. This could point to a date of death for Mehmed Halil’s father between 1830 and 1839. When Newton inquired if such a wrong (i.e., confiscation) could be committed in the present day (i.e., in 1858), Mehmed Halil’s response was emphatic: “No, not since the Tanzimat; property cannot be openly confiscated, though doubtless much injustice may be committed through the corruption of Pashas and Cadis”.²⁰²

These pashas, as we have seen, were the ones in Izmir – which had become the seat of the governor of the province of Aydın. In other words, the pashas that Mehmed Halil was referring to were the *muhasıls* sent from Istanbul to provincial centres in the wake of the 1839 reforms in order to impose centralisation, to contain abuses by *mütesellims* and *ayan*, and to replace those *muhasıls* who were increasingly turning native. The *kadıs* in question, however, must have been the ones in Muğla, the provincial seat for Menteşe. An interesting piece of oral testimony by a member of the family concerns the authorities’ attempt to deport Mehmed Halil Ağa. Apparently, after the abolition of *ağalık* as a formal institution (1850-1860), the *kaymakam* who came into office asked Hacı Müftü [the *kadı*?] for a *fetva* to send the *ağa* into exile. Hacı Müftü, who had been appointed together with the *kaymakam* and the *tapucu*, declined. By marrying the new judge into the Tuhfezade family, Mehmed Halil turned out to have steered clear of future trouble.²⁰³ From Mahmud II onwards, the centre was harsh on those local notables who were seen as obstacles to centralisation; many (including *kocabaşıs*) were murdered, their wealth being confiscated in the process.²⁰⁴

As his father is likely to have died before the introduction of the 1839 reforms, the ‘wrongs’ that Mehmed Halil refers to were probably committed in 1833-1836, when *muhtarlıks* were established in the villages to take over the tasks of *ayan* and *kocabaşıs*. All these efforts to centralise pleased neither government officials, such as governors,

200 Ibid., 163.

201 The only thing that we know of him is that the mosque that he built at Karaköy was completed in 1796.

202 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 163.

203 Hacı Müftü, who married a Tuhfezade and settled into the family, was the grandfather of M. Fethi Meltem; Meltem, *Dağca’ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 6, 11-12.

204 Mert, ‘Tanzimat Döneminde Çeşme Kocabaşıları’, 475-492.

sancakbeyis and *mütesellims*, nor the *ayan* and *eşraf*, and led to further local struggles. *İltizam* was re-established in 1842.²⁰⁵ With a radical transformation of the tax structure, tax sources were recounted and registered in 1840/1841 and 1844/1845.²⁰⁶ In 1845, representatives of (Muslim and non-Muslim) local dignitaries were invited to Istanbul, where they remained for two months.²⁰⁷ Those who proved helpful in the resulting consultations were later presented with new rank-and-status titles. As for those *ayan* who resisted, they were destroyed in the centralisation process. Likewise, *kocabaşıs* who got themselves involved in the Morean uprisings were harshly punished.

Lords and Peasants in a New Land-Grab

Furthermore, the attempt to modernise and homogenise Ottoman land tenure caused a lot of distress. The 1847/1849 land regulation (*kanun-ı arazi'l-emiriye*), which was circulating in print after 1851, stipulated that land could now pass not only in the male but also the female line.²⁰⁸ In 1856 the poll tax (*cizye*) was replaced by the *iane-i askeri*, and *muhtars* or *kocabaşıs* were charged with its collection and delivery. In practice, however, like many other magnates from Ula, Marmaris, Bodrum, Yekesigi, Bozöyük and elsewhere, including the islands, the Tuhfezades' patrons in the Menteşe sub-province, the Tavashlı Osman Ağazadeler, and their arch-enemies from Köyceğiz and Milas, respectively the Hasan Çavuşoğulları and the Abdülaziz Ağazadeler, continued to rule in their power bases and to fight each other to become the *mütesellim* of Menteşe until 1858 – when the Land Code (*arazi kanunnamesi*) was issued. Then they began to fight over the office of the *kaymakam*.²⁰⁹

In 1857-1858, at the time when Newton met Mehmed Halil, and when the Land Code was brand new, the *miri* lands in Muğla-Menteşe were put up for auction. As state land was gradually passing into private hands, a certain Hacı Kadı (of Muğla? Perhaps the same Hacı Müftü who had married into the family?) appears as an ambitious client who was ready to purchase all the real estate that was on the market, grabbing *hans*, *hamams*, coffee-houses and shops together with agricultural land in and around Muğla proper.²¹⁰ Few other buyers were able to purchase agricultural land in the *kazas* – so much so that when Hacı Kadı got Dadya Çiftlik,²¹¹ too, he did so on the condition that he did not extend his claim over other *kazas* of Menteşe.

205 TDVİA, s.v. 'Muhassıl' (Özkaya and Akyıldız). For the survival of the *timar* system, see N. Clayer, 'Note sur la survivance du système des timâr dans la region de Shkodër au début du XX^e siècle', *Turcica*, 29 (1997), 423-431.

206 Records of Dadya in the *temettüat* registers of Aydın in 1844-1845 (ML.VRD.TMT: Catalogue No. 1) will be studied in a forthcoming study.

207 Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Sonra Mahalli İdareler*, 29-31; Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları*, 199-202.

208 Şeyhülislam Ahmed Ârif Efendi, *El-Ahkâmü'l-Mer'ıye fi'l Arazî'l-Emiriye* (Istanbul 1267/1851 [1265/1849]).

