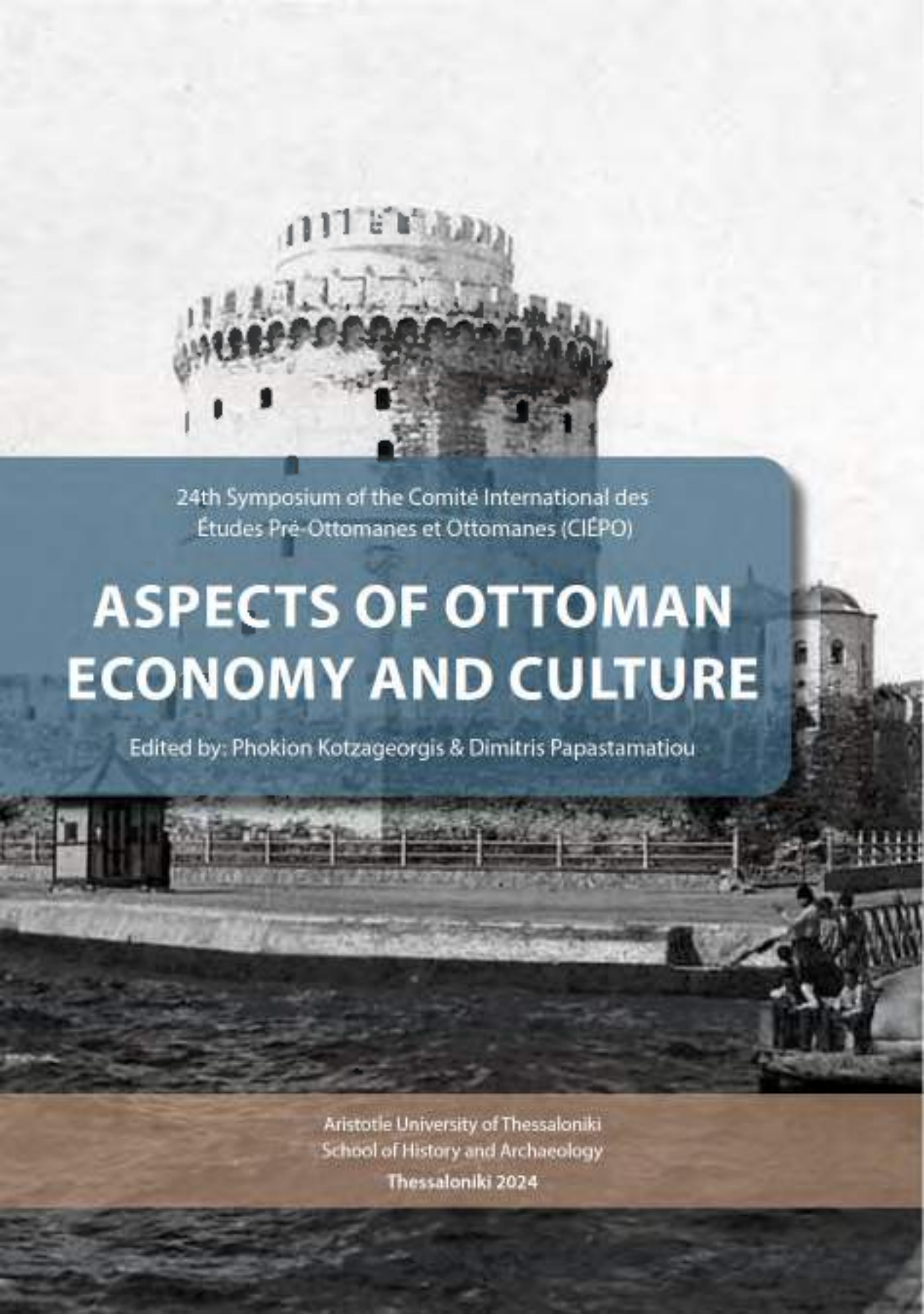

24th Symposium of the Comité International des Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes (CIÉPO)

ASPECTS OF OTTOMAN ECONOMY AND CULTURE

Edited by: Phokion Kotzageorgis & Dimitris Papastamatiou

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
School of History and Archaeology
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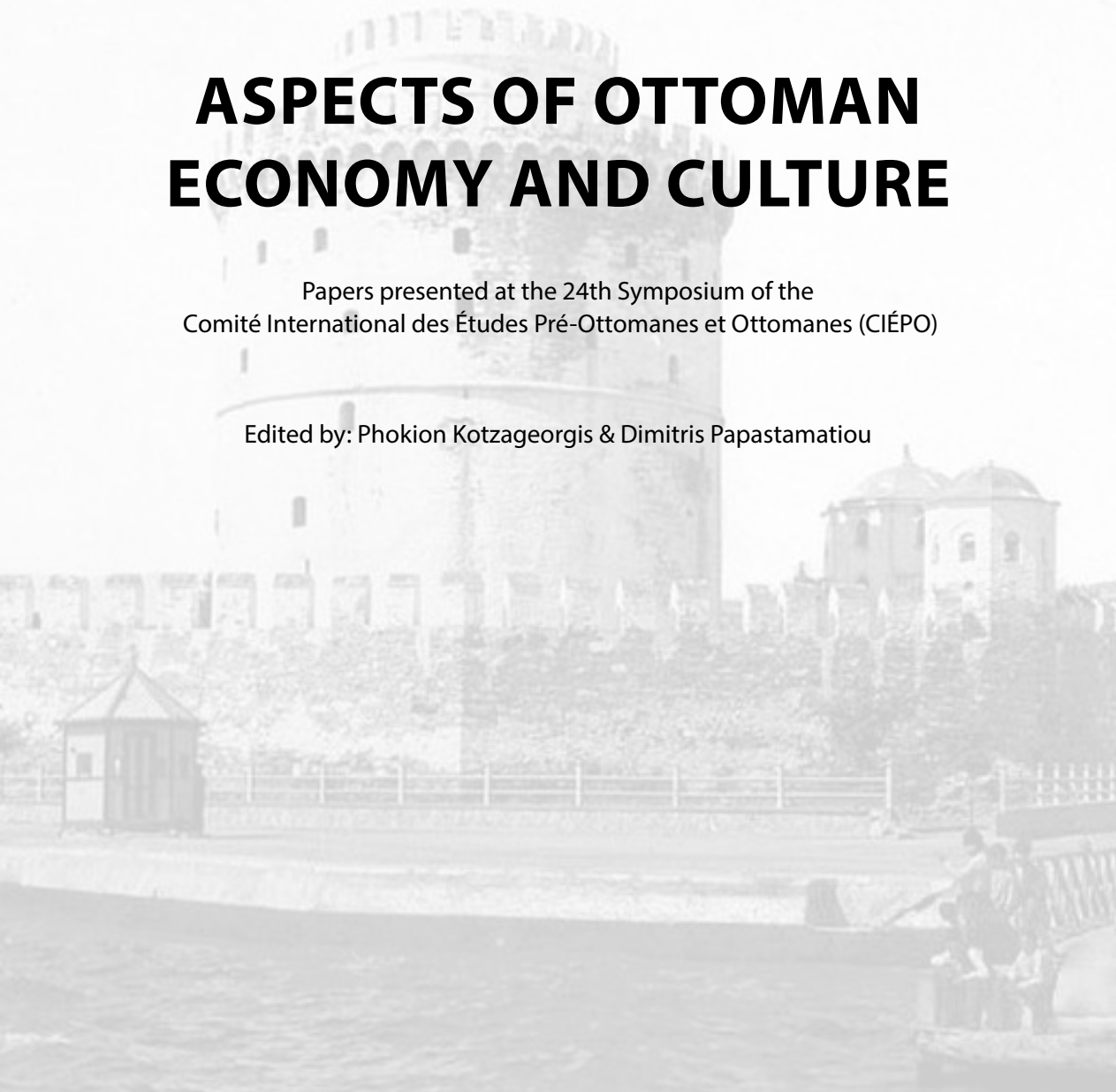

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PART 2: CULTURE

PREFACE

This small collection of papers has resulted from the 24th Symposium of the Comité International des Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes (CIÉPO), which was organized by the Department of History and Archaeology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and took place in Thessaloniki, Greece, between 21 and 25 June 2022. The Symposium was due in June 2022, but was postponed twice owing to COVID-19 restrictions; yet, when we were finally allowed to organize it, it took place with great success. 213 papers were presented in four days and three parallel sessions, all of them reflecting the high scholarly level of modern Ottoman studies. From these presentations, we publish a small sample of twelve of them, organized in two broad thematic sections, namely a) Economy and Society, and b) Art and Culture. The papers are placed in alphabetic order within each section.

In his study, S. Anagnostou describes the role of the island of Lesbos in the commercial networks of the Orient during the eighteenth century and the participation of the French in it. On the basis of French documents and the pertinent literature, he emphasizes on the role of the French vice-councils on the island; he describes their duties, their compensation and meagre salaries (and their ensuing poverty), while at the same time, particular emphasis is put on the trade of olive oil, the related prohibition of exports of this product by the Ottoman authorities, and the taxes imposed on the French trading houses by the Ottoman state. The author of the paper concludes that olive oil trade, along with its contraband, contributed to the widespread prosperity of the island population.

In his paper, Y. T. Cora focuses on the way the Hamidian regime dealt with rumors challenging the official and only acceptable version of reality. The spread of panic in 1907 is used as an example of how the regime failed to control and stalk rumors of successive bankruptcies of commerce houses. This failure questioned the credibility of the Hamidian economic development and delegitimized the sultan's image. Abdul Hamid reacted by discrediting the rumors, doubting the gravity of

the economic crisis, and blaming the selfishness of merchants for any discrepancies of the Ottoman economy.

M. Grammaticopoulou examines the ways European entrepreneurs employed the Ottoman manpower at the end of the nineteenth century in order to meet their needs for skilled and unskilled labor. The author claims that Europeans encountered several difficulties, starting with the general shortage of labor, the seasonal job abandonment by the laborers so that the latter would work their land, the particular lack of technical expertise, the reduced productivity and the light workload of the Ottoman natives. Europeans managed to overcome and finally counterbalance these limitations by applying differentiated payment to European and Ottoman employees respectively. However, this decision triggered the reaction of the Ottoman Greek workforce who refuted the European allegations and defended their Ottoman identity.

Based on the rich Ottoman archive of the monastery of M. Meteoron (Thessaly, Greece), Ph. Kotzageorgis, studies the land estates of the monastery in the sixteenth century, presents the profile of its investment policy and wonders whether the monks benefited from the rapid increase of their land property compared to the theoretically slower increase of state taxation through the census. Comparing the data from the tax registers of the censuses on the one hand and the tax receipts and registers' extracts from the monastery's archives on the other, he concludes that the state retained control over the whole process and that the supposed privileged treatment of monasteries by the state was not a phenomenon of the sixteenth century but of the early one.

In her brief study, S. Küçükoğlu, pointing out the importance of registrations in the provinces of expenses (*tevzi defter*s), especially during the reign of Selim III, focused on the emergence of the new type of officials, the *Defatir Nazır*s, who, together with *kaza nazır*s, oversaw the whole process of drafting and calculating expenses and revenues of a province. These employees, the first ones paid from the central treasury and the second ones from the provinces, were an eye that controlled the whole process of drafting the registrars. Thus, this new post of local officials showed attempt of the state to rationalize the tax registers in the provinces.

F. Oncel's paper is a presentation of some findings of the "Mapping Ottoman Epirus" research project conducted by an interdisciplinary team of scholars, aiming to use digital humanity tools to visualize and analyse data extracted by Ottoman and Greek sources. The paper is based on a liability inventory concerning the confiscated property of executed Tepedelenli Ali Pasha. After a brief discussion of the particularities of the document, the author expands on the methodology of analysis adopted and the impediments faced by the research. She also discusses the different types of liabilities and liability holders, as they were categorized by the researchers. She offers examples how data were structured, transferred to database and elabo-

rated with the help of visualization tools. The objective of both the paper and the project is to depict the significance of digital humanities tools in shedding light to multifaceted aspect of social and economic reality.

D. Papastamatiou examines the case of Thanos Kanakaris, a prominent *kocabaşı* from the city of Patra in the Morea, through his personal Ottoman archive, which covers the period 1806-1820, and comprises 75 documents, most of which are letters exchanged between the Moreot magnate and the Ottoman government. The paper discusses the divergent political roles assumed by Kanakaris, and his eagerness to consolidate his position in the power balance of the Moreot political sphere in the face of his assorted political adversaries and the ensuing fierce antagonism with them. Furthermore, the paper expands on the multiple aspects of the petition making process, as it was systematically used by Kanakaris in his effort to thwart his political foes and legitimize his political hegemony in the Morea.

On the basis of documents from the kadi court of Ruha, O. Usta examines the relation between the number of gristmills and the extent of the economic and demographic crisis of the early seventeenth century. Working on the documentation of two successive flash floods in 1630 he emphasizes the large number of mills restored and renovated and concludes that the need for grain grinding was acute, and thus no production decrease is evident. He also questions the supposed resource of the local population to husbandry during the same period, while he underlines the possession of the hydraulic structures by members of the local elite. In this context, the author puts to question the established viewpoints as for the extensive economic and demographic crisis of the seventeenth century.

The study of A.G. Katsarakis proceeds in a thorough architectural analysis, using mathematical formulae, of the plan of the mosque of Küçük Hasan Pasha (also known as Yalı Mosque) in the old port of Chania (Crete), erected immediately after the Ottoman conquest of the town (1646). The author thoroughly examines the dome, whose shape he finds unique in the core provinces of the empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Due to the high position of the founder and his contacts through campaigns with Iran and the Arab provinces, he gave his mosque a mixed shape with obvious influences from the Arab provinces of the empire, bringing to the new Ottoman province of Crete the "exoticism" of the Arab provinces.

Seda Kula's article focuses on the graduates of the Ottoman High School of Fine Arts founded in 1882 and their role in the preservation of the architectural heritage. Starting from the gathered wisdom that the re-evaluation of cultural and architectural heritage and the reorganization of an architectural and urban program with a view to facilitating the building-up of national identity and the modernization of Ottoman lifestyle were the main objectives of the post-Tanzimat agenda of Ottoman architecture, the author focuses on architects, the first graduates of the School of Fine Arts, who were active in the field of building restorations and historical re-

search. She concludes that there was no separate specialization regarding the preservation of architectural heritage, but architects equally documented the historical buildings, proceeded with restorations, and were influenced in their own designs by Islamo-Turkish elements taught at the school.

With her article, M. Perdikopoulou highlights a monument of the Ottoman heritage in the Ottoman Balkans in an under-studied area. It is the town of Zichna (Ott. Zihne, today Palaia Zichni) of Serres region, once seat of a *kaza*, where today traces of its Ottoman past are preserved in a bad condition. With the help of fieldwork and plans she prepared, and on the basis of the pertinent bibliography, the author proves that the building that once was considered a mosque is a double *hammam*, dating back to the sixteenth century. The building is well documented through photographs and plans prepared by the author.

G. Salakides presents an unknown poem from the Greek *aljamiado* literature, which was developed in the Ottoman Balkans. This text is not, as the author concludes, a simple translation of the "Testament" (*Vasiyetname*) of the sixteenth century Ottoman theologian, Mehmed Efendi Birgivi, but a catechesis (*ilmihal*) addressed to the Greek-speaking Muslim community of Ioannina (Epirus, Greece). After presenting the content of the poem, the author analyzes the linguistic peculiarities and some elements that differentiate this text from that of Birgivi, providing us an example of the multiple cultural osmoses that were prevalent in the Ottoman world.

P. Kotzageorgis
D. Papapstamatiou

PART 1
ECONOMY

THE TRANSACTION OF THE FOREIGN TRADE BETWEEN LESVOS AND FRANCE AND THE COLLECTION OF CUSTOMS TAXES IN THE ISLAND DURING THE 18th CENTURY, ACCORDING TO RELEVANT FRENCH ARCHIVES

Stratis Anagnostou*

The transport of goods in Lesvos was always done by sea, even for the purpose of carrying products from one area of the island to another. The lack of a road network was forcing local traders and producers to transport their products from production sites to windward shores. The latter were approached by sailboats on which various products were loaded or unloaded by boats. On some coasts customs offices had been established by the Ottoman state for the taxation of goods on the spot. The presentation of tax receipt of the product in one area exempted its re-taxation in another, through which it would pass or which it would reach. In 1671 the operation of customs offices was recorded in the following areas: Mytilene (contingent dependent custom houses in Yera-Perama, Plomari, Sarilica-Loutropolis Thermis, Balcik-Skala Neon Kydonion), Skala Molyvos (contingent dependent custom houses in Petra, Tsichranda Bay, Çamur

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liman, Gavathas Bay), Skala Skamnia (contingent dependent custom house in Yeni liman-Kapi), Kumluk (perhaps Kliou, Tsonia Bay) with contingent dependent custom house in Aspropotamos Bay, Skala Eresos, Agra and Mesotopos (Apothika and Tavari Bays), Skala Kalloni (contingent dependent custom house in Polichnitos and Peraşki (perhaps Parakila Bay).[1]

In the Ottoman Empire, the leasing of revenues (*mukataa*) to private individuals (*multezim*) included those from various customs offices and was paid in advance to the public treasury (*hazine*). According to Levent Payzin, in 1671 the *mukataa* in Mytilene's *kaza* belonged to Sultan *hass*, the *mukataa* in Molyvos's *kaza* also belonged to Sultan treasury and the *mukataa* of customs offices in Kalloni's *kaza* was given to Mytilene's *nazir*.[2]

According to Louis Dumesnil, France's vice-consul in Mytilene, in 1777 the nazir of Lesvos (Midilli) leased the taxes of the island for 300 pouches/*kese* or 150.000 *kuruş*/piastres and thus had the right to collect them. He exercised complete control over all areas near the capital Mytilene, as well as custom offices of the island. Some of the island's customs offices had been sublet to other officials by the same *nazir*.[3]

The city of Mytilene had two ports, the ancient northern port (or Apano Skala port) and the southern port. Dumesnil wrote in a consular economic report that in 1777 only the southern port was in use for all kinds of ships, as the northern port was full of mud and inappropriate for the anchorage of large ships[4]. In the southern port the Sultan's shipyard was established, which was destroyed by the Russian fleet on the 2nd of November 1771 during the Ottoman--Russian war. The customs house was probably in this port.[5]

Yera's Gulf was the most frequented point in Lesvos for loading and unloading goods[6]. The custom house of Yera's Gulf was established in Perama according to Choiseul Gouffier's map of 1782.[7] Perhaps another rich custom office in Mytilene's *kaza* was the one established in Plomari.

Despite the security granted by the existence of its castle, the port of Molyvos (Skala) was small. Therefore, large ships were forced to anchor in the bays of Moly-

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1 Payzin Levent, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Midilli Adası,* Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Aydın 2008, 71-72. See also Appendix, Table 1 and Map 1.

2 Ibid., p. 71-72.

3 AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, document dated 25-3-1777.

4 Ibid.

5 Kontoyannis Pantelis, *Οι Έλληνες κατά τον πρώτον επί Αικατερίνης Β΄ ρωσσοτουρκικόν πόλεμον (1769-1774)* [The Greeks during the First Russian-Turkish War under Catherine II], Athens 1903, 273.

6 AN, AE, CC, B1 861 *Mé*telin, document dated 25-3-1777.

7 Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*. tome I, Paris 1782, 85, pl 43. See also Appendix, Map 2.

vos[8] and Petra. Unlike Year's Gulf, the Gulf of Kalloni did not attract a large number of ships due to its shallow depth.[9] However, during the 18th century, there was also a custom house in Sigri. Frequent pirate raids on remote Sigri forced Kapudan Paşa Süleyman to build a small castle to protect it in 1757.[10] Subsequently, the new settlement of Sigri was built east of the castle, initially housing the guards and their families.[11]

Trade between the European Powers in the territory of the Ottoman Empire was the outcome of Capitulations signed in the 16th and 18th centuries (1535, 1569, 1740). The French interest in Lesvos dates back to the beginning of the 17th century when French merchants made their appearance in Mytilene. At the end of the 17th century, the French merchant M. Eydoux settled in Mytilene in order to deal with the exports of Lesvos' olive oil to France. Between 1700 and 1713 one or two barks (a type of line ship) from Provence would often come to Mytilene, where two French merchants had already settled.[12]

As a result of the Franco-Ottoman trade agreement of 1740, French merchants gained the right to have customs duties of 3%, the lowest for any foreigners. When other taxes were added, the actual rate, which varied from port to port, was around 10% for all foreigners, including the French.[13]

In 1709 a Catholic doctor from Chios, named Nikolaos Filaveti, fulfilled the duties of the consul of France in Mytilene[14]. A French vice-consulate had been operating in Mytilene since 1713, whose consul was called Second in 1727.[15] The vice-consulate of Mytilene was one of the 21 consulates maintained by France in the Aegean region – following a memorandum drawn by Marquis de Bonnac, the French Ambassador in Istanbul.[16]

In 1737, the French vice-consul on the island was Jean-François Bonnal, hold-

[8] See Appendix, Images 1 and 2.

[9] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, document dated 25-3-1777.

[10] Anagnostou Stratis, "Συμβολή στην ιστορία του Σιγρίου και του κάστρου του" [Contribution to the History of Sigri and its Castle], *Αιολικά Χρονικά*, 2 (2000), 41.

[11] Karydis Dimitris & Kiel Michael, *Μυτιλήνης αστυγραφία και Λέσβου χωρογραφία* (15ος-19ος αι.) [Astygraphy of Mytilene and Topography of Lesbos], Athens 2000, 25.

[12] Anagnostou Stratis, "Η Λέσβος κατά το 18ο αιώνα μέσα από μια γαλλική προξενική αλληλογραφία" [Lesbos in the 18th Century through French Consular Correspondence], *Λεσβιακά*, 17 (1998), 5 and 8.

[13] McGowan Bruce, "Η εποχή των αγιάνηδων 1699-1812" [The Age of the Ayans], in: Halil Inalcik & Donald Quataert, *Οικονομική και κοινωνική ιστορία της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας*, τόμος 2ος [Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire], Athens 2011, 354-355.

[14] Foskolos Markos, "Αι μικραί κοινότητες των Κυκλάδων κατά τας αρχάς του 18ου αιώνος (1709-1711)" [The Small Communities of the Cyclades at the Beginning of the 18th Century], *Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Κυκλαδικών Μελετών*, 10 (1974-1978), 283.

[15] Boulanger Patrick, "Η Μυτιλήνη και το γαλλικό εμπόριο κατά τον 18ο αιώνα" [Mytilene and the French Commerce in the 18th Century], *Λεσβιακά*, 16 (1996), 180.

[16] Masson Paul, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1896, 429.

ing this office at least until 1742. In 1747 French the vice-consul in Mytilene was Joseph Roze, who held the office until 1756, when the French vice-consulate was shut down, due to cost cuts and on the pretense that it was not important. The re-opening of the vice-consulate took place in 11-11-1775, when Louis Dumesnil was appointed as its head holding this office until January 1779.[17]

The duties of Mytilene's French vice-consul focused on collecting any information that might be useful for the commercial, maritime, and financial policy of the French government. The facilitation of France's trade activities in the Aegean and especially in Lesvos was certainly one of the primary obligations of the French consuls of Mytilene.[18]

The French vice-consul was in charge of checking the French and foreign ships anchored in the region and liable to recording them. Sometimes he would issue health certificates as well. One of his duties was also to warn French ships in cases of war or pirate raids. However, even if a ship was stranded or sunk in the area of jurisdiction of the French vice-consulate of Mytilene, the vice-consul was obliged to provide the necessary assistance to its captain.[19]

Typical is the case of a ship from Ragusa (now Dubrovnik, in Croatia) carrying goods from Trieste and bound for Izmir and Istanbul, which was stranded on the 10th of December 1777 outside Yera's Gulf in the bay of Charamida. The French vice-consul Dumesnil went to the area, accompanied by the staff of his consulate, Lesvos (Midilli) *nazir*'s *kâhya* and a janissary to help transfer the cargo to another ship and prevent its looting. He emphatically rejected the demand of Yera's customs to tax its goods. The guards stationed at the entrance of Yera's Gulf probably warned the customs officer that the cargo of the wrecked ship was being transferred to another, rented for that purpose. Eventually, the ship pulled off the ground and left for its destination with its cargo. [20]

What is extraordinary is that despite his increased duties, the French vice-consul was initially not paid, but forced to make a living from a tax, received from the French ships anchored in the area of his jurisdiction.[21] This tax amounted to 12 piastres for each anchorage.[22] Naturally, the French vice-consul could not control every area under his jurisdiction. Therefore, many French captains, whose ships anchored in areas far from the city of Mytilene, avoided paying the anchorage duty.

[17] Mézin Anne, *Les consuls de France au siècle des Lumières (1715-1792)*, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Direction des archives et de la documentation, 1997, 150-151, 260-261 and 553.

[18] Anagnostou, "Η Λέσβος…", 10-11.

[19] Ibid, p. 11.

[20] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 *Mé*telin, document dated 20-12-1777. See also Appendix, Map 2.

[21] In 1777 the jurisdiction of the vice-consulate of Mytilene extended over the entire island of Lesvos and the opposite coasts of Asia Minor, specifically from Edremit golf to Çandarli bay. See AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, document dated on 20-12-1777.

[22] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, document dated 6-11-1742.

Characteristically, all consular documents of the period 1737-1742 refer to relevant complaints of Mytilene's vice-consul Bonnal, who reported to his superior authority the mariners who didn't pay him the anchorage tax. Thus, Bonnal was facing serious problems of survival and for this reason he persistently asked his superiors for his transfer from Mytilene.[23]

After the re-establishment of the Mytilene vice-consulate (and until its abolition in 1756), the French Chamber of Commerce decided to abolish the anchorage tax and to pay a salary to its vice-consul. The salary of vice-consul Dumesnil for the year 1775 was 3.000 lira, not enough to accommodate his needs. Thus, the French vice-consul would protest constantly, asking at least for a matching of his salary with that of Chios' vice-consul. In order to cover part of his expenses, Dumesnil was also engaging in commercial activities[24].

In an attempt to financially support its vice-consul in Mytilene, the French government decided in November 1775 to pay him 30 liras for each arrival of a French warship in Lesvos. However, the rarity of arrivals of warships on the island and Dumesnil's inability to be informed about the arrival of ships in Yera's Gulf and Sigri, prevented the consul from collecting the above stated amounts of money.[25] In 1778, it seems that the French government decided to put a tax on foreign products transported by French ships. For this reason, Baron de Tott, Levant's inspector, invited Dumesnil and gave him instructions on how to collect the exact amount of the above tax from French ships. [26]

The economy of Lesvos in the 18th century was based mainly on profits made by the production and distribution of olive oil. The monoculture of olives in most of the land of Lesvos had made the economy of the island dependent on the amount of olive oil produced. According to information of the Dutch traveler Van Egmond, in 1754 the total production of olive oil on the island amounted to 70.000 quintals/kantar27, while according to the French traveler Olivier, who visited Lesvos in 1794, the usual production of the island's olive oil was over 50.000 quintals/kantar.[28]

The trade of olive oil was an exclusive privilege of the Ottoman government, therefore its export from the island was forbidden without permission. Olive oil was exported mainly to Istanbul and Izmir. Whenever its price rose sharply, its channeling to Europe was allowed via only the Ottoman capital. This ban also ap-

[23] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, document dated 26-10-1742.
[24] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, documents dated 25-7-1775 and 15-3-1776.
[25] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, document dated 22-5-1776.
[26] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, document dated 24-3-1778.
[27] van Egmont Johan Aegidius, *Travels through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Islands of the Archipelago; Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai, &c...*, vol. I, London 1759, 160.
[28] Paraskevaidis Panayotis, *Οι περιηγητές για τη Λέσβο* [The Travelers about Lesbos], Athens 1983, 78.

plied to other foods, such as wheat, barley, honey, and various feeds, because their export implied their lack in Istanbul.[29] Thus, in 1789, when the required oil did not arrive in Istanbul, a *ferman* was issued forbidding the export of the olive oil of Lesvos, particularly its loading on foreign ships. It was also decreed that the olive oil of Lesvos be sent immediately to Istanbul.[30]

However, traders frequently ignored these prohibitions and exported various products. Thus, the ferman of Sultan Osman III dated 27th of August 1756 forbade the sale abroad of cereals and food in general from the ports of the Aegean. Also, in 1776 the Kapudan Pasha sent a relevant order (buyuruldu) to the kadi of Izmir and the *kadis* and *naibs* of Mytilene, Molyvos, Yeni and Eski Foça, Kilitbahir, Seddulbahir, Gelibolu, Efes, Ayazmed, Bozcaada, Edremit and other ports, complaining that cereals were being exported from the above ports and threatening all those who violated the ban on the food export with imprisonment and all ships that would attempt to continue the exports with confiscation.[31]

These frequent bans on olive oil exports from Lesvos appear to have affected French trade since the early 18th century, and so the French were constantly searching for ways to overcome these obstacles. A consular letter from the 1st of March 1713 informs us that the Kapudan Pasha facilitated French merchants to export olive oil from Mytilene despite the ban of the Ottoman government [32].

The existence of French trading houses in Mytilene seems to have served the purpose of overcoming the prohibition provisions of the Ottoman authorities. Thus, in 1755, by order of the French Minister of the Navy (Secretaire d'Etat à la Marine) Machault d'Arnouville, a French trading house was founded in Mytilene.[33] Also, the existence of a French trading house was ascertained in Mytilene in 1770. This house was engaged exclusively in the collection, loading, and exports of olive oil outside Lesvos.[34]

In 1718 the Ottoman Empire allowed for a short period of time the direct export of olive oil from Lesvos abroad in exchange for the payment of a tax known as *bidat* or *bedeat*, estimated at 6 *akçe* per okka in Lesvos. However, it seems that the amount of this tax was not fixed but varied according to the season.35 At the end of the 18th century, this tax was imposed, abolished or even extended to more products

[29] Anagnostou, "Η Λέσβος…". 25-26.
[30] BOA/ AE.SABH.I.178/11888, ferman dated 1203 Ramazan 10/4 June 1789.
[31] Mavropoulos Hristos, *Τουρκικά έγγραφα αφορώντα την ιστορίαν της Χίου* [Turkish Documents Concerning the History of Hios], Athens 1920, 149-150, document's number 127.
[32] Karydis Dimitris, *Το ελληνικό αρχιπέλαγος* (γεωγραφικές αναφορές του 17ου, 18ου, 19ου αι. από γαλλικές αρχειακές πηγές) [The Greek Archipelagos (17th, 18th, 19th Century Geographic Descriptions from Frech Documents], Athens 1989, 41.
[33] Masson, *Histoire*…, 557.
[34] Karydis, *Το ελληνικό αρχιπέλαγος*…, 42.
[35] Boulanger, "Η Μυτιλήνη…", 177.

or places depending on political, economic, or other circumstances.[36] In 1776 the *bidat* or *bedeat* tax was once again imposed on products traded in the Ottoman Empire or exported to Europe. This tax was corresponding to the amount of 45 paras per quintal/kantar (45 okka) of olive oil. In fact, in the same year 1776 the people of Lesvos were eagerly anticipating the arrival of Kapudan Pasha on the island to ask him to mediate with the Sublime Porte, in order not to pay the *bidat* or *bedeat* tax.[37]

In 1776 and 1777 Dumesnil, the French vice Consul in Mytilene, wrote that European products were not imported directly to Lesvos. The merchants of Mytilene, both Christians, and Muslims, were supplied with French products, felts, fabrics, sugar, hardware, haberdashery, and colonial goods from the French shops of Izmir. Various products were imported mainly from Egypt, such as rice, Mocha coffee and sundries. [38]

Dumesnil, complained that he could not control the arrival in Lesvos of French ships, except those anchored in the city of Mytilene. However, he informed his superiors that in 1777 a large number of French ships had anchored in the Gulf of Yera and the bays of Petra and Sigri. In Sigri, in 1778, 8 French ships had anchored in the space of just one day.[39]

Throughout the 18th century France was the main trading partner of Egypt and the main transporter of Egyptian products. Before the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774 French ships were operating the trade routes between Lesvos and Alexandria. However, after the war, French ships were temporarily displaced by the Ottomans and 7-8 ships from Dulcino (now Ulcinj, Montenegro) started to transport Egyptian products to Lesvos and the coasts of Asia Minor.[40] According to relative tables of the French vice-consulate of Mytilene 12 French ships from Alexandria and 5 ships of other nationalities had anchored in the city of Mytilene in 1777.[41]

None of the imported products were channeled to various shops of the island before the *bazaar* başi had set their selling price. If the owner of goods did not agree with the price set by him, they were shipped elsewhere or cleared through customs after the merchant had paid a customs duty on the value of the goods: 5% if he was *reaya*, or 4% if he was Muslim.[42]

[36] Masson, ibid, p. 256-258, 462-463 and Boulanger, ibid, p. 178.
[37] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, document dated 22-5-1776. See also Appendix, Document 1.
[38] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, documents dated 26-4-1776 and 25-3-1777.
[39] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, documents dated 6-4-1778 and 10-4-1778. See also Appendix, Document 2.
[40] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, documents dated 25-3-1777 and 26-4-1777.
[41] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, document dated 10-4-1778.
[42] AN, AE, CC, B1 861 Mételin, document dated 25-3-1777.

Conclusion

Despite the frequent outbreak of wars (e.g. between the Ottoman Empire and Russia, England and France), the 18th century was a period of recovery for the economy of Lesvos. This development is reflected today in many buildings, public or private, preserved from this period, such as the houses Komninaki - Kralli in Molyvos[43] and Vareltzidaina in Petra.[44] The fact that these two houses were built in two villages which had custom houses and enjoyed a developed foreign trade during the 18th century, may not be accidental. Also, looking at the table with the reconstructions of the churches of Lesvos, we find that most of them were reconstructed during the 18th century and in fact with dimensions much bigger than the previous ones.[45] This is also a result of the economic recovery of the 18th century, which, in our opinion, was based on the rapid development of foreign trade. The exports of olive oil from Lesvos to France and acorn to Austria-Hungary contributed significantly to the formation of the bourgeoisie of Lesvos.[46] However, one may not rule out that the economic prosperity of Lesvos was due in part to profits made from the avoidance of customs taxation of goods, or extensive smuggling. Ottoman archives record many cases of merchants who avoided being taxed.[47] Such practices were also facilitated by the fact that goods were unloaded on isolated beaches where there were no customs officers, or that those who were present facilitated the clearance of the goods, in some cases issuing false customs documents. The fact that almost all customs offices and their branches were situated far from the city of Mytilene and the central administrative power of the island facilitated the above phenomenon. However, the overall impression is that neither the French vice-consulate, nor Ottoman authorities could fully control the trade in Lesvos and collect customs taxes in full.

[43] https://www.lesvosnews.net/articles/news-categories/afieromata/ena-kosmima-ston-molybo-parartima-tis-anotatis-sholis-kalon

[44] http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/2/gh251.jsp?obj_id=16441

[45] Anagnostou Stratis, *Η οικιστική εξέλιξη της Λέσβου (1462-1912): Η μετάβαση από την αγροτική συγκρότηση του χώρου στην αστική διάρθρωσή του* [The Development of Settlement in Lesvos (1462-1912). The Transition from the Rural Structure of Space to its Urban Structure], unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Geography, University of the Aegean, Mytilene 2004, 227-230. See also Appendix, Table 2.

[46] Anagnostou Stratis, "Η Λέσβος κατά το 18ο αιώνα μέσα από μια γαλλική προξενική αλληλογραφία" [Lesvos in the 18th Century through French Consular Correspodence], Λεσβιακά, 17 (1998), 24-28.

[47] Oğuz İbrahim, "18. yüzyilda Midilli gümrüklerinde vergi tahsilinde yaşanan problemler", *Balkan Araştırma Enstitüsü Dergisi / Journal of Balkan Research Institute*, 12/1 (2023), 122-123.

Abbreviations

- AN, AE : **A**rchives **N**ationales du *ministère* des **A***ffaires Étrangères, Quai d' Orsay*
- BOA, AE: **B**aşbakanlık **O**smanlı **A**rşivi, **A**li **E**mirî Tasnifi
- CC : **C**orrespondance **C**ommerciale
- SAMD. III : **S**ultan **A**h**med III**

Appendix

TABLE 1: *CUSTOM HOUSES IN LESVOS (1671)*

CITY OR VILLAGE'S NAME WITH CUSTOM HOUSE	CITY OR VILLAGE'S NAME WITH DEPENDENT CUSTOM HOUSES	MUKATAA OF CUSTOM HOUSES
MYTILENE	perhaps YERA (PERAMA), PLOMARI, LOUTROPOLIS THERMIS (SARILICA), SKALA NEON KYDONION (BALCIK)	321.797 *akçe*
SKALA MOLYVOS	perhaps PETRA, TSICHRANDA BAY, ÇAMUR LIMAN, GAVATHAS BAY	8.000 *akçe*
SKALA SKAMNIA	perhaps YENI LIMAN	3.500 *akçe*
KUMLUK (perhaps KLIOUTSONIA BAY)	perhaps ASPROPOTAMOS BAY	2.000 *akçe*
SKALA ERESOS	-	1.000 *akçe*
AGRA AND MESOTOPOS (APOTHIKA AND TAVARI BAYS)	-	2.000 *akçe*
KALLONI'S CITY (SKALA KALLONI)	perhaps SKALA POLICHNITOS	5.000 *akçe*
PERAŞKI (perhaps PARAKILA BAY)	-	2.000 *akçe*

TABLE 2: CHURCHES IN LESVOS DURING 18TH CENTURY

Nr	CITY OR VILLAGE'S NAME	CHURCH'S NAME	RECONSTRUCTION'S DATE
1	ANEMOTIA	AGIOS GEORGIOS	1702 (hagiography)
2	PETRA	AGIOS NIKOLAOS	1721
3	KERAMI (KALLONI)	AGIOS IOANNIS	1733
4	SKOUNDA	PANAGIA	1740 (construction)
5	IPPEIOS	AGIOS PROKOPIOS	1741-1746
6	MANDAMADOS	AGIOS VASILIOS	1750
7	ERESOS	PANAGIA	1752, (1727), 1837
8	ARGENOS	AGIOS GEORGIOS	1753, 1836, 1851
9	PETRI (PETRICIK)	AGIA KYRIAKI	1756, 1850
10	MESOTOPOS	PANAGIA	1756, 1836
11	KOULOUMDADOS	AGIOS IOANNIS	1757, -1778
12	AGIA PARASKEVI	TAXIARCHIS	1758, 1856
13	PARAKILA	TAXIARCHIS	1758
14	MEGALOCHORI (OLD PLOMARI)	METAMORPHOSIS	1767
15	ANO HALIKAS (MYTILENE'S CITY)	PAL. AGIOI PATERES	1768
16	MORIA	AGIOS VASILIOS	1769
17	MYTILENE'S CITY	AGIOS ATHANASIOS	1785, (1706,1721)
18	TZITHRA	PANAGIA	1787
19	MYTILENE'S CITY	AGIOS GEORGIOS	1792
20	ERESOS	AGIA EIRINI	1740 (construction)
21	MESAGROS	ZOODOCHOS PIGI	1741-1746
22	MYTILENE'S CITY	AGIOI THEODOROI	1750
23	PALAIOKIPOS	AGIOS ERMOLAOS	1727, 1752, 1837, 1928
24	MEGALOCHORI (OLD PLOMARI)	AGIOS IOANNIS	1753, 1836, 1851
25	ASOMATOS	TAXIARCHES	1756, 1850
26	MOLYVOS	TAXIARCHES	1756, 1836
27	MANDAMADOS	TAXIARCHES	1757, -1778
28	AGIA MARINA	AGIA MARINA	1758, 1856

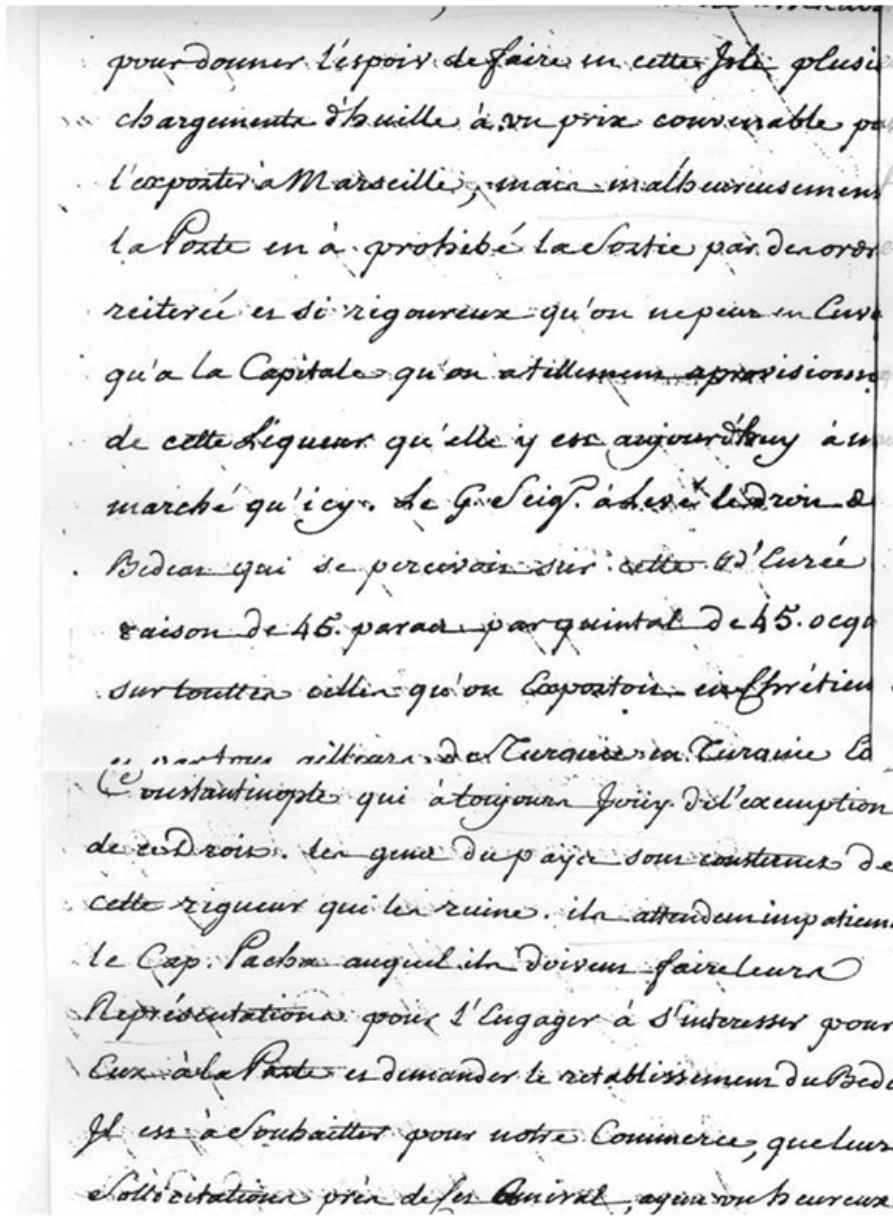
MAP 1: *LOCATIONS OF CUSTOM HOUSES IN LESVOS (1671)*

- Red arrows: Main custom houses
- Yellow arrows: Dependent custom houses
- Purple arrow: Custom house in Sigri (18th century)

***MAP 2:** Gulf of Yera (Choiseul-Gouffier, 1782)*

- Green arrow: Custom house in Yera (Perama)
- Rose arrow: Location of Yera's Gulf guards
- Red arrow: Charamida's Bay

DOCUMENT 1



Dumesnil, the French vice-consul in Mytilene,
writes in 22-5-1776 about the *bedeat* (*bidat*) tax.