209 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 95.

210 *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. 'Muğla', 5872.

211 Dadya Çiftlik today is the name of the seaboard running from Emecik to Kızılan and beyond.

In a sense, this was typical. What the Land Code was trying to do was to provide and maintain private property in the form of small agricultural estates, and to prevent the rise of a new landlord class through the appropriation of large *çiftlik*s on fertile agricultural lands.²¹² In principle, such *çiftlik*s (or select ownerships) were to be allowed only in places with scattered villages and population. However, local magnates – former fief-holders, judges, stewards, or notables-by-origin – fought to purchase more of the state lands that they were actually holding, coming out on top to continue to farm ever bigger estates (*çiftlik*), and to rule over their regions.²¹³

Only towards the end of the nineteenth century (and even later), did most of the agricultural land change hands yet again, and only slowly did (some) peasants and small farmers come to own the land that they cultivated. Disputes which arose in the process were taken to a new court, the aforementioned *nizamiye mahkemesi*. It is through the documentation relating to such litigations that it might yet prove possible to further verify Ali of Crete's arrival in Datça – because Mehmed Halil's son, Mehmed Ali, too, had to appeal to this court, and had to prove his ancestor's original entitlement.²¹⁴ Before that, Mehmed Halil, for his part, appears to have survived this transition period gracefully. In November 1868, a donation (*teberru*) to the imperial treasury by Mehmed Halil Ağa of the Dadya dynasty was well received in Istanbul. This timely gift happened to precede a decree which imposed strict control over forests, and the unauthorised cutting of trees and use of timber, in the *kazas* of Menteşe, including Dadya.²¹⁵

Precocious Ties with International Trade

But perhaps luckily for Mehmed Halil, in such times of change and crisis, neither his wealth nor his authority were limited to the land. In 1858, Newton, noting that the *ağa* frequently travelled around his peninsular micro-kingdom, had portrayed a leisurely proprietor busying himself in fishing or shooting partridges. But along with, or despite, such habitual class-idleness, Mehmed Halil also appears in Newton's account as an able entrepreneur:

Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil], though he possesses four harems and much wealth, is not, like most rich Turks, devoured by indolence. He is a shrewd, hard-headed man of business, who ought to have been a Scotchman. He drives an active trade with

212 For Articles 8, 130 and 131 (towards preventing the *ırgatlaşma* [proletarianisation] of the peasants), see Ö. L. Barkan, 'Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihinde Tanzimat ve 1274 (1858) Tarihli Arazi Kanunnamesi', in *Tanzimat*, Vol. I (Istanbul 1940), 377.

213 In addition to those families listed above, see Ü. Türkeş, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Muğla* (Istanbul 1973), 116–120; *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. 'Muğla', 5872.

214 A cursory examination of the İrade, Dahiliye, Meclis-i Vâlâ, Meclis-i Mahsus, Şura-yı Devlet, and Nizamiye Mahkemesi classifications so far has not yielded any information on the Tuhfe-zades.

215 A.MKT.MHM 427 (8 Şaban 1285) and A.MKT.MHM 407 (19 Muharrem 1285), respectively.

Smyrna, selling the produce of his territory to the great English merchant Mr. Whittall, of whose friendship he is justly proud.²¹⁶

The Izmir merchant in question was Charlton Whittall (1791-1861). The Whittall family can be traced back to one James Whittall, tobacconist of Worcester (1696-1780). Following the emigration of his two great-grandsons, Charlton and James Whittall, to Izmir in 1809, they became a major Levantine family.²¹⁷ Charlton Whittall first travelled to the Ottoman lands in 1809 to represent Breed & Co., Liverpool, and stayed on to establish C. Whittall & Co. of Smyrna in 1811. The firm was incorporated into membership in the British Levant Trading Company in 1812. He received the Freedom of the Levant Co. in 1812, and was also awarded the imperial Order of Mecidiye, fourth class.²¹⁸ There were numerous connections between the Whittalls and other prominent European families, such as the Barkers, the La Fontaines or the Girauds in Izmir, as well as the likes of the Cortazzi,²¹⁹ the Cangelari²²⁰

216 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 162 and 164.

217 The Whittall family donated their papers, scrap-books, photographs, etc. for 1909-1996 to the University of Exeter in 2004 (MS 259). The collection contains material relating to the family's history and their commercial activities in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.

218 From the website of the University of Exeter on the Whittall Papers. Charlton married the daughter of the Austrian Consul (who was also the granddaughter of the Venetian Consul) of Izmir. His brother James (1798-1836) also came to Izmir and joined C. Whittall & Co., acquiring a third share in the company. Descendants of Charlton and James continued the tradition as prominent merchants, founding the Whittall Tea Company, Ceylon; J Whittall & Co., London; and JW Whittall & Co., Constantinople.

219 Originally from Constantinople, the Cortazzi were sent to Crete in 1182 to quell the rebellious inhabitants and rule the island. Intermarrying with native Cretans, the Cortazzi faithfully served Venice until the Ottoman conquest. Then they retired to Venice, and were given lands in the Morea to compensate them for their losses. The presence of the Cortazzi family in eighteenth and nineteenth-century western Anatolia is well attested through correspondence, business papers, and travellers' accounts. Lucca Cortazzi, for example, was the Venetian Consul in Izmir in 1750-1797. On the other hand, Lui(gi) Cortazzi – who appears as a “British” investor around the mid-nineteenth century – was among those who financed the Izmir-Aydın railway, construction of which began in 1856, and which was completed in 1866. This railway played a major role in opening the western Anatolian hinterland to international commerce.

220 After 1453, the Cangelari family took refuge first on the island of Corfu, and finally settled permanently on the island of Cephalonia, just after its conquest by the Venetians at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They were granted the highland village of Vari, and were entrusted with the military command of the region of Erisso – the northern, and, at that time, the roughest and most inaccessible part of the island. As a result of their military, spying or piratical activities against the Ottomans, many members of the family were enslaved – especially during the Cretan War (1645-1669). They served as notaries, members of the Council of the Community of Cephalonia, and distinguished themselves in the diplomatic field. The Cangelari also produced clergymen as well as elders, teachers, physicians, and constables. For the following three centuries, the family came to possess a house in the capital, known as the Fortress of Saint George. They were engaged in producing cereals, raisins, olives, and wine, while being simultaneously occupied with livestock breeding and to a lesser extent shipping. Clearly, they did well, and some branches settled in other areas on the island. Then, by the mid-seventeenth century, migrations out of the island took place. Some branches of the family took new family surnames, aiming at better differentiation between the various branches. Starting in the mid-nineteenth

or the Vlastos²²¹ – Byzantine Venetians who, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, had moved first to Crete, then to Athens, then to Izmir/Smyrna or elsewhere in the Aegean (and beyond).²²² They were all instrumental in establishing nineteenth-century trade routes and networks in this area.²²³

Crop Patterns in the Nineteenth Century

Materially speaking, what was there to collect from Dadya and export from Izmir? In earlier times, the Menteşeoğulları had established commercial relations with the Venetian administration of Crete. They bought metals, and exported horses and slaves, soap, and wine in return. After the Ottoman conquest, Bayezid I curtailed trade, prohibiting the export of grain, horses, and timber from Menteşe. In later centuries, when even Ottoman Marmaris remained insignificant as a port, the peninsula does not seem to have been part and parcel of a lively exchange. Sixteenth-century *tahrirs* point to the most common grains (including wheat and barley), and vetch and beans, as making up the taxable crop pattern.²²⁴ While the register of 1500 also records rice cultivation (*çeltik*) in Dadya, together with a few other places in Menteşe, in the later *defters* irrigation channels are indicated to be no longer productive (*bi-hâsıl*). Most windmills (*asiyab-ı bad*) in Menteşe were located in Dadya. There were 26 in 1500, 19 in 1517, 27 in 1562, and 45 in 1583. Piri Reis, too, noted Değirmenderesi (= Mill Creek) to the south-west of Dadya.²²⁵ The *tahrirs* provide rather precise information on how long (a month, three months, six

century, branches of the family established themselves permanently in Athens and other parts of Greece, as well as in Istanbul, Gemlik, Kızıl Adalar (the Princes' Islands) of the Ottoman Empire, in Braila in Romania, in Kerch in the Crimea, as well as in Suez and Alexandria.

221 Another leading noble family whose history can be traced from Constantinople to Crete, and then through Venice, Chios, Trieste, Livorno, the Ionian Islands, and Alexandria into western Europe and beyond, was the Vlastos family. In the early seventeenth century, some Vlastos moved to Chios, the shipping and trading hub of the eastern Mediterranean. After the finalisation of the Ottoman conquest of Crete in 1669, while some Vlastos remained in Crete and maintained their territory until the mid-nineteenth century, some of them re-established the family in the Ionian Islands and in Istria as the Venetian general Morosini organised a retreat of the Cretan nobles to what remained of the Venetian territories in the Levant. On islands such as Chios, Cephalonia, and Zante, as well as in Istria, they intermarried with other patriarchal families, and some converted to Catholicism. Family members also moved to Istanbul, where they became merchants or prominent members of the diplomatic communities.

222 On 11 March 1902, Gertrude Bell, who was visiting Izmir, wrote the following in her diary about Helen Whittall and old Mrs Whittall, the grandmother of them all: "... Mrs H. Whittall a delightful woman. Round the dining room family portraits – on one side the grandfather who first came out, a stern old man; on the other his wife, a Venetian (Cortazzi) of the Byzantine Venetians, driven out by the Turks first to Crete then to Athens and then to Smyrna, and her mother, an Italian, a Capo d'Istria ..."; The University of Newcastle upon Tyne Library, Gertrude Bell Archive Project, Diaries.

223 I shall elaborate on the corpus of family papers in another project.

224 For more on Menteşe in the sixteenth century, see Faroqhi, 'Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets', 65-70.

225 Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 269.

months, or all through the year) the mills in question might be expected to operate. The due (*resm*) was five *akçes* a month, but we have no way of knowing how much the millers charged, as well as the ways of payment.