DOCUMENT 2

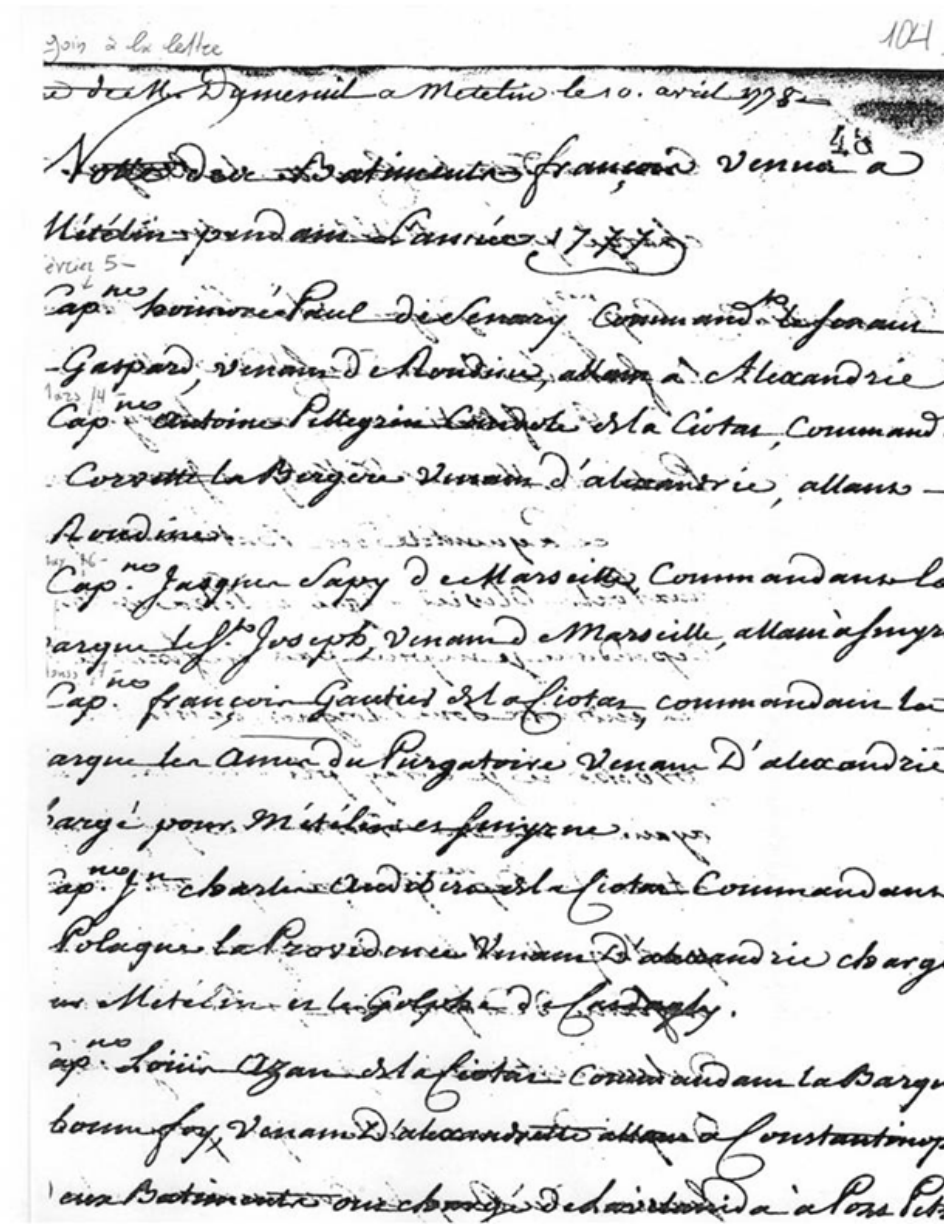


Table of the French vice-consulate of Mytilene, in which the French ships that anchored in the port of Mytilene in 1777 are recorded.

IMAGE 1

Molyvos' port in a fresco of an Ottoman house in Molyvos
(Kralli-Komninaki house, end of 18th century-beginning of 19th century)

IMAGE 2

Molyvos' view in a fresco of an Ottoman house in Molyvos
(Kralli-Komninaki house, end of 18th century-beginning of 19th century)

"IT IS CONTRACTION NOT CRISIS": THE PANIC IN THE OTTOMAN MARKETS IN 1906-1908

Yaşar Tolga Cora*

Does news of economic downfall wield extreme power in politics? The answer is partially yes, as its power arise not only from the fact that an economic crisis touches the lives of people of every political persuasion, but also from the fact that, they may provide political oppositions a secure ground on which to criticize the government. Thus, controlling news about economic problems was therefore essential for the government. Particularly, it is the case as it is difficult to provide alternative news about an economic collapse as the news can be simply verified by one's own daily experience. In this context, rumors about expected bankruptcies which are central to the healthy functioning of the market, take on a different political role. Such news or rumors continue to circulate and even gain power as alternative news, and as the discrepancy between news from pro-government outlets and one's own experience grows, the "official" news increasingly fails to be a reliable source of information. In this paper, I am interested in investigating whether this understanding about the power of rumors and news about the economy holds true for the economic crises in the early twentieth century, namely during the Panic of 1907. I argue that the controlling the news about bankruptcies, their discreditation as mere rumors or even denying them as speculative acts by the merchants, shows us a different way in which the Hamidian government dealt with the economic crisis and tried to maintain its control over the public.

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Abdulhamid II and the Press

As Jean Noel Kapferer argues in his *Rumors: Uses, Interpretations, and Images*, the challenge the rumors posed lay not in their content but rather in their form, which contested existing claims of truth.[1] In the well-controlled public space of the reign of Abdulhamid II, rumors took on different functions in Ottoman society. The government perceived rumors as a challenge because they were turning into sources of alternative news, especially when access to reliable news was becoming more difficult. They circulated in the market – that is to say, outside the control of the government – and directly challenged its truth claims. This made them crucial political elements in 1908, on the eve of a revolution.

By the time the 1907 Panic hit the Ottoman markets, "the last strong sultan" had been ruling over a vast, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious empire for over 40 years. His regime began with the short-lived experiment of the Ottoman Parliament and Constitution (1876-1878), which the Sultan himself brought to an end, and the rest of his reign was marked by his growing control of the public and political discussions in the empire. The political dissidents, called Young Turks, followed the earlier generation of opposition, and had fled abroad to carry on their campaigns, while the circulation of their publications in the empire was strictly controlled, and their sympathizers were either imprisoned or exiled. The sultan also faced opposition from various ethnic groups, who struggled for goals ranging from secession to autonomy or reform in certain regions and applied various means to achieve their goals, including violence and propaganda. The regime reacted by developing new means to deal with the opposition, which included building a formidable intelligence network and compiling the infamous *jurnals* (intelligence reports) from all over the empire. At the same time, the prison system was extended to confine political dissidents away from public life. There was also extensive use of the political discourse of "mischief makers" to delegitimatize any form of political opposition to the sultan, who around this time was reemphasizing his role as the caliph of all Muslims and highlighting his pivotal role in strengthening his empire.

The press played a central role in promoting his policies directly and by not giving space to any criticism. As İpek Yosmaoğlu has observed, the press survived in the period by "in addition to a stringent application of self-censorship, a pledge of allegiance to the system that was performed in ways that confirmed the status of the Hamidian Press as a mouthpiece of the regime."[2]

[1] Kapferer Jean-Noel, Rumors: *Uses, Interpretations, and Images*, New Brunswick 1990.

[2] Yosmaoğlu Ipek K., "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913", *The Turkish Studies Association Journal*, 27(2003), 26.

Works on censorship in the period show the panoply of methods and the degree to which the sultan used censorship mechanisms to control the press. Some of these tools were inherited by the constitutional governments that succeeded his rule. The sultan not only established a bureaucracy to control the press and used pre- and post- publication censorship, but also granted subsidies to the editors to guarantee favorable coverage the appeasement of the sultan, which resulted in a high degree of self-censorship. The sultan's bureaucrats were particularly careful not to allow certain publications– especially those printed abroad by the sultan's opponents– to circulate within the borders of the empire.

However, focusing on these mechanisms and what was being censored may limit our understanding of sultan's truth regime. Scholars approach the Ottoman public as something whose boundaries were strictly drawn by an autocratic ruler. This approach may, one may argue, result in how the sultan hoped to present himself in the face of fierce criticism– and it may lead us to miss the cracks in his system of truth. Indeed, news about economic problems played a critical role because it continued to be reported in the press, even when the reports relied on rumors contrary to the officially disseminated news. In order to defend his policies, the sultan had to suppress the news about bankruptcies and undertake the nearly impossible task of fighting rumors.

The economy was crucial for the sultan. Among his goals was to represent his empire as a world power; he emphasized the economic progress of the empire under his rule, particularly the expansion of the domestic market through foreign and local investments, the stability of the monetary regime and budget and the banking system, as well as material development and infrastructure, such as railroads. Capitalist thinking had begun to develop among the bureaucrats and there was an emphasis on private entrepreneurship. Towards the end of his reign, the sultan increasingly used the empire's economic and material progress to legitimize his rule. For instance, as a document from the state archives shows, his successes in the recovery of the economy following the crisis in 1874, including regularization of the payment of debts, and raising the empire's credit-worthiness in order to receive international credit at lower rates of interest, were themes of the annual celebrations of his accession to the throne.[3] However, it was not only the domestic audience that was the target of such economy-oriented justifications of his growingly authoritarian rule. The sultan placed special emphasis on building his image of a developmentalist ruler, indeed an ideal caliph who sought to improve the material conditions of his subjects through infrastructure and a credit system— the theme of the Ottoman representative's presentation on "the

[3] Ottoman State Archives, Y.PRK.ML., 24-48, H-29-12-1321 (17 March 1904).

role of a caliph" at the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists in Geneva in 1894.[4] The economy and the material welfare of his subjects were central to the sultan's politics, intended to justify his rule at a time when he was subject to harsh criticism both in domestic politics and abroad.

When the 1907 global Panic hit the Ottoman Empire, it was not only the economic repercussions that shook the empire; it also challenged the truth regime of the strong sultan. In the face of economic crisis news had to be disseminated to show that the Panic had not affected the economy: "rumors" gained popularity, as sources for information in the lack of reliable news. Moreover, although they had been significant sources for the press, they began to be omitted from the pages of the newspapers, in fact, they left their place to a war against them, as they were accused of creating speculative news and effecting the market.

Yet, it was not easy to limit the circulation of the rumors. The discourse in the Sultan's press took a two-step approach: attempted to delegitimize them as "mere rumors" and then news about bankruptcies circulating in the public were followed by attacks on certain businessmen. The latter were accused of speculation and using the crisis for their own interests, which further reduced confidence in the market. However, these attempts often had the opposite effect, giving saliency and recognition to rumors about the economic collapse; they also indicated the limited capacity of the regime to fight against such an intangible (though very real) crisis. The Panic also revealed the limits of the government's ability to control certain aspects of public life, such as rumors, and more importantly it demonstrated that the image of the sultan himself was not sufficient to provide confidence in the market. The Panic of 1907 was global in scale and touched the everyday lives of Ottoman subjects, making it well beyond the sultan's capacity to officially ban public discussions and offer "true" news about the crisis.

1907 Panic and the Ottoman Markets

News about the 1907 crisis in the US markets reached the Ottoman market few days after if broke out in mid-October in the New York Stock exchange. On October 21, the Ottoman Turkish daily *Sabah* published a small news piece on its second page. It was titled, "Copper market and the bankruptcy of a huge company" and it gave the news of Otto Heinze's copper company's bankruptcy—news based on a telegraphic wire from Berlin. At that time, the newspaper was not aware of the consequences of the bankruptcy of Heinze Copper for the American and the world

[4] Kâmil Numan, *İslâmiyet ve Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye Hakkında Doğru Bir Söz*, trans. from French by Zeki, Kostantinitte 1316.

economy. The readers did not know that this and the consequent failures in the market would later be remembered as the first of the many global financial crises of the twentieth century and would be known as the Panic of 1907. As distrust in the stock exchange and the banking firms' ability to uphold the financial system grew in the US, the panic spread to the credit system and eventually the American economy at large. The crisis lasted for two weeks, but its effects lingered for a year.

The Panic of 1907 had its impact outside the US as the crisis spread to the countries of Europe and the Middle East. The economic downturn was not limited to the Panic; it had a longer history. The Egyptian market, for instance, had been struggling with economic problems since spring of 1907, for reasons that were similar to the problems in the New York market in October, namely overreliance on credit markets and speculation.[5] The Ottoman economy was likewise affected.

What is even more significant in the Ottoman case, however, is that Panic of 1907 took place less than a year before the 1908 Constitutional Revolution and the downfall of the sultan. The scholarship is rather silent on the Panic, perhaps because the dominant view in Ottoman economic history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries emphasizes European control and dominance, rather than interdependence and connectedness with world financial markets, and, more importantly, because of the lack of studies on the impact of the economy on the people.

Few works examine the general worsening of economic conditions, namely inflation, declining real wages of officials and increasing taxes, that marked the eve of the revolution. Instead, they aim to understand how economic problems might have mobilized the people for revolution. They claim that the economic problems gained a political meaning only when the opposition to the sultan have used them for agitation. Donald Quataert, in one of the earliest of such accounts, concludes that "what seems new in July 1908 is that an economic crisis unfolded in the presence of an organized, widespread revolutionary cadre. For the first time in decades, there was a favorable juncture of economic and political conditions."[6] However, it may not be only the deteriorating material conditions that caused the legitimacy problems. It may be also the disparity between the tangible realities of the economic problems, their limited discussion in the press, and the rumors circulating outside official channels.

A major economic contraction had already begun to be felt in the market at least two years before 1907, so when the Panic of 1907 hit the Ottoman markets, those

[5] Jakes Aaron G., *Egypt's Occupation: Colonial Economism and the Crises of Capitalism*, Los Angeles, 2020.

[6] Quataert Donald, "The Economic Climate of the `Young Turk Revolution' in 1908", *The Journal of Modern History*, 51 (1979), 1161.

markets were already in a downturn. Months before the Panic of 1907, in April, *Sabah* gave the news that:

> *In these days, the rumors of bankruptcy have begun to increase once again, and it is natural that this issue will have a bad impact on general commercial affairs. In addition to the bankruptcies already announced, this time there are rumors that a textile commercial house, a mining company and a money-exchange company are facing difficulties in paying their debts.*[7]

Newspaper editors might have found some flexibility in citing "rumors" when presenting news about economic downfall, since they thereby avoided attributing the news to a particular source. A similar strategy can be observed in the Armenian-language press, which cited Turkish-language newspapers and gave long quotations from them while imparting news of bankruptcies, despite Armenian journalists' wide access to the market and the merchant community. This might have been an attempt to avoid censorship, since they were circulating news that had already passed the state's scrutiny, and thus they could not be accused of disseminating news which might disturb the image of the sultan. Yet the news in *Sabah* was rumor and was openly derided as such by the very same paper that printed it.

By mid-November 1907, the bankruptcies in the Ottoman market were becoming widespread. On November 13 an anonymous column in *Sabah* was dedicated to the Panic of 1907 with the claim that it would only slightly touch the Ottoman economy.[8] The columnist was very well aware of the global economic system which linked various markets – and their problems – together. The goal of the column was to bolster its readers' confidence in the sultan's government and convince them that the crisis would not hit the Ottoman markets as strongly as had been rumored. For the columnists, "sometimes even if economic crisis (*buhran-i mali*) appears in faraway lands, it spreads to places which do not have a trace of crisis in their economic transactions." The column continued by praising the sultan and his policies, which let the Ottoman market stay aloof from the global crisis inasmuch as possible and claimed that the empire's economic position was strong compared to the various countries.

However, the columnist felt the need to explain the growing problems in the economy, as it was vividly seen by the cases of bankruptcies. He admitted that the crisis, even though it came from afar, would have an impact on the Ottoman economy. Still, the economic problems did not result from mismanagement on the part of the government; rather they were mainly due to speculation in the market. In language similar to that applied to the US and European markets, the columnist explained that it was the speculative transactions (*ispekulasyon muamelatı*) of the

[7] *Sabah*, no. 6292, April 10, 1907.
[8] *Sabah*, "İflaslar", no. 6509, November 13, 1907.

wealthy few that were responsible for the Panic. In the Ottoman context, however, the word speculation took on another meaning. It did not mean speculative transactions in the stock exchange, as was the case in the US, instead it referred to the activity of merchants who used the crisis for their own material gain, leaving the market on its downswing. One commercial house in particular, the Ebeoğlu trading company, which declared bankruptcy after the Panic of 1907, was singled out as an example of such "selfish" merchants. For the author, the crisis in the US could not be a reason for Ebeoğlu to declare bankruptcy with a debt of 100,000 gold liras, given their privileged position in the Istanbul cloth market – a privileged position hinting at certain political connections which enabled them to control, if not monopolize, the textile market of the imperial capital.

The real problem, however, was not the effects of such a large bankruptcy on the economy, but that it resulted in a loss of confidence in the markets (*piyasaca bais-i zuhur adem-i emniyet*). The loss of confidence was contagious, as a few other companies declared bankruptcy following Ebeoğlu, small banks began to withdraw money from the markets, and bigger banks were hesitant to give them credits. This panic resulted in a credit crisis, and for the columnist, the sole reason for it was the selfishness of the merchants. The case was declared to be a simple fraud; the owner of the firm should be punished and made an example of. Yet the Ebeoğlu firm was only one such case. Throughout 1907, the same newspaper had devoted its pages to the downfall of the Kayserians, a major Armenian commercial house that declared bankruptcy early the same year, again with allegations of fraud. The press presented them as selfish merchants because they did not stay in market but expanded the crisis. This openly contradicted the general view of the press, which simultaneously argued that there was no crisis.

The whole episode of the Panic was turning into a real challenge for the sultan. He had to control something intangible, like confidence, and he had to do it at a point in time when he was striving to suppress all negative news about the bankruptcies, while at the same time punishing the merchants who declared bankruptcies. Of course, his suppression of news and his punitive action against the merchants resulted in further circulation of "rumors"– the only reliable source of information.

The press tried to inject confidence into the markets by other means. For instance, a *Vademecum* published by the Armenian commercial magazine *Biwrakn* in late 1907 provided a list of bankruptcy cases in Istanbul and in the provinces of the empire.[9] The list covers 88 bankruptcy cases of important merchants, 51 in Istanbul and 37 in the provinces. Not only did the publication present the numbers only through August, not giving any information from the later months when the crisis

[9] *Biwrakn, Vajarakanin Dzeragirke*, K. Polis, 1908.

really hit the market, but the journal also presented the list in a way that gave the impression that the bankruptcies were on a downward trend in the period, which was far from the case. [**table 1**] One can easily argue that this was a conscious preference, as the journal set as its purpose in preparing the list "comparing the [low] number of merchants that declared bankruptcy in 1907 with the number of merchants active in the market, we claim our commercial market is rigidly profitable."

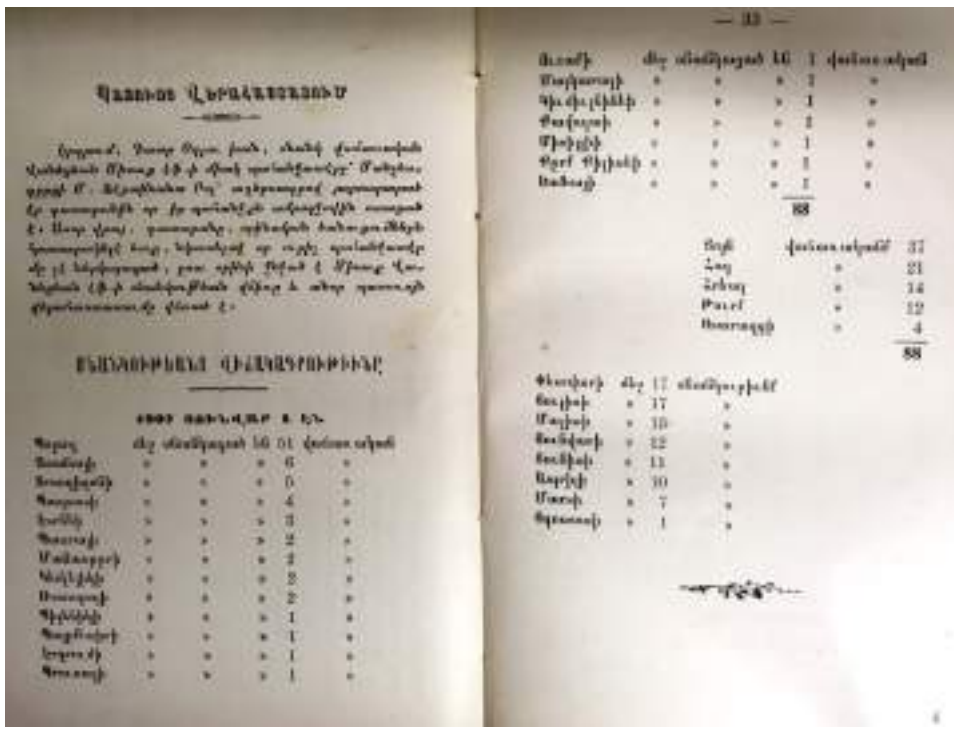

Table 1: *The press of the period took every opportunity to manipulate information on the economic crisis. For instance, a list in business journal was designed in a way to give the impression that the bankruptcies were on a downward trend in the period.*
Source: Biwrakn, Vajaarakanin Dzeragirke, (K.Polis, 1908)

February	17 bankruptcies
July	17
May	13
January	12
June	11
April	10
March	7
August	1

Yet, as the Panic unfolded, its effects were seen vividly in the market. For instance, a report on the textile market in October 1907 stated that "in the first days of October, unfortunately business did not continue in the textile market; after the tenth, business was very insignificant…no commissions came from the provinces."[10] The condition of the provincial market was vulnerable, they could not offer any item to export to Istanbul and the merchants were purchasing goods at the level of basic needs. The reason, according to the report, was the lack of credit. It claimed that "the banks established in Istanbul used to provide extensive credits to our merchants, but now, after hearing of a few instances of bankruptcies, they are immediately cancelling open lines of credit, and it is natural that our textile market bears the consequences." Credit was dependent on insights into the future of the market and therefore very closely connected to the hearsay circulating in the market – which was officially called speculations and rumors.

The credit market preferred to follow the rumors and not the "news" and shrank still further. In the period, the major way of pumping money into the Ottoman markets was the purchase of bills of exchange by a bank or a money exchange office at a discount before they came due. This was known as, *escompte* (*iskonto* or *senet kırdırmak*, in Turkish). Before 1907 the Ottoman Bank used to purchase to the value of 2 million pieces of golds per year, thus providing credit to the merchants. As the bankruptcies increased throughout 1907 and rumors swirled about more coming in the context of the global crisis, "The Ottoman Bank reduced its purchases of bills of exchange drastically and the tightness of the money market reached unprecedented degrees." As there was no way of stopping the rumors, it was suggested that merchants submit proper balance sheets (*bilanco*) to the banks showing that they had used the credit in proper activities and there would not be a problem when the banks wanted to close the open lines of credit. In early November the Panic of 1907 began to be felt in the Ottoman markets to its fullest extent. As a result, despite the claims that the Panic would have but a slight effect on the Ottoman market, the Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul met to discuss whether it should declare moratorium on their debts! The proposal was rejected with the argument that what the Ottoman markets were experiencing was not a severe crisis like the one in the US and European markets, but only a temporary stoppage of credit. Therefore, the merchant magazine *Biwrakn* argued, if the credit institutions undertake methods "which would provide comfort to the people, our market can pass through this financial contraction unharmed."[11] Yet, it was obvious that the credit problem could be solved only alongside the other and less tangible one, that of rumors circulating in the market. The magazine discussed the "rumors" about another Armenian com-

[10] *Biwrakn*, no. 44. October 27, 1907.
[11] *Biwrakn*, No. 45, November 3, 1907.

mercial house, Kuyumcuyan, which did not declare bankruptcy despite rumors to the contrary; the rumors had been put into circulation by rival Greek and Jewish merchants. Moreover, it argued that the previously mentioned merchant house, the Kayserians, did not declare bankruptcy, too. The magazine corrected the "news", explaining that the commercial house had agreed to a *concordato*, not bankruptcy, a regularized payment plan of their debts, and they soon returned to the market. Those who argued that their bankruptcy was a fraud reduced confidence in the market. as the magazine concluded:

> *In conclusion to our words, we declare the present financial tightening of our market is attributable to the interruption of commercial traditions which have been accepted for many years, and also to false rumors about the first-rate commercial houses and the press that echoes them.*[12]

The magazine drew a close connection between the market news and rumors, while criticizing the press, which it accused of providing saliency to "rumors" by openly discussing them. In reality, bankruptcies continued to shake the market in the following months and the press itself is a proof to this. It could not discuss the bankruptcies openly, yet it could still discuss the law on bankruptcy to assist the merchants. In an article titled, "Finalization of Bankruptcy Proceedings" the same magazine argued that *concordato* was the best way for the merchants and the market.[13]

Conclusion

In this paper I examine the different ways in which news about economic crisis and particularly bankruptcies of the 1907 Panic were circulated in the tightly controlled press in the Hamidian era. I show that censorship was not the only way of controlling the circulation of news in the public. Their discrediting as rumors was another prevalent method. This was probably the case during the Panic due to the fact that its impact, namely bankruptcies, was experienced by broader sections of the society. Moreover, when the Panic expanded into the different sections of the economy, bankruptcies began to be presented as selfish acts of merchants, thus their speculation in the markets. This was a way to divert the responsibility of mismanagement away from the government and the Sultan, but direct the attention to the merchants, who were now considered as selfish.

Thus, the Panic of 1907, not only deteriorated the Ottoman markets and the material conditions of large segments of the population, but it also challenged the

[12] *Biwrakn*, no. 46, November 10, 1907.
[13] *Biwrakn*, no. 47, November 17, 1907.

truth regime of the Hamidian regime in an unprecedented way, less than a year before the Revolution of 1908. However, lack of studies on the impact of the Panic of 1907 in the Ottoman Empire at the same time shows the power and indeed the success of the same regime to control the circulation of the news. This necessitates the historians to examine not only news but also rumors, alternations, and alternative news to better understand noy only the economic conditions but also the political culture of the late Ottoman Empire.

EUROPEAN PERCEPTIONS OF OTTOMAN LABOUR

Melina Grammatikopoulou*

Introduction

Depending mainly on agriculture and trade for most of its income until the mid-nineteenth century, the Ottoman government came to experience new patterns of economic growth afterwards. What merely compelled the movement forward were the Tanzimat Reforms promulgated by the government in 1856 in an attempt to modernize its political and social structure. The removal of the barriers concerning the creation of joint stock companies from non-Ottoman subjects unleashed thenceforth massive attempts on behalf of European entrepreneurs to establish cooperative enterprises, mainly in banking, mining, and railway construction.[1]

The newly established European enterprises, outspread throughout the Ottoman Empire, urged to employ the native manpower in an attempt to meet their growing needs for skilled and unskilled labor. European enterprise had actually first encountered Ottoman professionals, more specifically Ottoman traders and dealers, centuries ago, when the Levant Company was established in late sixteenth century with the task to secure a monopoly of British trade in the Ottoman terri-

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[1] Inalcik Halil & Quatmert Donald. *Οικονομική και κοινωνική ιστορία της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας, 1300-1914* [An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914], trans. Marina Dimitriadou, vol. 2. Athens 2011, 389-95, 431-83; Eldem Vedat, *Osmanli İmparatorlugu'nun İktisadi Şartlari: Hakkında Bir Tetkik*. Ankara 1994, with a full account of the European investment in the mining, industry, and transport sections.

tories.[2] At this time, in the late nineteenth century, the encounter was to take place between the Ottoman laborers, craftsmen, and employees, on the one hand, and the European administration, on the other. A significant number of consular officials, specialists and technicians were therefore called upon to analyze the labor assets or handicaps of the Ottoman worker. One can understand Europeans' perceptions of their Ottoman employees by studying the numerous consular and technical reports.

Ottoman Shortage, Endeavors, and the European Perception

What is common in the annual reports of the companies is the concern about the sufficiency and adequacy of the Ottoman workforce. The restrictions imposed on Muslim women, and the vital need to work the land in a mainly agricultural country, led to seasonal labor shortage, mainly in the mining sector. The workers, following flexible work patterns between technical work and subsistence-agriculture, compromised their total outcome, the stability of the workforce, and the company's productivity rate.[3]

According to the yearly account of "Société Ottomane d′ Heraclée," a mining company of French interests operating at the coal fields of Heraclea on the southern Black Sea coast:

> "The considerable efforts which have been made … produced and must continue to produce the best results. However, these results were prevented by a series of force majeure events: The underground workforce during the second semester was inadequate. The rich harvest, the boycott of Greek ships, the military conflicts, the Bayram, from July to September, have diverted our miners from their work. Hardly had these causes of scarcity of labor ceased to produce their effect, when cholera made its appearance in October in Zonguldak and our mines were deserted until the end of November…".[4]

However, the French consular official in Constantinople Pazay provided a brief report on the Ottoman labor class in 1884:

> "... The parliamentary committee asked me to investigate the position of the French workers in the Ottoman Empire. [I believe that] it is impossible to

[2] Ibid, 127-131; Wood Alfred, *A history of the Levant Company,* London and New York 2015, 1-14.

[3] On the shortage labor in the Heraclea fields, in particular, see Gürboğa Nurşen, Mine workers, the state and war: *The Ereğli-Zonguldak coal basin as the site of contest, 1920-1947*, Istanbul 2005, 25-27.

[4] Annual Ordinary and Extraordinary General Meeting of Shareholders of Société Ottomane d' Heraclée (Paris, 14 June 1911), 6, Folder 28433/1, The Crédit Agricole Historical Archives, Direction des Études Économiques et Financières (hereafter: AHCA/DEEF), Paris.

compare our social position, our institutions, with the corresponding situation in the Ottoman Empire. The Turk is a farmer and a soldier. The Greek, whose colonies are established mainly on the coastline, is a banker, a merchant, and a sailor. The Armenian is a merchant. … But the burden lifted by our workers abroad is lighter than that of the locals. In the Levant companies, foreigners are subjected to Capitulations. The French in particular, as they are accountable only to their employers and subjected to their own national laws, do not accept any authority other than their Consul's."[5]

What is obvious from the consul's report is, first of all, that he identified the existence of several ethno-religious groups within the Ottoman labor community, each of them specialized in certain branches of labor and equipped with special qualifications. Nevertheless, this essay will not examine the "ethnic division of labor" model, on which scholars have so far produced an extensive commentary.[6]

What is interesting though, is that Pazay also emphasized the contrast between the two labor groups, the French and the Ottoman one. The French laborer, on the one hand, having escaped from the tax burden or the abuse of power exerted on the Rayahs, seemed to possess his power in full. The Ottoman worker, on the other hand, was subjected to all kinds of demands on behalf of the Ottoman government. All these restrictions determined and finally decreased the quality of life of the Ottoman workers.

The British consul in Constantinople Sir Francis focused on his commentary, on the qualities of the Ottoman artisan products, which he found rough and lacking any delicacy. More specifically, he viewed Turkish work in general was that of a rude, unfinished, and incomplete piece of craft. Moreover, according to Consul General, the native of Turkey, attached as he was to stereotyped forms of craftsmanship, came to evince not only his backwardness, but also his lack of genuine respect for art. However rich the material employed may have been, he considered the execution of the lowest quality. He concluded by admitting that "… there is no place in Turkey itself for competition between native bad work and imported better work, and the latter is only occasionally called for by the reason of the unnatural mixture of Oriental and Occidental civilization in Turkey."[7]

[5] "The state of the workers in Turkey," Pazay to Marquis Emmanuel De Noailles, 16 Jun. 1884 (Constantinople), Folder AD/Constantinople 4, Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes.

[6] "Every one of the few processes in Turkey that require skilled labor is performed by a Christian;" "The Turk is a servant, a hewer of wood and a drawer of water," in W. M. Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey during Twelve Years' Wandering*, London 1897, 22; for a commentary on the ethnic division of labor, see Mentzel Peter, "The 'Ethnic Division of Labor' on Ottoman Railroads, A Reevaluation," Turcica, 37 (2005), 221-241; Kahveci Erol, "Migration, Ethnicity, and Divisions of Labour in the Zonguldak Coalfield, Turkey," *International Review of Social History*, 60 (2015), 207-226.

[7] Sir P. Francis to Earl Granville, Constantinople, 4 Mar. 1872, National Archives, Parliamentary

Beyond lack of artistic taste or experimental tendencies, the Ottomans were also charged with lack of technical expertise when engaged in demanding engineering projects. As claimed in a report from 1880 regarding the employment of Turk and Croat miners in Heraclea coal basin, they apparently worked the mines "in the roughest and most primitive manner, without any scientific knowledge," so that many pits had fallen in and become useless. Moreover, the short railway used for the conveyance of the coal had become unfit for use, while the last remaining locomotive had broken down. The technician could not resist remarking that "such is the result of the attempt of the Turkish Government to engage in industrial enterprise on its own account."[8] Vice- consul Maling, very much in line with his colleague's remarks, also admitted that only a small proportion of the Ottoman artisan and industrial classes were entitled "to be ranked as skilled laborers."[9]

Seeking Justification

Moreover, S. Stassinopoulos, a mining engineer well acquainted with the Heraclea coal basin, realized that Turkey could rank extremely high as a leading mining country on account of its abundant and diverse mineral resources. Surprisingly enough, its mineral commerce suffered from stagnation and lack of development. What chiefly accounted for this outcome was the unfavorable workforce, which, leisurely as its pace of work was, produced, in the best case, a third less than its European counterpart. Moreover, the Ottoman laborer gave the impression of failing to work unceasingly for a long period of time, as he supposedly quit his work in order to "spend in idleness what he may have earned in a few days' time." This workforce was also portrayed as the very reason behind several failed business ventures. The worker himself was not to blame though, though he certainly lacked training, intelligence and modern means of work, his apprenticeship being the only education he ever received.[10]

According to Europeans, what actually accounted for these low production rates was a weird combination of government negligence or impediments and the Ottoman laborer's own moral handicaps. The admitted misuse due to excessive deforestation and frequent fire incidents which endangered the forests' integrity, the lack

Papers (hereafter: NA/PP) 1872 [C.635], 371-73.

8 "The Mineral Wealth of Turkey," *Mining Journal*, 19 Mar. 1881. Enclosed in AHCA/DEEF 28433/1.

9 Maling John, "Report on the position of the artisan and industrial classes in the district of Brussa in the year 1869," Brussa, 24 Nov. 1869, NA/PP 1870 [C.68], 251-52.

10 Stassinopoulos S., "Le commerce minier en Turquie," *Revue Commerciale du Levant* 258 (1912), 547- 51, 550-51.

of well-constructed and well-maintained roads, the numerous legal barriers were only few of the impediments that kept production rates surprisingly low.[11] One could also add the "unbusiness-like method" the Ottoman government employed while conducting the adjudications.

In fact, this is the reason why the British Consulate in Constantinople felt obliged to warn the firms within its jurisdiction to avoid doing direct business with the Ottoman government.[12] Ernest Giraud, the head of the city's French Chamber of Commerce and writer of the business guide "La France à Constantinople" (Constantinople 1907), maintained that the Ottoman workers lacked not only energy, when compared with their European counterparts, but also skillfulness.[13]

Several European businessmen, diplomats and scientists tried to account for the busted productivity in the Ottoman workplace. Consul General Sir Philip Francis definitely considered the locals' poor diet as the main reason behind their poor performance. "Their bread is sour and badly baked, the meat … is not nutritious, the native cheese … is only appreciated by the native."[14] Giraud could not agree more, when he described in detail the diet followed by each worker. The British swallowed his roast beef accompanied by a glass of strong beer. The French accordingly ate meat by drinking wine, while the Turk seemed content enough with a bunch of grapes, some rare olives and a large glass of water. However marvelous it may taste, it remained a poor and insufficient diet, depriving the worker of his expected energy.[15]

Their inappropriate lodging was also to blame for their low productivity. "Ill-built, ill-arranged, and ill-drained" as it was, often made of wood, plaster and mud,[16] it contributed to the general weakness the Ottoman laborer experienced. Consul Maling was also very much of the opinion that the Ottoman workman's dwelling was quite inconvenient for his rough workload. "…His dwelling, by faulty construction, and ignorance, or carelessness, of the commonest sanitary principles, is far from being healthy."[17]

What is interesting though, is the conclusion Europeans reached when dealing with the Ottoman labor issue. In fact, poor quality and low quantity of the Ottoman work served as the convenient alibi Europeans used in order to absolve themselves of all blame for the unfair wage their Ottoman employees earned. The reasoning

[11] Ibid., 548-49; Cumberbatch to Elliot, Smyrna, 3 Dec. 1869, NA/PP 1872 [C. 68], 260.
[12] Waugh Telford, "Report for the Year 1909 on the Trade of Constantinople and District," *Historical Archives of the National Bank of Greece* (hereafter: IA/ETE/MO) 16, 4.
[13] Giraud Ernest, "Les grèves," *Revue Commerciale du Levant* 257 (1908), 233-6, 235.
[14] Sir Francis to Earl Granville, Constantinople, 4 Mar. 1872, NA/PP 1872 [C.635], 373.
[15] Giraud, *Grèves*, 234-35.
[16] Sir P. Francis, *ibid*., 373.
[17] Maling, *Report on Brussa*, 252.

was both basic and relentless. By the end of the working day, the European employer evaluated the workload performed by his French worker at 5 units, while the one performed by the Ottoman laborer at 2 units. Consequently, the French employee was definitely entitled to 25 piastres per diem, while the Ottoman worker would be more than content with a 10 piastres payment. So, according to European consuls, the pattern employed in the calculation of the European worker's allowance could not be apparently employed in the Ottoman case.[18]

The syllogism went even further by suggesting that, however rough and lengthy the Ottoman's hours of work may seem, "the laborer in the East was not much given to overtask his proper strength, but the contrary, and his avocations were generally of a light nature."[19] Moreover, the Ottoman worker managed to live on very little, his meager earnings being complimented with additional resources. He specifically inhabited a rent-free dwelling and a bit of land, which helped "to swell his income." In addition, his dietary is less costly, while the cost of living in the Ottoman Empire is much lower than in countries more advanced. "Considering the native workman's primitive wants and habits, he earned very fair wages and sufficient to maintain him after his own ideas of comfort," Consul Maling concluded.[20] Such was also the opinion of Otto von Kühlmann, General Director of the Anatolian Railway Company, when he confessed that "the locals can survive on a slice of bread and a few olives,"[21] obviously in sharp contrast to the high European standard of comfort.

However, the verdict was plain enough: In the case of a European and an Ottoman laborer, equal working hours could not apparently imply equal effort and workload, and could not entail equal wages. On behalf of the European employer, therefore, an unequal payroll was not only an option. It was rather a bare necessity, a net result, obvious enough at the end of the working day.

Moreover, light Ottoman workload was ably used as the central argument supported by European administration during the strikes of 1908 following the outburst of the Young Turk Revolution. Indeed, while Ottoman workers struggled to increase wages, European businessmen reminded them of the low value of their work. The Europeans as a matter of fact had already demonstrated "that the workforce of this country was ineffective as compared to the European manpower. It could not therefore claim equal treatment."[22]

In addition, by increasing the native laborer's payment, that would definitely increase the port's expenses, decrease the commercial traffic and would lead -sooner

[18] *Revue Commerciale du Levant* 257, 235.
[19] Maling, *ibid*., 253.
[20] Ibid., 254.
[21] Dr. Gabriel Albert, *Les dessous de l' administration des Chemins de Fer Ottomans d' Anatolie et de Bagdad*, Constantinople 1911, 105.
[22] Giraud Ernest, "Les erreurs du prolétariat ottoman," *Revue Commerciale du Levant*, 258 (1912), 408- 11, 409.

or later- to the abandonment of the Ottoman ports by the European merchants.[23] Needless to say, that would devastate the Ottoman economy, as it would deprive it of its essential income. And, of course, "that piece of advice was not addressed to Ottoman workers themselves, … but to those prominent men who had assumed the heavy task of reasoning the workers."[24] However severe, extreme, or even menacing the conclusion may sound, it was nevertheless a common excuse employed by the European managers to ease their conscience.

Ottoman Greeks Reacting

But how did Ottoman workers and employees themselves react to European criticism? How did they react to the Europeans looking down upon them? An article in the Greek-speaking newspaper of Smyrna Amalthia provides a revealing glimpse of how Ottoman Greeks in particular responded to the aforementioned recommendation of the British Chamber of Commerce in Constantinople to its subjects to avoid direct contact with the native firms, as almost any contact with them bore significant risk. It also advised them against handling cash when dealing with the Ottomans and suggested all transactions be executed via bank.[25]

The newspaper's reaction was filled with rage: "So this is how foreign merchants appreciate the hospitality shown to them by the Ottoman Empire, despite them hoarding at the expense of the native merchants." According to the columnist, the locals had gained lately professional qualifications, such as foreign language skills, and no longer needed European intermediaries to help them deal with the foreign firms. Therefore, the reason behind the slanderous allegations of the British Chamber of Commerce against the Ottoman enterprising is that British subjects lost the mediation services they were once offered in business cases. At the end, the columnist demanded that the British Commerce clarified its accusations and offered full satisfaction to the Ottoman complaints.[26]

Arhangelos Gavriil, a medical doctor working at Anatolian Railway, offers another glimpse of the Ottoman Greek reaction towards, as he considered, the European derogatory attitude concerning their working skills. The company's policy to pay the local craftsmen half the salary paid to their European counterparts as well as the unequal amount of pension and compensation attributed to the European employees, on the one hand, and the native workers, on the other, triggered Gav-

[23] Giraud, *Grèves*, 235.
[24] Ibid., 236.
[25] *Amalthia*, Smyrna, 11 Jul 1908, 2.
[26] Ibid.

riil's anger. In his manifesto book "The Underside of the Anatolian Railway's Administration," he accused the German administration of unfair working conditions and wages and of compelling the native manpower to overwork.[27]

The letter of the union of the employees of Anatolian Railway Company addressed to the Ottoman government shortly after the Young Turk Revolution is also quite revealing.

> "We feel so much hatred towards our authoritarian Director and so much gratitude towards the Young Turks, the Committee of Union and Progress, our persecuted brothers, our soldiers, Enver Bey, Niyazi Bey, the whole army and finally all those whose names are written in gold letters in the history of mankind, such as Riza, Ali Kemal, Murat Bey and so many others, who risked their lives to save our country from the tyrannical yoke."[28]

What is apparent in this letter is the relationship between the Ottoman Greek employees with the German administration, and with the Young Turks, who had recently seized power in the Ottoman Empire. Regarding the former relationship, one can identify the Ottoman Greek employees' bitterness, anger, and the feeling of injustice. The workers felt their heavy and demanding workload was not properly appreciated.

What is interesting though is their attitude towards the Young Turks, hailed as the new messiah, who would relieve the pressure exerted on them by the German directors. Their confidence in the new regime was considered a vital option in order to strengthen their position vis-à-vis their employers. What is also noteworthy is the adherence to their Ottoman identity regardless the particular ethno-religious group they identified themselves with. Therefore, the Europeans' arrogant treatment towards the indigenous workforce urged the latter to assume their Ottoman identity and to conform with the standards of "Ottomanism."[29]

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[27] Gabriel, *Les dessous*, 113, 153-4. See also the accusations of British blacksmith Elliott, head of the forging shop in Aidin Railway Company, that his Ottoman employees "only drunk tsipouro [local distilled spirit]." *O Ergatis* 18, Smyrna, 30 November 1908, 3.

[28] Letter of the union of the employees of Anatolian Railway addressed to the Berlin administration, Kadıköy, 11 August 1908, Deutsche Bundesbank Historisches Archiv, Anatolische Bahn Personal, HADB/OR254/26, Frankfurt.

[29] Anagnostopoulou Sia, *Μικρά Ασία, 19ος αιώνας – 1919, Οι ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες: Από το μιλλέτ των Ρωμιών στο ελληνικό έθνος* [Asia Minor, 19th–1919: The Greek Orthodox Communities, From the Rum Millet to the Greek Nation], Athens 1998, 299 & 303, where the concept of "ottomanism" is explained in detail; Moroni Ileana, *O Ergatis, 1908–1909: Ottomanism, National Economy and Modernization in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul 2010, where the connection between "Ottomanism" and the trade unions is vividly clarified.

Conclusion

In conclusion, European entrepreneurs, diplomats, and technicians regarded the Ottoman workers, artisans, and employees with a feeling of compassion mixed with condescension and superiority. The workers' handicaps were often interpreted as another indication of "backwardness" prevailing in the Ottoman Empire. However, Europeans tried to account for these defaults by focusing on the workers' poor living and working conditions, the ignorance of business production, the absence of technical training and expertise, and the burdens placed upon them by the Ottoman government. The Ottoman Greek community reacted sharply against what they perceived as the European arrogance. What remains to be studied though is the reaction of the other Ottoman ethno-religious communities, as well as any attitude change on behalf of the European administration as a result of this reaction.

TAKING THE BATON FROM J.C. ALEXANDER: THE GREAT METEORON MONASTERY IN THE EARLY OTTOMAN PERIOD (15TH-16TH CENTURIES)

Phokion P. Kotzageorgis*

In 1982, in the Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Byzantine Studies held in Vienna, Prof. J.C. Alexander published his seminal paper under the title «The Monasteries of the Meteora during the First Two Centuries of Ottoman Rule».[1] It was a pioneering study, which together with the late E.A. Zachariadou's articles on Mount Athos[2] put the research on the Orthodox monasteries on the "map" of the Ottoman Studies. Using part of the Ottoman material of the second – in terms of history and reputation – after Mount Athos monastic center of the Greek peninsula, J.C. Alexander argued that the main element of the monastic policy under the Ottomans was not the tax relief, but the maintenance of the pre-Ottoman tax status into the new legal frame of Islam, in which the notion

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1 Alexander John C., "The Monasteries of the Meteora during the First Two Centuries of Ottoman Rule", in: *XVI. Internationales Byzantinistenkongress. Akten.* v. II/2. Vienna 1982, 95-103.

2 Among the numerous articles on Mount Athos of Zachariadou see: Zachariadou Elisavet A., «The Worrisome Wealth of the Čelnik Radič", in: C. Heywood - C. Imber (eds.), *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, Istanbul 1994, 383-397; eadem, "Another Document of Shehab Al-Din Pasha Concerning Mount Athos (1455)", in: B. Kellner-Heinkele - P. Ziemke (eds.), *Studia Ottomanica. Festgabe für György Hazai zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1997, 217-222.

of *vakıf* played a determinant role. From then onwards, the research on the monasteries during the Ottoman period, especially at the turn of the 20th to the 21st century, has been based on the principles put forward in this article. Following this path, the present paper aspires to contribute to the study of the monastic economic strategy during the first two centuries of Ottoman rule, using the complete *corpus* of the Ottoman archival material of the biggest and most important monastery of Meteora, that of the Great Meteoron (known also as the monastery of Jesus Christ's Transfiguration).

The Ottoman archive of the Great Meteoron is the richest among the other monasteries of Meteora[3] and one of the richest monastic archives in Greece, in terms of quantity. We count some 1,827 documents or fragments of documents. From the first two centuries, archive's documents represented almost half of the total (circa 900 documents).[4] It seems to be an archive without major *lacunae*. This observation can be of great help for scholars in order to answer some research questions or, at least, to give more convincing answers to problems already put from scholarship.

The Great Meteoron monastery, founded in the middle of the 14th century, was fortunate to have powerful founders, with important influence and reputation on the local society. Its founder, Saint Athanasios, enjoyed recognition and respect not only from his brethren, but from the ecclesiastical and political authorities of Thessaly and beyond. His pupil and successor, monk Ioasaph, was the son of the Serbian ruler of Thessaly, Symeon Uroš (1356-1370) and he was held the same post for two years as Jovan Uroš (1370-1372), before he became monk and changed his name to Ioasaph. Being the first *coenobium* of the rocks, Great Meteoron functioned as independent monastery, even from the 1360's, in parallel – or more probable, competitively – with the other administrative entity of Meteora, the *Skete* of Stagoi. The 15th century, while for the rest monasteries of Meteora was a crucial period for their existence, since almost all of them seems to have been abandoned or at least declined, for the Great Meteoron monastery was a period of prosperity, which intensified in the next century.[5]

[3] The second in terms of historical importance monastery of Varlaam, has in its archive 600 Ottoman documents. See: Laiou Sophia N., *Τα οθωμανικά έγγραφα της μονής Βαρλαάμ Μετεώρων, 16ος-19ος αι.* [The Ottoman Documents of the Monastery Varlaam of Meteora, 16th-19th c.], Athens 2011.

[4] For the distribution of the documents by centuries see: Kotzageorgis Phokion P., *Reconsidering Early Ottoman Palaeography and Diplomatics. Nine Documents from the Great Meteoron Archive* (1394-1434), Holy Meteora 2023, 23.

[5] There is an abundant literature regarding the Byzantine period of Meteora. See the most recent publication, which summarizes the extant research: Vapheiades Konstantinos M., *Η Μονή του Αγίου και Μεγάλου Μετεώρου* [The Monastery of the Holy and Great Meteoron], Holy Meteora 2019. In 2022 the first issue of a new journal on Meteora has been come out under the title *Analecta Stagorum et Meteorum.*

The preliminary study of the documents from the 15th and 16th centuries gives the following data as regards the investment policy of the monastery. Land ownership started from a small geographical nucleus, which contained assets in the nearby villages (Kastraki, Virenci, Mikani, Kalambaka) and one in the more distant village Zavlandia (today Palaiopyrgos of Trikala, 20 km southeast of Meteora);[6] the last property is probably dued to the spiritual relationship developed between Great Meteoron and the monastery of St. Nicholas of Zavlandia already from the Byzantine period.[7] The monastic properties in general were comprised of fields, vineyards, watermills, pastures, meadows, and livestock (sheeps and goats, cattles and beehives). We do not know which properties the monastery had held from the Byzantine period, nor the ways of their acquisition.[8] Ottoman documents dated from 1407 and 1434 show that the property in Zavlandia was of great importance for the monastery, since the monks were able to obtain full tax-exemption from all the regular and irregular taxes, including the tithe.[9] Basing on these documents and others from the middle of the century it is resulted that the monastery possessed in Zavlandia vineyards, fields, watermills and sheeps, and in Kalambaka watermills, thus exploiting the nearby flowing Peneios river.[10] According to the evidence of Ottoman documents, from 1460 land-ownership had started to be expanded towards the plain, southeastwards of the town of Trikala, with the acquisition of a pasture near the small town of Phanari/Fener (in Makrihori stream).[11] From then onwards the monastery expanded its land properties through the same methods we know from other monasteries: purchase, bequests, donations, and land exchanges. Of special interest is monks' readiness to buy vacant lands, which came from the death of heirless peasants. The monks might have developed a network of informants in the plain, so as to have been aware of such cases. The investment readiness of the monks is evident in the case of the property in the village Phtelia (Byz. Pteleon), near Almyros of Volos (almost 150 km southeast from Meteora). Twenty years after

[6] These properties were recorded in the oldest survived Ottoman tax register from 1454/5. See: M. Delilbaşı Melek & Arıkan Muzaffer, *Hicrî 859 Tarihli Süret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Tırhala*, v. I, Ankara 2001, 72-74.

[7] For this relationship see: Vapheiades, *H Μονή*, 53-56.

[8] All the surviving Byzantine documents mentioned assets of the monastery on the rocks or in the adjacent area of Kalambaka/Stagoi and Prevenda. See: Bees Nikolaos, "Σερβικά και βυζαντιακά γράμματα Μετεώρου" [Serbian and Byzantine Documents of Meteoron], *Byzantis,* 2 (1911-12), nos 3-4, 6, 8-9, 12-15, 21-22, 24; Zakythinos Dionyssios, "Ανέκδοτα πατριαρχικά και εκκλησιαστικά γράμματα περί των μονών των Μετεώρων» [Unpublished Patriarchal and Ecclessiastical Documents Regarding the Monasteries of Meteora], *Ellinika*, 10 (1937-38), no. 1. There is one exception of urban property (see below).

[9] Kotzageorgis, *Reconsidering*, 49, 53, 74, 116, 121-22, 129-30.

[10] Ottoman Archive of Great Meteoron [hereafter OAGM], no. 319 *(hüccet,* 1446), 586 (*ferman,* 1452) και no. 151 (*ferman,* 1457).

[11] OAGM, no. 1051 (*mektub*).

the Ottoman conquest and the devastation of the area in 1470, Great Meteoron bought in 1490 an ownerless and vacant pasture, which seems that the monastery retained at least for many decades.[12] In the second half of the century, the summer pasture near Neraidohori on Pindos mountain-chain (27 km southwest) was acquired; this is an indication of a balanced investment policy between mountain and plain for grazing of herds.[13]

At the turn of the two centuries and in particular in the 16th century the first urban acquisitions are dated. Although urban property of Great Meteoron in the administrative center of the region – the town of Trikala – is mentioned in a Byzantine document from 1373,[14] in the Ottoman documents a property in that town, maybe not the same, appears for the first time in 1505.[15] Other acquisitions followed in Arta/Narda,[16] Lamia/Izdin,[17], Yannina/Yanya[18] and a fishery in Kastoria/Kesriye.[19] The remote village Uzdina (today Pente Ekklissies) of Paramythia/Aydonat (100 km westwards) was a place where the monastery had possessed properties as early as in 1520, and which provided the monastery with the necessary oil, through the acquisition of olive groves and olive mill.[20] The properties of the monastery were expanded throughout Western Thessaly and southeastwards to Volos area,[21] followed the Christian village network, since the bequests, which were the main way of land acquisition, came from Christians. The compact massif of Pindos Mountains was not an obstacle for the communication of monks with Epiros region in the West, since the Epirotic area is more 'visible' in the archive than Eastern Thessaly (especially Larissa's area).[22] Worth mentioning is that Great Meteoron acquired through purchase the properties of other monasteries which had been abandoned during 16th century, like the nearby monastery of Ypsilotera.[23]

[12] OAGM, no. 1387 (*hüccet*, 1491) and 471 (*hüccet*, 1493).

[13] OAGM, no. 526 (*ferman*, 1499). From the document's content is evidenced that the property had been acquired long before that date.

[14] Bees, «Σερβικά και βυζαντιακά γράμματα», no. 24.

[15] OAGM, no. 228 (*hüccet*, 1504).

[16] OAGM, no. 15 (*hüccet*, 1518): a church.

[17] OAGM, no. 1708 (*hüccet*, 1525): four shops.

[18] OAGM, no. 1683 (*hüccet*, 1561): a shop; OAGM, no. 422 (*hüccet*, 1563): a house.

[19] OAGM, no. 1722 (*hüccet*, 1524).

[20] OAGM, no. 167 (*hüccet*, 1519), the oldest from a series of some dozens of documents referred to this village.

[21] See: OAGM, no. 1597 (*hüccet*, 1528); it is the oldest extant document referring to a property of the monastery in Alahonia of Pelion. See also: OAGM, no. 116 (*hüccet,* 1535) for a house and a warehouse in Volos.

[22] The acquisition of fields is referred to in 1538 in Elassona (OAGM, no. 432, *hüccet)* and of a house with vineyard in Deşiani/Aetolophos of Larissa in 1542 (OAGM, no. 244, *hüccet*), while in Domenik is mentioned only in 1599 the acquisition of a store (OAGM, no. 1622, *hüccet*).

[23] OAGM, nos 241 and 549. According to these documents Great Meteoron purchased the properties of Ypsilotera in the village Kuvelçi (today Theopetra, 8 km southwards) in 1564, because the

Land ownership of Great Meteoron was organized on the basis of *çiftlik*. Although the *çiftliks* of the 16th century were not resembled with the most well-known of the 19th century in terms of the size and the crops (in the latter monoculture of commercial nature was cultivated), they shared a common characteristic: the forms of labor.[24] Although the monks can hardly be compared with the Muslim great *çiftlik*-owners of 19th century, the labor in the monastic *çiftliks* was being provided, even in 15th century, by peasants, whose exact labor status, however, we do not know. The structure of *çiftlik* in Great Meteoron case seems not to be that of the big farms of the Athonite monasteries with a central elongated building, a chapel, a tower, gardens and vineyard around them,[25] but rather of dispersed, separated fields in a village's area, which the monks were trying to unify through exchanges, purchases or bequests, in order to better exploit them. Thus, while in the Ottoman tax cadasters Great Meteoron properties were constantly recorded as *çiftliks*, in this term we should see rather the way the Ottoman authorities tried to understand – with the terms used by the state for piece of land – the form of the exploitation of the monastic lands – i.e. through peasants' work – and not a farm *per se*. In other words, under the phrase "*çiftlik-i manastır-i Meteoro*" it has to be meant a number of separated fields with a total surface of some *çifts*, usually one to three, and not a farm.

Taking into account the above analysis we conclude that the economy of Great Meteoron was of a mixed nature, that means of both agricultural and husbandry type. In the former, the monastery cultivated fields and vineyards and possessed meadows for grazing animals. As for the latter there was a balance between husbandry of small and big animals. Of particular importance was the possession of watermills. Due to the lengthy Pineios River with its tributaries, Western Thessaly provided peasants with enough water for the irrigation of fields and for building

latter was abandoned. For Ypsilotera see: Rigo Antonio, La *«Cronaca delle Meteore». La storia dei monastery della Tessaglia tra XIII e XVI secolo,* Firenze 1999, 81-83.

[24] Laiou Sophia N., "Some Considerations Regarding Çiftlik Formation in the Western Thessaly, Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries", in: E. Kolovos et al. (eds.), *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History. Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander,* Istanbul 2007, 255-277.

[25] For the form of the Athonite succursals (*metochia)* during the Byzantine period see: Kalpakis Dimitrios, *Γεωγραφική επισκόπηση των αθωνικών κτήσεων στο Βυζάντιο. Μακροσκοπική ιστορικο-γεωγραφική προσέγγιση* [Geographical Overview of the Athonite properties in Byzantium. A Macroscopic Historico-geographic Approach], Thessaloniki 2022, 45-52. For the Ottoman period see: Kolovos Elias, "Negotiating for State Protection: Çiftlik-Holding by the Athonite Monasteries (Xeropotamou Monastery, Fifteenth-Sixteenth C.)", in: C. Imber, R. Murphey, K. Kiyotaki (eds.), *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, v. I, London - New York 2005, 197-209; Fotić Aleksandar, "How to Run a Big Monastic Çiftlik: the Case of Hilandar's *Bulgar* Metochion in Karviya (Kalamaria), Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries", in: R. Avramov et al. (eds.), *Monastic Economy Across Time. Wealth Management, Patterns, and Trends*, Sofia 2021, 83-97.

watermills for the exploitation of the harvests. Great Meteoron was active in that business as well.[26]

Regarding taxation, the standard monastic policy of the payment of taxation in lump sum (*ber vech-i maktu'*) was observed in Great Meteoron case *par excellence*. In all the tax cadaster excerpts (*suret-i defter*), found in the archive for various properties, it is registered the tax payment in flat rate.[27] This method of taxation, without being necessarily considered as privileged, was, however, convenient for the monks, since under the lump sum the monastery had to pay, the monks concealed all the new acquisitions of lands between two tax-registrations' interval period. For instance, in the tax register excerpt for the property in the village Koskinas (42 km southeast of Meteora) from 1547 the monastery was taxed for fields of 3 *çifts* and for vineyards of 0.5 *dönüm*, paying a lump sum of 300 *akçe*s.[28] The same amount the monastery paid even in 1533,[29] although between the two dates the monastery purchased an unspecified number of fields.[30]

In the extant tax registers and except from the register of 1454/5, which is published,[31] one can find scanty information regarding the properties of the monks until the register of 1570. Thus, in the detailed tax register of 1506, it is recorded a) the lump sum tax of 400 *akçe*s paid by the monks for their vineyards in the village Kastro, and b) the detailed taxation of the monks for their properties on the rocks.[32] The next table shows the data of the register.

Table 1: *Tax property of Meteoro monastery in 1506.*

TYPE	QUANTITY	TAX (in *akçes*)	PLACE
bağ-i keşişan		400	village of Kastro
hınta	22 *keyl* of Trikala	220	Meteoro monastery
şair	12	72	
şire	150 *medre*	600	
adet-i ağnam		90	

[26] See, for example, documents regarding purchase of watermills by the monastery in: OAGM, nos. 83 (of 1511), 1826 (1561), 430 (1575), 1376 (1581), 195 (1589). There are much more documents, which refer that the monastery already possessed mills.

[27] See for example: OAGM, no. 847 (of 1543) for the *metochio* of Kürdik in Fener, and no. 606 (of 1557) for all the *metochia*.

[28] OAGM, no. 1503.

[29] OAGM, no. 338 (*hüccet*).

[30] See OAGM, no. 114 (*hüccet*, 1543) and no. 1625 (*hüccet*, 1540) for a field of two *dönüms.*

[31] Delilbaşı & Arıkan, *Süret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Tırhala*, v. I, 72-74.

[32] Ottoman Archive of the State Archives of the Presidency of the Turkish Republic (*Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri, Osmanlı Arşivi*), *Tapu Tahrir* Collection, no. 36 [hereafter: TT 36], 305 and 724 respectively.

TYPE	QUANTITY	TAX (in *akçes*)	PLACE
asiyab	6	180	
öşr-i çayır ve otlak		20	
TOTAL		1,182[33]	

The taxation is accompanied with the names of the eleven registered monks, among whom there is one named *Piskopos kaloyero* (i.e. bishop monk). A note describes the tax-status of the monks. According to this, the monks have sultanic decrees and documents for tax-exemption (*mu'afname*), which ordered that the monks shall not pay tithes for their fields and vineyards that had from old times, except for a) the *harac*, which they pay as lump sum, and b) the tithes that they give for the fields and vineyards located in villages, which are registered to timariots.[34] This note is very important, because it clarifies the tax status of the monastery during the early Ottoman period and at the same time the content of the term *harac*. Thus, the full tax exemption of the monks for their lands in Zavlandia and Mikani, which is mentioned in Ottoman documents dated of as early as 1407, and on the other hand, the content of the term *harac* mentioned in documents of 1415 and 1422, are explained.[35] It is confirmed the suggestion I have put forward that the term refers to a total tax on the monks for both their poll-tax and the tax on their estates in the immediate vicinity.[36]

The detailed tax-register of 1521 does not mention the monastery, probably because the register is not survived in a complete form. Only some properties in the villages of Kastro, Koskina, and Kuvelçi are recorded.[37] Even its abridged register (TT 101) has no any reference on. The total tax of the monastery and the number of monks is recorded in the abridged register of ca. 1530 (TT 367). From this it is resulted that the number of monks and of the mills remained stable, while the tax

[33] The register writes 1,192.

[34] TT 36, p. 724: *zikr olan keşişler maktu harac virdüklerinden ğayri ve erbab-i timara / hasıl kayd olunan kuralarda vakı olan tarlalarından ve bağlarından virdükleri / öşürden ğayri bu zikr olan ellerinde kadimden tasarruf idegeldükleri tarlalarından / ve bağçelerinden ve bağlarından öşr virmiyeler diyü selatin-i maziyyeden enare 'llahu / merkaduhim ve padışahımız e'aze 'llahu ensara ve ebede devletuhu hazretlerinden ahkam-i şerife ve muaf / nameleri vardır.* See the text with minor mistakes in reading in: Kul Muhittin, "Tırhala Kazası'nın Sosyal ve İktisadi Yapısı (XV-XVI. Yüzyıl", unpubl. PhD diss., University of Erciyes, Kayseri 2018, 145 fn. 217. There is no mention of the entry in: Beldiceanu Nicoara & Năsturel Petre Ş., "La Thessalie entre 1454/55 et 1506", *Byzantion*, 53/1 (1983), 143-47.

[35] See the documents in: Kotzageorgis, *Reconsidering*, 49 (no. 3), 53 (no. 4), 74 (no. 9) for Zavlandia possessions and 58 (no. 5), 62 (no. 6), 67 (no. 7), and 70 (no. 8) for *harac*.

[36] Kotzageorgis, *Reconsidering*, 130-32.

[37] TT 105, 168, 472, and 175 respectively. The properties in Kuvelçi were registered to the monastery of Ypsilotera, which later was assimilated with that of the Great Meteoron.

was slightly increased by 2.3% (1,210 *akçes*).[38] The next extant tax-register of 1570 (TT 695) contains numerous entries for the properties of the monastery both on the rocks and in the villages and can perfectly be compared with the excerpts of the register (*suret-i defter*), which are housed in the monastery's archive.[39] For comparison reasons with the survey of 1506, the next table shows the data for the monastery itself in 1570 tax-register, excluding the village of Kastro. There is no mention of tax amount.[40]

Table 2: *Tax property of Meteoro monastery in 1570.*

TYPE	QUANTITY	PLACE
bağçe	*8 dönüm*	*der kurb-i manastır*
zemin-i bostan	*6 dönüm*	*der kurb-i manastır*
çayır	*1 kıtaʿa*	*der kurb-i manastır*
bağ el-meşhur Meletis	*1 kıtaʿa*	*der kurb-i manastır*
bağ el-maruf Yenice deresi	*1 kıtaʿa*	*der kurb-i manastır*
asiyab	*8*	*der nezd-i Liköstem*

The existence of several excerpts of tax registers in Great Meteoron archive can be compared with the tax registers in the Ottoman archives in İstanbul, but also with the other documents of the archive (e.g. tax receipts), in order to learn whether the monks profited by the lump sum taxation between two tax surveys and how much.

Let us take as an example the village Kürdik (Metamorfossi, 44 km southeast of Meteora), where the monastery possessed property at least from 1506.[41] In the following table there are the data from tax register excerpts and the tax-register for comparison reasons.

[38] Even in this register the entry is read as "the monastery of the monks" (*manastır-i keşişan*), without further describing it. See: TT 367, p. 245. For the registers TT 101 and TT 367 I use the following publication: A. Özkılınç et al. (eds), 367 *Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri ile 114, 390 ve 101 Numaralı İcmâl Defterleri (920-937 / 1514-1530)*, v. I-II, Ankara 2007.

[39] Unfortunately, there are not survived the registers of the tax survey held in 1542, from which excerpts are housed in the archive of Great Meteoron (OAGM, nos 1051, 1105, 1423, 847, 1153, and 1155). See also OAGM, no. 606, dated from 1557, maybe concerned of another tax-survey.

[40] TT 695, pp. 177-8.

[41] OAGM, no. 543 (*hüccet*). The monks purchased ownerless land for 1,350 *akçes*.

Table 3: *Property of Great Meteoron in the village Kürdik: Tax registers' data.*

YEAR	TAX REGISTER EXCERPTS				TAX-REGISTER			
	SOURCE	TYPE OF PROPERTY	SURFACE	TAX	SOURCE	TYPE OF PROPERTY	SURFACE	TAX (akçe)
1543	no. 847	meadow for cattle grazing		75				
1543	no. 847	sheep corral		25				
1543	no. 847	*Çiftlik*		80				
1557	no. 606	*Çiftlik*		80				
1557	no. 606	meadow for cattle grazing		75				
1569/70	no. 1724	*Çiftlik*	3 *çifts*	400	TT 695, p. 351	meadow for cattle grazing		100
1569/70	no. 1724	Beehives		80	TT 695, p. 351	sheep pen		25
1569/70	no. 1724	Meadow		100	TT 695, p. 351	*çiftlik*	3 *çift*	400
1569/70	no. 1122	sheep pen		25	TT 695, p. 351	beehives		80
1569/70	no. 1122	*Çiftlik*	3 *çifts*	40				
1569/70	no. 1122	Beehives		80				

The data are aboundant compared with those of other villages. However, a tax receipt from 1546 mentions an amount of 180 *akçe*s for the taxation of *çiftlik* in Kürdik.[42] In a *hüccet* from 1563 the local timar-holder ratifies that the monks pay 250 *akçe*s for the *çiftlik*.[43]. Two other tax receipts from 1570 and 1575 mention 100 *akçe*s as tax for the *çiftlik* in Kürdik.[44] Albeit these discrepancies, it seems that the monastery paid in the middle of the century 180 *akçe*s for the *çiftlik* in Kürdik and in 1570 the amount had more than doubled and reached 400 *akçe*s.[45] This increase may be resulted from the massive purchases, which the monks realized in the village during this period, as the following table shows:

[42] No. 1189. The tax collector implies that together with the çiftlik should be added the taxes on meadow and sheep corral.

[43] No. 1678. See also a tax-receipt of the same year, which mentions the same amount (no. 1090), as also another from 1575 (no. 1821).

[44] Nos 1077 and 1493 respectively. Another tax receipt from 1579 (no. 1132) does not mention any amount.

[45] In addition to the data from the tax registers, see also an undated (maybe from the end of the 16th century) *mektub* of the *müvella* of Yenişehir (today Larissa) to the timar-holder of Kürdik, in which is mentioned that the monks paid according to the old cadaster 400 *akçes* for their *çiftlik* in Kürdik (no. 110).

Table 4: *Land acquisitions by Great Meteoron in the village Kürdik.*

YEAR	SELLER	TYPE OF PROPERTY	SURFACE	PURCHASE AMOUNT	NO. DOC.
912	ownerless	Land		1,350 *(resm-i tapu)*	543
927	Christian	Field	15 *dönüms*	300	291
948	ownerless	land for grazing		700 *(resm-i tapu)*	1630
951	ownerless	land for grazing		200 *(resm-i tapu)*	1624
951	monk, 2 Christians	Field		1,360	1641
960	ownerless	field and church	30 *dönüms*	100 *(resm-i tapu)*	1627
963	monk	Church		4,700	38
964	Christian	Field		400	1732
966	Christian	Field		500	1311
967	Muslim	Field		300	987
967	Christians	Field		600	1499
970	ownerless	Land		120 *(resm-i tapu)*	1700
971	exchange	Fields			1620
983	Muslim	Field		1,500	159

The case of Kürdik proves that the Ottoman state had the control over the land and the monks could not avoid paying according to their capacity. If we estimate the price of a field at ca. 30 *akçe*/*dönüm* in the middle of the century and if we multiply tenfold the amount of the *resm-i tapu* in order to find the amount of the purchase and thus the surface of the fields, it results that the purchased land of the monastery in Kürdik were quite extensive, and the purchases justify the increase in the tax from between ca. 1550 to 1570. For the calculation of the surface of the fields we have to take account that the *çift* in the fertile plain of Thessaly should be estimated at the rate of 150 rather than of 60 *dönüm*s, although the archival evidence is in favor of the latter.[46]

[46] This estimation is corroborated with the data for the *çiftlik* of the monastery of Ypsilotera in the village Kuvelçi in Trikala. According to the cadaster excerpt the *çiftlik* was of one *çift* having fields of a total size of 70 *dönüms* (no. 1153 of 950/1543). Does this ratio mean that monastic lands were of poor quality?

Another example shows the discrepancies observed between the data found in tax receipts, the tax cadaster excerpts and the tax cadaster *per se*. In the village Markos of the district of Fener the monastery, according to the cadaster of 1569, owned a *çiftlik* of one *çift* and paid 130 *akçe*s as tithe substitute (*bedel-i öşür*).[47] However, in a cadaster excerpt from 1557 the monastery paid 60 *akçe*s for the same *çiftlik* in the village.[48] The situation became more confusing with a tax receipt of 1543, according to which the monks paid 120 *akçe*s for their *çiftlik* and the vineyard in the village, data which are repeated in a *ferman* of 1542, to which a cadaster excerpt is attached.[49] In none of the above-mentioned sources is registered the mill, which the monks possessed – through a bequest – from 1511 up until, at least, 1535.[50]

At any rate, the monks won the lawsuits, whenever the local tax collectors challenged monks' privilege of tax payment on lump sum. From the other hand, they paid the same tax for a period of time, regardless of the small or large increase in land possession, because the tax censuses were taking place every, at least, 15-20 years.[51] Whenever the monks were being threatened in loosing this status, they invoked the sultanic cadaster, since land-ownership in the Ottoman realm was the privileged area of the *kanun*, on which the tax registers were based.[52]

The gradual abolition of the extensive tax exemptions of the beginning of 15th century, obviously resulted from the end of the period of *istimalet*, was a fact during the second half of the 16th century, which the monks attempted to cope with through the incorporation of these properties into the *maktu*-status. Thus, the two properties with full tax-exemption, namely those in the villages of Zavlandia and Kopraina (Avra, 6 km southeast), at the beginning of 16th century were registered without tax, while a century later they were taxed on a lump sum.[53]

[47] TT 695, p. 422. The name of the monastery is not clearly readable.

[48] OAGM, no. 606.

[49] OAGM, no. 494.

[50] OAGM, no. 83 (*hüccet*), 11 (*hüccet*), and 584 (*ferman*). In an undated letter to the *sipahi* of Markos, Turhan, it is mentioned three mills (OAGM, no. 1469).

[51] See for example a case in OAGM, no. 582 (ferman of 1525), in which the timar-holder asked for more than the amount registered in the cadaster, because the monks, according to him, had in the meantime acquired more lands.

[52] In 1556, the *sipahis* of the village Kastro (Kastraki) caused a trial, asking the monks of Great Meteoron to pay tax on the lands they had acquired after the last tax census was held (i.e. of 1542) and the issuance of the new tax register. The investigation ordered by the Porte, upon request, found that in the new register (that of 1542) there was no right to collect further tax from the lump sum paid by the monks. So, the monks were vindicated and the deed was registered in the court register (*sicil*) (OAGM, no. 612).

[53] Compare the tax register excerpt OAGM, no. 149 of 1583 with no. 174 of 1614. In the first one the monastery was registered with two çifts in the village Zavlandia as being fully tax-exempted, while in the second for the same property the monastery was taxed with 450 *akçes*. More interesting is that in a *tezkere* of 1559/60 the monks paid the taxation for their fields, amounted to 200 *akçes* (OAGM, no. 1012). Four years earlier, in 1556, the monks bought from a certain papa-Stamatis

The monastic properties were usually part of the *timar* system. Most of them were taxed after the subordination to a *timariot*, *zaim* or *hass*-holder. However, some properties were bequeathed as *vakıf*. From the twenty four cases regarding bequeathed properties, six concern bequests to the monastery in general and not to the monks,[54] while other five cases concern bequests of fields.[55] Only one case, dated after the confiscation affair of 1568/9, was realized in proper legal form: a house had been bequeathed by some Christians to a priest.[56] Although the bequests of fields may be meant that the donor bequeathed the usufruct and not the land *per se*, the whole situation derived from the above data proves that endowments before Ebussuud's legislative reforms were realized under a loose and legally inappropriate way.[57]

The monastery, in heyday times, as were the first two Ottoman centuries, had enough money, so as not only to pay its tax obligations, but also to invest and increase its property. The wide range renovation attempts in the building environment of the monastery at the middle of 16th century reflects with the best way this prosperity. It is a challenge for the historian, however, to see how the monastery reacted in period of a general crisis and decline. After the confiscation affair of 1568/9 and the numismatic crisis of 1584, the monastery tried to cope with the new deteriorating conditions. The monastery answered with the traditional weapons it had, namely mortgage of the lands, borrowing, sale of properties, but purchases as well. This is the story of the following centuries.

a *metochio*, having sixteen fields, for 10,000 *akçes* (OAGM, no. 686). It might be probable that they were taxed for these fields and not for those that they had possessed in the village as early as from the beginning of the 15th century or even from the Byzantine period. As for the property in Kopraina, it is interesting a trial, caused in 1533 by the *timar*-holders of the village of Kopraina to collect the tithe. The monks argued that their lands are not "re'ayye", but "vakfiyye" (i.e. part of the monastery's *vakıf*) and therefore have enjoyed tax exemption. They brought, for their claim, documents of tax-immunity from previous sultans (*mu'afnames*) and *ferman* of the then sultan, Süleyman (OAGM, no. 705, *hüccet*).

[54] OAGM, nos 869 (1537), 432 (1538), 330 (1544), 400 (1555), and 1704 (1566). A sixth case concern the bishopric of Phanarion (no. 1666, 1508).

[55] OAGM, nos 1386 (1529), 303 (1530), 1711 (1530), 432 (1538), 173 (1557). In some cases, fields are put together with other types of property as vineyards (no. 1706 of 1504), cattle (no. 1654 of 1530), and vineyards and olive trees (328 of 1534).

[56] OAGM, no. 600 (1589).

[57] For the phaenomenon of "grey zones" of bequests to the monasteries see: Alexander John C. (Alexandropoulos), "Χριστιανικές προσηλώσεις και ισλαμικά αφιερώματα. Οι γκρίζες ζώνες της ορθόδοξης μοναστηριακής ιδιοκτησίας" [Christian *proseloseis* and Islamic endowments. The grey zones of the Orthodox monastic properties], in: E. Kolovos (ed.), *Monastiria, oikonomia kai politiki, apo tous mesaivnikous stous neoterous hronous*, Irakleio 2011, 225-233.

FINANCIAL SUPERVISION IN OTTOMAN PROVINCES DURING THE ERA OF SELIM III: EMERGING ACTORS

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The focus of this paper[1] is on public-expense registers kept in the provincial districts (*kaza*) and documented in court records (*sicills*), commonly referred to as *tevzi defteri* or *masarıf-ı vilayet* in Ottoman archival documents. It is important to note that the terms *tevzi* or *masraf* are actually quite general terms and they could easily be interpreted in various contexts, other than the specific context of this study. *Tevzi*, for instance, could refer to distribution of salaries to irregular or regular military units, or of provisions to governors' households. Similarly, *masraf* records could involve expenditures at local, provincial, or central levels, and could address any kind of state officials, or merchants or artists. The significance of these public-expense registers lies in their capacity to provide insights into the financial dimensions of the Ottoman Empire's provinces.[2]

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1 This paper is based on the article of: L. Sevinç Küçükoğlu, "New Fiscal Actors to Control Provincial Expenditures at the end of 18th Century", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, LIV (2019), 241-276.

2 For the general literature on public-expense registers, see: Radushev Evgeni, "Les Dépenses Locales dans l'Empire Ottoman aux xviiie siècle", *Études Balkaniques*, 3 (1980), 74-94; Ursinus Michael, "Avarız Hanesi und Tevzi Hanesi in der lokalverwaltung des Kaza Manastir (Bitola) im 17. Jh.", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, 30 (1980), 481-92; idem, *Regionale Reformen im Osmanischen Reich am Vorabend der Tanzimat: Reformen der Rumelischen Provinzialgouverneure im Gerichtssprengel von Manastir (Bitola) zur Zeit der Herrschaft Sultan Mahmuds II. (1808-39)*, Berlin 1982; idem, "Zur Geschichte des Patronats: Patrocinium, Himaye und Deruhdelik", *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, 23-24 (1984), 476-97; Cezar Yavuz, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi: XVIII. Yy'dan Tanzimat'a Mali Tarih*, İstanbul 1986; idem, "18 ve 19. Yüzyıl-

Given that the central financial accounts of the Ottoman records did not include provincial revenue or expenses, our understanding of the financial extent of the provinces remains unclear. These records reveal that, during the 18th century, provincial revenues, not documented in the central budgets, were significant in scale within the Ottoman Empire.[3]

These registers detailed public expenditures and some provincial taxes charged to people of districts. They encompass the salaries and fees collected by district governors, the expenditures of officials passing through the district, some specific taxes for either provincial governors or the state, and how they were distributed among the residents of the districts. In theory, the process of producing such registers was intended to be a collective act or collaborative effort involving all relevant parties. Producing them required the approval of and solid cooperation of all notable persons and officials of the districts. However, in practice, these registers led to local grievances due to fiscal misconducts and arbitrary collection practices.

Tevzi defters, although present prior to the 18th century, gained significant prominence during that period due to several factors. The major military and fiscal transformations including the increasing influence of provincial notables (*ayan*), and the growing financial demands of provincial governors (*vali*) coined the period.4 It is noteworthy that the Ottoman state's decision to enhance its control over

larda Osmanlı Tasrasında Oluşan Yeni Mali Sektörün Mahiyet ve Büyüklüğü Üzerine", *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi*, 9 (1996), 89-143; Özkaya Yücel, "XVIII. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Tevzi Defterlerinin Kontrolü", *Belleten*, 52/203 (1988), 135-55; idem, *Osmanlı İmpartorluğu'nda Ayanlık*, Ankara 1994, 268-71; Yaycıoğlu Ali, "The Provincial Challenge: Regionalism, Crisis, and Integration in the Late Ottoman Empire (1792-1812)", unpubl. PhD diss., Harvard University 2008, 126-42; Çadırcı Musa, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı*, Ankara 2013, 148-70; Neumann Christoph, "Selanik'te On sekizinci Yüzyılın Sonunda Masarif-i Vilâyet Defterleri: Merkezi Hükümet, Tasra İdaresi ve Şehir Yönetimi Üçgeninde Mali İslemler", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 16 (1998), 69-97; Çiftçi Cafer, "18. Yüzyılda Bursa Halkına Tevzi Edilen Şehir Masrafları", *Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 5-6 (2004), 67-86; Açıkel Ali & Sağırlı Abdurrahman, "Tokat Şeriyye Sicillerine Göre Salyane Defterleri (1771-1840)", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 41 (2005), 95-146; Günay Vehbi, "Yerel Kayıtların Işığında XVIII. Yüzyıl Sonlarında İzmir", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 27/1 (2010), 253-68; Tulaşoğlu Gülay, "Payitahta Yakın Olmanın Bedeli: Kocaeli Masraf Defterlerine Göre Şehir Harcamaları", *Uluslararası Gazi Süleyman Paşa ve Kocaeli Tarihi Sempozyumu III*, Kocaeli 2017, 1761-781; Yaycıoğlu Ali, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions*, Stanford 2016, 117-56; Akkuş Yakup, "Osmanlı Maliyesi Literatüründe İhmal Edilmiş Bir Tartışma: Tevzi' Defterlerinden Vergi-i Mahsûsaya Geçiş", *Tarih Dergisi*, 65 (2017), 29-61.

[3] Cezar, "Osmanlı Taşrasında Oluşan Yeni Mali Sektör", 90- 91, 118.

[4] For further reading on the subject, see: Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Değişim*, 123- 125; İnalcık Halil, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 6 (1980), 283-337; Genç Mehmet, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul 2000, 110-13; Çakır Baki, *Osmanlı Mukataa Sistemi (XVI-XVIII)*, İstanbul 2003, 40-43, 172; Radushev, "Les Dépenses Locales", 74; İnalcık Halil, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*, İstanbul 1992, 86-87; Özvar Erol, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Uygulaması*, İstanbul 2003, 37-45.

these records in the 1790s was not coincidental. Prior to Selim III's reign, the supervision of *tevzi defters* surely existed, but it was generally irregular and made from a distance, rather than through on-site inspections.

After 1792, Selim implemented measures to enhance the periodic examination of *tevzi defter*s. Both provincial governors and local notables were instructed to diligently compile these records every six months and submit copies to the central authorities for approval. Theoretically, expenses were supposed to be collected from the people only after a thorough examination and approval process, but this was seldom the case in practice. Notably, fiscal supervision of these registers remained somewhat distant but became more regular.

Another significant change during this period was the establishment of a specific role, with three experienced officers in Istanbul designated as *Defatir Nazırı* to control the *tevzi defter*s.[5] However, this phase was largely ineffective, primarily due to the fact that there were only three regional *Defatir Nazır*s, for each major administrative regions, tasked with scrutinizing numerous districts, each with a substantial number of expenditures, and they were considerably strangers to the local context.

At the next stage, there was further enhancement in fiscal oversight. There was greater pressure to generate the registers every six months and ensure their timely submission to the central authority. More significantly, the fiscal supervision was strengthened with on-site supervision. A governor was appointed to districts requiring closer scrutiny of public expenditures. This governor held the responsibility for conducting on-site examinations of the *tevzi defter*s and overseeing all stages of their preparation and production. This official was known as *kaza defter nazırı* and unlike temporary officials like *mübaşir*, these *defter nazır*s were permanent residents in their assigned districts (except for cases of delegation), effectively becoming integral parts of the district administration.

The requirement to produce *tevzi defter*s every six months and send them to the center for so that related imperial decrees could be obtained to allow timely collection in the districts may have appeared somewhat impractical. Such a schedule might have been challenging given the transportation limitations of that era and the potential reluctance of local elites. Nonetheless, establishing such a tight schedule, even if it proved difficult to adhere to, could have accelerated the process and encouraged individuals to put in more effort to comply. Consequently, these regulations led to a more standardized practice and better-regulated registers during the initial five years following 1792.

[5] Yeşil Fatih, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Nazırlıkların Yükselişi (1789-1826): Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz Denemesi," in: S. Kenan and H. Reindl-Kiel (eds), *Deutsch-türkische Begegnungen Festschrift für Kemal Beydilli,* Berlin 2013, 465-90.