In the sixteenth century, olive groves in Menteşe were limited to the Datça peninsula. The steady rise of olive cultivation observed through the 1500s is likely to have continued to increase as olive-oil extraction kept developing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The two tax registers that we have from the first quarter of the sixteenth century record only two taxpayers paying the standard produce tax on olives (*öşr-i zeytin*); both were located at Bedye, at the western end of the peninsula. From 150 *akçes* in 1500, the *öşr-i zeytin* of the village of Bedye rose to 545 *akçes* in 1517. The olive-oil tax in Bedye was entered together with the olive tax. In 1562, olive cultivation appears to be under way in and around Dadya, too, and the yield is recorded as twice that of Bedye. In Tarahya, while no olive trees are recorded, there appear to have been five olive-presses. Then, in 1583, that is to say, just 20 years later, some olive production shows up not only in Tarahya but also in İlya and Marmaris. By this time, there were 20 olive-presses in Bedye, ten in Dadya, and five in Tarahya.²²⁶

Cotton, too, was grown in the villages located in the same geographical zone which was suitable for olives. In 1500, Dadya, Tarahya and Bedye were the top three cotton-producing villages of Muğla. But by 1517, i.e., in less than two decades, while cotton production doubled in Tarahya and Bedye, it had declined by 40 per cent in Dadya. In the decades and centuries which followed, the production of industrial crops (such as flax, hemp, and sesame) seems to have remained limited, just enough to cover the basic needs of the inhabitants. So was garden produce. The exceptions were figs and almonds, which were plentiful. Almonds, for example, were cultivated most abundantly in two villages of Muğla (Dadya and Yekesiği), but it was Peçin that supplied almonds to the palace kitchens.²²⁷

Vallonea Oaks and the Acorn Trade

Both sides of the Uzunazmak spring running into Dadya Bay are covered with some of the most productive plains in the entire peninsula: the Kızlan valley (Kızlan Ovası), the Burgaz clearing (Burgaz Düzlüğü), the Reşadiye meadows (Reşadiye Çayırлары). Then come the flatlands around Karaköy, Mesudiye, and Palamutbükü. The last-named actually means ‘thicket of vallonea [valonia] oak’, reflecting a major income for the inhabitants of Datça. It is not clear when this came about. In the 1500 *tahrir*, there is no acorn tax (*öşr-i palamud*) recorded for Menteşe. Later, too, its cultivation was limited to Bedye, and it was so minimal that the tax intake never exceeded 25-30 *akçes*.²²⁸ In sharp contrast, Newton noted on 25 May 1859 that the plains (lying at regular intervals) on the southern coast permitted the growth of figs, almond groves, and olive trees, as well as

²²⁶ Ibid., 265.

²²⁷ Ibid., 264, 266.

²²⁸ Ibid., 267.

“in particular districts the vallonea oak, which is the principal article of export from the peninsula”.²²⁹

Sicils, too, make much of vallonea oaks and their acorns (as well as of carobs, figs, almond and olive trees). There were said to be 25 vallonea oak trees in one *dönüm* (940 m²), each tree yielding approximately 70 *okkas* of acorns (an acorn being called *kadeh* at the time). While the fruit (*pelit*) was locally used as animal feed, fertiliser, and for heating, industrially vallonea oak acorns were (and are) used in tanning, dyeing, and pharmacology. Early in the nineteenth century, as the Ottoman leather industry began to fail in competition with European, South American and Indian products, production of the acorn essence (*palamut özü*), too, collapsed, and acorns began to be exported only as a raw material.

In 1838, following the Anglo-Turkish Commercial (Balta Limanı) Treaty, Menteşe ports were listed among the export outlets for acorns. But Mehmed Halil appears to have operated directly from Izmir, where most of the Ottoman export was put together. Acorns were exported in sugar sacks weighing 55-65 kilos. At the turn of the century, among the buyers were England, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and Germany.²³⁰ This busy trade disappeared together with the introduction of tobacco production.²³¹ Meanwhile, wine as the region's other celebrated product was not favoured. Ancient Cnidus had been a wine-producing centre, but in subsequent centuries not only Muslims but non-Muslims, too, did not go in for viniculture. Instead, it was Cnidus' antiquities that were on the market. This was going on all around the Aegean: Randolph notes, for example, that ships carrying vallonea oak acorns were also (re)moving many stones from the ruins in Eğriboz/Euboea.²³²

A State of General Poverty

In Ottoman times, Menteşe sheep husbandry was also largely located in the villages of the peninsula: Bedye, Dadya, Tarahya, Çatak, Kırancatak and Bozburun. According to two early-sixteenth-century *tahrirs*, the number of sheep in Dadya rose drastically from 400 in 1500 to 2,000 in 1517.²³³ Bedye and Dadya also ranked first and second in the number of beehives registered in Muğla in four different sixteenth-century tax registers.²³⁴

At the end of the day, however, Datça was a backwater with sparse population and scattered settlements. Newton states that in the absence of the civilising effect of commerce and navigation, the locals were ignorant and shallow. He compares the peasants to those of Bodrum, whom he found to be (more) active and intelligent. Newton also notes

229 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 267.

230 F. Çolak, ‘İzmir’in İhracatında Palamut’un Yeri ve Önemi’, in Baykara (ed.), *CIÉPO XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 89-103.

231 Tobacco production was introduced in 1687 by Süleyman II first in the Balkans. Tobacco was also produced illegally in Muğla and its environs until 1862; Türkeş, *Muğla İli Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları*, 116-120.

232 Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands*, 6.

233 Mete, ‘XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla’, 271.

234 Ibid., 273. Also see note 14 above.

the poverty in the peninsula. For those who were employed at the excavation at Cnidus, this was a lifetime's only chance to make some money. Furthermore, Newton says that among those he took with him when he went to Branchidae (Didim, Didymaion), quite a few had never set foot outside the peninsula (which is not very surprising, for even in the 1950s, it used to take 20-24 hours to get from the base to the tip of the long and winding spit of land).