As per Selim's regulations, the compilation of public-expense registers was mandated for the districts within three primary regions: Anatolia, Rumelia, and Morea. Accordingly, *Defatir Nazır*s were appointed based on their respective regions, resulting in the titles: 1) *Anadolu Defatir Nazırı* 2) *Rumeli Defatir Nazırı* 3) *Mora Defatir Nazırı.* This title began to appear in documents produced in the center after the year 1793. The responsibility of inspecting these registers was designated as "supervision" or "surveillance" (*nezaret*).

The *Defatir Nazır*s, superintendents of *tevzi defter*s, had specific duties that included reviewing the recorded public-expenses in *defter*s sent to the center. Their role also involved identifying any expenses that were invalid or inappropriate, and recommending an appropriate course of action in such cases. These positions were typically filled by high-ranking bureaucrats. They could be assigned to experienced officials who may have been concurrently holding other positions.

It is likely that these *Defatir Nazır*s operated somewhat independently of the existing hierarchical and institutional structure of the state, similar to other *Nazır*s appointed by Selim III. This autonomy may have been necessary for them to effectively monitor the registers and individuals associated with them, regardless of their official rank. Nevertheless, there has been criticism of assigning these officials to dual roles, as supervising fiscal registers demanded undivided attention and a higher level of expertise.

Similar to the regional *Defatir Nazır*s, district-level intendants (*kaza defter nazırı*) were appointed by the central authority, but they were chosen from among mid-ranking bureaucrats. Unlike the *Defatir Nazır*s, who held permanent positions, a *kaza defter nazırı* was assigned to a specific district only in response to reported misconduct related to a specific district's public-expense registers reaching Istanbul. In terms of hierarchy, there should have been several of them tasked with addressing issues in troubled districts, reporting to their designated *Defatir Nazırı*. There is a comment on *defter nazır*s that they were predominantly associated with Rumelia, but both Anatolian and Morean districts should have also had similar agents and experiences.[6]

This particular study makes a distinctive contribution to Ottoman financial and economic historiography by providing a detailed examination of the role of the *kaza defter nazırı*. The study is centered on the period from 1792 to 1797 and specifically looks at instances of *kaza defter nazır*s in five Rumelian districts: Karaferye (Veroia), Kesriye (Kastoria), Siroz (Serres), İştib (Shtip), and Filibe (Plovdiv).[7] The

[6] This evaluation should be checked from various documents on public-expense records as it is made by one scholar, whose study was based ironically and mainly on Anatolian court records in that specific article. Özkaya, "Tevzi Defterlerinin Kontrolü", 146-9.

[7] For further information on the position and for the related archival documents, please see: Küçükoğlu, "New Fiscal Actors", 255-269.

duties and responsibilities of a *kaza defter nazırı* were as follows; conducting on-site supervision of all the stages involved in preparing *tevzi defter*s, meticulously examining each item, guaranteeing the timely submission of register copies to Istanbul, and ensuring a just and lawful allocation of expenses among the district's residents. Significantly, the *nazır* was also tasked with reducing the financial burden on the local population by lowering the expenses in *tevzi defter*s they were required to pay.

Another difference between *Defatir Nazır*s and *kaza defter nazır*s lies in their sources of income. *Defatir Nazır*s received their pay from the central authority, whereas the monthly salaries of *defter nazır*s were funded by the residents of the districts to which they were assigned. In practice, when a district had a *defter nazır* controlling its *tevzi defter*, the costs for their salary were added to the very same defters of that district. This practice appears to have generated disapproval among the district's residents due to the additional financial burden it imposed on them. Paradoxically, some district residents viewing the appointment of a *nazır* as a new tax burden and resisting such appointments, were most likely influenced by the local notables who were the targets of these *nazır*s' scrutiny.

Based on the instances I have observed in my examples, it appears that the state employed various strategies to address these rejections. If the state had never received an expenditure register from a specific district previously, its initial response was to send a *mübaşir* to conduct on-site supervision and observation for a limited period of time, rather than immediately appointing a *nazır*. However, if there were existing registers to review and clear indications of irregularities or misconducts within them, then a *nazır* was appointed. In cases where no such issues were found, the district would continue to be closely monitored but without the appointment of a *nazır*. Another approach to handle this resistance was to assign a single *nazır* to manage multiple districts, thereby reducing the financial burden on any one district and distributing it among several.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the newly introduced actors overseeing the *tevzi defter*s, namely the *Defatir Nazır*s at the central level and the *defter nazır*s in the districts, played a crucial role in implementing Selim III's fiscal regulations in the provinces. Selim's fiscal reforms concerning the *tevzi defter*s effectively enabled the state to gain insight into provincial affairs. These *tevzi defter*s functioned as a sort of litmus test for power dynamics in the districts, revealing which individuals were gaining influence, identifying conflicts over status and position, and pinpointing the figures posing the greatest challenge to central authority.

Consequently, these registers and the mentioned fiscal agents appointed to supervise them operated as if they were surveillance cameras, directed toward the districts. They diligently collected detailed information about local matters, served as early warning systems for potential crises and disruptions, and accentuated the state's right to intervene in local issues. Particularly, the *defter nazırs* in the districts

managed to reduce public expenditures to a certain degree. They also served as effective agents of the state, acting to restrain the influence of local notables and provincial governors both at the provincial and district levels. In this regard, they contributed to advancing the state's centralizing policies and strengthening central authority during that era.

VISUALISING CONFISCATION RECORDS OF EARLY-NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN GREECE

Fatma Öncel

Introduction

The "Mapping Ottoman Epirus" project, organised by Stanford University and conducted by an interdisciplinary research team, is concentrating on the era of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha and post-Ali Pasha, ranging from the 1790s to the 1820s.[1] By using various digital humanities tools, this project attempts to integrate Greek and Ottoman archives, and to visualize and analyse various aspects of this order.[2]

Within the framework of the Mapping Ottoman Epirus initiative, the 'Order of Liabilities' constitutes a significant sub-project, led by Ali Yaycıoğlu and Fatma Öncel with the technical support of Erik Stenier.[3] This article specifically delves into the processes of database development and visualization within the Order of Liabilities project. In this article, I will explore the various opportunities and challenges inherent in constructing a database from an Ottoman fiscal record. Furthermore, I will investigate the ways in which visualization techniques can enhance historical research. In essence, I aim to explain how maps and graphs transcend mere visual

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1 https://mapoe.stanford.edu/. The project is led by Ali Yaycıoğlu, Antonis Hadjikyriacou, Erik Steiner and Fatma Öncel.

2 For the general framework and the preliminary findings of the project, please see Yaycıoğlu Ali, Hadjikyriacou Antonis, Öncel Fatma, Steiner Erik, Kastrinakis Petros, "Mapping Ottoman Epirus", *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 9.2 (2022), 145-152.

3 https://mapoe.stanford.edu/projects/order-liabilities-debt-and-credit-ali-pashas-regime

representations of the database to become invaluable tools for historical analysis.

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Historical Overview

Tepedelenli Ali Pasha experienced a significant loss of power and wealth during the years 1820-1822. Initially, his political and administrative titles were stripped from him. In 1820, he was relieved of his position as the "*derbentler nazırlığı*," and when he attempted to maintain his military authority in the mountains, essentially rebelling against the state, all his titles were revoked, leading to his execution. In 1822, Ali Pasha was apprehended and subsequently executed.

Following Ali Pasha's execution, Ottoman fiscal officials undertook a vast settlement process involving communities, households, and individuals across Epirus, Southern Albania, and central Greece to assess the Pasha's assets, debts, and credits. Ottoman officials meticulously examined Ali Pasha's documents and inventories from his archive, resulting in the creation of several inventories detailing liabilities and those responsible for them in regions under his control, either partially or entirely.

The "Order of Liabilities" project delves into these inventories, shedding light on the post-mortem settlement between the liability holders and the Ottoman State, as well as the debt collection process, which frequently entailed negotiations and confrontations between indebted local communities and the Ottoman administration.

The "Order of Liabilities" project has identified approximately 3,000 documents related to Ali Pasha within the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. These documents offer insights into various aspects of his rule, encompassing administration, military affairs, urban infrastructure, agriculture, rural property, and finance. Specifically, we have identified 209 documents related to his confiscation period, which pertain to records of his receivables, including debts and liabilities. A thorough analysis has been conducted on 110 selected documents, with a significant portion focusing on Ali Pasha's landed property and tax-farms across different districts. Additionally, some documents itemize his valuable possessions, such as jewellery and weaponry, while others fall under the category of registers of liabilities.

Our examination of these confiscation records reveals their documentation in a series of inventories created after Ali Pasha's execution. These inventories were prepared by Ottoman authorities following the siege of Ioannina led by Ottoman governor Hurşit Pasha in January 1822.

Within the scope of the "Order of Liabilities" project, we also scrutinize these inventories, elucidating the post-mortem settlement between liability holders and the Ottoman State, as well as the intricacies of the debt collection process. Our goal is to

analyse the financial relationships that emerged from various forms of obligations resulting from debt and credit relations and financial arrangements involving Ali Pasha, his associates, Muslim and Christian local dignitaries, including ecclesiastical figures, financiers, and various rural, urban, and pastoral communities.

The Liability Inventory

This article centres on a specific record from the collection concerning the confiscation of Ali Pasha's assets. The main objective in utilizing this record is to engage in a methodological discussion regarding database design and visualization of historical sources.

This source is a liability inventory (*zimem defteri*) housed in the Imperial Edicts (*Hatt-ı Hümayun*) collections of the Başbakanlık Ottoman Archives in Istanbul, identified by the archival code HAT 403/21137.[4] Notably, the Imperial Edicts collections predominantly consist of loose documents rather than bound books, typically comprising correspondence between high-ranking viziers and the Sultan concerning significant matters. Therefore, the presence of an inventory in this collection is somewhat unusual, highlighting the significance of Ali Pasha's liabilities in the eyes of the Ottoman state. Furthermore, this particular book's location within the collection deviates from the placement of other confiscation books related to Ali Pasha's regime. Out of the ninety-five inventories we have identified pertaining to Ali Pasha's confiscation, only fifteen are found within the Imperial Edicts collections. The majority of these are relatively short and contain limited content, whereas the inventory HAT 403/21137 is one of the most comprehensive (Image 1).

[4] Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (BOA), HAT 403/21137. (16 September 1822/29 Z 1237)

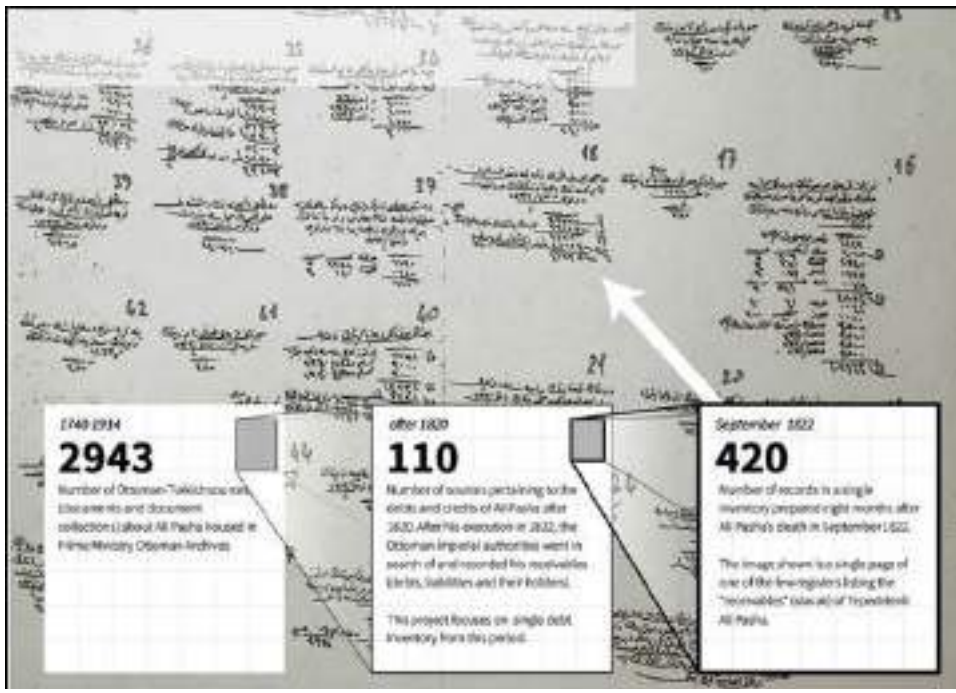

Image 1: *The infographic provides an overview of the research journey within the Ottoman archives leading up to the selection of the liability inventory analysed in this article (Image prepared by Erik Stenier for Mapping Ottoman Epirus project).*

This inventory was compiled eight months after Ali Pasha's demise, in September 1822. Its original title reads as follows: "It is the [account] book that lists the amount of liabilities of the late Tepedelenli Ali Pasha. This is a translation of the books and documents in Greek that had been sent to Istanbul and the book kept by the community of Vlore. Ali Pasha's former clerk, Kosti, who is now in Istanbul to translate these documents, testifies that the liability holders possess *temessük*, *defters*, and even *pusula*s authorized by Ali Pasha and Muhtar Pasha." The first chapter specifically deals with the liabilities of Avlonya, providing the rationale for its inclusion in the book's title. Subsequent chapters omit this explanation and solely indicate the respective place name.

In total, the inventory comprises thirty-two pages, featuring eleven chapters that list 419 entries of liabilities associated with Ali Pasha and his son Muhtar. Each chapter corresponds to a sub-province under Ali Pasha's either full or partial jurisdiction, including Avlonya, Yanya, Tırhala, Selanik, İlbasan, Ohri, İnebahtı, Agriboz, Delvine, Pasha. Additionally, there is an extra chapter dedicated to debts involving foreign (European) individuals. The combined value of these 419 liabilities amounted to approximately 15 million *guruş*.

From Archives to Database

The process of transforming a historical source into a database offers numerous opportunities. In our experience, the conversion of the liability inventory we worked with into a database in the form of a spreadsheet greatly enriches our historical analysis. This is because our source contains diverse types of information that we aim to segregate and subsequently integrate. As a result, we gain the ability to delve deeper into the various facets of the source, unveiling the social, economic, and political dimensions of Ali Pasha's rule.

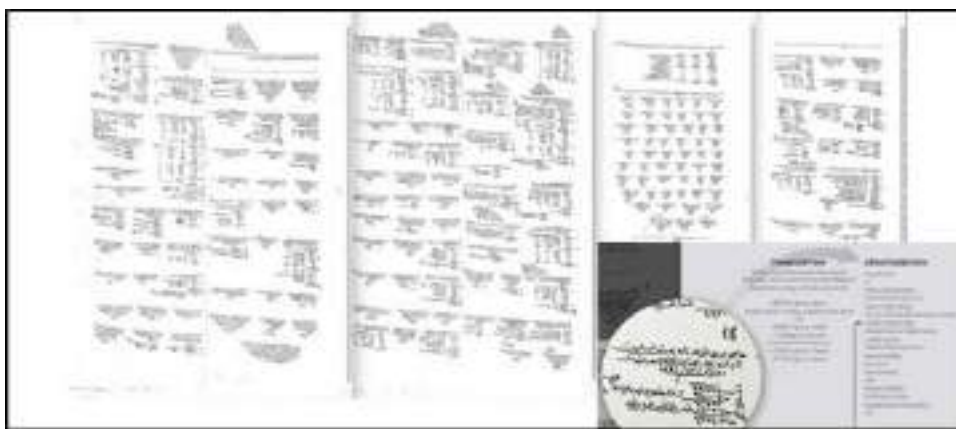

Image 2: *The process of constructing the structured data from the archival source material was a lengthy and tedious process (Image prepared by Erik Steiner for Mapping Ottoman Epirus project).*

To achieve this objective, we organized the database to facilitate the exploration of answers to our research questions. This involved sorting, categorizing, structuring, and standardizing data (Image 2). Only after these steps were completed could the database serve as a foundation for uncovering connections between different categories of information.[5]

Sorting was achieved by assigning a unique identification number to each liability relation or "entry" within the document, which was then utilized as an "ID number" in the database.

[5] For an important example of using archival sources for creating a database, see Dönecke Anna, "From Serial Sources to Modeled Data: Changing Perspectives on Eighteenth-Century Court Records from French Pondicherry", in Silke Schwandt (ed.), *Digital Methods for the Humanities: Challenges, Ideas, Perspectives*, Bielefeld 2020, 217-237.

Categorizing necessitated breaking down the information in each entry into conceptual components. During the categorizing phase, we divided the information within each entry into following categories: liability holder name, liability holder location, liability location, source of liability, date of liability, amount of liability, other people involved in.

Data structuring involved the creation of structured data from the unstructured data.[6] This process included the subdivision of existing information categories and the development of new ones. In our study, data was structured in several ways. We categorized "liability holders" into two distinct groups: primary and secondary liability holders. We extracted "modern-day names" and "coordinates" from the "liability location." We converted dates from the lunar calendar to the solar calendar. Additionally, we classified the sources of liability into nine primary groups.

The fact that the term "data" connotes an objective reality, and that this claim of objectivity is often incompatible with the nature of the humanities, has led some humanities scholars to distance themselves from the digital humanities. The distinction between structured and unstructured data can facilitate overcoming this distance.[7]

Standardization was a critical step where we ensured consistent spelling for both individual and place names, confirming that different spellings referred to the same entities.

However, the creation of a database is not without its challenges. Maintaining the appropriate balance between source-specific details and standardization while structuring the data is essential. The first challenge arises from the fact that historical sources are typically not tailored to meet the needs of present-day historians. Information is rarely presented in a straightforward manner, necessitating meticulous reading to parse the data into distinct categories. In the case of liability inventories, overlapping territorial and tax-related claims further complicate matters. The recognition of such overlaps by Ottoman land and revenue management institutions introduces ambiguities in identifying the true "owner" of land or revenue.

Second, the format of information may vary throughout the source. Some entries may lack certain data categories, and units of measurement may differ. Spelling inconsistencies can also arise. Standardizing place and person names carry the risk of losing linguistic variations. In our case, we prioritized data quality over quantity, cross-referencing with other sources to verify similarities or convertibility between different data points. If doubts persisted, we retained the original data, even if it meant excluding them from some analyses.

[6] Drücker Johanna, *The digital humanities coursebook: an introduction to digital methods for research and scholarship*, London, 2021. 19-21.

[7] Öncel Fatma, "Book Review for Johanna Drücker, *The digital humanities coursebook", Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi (The Journal of Ottoman Studies)*, 2023 (forthcoming).

Third, identifying place names can be challenging but is essential for mapping. Accurate transliteration of village and farm names from Arabic script poses a particular challenge, especially when the place name is not found in other sources.

Finally, data structuring entails a degree of manipulation. Breaking information into categories can alter the original source's conceptual framework, introducing new terminologies that do not exist in the original text. Grouping a large dataset into fewer subsets risks oversimplification and the loss of nuanced distinctions.

In our study, the most challenging aspect of data structuring was categorizing liability types (Image 3). Liability registers often provide summarized data for the liability source, which may encompass multiple revenue types, yet this is not always evident from the terms used in the source. A significant methodological challenge arose with cases involving multiple sources of liability. To address this complexity, we conducted a thorough and meticulous examination of each case individually. Our aim was to carefully assess the contextual relevance of each case and determine the most suitable category for inclusion. In these instances, we revisited the original source material, repeatedly scrutinizing the entire entry. This iterative process allowed us to precisely categorize each revenue source, ensuring its proper placement within the designated categories. Despite these complexities, structuring the data provides us with an opportunity to introduce a new ontological and epistemological layer to historical analysis.

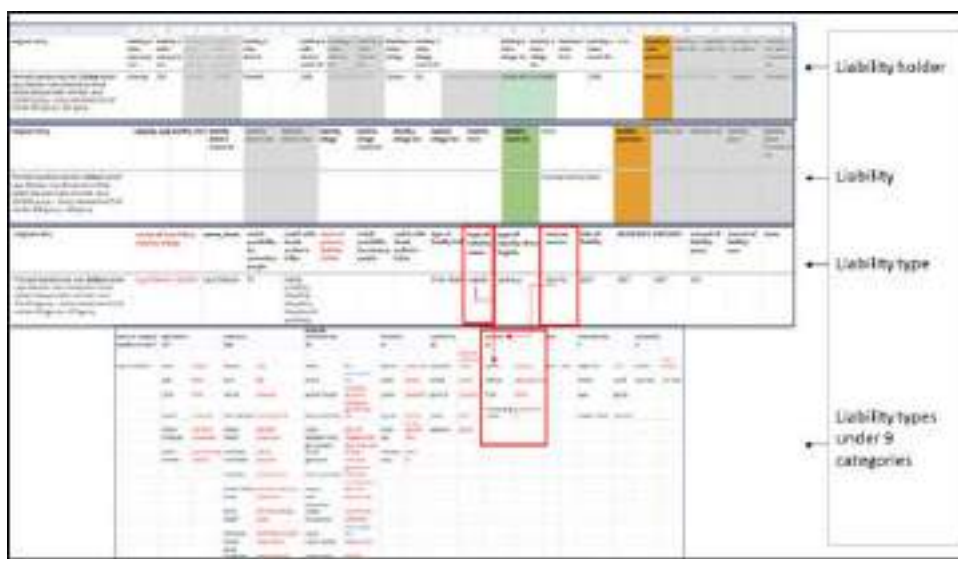

Image 3: *The process of data structuring involved categorizing 67 liabilities into nine distinct categories (Image prepared by the author).*

In light of the various challenges we encountered, we successfully identified 67 distinct types of liabilities, classifying them into nine broad categories to reach more aggregate data. These categories are as follows: Agriculture, Imperial Monetary Tax, Livestock, Commerce, Security, Loan, Manufacture, Real Estate, and Unknown.

The "Unknown" category comprises the largest number of cases, totalling 128 instances. This category encompasses cases characterized by liability types that do not easily align with the other eight categories. The primary reason for this classification is that, as previously discussed, many cases primarily describe the method of liability collection rather than explicitly specifying the exact source of liability. The liability types categorized as "unknown" include: *bakaya, harc, hasılat, iltizam, maktu, matlubat, muhasebe, mukataa, tahsil, tahvil, tekalif, temessük, tereke, zimmet, yorta mukataası*.

The "Agriculture" category encompasses the following liability types: *alaka, aşar, çiftlik, hasılat, iltizam, mübayaa, zahire, zimmet*. (Certain "*iltizam*" and "*zimmet*" cases are included in the "agriculture" category instead of "unknown" due to clear contextual indicators.) This category ranks second in terms of the number of cases it encompasses, totalling 117 cases.

The "Imperial Monetary Tax" category includes the following liability types*: aidat, avarız, ayanlık, barut maktuatı, cizye, davadan resm, göl ve kayık ücreti, güherçile, harc-ı buyruldu, ispenç, kale, memleket vergisi, mübaşiriye, nüzul, resm-i duhan, resm-i harir, sefine ücreti, sipahilik bedeliyesi, vergi*.

"Livestock" covers the following liability types: *ağnam, celeb, çoban, hayvan, kışlak, koç, mandıra, öküz*.

"Commerce" pertains to the following liability types: *bacdarlık, enfiye, gümrük, iskele, palamut bahası*.

"Security" incorporates the following liability types: *cebelü, seferiye, timar, muhafazalığı maaşı*.

"Loan" specifically refers to *deyn*.

"Manufacture" includes the following liability types: *değirmen, enfiye, eşya, revgan-ı zeyt*.

"Real estate" encompasses the following liability types: *emlak, han icarı*.

The "Agriculture" category boasts the highest revenue, totaling 6,465,993 *guruş*, constituting nearly half of the total revenues. The "Unknown" category ranks second in revenue, totaling 3,580,081 *guruş*. The "Livestock" category is the third highest in terms of revenue, totaling 2,103,265 *guruş*.

Liability Holders

Communities residing within Ali Pasha's dominion were obligated to make regular payments in the form of taxes and dues. However, even after Ali Pasha's execution, their financial obligations did not cease. Instead, they became indebted to the state, and we refer to them as the "primary liability holders."

Frequently, intermediaries of a financial and administrative nature played pivotal roles in these transactions. These intermediaries are designated as "secondary liability holders" for the purpose of this analysis. They often comprised individuals with a wide array of titles and roles, spanning both Christian and Muslim spheres.

As a result, a chain of obligations evolved, flowing from the primary liability holders to the secondary ones, ultimately culminating with Ali Pasha. The secondary liability holders emerge as central figures within the political and fiscal framework of these liabilities. They not only exercised control over specific localities but also held positions as local leaders within Ali Pasha's administration.

It is important to emphasize that the liability inventory does not explicitly label the liability holders as "primary" or "secondary," nor does it categorize them in any specific manner. Instead, it presents each liability transaction with the names of the individuals involved. This unstructured data is stored in the database under a column named "original entry." Subsequently, we carefully analyse the people and their relationships in each entry to determine the primary liability holder and the intermediary of the liability transaction. For instance, one transaction, or "entry" as we term it in the database, may commence as follows: "*Hacı Yusuf Efendizade Tepedelenli Nureddin Nam kimesnenin Selçike çiftliğinin hesabından dolayı zimmeti*" (The liability of Hacı Yusuf Efendizade Tepedeneli Nureddin due to the accounts of Selçike estate). In this example, the data structure identifies the Selçike estate community as the "primary liability holder," while Hacı Yusuf Efendizade Tepedelenli Nureddin is identified as the "secondary liability holder" in the database.

Primary Liability Holders

Primary liability holders were individuals and communities obligated to fulfil various liabilities, including taxes, fees, credits, and debts, to Ali Pasha. Consequently, within each entry of this liability inventory, there is a designated "primary liability holder." These holders can be categorized into four distinct groups: Communities, Ordinary Individuals, Lesser Notables, and the Unidentified. The majority of these holders, accounting for 244 out of 419 cases, were "communities" residing in villages or *çiftlik*s. Forty of them were "common people," denoting individuals without any formal titles. Eleven were "lesser notables," comprising liability holders with

either official or unofficial titles such as *ağa*, *bey*, *kocabaşı*, and *kapudan*. However, in 195 cases, the identity of the primary liability holder remained undisclosed, leading to their classification as "unknown" in the database. For these cases, only the intermediary or "secondary liability holder" is identified.

Hence, the categorization underscores that the "communities" were the primary holders of liabilities. Nonetheless, there were also numerous "common people," individuals lacking formal titles, who found themselves personally indebted to Ali Pasha. Notably, a relatively small fraction of primary liability holders consisted of notable individuals with titles.

Secondary Liability Holders

Within this liability inventory consisting of 419 transactions, 261 transactions involved the presence of an intermediary, commonly referred to as the "secondary liability holder." Each of these cases possesses distinct characteristics that offer valuable insights into the lesser-known financial and political actors within the regime. Their roles were not only crucial for the effective operation of Ali Pasha's financial dealings but also played a pivotal role in sustaining the "partnership" system upon which the Ottoman Empire relied.[8]

This source presents a unique opportunity to gather information about these intermediaries, including their names, titles, positions, and the details regarding the volume, type, and geographical location of the financial transactions under their stewardship. To illustrate, we can gather invaluable insights into Ottoman social and financial history from a single case, such as the transactions involving Avram Mekiri.

Avram Mekiri, a Jewish individual originally hailing from Yanya but residing in Manastır, held three contracts with Ali Pasha. The first contract involved a liability valued at 249,646.5 *guruş*, primarily associated with bread provision for Yanya. This encompassed 55,696 *guruş* for wheat, 16,330.5 *guruş* for goods, and 30,600 *guruş* for *kazan* and *debbağ* artisans. The second contract pertained to a bill of exchange amounting to 7,863 *guruş*, which was deducted from the first liability, resulting in a net total of 241,783.5 *guruş*. The third contract was linked to tax-farming for three winter pastures, with a substantial value of 556,418 *guruş*. In sum, Avram Mekiri held liabilities amounting to 798,201.5 *guruş*, making him the most important liability holder in terms of the volume of transactions.

Nonetheless, while these individual examinations offer intriguing details, they can sometimes lead to a limited perspective on the broader context. A more ana-

[8] Yaycioglu Ali, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions*, Los Angeles 2016, 117-156.

lytical understanding of Ali Pasha's influence across Epirus, Southern Albania, and central Greece can be achieved through data classification and standardization. It's important to note that this process is not without its challenges, given the existence of titles and professions that may be similar but not identical. However, for the purpose of analysis, while preserving the original data in a separate column within the spreadsheet, their distinct attributes have been consolidated into common categories.

The categorization process was meticulously carried out according to a systematic approach, adhering to the rules outlined below. There were no exceptions to these criteria in the categorization of the secondary liability holders:

1. "Common People": This was the largest group, comprising individuals without any formal titles, totalling 172 people.
2. "Muslim Local Notables": This group included individuals with titles *ağa, bey, hazinedar, mütesellim, subaşı, kethüda, kapudan, sipahi, dayı, sandıkkar, voyvoda, kahya*, and having a Muslim name. In total, there were 56 people in this category.
3. "Non-Muslim Local Notables": This category encompassed individuals with titles *ağa, bey, hazinedar, mütesellim, kocabaşı, subaşı, kethüda, kapudan, sipahi, dayı, sandıkkar, voyvoda, kahya*, but with non-Muslim names. In total, there were 24 people in this group.
4. "Communities": This refers to cases where the community of one village or *çiftlik* (estate) collected the liabilities of another *çiftlik*. This was an unusual situation and was documented only three times in the liability inventory.
5. "Governors": This group consisted of three individuals holding the title *Pasha*.
6. "Orthodox Clergy": Comprising the archbishop of Alasonya and two priests, totalling three cases.

By employing these categories, a more comprehensive and systematic analysis of the regional dynamics and power structure of Ali Pasha's domain can be achieved, allowing for a deeper understanding of his influence.

Transferring the Database to Visualisation

Visualization tools, such as geographical information systems (GIS) software and graph-making software, rely on digitally organized data that can be readily processed by computers. In our study, we structured our data as a digital database in the .xlsx file format. The database not only proved invaluable for our analytical work, as discussed throughout this paper, but it also plays a crucial role in preparing our data for visualization tools.

In this research, Tableau Desktop is utilized to create maps and graphs.[9] Tableau Desktop stands out as the most advanced software for data visualization. This software is capable of conducting statistical calculations, generating a wide array of graph types to explore various research inquiries, enabling interactive features among these visualizations, and offering extensive aesthetic customization options. It also provides a free license for students and academic researchers.

The graphical and interactive visualization tools within Tableau Desktop empower us to approach our multi-layered dataset from diverse angles. Several visual representations of our extensive dataset have already proven helpful in presenting our data in a visually appealing and comprehensible manner. However, our goal with visualization goes beyond mere aesthetics. We aim to leverage our graphs and maps to establish connections between different categories of information, thereby enhancing our analysis of different aspects of Ali Pasha's rule.[10]

Before forging these connections, historians must play a pivotal role in the process. This involves determining independent and dependent variables, essentially deciding which categories of information may be interrelated and specifying the direction of these relationships. Just as we initiated the database-building process by posing research questions to the source material, the creation of visualizations entails another phase of research inquiries. In this second phase, we direct our questions to the database itself, seeking to extract meaningful insights and relationships within the data.

Mapping Liability Holders

One of the key inquiries pertains to the extent of influence wielded by intermediaries, or the "secondary liability holders," and whether their geographical location plays a role in determining their influence.

In Image 4 presented below, we illustrate the locations of liability holders based on their status within the liability framework. This map reveals the ratio of the liability amount held by intermediaries ("secondary liability holders") to that held by the direct ("primary") liability holders in each sub-province. The size of the pie chart corresponds to the total liability amount, while the coloration distinguishes transactions involving intermediaries. Dary grey represents liabilities held by in-

[9] https://www.tableau.com/

[10] For a pioneering example of using Ottoman surveys and fiscal sources for making a geospatial analysis of the economic history, see Hadjikyriacou Antonis, Papadias Evangelos, Vradis Christoforos, Chalkias Christos, "Combining historical maps and censuses of Cyprus from the sixteenth to the twentieth century: A geospatial approach", *Proceedings of the International Cartographic Association*, 3 (2021), 1-13.

termediaries, while light grey denotes liabilities held solely by "primary liability holders" without any intermediaries.

This map clearly demonstrates the pivotal role played by intermediaries of financial and administrative nature in these transactions. As clearly indicated on the map, the majority of transactions were facilitated through intermediaries. Sub-provinces such as Avlonya, İlbasan, and Ohri were notably dominated by intermediaries, whereas their influence was more limited in Agriboz and Avlonya.

Without the insights provided by this map, we would not have readily discerned the distinct patterns among these locations. This visual representation enables us to formulate further research questions aimed at understanding the underlying reasons, which will be explored in subsequent research papers.

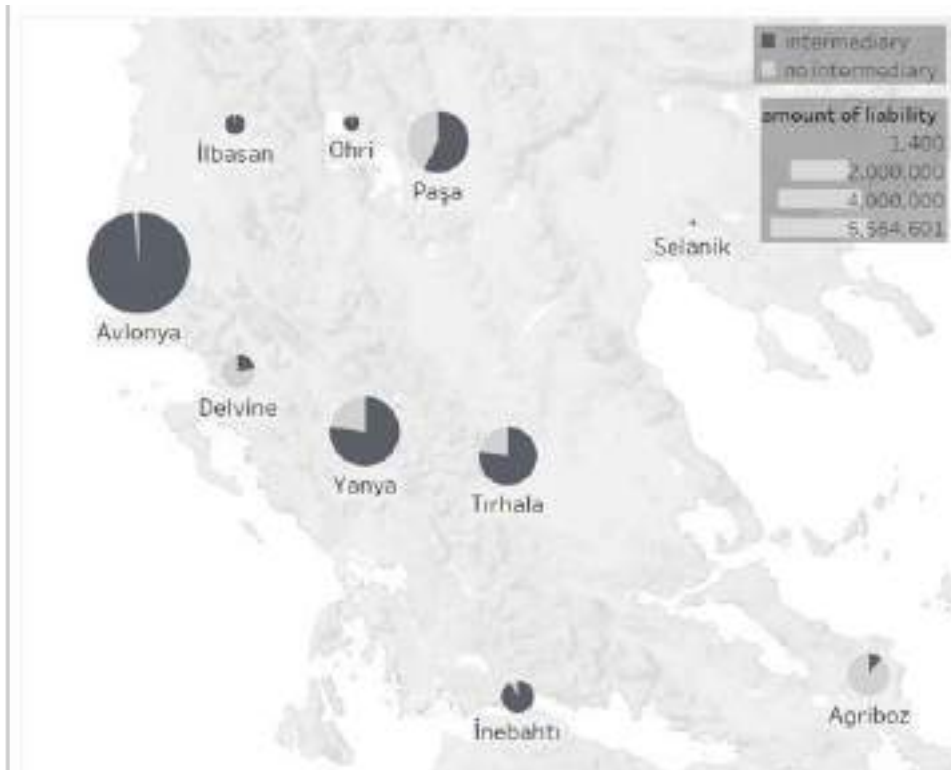

Image 4: *Regional distribution of the status of liability holders is depicted in the map. Dark grey indicates the liability amount held by intermediaries, while light grey represents cases where intermediaries were absent (Image prepared by the author).*

A horizontal bar graph can provide further insight into the characteristics of intermediaries. As previously discussed, secondary liability holders were catego-

rized into five groups: common individuals, communities, governors, Muslim local notables, and non-Muslim local notables.

Image 5 underscores that the majority of liability holders were concentrated in the sub-province of Avlonya. Interestingly, within Avlonya, a significant portion of those indebted to Ali Pasha were individuals rather than communities. Additionally, the predominant religious affiliation among these individuals was Muslim. In Yanya, we observe a relatively balanced distribution between Muslim and non-Muslim (Christian) liability holders, whereas in Tırhala, approximately half of the liability holders were non-Muslim notables (*kocabaşı*s).

This analysis highlights that the majority of Ali Pasha's intermediaries lacked official titles, and most of them were associated with a single liability. Consequently, within this hierarchical framework, with a few exceptions involving *sarraf*s, individual intermediaries did not emerge as influential figures. This observation will serve as a valuable foundation for our forthcoming analysis of Ali Pasha's network of power.

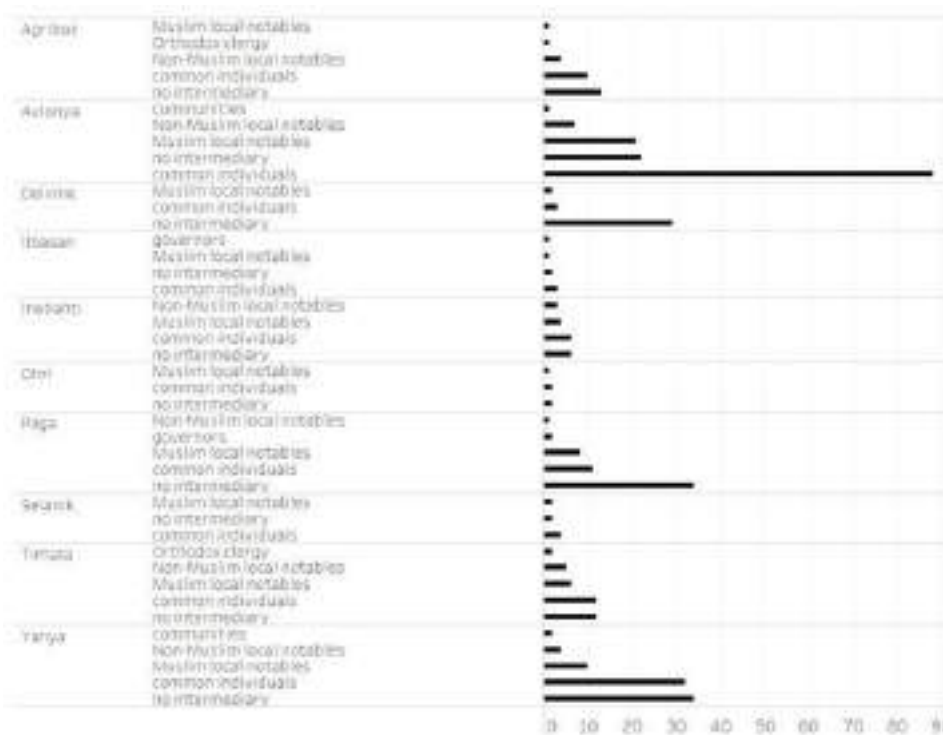

Image 5: *Type and number of liability holders based on their location (Image prepared by the author).*

Visualizing Connections between Liability Types and Liability Holders

As previously discussed, a methodologically compelling aspect of this research involved categorizing liability types into nine overarching categories. Despite the challenges posed during this stage, aggregating the data proves instrumental in facilitating multifaceted analysis.

To illustrate, the relationship between liability holders, the extent of liability, and the nature of the liability itself can be examined. Image 6 provides an overview of liabilities categorized by liability holders, sorted by the magnitude of liability.

Without this graphical representation, it would be challenging to effectively synthesize these three variables to address research questions such as "Who were the collectors of various types of liabilities, and in what amounts?" This graph enables us to promptly discern that agriculture constituted the most significant liability type, with common individuals and local notables emerging as prominent intermediaries. Additionally, it highlights that imperial monetary taxes were typically paid directly by individuals without intermediaries. This visual aid not only enhances our comprehension but also paves the way for further inquiries, particularly when combined with corresponding maps.

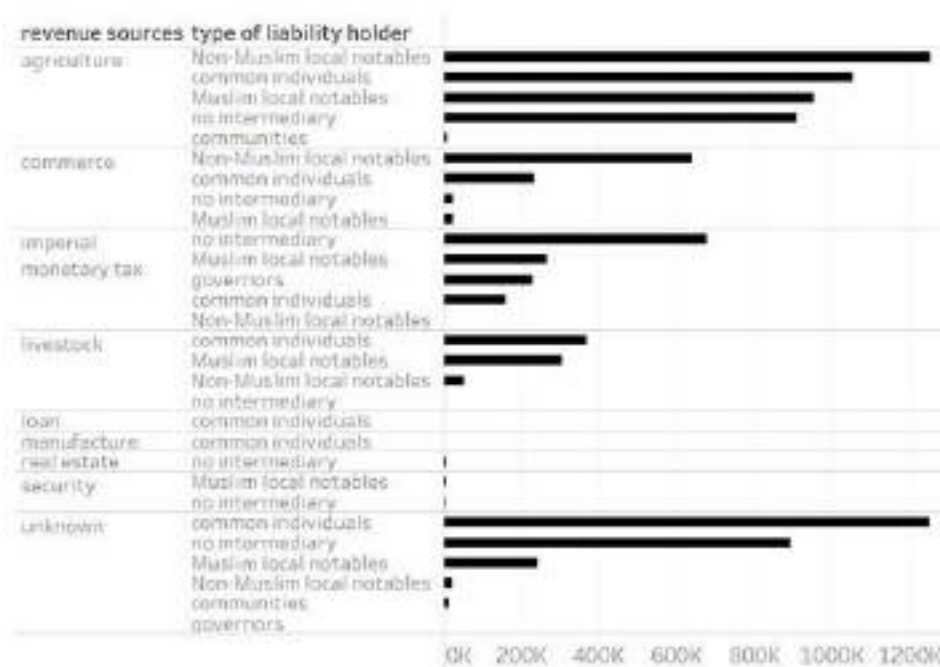

Image 6: *Type of the liability holder and amount of liability based on the type of liability (Image prepared by the author).*

Another inquiry pertains to the breakdown of liability holders based on the type of liability. In this case, the question shifts slightly, centring around the formulation: "Who is responsible for collecting what type and quantity of liability?" To explore this aspect, an alternative visualization option, such as a tree map, can be employed.

In the tree map below (Image 7), the size of each segment represents the number of liability holders for each liability category, while colour differentiates the type of liability holder.

This graph allows us to readily discern the prevalence of common individuals among the various groups. Muslim notables, non-Muslim notables, and the "no intermediary" group appear to be responsible for collecting a comparable total amount of liabilities. Additionally, it prompts us to delve deeper into the "unknown" category due to its significance. It also prompts further inquiries regarding the importance of agriculture and livestock in Ali Pasha's governance, as well as the dominance of the non-Muslim elite in commercial activities.

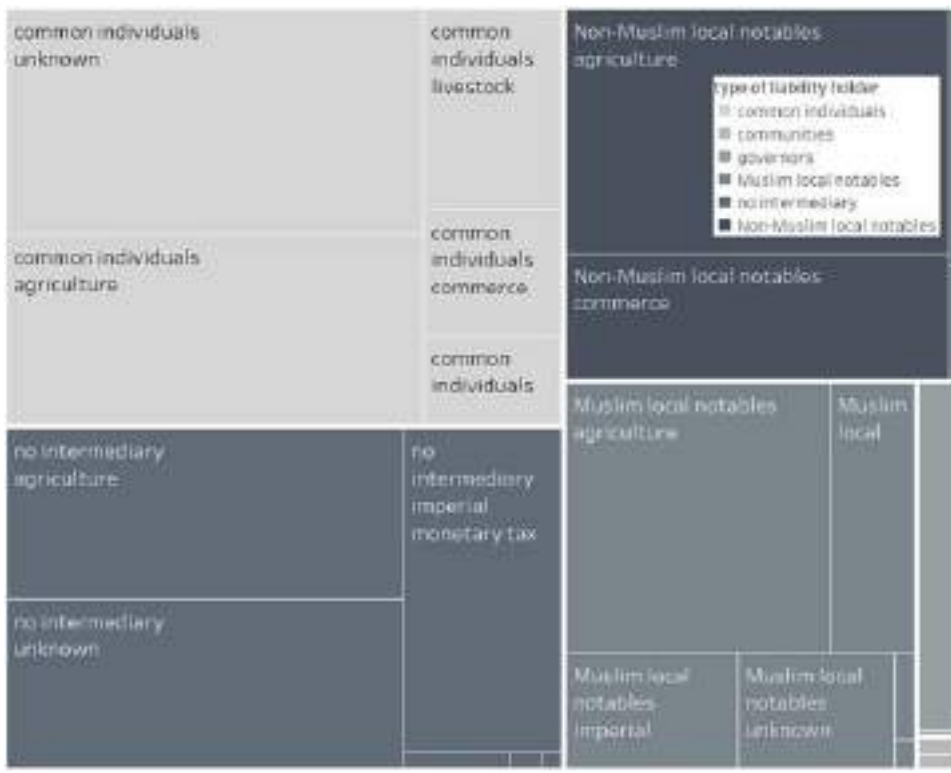

Image 7: *Breakdown of liability holders based on the type and amount of liability (Image prepared by the author).*

In a considerable number of instances, when the intermediary acted as the liability holder, they were situated in a district different from the location of the liability they were authorized to collect. A method for spatially linking these liabilities to their absentee collectors is through the use of a route map, also known as a spider map or origin-destination map. To conduct a thorough analysis of absentee liability holders, it would be helpful to concentrate on Avlonya, given its prominence in this liability inventory.

It is important to emphasize that creating route maps necessitates a database designed differently than the spreadsheet, which presents each case in a single row. Consequently, we developed a separate database tailored to the requirements of constructing a route map. This route map below (Image 8) illustrates the amount, type, and district (*kaza*) of the liabilities collected by intermediaries in Avlonya. It offers a visual representation of the interplay among these four variables in a manner that would otherwise be challenging to comprehend.

Image 8: *Route map showing the amount, type, and district (kaza) of the liabilities collected by intermediaries in Avlonya (Image prepared by the author).*

Conclusion

Digital humanities are becoming invaluable in historical research, and within the context of our project, they have allowed us to work with data that would have been challenging to analyse using conventional historical methods. The creation and visualization of extensive datasets have significantly enhanced our capacity for historical analysis.

However, it is important to recognize that the use of digital humanities methods necessitates a series of choices. We must carefully structure and standardize data to fit it into well-defined and organized spreadsheets, ensuring that it aligns with the tools at our disposal. To effectively design the database, we must first formulate our

research questions. Subsequently, after the database is complete, we need to formulate additional questions. This iterative process allows us to establish meaningful visual connections between various variables within the dataset.

Moreover, it is crucial to understand that visualizing historical data serves a more profound purpose than mere description or expression. The final objective is to create a new way of approaching these rich historical resources. Visualization should open up novel opportunities for understanding and analysis. Achieving this demands an ongoing process of revisiting both the databases and the archival documents, as we continue to refine and expand our visual representations.

CONVERSING WITH THE SUBLIME PORTE: A MOREOT MAGNATE'S POLITICAL INTERPLAY WITH THE OTTOMAN AUTHORITY

Dimitris Papastamatiou*

The Morea remained one of the most important frontier provinces of the Ottoman world during the entire period after its full integration into the Empire in 1541. The Venetians succeeded in recapturing the peninsula in 1687 and retained it until 1715, when Grand Vezir Damat Silahdar Ali Paşa reconquered it after a brief but triumphant campaign. Henceforth, the peninsula was administered through a system of broad autonomy, which enabled communities and local magnates, the so-called Muslim *ayans* and Christian *kocabaşıs*, to take over a pivotal role within the decision-making structure.

Whereas historical research has delved into and described with sufficient precision the emergence and development of the *ayans*, few aspects of the corresponding rise of the *kocabaşıs* have been studied.[1] As for the Morea, this local Christian

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[1] From the extensive literature on the ayans, we single out as the most relevant to our paper the following: Anastasopoulos Antonis, (ed.), *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire, Halcyon Days in Crete V. A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 10-12 January 2003*, Rethymno 2005; Inalcik Halil, "The Ottoman Decline and its Effects upon the Reaya", in: Hencik Birnbaum & Speros Vryonis (eds.), *Aspects of the Balkans, Continuity and Change. Contributions to the International Balkan Conference Held at UCLA, October 23-28 1969*, Hague 1972, 338-354; Idem, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftlik: State, Landlords and Tenants", in: *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman, Collection Turcica III*, Louvain 1984, 105-126; Nagata Yuzo, *Tarihte Ayanlar*, Ankara, 1997, 10-193; Özkaya Yücel, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ayanlık*, Ankara 1994, 59-313; Yuycioglu Ali, *Partners of the Empire. The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions*, Stanford 2016, 17-115.

upper crust emerged by taking advantage of the brief Venetian occupation of the peninsula in the years 1687-1715 as well as the swift re-integration of the province in the Ottoman Empire after the war of 1715-1718. They based their political, social, and economic hegemony on the administrative autonomy of the local urban and rural communities along with their participation in the tax farming procedure; then, they extended their economic activities into credit and banking enterprises, land and real estate acquisition and, to a lesser degree, to commerce and manufacture, while, at the same time, they took control of all communal and administrative mechanisms of the Morea. In this way, these Christian notables formed a *par excellence* Ottoman provincial elite, which founded its regional power standing on a family basis and assumed the role of the mediator between the Ottoman, regional or central, administrative authorities and the local Christian society. The families of Londos, Zaimes, Deliyannis, Kanakaris, Benakis, Sissinis, Notaras, Peroukas, Krevvatas, Haralambis, Kuyas, Varvoğlu were the most prominent and renowned ones in the Morea since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Although, in general, their place in the provincial power structure and their political activities in the provincial milieu have been described in the pertinent literature,[2] a lot is desired as for a full-fledged account of their multilayered and intricate political conduct and ventures.

Kocabaşı Athanasios Kanakaris and the City of Patra

This paper concerns the political activities of Athanasios Kanakaris, one of the most prominent Christian magnates of the Morea. Kanakaris remained unfailingly the primary and most outstanding notable of the *kaza* of Patra from 1785 until the outbreak of the Greek Revolution of 1821. Still, very few details of his life can be considered well documented. He was born around 1760 in Patra and was the offshoot

[2] For details see: Karageorgou-Kourtzi Olga, *Οικονομικές και κοινωνικές συνθήκες στη Βόρεια Πολεπόννησο την εικοσαετία 1800-1820* [Economic and Social Conditions in the Northern Peloponnses in the period 1800-1820], Patra 2010; Nikolaou Georgios, "La famille Deliyannis: un exemple de notables chrétiens du Péloponnèse central (XVIIIe-début du XIXe siècle", in: Meropi Anastassiadou & Bernard Heyrberger (eds.), F*igures anonyms, figures d' elite: pour une anatomie de l' Homo Ottomanicus*, Istanbul 1999, 103-118; Pylia Martha, "Les notables moréotes, fin du XVIIIe debut du XIXe siécle: fonctions et comportment", vol. 1, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris 2001; Papastamatiou Demetris, *Οικονομικοκοινωνικοί μηχανισμοί και το προυχοντικό φαινόμενο στην οθωμανική Πελοπόννησο του 18ου αιώνα. Η περίπτωση του Παναγιώτη Μπενάκη* [Economic and Social Mechanisms and the Phenomenon of the Kocabaşıs in the Ottoman Morea in the Eighteenth Century. The Case of Panayotis Benakis], unpublished PhD dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki 2009; Fotopoulos Athanasios, *Οι κοτζαμπάσηδες της Πελοποννήσου κατά την δεύτερη Τουρκοκρατία (1715-1821)* [The Koçabaşıs of the Morea during the Second Tourkokratia (1715-1821)], Athens 2005.

of the marital alliance of the Catholic family of Roufos with the Orthodox family of Kanakaris, both wealthy merchants of the city. Nothing is evidenced concerning Kanakaris' enterprises, though it seems highly possible that he continued the commercial enterprises of his ancestors. Apart from the post of the *kocabaşı* of the *kaza* of Patra, he also held the office of the delegate (*vekil*) of the Morea at the Sublime Porte many times. For this reason, he stayed long periods in the imperial capital, where he was found when the Greek War of Independence broke out. When his arrest was ordered, he managed to escape from Istanbul with the aid of the Russian embassy and fled to the Morea, where he assumed the Vice Presidency of the newly formed revolutionary Greek government in 1822. He died on 14 January 1823.

Kanakaris was seated in the city of Patra, the most populous and significant urban center and commercial port of the Morea; in effect, Patra was the commercial hub of the entire southern Greece, linking it with the busy harbors of Italy and southern France. Though it was not the capital of the *eyalet* of the Morea, in the second half of the eighteenth century it became the centre of an energetic community of French merchants and their Greek protégées. This entrepreneurial mobilization of foreigners and local businesspeople boosted the rise of an economically vigorous urban nobility. Their authority was reinforced by the fiscal priviliges the city was awarded when it became part of the *vakf* of *sultan valide* Beyhan in 1786. Apart from Kanakaris, Andreas Kalamogdartis, Nikolaos Londos, Gerasimos Kompothekras, and Ioannis Papadiamantopoulos were the most conspicuous notables on the eve of the Greek Revolution. Among the Muslim *ayan*s stood out Mustafa Bey and Şakir Ahmed Ağa, the last renowned descendant of the once powerful family of the Hottomans.

Kanakaris' Ottoman Archive

This paper is based on Kanakaris' Ottoman archive, a copy of which was delivered by the descendants of the surviving family to the Greek Literary and Historical Archive.[3] The archival material consists of seventy-four documents of various types, namely, thirty-two petitions and protests either of Kanakaris or of the *reaya* of Patra toward the Sublime Porte (thirty *arzuhal*s and two *maruz*s), eight private letters (*mektub*), four imperial edicts (*ferman*), two orders (*buyuruldu*) of the *vali* of the Morea addressed to his inferiors, three verdicts (*hüccet*) of the local *kadı*, one order

[3] A copy was delivered to us with the kind discretion of the co-founder of this institution Dimitris Portolos, whom we thank. Of course, we are also thankful to Kanakaris family, owner of the archive under study. The documents have been numbered from one to seventy-five. For the needs of reference to the documents of the archive, the abbreviation OAAK (Ottoman Archive of Athanasios Kanakaris) and the number of the document will be used.

of the *mutevelli* of the *vakf* of Patra, ten receipts (*tezkere*) of various content, two ledgers with community expenditure (*mesarifat defteri*), six reports (*ilam*) of the local *kadı*, two notes and an alliance agreement among various *ayan*s and *kocabaşı*s. The archival corpus spans between the years 1807 and 1820.[4]

With the exception of the two registers, the documents of the archive do not concern Kanakaris' economic enterprises. In fact, they record only indirectly or imply his credit activity,[5] his involvement in the tax-farming networks,[6] and his commercial interests.[7] On the contrary, the archive delineates two essential aspects of the community leadership, namely, the defense of *reaya*'s interests and the pursuit of legitimization of this position on behalf of the *kocabaşı* – both pursuits conditioned by the political strife of Kanakaris with other *kocabaşı*s, *ayan*s and Ottoman officers. In other words, the archive reflects the interplay between the political role and legitimization agenda of the office of a *kocabaşı* on the one hand, and his involvement in antagonisms within the context of local and regional power balance on the other hand.

Kanakaris' archive is a unique collection of Ottoman documents belonging to a *kocabaşı*. In Greece, very few similar private archives of *kocabaşı* families have survived. Moreover, the fact that Kanakaris' archive is of a mainly political character, and not of financial or economic content, makes it even more valuable for the study of the Christian elites of the early nineteenth century. In this respect, the considerable number of *arzuhal*s contained in the archive offers us the rather rare chance of examining the petition making process from the standpoint of the applicants.

The documents, especially the petitions and the letters, are written in a particularly ornated and sophisticated Ottoman language. Occasionally, understanding these texts becomes hard due to our elliptical familiarity with persons and events subtly referred to by their author. Be that as it may, most documents reflect a high level of literacy on behalf of their author or editor, even when they are illegible in terms of paleography.

[4] Only one document is dated 1825. Thirty-one documents are undated.

[5] OAAK 13, *tezkere* dated 10 August 1820 (gurre Zilkade 1235); 71, *tezkere* dated 31 October 1818-10 October 1819 (1234); 74, *mektub* dated 27 January 1820 (11 Rebiyülahır 1235).

[6] OAAK 4, *arzuhal* dated 3 March 1814 (11 Rebiyülevvel 1229); 12, *tezkere* dated 4 January 1813 (*gurre* Muharrem 1228); 16, undated *arzuhal*; 47, undated *vakf* edict (possibly between 1813 and 1814); 75, undated *mesarifat defteri* (possibly 1814).

[7] OAAK 11, *tezkere* dated 5 September 1825 (21 Muharrem 1241).

Kanakaris as a *Kocabaşı* and a *Vekil*

The most important concern of the notables was the payment of tax arrears of the community to the imperial administration, and the settlement of other collective credit commitments to money-lenders. Kanakaris' activity as guarantor, and chiefly, as payer of all communal financial burdens is overemphasized in the documents of the archive, and heavily used as a legitimizing argument in favor of his political standing.[8] Moreover, Kanakaris was responsible for the rightful distribution of the due fiscal amounts among the *reaya* and the collection of the money when asked by the governor of the peninsula. The archive records his involvement in the collection of the tax for the olive oil (*revğan-i zeyt*) in 1813,[9] and the raisin (*istafida bedeli maktu*) in 1814.[10]

These fiscal burdens quite often caused social unrest and protests by the *reaya*, which Kanakaris would shape into an acceptable form according to the beauraucratic norms, and forward them to the sultanic authority. Thus, in the above-mentioned case Kanakaris denounced the *kaymakam* and the governor of the Morea because they increased the tax on raisin unjustifiably.[11]

The defense of the fiscal privileges of Patra remained a major and constant concern of Kanakaris during his whole life. The *vakf* status of the kaza was seriously but unsuccessfully challenged by the *vali* Veli Paşa in 1811-1812,[12] and the *vali* Şakir Ahmed Paşa in 1816.[13] Both attempts were part of a more general disorder that afflicted the Morea and were linked with widespread strife between fractions composed of *kocabaşı*s, *ayan*s and members of the regional Ottoman administration.

Finally, Kanakaris' activities and initiatives as a notable covered a great variety of cases and problems that plagued his compatriots. The archive offers some insight into a multifaceted spectrum of potential actions for Kanakaris within the context of the local community. For instance, Kanakaris got energetically involved into cases of mediation between contesting parties,[14] or even *timar* granting in the *nahiye* of Patra.[15]

[8] For this reason, quantitative details as for the money spent by Kanakaris in favor the kaza are very few, with the exception of the lists of communal outgoings recorded in the two *mesarifat defteri* of the archive. See OAAK 41, *mesarifat defteri* dated 1816; see also and 75.

[9] OAAK 12.

[10] OAAK 4.

[11] OAAK 16.

[12] OAAK 18, *ferman* dated 11-20 May 1814 (evahir-i Cemaziyülevvel 1229); 65, *arzuhal* dated 6 February 1816 (7 Rebiyülevvel 1231).

[13] OAAK 32/36 *ilam* dated 23 November 1816 (3 Muharrem 1232).

[14] OAAK 23/25, undated *ilam*; 49, *ilam* dated 25 January 1819 (28 Rebiyülevvel 1234); 63, *hüccet* dated 26 December 1818 (27 Safer 1234).

[15] OAAK 3-4, undated *ferman*; 40, *maruz* dated 9.5.1816 (11 Cemaziyülahır 1231).

Kanakaris' Political Adversaries

Kanakaris' position as a permanent representative of the *kaza* of Patra and occasionally of the Morea is recorded in the most documents of the archive. Despite the fact that only a few of them are signed by him,[16] he is unfailingly mentioned either as a *vekil* of the *eyalet* or a notable of the *kaza*. In accordance with the established bureaucratic protocol, the petitions are generally written or edited by the local *kadı*s, while a few of them are vaguely signed by the people of the Morea (*ehali-i cezire-i Mora*).[17] In any case, regardless the bureaucratic prescripts, these favorable for Kanakaris signatures confirm once more the well-known affiliation of the local *kadı*s with the Moreot *kocabaşı*s.

Kanakaris acted for his compatriots, either of his *kaza* or of the entire *eyalet*, without making any discrimination against religious affiliation or ethnic origin. In most cases, he mediated between the local community and the provincial administration forwarding collective petitions and protests of the *reaya*. At times, he defended private interests of Muslims or Christians Moreots, thus acting as an attorney of theirs.[18] Of course, many of these initiatives were related to Kanakaris' own private vested interests – yet, cases of genuine public interest cannot be easily distinguished from his own commitments.

On the other hand, in a good many petitions, Kanakaris is described as the main victim of attacks launched by his political adversaries. The denounced rivals were members of the local administration and assorted factions of the Moreot society. This denouncing policy was directed against four groups of public agents: a) the Ottoman governor of the *eyalet*, b) Ottoman officers of the *kaza* of Patra, c) other *kocabaşı*s of the *kaza* or the *eyalet*, d) European residents of Patra and their Greek protégées.

The *vali* of the *eyalet* Şakir Ahmed Paşa during 1816-1817 was the Ottoman officer of the highest rank with whom Kanakaris clashed. The dispute reached its peak with the arrest and imprisonment of Kanakaris. Although the *kocabaşı* was somewhat vaguely accused of tax misappropriation, the controversy was of political character, as the Ottoman officer attempted to rid of Kanakaris as a notable. This incident was part of a general unrest spread in the peninsula, which involved all significant *kocabaşı*s, *ayan*s and *voyvoda*s of the peninsula. Şakir Ahmed Paşa clashed with a broad alliance of local notables, and attempted to neutralize the influence of some of them. His major executive agents were the *voyvoda*s of the *kaza*s, who un-

[16] For instance, see OAAK 16; 43 and 45, both undated *arzuhals.*

[17] OAAK 46 and 56, both undated *arzuhals.*

[18] OAAK 37, *arzuhal* dated 18 October 1807 (15 Şaban 1222); 44, *arzuhal* dated 28 October 1807 (25 Şaban 1222).

dertook the struggle against particular local magnates. Finally, the Moreot notables succeeded in having Şakir Ahmed Paşa recalled to Istanbul, after denouncing him to the Sublime Porte for financial speculation and oppression.[19] It is highly possible that Kanakaris headed this broad political mobilization.

Kanakaris quite often faced the enmity of Ottoman officers of lower rank. These struggles were not linked with the central political scene of the Morea, and reflected clashes of narrower interests, more often than not, the appropriation of local revenue sources and taxes. For instance, the garrison commander of the fort of Monemvasia named Mustafa Ağa, in 1819 imposed illegal increases in the vineyard tithe,[20] causing considerable unrest among the *reaya* of Patra. Likewise, Kanakaris confronted the arbitrary and oppressive behaviour and claims of an unnamed Albanian *muhzir* of the *kaza* in 1812-1813[21], and of the Arab *voyvoda* of the *kaza* Giriti Hacı Ömer Ağa.[22] Other times, these conflicts were reflections at the level of the *kaza* of wider disputes involving political agents from the central political scene of the peninsula, sometimes even from Istanbul. For example, Şakir Ahmed Paşa had used extensively one Ömer Ağa, whom he appointed *voyvoda* of Patra with a view to persecuting Kanakaris. The struggle between the *kocabaşı* of Patra and its *voyvoda* turned to be crucial for the political or even the physical survival of the former and lasted until 1817.[23]

In the same vein, Kanakaris clashed with other *kocabaşı*s of the peninsula. No names of political opponents in the *kaza* of Patra are recorded – as a matter of fact, Kanakaris enjoyed the unconditional political loyalty and alliance of all Christian and Muslim notables and officials. *Ayan*s like Ahmed Şakir Hotomanzade, Hüseyin Ağa Seyyid Ağazade, Ibrahim Ağazade Mahmud Sadik, and *kocabaşı*s like Nikolaos Londos and Andreas Kalamogdartis supported Kanakaris in all his political ventures.[24] On the other hand, it is known from other sources that Kanakaris belonged to the fraction of Kanellos Deliyannis until 1817, while henceforth he adopted a more independent stance allying with the notable of Argos Dimitris Peroukas. The political career of Kanakaris in the central political scene is only insinuated in the documents of the archive. Only the strife between the Moreot political factions for the right of representation of the *reaya* of the *eyalet* in Istanbul and the related alliance of Kanakaris with Peroukas are explicitly described.[25]

[19] The different stages of this particularly violent struggle are described in the following documents: OAAK 1, undated *maruz;* 2, *buyuruldu* dated 24 February 1816 (25 Rebiyülevvel 1231); 46, undated *arzuhal;* 58, undated *mektub*; 60, *buyuruldu* dated 15 August 1816 (21 Ramazan 1231).

[20] OAAK 9, *arzuhal* dated 3 August 1819 (11 Şevval 1234).

[21] OAAK 38, *arzuhal* dated 25 December 1812-4 January 1813 (20-30 Zilhicce 1227).

[22] OAAK 50, *arzuhal* dated 18-27 February 1818 (11-20 Rebiyülahır 1233).

[23] For details see OAAK 27, 45, 66, all undated *arzuhal*s.

[24] For a typical example see OAAK 51, *hüccet* dated 28 July 1815 (20 Şaban 1230).

[25] OAAK 6, *arzuhal* dated 17 September 1820 (9 Zilhicce 1235).

Finally, in 1815 Kanakaris defended the vested interests of his and his supporters against the threatening economic and political activity of foreign merchants established in Patra (*Balya Badra'da mütemekkin müstemin taifesinden*).[26] According to the protests, the members of this particularly energetic community had appropriated the land of local peasants illegally and turned them into land tenants, while, at the same time they had their offspring exempted from taxes illicitly.[27]

The Legitimization Agenda

In the context of his mediating activities and the ensuing contentions with Ottoman officials, Christian notables and European merchants, Kanakaris developed a particular interest in a legitimizing agenda of political justification of his claims. This policy is delineated in a clear manner in his *arzuhal*s; of course, this practice was not an innovation of Kanakaris – on the contrary, this argumentative tactic was a major political concern for all petitioners to the sultanic authority. Yet, Kanakaris' archive constitutes an excellent case study of such an ideological practice, not to be found easily in Ottoman documentation of the era.

Kanakaris attempted to extract political power, influence, and legitimization of his position from two sources, namely the local community and the imperial authority. This duality reflects directly the intermediate position of Kanakaris, and, in general, of all *kocabaşı*s, and, above all, their tentative, uncertain and precarious standing in the Ottoman political structure. The issue has been described in the pertinent literature, but still asks for further evidential clarification as for the particular strategies adopted by the interested political parties.[28]

The legitimization of the *kocabaşı*s' political power through the administrative mechanisms of the community is depicted in the *sheriat* minutes recording the presentation, examination, and approval (or less likely disapproval) by the community assembly of a notable's activity at the end of his yearly service. The archive contains two *hüccet*s issued in 1807 and 1816, both proceedings of an assembly of *kocabaşı*s,

[26] OAAK 22/31, *arzuhal* dated 7 January 1815 (25 Muharrem 1230).

[27] OAAK 22/31: *mugayir-i şer ve rıza ve munafi-i şurut emlak ve arazi-i iştira ve temellük eylemiş ve ara ise pahasıyla devlet-i aliye reayasına furuht ve kendileri musteciren sakinler olub reaya-i kızları ile dahi taife mezbureden izdivaç etmiş ve ara ise evladları devlet-i aliye reayası olub cizye-i şeriyelerini tahsil ve ol-makule reaya-i kızlarının emlak ve arazilerini isabet eden hisse tekâliflerini tahsil eylememek babında.*

[28] For other similar cases in the Morea during the eighteenth century see Papastmatiou Dimitris, "Tax-farming *(Iltizam*) and Collective Fiscal Responsibility (*Maktu'*) in the Ottoman Southern Peloponnesus in the Second Half of the 18th Century", in: Elias Kolovos, Phokion Kotzageorgis, Sophia Laiou & Marinos Sariyannis (eds.), *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History (Studies in Honor of John Alexander),* Istanbul 2007, 289-306.

*ayan*s and officers of the Ottoman local administration, which was convened at the Muslim court with a view to ratifying Kanakaris as community notable, recording the domestic approbation and renewing his occupation of the office of community delegate.[29] The first *hüccet* is signed by a host of urban magnates, minor notables of the villages, and officials of the Ottoman provincial administration, while the second one is signed by ten important members of the Ottoman local administrative elite. The rhetoric of both documents reflects the grandeur and formality of this ritual applause. Specifically, it is explicitly denoted that Kanakaris covered the expenses of the *kaza*, administered the proceeds and revenues of the *vakf* of Patra in the best way, paid up past debts to the Western consuls, and took care of the allocation of the collective arrears to the community members in accordance with a fair and accurate *defter* he himself prepared.[30] Interestingly enough, the author of the *hüccet* emphasizes the immaculate function of both the community and the imperial *vakf*; in other words, he underlines the usefulness of Kanakaris' services for both the society of the *reaya* and the imperial administration. Of course, the sultan remains the ultimate source of legitimization, yet Kanakaris' perspective focuses more on the community and its demands. The documents display the broad social concession to Kanakaris' leadership from both Muslims and Christians – no political opponents are explicitly mentioned or even insinuated.

Yet, this legitimizing enterprise did not always enjoy such an exemplary and unanimous concession. Then, Kanakaris would take refuge to the issue of an *arzuhal* addressed to the imperial authority with a formal request for sultanic protection for him and his supporters against political opponents and their practices.[31] These

[29] OAAK 5, *hüccet* dated 4.2.1816 (5 Rebiyülevvel 1231); 73, *hüccet* dated 14-23 October 1807 (11-20 Şaban 1222).

[30] OAAK 5: *kaza-i mezkur mesarifat sahiha ve varidat ve mal-i mukataada taraf-i vakf humayuna mukaddema muterakim olub mesfurun eda eylediği bekaya ve sair düvel-i konsoloslarına olan duyun-i atika kazayi tediye edub … mesarifat-i mezbure mukabelesinde mukataa mezbure ber-vech-i maktu gibbe ehali ve reaya üzerelerine kayd olmakla fazlen mukataa ve tevzimat-i tahsilinden makbuzatı olan mebaliğin muhasebesini yegan yegan beher made-i vakf olunarak rüyet olundukta yedinde olan defter mumza mücebince verdiği mebaliğ cümle mezkur makbulu olmağin kazamızdan ber-mantuk defter-i mumza-i malum al-mikdar alacağa zuhur etmeğin mikdar-i merkum mesfurun sahih alacağı olub makbulumuz olmakla taraf şer şerife mesfur yedine hüccet ita olunmuş matlubumuzdur dediklerde gibbe al-tasdik olmağın maveki bil-taleb ketb olundu fi al-yevm al-hamis min şehr rebi-ul-evvel sene ahidi selasin ve miyeteyn ve elf min hücret min.*

[31] OAAK 6, 8, 9, 22, 31, 35, 38, 39, 42, 50, 55, 57, 62, 67 and 69, all *arzuhals* with similar content. For the petition making procedure see Faroqhi Suraiya, *Coping with the State. Political Conflict and Crime in the Ottoman Empire. 1550-1720*, Istanbul 1995, 1-42; İnalcik Halil, "Şikâyet Hakkı: 'Arz-i Hâl ve 'Arz-i Mahzar'lar", in: Halil İnalcik, *Osmanlı'da Devlet, Hukuk, Adâlet*, Istanbul 2000, 47-71; Öztürk Said, "Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarih Kaynağı Olarak Ahkam Defterleri", in: Kemal Çiçek (ed.), *Pax Ottomana: Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*, Ankara 2001, 611-639; Ursinus Michael, *Grievance Administration (Şikayet) in an Ottoman Province. The Kaymakam of Rumelia's 'Record Book of Complaints' of 1781-1783*, London 2005. For petition making in the Morea

documents outline some of the domestic challenges against the political and the financial hegemony of Kanakaris, and, at the same time, delineate his unfailing and energetic practice which was based on alliances as well as clientele networks in the imperial capital so that he would secure the state legitimization and thus overcome the threats against his leadership. In relation with the above-mentioned practice of taking refuge to the *sheriat* court, Kanakaris used more complex tactics when he was in peril.

These *arzuhal*s retain a highly personal tone, and are usually signed by the *kadı* of Patra, or more rarely by the Muslim judges of other neighboring *kaza*s like that of Gordus and Hlomuc, or Ottoman officers, like *alemdar* Mustafa.[32] In this way, Kanakaris would distance himself from the recorded request and grant it with additional objectivity and bureaucratic prestige. The text emphasizes the fact that *ayan*s, *kocabaşı*s of the cities and notables of the villages,[33] sometimes military officers of the fortress and the city of Patra,[34] *ulema* of the *kaza*,[35] and more rarely the entire Christian community (*fukara-i reiyet kulları*),[36] gathered at the *sheriat* court. It is the selfsame practice as the one legitimizing Kanakaris' past political activity, yet the argument now focuses on his present and future position. In these cases, Kanakaris would convene an assembly at the Muslim court with the largest possible number of Muslim and Christian notables and supporters of his, with whom he would supposedly discuss the ongoing situation or the arising problem.

Then, the attendees and invited notables voice their requests and complaints on behalf of Kanakaris, who never turns up in the text to protest for himself. In essence, he lays his claims indirectly through the written petitions of his supporters and friends who, on their turn, expose the personal drama of their patron as a communal or social upheaval, derailment or even catastrophe.

see Papastamatiou Dimitris, "The Right of Appeal to State Intervention as a Means of Political Motivation for the Provincials. The Case of the Ottoman Morea (Peloponnesus) of the Eighteenth Century: Some Preliminary Remarks", in: Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.), *Political Initiatives 'from the Bottom Up' in the Ottoman Empire, Halcyon Days in Crete VII, A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 9-11 January 2009*, Rethymno 2012, 165-190.

[32] OAAK 6, 9, and 57 respectively.

[33] OAAK 8 and 67, *arzuhals* dated 6 February 1816 (7 Rebiyülevvel 1231) and 8 February 1816 (9 Rebiyülevvel 1231) respectively: *medine-i Balya Badra kazası ashab-i alaka ve vücuh-i belede ve Islam saire ile muhtaran-i reaya ve ihtiyaran kuradan cemm-i yafir meclis-i şeriyye-i şerif lazim al-şerife gelub.*

[34] OAAK 22/31: *evkaf-i celilleriden Balya Badra kule ve kasabasında sukandan ağavat ve vücuh-i belede ve eshab-i alaka ve ehl-i Islam saire ve reaya ihtiyarları ve söz sahibleri kulları.*

[35] OAAK 35, 42 and 50.

[36] OAAK 38.

In particular, they sustain that the assembly had opted Kanakaris for the office of *kocabaşı*,[37] who on his turn served and administered the Muslims and protected the Christian *reaya* from oppression (*zulm*) with dedication, honesty, integrity, justice, inspiration, piety, and obedience and respect to the Sacred Law. Each of these qualities bears particular significance, but, above all, the reference to the Islamic Law retains an exceptional priority as legitimization argument. Moreover, it is stressed that during the period of tax levy, Kanakaris oversaw the whole procedure of tax calculation and distribution among the *reaya* and administered the assorted issues of the imperial *vakf* of Patra in the best possible way.[38] This is the legitimization argument full-fledged: the diligence and zeal of the *kocabaşı* is displayed along three major axes, namely the welfare of the Muslims, the protection of the Christians and the concern for the state interests, which, in Kanakaris' case, were reflected in the lawful administration of the imperial *vakf* of Patra. This three-axe deployment is always crowned by the respect for the principles of the Koran.

Then, the real cause of the petition is presented, now adorned with all the aforementioned legitimizing paraphernalia. The conflict which brought Kanakaris and his leadership into an embarrassing position and his subsequent, yet necessary, recourse to the sultanic mercy is presented in dramatic undertones. Typically for similar documents and formal requests as well as the Ottoman ideological conceptions, the cause of the controversy is always of an ethical or psychological nature, without any reference being made to economic interests, political aspirations, factional conflicts and alliances. Thus, in a rather schematic and abstract way, Kanakaris appeals for the sultanic protection from evil and greedy people who, full of envy and hate for him, launched against him a campaign of fake complaints, lies and slanders.[39]

[37] OAAK 8, 30, and 67: *cümlemiz muntehab ve mutemedi olan medine-i mezbure mutevettinleriden Tano Kanakari nam zimmi kulları birkaç sene ve biz ve kazamızda kocabaşılığı ümurunda istihdam olunub.*

[38] OAAK 8 and 67: *öteden beri sadakat ve istikamet ile mevsuf ve nesafet ve perhizkâriyet ile maruf şer-i şerif kemal-i inkiyad ve riayet ve ehl-i Islama hidmet ederek hidemat-i lazim ise olan fukara-i reiyet mezalim ve teadiyattan vikaye ve siyanet ve tevziyat ve tahsillatta şurud cezireye kemal vakt edub mudir-i ümur-i kaza ve mesalih-i rüyet ve ali al-husus vakf-i humayunun amirane-i sayi ve gayret ile kema-yenbeği hüsn üzere ve temşiyetinden cümlemiz razi ve hoşnud ve evza ve atvar pesinde şükran olub.*

[39] OAAK 8, 35, 42, 57, and 67. For instance, document 67 mentions that *ilhakk-i erbab-i ağrazından mesfurun hakkında su halını iham ederecek kalen ve kalemen pess-i sekva sahte ve ifk ve iftira-i muzevvire olunur*. Likewise, document 35 stresses: *ağraz ve nefesaniyetten neşet ve hilaf-i vaki ile bühtandan ibaret etmiş.*

Conclusion

The Christian notables of the Greek lands held a somewhat uncertain and provisional position in the Ottoman administrative cadre, acting as mediators between the *reaya* and the Ottoman authorities. The origin and the establishment of their hegemony were conditioned, on the one hand, by their role as delegates of the Christian communities and, on the other hand, their appointment at the post of the recipient of imperial edicts. This means that their authoritarian role relied on the uninterrupted autonomy of the Christian communities and the unfailing trust granted by the sultan. This dualism determined the political agenda and the legitimizing practices of the *kocabaşı*s. Perforce, they took to both the community and the imperial authority so that they would gain political power, legitimization of their position and of course economic sources. In effect, they had to adjust to a complex reality which necessitated continuous dialectics between the local and the central. When this delicate and fragile balance cracked, they had to choose parts, either remain loyal subjects of the sultan or take to an exodus from the Ottoman security system.

WHAT DO GRISTMILLS TELL US ABOUT THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF OTTOMAN ANATOLIA IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY? RETHINKING THE WRATH OF NATURE: THE CASE OF URFA (RUHĀ), 1629-1631

Onur Usta*

Gristmills served as a window into the past economic and demographic conditions of a region because flour was an indispensable part of human nutrition as the basic ingredient in making bread. From this point of view, the fact that a region was replete with operational gristmills was an indication of abundant grain and a thriving agricultural economy, together with a growing population. In the opposite scenario, when the active gristmills were few and between in a region, there was certainly no need for processing a substantial quantity of grain into flour, and this marked a deterioration in economy and population.[1] This positive correlation between population, economy, and gristmills is

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1 Usta Onur and Tonghini Cristina, "The Watermills of Mosul in the Ottoman Period", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 66 (2023), 244; Schriwer Charlotte, *Water and Technology in Levantine Society, 1300-1900: An Historical, Archaeological and Architectural Analysis*,

reflected in the comprehensive land registries of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century in a way that the enormous growth of population and concomitant expansion in grain cultivation increased the number of gristmills considerably.[2] However, it is difficult to unravel whether the number of gristmills increased or decreased in a particular region for the period after the end of the sixteenth century, because the Ottoman central administration ceased the practice of maintaining land registries. Gristmills continued to appear, albeit sporadically, in the archival documents of miscellaneous categories, but mostly in the sharia court registers in matters regarding ownership, lease, maintenance, and construction. Consequently, the cases involving gristmills in court registers provide us with important clues for understanding the causal relationship between gristmills and the economic-demographic conditions in a region.

This paper aims to urge a reconsideration of arguments that the severe economic and demographic crises faced in the early seventeenth century had a long-lasting destructive effect on agricultural production as well as population and settlement density in rural Anatolia.[3] The provincial rebellions involving mercenaries, religious students and disbanded troops caused widespread turmoil in rural Anatolia, which

Oxford 2015, 86; Rogan Eugene L., "Reconstructing Water Mills in Late Ottoman Transjordan," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, 5 (1995), 754.

[2] For the increase in the gristmills of various regions, see Emecen Feridun M., *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazâsı*, Ankara 2013, 259; Gökçe Turan, *XVI. ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Lâzıkıyye (Denizli) Kazâsı*, Ankara 2000, 384; Turan Ahmet Nezihi, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı*, Ankara 2012, 112; Gündüz Ahmet, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Musul (1523-1639)*, Elazığ 2003, 300; Bostan M. Hanefi, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Trabzon Sancağında Sosyal ve İktisadî Hayat*, Ankara 2002, 514; İslamoğlu-İnan Huri, *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire (Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic Development in Ottoman Anatolia during the Sixteenth Century)*, Leiden, New York & Köln, 1994, 193.

[3] These arguments offer crisis-based approaches to the demographic, agricultural, climatic-ecological facets of Ottoman History in the seventeenth century. For some seminal studies that uses crisis-based approaches, see White Sam, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, New York 2011; Özel Oktay, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia: Amasya 1576-1643*, Boston & Leiden, 2016; idem, "Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The 'demographic crisis' Reconsidered", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 36 no. 2 (2004), 183-205; Öz Mehmet, "Population Fall in Seventeenth Century Anatolia (Some findings for the districts of Canik and Bozok)", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 22 (2004), 159-171; Griswold William J., "Climatic Change: A Possible Factor in the Social Unrest of Seventeenth Century Anatolia", in: Heath Lowry & Donald Quataert (eds.), *Humanist and Scholar: Essays in Honour of Andreas Tietze*, Istanbul 1993, 37-58; Erder Leila & Faroqhi Suraiya, "Population Rise and Fall in Anatolia 1550-1620", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 15/3 (1979), 322-345; Erder Leila, "The Measurement of Preindustrial Population Changes: The Ottoman Empire from the 15th to the 17th Century", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 11/3 (1975), 284-301; Faroqhi Suraiya, "Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing: The Worldly Affairs of the Mevlevi Dervishes (1595-1652)", *Turcica*, 20 (1988), 43-70; Orbay Kayhan, "Financial Development of the Waqfs in Konya and the Agricultural Economy in the Central Anatolia (Late Sixteenth-Early Seventeenth Centuries)", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 55/1 (2012), 74-116.

culminated in a large wave of peasant displacement and settlement abandonment.[4] Many recent studies have shown that the climate anomalies associated with the Little Ice Age phenomenon-such as extremely cold winters, excessive precipitation and river flooding-made the collapse of the agrarian order in rural Anatolia even worse during the seventeenth century by impeding the recovery of agricultural production and settlement patterns to the levels of the sixteenth century-growth period.[5] From a revisionist perspective, this paper, by taking into account the fact that the scale of cereal cultivation was directly proportional to the number of gristmills, considers several examples of the rapid repair and renovation of the water-powered gristmills as an indicator of a regional economic resilience in Anatolia in a single-case study which is based on documentary evidence from the sharia court register of Ruhā (Şanlıurfa). Many of these mills were severely damaged by two flash floods that followed one another during the winter of 1630, while a few of them had been previously deserted for some reason and remained dilapidated and idle for decades. Another goal of this paper is to reveal that climate-related disasters shaped the pattern of ownership of water infrastructures, including mills, in favour of local elites and members of the military class, as the expenses for the upkeep of hydraulic buildings and devices were far beyond than the financial means of small-scale farmers and peasant groups. Therefore, the wealthy classes could take control of the management of water resources and infrastructures in the cases of recurrent floods and droughts, as in Ruhā (See map number 1). However, it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the long-term shifts in the centre of gravity between the commoners and elites regarding the ownership of water infrastructures, because the other series of the sharia court registers for Ruhā are missing for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[4] Özel Oktay, "The reign of violence: the celalis c. 1550-1700", in: Cristina Woodhead (ed.), The *Ottoman World*, London & New York 2012, 188-194; Griswold William J., *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000-1020/1591-1611*, Berlin 1983, 24-56; Akdağ Mustafa, *Türkiye Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası*, İstanbul 1995, 446-449.

[5] Two studies come to the fore in terms of the impact of the phenomenon of the Little Ice Age on the lands of Ottoman Empire, see White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire and Tabak Faruk, The Waning of the Mediterranean, 1550-1870: A Geohistorical Approach*, Baltimore 2008. The phenomenon of the Little Ice Age refers to a period of extremely cold winters and wet summers with glacier advances in the northern hemisphere of the world, resulting in harvest failures and famines, in between the sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. Mann Michael E., "Little Ice Age," *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change*, New York 2002, 504-509; Groove Jean M., *The Little Ice Age*, London & New York 1998, 3; Fagan Brian M., *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History, 1300-1850*, New York 2000, 79-97.

Land and Climate

According to the entries in the court register under examination, Ruhā was hit by two flash floods in the winter and early spring of 1630, which did badly damaged not only to watermills but also to houses and aqueducts. At first glance, these flood events may seem like an unusual contrast to the barren landscape and semi-arid climate of Ruhā, but Ruhā and its environs were a natural flood-prone area owing to its topographical and geographical features, and thus remained vulnerable to disastrous weather events during extremely wet seasons.[6] Ruhā was nested on the north-western edge of an inland plain, which is today referred to as 'Harran Ovası' (the Harran plain).' This plain is surrounded by rugged terrain consisting of basalt and limestone at an elevation of 500-600 meters, where the Karakoyun and Cüllab rivers arise together with other smaller streams flowing south towards Harran. It was originally a lakebed formed by tectonic subsidence during the Pleistocene era, and then gradually filled with silts and deposits carried by streams from the surrounding mountains. These geographical characteristics shaped the plain as a drainage basin and as a result, it was constantly in danger of flooding in the event of excessive precipitation.[7]

The ancient and medieval chroniclers recorded several historic floods that devastated the town.[8] The River Karakoyun, which was called as Daisan in ancient times, paired with the karst (limestone) landscape were a pair of factors that rendered the town vulnerable to floods when there was heavy rainfall or rapid snowmelt. After a catastrophic flood disaster in Ruhā, the Byzantine Emperor, Justinianus I, had a large dam constructed in order to divert the overflow of the River Karakoyun into a drainage canal that flowed along the outside of the northern and eastern walls of the town in 525 AD, thereby preventing recurrent floods (See map 1).[9] Although Ruhā repeatedly faced flood disasters in the following centuries, his hydraulic project to divert the river course proved effective in mitigating the severity of further flood damage in the walled area of Ruhā.[10] The river was redirected,

[6] Bingöl Faruk, Yıldırım İbrahim Halil, Aytaç Ahmet Serdar, Kaylı Ömer, Abukan Sezgin, Polat Nizar, "A GIS-Based Investigation of the causes of the flood disaster in the city centre of Şanlıurfa (Türkiye) in 2023", *Intercontinental Geoinformation Days*, 6 (2023), 172-173; Sepetçioğlu Mehmet Yaşar, "Şanlıurfa İli Taşkın Sorunları ve Çözüm Önerileri", *Engineering Science*s, 8.1 (2023), 25-31.