The peasants were self-sufficient, and from weaving to food-processing, home industries were widespread. Early-twentieth-century peasant *tereke*s (of which around 80 are to be found in the court registers at our disposal) provide evidence of various kinds of household equipment, but in general the state of poverty is truly striking. They were buying rice and sugar from the ships arriving from Izmir every two weeks, and taking their sick to Rhodes. Newton blames Mehmed Halil for enslaving the locals for fear of losing them to better-paying patrons: "Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] having contrived to keep them there like serfs, on the pretext of their perpetual liability to be drawn as conscripts, but in reality to prevent their emigrating in quest of higher wages than he chooses to give".²³⁵

The Perils of Modern Piracy

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Mehmed Halil's son Mehmed Ali Bey had three single-storey shops (*mağaza*) at Dadya İskelesi, in the midst of the coffee-houses.²³⁶ Half a century earlier, waterfront commerce had been hazardous, to say the least, because of the perils of piracy. Financial transactions were even more difficult. Newton mentions that while he was in Bodrum, having been authorised by the Embassy to draw for a large amount on the Pasha of the district, he had no difficulty in getting his bills cashed by the *müdir* of Bodrum.

Since I have been here, my friend Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil], who collects the tribute of the peninsula over which he rules, proposed in like manner to be my banker, as, by cashing my bills, he would be enabled to remit the tribute to the Pasha at Mugla in paper instead of in specie. Accordingly, I applied to him for a remittance of L700, and, not thinking it desirable to have charge of so large a sum on shore, specially directed him not to send it before a certain day, when I knew that the Supply would come in from Budrum. Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] forthwith proceeded to call in the tribute from all the villages round him, which was duly paid up in copper piastres and half-piastres. Six mules having been laden with this treasure, were then despatched to Cnidus in charge of some cavasses, who were so proud of their mission that they proclaimed it at every village where they halted on their way, taking care to magnify the sum with that noble contempt for exactness in figures which distinguishes the Oriental mind.²³⁷

²³⁵ Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 262.

²³⁶ M Deftir 154, 192/67-443.

²³⁷ Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 230.

Newton was lucky to be able to put his rows of grey camel's hair sacks on board the Supply, which miraculously made an early departure, for the next day they were threatened by a crowded and strange-looking vessel hovering off the coast. Landing an armed party, the pirates carried off a bullock "before the very eyes of an old peasant who was too frightened to offer the slightest resistance".²³⁸ Attracted probably by the cavasses' boastful garrulousness, the pirates were eventually repulsed, and the archaeologist concluded:

This anecdote will give you some idea of the difficulties under which commerce is carried on in this part of the Archipelago. Such is the security of the sea, that bills of exchange can only be negotiated in those few islands where there is a regular service of mail steamers. In other places, money is smuggled in as stealthily as if it were contraband; and those who hold it are afraid to turn it to any proper account, for the reputation of being rich has cost many a man his life in these islands. Thus commercial enterprise will remain undeveloped till some modern Minos arises to put down piracy with a strong hand.²³⁹

For all his power and influence, Mehmed Halil does not seem to have tried to put down piracy. On the contrary, he is more likely to have been part and parcel of the plundering, commandeering and counterfeiting in the region – though this has yet to be uncovered. But as piracy finally came to be eliminated with the rise of the modern state, we find that by the 1920s, his son, Mehmed Ali, had established his own business company, and was controlling the trade between 'New' Datça, Rhodes and Izmir – a great success, only to collapse during the Great Depression.

Mehmed Ali on the Threshold of the Twentieth Century

Notwithstanding Newton's confusion over the identity of his Dadya interlocutor, it is important to note that there were indeed too many Mehmeds, Halils and Alis, or combinations thereof, in the Tuhfezade family. Thus, several twentieth-century narrators (not necessarily following Newton's account) have also continued to confuse Mehmed Halil Ağa with his son, who rose to head the Tuhfezades during the last gasp of the Ottoman Empire.

On 10 January 1885, Mehmed Halil's son Mehmed Ali had bestowed upon him the honorary rank of *ıstabl-i âmire*, on which occasion he was cited as one of the *mu'teberan-ı Dadiye*, that is to say, the notables of the district (*nahiye*) of Dadya.²⁴⁰ Unlike his father, he was no longer a *müdir*. Moreover, on 22 July 1885, when he was accused of exploiting the peasants together with the then *müdir* Süleyman Sıdkı Efendi, he was simply re-

²³⁸ Ibid., 229.

²³⁹ Ibid., 230.

²⁴⁰ İ.DH 939/74333 (23 Rebiyülevvel 1302).

ferred to as one of the locals (*ahaliden*).²⁴¹ Such blame did not hinder him from receiving, on 10 January 1899, the *Nişan-ı Osmanî* of the third grade (but *tebdilen*, suggesting some kind of change in his status).²⁴² Around the same time or just slightly earlier, on the occasion of his receiving the Loyalty and Bravery Medal (in 1898), he was also mentioned as a former member of the Board of Directors (*meclis-i idare*) of the province of Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid.²⁴³ He was then based in Rhodes. In some of the available secondary literature, it is argued that Mehmed Ali Ağa was appointed Mayor of Rhodes (*şehir kethüdası*, or *belediye meclisi reisi*) in the period 1882-1887 (or, rather more generically, in the 1890s).²⁴⁴ However, since his two sons were born there (Mehmed Halil Efendi in 1875 and Mehmed Fehmi Bey in 1877), an earlier presence in Rhodes prior to his municipal appointment is quite plausible.²⁴⁵ The family's involvement in Rhodian affairs appears to have gone back quite a bit, for in January 1844, Mehmed Halil Ağa had been charged with collecting the tax arrears on behalf of the late Şükrü Paşa, the former *muhafız* of Rhodes.²⁴⁶ But then and thereafter, Mehmed Halil must have been based at Dadya. The *eyalet* of Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid was made a *vilâyet* in 1867, and Rhodes became its centre in 1876. Mehmed Ali's initial move beyond his home base must have been around this time.