[7] Yenigun Ibrahim, Bilgili Ali Volkan, Yesilnacar M. Irfan and Yalcin Hamza, "Seasonal and spatial variations in water quality of deep aquifer in the Harran plain, GAP project, southeastern Anatolia, Turkey", *Environmental Earth Sciences*, 80/568 (2021), 3-4.

[8] The flood disasters that were reflected in historical records were dated to 303, 413, 525, 666-668, 740, 743, 834, 1103. See, Segal J. B., Edessa '*The Blessed City*'," Oxford 1970, 24, 96-97, 124, 203, 204, 230, 235.

[9] Segal, Edessa, Ibid., p.156.

[10] Kürkçüoğlu A. Cihat, Yenigun Kasim, Yazgan Mustafa, "The Justinian System: One of the oldest flood control facilities in the world", *Water Science & Technology Water Supply*, 13/3 (May; 2013), 683-691.

but it nevertheless passed through the walled area as a small stream that was fed by groundwater.[11] This stream entered the town through a gate which is known today as Haleplibahçe, and from there reached a small plateau below the citadel, where it joined two small lakes known as Halil-al-Rahman and 'Ain Zeliha (See maps number 2-3).[12] These lakes were fed also by the aquifers that contained large reserves of groundwater. In a karst landscape like Ruhā, since the water accumulating on the surface easily permeates into the ground, the excess of water easily rises to the surface and increases the water level of these small lakes when the aquifers are saturated with heavy rains and snowmelt.[13] As shall be seen in the statements of flood victims reflected in court entries, the flood waters suddenly invaded the city from outside and ravaged the quarters stretching eastward after the lakes rather than any other part of the city. It is probable that the rainfall was so intense and persistent in the winter of 1630 that the Justinian dam failed to divert the excess of river water into the ditch surrounding the northern walls of the city, causing the river to overflow into its original bed. Considering the excessive rainfall, it is also probable that the flood waters swelled by being fed by the oversaturated groundwater.

The two successive floods were certainly the peak events of an extremely wet year in Ruhā that could be associated with the effects of the Little Ice Age phenomenon. In the field of climate history, however, scholars tend to generalize about the effect of past climate events over a vast area of land by relying on the locally-limited evidence of tree-ring data and pollen analysis, but this tendency is certainly understandable considering the need for more studies based on the reconstructions of climatic data collected from distant locations.[14] At this point, it is difficult to determine precisely how far the climate in Ruhā and its surrounding area deviated from the current prevailing pattern in the 1630s and other historical periods. What is known is that the current climate of Ruhā shows the continental characteristics of the Mediterranean type of weather, with cold and rainy winters as well as dry summers.[15] Despite the lack of research regarding the reconstruction of past climate

[11] Sinclair Thomas A., *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, Volume IV, London 1990, 3; İlhan Hatice & Cobanoğlu Tülay, "Tarihi Bir Su Yolu Aksı: Urfa Halilürrahman Su Yolu Güzergâhının Mimari Dokusu ve Koruma Sorunları", *TÜBA-KED*, 19/2019, 114.

[12] İlhan & Cobanoglu, ibid., 114-117.

[13] Yetiş Recep, Atasoy Ayşe Dilek, Yetiş Ayşegül Demir & Yeşilnacar Mehmet İrfan, "Hydrochemical characteristics and quality assessment of groundwater in Balikligol Basin, Sanliurfa, Turkey", *Environmental Earth Sciences*, 78/331 (2019), 2.

[14] Kelly Morgan & O Grada Cormac, "The Waning of the Little Ice Age: Climate Change in Early Modern Europe", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 44/3 (2014), 324-325; De Vries Jan, "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: The Little Ice Age and the Mystery of the Great Divergence", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* vol. XLIV (2014), 371-372.

[15] Sahin Sinan and Cigizoglu H. Kerem, "The Sub-Climate Regions and the Sub-Precipitation Regime Regions in Turkey", *Journal of Hydrology*, 450-451 (2012), 1878-1888; Dr. Şefik Arif, *Türkiye'nin Sıhhî ve İçtimâî Coğrafyası-Urfa vilâyet*i, İstanbul 1925, 9.

conditions in south-eastern Anatolia, there is no reason not to assume that parts of south-eastern Anatolia, including Ruhā, received above-average precipitation in the 1630s, by relying on the evidence of the recent studies of climate data showing that many parts of the Eastern Mediterranean had relatively wet and cold weather conditions between 1620 and 1640 (see table 1). During this period, Mecca is known to have been flooded in 1629, and this can be associated with the effects of the cold phase of the El-Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO), together with the floods in Ruhā.[16]

Climate Reconstructions of Eastern Mediterranean	
period	condition
1517-1529	dry
1460-1463	dry
1481-1496	wet
1532-1535	wet
1540-1560	wet
1565	extremely wet
1591-1596	extremely dry
1601-1605	wet
1607-1616	extremely dry
1620-1640	wet
1687-1688	extremely dry
1725-1726	extremely dry
1751-1755	wet
1756-1757	extremely dry

Table 1: *Wet, dry and extremely dry periods in the regions of eastern Mediterranean*[17]

[16] Abid Muhammed Adnan, Almazroui Mansour, Kucharski Fred, O'Brien Enda & Yousef Ahmed Elsayed, "ENSO Relationship to Summer Rainfall Variability and its Potential Predictability over Arabian Peninsula Region", *npj Climate and Atmospheric Science*, 20171 (2018), 2; White Sam, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, New York 2011, 193 & 200.

[17] The data given by the table above is derived from the articles: Nicault A. et al., "Mediterranean Drought Fluctuation during the Last 500 Years Based on Tree-Ring Data", *Clim Dyn*, 31 (2008), 227-245. Touchan Ramzi et al., "Reconstructions of Spring/Summer Precipitation for the Eastern Mediterranean from Tree-Ring Widths and its Connection to Large-Scale Atmospheric Circulation", Clim Dyn, 25 (2005), 75-98. Touchan Ramzi et al., "Six Centuries of May-July Precipitation in Cyprus from Tree Rings", *Clim Dyn*, 43 (2014), 3281-3292.

Floods and water-powered gristmills:

A detailed piece of information about the floods that hit Ruhā was given by Mehmed Agha bin Ramazan, who came to the court on 30 January 1630 as the deputy of the family waqf of Melek Mehmed Pasha to report the flood damage on the waqf buildings.[18] It appears that what the town encountered was a flash flood that occurred after a sudden downpour, as he reported that no sooner had the heavens opened in the ninth-night of Cemaziyelahir (8 January 1630) than floodwater engulfed the town by flowing from the outside [of the town], and completely wiped out a public bath, stone bridges, and nine of the newly-built shops that belonged to the waqf.[19] Although the damage that he reported was not directly related to gristmills, the statements of another flood victim indicated that the floodwaters inflicted severe damage on the water-powered gristmills installed on the Karakoyun stream, which were filed by a Christian miller named Meno veled-i Kirakos, who appeared in court several times to have the flood damage assessed for his mills. It is understood that Meno was operating many watermills built for pious and family foundations (*awqāf*) in the town on one-year leases. He came to the court for the first time on 10 February 1630 to testify about the flood damage for a mill that was located near the dye-house and known as *İskender Paşa Değirmeni*.[20] He stated that on the ninth-night of Cemaziyelahir, the water came from outside the town and caused catastrophic damage to the mill by demolishing all of its wheels and filling its water channels with sand and gravel, and the mill fell into disuse in consequence.[21]

[18] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 30. doc. no: 67.

[19] *Cemâziyülâhirenin dokuzuncu gecesi leyle-i erba'ada kazâ-i âsumânî birle taşradan şehre sel gelüb emlâk-ı mezbûreden arsa hamamının ve müceddeden bina olunan dükkânlarının bâzı mahâlleri sel hadisesinden yıkılmışdır min-şer'den üzerine âdem varub görülmesini taleb ederim dedikde cânib-i şer'den Mevlâna Halil ve defter-i kitabda mestûr udūl ü Müslümanlar üzerine varılub etrâ birikdiğinde hamam-ı mezbûr külhanının üstü bilkülliye ve cehennemi içerü ve soğuğa gelince tütünlüğü ve hamamın hazinesi yıkılub ve büyük kubbenin garb tarafından tûlen ve arzen dokuz zirâ' mikdârı taşdan yana yukarusundan yıkılıb ve taş kubbe kayması kurbunda camekânesinden yukaru dört zirâ' mikdârı yarılub bunlardan mâadâ zikr olunan müceddeden bina olunan dükkânların boyahaneden yana dörd aded dekâkin ard duvarları değirmen suyu üzerine yıkılub ve ortalıkta vâki kantaraların üç kantara kilidi oynayub yıkılmak üzere olub ve garb tarafında vâki dokuz bab dekâkin önündeki bikāların oynayub zikr olunan dokuz dükkân dahi sel hadisesinde yıkılub daram (?) ve merteklerini sel alub gidüb vech-i meşrûh üzere vâki olan inhidam ve hasarâtı Müslümanlar ile müşâhede etdüklerinden sonra Mevlâna-i mezbur mahallinde tahrir idüb bâdehū mahallî i şer'e gelüb haber vermeğin vukū' üzere vekil-i mezbur Mehmed Ağa talebiyle kayd olundu.* MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 30. doc. no: 67.

[20] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 36. doc. no: 83.

[21] *...Meno nam zımmi Cemâziyülâhirenin dokuzuncu gecesi leyle-i erba'ada kazâ-i âsumânî birle taşradan şehre sel gelen sel değirmen-i mezbura uğrayub değirmenin her bir gözünü yıkub ve arkı kum ve kayır ile memlû olub değirmen-i mezbure bu vecihden battal kaldığı sicil olunmasın taleb ederim dedikde…* MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 36. doc. no: 83.

Obviously, his appearance in court was not only to report the physical damage to the mill, but also to notify the waqf trustees that he had sustained a financial loss due to his mill being out of use for days after the flood. In the statement recorded on 20 May 1630, he informed the court of another flood that hit Ruhā in the late winter of 1630, compounding his financial loss in the mill mentioned above, which was leased to him by the waqf of İskender Pasha.[22] It is understood that the watermill remained idle for 17 days due to the flood and as a result he spent 42 *esedî* gurush[23] for the repair of the mill and cleaning of the channel, but it remained idle for another six days due to another flood that occurred again in the winter, and totally he spent a total of 51 *esedî* gurush on the cost to reactivate the watermill.[24] However, it is not clear in his statement whether he requested the waqf trustees to reimburse all his out-of-pocket expenses incurred in repairing and renovating the watermill, but he probably expected them to take into account the financial losses he suffered due to the flood when paying the annual rent for the mill.

Meno also came to the court on 15 February 1630, regarding the procedure for the repair and renovation of another flood-damaged mill that was located near the Bazaar Mosque and leased to him from the waqf of Emir Mencik. According to the document, a board of trustees assigned for the management of the watermill informed the court that the waqf [of the watermill] lacked the resources necessary to pay for any expenses related to renovating the mill and cleaning the water channel that was feeding it. Following an agreement made with the board of trustees, Meno consented to cover all expenses for repairs from his own budget, and in return, the trust settled accounts with him by deducting his expenses from his rent, and the shareholders agreed not to receive any share of the mill's rental revenues until it was returned to a good functioning order.[25]

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[22] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 108 doc. no: 244.

[23] The exchange rate of 1 *esedî* gurush (Dutch lion thaler) to *akçe* (basic monetary unit expressed in silver coin) was 70 in 1629-1631. See, Pamuk Şevket, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge 2000, 144.

[24] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 108 doc. no: 244.

[25] This agreement for the repair of that broken watermill is a good example of *rakabe* agreements, which is a term used for the waiver procedure in the waqf system. For further information about the term *rakabe,* Hızlı Mefail, "Osmanlı Vakıf Sisteminde Rakabe", *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi,* vol 6/1 (1994), 53-70; Çalış Halit, "Rakabe," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 34 (2007), 427-428. A full transliteration of the document mentioned above is given here: N*efs-i Ruhā'da vâki Bazar câmi kurbunda vâki vakıf değirmenin mütevellileri Seyyid Mehmed bin Seyyid Süleyman ve Mehmed Çelebi bin Ahmed ve Emir Mencik evkāfı nâzırı Seyyid Ramazan Efendi ve evkāf-ı mezbûre [Temür] boğası müderrisi Mevlâna Ebu Bekir Efendi ve değirmen-i mezbûrun mülkiyet üzere hissedârlarından merhum El-hācc Yusuf'un vakf-ı evlâd-ı hissesinin mütevellisi Hacı Ahmed bin Hacı Yusuf asâleten ve hissedârlarından Sâkine Hatun tarafından Davud Çelebi vekâleten mahfil-i şer'-i şerîfe hazirûn olub değirmen-i mezbur müsteciri Meno veled-i Kirakos muvâcehesinde bast-ı kelimât idüb hâlâ bu sene şiddet-i şitâ'da kazâ-i Rabbânî birle azim sel gelüb değirmen-i mezbur yıkılub ve arkı kum ve kayır ile memlû olub hâlâ değirmen harâbe ve*

An intriguing aspect of the management of the watermills was that, although the mills were under the ownership of the *awqāf* administration, which included Muslims, it was largely the Christians who supervised the operation and maintenance of the mills. It is seen in another document, recorded on 18 February 1630 that Meno subleased a watermill located near the place of dye-houses to a person named Murad bin Abdullah, who was identified as a Muslim convert.[26] According to the rental agreement, Meno transferred the usufruct right of the mill to Murad for five months from 21 August 1629 (1 Muharrem 1039 H.) to 16 January 1630 (1 Cemaziyelahir 1039) in return for 30 gurush for three months and 27 gurush for the last two months.[27] This agreement was reflected in the court records of Ruhā, because Murad had failed to pay the rent for the last two months, therefore, he was summoned to the court on the claim of Meno for debt recovery. Meno probably took immediate action to get his money back from Murad so that he would have enough cash to repair the watermill after the flood.

Water-powered gristmills were basically designed as a sophisticated complex made of stone and wood that converted water power into kinetic energy in order to process grain crops, like wheat, barley, corn and millet, into flour.[28] They are classified into two groups, vertical and horizontal, according to the position of their wheels, which were oriented against the direction and power of the water flow.[29] Vertical mills were widely used in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions, especially in conditions where the flow of water that was generated through a river or channel was steady and strong enough to hit and turn the wooden paddles of a vertically-positioned wheel.[30] However, vertical mills were replaced by horizontal

mu'attal ve su yolları mezid olub ta'mir ve termime ve arkını pak etmeğe külli akçe lâzım gelmeğin vakfın rüsûmun olmamağla işlediği günden icâreden 'add olunmak üzere mezbur Meno kendü malından sarf u harc ve değirmeni ta'mir etmeğe râzı ve müttehid olub cânib-i vakfa her vechile enfa' u evlâ olmağla cümlemiz mârifetiyle ve mârifet-i şer' ile izin ve icâzet verilüb varub kendü malıyla ta'mir eylesin işlediği günden yevm-i muhtelife olan icâresini cümleden harcına mahsub olmak üzere haklaşıncaya dek rakabe tutulub bir ferde îcarden hisse ve vazîfe almayub icâresi rakabesine 'add olunsun bu veçhile ta'miri cânib-i vakfa ve ashâb-ı mülke enfa'dır râzıyız dediklerinde kabel-i şer'den dahi vech-i meşruh üzere izin verilüb mezbur Meno dahi mezburların minvâl-i meşruh üzere sudur bulan kelimât-ı meşruhesin bi'l muvâcehe tasdik ve değirmen-i mezburu ta'mir ve arkını pak etmeğe kendü malından sarf idüb eşkindiği günden harc eyledüği akçesin değirmen-i mezbur icâresinden 'add idüb haklaşıncaya dek harcını itmeye mefrûğun-leh olmağın vâki ül hal bi't-taleb kayd-ı sicil olundu. MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, 40-41, doc. no: 94.

[26] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 44, doc. no: 102.

[27] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 44, doc. no: 102.

[28] McQuitty Alison, "Water-Mills in Jordan: Technology, Typology, Dating and Development", *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, 5 (1995), 745.

[29] McQuitty, ibid., 745-746.

[30] McQuitty, ibid.,745. For a detailed research on the ancient technology and working principle of mechanism of the water-powered and vertical-wheeled gristmills across the Roman Empire, see Spain Robert, T*he Power and Performance of Roman Water-mills (Hydro-mechanical Analysis of Vertical-wheeled Water-mills)*, Oxford 2019.

mills in regions where the seasonal fluctuations in precipitation impeded the flow of water to reach a sufficient level, which was required to turn the paddles of the wheel throughout the year regularly.[31] Horizontal mills worked on the principle of accelerating the flow of water in a chute by relying on natural incline, and in many instances the water was accumulated inside a penstock tower (aruba) by flowing through a channel or chute, where it was pressurized and then came out by hitting the paddles through a nozzle.[32] The water-powered gristmills under the examination of this study cannot be classified in the category of mills with penstock towers because the documents indicate no existence of a tower among the building components of the mills (See illustration number 1 and photo number 1).

It appears that the flood-damaged mills were located along the part of the Karakoyun stream that remained between the lakes and dye-house; these were also the largest mills in the city in terms of grinding capacity, according to Evliya Çelebi, who mentioned the watermills within the walled area of Ruhā in admiration during his visit in 1649.[33] Although there is no information about the types and mechanisms of the watermills in his description, given the images showing the remnants of the historical watermills, it can be assumed that both types of mills, vertical and horizontal, were used in Ruhā. Also, a document kept on 18 March 1630 helps us visualize that the watermill near the Market Mosque was at least of the vertical type, showing its major components being severely damaged by the floodwater.[34] In the document, it is stated that a Christian man named Hıllu received the usufruct right of the mill for one year from the board of trustees supervising the waqf of Emir Mencik, in exchange for 16 *akçe*s per day. Since the flood damage was relatively costly, totalling 80 gurush, the board of the waqf trustees and shareholders decided to temporarily hand over the possession of the mill to Hıllu for a certain period until he could restore it to good working order. The flood waters broke the hydraulic machinery of the mill, including its wheel standing upright connected to a shaft (*dolab ve* â*siyabı 'amel-mānde ve tekessür olub*) and operated the system of flour milling, and detached a pair of round mill-stones from the spindle (*değirmen baltası*), this was probably the reason why the damage had incurred a significant cost. As a consequence, the upper and lower millstones, feed-hopper (*buğday sepeti*, *oluk* or *çörtü*), spindle (*balta*), and mill-rynd (*iğ* and *tunç*) all needed to be

[31] Schriwer, *Water and Technology in Levantine Society, 1300-1900*, 6.

[32] Schriwer, ibid., 5; McQuitty, ibid.,746-747.

[33] Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehemmed Zıllî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi III. Kitap- Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 305 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini,* Seyit Ali Kahraman & Yücel Dağlı (eds)., İstanbul 1999, 87-88.

[34] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 69, doc. no: 149. For an illustration of a vertically-positioned wheel, see the photo number 2 in appendix, which was probably taken around Balıklıgöl in the first half of the twentieth century.

rebuilt by Hıllu.[35]

As a well-fortified city, Ruhā hosted an extensive retinue of officials, including citadel guards and janissaries, since it was the administrative seat and military headquarters of the pashas who ruled the Raqqa province on behalf of the Ottoman central government.[36] Because of this strategic position, there needed to be an abundance of wheat available for the consumption of the city at all times; therefore, the urban watermills played a vital role in supplying ground grain to the city. This may explain why it was so urgent to repair damaged watermills soon after the flood.[37] Evliya Çelebi further states that although the water of the former river of Karakoyun started flowing with an unpleasant smell such as from waste or sewage dumps: after passing through the dye-house, it continued to feed numerous other mills that did not deserve attention due to the reek of faeces.[38] The presence of many mills in the remaining part of the river, which was not a desirable part of the town due to its bad smell, was certainly related to the high demand for wheat consumption. This demand was further evidenced by a court entry showing that the mills were easily handed over to new lease-holders, even when maintenance-related costs and management fees were unaffordable. On 12 January 1630, a Christian named Karagöz appears in court because he discontinued the management of a waqf mill on the grounds that its water was in short supply.[39] It was likely that he could not make sufficient revenue from the mill, considering that he had committed himself to covering expenses for the mill stones and paying substantial amount of a daily rent to the waqf of Halil'ür-Rahman, which was valued at 31 *Halebî Ş*âhî[40], a good source of revenue for the waqf. The mill was thereafter transferred to another miller, identified as a Christian named Muslu veled-i Serkis, for the same sum of daily rent.[41]

[35] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 69, doc. no: 149.

[36] Turan, XVI. *Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı*, 28-30; Winter, "Province of Raqqa under Ottoman Rule, 1535-1800", 254-259.

[37] The medieval mills were essential to a besieged population of a city for preparing processed grain, see Schriwer, *Water and Technology in Levantine Society, 1300-1900*, 87.

[38] Derviş Mehemmed Zıllî, E*vliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmes*i III. Kitap, 88

[39] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 20, doc. no: 44: *evkāf-ı mezbureden Sultanlık Değirmeni Karagöz nam zımmi uhdesinde taş harcı kendi üzerine olmak üzere yevmi 31 Halebî Şâhîye icârede iken değirmen suyu kıllet üzeredir deyü bırağub değirmen-i mezbur hâlî kalmağın.*

[40] This amount of currency rate in the form of şâhî was more or less equivalent to an estimated value of akçe varying from 217 to 310. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empir*e, 97.

[41] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 20, doc. no: 44.

Mills and irrigation in countryside

Although there was barely a mention in the court entries of the flood damage in the countryside of Ruhā, it is probable that other water streams in rural areas, such as the River Cüllab, reached a flood level that inflicted damage on settlements and even mills, considering the wet winter of 1630. In relation to the flood damages that occurred outside the walled area of Ruhā, the court was only made aware of the collapse of the aqueducts that brought water to the gardens of a family waqf outside the town.[42] Despite this, it can be said, regardless of whether the floods of 1630 caused significant damage to the watermills in the countryside, that the flood disasters created an opportunity for the renovation of certain ruined mills that had remained idle and ruined for decades. The fact that urban watermills suffered damage due to flooding was likely to prompt the *awqāf* administration to revise the condition of other watermills in rural areas. The renovation/reuse of the derelict watermills in rural areas that are not known to have been affected by floods can be taken as clear evidence for a revival or steady increase in grain production in Ruhā.

In this regard, an interesting document can be cited as a good indication of a shift in the balance of livelihoods from animal husbandry towards farming. It was kept on 28 February 1630 regarding the repair of a mill in the village of Ön, known as 'Köm Değirmeni,' which remained derelict and dilapidated for more than 40 years, though it was owned by the waqf of Melek Mehmed Pasha.[43] Considering that the word 'Köm' had a local meaning of sheepfold or cattle shed in Armenian and Kurdish, it is reasonable to assume that once the mill was abandoned, its stones were later used to build an enclosure wall to keep livestock.[44] It is interesting that the mill site remained valuable, even after it was abandoned and repurposed for keeping livestock, because the waqf trustees allowed Aslan veled-i Panus, a Christian man, to repair and operate the mill for three years on condition that he constructed a new sheepfold (in the document referred to as 'ağıl' in Turkish) for the waqf. In the meantime, he agreed to pay all the renovation and maintenance expenses for the mill out of his own pocket and return the millstone to the waqf in good condition, when the contract terminated.[45]

In addition to Christian millers, the *awqaf* administration received bids from the state officials and military class members for the renovation and reuse of other mills that lay in ruins for several decades in the countryside. In a document dated 22 April 1630, for example, it was revealed that a janissary named Süleyman Beşe

[42] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 88, doc. no: 194: h*ariç-i Ruhā'da Beğ Mehmed Bostanı demekle ma'rūf vakfın ... su kantaraları münhedim olub.*

[43] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 52, doc. no: 122.

[44] https://sozluk.gov.tr, search 'köm.'

[45] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 52, doc. no: 122.

asked the waqf of Na'me (or Nimet) ibn Beğ for permission to repair and reactivate a ruined and idle watermill, which was located in the village of Cülmekçi in Bozabad, a remote part in the countryside of Ruhā. He was permitted by Hasan Agha, who was a palace guard and also served in the waqf administration, to run the mill for eight years in return for a yearly rental price of five gurush.[46] Similarly, another document kept on 14 February 1630 illustrates an application submitted by Mevlana Mustafa Efendi, the *kadı* of Ruhā, to the waqf of Emir Mencik for the reconstruction of an abandoned milling installation that remained in complete ruin for 70-80 years in a place called "Kehrizbaşı".[47] Given that kehriz (kareez) was a term used to refer to an advanced water supply system, which was based on the transportation of the aquifer water to aqueducts and settlements through an underground tunnel, this milling installation was possibly somewhere around the northern outskirts of the city where the Justinian aqueduct started to receive water.[48] The existence of a former milling installation in the area was most likely discovered shortly after the flood waters retreated, and it was then brought to the notice of the *kadı* and local officials when they went out to inspect the flood damage to water infrastructures outside the city.

It seems hardly conceivable to define the society of Ruhā, both on the rural and urban scales, as equitable in terms of having access to water resources and the management of water infrastructures, including mills and irrigation. It can be said that water resources and irrigation facilities were largely monopolized in the hands of local elites and state officials, as is seen in a document illustrating a sale of spring water on 20 January 1631. Nesimi Beğ, who was apparently a district governor due to his title, sold the usufruct rights of the water that arose from a spring outside the city to Seyyid Halil bin Seyyid Abdi in exchange for 30 gurush for nine days a month.[49] In Mesopotamian landscapes, springs were the primary source of water for settlements, fields, and mills far from the river basin. In order to make use of the spring water, dykes and ditches were built at the source to collect water and then the

[46] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 95, doc. no: 211. Despite limited information on the waqf of Na'me, it can be said that it was established to provide finance for the shrine of Sheikh Mesleme ibn-i Na'me (Nimet) in Suruç, who is believed to be a legendary person to have defeated the Crusaders and saved the town of Suruç in the late 11th century. For further information, see Karakaş Mahmut, *Urfa'da Tasavvuf İzleri*, Şanlıurfa 2017, 90-92; Sümer Necati, "Bir Ziyaret Fenomeni Olarak Şeyh Müslüm Türbesi ve Psikososyal Hayat Etkileri", *Siirt Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* vol. 4/1 (2017), 27-28.

[47] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 42, doc. no: 97.

[48] Kürkçüoğlu et al., "The Justinian System: One of the oldest flood control facilities in the world," 686-687. For the information on the system of kareez, see Schriwer, *Water and Technology in Levantine Society, 1300-1900*, 45.

[49] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 244, doc. no: 561.

water was transported through channels to settlements on the downward slopes.[50] In this regard, having possession of springs or being closely involved with the management of irrigation systems were the ways to attain power in the rural hinterland of Ruhā; therefore, there were instances in Ruhā where disputes and acts of violence between villages appeared to result from the use of water resources. For example, in June 1630, the *kadı* received a report of an armed conflict between two villages, Mamoca and Mağaracık, over the distribution of spring water. What is understood from the report is that when the peasants of Mamoca were obtaining water from the springs around their settlement for irrigation, they caused a considerable decrease in the amount of water which was transported via channels to other settlements down the valley, including Mağaracık. Thereupon, they were attacked by a band of armed horsemen led by Murad Beğ, the tax-collector of Mağaracık. As explained in the statement of the plaintiff who was wounded by a sword blow in the attack, Murad Beğ seemed furious with the people of Mamoca, because they took the water when it was the turn of Mağaracık to obtain it (See map number 4).[51]

In summary

This paper presents a critical appraisal from the regional perspective of Ruhā concerning the crisis-based arguments which maintain that large parts of Anatolia entered a period of economic and demographic decline in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It points out that the rapid renovation and reuse of ruined and idle water-powered gristmills, in a short period following two flood disasters, was related to wheat production being at a level to meet the high demand for grain, at the very least, in Ruhā and its rural hinterland. As revealed in this paper, the requirement for properly functioning watermills also questions the validity of general views that the steppe lands of Anatolia witnessed a revival of nomadism with the dramatic expansion of the economic and ecological sphere of livestock breeding after the rural population became dispersed due to the threat of widespread banditry during the period of provincial uprisings (1596-1611).

However, since the study is limited to evidence derived from a single-volume sharia court register due to the absence of comprehensive land registers in the seventeenth century, it cannot reveal whether there was a quantitative change in the number of mills and wheat production volume in the period until the 1630s. It

[50] Bonacossi Daniele Morandi, "Water for Nineveh. The Nineveh Irrigation System in the regional context of the 'Assyrian Triangle': A first Geoarchaeological Assessment", in: Hartmut Kühne (ed.), *Water for Assyria*, Wiesbaden 2018, 97-103.

[51] MŞH_ŞSC_d. 08823, p. 159, doc. no: 355.

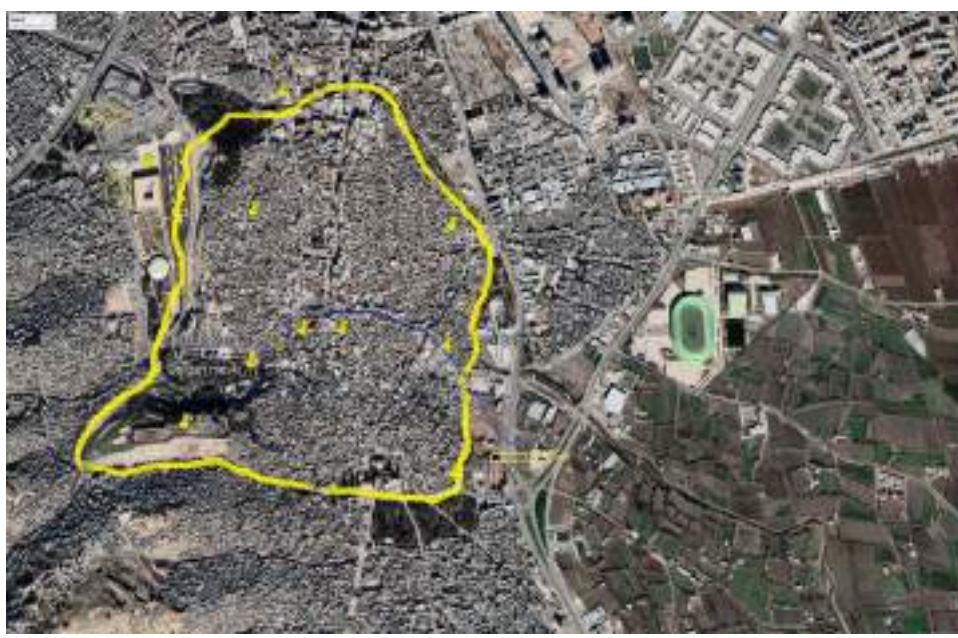
acknowledges the possibility that the high demand for grain, in general, could be owing to the dire need for food in times of famine or plague, when imports of grain became necessary due to an abrupt rise in wheat prices.[52] Further work needs to be done to establish whether wheat prices were steady or fluctuated significantly in Ruhā in the early seventeenth century, but it can nevertheless be argued that wheat was in high demand not only for local consumption but also for army provisioning, considering that the Ottoman army frequented the cities in eastern Anatolia while marching on the campaign to retake Baghdad from the Safavids between 1625 and 1638.[53]

As was reflected in the court entries, the ownership pattern of water infrastructures, including watermills and irrigation systems, was private and institutionalized in Ruhā and its hinterland. This was due to the fact that the peasants, who thrived on subsistence farming, did not have sufficient funds to expend the maintenance and upkeep that hydraulic structures required on a regular basis. It was inevitable that the wealthier class would acquire ownership of hydraulic structures in the event that floods became increasingly catastrophic, being a consequence of the effects of the Little Ice Age.

[52] Schriwer, *Water and Technology in Levantine Society*, 1300-1900, 86-87.
[53] Murphey Rhoads, *Ottoman Warfare* 1500-1700, London 1999, 81-82, 87-88.

Appendix: Maps and Illustrations

Map 1. *Şanlıurfa (Ruhā)*



Map 2. *The historical area of Şanlıurfa is encircled by the yellow line*

Map 3. *Plan of Edessa according to the chronicle of Joshua Stylite composed in Syriac A.D. 507*[54]

Map 4 *Villages in the hinterland of Ruhā*

[54] Joshua the Stylite, *The Chronicle of the Joshua Stylite*, translated from Syriac into English by William Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1882), in appendix.

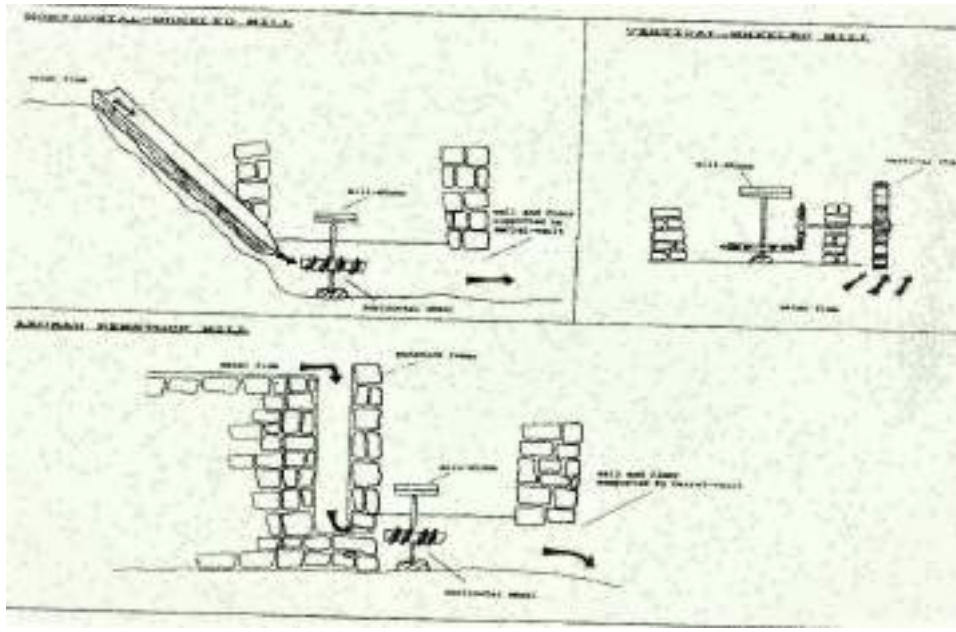


Illustration 1: *watermill types*[55]

Photo 1: *Remnants of a watermill on the Karakoyun stream underground the dye-house and bath*[56]

[55] McQuitty, "Water-Mills in Jordan: Technology, Typology, Dating and Development", 747.

[56] The round stone in the picture was probably used as a bed of the horizontally-positioned

Photo 2: A vertically-positioned watermill in Şanlıurfa[57]

wheel and the pressurized water can be seen on the right side of the picture. I kindly thank Mustafa Alican, who is a local journalist and photographer in Şanlıurfa, for sharing this picture with me.

[57] https://www.sanliurfagazetesi.com/mazide-kalan-sanliurfa/67192/

PART 2
Culture

THE "YALI CAMII" IN CRETE, GREECE. AN INTERPETATION OF ITS LAYOUT AND DISTINCTIVE DOME

Antonis G. Katsarakis [1]

Ἄνω δὲ τῶν ὀκτὼ τούτων ἀψίδων διὰ τὴν συμμετρίαν τῶν ὑπερκειμένων θυρίδων ὁ ὀκτάγωνος οἶκος ἐπὶ τέσσαρας αὐξηθήσεται πήχεις. Τὸ δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνου στρόβιλος ἔσται κωνοειδής, τῆς εἰλήσεως τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐκ πλατέος εἰς ὀξὺν σφῆνα καταλεπούσης.
But above these eight arches, by means of a tier of windows placed over them, the octagonal structure will be raised to the height of four cubits. What rises from that level will be shaped conically like a spinning-top, as the form of the vault tapers the opening from a wide span to a sharp point.[1]

Introduction

The mosque of Küçuk Hasan Pasha,[2] best known as "Yali Camii" or the Waterfront Mosque precisely because of its immediate proximity to the sea was erected right at

[1] St. Gregory of Nyssa (335-394), extract from Letter XXV to Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, written in the fourth century (after 373). See Silvas, Anna M., *Gregory of Nyssa. Introduction-Translation and Commentary*, Leiden-Boston 2007, 196-202. The passage has also been translated by Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453*, Toronto 1986, 27-29. The first key word here is *στρόβιλος*, which in the certain context has the meaning of a solid produced by revolution (spinning) of a conical section. The second key word is *εἵλησις*, i.e. revolution. So, the three-dimensional shape of the vault should be either conical or, more probably, that of a parabolic pinecone. See *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (www.stephanus.tlg.uci.edu). The octagonal structure refers to the *tympanum* (drum) of the dome.

[2] Special thanks are owed to Hania Antiquities Ephorate, to Mrs P. Papadaki of Hania Port Authority and Mr Manolis Manousakas for his advice.

the beginning of the Ottoman campaign against the Venetian realm of Crete (1645-1669).[3] It stands on a visually prominent location, just across the mouth of the old port of Hania (fig. 1), an important urban center at the west end of the island, captured in August 1645 after a sixty day siege.[4] At its back rises the hill of *Castello*, the old fortified nucleus of the Byzantine and Venetian town, which retained its administrative and social significance down to the late Ottoman period.[5] The sea still surrounds the building from East and North, spectacularly spraying its waves against its front. The area had originally the form of a small rocky promontory, which was totally incorporated into the embankment of the second half of the nineteenth century. Due to its location, Yalı Camii is an extremely photogenic monument; a series of maps and depictions record its presence from the time of Tournefort's visit to Crete in 1700-1702 until the present (figs. 1 to 6).[6] The strong visual effect of the

[3] Bibliography on the history of the mosque is gathered in Manousakas Manolis. *Τζαμιά, τεκέδες και τουρμπέδες στο νομό Χανίων* [Mosques, Tekkes and Türbes in Hania Prefecture], Hania 20132, 35-41 and especially in [Kolovos, Elias & Anastasopoulos, Antonis], *Digital Crete. Research Project by ITE - Institute for Mediterranean Studies*, 2004-2005, accessible at *http://digitalcrete.ims.forth.gr/ [accessed January 2019]*.

[4] For the dramatic events see mainly the eyewitness Diakrousis, Anthimos*, Ὁ Κρητικός Πόλεμος. Διήγησις διὰ στίχων τοῦ δεινοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κρήτῃ γενομένου κ.τ.λ.,* Critical edition by Stefanos Kaklamanis [The Cretan War. Rhymed account of the terrible war having taken place in the island of Crete etc.], Athens 2008 (1667). Among the prolific sources of the events, I have selected Higgons, Thomas Sir, *The History of Isuf Bassa* [sic], *captain general of the Ottoman Army at the invasion of Candia,* London 1684, 100-150 (available online at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ eebo2/A43757.0001.001?view=toc, [accessed January 2023]). Higgon's account is brief and conveys the aura of the events in good prose. Although I cannot tell anything about the compilation of his sources (probably translations from Italian) and their accuracy, he relates the events of the capture of Baghdad ("Babylon" as he calls it) a few years earlier, to those of Crete, which is something of interest for my interpretation. The author (1623/24-1691) was a Member of Parliament, having served as envoy extraordinary to Venice (1674-1677). Information on Higgons can be found in B. C. Pursell, "Higgons, Sir Thomas", online edition of *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 27 (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/ 13242).

[5] The area is clearly delineated in old maps; see Gerola, Giuseppe, *Monumenti Veneti nel isola di Creta*, Venice 1905-1936, vol. 2, 414-472; Andrianakis, Mihalis, "Η πρωτοβυζαντινή ακρόπολη της Κυδωνίας (Χανίων) [The Proto-byzantine citadel of Kydonia (of Hania)", *Ereisma*, 53-54/13-14 (2020), 24-55.

[6] See analytical description of the visual sources in the last footnote. A nice photograph, just before entering the port is in Gerola, *Monumenti*, vol. Ia, fig. 10. It would be useless to quote every possible source of twentieth century photographs depicting the mosque. For instance, ELIA (Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive has two photographs from 1925 (http://www.elia.org.gr/archives-collections/photographic-archive/). Interesting aerial photographs from 1939 and 1960's are in Kalligas, A.S. & Romanos, A.G., *Μεσαιωνική πόλη Χανίων 1976-1977. Μελέτη προστασίας και αναδείξεως της παλιάς πόλης Χανίων* [The medieval town of Chanea (Crete). Preservation and Development Plan] Hania 1978. For a representative sample see Zei, Eleftheria, *Χώρος και φωτογραφία. Το Ηράκλειο από την Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία στην Κρητική Πολιτεία. Συλλογή Μιχάλη Σάλλα* [Space and photography. Iraklion from Ottoman Empire to Cretan Autonomous State. M. Sallas Collection], Athens 2005, 227-236; Manousakas, *Τζαμιά*…. The well-known local newspapers *Khaniotika Nea* at Hania and *Patris* at Iraklio, as well as websites and books on local history, often publish valuable material.

old mosque is enhanced by its unusual, ogival dome surmounted by four slender, flying buttresses which rather accentuate the "inflated" appearance of the cupola (figs. 5, 15), creating a somewhat aesthetically insecure perception when compared to the solid body of the building. Yalı Camii poses certain questions regarding the shape of its dome, which to the best of my knowledge constitutes a unique case in the Ottoman Balkan territories. The ogival dome markedly deviates from the hemispherical bowls of the classical Ottoman architecture which, as a powerful cultural canon, were repeated in mosques and other important buildings regardless of scale. This paper will try to address this architectural peculiarity within the historic context of the Ottoman conquest of Crete, based mostly on a measured survey of the dome done by the author and specific observations regarding the metrology of the building. As stated, the construction of the mosque must have begun immediately after the capture of the Hania by the Ottomans during the Fifth Ottoman-Venetian War, which only ended with the surrender of Candia in 1669 after an extremely prolonged siege. Except for a porch, which was in place by 1662-1663,[7] Yalı Camii is known to have been almost completed by 1648, the year of the violent death of the *Beylerbeyi* of Rumelia Eyalet and first Ottoman military commander of Hania, Küçük Hasan Pasha, after whom it finally received its official name.[8]

[7] Evliya Çelebi (Dankoff, Robert & Kahraman, Seyit Ali & Dağlı, Yücel (eds), *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi - VIII. Kitap - Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini,* Istanbul 2003, 162-163) quotes the inscription he had read during his visit to Hania in 1669. The chronogram of the inscription, contained in the last line, when correctly decoded by adding up the numeric values of all its letters (ebced) gives the date AH 1073 (1662-1663): *Ol ser-i sekbâniyân kim Hazret-i Mahmûd Ağa / Hayra sâlik olmağı Hak ana in'âm eyledi / Dedi hâtifdir anın gûş eyleyüp târîhini / Cidd ile bu câmi'in noksânın itmâm eyledi* (… the defects of this mosque were mended with earnestness / … ىدلياٮ مامتاٮ نناصقن كعماج وب ملياٮ دج). Another inscription, which is visible today and records the date AH 1177 (1763-64), is a prayer to the memory (fatiha) of a certain Kâmil Ahmed Pasha. It is possibly connected to a repair of the mosque. I am thankful to Prof. Elias Kolovos for his advice on the matter.

[8] Küçük Hasan Pasha was appointed commander of the citadel (Ott. *dizdar*) by the generalissimo of the military campaign Yusuf Pasha (Gülsoy Ersin, *Girit'in Fethi ve Osmanlı İdaresinin Kurulması (1645-1670),* Istanbul 2004, 223). The building of the mosque had begun by a certain Mahmud Ağa, who had the title of *segbanbaşı* (a Janissary Order), second in rank after the Ağa of Janissaries.

The layout (fig. 8, 9).

The essential architectural form of Yalı Camii is extremely direct; a hefty square body on which a single dome rests, with a clear span of 13⅓ Ottoman ells (ca. 9.78 m). It is flanked from two sides by a *son cemaat yeri*, referred to as "porch" for matters of convenience. The type of single-domed mosque was extremely common throughout the Ottoman Balkans, encountered in various degrees of architectural elaboration.[9] The specific building type practically combined ease of construction, functional efficiency and a clear external form that directly underlined the Ottoman presence. Compared to the highly accentuated vaults and other intricacies of late Byzantine architecture, what presented a significantly different cultural paradigm was not the sober, commanding dome, but its stout relation to the mosque's body. Minarets, inscriptions, and other decorative signifiers may be considered only supplementary to the straightforward tectonic symbolism such a typology entails. Thus, these buildings could never be mistaken as something other than Ottoman, even when viewed from afar. As it will be discussed later, the idiosyncratic dome of Yalı Camii also added a personal touch to the symbolic function of the specific mosque as a prime, Ottoman territory marker in Crete, something later repeated in the enormous hemispherical dome of Ibrahim Han Mosque in Rethymnon. At Yalı Camii, the dome's shape is the geometrical product of the revolution of a distinctive curve around a vertical axis, directly comparable to the "spinning-top" church cupola described by St. Gregory in the "distant" fourth century Anatolia.[10] It can be loosely classified as beehive or ogival. The already mentioned quarter-circle buttresses are located diagonally in relation of the square plan of the mosque, on each of the corresponding corners and terminate at about one-third of the dome's rise.[11] In the interior, the transition from the square plan to the circular dome base is achieved through four corner squinches with round arch faces, alternating with four blind round arches (fig. 7, 8: f, g). They altogether form a perfect octagon. Eight shallow pendentives[12] serve as a transition zone from this octagon to the circle of the dome's springing level (fig. 8: h). The scheme shares some common features with the octagon type Byzantine churches, although the geometry is expressed in a completely different aesthetic manner. A certain incongruity is attested in the junc-

[9] Goodwin Godfrey, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London 1971, 16-18 & 166-167; also Kuban Doğan, *Osmanlı Mimarisi*, İstanbul 2016, 123-130.

[10] See here, footnote 1.

[11] he lower contact point of the dome with the northeast buttress is at +8.193 in relation to the plinth datum level (±0.00, see footnote 36). i.e. it is approximately 3 ells from springing line.

[12] Theoretically, these are parts of a true sphere's surface because (unlike other examples such as Veli Pasha Mosque in Rethymnon) the faces of the arches are not pointed, but round. See also the caption in fig. 7.

tion of the vertical walls with the convex squinch surfaces behind their arched faces. The L-shaped *son cemaat yeri*, is today covered by seven small hemispherical domes, of which only five are original.[13] Its metrological relationship to the main place of worship suggests that this was possibly intended as part of the original design, but as stated was added fifteen years later. A detached minaret with a presumed height of 30′ ells,[14] of which only the hexagonal base survives, stood at the southwest corner; it was later incorporated into the neoclassical front of the mosque. A tiny cemetery once developed in contact with the southern side of the building, serving as the resting place of the founder of the mosque and other prominent Ottomans of Hania.[15] Unfortunately, historical photos do not reveal much about the structures at the immediate east of the mosque. The building barely escaped destruction during the bombing of Hania by the German *Luftwaffe* in May 1941, but the surrounding area lost its previous urban context.[16] Among the available visual sources, Bonneval and Dumas clearly show the mosque on their map of Hania from 1783, indicating that buildings were in contact with its east side.[17] The original,

[13] The first two domes, starting from the northeast corner of the mosque, the two corresponding arches of the facade and the arch between them are all concrete replicas, constructed at the same time with the now demolished modernist pavilion which opened in 1966 (Hronaki, Dafni & Tsangalidou, Sofia, *Drawings and technical report on the actual condition of Küçük Hasan Mosque at the Archives of the Hania Antiquities Ephorate,* Hania 1987-1988). The second dome still stood in the 1870's and was photographed by J. Berinda (*Κρήτη 1870. Φωτογραφικό Λεύκωμα του Josef (Guiseppe) Berinda* [Crete in 1870. Photographs of Josef Berinda], Athens 2019, fig. 2) but is missing on early 20th century photographs. Regarding the first dome, it is not actually known whether it had ever been built at all. The second photograph by F. Berinda (op.cit., fig. 3), showing exactly the northeast corner, records a solid masonry wall and window, things that could possibly be contemporary with the rest of the porch. The anonymous painting from 1830's and Alexandridis' drawing from the 1860's (Tzompanaki, Hrysoula, *Η αρχιτεκτονική στην Κρήτη. Περίοδος νεοτέρων χρόνων* [The Architecture in Crete. Period of Modern Times], Iraklion 2005, 23) records the same situation, minus the window.

[14] This height is conjectural and calculated with the help of old photographs. I assume 74 risers of 6′′ inches each (of the 734 mm Ottoman ell) that led up the balcony (444′′= 18½ ells) plus another 10′ ells up to the conical cap (*küllah*) plus a copper finial (*alem*) of 1½′ ells .

[15] Of particular interest is a painting from the 1960's, showing the last remains of the cemetery garden before it being swept away (Manousakas, *Τζαμιά…*, 39). It is reproduced here in fig. 8.

[16] For the impact, see Andrianakis, Mihalis, "*Η μάχη της Κρήτης και η παλιά πόλη των Χανίων* [The Battle of Crete and the Old Town of Hania]", En Haniis-Etisia ekdosi tou Dimou Hanion 5 (2011), 15-24; Kladou-Mpletsa Amalia, *Τα Χανιά. Εκατό χρόνια από την Ένωση στο 2013* [Hania. A hundred years since the Union to 2013], Hania 2015, 99-105.

[17] Bonneval, Philippe de & Dumas, Mathieu, *Reconnoissance de l'Isle de Candie. Translated into Greek and published by Giorgos Nikolaou, & Manolis Peponakis (eds.) as Αναγνώριση της νήσουν Κρήτης. Μια ανέκδοτη έκθεση του 1783. Με χάρτη της Κρήτης και σχέδια των οχυρώσεών της* [Reconnaissance of the island of Crete. An unpublished secret report from 1783 with a map of Crete and drawings of its fortresses], *Iraklion 2000.* On the other hand, they are not depicted in the anonymous 18th c. anonymous Venetian map (fig. 3). The anonymous painting from the 1830's (fig. 4: bottom) and the map of Hania, published by Gerola, Monumenti, vol. Ia, fig.11) clearly show a mass of buildings touching the mosque from the East; so does the aerial photo of

main entrance to the mosque was a Gothic portal located at about the middle of its north face (fig. 8:b), flanked symmetrically by two windows, all shaped with Venetian period spolia, presumably from the small church of St. Nicolas that stood on this site and which was subsequently demolished.[18] Hessemer's detailed drawing from 1829 (fig. 4) shows the open porch resting upon a scarped dais quite high above the water level; a flight of steps leading to it from an approach at a lower level; the cemetery wall with a simple, arched entrance. It also records a secondary entrance to the prayer hall, located at the west wall and easily accessed through the above-mentioned flight of steps. We know that a third door was located at the east wall. It is mosfly a modern reconstruction based on some evidence *in situ*;[19] it probably gave access to the structures that abutted the mosque from this side. Parts of the the porch are reported to have been closed around 1880, when the embankment had already reached its northwest corner.[20] A functional re-arrangement of the mosque occurred in 1890-1895 along the construction of a flat, neoclassical facade erected in front of the open arcades of the porch; the extension of the quay to also include the north side of the promontory followed soon after (fig. 6: d, e). The facade completely enveloped the north and west fronts; then turned around the south front in order to enclose the cemetery garden from this side; it is not known whether it engulfed part of the east side as well.[21] The west wall of the prayer hall depicted

the old town taken in 1939 (accessible at https://maps.gov.gr/gis/map/ and in Kalligas & Romanos, *Meseoniki poli*, B17). E.H. Destelle's photographs from 1897-1901 also show the buildings at this side of the mosque (fig. 6e, accessible at site.destelle.free.fr).

[18] Manousakas, *Τζαμιά*…, 35; Giapitsoglou Kostas, "Küçük Hasan Mosque", in E. Brouskari (ed.), *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, Athens 2008, 419-421, 419; Manousakas Manolis, *Ιστορικά κτίρια της πόλης των Χανίων* [Historical Buildings of Hania], Hania 2019, 80, with a detail of G. Corner's map showing the building as a single-nave church. See also the detail from F. Basilicata's 1618 map in fig. 2. The survey drawings (Hronaki & Tsangalidou, *Technical Report* 1987-1988) clearly record part of the foundation of a previous building (possibly this certain church) that seems continues under the prayer hall.

[19] Drawing of the 1987 survey.

[20] The date 1880 is reproduced in the literature. While the arches bear a kind of wooden screen in P. de Granges photographs (fig. 5), the second arch from the northeast corner appears sealed in J. Berinda's photograph (Berinda, *Κρήτη 1870*, 2000, fig. 2, reproduced here as fig. 6f). The same situation is recorded in a sketch in Avelot Henri, *Croquis de Grèce et de Turquie. Autour de l'Archipel*, Tours 1897; also in two photographs by A. E. de la Baume Pluvinel (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85538486/f20.item and https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/ 12148/ btv1b85538486/f24.item) from 1890, with the second arch from the right of the west front having been blocked (fig. 6c); also in some of Paul Blanc's photographs (1886-1901). The sequence of the embankment construction is deduced from a series of photographs; see here, footnote 69.

[21] The neoclassical facade on the west front survives as far as the fountain niche in front of the minaret, but originally it continued southward for about another 4.50 m before making a right angle turn to the east to enclose the burial garden. This extension was demolished in the 1960's (Manousakas, *Τζαμιά*…, fig. on p. 36; pp. 37-38). Today, the facade terminates with a rounded corner of dressed stones and a corresponding cornice. Yet, early 20th c. photographs reveal that the cornice was straight and flush, without any indentations. This means that the present corner configuration

by Hessemer, was completely perforated with three wide, round arches for ease of communication with the adjacent porch, now sealed by the neoclassical front and transformed into an enclosed space. Two new portals were constructed at the north and west front of the new façade. These obviously relate to a drastic re-orientation of the mosque's qibla in an effort to match the astronomical one; it is important to note at this point that the neoclassical *mihrab*, dated 1892-1893 (AH 1310)[22] and awkwardly squeezed in the southeast corner of the prayer hall (fig. 8:a, fig. 9) was not just an elaborate refurbishment of the seventeenth century one. Although it was fairly accurately oriented[23] towards the true (astronomical) qibla, the new *mihrab* was positioned completely eccentrically and incoherently in relation to the main axes of the mosque. The original *mihrab* niche was almost certainly located in the middle of the south side, exactly opposite the Gothic entrance (fig. 8, 9). It pointed to the Southeast, a direction which often is encountered among the Ottoman mosques in Greece.[24] The fact that the original *mihrab* could not have possibly been on the very spot of the 1892 one, is also justified by the architectural typology of the Ottoman mosques themselves, where the qibla wall directly faces the main entrance. Contrary to converted churches, where the *qibla* did not come in harmonious terms with the symmetry axis of the existing building, in newly built mosques any deviation from the symmetry canon would create an absurd architectural inconsistency. The fact that the old *mihrab* of Yalı Camii signified a customary *qibla* and not an astronomically accurate one did not at all render it less canonical than its 1892 replacement. Such orientation inconsistencies in customary *qiblas* were often the case with pre-modern mosques in the Islamic world.[25] Whatever the in-

is a cosmetic repair after the demolition of that part of the front. If not, we have to assume the reverse, i.e. that the neoclassical front was constructed in two phases. Although the thin wall of the new front was built flush with the west side arches of the porch, along the north side it was constructed about two meters in front of the arcade, in order to allow for ampler interior space.

[22] The inscription quotes a few words from verse 37 from Quranic surah Al-Imran, which refers to the period Mary was in the Temple: […] *Whenever Zechariah visited her in the sanctuary* [he found her provided with food. He asked her "O Mary, how did this come to you? She said 'It is from Allah. Allah provides sustenance to whom He wills beyond all reckoning"]. The Arab word *al-mihrāba* in this *surah* refers to a sanctuary's apartments.

[23] This *qibla* is oriented at 123o clockwise from the North, while the precise, astronomical *qibla* for Hania is 131o 19′.

[24] For the *qiblas* in Greece see Zarinebaf Fariba & Bennet John & David Jack L., *A Historical and Economic Geography of Ottoman Greece - Southwestern Morea in the 18th Century,* Athens 2005, 217, footnote 3, based on an unpublished lecture by Pierre MacKay at the Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society, April 1980 titled "Qibla in Greece". There are also exceptions to this rule of thumb, with mosques oriented toward the astronomical *qibla;* see Pantazis George & Lambrou Evangelia, "Investigating the Orientation of Eleven Mosques in Greece", *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage,* 12/2 (2009), 159-166.

[25] I suspect that in the case of Yalı Camii, such a premonition with the astronomically accurate orientation towards Mecca was not unrelated to the islamization trends of the Hamidian era. An

tentions may have been, the removal of the original *mihrab* facilitated the opening of new, round arched door in its place at the south wall, which led to the cemetery garden,[26] also accessed directly from the quay. Its old precinct wall was replaced by a fenestrated extension of the neoclassical front, thus allowing glimpses of passers-by to the cemetery. Today, a century since the 1923 Lausanne Treaty and the departure of the Muslim Cretans, the former mosque serves as a temporal exhibition space. The building has long been stripped off of its interior decoration; the minaret[27] and the cemetery garden with a generous portion of the neoclassical facade are gone; much of the urban context after the heavy World War II bombing of Hania has dramatically been altered.[28] Yalı Camii was used as an archaeological museum in the period 1946-1960[29] and then forced to a rather unfruitful marriage with a large, modernist tourist pavilion attached to its north side in 1964-1966. This was razed to the ground in 2011, not without objections.[30] Since its thorough renovation in the 1990's, the interior of the mosque has acquired a rather sterile, archaeological quality, more akin to a Protestant church but quite suitable for is official use as a space for temporary exhibitions. Nowadays, the "*άλίβρεκτον τέμενος*" or "sea-washed mosque" is mostly perceived as perfect scenic backdrop for the strolling tourists and locals. A certain, awkward feeling emanates from the relation of its spider-like dome to the barren swath of cobbled quay surfaces on the one hand and the water body on the other.

astronomically accurate *qibla* orientation is encountered in the small mosque at Kalami village, near Hania, built outside Izzeddin fortress in the 1870's; it has been converted into a church (Manousakas, *Τζαμιά*..., 95). See also the interesting *qibla* re-orientation case of Ibrahim Han Mosque in Rethymnon (Katsarakis Antonis, "The architectural grid of Ibrahim Han Mosque in Rethymnon, Crete", *Nexus Network Journal – Architecture and Mathematics*, 24 (2022), 203-216). Obviously under the influence of modern, inelastic interpretation of the Islamic tradition, several incongruent re-orientations of qiblas in historical mosques of 21st century Turkey have been observed. For the *qiblas* in the Islamic world see generally King, David, "As the Centre of the World" in entry "Makka". *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2nd ed.), vol. 6, 180-186, and also other publications by the same author. There were for instance various, widely circulating diagrams defining customary qiblas, such as dividing the circle around Kaaba into twelve sectors and then pairing each one to a certain area of the world.

[26] In the 1986 survey drawings, the threshold of this door was about 0.60m above pavement level, due to the rise of the floor level at the prayer hall. After the restoration and the restitution of the original floor level, the threshold is almost flush with the pavement.

[27] Demolished in 1936 or 1937.

[28] See briefly Andrianakis "Η μάχη της Κρήτης...".

[29] Kladou-Mpletsa, *Τα Χανιά*..., 110.

[30] This building, designed in 1964 by P. Karantinos was completed in 1966 (Kladou-Mpletsa, *Τα Χανιά*..., 208) and covered the whole area to the South of the mosque, which had been devastated during the WW II bombing (Andrianakis "Η μάχη της Κρήτης..."). More information on the pavilion in Giakoumatos Andreas, *Στοιχεία για τη νεότερη ελληνική αρχιτεκτονική - Πάτροκλος Καραντινός* [Data for the Modern Greek Architecture - Patroklos Karantinos], Athens 2003, 517-521. I think that the main problem originated from the fact that the mosque was considered as a mere annex to the pavilion and not vice versa.

The modular grid (fig. 9)

Useful data for the metrological analysis of the building came from the archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Hania[31] but mostly from accurate, on-site measurements by the author using a total station. The internal dimensions of the main space of the mosque correspond with a very good approximation to a square of 9.83×9.83 m[32] which can be interpreted to a nominal dimension of 320′′ inches (13⅓′ ells) of the 734 mm Ottoman ell. The external dimensions confirm the use of this specific value.[33] The nominal wall thickness is 32′′ inches, a tenth of the internal diameter.[34] The entire square of the floor plan of the prayer hall, measuring 384′′ inches (16′ ells) was thus organized into a 12×12 modular grid with a grid of 32′′ inches, where one module corresponded exactly to the thickness of the outer walls. The original width of the porch also closely approximates 4 modules (4×32′′=128′′ inches), which strengthens the hypothesis that this element was part of the original design, even though completed in 1662-63.[35] In this way, the entire plan of the mosque appears to have been conceived as a large square with a side of 512′′ inches (21⅓′ feet) on a 16×16 grid of 32′′ module. One quarter (128′′inches or 4 modules of 32′′) of the side's length corresponded to the porch and three quarters (320′′ inches or 12 modules of 32′′) to the prayer hall. We should notice that the main square of the prayer hall incorporates two 5-12-13 Pythagorean triangles (fig. 9: ABE, BEC) with sides 160′′- 384′′- 416′′ inches (6⅔′- 16′- 17⅓′ ells, perimeter 40 ells). A 3-4-5 Pythagorean triangle (fig. 9: GDF), measuring 384′′- 512′′- 640′′ (16′-21⅓′-26⅔′ ells, perimeter 64 ells) is traced within the large square of the plan that includes the porch. As in the cases of Ibrahim Khan Mosque in the *Fortezza* of Rethymnon and Veli Pasha Mosque in the same town, we cannot tell whether these triangles were a byproduct of the selected modular grid or vice versa.

[31] Hronaki & Tsangalidou, *Technical Report* 1987. A section drawing from this survey has been reproduced in Giapitsoglou, *Yali Camii*…, 419.

[32] At floor level, the lengths are 9.731 m (west wall); 9.878 m (north wall); 9.867 m (east wall); 9.845 m (south wall).

[33] The south side measures 11.780 m and the east side 11.775 m. For the Ottoman ell see Özdural Alpay, "Sinan's arşin. A Survey of Ottoman Architectural Metrology", *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), 101-115. Veli Pasha Camii in Rethymnon was also built with the 734 mm ell (Katsarakis Antonis, "Geometry in Veli Pasha Mosque, Crete", *Nexus Network Journal – Architecture and Mathematics* 25 (2022), 269-291).

[34] In fact, it fluctuates between 0.920 m and 0.980 m.

[35] See here, footnote 7.

The Section

The volumetric composition of Yalı Camii's parts is typically Ottoman. A single, large dome covers the prayer hall, with the domed cells of the *son cemaat yeri* aesthetically counterbalancing it. The now vanished minaret also played an important role, both as a political-religious signifier and as an aesthetic counterpoint to the dome. The remains of a plinth at the north side of the mosque, combined with the Gothic entrance threshold (which also dictated the level of the restored floor), enable us to establish a safe datum level for calculating the height of the building's body.[36] This was found to be 6 modules of 32′′ inches or 8′ feet tall. Externally, the dome sits directly on the flat roof of the body, almost covering all the available surface and allowing a shallow parapet lip for containing the rainwater. In section, the dome reaches a height of 11.69 m from the current floor, or 12 modules of 32′′ inches each. Its springing level lies at half the overall height, or 6 modules from the floor; so it has a 5:6 ratio of internal radius to height, significantly steeper than a hemispherical dome. The mean thickness of the cupola is about 0.42m, roughly 14′′ inches excluding the plaster; this corresponds to a 0.044 ratio of thickness to clear span.[37] Externally the cupola appears even steeper because of the extra thickness at the apex, something rather overemphasized in the sketches by Hessemer and Lear (fig. 4). On the other hand, a pronounced "bulge" of the profile is observed, especially when viewed from afar (figs. 5, 15). Of course, the tangent at the point the ogive profile touches the body of the building is vertical and not greater than the right angle; any perception of the dome being slightly bulbous is total-

[36] The plinth is at the northwest corner of the prayer hall, and it was revealed after the demolition of the adjacent tourist pavilion in 2011. Its upper edge (±0.00) is lower than the current floor level (+0.168, Gothic portal threshold). The dome's external apex (excluding the finial) is at +12.481; its internal apex at +11.870 and the flat roof's parapet at +6.278 (at the middle of the south front). If we wished to be theoretically precise, the vertical distance of exactly 12 modules (11.743 m) from the dome's interior apex down to a theoretical original floor, would indicate a datum level of +0.127, slightly below the current floor (+0.168), which means that the latter is indeed very close to the original one (see fig. 9). It should be noted that before the restoration of the 1990's, the floor level of the prayer hall was considerably higher than today (at about +0.54). Two risers separated the floor level of the west porch from the prayer hall level. The floor of the north porch used to be even higher, flush with the old floor level (+0.54) and so remains the corresponding neoclassical entrance threshold from the north side. It is not clear whether the floor rise was done during the construction of the tourist pavilion, in order to bring the old floor flush with the modern one or was a result of the 1892 renovation. The excessive floor thickness was removed during the restoration and the floor leveled to the same datum at the entire building. The old floor reported by Hronaki & Tsangalidou, *Technical Report* to have been found about 0.60 m lower than the +0.54 one, must have been the original, close to the threshold level of the Gothic portal.

[37] It has been estimated that for masonry domes, the lowest safe ratio of thickness to span is 0.21, i.e. 0.42 when expressed as thickness to radius (Heyman Jacques, "On shell solutions for masonry domes", *International Journal of Solids Structures*, 3 (1967), 227-241, esp. 235.

ly wrong. Despite some anticipated deformation, the profile remains reasonably smooth along its meridians; the distinctive heightening and curve of the dome was intentional right from the start. Although the dome was not immune to meridian cracks and minor deformations due to the considerable thrust it exerts on the walls, the profile is not the result of such procedures;[38] in this case the vault would have long collapsed, or at least have completely lost its tangential continuity as sign of dangerous collapse mechanisms, which is not happening.[39] We have thus to assume that the profile's curve was conceived geometrically, and its scheme that can be theoretically restituted in a kind of "reverse geometry". The attempt to find a plausible tracing that could geometrically describe the ogive curve in the most precise manner was based on an electronic survey of the dome's profile along several meridians. Fortunately, the structure had no serious deformations that could mar the results. As anticipated, efforts to describe the dome's profile as a two-centered arch failed blatantly (fig. 12: profiles A, C, E, D, G). So did more sophisticated attempts with three-centered (fig. 12: profiles B, H) and four-centered profiles (fig. 12: F), according to the typology neatly summarized by Man'kovskaia & Golombek, mostly following Al-Kashi's famous fifteenth-century treatise on the mensuration of vaults.[40] After these inconclusive trials, it became clear that the profile was composed of more than four segments, combined as to produce a profile with smooth tangential transition from springing level to apex. After a strenuous trial-and-error process, I resulted to six symmetrically arranged segments (three for each half of the dome's section) that meet at the apex point *c*; fig. 10 provides the geometric generalization, fig. 11 its actual application on Yalı Camii and fig. 12 a comparison with the geometry of known domes. The six arc segments are traced on five centers

[38] Hronaki & Tsangalidou, *Technical Report* 1987 report and show on the survey drawings quite serious meridional cracks (two of them are visible on a mid-twentieth photograph, published in Kladou-Mpletsa *Ta Χανιά*..., 110); also an area of the dome repaired with concrete (ca. 1.30m in radius toward the southwest corner) and the outward leaning (about 5-7cm) of the north wall (probably because of the dome's thrust). The patching up of the dome with concrete is obviously related to the construction of the tourist pavilion next to the mosque in 1964-1966 (see the photos in Giakoumatos, *Στοιχεία*…, 518).

[39] A typical collapse mechanism would tend to create hinges, shown as multiple vertical cracks along the lower third of the dome's perimeter where tensile forces develop and cause it to burst out, thus making the upper, compressed part of the dome fall on the floor.

[40] Man'kovskaia L. Iu & Golombek Lisa, "Towards the Study of Forms in Central Asian Architecture at the End of the Fourteenth Century. The Mausoleum of Khvaja Aḥmad Yasavi", *Iran*, vol. 23 (1985), 109-127, fig. 9. For similar schemes see also Dold-Samplonius Yvonne, "Calculation of Arches and Domes in Fifteenth-Century Samarkand", in K. Williams, M. J. Ostwald (eds.), *Architecture and Mathematics from Antiquity to the Future. Birkhäuser*, vol. I, Basel 2015, 297-307; Taheri Jafer, "Mathematical Knowledge of Architecture in the Works of Kashani", *Nexus Network Journal (*2009), 77-78; Memarian Gh. H. et al., "15th Century Contribution to the Study of Vaulted Structures in Iran Based on Ghiayth-al Din Kashani's Studies", *International Journal of Architectural Engineering and Urban Planning*, 24/1 (2014), 1-8.

arranged in two symmetrical pairs for each half of the dome's profile (C_3, C_4 on the left and C_2, C_5 on the right) plus one common center C_1 on the symmetry axis. In my proposal, the exact positions of these centers can be defined by a square with a side of 12 modules, resting on the springing line of the dome's profile (baseline *xox΄*). This square controls the value of angle φ (fig. 10). The internal apex *c* of the dome had been obviously predetermined by the architect at a height $h = 6$ modules from the springing baseline *xox΄*. The clear span of the dome was also fixed at *xx΄* = 10 modules. I propose that the controlling square's height of $2h = 6 + 6 = 12$ modules was divided into 7+7=14 parts; or in other words, the dome's predetermined rise $h = 6$ modules was divided into sevenths. The first center C_4 is the point where the external wall face meets baseline *xox΄*. A circle radius connects it to point 4, two sevenths above baseline; next center C_1 lies on the symmetry axis, at one seventh of the dome's rise *h*; finally center C_2 has again a vertical distance of exactly one-seventh ($^h/_7$) below baseline *xox΄*; at the same time, C_2 lies on the line connecting C_1 and point 2. The latter represents one of our square's grid points, just one step ($^1/_{14}$) below its upper side, giving to angle φ a value slightly less than 60°. The procedure is entirely symmetrical, defining likewise C_3 and C_5. As stated, center C_1 is common to both halves. It should be stressed that in the trial-and-error effort, height *h* was also divided in sixths, eighths, and ninths, but the resulting arc segments deviated significantly from the actual, surveyed profile of the dome. So, there are good reasons to assume that number seven and not some other integer was involved in the tracing procedure. An alternative would be to define angle φ as exactly 60°, but this would not avoid the division of the dome's rise *h* into sevenths. Of course, due to plaster and other inherent construction irregularities, one should not expect a perfect match; observed, local deviations of the true to theoretical surface in the magnitude of 60 mm should be considered normal (fig. 12).

Some Practical Considerations

Any theoretical tracing would be meaningless for the masons if not possible to be reproduced at 1:1 scale. Reproduction would mean tracing only half of the symmetrical dome profile; this would be more than enough from a practical point of view. The modern (1993, fig. 14) reconstruction of the dome[41] of Kaya Çelebi Mosque at Van in Turkey (1660),[42] offers us a good idea of the construction process possibly

[41] I could not locate accurate sections of the mosque. The profile in fig. 12 (line D) is a reasonable approximation based on distant, clear photographs and 3d models found in the web.

[42] For this mosque with characteristic horizontal stripes (not to be confused with the nearby, almost identical Hüsrev Pasha Camii) see Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*…, 306. The mosque, with a clear dome span of about 12.60 m, was at the center of a külliye and destroyed with the rest of the

followed in Crete. Although its clear span of about 12.60 m is significantly larger than the 9.78 m of Yalı Camii, the practical considerations were very probably identical. In Van, the formwork skeleton was shaped with the aid of about one hundred light, identical meridian ribs. Each rib, which was composed of five segments, was assembled on the ground, lifted, and aligned vertically and horizontally according to the circular datum level defined by the upper edge of the masonry body. Densely placed wooden posts carried the heavy load of the cupola's stones.[43] In the case of a two-centered profile, the carpenters had to deal with only a circular arch of constant curvature (fig. 10: top), while at Yalı Camii's dome we hypothesize about three different curvatures (fig. 11: arcs *xa*, *ab*, *bc*), a more demanding assembly task. In the shipyards of Venice, but also often in the traditional boat architecture of the Aegean, the actual tracing took place on a large board floor.[44] Tracings of gothic architectural arches at 1:1 scale have also been preserved on Cathedral floors and walls. We can imagine a similar process at Yalı Camii, with an 1:1 prototype drawn on a reasonably large flat surface. In fig. 13, two simplified approaches are presented. Both involve approximations of the assumed five-centered theoretical scheme, using integers of Ottoman inches. But whatever the actual procedure followed on the ground, it would necessitate a minimum of geometrical knowledge to control the shape both on paper and at the building site. Who else would be the most probable candidate for such a task than the architect himself ? The Islamic world had adequate practical and theoretical knowledge to handle such geometries.[45] We cannot also rule out the involvement of somebody acquainted with shipbuilding techniques. In 1645, the war against Venice in Crete was developing at full pace. In the dynamics of war, but also within the shipbuilding tradition of Venice and Ottoman Empire and the networks of knowledge transfer in early modern Mediterranean, everything seems possible.[46] Considering that a lot of Cretans had worked in the

old town during the tragic events of 1917. The outer profile of the dome is unmistakably pointed, but I could not corroborate whether it followed faithfully the inner profile, or it was caused by adding some extra mass at the top of an otherwise typical hemispherical dome.

[43] In Yalı Camii, the overall weight of the dome's masonry is about 2044 KN or 208.45 tonne-forces. The horizontal component of the thrust that each ⅛ slice exerts at the base was graphically calculated at 38 KN or about 3.87 tonne-forces (three point eighty-seven).

[44] Damianidis Kostas A., *Ελληνική παραδοσιακή ναυπηγική* [Traditional Greek Shipbuilding], Athens 1988, 153-163 describes the method very analytically.

[45] On the matter see generally Necipoğlu Gülrü, *The Topkapi Scroll. Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture, with an essay on the geometry of the muqarnas by Mohammad al-Asad*, Santa Monica 1995, esp. Ch. 8 and 9. Valuable insights in Dold-Samplonius *Yvonne, "Le volume des dômes dans les mathématiques Arabes". L'Ouvert - Journal de l'APMEP d'Alsace et de l'IREM – Institut de Recherche sur l'enseignement des mathématiques de l'Université de Strasbourg, 94* (1999), 18-31; Dold-Samplonius, *Calculation of Arches and Domes….*

[46] Detailed information on late medieval and early modern hull constructions methods is given in Bellabarba Sergio, "The ancient methods of designing hulls", *The Mariner's Mirror* 82/3 (1996),

arsenals of Venice and Istanbul,[47] it would not be impossible for people with such experience to be found at Hania and have a say on the dome's profile.[48] Whatever the actual conditions, the result was a "pregnant" dome that must have caused some concern or afterthoughts to its builders; I thus assume that the buttresses were built simultaneously or soon after to counterbalance the feeling of insecurity and with the hope of better securing the cupola. In the case of Yalı Camii, the only available space for such a means of external strengthening were the four corners of the prayer hall at roof level. The masons opted for very slender buttresses, which produce a certain dissonance with the lofty, ogive surface, as they appear to puncture it. An old-fashioned, graphical statics analysis with funicular polygons done by the author, showed that there exists at least one path through which the dome thrust can reach its base without exiting the thickness of its shell and thus generate hinges (fig. 12).[49] In fact, when looking for the thrust line accommodation within the shell's

259-268 and Alertz Ulrich, "Naval Architecture Digitalized - Introducing Arithmetic and Geometry into Late Mediaeval Shipwrightry", in H. Nowacki & W. Lefevre (eds.), *Creating Shapes in Civil and Naval Architecture. A Cross-Disciplinary Comparison*, Leiden 2009, 251-277, esp. 252-269 who provide a good and clear account of the design procedure of Venetian galleys. In the context of early modern shipbuilding in the Aegean, of particular interest is the sketch of a late 16th century Greek vessel, whose curves were designed with tangential continuity; see Damianidis, *Παραδοσιακή ναυπηγική*…, 21-22 also reproduced and annotated by Stephen Johnston, *Making mathematical practice. Gentlemen, practitioners and artisans in Elizabethan England* (Ph.D. Cambridge, 1994, accessible at http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/staff/saj/thesis/figure3-06.htm [accessed 15 March 2023]). Of course, we do not know how far any connections of Mediterranean ship design techniques with the specific dome's profile can be established, but at least the construction and assembling of the dome's frames demanded some specialized carpentry skills similar to those in shipbuilding.

[47] Panopoulou Aggeliki, "Κινητικότητα κρητικών τεχνιτών και διάδοση τεχνογνωσίας στη διάρκεια της βενετικής περιόδου [Mobility of Cretan craftsmen and dissemination of technical knowledge during the Venetian period]", in *Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Cretan Studies*, 2016, online publishing accessible at 12iccs.proceedings.gr, pp. 3, 7-8; for Venetians in the Istanbul arsenal see Pedani Maria Pia, "Ottoman ships and Venetian craftsmen in the 16th century", in D. Couto, F. Günergün, M. P. Pedani (eds.), *Seapower, Technology and Trade. Studies in Turkish Wartime History*, Istanbul 2014, 460-464; for Venetian shipbuilding activity in Crete, Gertwagen, Ruthy, "Byzantine shipbuilding in fifteenth-century Venetian Crete. War Galleys and the Link to the Arsenal in Venice", in R. Gertwagen, E. Jeffreys (eds.), *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean. Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, Ashgate 2012, 115-127. On the geographical dissemination of Mediterranean (Venetian) hull building methods see Bellabarba, "The ancient methods of designing hulls…", 284-285.

[48] I disregard the possibility of the masons having used a readily available frame salvaged from a shattered galley. In this case, they should have turned the supposed half frame by 90 degrees, so as the height of the dome would correspond to half the vessel's breadth at deck level, but this would mean that the ship would be of gargantuan dimensions (breadth 2×6×32′′= 384′′= 11.74m).

[49] According to J. Heyman's plastic theory (see briefly Lancaster *op.cit.* 2005, 154 and esp. Heyman Jacques, *The Masonry Arch*, Chichester 1982), domed or arched masonry structures are stable provided the thrust line falls within the shell's thickness. If not, hinges develop. For the task, a theoretical slice of ⅛ of the dome was considered. The program used was AutoCAD, which en-

thickness, the dome's distinctive bulge is to the disadvantage of stability compared to a two-centered dome profile, a parabola like the Sassanian domes, or even a typical hemisphere. At a more advanced level, a preliminary finite element analysis by I. Rossetos showed that the buttresses play a rather insignificant role in the stability of the certain dome.[50] Yalı Camii's sructure is certainly offered to further analysis that would ideally involve a detailed research on the actual building materials and methods; it is known that due to their heterogeneous construction, such masonry domes are notorious for the problems they pose to modern analytical models.[51]

Discussion

The proposed geometrical scheme is just an educated guess; as in the case of the celebrated Mostar bridge and its idiosyncratic geometry, a number of alternative approaches can be put forward.[52] Yet, contrary to Mostar bridge where the arched

ables very accurate graphic results. There are plenty of early 20th century manuals on the method, such as Wolfe, William S., *Graphical Analysis. A Text Book on Graphic Statics*, New York 1921. For recent applications see Allen Edward & Zalewski Waclaw, Form and Forces. D*esigning Efficient, Expressive Structures*, Paris 2010; Vittorio & Ruscica, Giuseppe & Roberti, Giulio Mirabella, "Graphical Modelling of Hoop Force Distribution for Equilibrium Analysis of Masonry Domes", *Nexus Network Journal-Architecture and Mathematics*, 23 (2021), 855-878; Lancaster Lynne C, *Concrete Vaulted Construction in Imperial Rome. Innovations in Context,* Cambridge 2005, 149-165 (application on certain Roman domes) and pp. 225-229 (description of the method). Graphostatics depend solely on geometry and follow the plastic theory which allows only for compression bearing capacity of the masonry, which is considered undeformable. The literature on static behavior of masonry domes and arches is very extensive, and the theoretical models involve a level of mathematics that goes beyond the abilities of any architect, archaeologist, or historian. For the limited scope of my analysis, see Heyman, *The Masonry Arch*…; on plastic theory, Cipriani Barbara's, *Development of Construction Techniques in the Mamluk Domes of Cairo*, unpubl. MA Thesis, Dept of Architecture at MIT, 2005) who accepts some tensile capacity of the masonry on the ethereal, Mamluk domes of Cairo, was especially comprehensive and relevant; the books Mark Robert (ed.), *Architectural Technology up to the Scientific Revolution. The art and Structure of Large-Scale Buildings*, Cambridge Mass. 1994; Gye D. H., "Arches and Domes in Iranian Islamic Buildings. An Engineer's Perspective", *Iran*, vol. 26 (1988), 129-144; Gouridis, Athanasios, "Γεωμετρική συσχετισμοί και στατική αντίληψη στις μεγάλες θολωτές κατασκευές της ρωμαϊκής και βυζαντινής περιόδου" [Geometrical configurations and statics perception at the great vaulted constructions of Roman and Byzantine period], Unpublished PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Thessaloniki 2003, offer a general framework for the non-mathematician.

[50] Rossetos Iasonas, "Στατική ανάλυση τρούλου, τέμενος Κιουτσούκ Χασάν (Γιαλί Τζαμί) ενετικό λιμάνι Χανίων", seminary dissertation, National Technical University of Athens, Athens 2021. The models of finite element analysis are based on the elastic theory.

[51] Since a *mas*onry dome is a highly indeterminate construction, the approach of its equilibrium state is a scientific guesswork through mathematical models.

[52] The certain bridge's main arch appears to be peaked, but this is most probably erroneous due to the use of multiple centers. A very comprehensive presentation and review of the matter is done by Kiel Machiel, "Historical Outline: Mostar and its Bridge", in Manfredo Romeo (ed.), *Stari Most*.

profile was very probably dictated by the pre-existing street levels and the actual shape of the Neretva river banks, in the case of Yalı Camii the reasons for the atypical profile must be first sought in a cultural and not a technical context. To the best of my knowledge, this particular type of ogive dome is found nowhere in the classical Ottoman architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the core lands of the empire in Western Anatolia and the Balkans.[53] Its architectural model must be sought in the Ottoman periphery. For instance, a simple overview of architecture along the Muslim shores of the Mediterranean, such as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Mamluk Egypt and Syria, reveal a multitude of domes with pointed profile which constitute the canon and not the exception.[54] But also further North, where Anatolia meets Armenia and Iraq, we will again encounter morphological deviations from the classical Ottoman architectural repertoire. The divergence from the Ottoman canon is more pronounced as one moves towards the wider Iranian cultural zone,[55] where elaborated pointed, beehive and even bulbous

Rehabilitation Design of the Old Bridge in Mostar. Pilot Cultural Heritage Project, Feder. of Bosnia & Herzegovina, City of Mostar. Final Design Report, Florence 1999. Published online at www.mostarbridge.org/ starimost/01_intro/intro_obj.htm [official web site, accessed 13 Feb. 2023], esp. Section 2.4).

[53] Known as "Diyar-ı Rum / Land of the Rum". For a detailed discussion of the term in relation to the historiography of Ottoman architecture, see Kafadar Cemal, "A Rome of one's own - Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum", Muqarnas 24 (2007), 7-25.

[54] For the ancient symbolism of conoid domes in Syria and the Near East see Smith Baldwin Earl of, *The Dome. A study in the history of ideas,* Princeton 1971 (1st ed. 1950), 71-75; for the acculturation of domical forms in Islam, see Grabar Oleg, "The Islamic Dome. Some Considerations", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 22/4 (1963), 191-198; for bulbous domes in general, Born Wolfgang, "The Origin and the Distribution of the Bulbous Dome", *The Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians,* 3/4 (1943), 32-48. Besides the Epistle of St. Gregory quoted in the beginning, consider such buildings as the wooden dome of St. George's church at Ezra (Zor'ah) in Syria (515 AD, Smith, *The Dome*, fig. 50-53) and numerous similar Early Christian structures in Syria-Palestine (Smith, op.cit., various figures); the Sassanian palaces such as the famous Taq-i Kisra (Arch of Khosroes) in Ctesiphon and the Zoroastrian temples (çar-tak) such as Taht-ı Nesin in Ardasir-Kvarrah, Firuzabad (Wright George H. R., *Ancient Building Technology*, Leiden-Boston 2009, vol. 3, figs. 392 to 396); the Ulu Camii at Dunaysir close to the Turkish-Syrian border with a perfect egg-shaped dome (1184-1203, see Gabriel Albert, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale,* Paris 1940, 46-48) and many others in the region. In Syria, the Osman Pasha Külliyesi in Aleppo (1730-38), an Ottoman era mosque *with* a pointed dome. In Aleppo, the dome of al-Maqamat mosque (1303), of Madrasa al-Kamiliyya (1238), of Madrasa al-Zahiriyya (1217), of the Khair Bak funerary complex (1502); the dome of mosque Taynal in Lebanese Tripolis (1336), where Küçük Hasan Pasha served. Many more examples from the Islamic world can be seen at the webside https://archive.archnet.org/ (The Aga Khan Documentation Center at MIT and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture); see also Golvin Lucien, *Essai sur l'Architecture Religieuse Musulmane - Tome I (Généralités),* Paris, ed. Klincksieck, 1970, 88-94 and Besenval Roland, *Technologie de la voûte dans l'Orient Ancien,* Paris, ed. Recherche sur les civilizations, 1984.