To judge by all this, towards the end of the nineteenth century, Mehmed Ali was still holding on to both his image and his degree of control as the representative of state authority in the peninsula. At the same time, he now emerges as a *bey* at the core of a circle of lesser *ağas*, most of whom appear to have been newcomers in Datça, such as Koca Kadı of Muğla, or Emrullah Nailî, hailing all the way from Damascus. Within a new, growing and more differentiated economy increasingly integrated with world and European capitalism, the relative weight of old wealth kept diminishing, while the plethora of new grades and honours distributed by the Late Tanzimat state were but a shadow of the previous landlordship, thinly disguising the passing of real power and the gradual sinking of the former gentry into the people.

241 DH.MKT 401 (29 Muharrem 1313).

242 E. Eldem, *Pride and Privilege: A History of the Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations* (Istanbul 2004), 298. Eldem notes that the third and smaller version of the Loyalty and Bravery Medal was probably never issued. Obverse: *Abdülhamid Han bin Abdülmecid el-Muzaffer Daima – El-Gazi* (*tuğra* of Sultan Abdülhamid with *el-Gazi* added); reverse: *Devlet-i Osmaniye Uğurunda Fevka'l-âde Sadakat ve Şecaat İbrar Edenlere Mahsus Madalyadır, 1302* (This medal is reserved for those who have shown extraordinary loyalty and bravery in serving the Ottoman State, 1885), with a cartouche left blank for the name of the recipient.

243 İ.TAL 163 (27 Şaban 1316).

244 This was when the poet and intellectual Namık Kemal was the sub-governor (*mutasarrıf*), and Galib Paşa was the governor (*vali*) of Rhodes. Anecdotes of their intimate friendship still circulate; O. Sönmez, *Knidos. Mavide Uyuyan Güzel* (Istanbul 2007), 59, after Z. Özalp, in *Balıkaşiran*, a local newspaper.

245 For the records of their births, see respectively DH.SAİDd 112/393 (29 Zilhicce 1291), and DH.SAİDd 128/193 (29 Zilhicce 1293).

246 A.MKT 8 (29 Zilhicce 1259).

The Twilight of the Tuhfezade Fortunes

Nowhere is this more clearly reflected than the court records of Marmaris, dating from 1885-1911. Gone are the traditional ties to Istanbul, gone the old provincial politics revolving around the *mütesellimlik* (and related) struggles – to be replaced by the ordinary face of ‘equality’ (however it might need to be qualified) before a court that was not modern in origin, but nevertheless caught in the throes of modernisation. For these court records are mostly about family disputes (such as inheritance apportioning and sales),²⁴⁷ and the more Mehmed Ali – acting either as a principal party or as legal proxy – shows up in cases relating to both movables and landed property in Datça, or else in transactions relating to sales or collection of debts, the more he seems to be sinking into a morass of mundane affairs.

In general, the cases in which Mehmed Ali was involved do not reflect directly on the underlying conflicts and tensions of the implementation of the 1858 Land Code, which were to be adjudicated and registered at the court of regulations (*nizamiye mahkemesi*). Nevertheless, there were some contested cases which spilled over to the religious court. Thus, when a family from Elaki, the Tuhfezades’ home base, wanted to sell their agricultural lands and fig groves in the vicinity of the village to a local from Dadya, and the lands in question turned out to be classified as *arazi-i emiriye*, they had to appeal to the county council at Marmaris (*meclis-i idare-i kaza*), and to assign a noted lawyer from Rhodes as their proxy.²⁴⁸ So incredibly, there were still some (descendants of) fief-holders who continued to farm state land, or those collecting tithe (*âşar*, pl. of *öşr* or *öşür*) from the peasants. A Kızlan local had reclaimed five *dönüms* of agricultural land from the hills, and put it on auction as *mal-ı miri* (public revenue). The man had died, and his brother, who wanted to collect the money, appealed to the local religious court.²⁴⁹ In yet another case, an *ağa* from Cumalı appointed his son as his proxy to collect the *âşar* from the five villages that he was holding the *iltizam* rights of.²⁵⁰ Correcting an application of the *kanunname-i arazi-i hümayun* also fell on the religious court. This involved the annulment of the title deed for three *dönüms* of agricultural land with 42 vallonea oak trees, issued in 1880. The case was complicated because of claims that (a) the land in question had originally been held as an *arpalık* in Kızlan; (b) the deceased had bequeathed it to his daughter even though he had a surviving son; and (c) the trees and the land should legally fall to separate parties. Numerous articles and paragraphs of the *kanunname* were cited, witnesses were called in, and the process dragged on over several hearings.²⁵¹ Also

247 In a total of 569 *hüküms*, cases related to inheritance (124), dowries (3), marriage (15), divorce (3), alimony (14), guardianship (66) are in the majority; there are also some cases of hiring out locals’ daughters as servants to military-bureaucrats in Muğla (6); waqfs (2), as well as rape (2) and theft (1) are rare.

248 M Defter 149 (dated 1886-1891), 53/34-108.

249 M Defter 149, 60-208/71-3.

250 M Defter 154, 90/154-492.

251 M Defter 149, 150-465/111-10; M Defter 149, 150-466/112-11; M Defter 150 (dated 1885-1894), 75/120-23; M Defter 150, 110/138-24.

common were references to: the *meccelle-i ahkâm-ı adliye* (Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's famous Civil Code of Judicial Ordinances);²⁵² other references to or appeals against actions taken by the court of first instance (*bidayet mahkemesi*); appeals (initially to both courts: *mahkeme-i şer'î ve nizamiyede bidayeten*) for the assignment of a guardian or deputy, for the renewal of marriage, or for establishing inheritance. Among those who appealed to the court were numerous non-Muslim landholders, as well as various *ağas* – because of cases involving (other) prominent families in the peninsula. One such dynasty was the family of Bedyeli Ahmed Ağa (including his son Mehmed Ağa).²⁵³ The Tuhfezade family tree allows us to trace their relationship with Mehmed Halil Ağa and his two sons.

Mehmed Ali Bey, identified as the son of Mehmed Halil Ağa, of the “house [dynasty] of the village of Elaki” (*Elaki karyesi hanedanı*) appears several times in the context of these court records in transactions relating to the sale of agricultural land;²⁵⁴ as a resident of Elaki, acting as a party in a property sale;²⁵⁵ as a legal proxy;²⁵⁶ by way of assigning a proxy for himself;²⁵⁷ or in connection with the collection of outstanding debts.²⁵⁸ At other times, his or his brother Murad Halil's properties are recorded in connection with cases of property partitioning.²⁵⁹ Together with or after Mehmed Ali, his children, too, as well as some other members of the Tuhfezades – sometimes identified as *ağas* or *ağazades* – keep turning up in these court records. Thus, his son [Mehmed Ağazade] Mehmed Halil (b. 1875), cited only as “a resident of the village of Elaki” (*Elaki karyesi ahalisinden*) appears to have been appointed a “representative” on 14 August 1894,²⁶⁰ until he was replaced by Mehmed Faik Bey, a resident of Marmaris.²⁶¹ Eventually, though, they become less and less visible as they proliferate, grow smaller, and are scattered (with their own households) all over the peninsula. At this stage, only one Tuhfezade appears before the court by his family name. This has to do with a certain Tuhfezade İzzet Bey, said to be Mehmed [Ali] Bey's son, who appears to have borrowed money from the Orphans' Fund (*eytam sandığı*).²⁶² This is somewhat strange, for we do not have independent information about a fourth son of Mehmed Ali – in addition to the already mentioned Mehmed Halil Efendi (b. 1875) and Mehmed Fehmi Bey (b. 1877), as well as a third, Ahmed Kemal Bey, about whom less is known.

252 According to Articles 851 and 1818; M Defter 150, 38/251-53.

253 M Defter 154, 164/52-436; M Defter 154, 167/54-439; M Defter 154, 240/90-448; M Defter 155 (dated 1901-1905), 7/35-610; M Defter 155, 8/36-612; M Defter 155, 10/37-615.

254 M Defter 154, 164/52-436.

255 M Defter 152 (dated 1894-1898), 37/154-348.

256 M Defter 152, 145/64-235.

257 M Defter 153 (dated 1906-1908), 82/34-416; M Defter 153, 96/208-530; M Defter 154, 192/67-443; M Defter 154, 96/208-530; M Defter 155, 13/54-622.

258 M Defter 152, 148/64-237; M Defter 152, 263/113-306.

259 M Defter 150, 221/361-159, in relation to Deli Çavuşoğlu Musa's property in Dadya.

260 M Defter 150, 141/312-109; 201/350-154.

261 M Defter 150, 150/318-115; 151/319-117.

262 M Defter 157 (dated 1910-1911), 142/62-688.

Epilogue for a Lost World

Also curiously, we have no record of Mehmed Ali's death or the division of his wealth in these 1885-1911 *sicils*. Nevertheless, we have it on the word of a family member²⁶³ that when this last *ağa*, Mehmed Ali, died, he was buried near the oak tree by the mosque, and that his tombstone read, at least in part:

Hayatında ruz-ı şeb ikram ederdi âleme
Hanesinde nice kimse el sürerdi ni'mete
El çekip fani cihandan erdi kurb-ı rahmete

Alive, he would offer his courtesy to all, by day and night.
In his house, many were those who ate his bread.
From this mortal world, he moved closer to the mercy of God.

It is a fitting epitaph not just for one man, not even for a family, but for an entire quasi-lordly class. Both of Mehmed Ali's more easily identifiable sons, Mehmed Halil Efendi and Mehmed Fehmi Bey, became lawyers – the one new profession that was crucial to a transitionally litigious society. Of his two daughters, Seza and Münire, the first never married, while Münire was married to Hidayet Şahingiray, the Crimean prince in exile in Rhodes. In the end, all five of Mehmed Ali's children died childless in or around the 1950s. After the death of Münire and her husband, the *konak*, together with the agricultural land around it, was sold off by the probate court (*tereke mahkemesi*).²⁶⁴ The family that once held virtually the entire peninsula in its grip, with a son, a half-brother, an aunt or a nephew implanted in every town or village, gradually sank below the horizon.

It was also the death knell of a pre-national mosaic. In the surviving *sicils* of Marmaris, all together 12 villages are listed for the peninsula over 1885-1911 (Cumalı, Emecik, Kara, Kızlan, Yaka, Avlana, Elaki, Dadya, Çeşme, Batı, Aleksi, and İlya), as well as a few neighbourhoods (Zeytinlik/?, Yazı/Cumalı, Mezgit/Avlana, Sı[ğ]ındı/Yaka). They were dispersed, though mostly along the southern coast. Today, after the re-naming or complete disappearance of the Greek villages of Avlana, Elaki, Aleksi and İlya, and the development of a few recent settlements, the villages in the Datça peninsula are: Cumalı, Emecik, Reşadiye, Sı[ğ]ındı, Hızırşah, Karaköy, Kızlan, Mesudiye, Yaka, and Yazı. As mentioned at the outset, following the 1909 enthronement of Mehmed (Reşad) V, Elaki became Reşadiye, while İlya and Aleksi, initially renamed Turgut and Osmaniye, vanished altogether (with the sole exception of the now ruined church at İlya).²⁶⁵ In

263 M. Fethi Meltem claimed that he could partially remember these lines from the gravestone, which was removed together with those of other family members in 1928; Meltem, *Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 12.

264 Since then it has been used as a tobacco depot, a cinema, a school, and a wedding hall. Over the last couple of years it has been restored and transformed into a luxury hotel.

265 On 30 July 1914, Greeks living in the vicinity of Reşadiye (Elaki) were denied permission to establish themselves in a new settlement; DH.İD 183-2 (6 Ramazan 1332). M. Fethi Meltem noted that "the inhabitants of the village in the vicinity of the Hızırşah mosque were resettled

1911/1912 the peninsula was divided into two districts (*nahiye*): Süleymaniye (Betçe) and Reşadiye (Dadya/Datça). In the wake of the Balkan Wars, in 1914 Talât Paşa ordered a massive ethnic cleansing operation all along the Aegean coastline. Now regarded by the Unionist leadership as a suspect population, around 300,000 Greeks (Rumliots) were intimidated into leaving.²⁶⁶ This was when the Datça re-organisation was also finalised as most of the village names in the peninsula were Turkified,²⁶⁷ villagers were uprooted, and many native Greeks left for the islands of the Archipelago.²⁶⁸

Datça cemeteries and tombstones attest to this transformation in a different way. Virtually all graveyards are in total disarray. The oldest tombstone registered on the peninsula, belonging to Veli b. Hüseyin of Yaka village, is dated to 1708. There are ten more from the eighteenth century: three of women, one of a certain Zaim Mustafa b. Hüseyin (AD 1722/H. 1135), and one belonging to Tuhfezade Hüseyin, already mentioned, who was shot in 1749 (H. 1163). Some gravestones near Cumalı belong to black slaves from Tunisia and Algeria, who were brought in as sailors' servants. Most strikingly, not a single Greek tombstone can be found in its original place, and sometimes not even as *spolia*. In a house in Cumalı, a Greek tombstone is to be found as a door beam²⁶⁹ – in mute, tragic comment on a world turned upside down.

at Elaki. Some of the villagers were located over the hilly side, but most were settled in the Orta Datça quarter. In my youth the settlement in the vicinity of the Hızırşah mosque was called Aşağı Köy [the lower village]"; Meltem, *Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 4. The Orta Datça quarter (*mahalle*) and Aşağı Köy were the villages of, respectively, Aleksi and İlya. Hızırşah, originally a non-Muslim village called Lıbtı, was renamed on 13 April 1914; DH.İD 97-2 (17 Cemaziyelâhir 1332). This document goes against the common belief (which has also found its way into scholarly research) that Hızırşah was called after an Islamic scholar who was a student of Allâme-i Tusî (the exceedingly learned person from Tus), and who lived in the area in the 1400s; Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri, 1299-1915*, Vol. 1 (Istanbul 1972), 336, as also quoted by M. Çanlı and Ü. Türkeş, *Datça (Reşadiye) Kuva-yi Milliyesi* (Ankara 1999), 2 n. 11. The legend has it that he died in H. 853, and his supposed tomb in the village is still visited – hence the alternative name for the village, Yatırköy. For a comprehensive list of all villages and households in Menteşe province as of 14 December 1916, see DH.UMVM 143 (18 Safer 1335).

266 *Osmanlı Mebusan Meclisi Reisi Halil Menteşe'nin Anıları* (Istanbul 1986), 165-166.

267 Change of toponyms: Kırvasıl/Orhaniye, İlya/Turgut, Aleksi/Osmaniye, Elaki/Reşadiye, Avlana/Mesudiye, Karamaka/Aziziye, Losta/Selimiye, Rumbükü/Türkbükü, and, last but not least, Rumhaneleri/Türkhaneleri. All were introduced as of 28 February 1914; İ.DH 1506 (3 Rebiyülâhir 1332). Lıbtı became Hızırşah on 13 April 1914; DH.İD 97-2 (17 Cemaziyelâhir 1332). As noted above, on 30 July 1914, Greeks living in the vicinity of Reşadiye (Elaki) were not allowed to establish themselves in a new settlement; DH.İD 183-2 (6 Ramazan 1332); also see note 265 above. In another part of the peninsula, settlements in the vicinity of Yaka village, namely Evrencek, Firket, and Ulana, were separated from Yaka, and were re-organised as a single village under the name of Ulana; DH.MKT 1212 (5 Receb 1325/14 August 1907).

268 DH.EUM.EMN 87 (24 Şaban 1332): Greeks were prevented from fleeing by rowboats on 18 July 1914.

269 Photographed by T. Artan, August 2006. Ergenekon also mentions a Roman tombstone with an inscription in "Greekified Latin", but fails to give its location; Ergenekon, 'Dorian Archaeology', 461 n. 2.