[55] Caucasus, a great *p*art of Iraq and the urban centers of Central Asia belong to this cultural zone, with overlapping regions, notably in eastern Anatolia and Armenia. For Iranian domes see Coste Pascal, *Monuments modernes de la Perse mesurés, dessinés et décrits par Pascal Coste,...,publiés par*

domes are the norm. Since Late Antiquity, all these peripheral regions to Constantinople had fully developed their own elaborate and strong tradition of architecture, very often employing ogive domes, as St. Gregory himself attests in a short but interesting ideal church description already mentioned.[56] With the Ottoman advent into the Arab lands after 1517, the stylistic choices of classical Ottoman architecture hardly penetrated these areas, which continued to build upon their older architectural tradition or use a mixed style, as in the case of Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque in Cairo (1571) or the noble houses of Damascus. The Iranian world moved toward its own path. Now, we know from the *Ottoman History* by Hammer-Purgstall that Küçük Hasan Pasha, the patron of Yalı Camii, held the particularly high office of the Agha of Janissaries in 1637-38.[57] While in this office, he participated at the campaign against Safavid Persia in 1638 led by Murad IV himself, which culminated in the cruel siege and fall of Baghdad in the same year.[58] The role of Küçük Hasan Pasha during the siege must have been important, since the sultan appointed him as city commander before his departure for the Ottoman capital.[59] In the following years, Küçük Hasan Pasha served in various posts at cities along the eastern fringes of the empire, as *Beylerbeyi* of the Syrian Tripoli Eyalet (1639), of Van (1639),

ordre de son excellence le ministre de la maison de l'Empereur et des beaux-arts, Paris, ed. A. Morel, 1867, esp. Pl. LXXI; O'Kane, B., "Dome in Iranian architecture". Published online in CAIS-The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies, https://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Architecture/dome.htm (accessed December 2020); Creswell, K.A.C. "The History and Evolution of the Dome in Persia", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Irelan* 46/3 (1914), 681-701; Man'kovskaia & Golombek, *Towards the Study of Forms in Central Asian Architecture…*; M. Ashkan, Y. Ahmad, E. Arbi, "Pointed dome architecture in the Middle East and Central Asia. Evolution, definitions of morphology and typologies", *International Journal of Architectural Heritage* 6/1 (2012), 46-61.

[56] For the architectural character of these distant provinces in early Byzantium see Krautheimer Richard, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Baltimore 1965, 102-105; for their later artistic development Ousterhout Robert G., *Eastern Medieval Architecture. The Building Traditions of Byzantium and Neighboring Lands.*, Oxford University Press 2019, Chapters 6, 12, 18, 19; for the relation of Islamic architecture in Anatolia with Iran see Goodwin, *A History…*, 305-306; Blessing Patricia & Goshgarian Rachel (eds), *Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100-1500*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2017.

[57] Süreyya Bey Mehmed, "Hasan Pasha (Küçük)", *Sicill-i Osmani yahud Tezkire-i Meşahir-i Osmaniyye,* Istanbul 1996, vol. 2, 641. The first three volumes were published in 1890-93. The most recent edition is by *N. Akbayar in six volumes.*

[58] The fall of the city was the closing episode in the war of 1623-1639 between Ottoman and Safavid Empires over the control of Iraq and Caucasus. The siege of Baghdad proved to be extremely difficult because of its powerful wall; see the descriptions in Murphey Rhoads, *Ottoman Warfare, 1500-1700,* University of California Press 1999, 115-122; Hammer-Purgstall Joseph von, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, grosstenteils aus bisher unbenützten Handschriftern und Archiven.* Pest 1829 [events of 1623-1656], vol. 5, 246-259.

[59] Hammer-Purgstall (*Geschichte*, vol. 5, Pest 1829, 250-251, 255) refers to the great onslaught at the early hours of 24 December 1638, with the participation of the Agha of Janissaries. Grand vizier Tayyar Mehmed Pasha was killed during the combat. The fact that the certain Agha of Janissaries was Küçük Hasan Pasha is given also on p. 255 ("der kleine Hasan").

of Erzerum (1640), again of Baghdad (1642),[60] of Cilician Maras (1644), ending up as *Beylerbeyi* of Roumelia (1645) before participating in the campaign against Crete. There, he had an active role[61] until he was mortally wounded in 1648. Küçük Hasan Pasha was thus an officer who had rose to prominence and spent a good deal of his life in areas outside the Ottoman core, having been acquainted with forms and types of Islamic architecture pertaining to the Middle East and the wider Iranian cultural space. As stated, the cupola of Yalı Camii cannot possibly be the result of improvisation or experimentation by local craftsmen, who were after all accustomed to semi-cylindrical rather than hemispherical domes.[62] As a man of power with adequate financial means, Küçük Hasan Pasha would have the ability to employ an architect well versed in the construction of such domes, as the alleged Armenian referred to in the literature.[63] To me, the idiosyncratic cupola of Yalı Camii refers very consciously to the eastern regions of the empire, to which the patron owed his personal career success within the imperial administration system. As a high Ottoman dignitary, Küçük Hasan Pasha wished to visually proclaim his special social status among his peers and be personally identified as an individual who had fought for the empire's interests in Crete and elsewhere. The distinctive shape certainly reminded everybody of his administrative and military past. Thus, its unmistakably foreign form referred directly to the specific patron; a kind of architectural signature, immediately recognizable by the other Ottoman officials. According to G. Necipoğlu, *"patrons utilized various strategies to leave their individual mark on the public sphere, such as manipulating well-known plan types within the limits of decorum [...]".*[64] The pasha acted cunningly in this respect, as he chose a

[60] According to the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 905b), while in this post he had three towers built to strengthen the city walls.

[61] Küçük Hasan Pasha had his own galley ship, because of his high office (Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*…., 47) and seems to have actively participated in the combat, being commander of the Rumelia *sipahis* (Gülsoy, op.cit., 52, 57, 60). He is very probably the *Assan Bassa* mentioned by Higgons (*The History of Isuf Bassa* 1684, 87, 154, 172) who reports on his high esteem among the Ottoman troops.

[62] Linear, pointed vaults were the norm in Venetian Crete, both in secular and religious architecture.

[63] Giapitsoglou ("Küçük Hasan Mosque", 419) and others relay the information about an Armenian architect in charge of designing and overseeing the construction of the mosque. I couldn't locate the source of this.

[64] Necipoğlu Gülrü, *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005, 68. Decorum here means the appropriate use of scale, typology, decoration according to one's rank. See Katsarakis, "Geometry in Veli Pasha Mosque…". Also consider Ottoman Aleppo in Syria, where the meeting of Mamluk and Ottoman architectural tradition took place within the antagonism for personal and political prominence among various of Ottoman dignitaries that served in the area (Watenpaugh Heghnar Zeitlian, *Aleppo - The Image of an Ottoman City - Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries,* Leiden 2004); Kafescioğlu Ciğdem: "In the Image of Rum'- Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth Century Aleppo and Damascus", *Muqarnas 16 (1999), 70-96.*

visually conspicuous site right at the city's sea entrance. Although the location did not bear any symbolical prominence during the Venetian period, where the seat of local power concentrated behind the walls of *Castello* hill, it had a symbolical potential which Küçük Hasan Pasha did not fail to grasp. In this respect, Yalı Camii is a building with strong personal flavor, bearing a powerful analogy with Veli Pasha Mosque in Rethymnon. Molly Greene and others have discussed the individualistic role of high Ottoman officials in organizing the financial incorporation of Crete into the empire along their personal interests,[65] and Irene Bierman has extensively commented on the "Ottomanization" process of the urban centers of the island,[66] recognizing two interconnected patterns. The first was a struggle to secure land revenues on the island through acquiring private property; the other was chiefly characterized by building activity among officials who participated in the war campaign against Venetian Crete. In Hania, the sultan may have been content with a mosque at a former Dominican monastery; in Rethymnon with a mosque outside the commercial core;[67] the rest was "not his business". Having typically honored him, these officials were engaged in securing the most prominent positions for their mosques and *vakıf* institutions within the urban fabric of the island's captured cities, according to a hierarchical structure. Among them, Küçük Hasan Pasha had certainly a good share, transplanting a bit of architectural "exoticism" into Crete (to use a modern term), in order to pronounce his achievements and elevated position in the Ottoman military hierarchy. For him, the career that had begun in Baghdad, the distant "Babylon" in Higgons's narrative,[68] terminated abruptly in Hania. One cannot but see that war realities, human ambition and sources of artistic inspiration are here bitterly entangled. If Sir Higgons could paraphrase the old English rhyme and ask "How many miles from Babylon to Crete?", the answer he may get would be something along "less than a war drum's beat".[69]

[65] Greene Molly, *A shared world. Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton 2000. This is a key part of her thesis, that has been corroborated by later research and generally accepted.

[66] Bierman Irene, "The Ottomanization of Crete", in I. Bierman, R. A. Abou el Haj, D. Preziosi (eds.), *The Ottoman City and its Parts. Urban Structure and Social Order,* New Rochelle-New York 1991, 53-76; on p. 66 comments on the new Ottoman mosques in Crete being built at locations close to city entrances, that bore no specific importance for the previous, Venetian regime.

[67] For the sultanic mosque at Hania see Gerola, *Monumenti,* vol. II, 135-140 and Manousakas, *Τζαμιά*…, 19-23; for Rethymnon Katsarakis, *Ibrahim Han Mosque*…,.

[68] Higgons, *The History of Isuf Bassa*…,.

[69] Nineteenth and twentieth century maps of Hania have been published in Kalligas & Romanos, *Μεσαιωνική πόλη*… The historical topography, showing the small promontory, is recorded in a series of Venetian maps. A lot of them can be viewed at the site T*ravelogues-Traveller's Views* (Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation, www.el.travelogues.gr); others have been published in Gerola, *Monumenti*, vol. I; Porfyriou Heleni, "The Cartography of Crete in the First Half of the 17th Century. A Collective Work of a Generation of Engineers", in *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies – Tetradia*

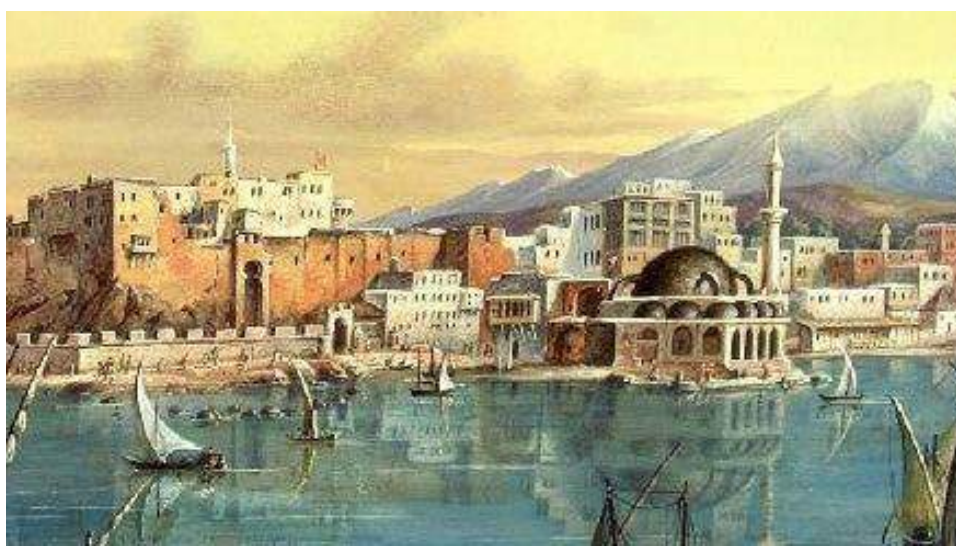
Ergasias Instituotou Neoellinikon Erevnon 25/26 (2004), 65-92, 68); Calabi Donatella et al., *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1700*, Venezia 1986, 123-126. Clear, annotated Venetian maps of the island's towns during the Cretan War have been published in Diakrousis, *O Κρητικός Πόλεμος…*, 281-305. Well known are the maps by Francesco Basilicata (1618, published in 1994 as *Creta Regnum*, Iraklion) and by Giorgio Corner (1625, Gerola, *Monumenti*, vol. I, fig.8), which show St. Nikolas church at the spot of Yalı Camii. Among them, of special interest is the 18th c. anonymous map (Calabi et al., op.cit.,141), showing the Ottoman town with a scematic plan of Yalı Camii. The mosque is also depicted on *Bonneval & Dumas map from 1783 (Bonneval & Dumas, Reconnoissance),* J. P. de Tournefort's picture (Tournefort Joseph Pitton de, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roy. Contenant l'histoire ancienne & moderne de plusieurs Isles de l'Archipel, de Constantinople etc*, vol. I. Paris 1717). Ferdinand Bauer's picture from 1786-87 (Bodleian Library MS. Sherard 408, accessible at https:// digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/9368560d-f5ae-421d-ad62-8ea6b479132e/surfaces/2c0380f5-1cfd-474e-8ad7-cbe237e3119f/ reproduced in Manousakas, *Ιστορικά κτίρια…*, 79) is after Tournefort the oldest known picture of Yalı Camii. Very accurate and interesting are Friedrich Maximilian Hessemer's drawing from 1829 (Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, accessible at staedelmuseum.de/go/ds/5042z, reproduced here as fig. 4) and the anonymous painting from the 1830's (surfaced around 2015 and published in Manousakas *Ιστορικά κτίρια…*, 80). Edward Lear's sketches from 1864 convey more a romantic spirit (Lear Edward, The Cretan Journal, Athens-Dedham 1984). A sketch by the painter A. Alexandridis from around 1865 depicts the north side of the mosque (Tzompanaki, *Η αρχιτεκτονική στην Κρήτη…*, 23). None of these depictions shows any embankment. The earliest photographs of the building with embankment along the west front are by Baron Paul des Granges (attributed to W. J. Stillman) from about 1869. They are accessible at The Getty Research Institution (www.getty.edu/art/collection/ object/106S12 and www.getty.edu/art/collection/ object/106S14). Another set of photographs is by Josef Berinda from the 1870's (*Kriti 1870*. 2019, fig. 2 & 3; see a similar photograph at Istanbul SALT Research Institute (archives.saltresearch.org/ handle/123456789/117968). An interesting photograph by William James Stillman from the 1860's (reproduced in Manousakas, *Τζαμιά…*, 3, 34) captures the mosque from a second vantage point, its southwest corner. All these clearly record an embankment that ran only along the east front, terminating at the northwest corner of the mosque and not continuing further as does today. So, the first embankment must be a work of the late 1860's. The French astronomer Aymar Eugène de la Baume Pluvinel, who visited Crete in 1890, also left a series of photographs from the old Hania port and Yali Camii, before the construction of the new facade (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/ btv1b85538486/); this situation is also recorded in a series of photographs by Paul Blanc from 1886-1901 (Simandiraki Zaharenia (ed.), *Κρήτη - Εικόνες μιας εποχής. Η φωτογραφική συλλογή του Paul Blanc γενικού προξένου της Γαλλίας στην Κρήτη (1886-1901)* [Crete – Images of an Era. The photo collection of Paul Blanc, Consul General of France in Crete], Hania 2010). Of great interest is a close-up of the mosque, shot from the southwest corner by the local photographer Behaeddin Rahmi from the early 1890's, capturing the brand-new facade and the embankment at the same state, terminating at the northwest corner (reproduced in Zei, *Χώρος και φωτογραφία…*, 101 and a high-resolution image of it at Istanbul SALT Research Institute, accessible at https://archives.saltresearch.org/ bitstream/ 112010/1/AHGRT072). Thus, the full-scale embankment of the small bay to the north of the mosque must be a work of 1890-1895, built at the same time with the nearby neoclassical Customs House (Manousakas, *Τζαμιά…*, 39), very soon after the completion of the mosque's new façade. The full embankment is clearly depicted in an 1897 photograph of the mosque's north front, at the Library of Congress (accessible at www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ cph.3b13480/) and the photos by Émile Honoré Destelle, the French high military commander who served in Crete during 1897-1901 (accessible at site.destelle.free.fr). Gerola, (*Monumenti*, vol. Ia, fig. 11), in his skeletal map of Hania, shows the small square between the mosque and the Customs House.

Fig. 1 *The town of Hania and its port.* ***Top.*** *As depicted in the Atlas (Cretae Regnum) of F. Basilicata (1618). North is to the bottom of the picture. The rocky promontory with St. Nicolas church is marked in blue.* ***Bottom****. View from the North. Yalı Camii is at the juncture of the military east (left) and the commercial west (right) basins of the port (J. P. de Tournefort, Relation d'un Voyage du Levant etc, vol. I. Paris 1717).*

Fig. 2 *Detail from F. Basilicata's map of the port of Hania, showing the promontory and a small church (1618, published in 1994 as* Cretae Regnum*, Iraklion, Mikros Naftilos & Vikelea Vivliothiki).*

Fig. 3 *The old port of Hania and Yalı Camii on an eighteenth century anonymous Venetian map (Calabi, Donatella et al.,* Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia *1570-170, Venezia, Arsenale Editrice 1986, 141).*

Fig. 4 ***Top.*** *Friedrich Maximilian Hessemer, drawing from 1829 (Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, accessible at staedelmuseum.de/go/ds/5042z). In the background, the remains of the Venetian Rector's Palace.* ***Bottom.*** *Detail from an anonymous painting from the 1830's (reproduction from Manousakas Manolis, Ιστορικά κτίρια της πόλης των Χανίων [Historical Buildings of Hania], Hania 2019, 78).*



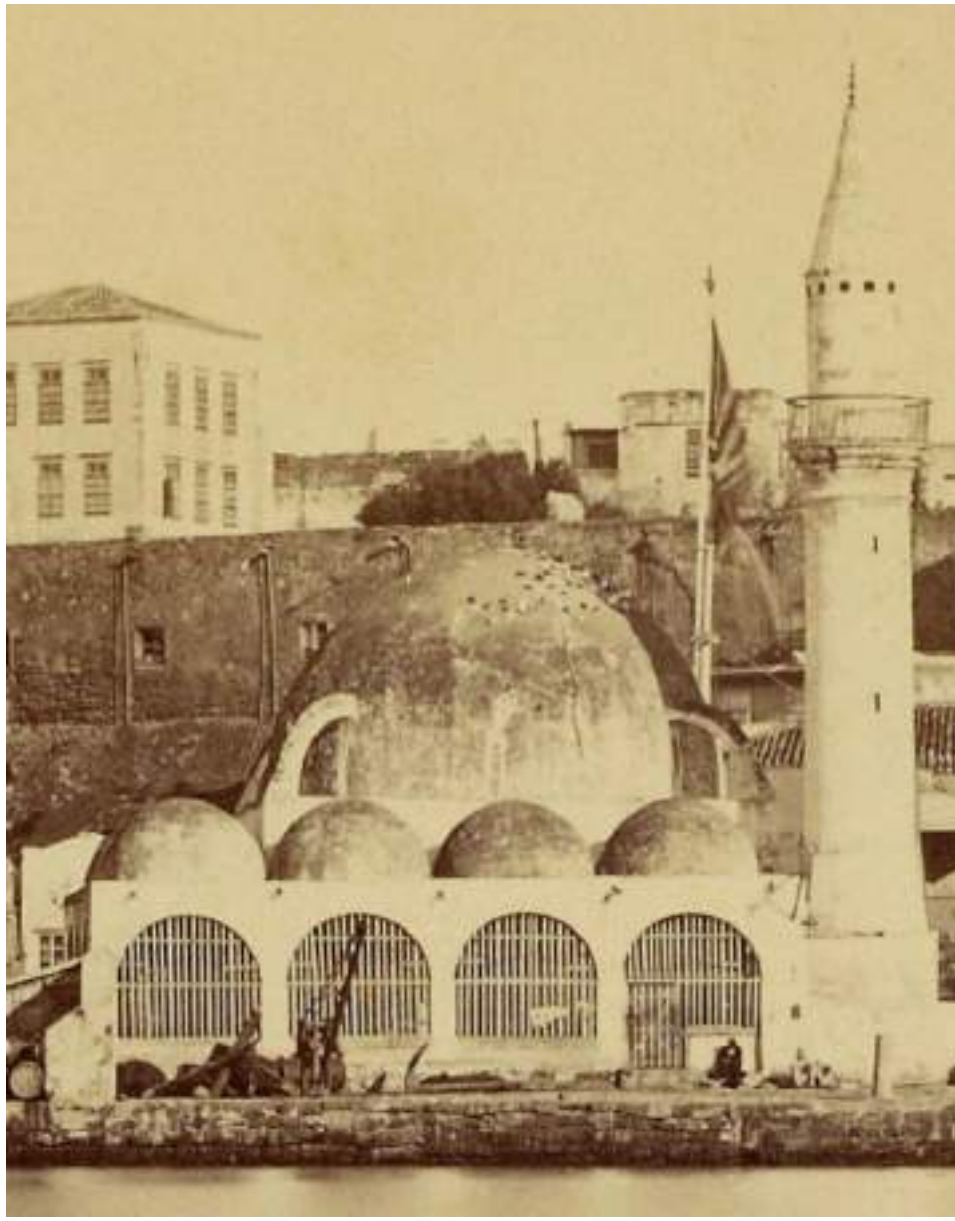


Fig. 5 *Yalı Camii in about 1869, photographed by Baron Paul des Granges (also attributed to William James Stillman). Detail of a panoramic image (The Getty Research Institution, www.getty.edu /art/collection/object/106S12).*

Fig. 6 *A collection of old photographs showing Yalı Camii. (***a***) Anonymous, early 20th c. postcard; (***b***) detail from Ferdinand Bauer 1786-87 (Bodleian Library MS. Sherard 408, accessible at https://digital.Bodleian.ox.ac.Uk/objects/9368560d-f5ae-421d-ad62-ea6b479132e/surfaces/2c0380f5-1cfd-474e-8ad7-cbe237e3119f/ reproduced in Manousakas Istorika ktiria 2019, 79); (***c***) detail from Aymar Eugène de la Baume Pluvinel, 1890. The flag belongs to the nearby British Consulate (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85538486/ public domain; (***d***) Library of Congress 1897 (www.loc.gov/ pictures/resource/cph.3b13480/); (***e***) Émile Honoré Destelle, 1897-1901 (site.destelle.free.fr courtesy of J.P. Destelle Archives); (***f***) detail from Josef Berinda, 1870's (Istanbul SALT Research Institute, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/117968).*

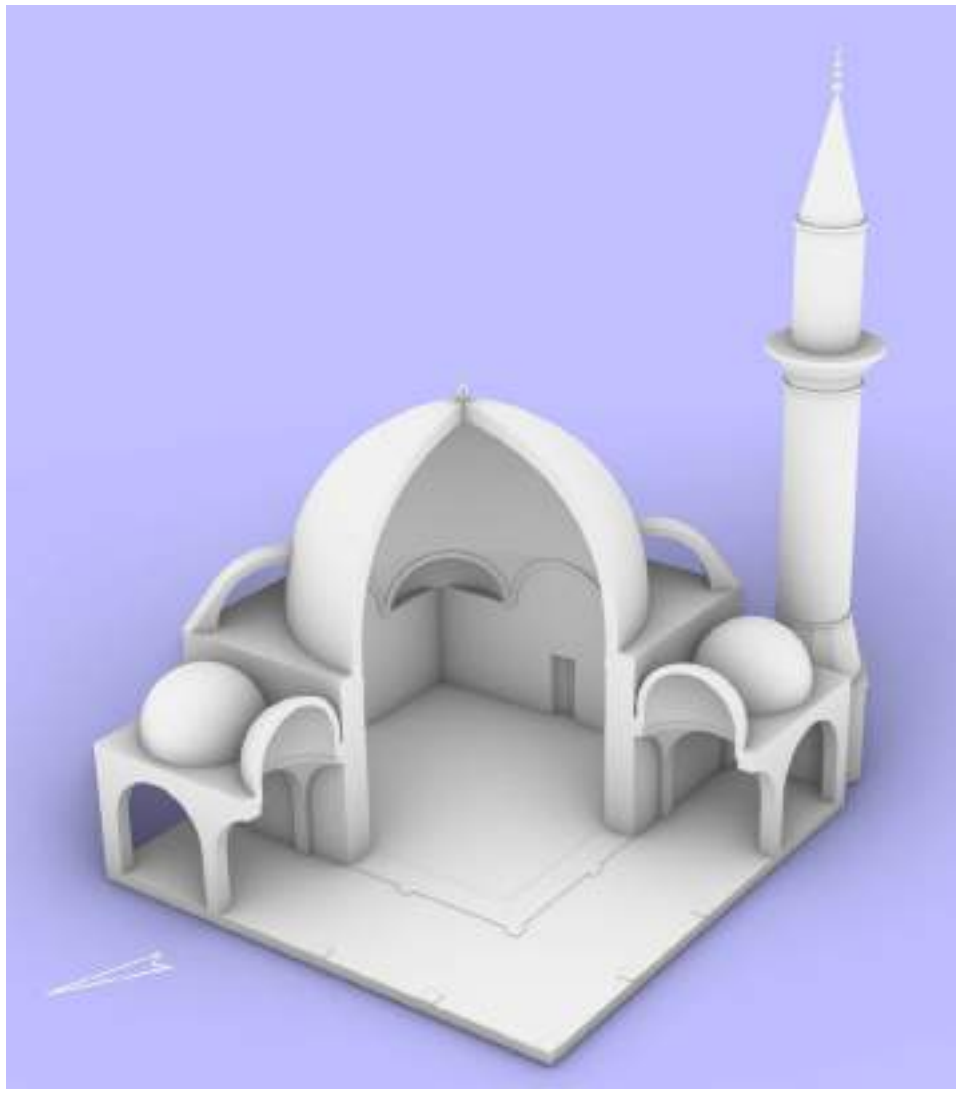


Fig. 7 *Computer generated, three-dimensional model of the mosque's ideal geometry, excluding all actual inaccuracies. Note that according to this abstract model, there should be a slight, horizontal "knick" at the meeting point of the pendentives' spherical curvature and the curvature of the dome. In reality none is observable, due to constructional approximations and plastering (modeling by Maria Katsaraki).*

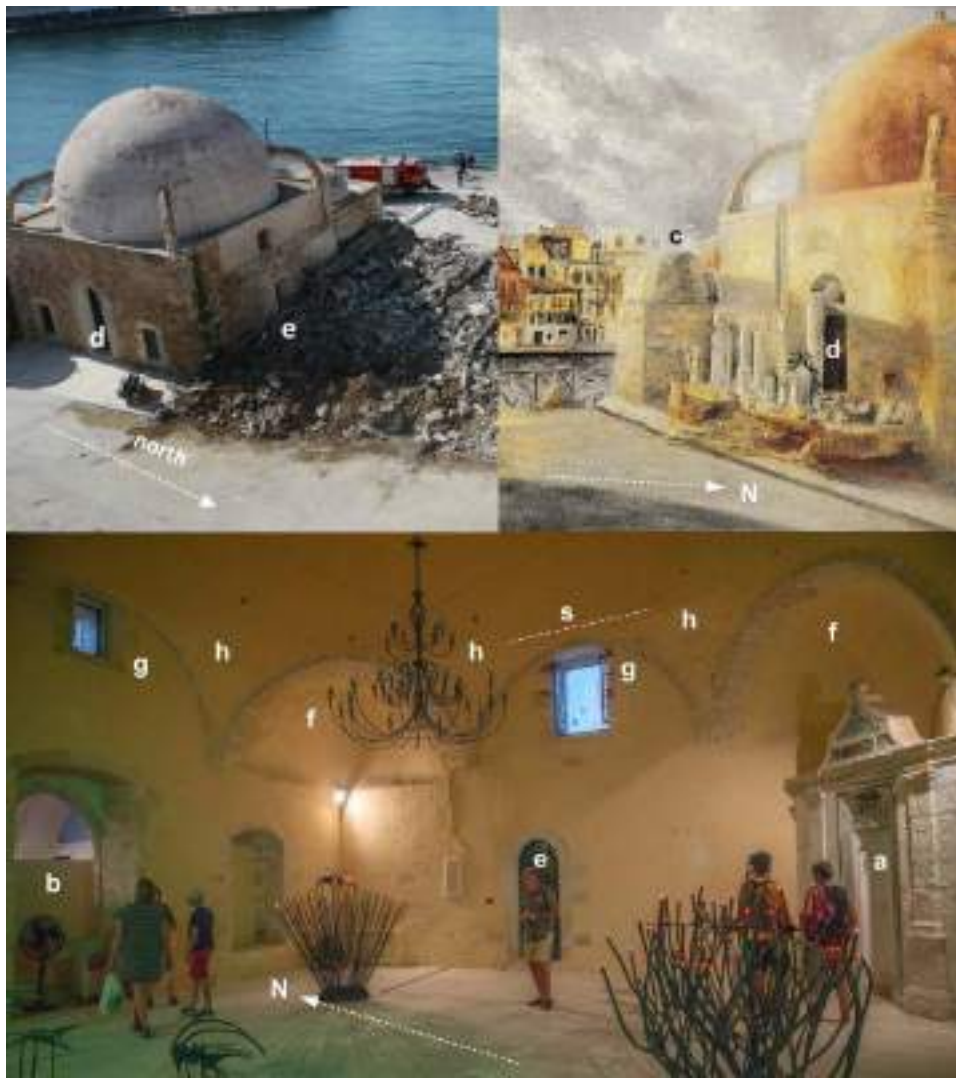


Fig. 8 ***Top left.*** *View from the northeast corner, during the demolition of the tourist pavilion (2017);* ***Top right.*** *The south front of the mosque with remains of the cemetery in 1969 (painting by A. Kirmizaki, reproduced from Manousakas, Τζαμιά…, 80);* ***Bottom****. Interior of the mosque; (***a***) 19th century qibla; (***b***) the Gothic portal, original main entrance to the mosque; (***c***) minaret; (***d***) neoclassical door, opened in the place of the original qibla; (***e***) small side door, reconstructed in the 1990's; (***f***) squinches; (***g***) blind arches; (***h***) pendentives; (***s***) springing level of the dome (see also the comment in fig. 7).*

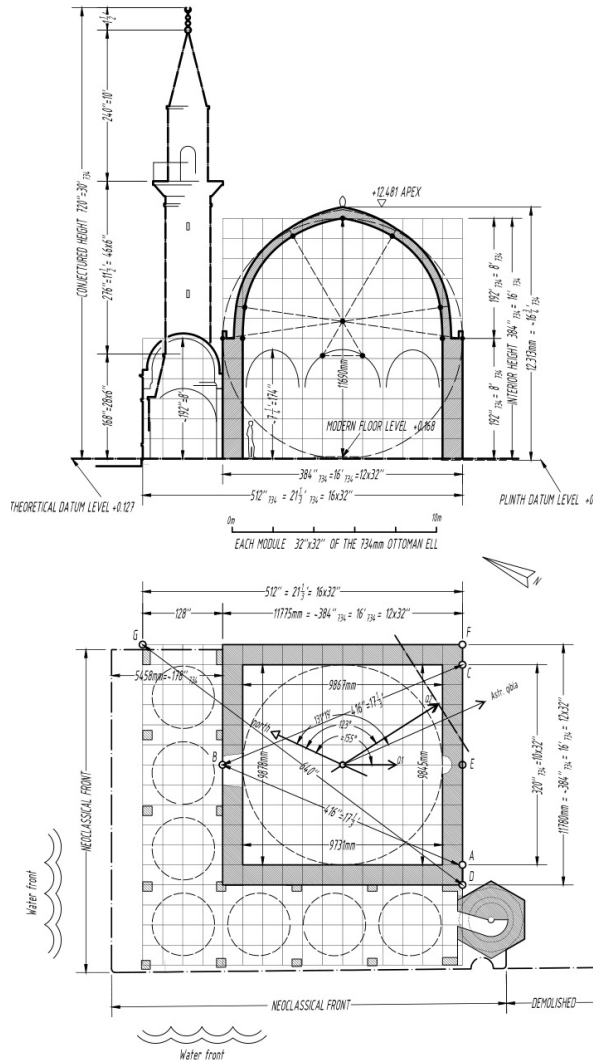


Fig. 9 *Schematic plan and section of the mosque with the modular grid and dimensions in 734 mm Ottoman ell. North is to the left (drawing by the author).*

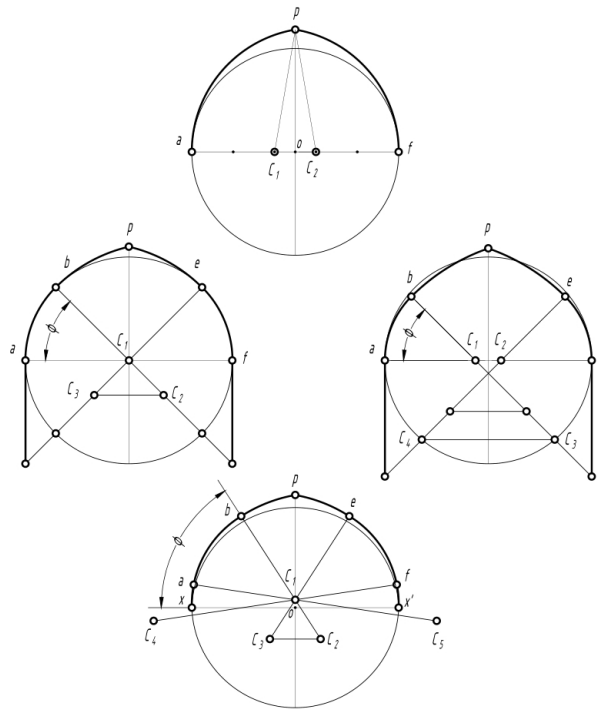


Fig. 10 *Some general principles of arc tracing with multiple centers.* ***Top. Case 1;*** *tracing with two centers, C_1 and C_2 that lie on the diameter of a circle (the principle of the gothic arch). Here the span af has been divided into fifths, but theoretically it suffices for C_1 and C_2 to be equidistant from the axis of symmetry; in fact, they can lie outside the circle. The more C_1 and C_2 diverge from the circle's center, the more acute the profile becomes. Arches generated with this method are aesthetically "drier" than three-centered ones;* ***Middle left. Case 2;*** *tracing with three centers. If C_1 is a circle's center, the exact position of C_2 and C_3 depends on angle φ which can be defined according to the architect's or geometer's whims (usually 45° or 60° but other means are geometrically legitimate, such as a modular grid, special triangles, dividing the semicircle af in equal parts etc). More variety can be introduced by choosing the vertical distance of C_2 and C_3 from baseline af : they could lie on the circle, inside the circle, or on the walls etc;* **Middle right**. **Case 3;** *four-centered arch. Generalization of the previous Case 2, but now C_1 has split into C_1 and C_2;* **Bottom. Case 4**; *five-centered arch. Same as Case 2, but two more centers are introduced, namely C_4 and C_5. Centers C_2 and C_3 are still defined by angle φ, but C_1 has now moved up from the circle's center (if it moved below line xx′, the arch apex p would also be positioned below the semicircle and arc xa would become extremely short). Compared with the previous cases, this scheme gives an extra "swell" to the dome (drawing by the author).*

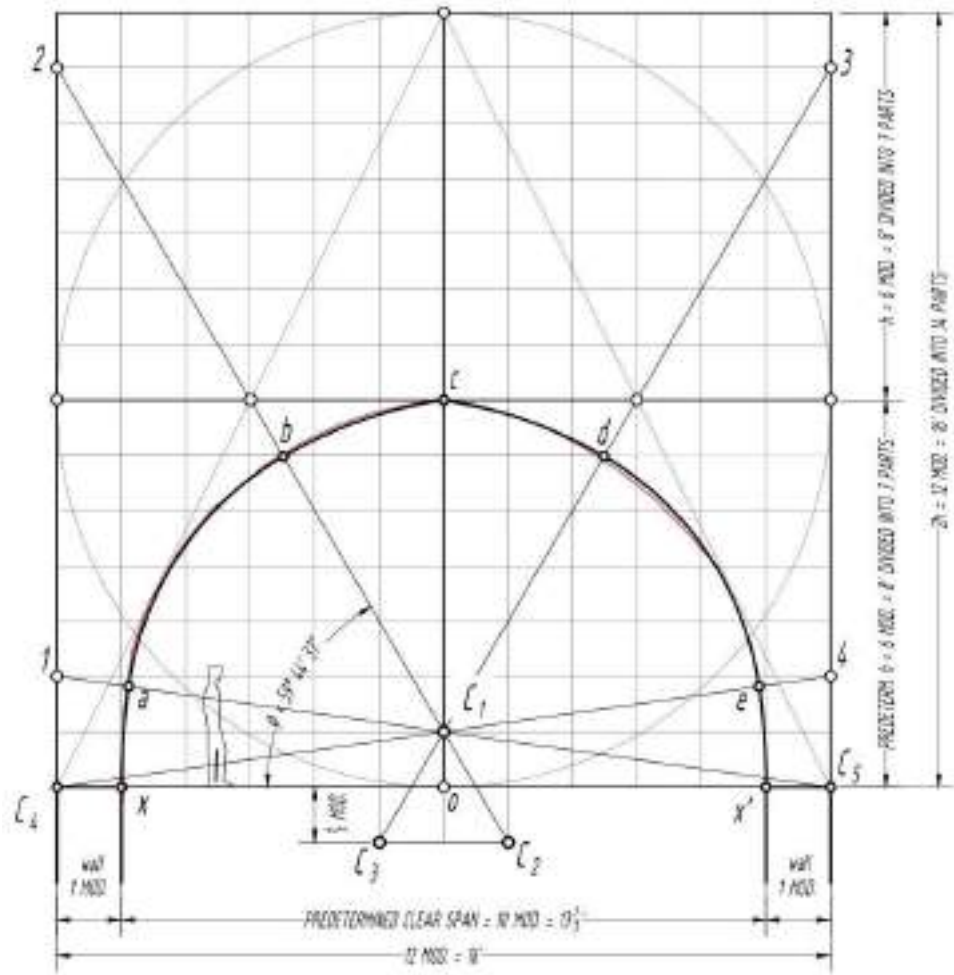


Fig. 11 *Proposed theoretical scheme of Yalı Camii dome's tracing with five centers, specifying the general procedure described in the caption of fig. 10. Span and rise of the mode have been predetermined by the architect at 10 modules (13⅓′ ells) and 6 modules (8′ ells) respectively. Angle* φ *is here defined by a grid which divides the rise* h *of the dome into sevenths (*$^{h}/_{7}$*). Center* C_1 *lies one the symmetry axis, one seventh of* h *above baseline* xox′ *(the springing of the dome). The extra centers* C_4 *and* C_5 *lie on the outer face of the walls, and are connected to points 1 and 4, two sevenths above baseline. Centers* C_2 *and* C_3 *lie one seventh (*$^{h}/_{7}$*) below baseline* xox′. *Arcs* xa, ab, bc *can now be traced with tangential continuity. Note that the bisector of* ab *cuts line b-*C_2 precisely *at* C_1 *(proven by the AutoCAD modeling). Alternatively, angle* φ *could be defined exactly at 60º. Then triangle* C_1 C_2 C_3 *becomes isosceles, but the position of center* C_1 *remains the same, i.e.* $^{h}/_{7}$ *above baseline. This only insignificantly alters the dome's profile. The red line is the existing profile of the dome in the North-South direction (drawing by the author).*

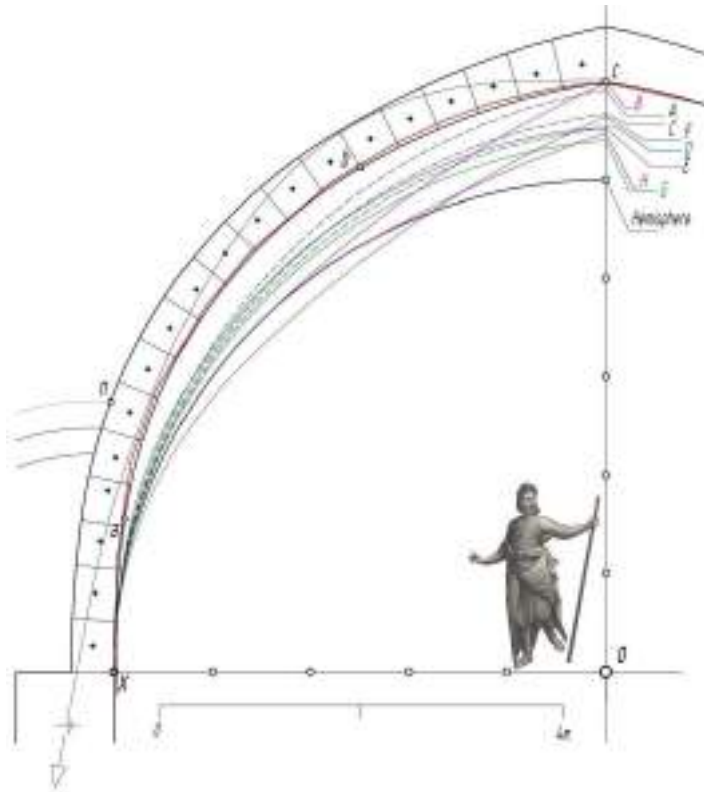


Fig. 12 *Close-up of the theoretical dome's profile described in fig. 11, compared to the actual surveyed curve (red line), and also to the hemisphere and other various profiles described below;* xo *is half the dome's clear span; (***A***) dashed line, two-centered arch, division of span into fifths; (***B***) continuous line; similar to Case 2 in fig. 10: three-centered arch,* $\varphi=45^{o}$*;* C_1 *is in this case identical with point O; centers* C_2 *and* C_3 *lie on the walls' inner face; (***C***) dashed line, two-centered arch, division of span into sevenths; (***D***) continuous line, approximate external profile of Kaya Çelebi Mosque in Van; (***E***) dashed line, two-centered arch, division of span into ninths; (***F***) continuous line, similar to Case 3 in fig. 10: four-centered arch,* $\varphi=45^{o}$ *with* C_1 *and* C_2 *on* xo *and the distance between them* $^{2}/_{16}$ *of the span; Centers* C_4 *and* C_5 *are on the walls' inner faces; (***G***) continuous line, approximate profile of Osman Paşa Mosque in Aleppo, copy from a published drawing; (***H***) continuous line, similar to Case 2 in fig. 10: three-centered arch,* $\varphi=60^{o}$*;* C_1 *is here identical with point O;* C_2 *and* C_3 *lie on the walls' inner face. Arches and domes are statically indeterminate structures, so in theory there are unlimited paths the thrust line can follow in its way down to the walls. Following the method of graphic statics, a possible thrust line is shown, which falls entirely within the shell. Angle* $x\hat{o}a=18^{o}$*,* $x\hat{o}b=64^{o}$*,* $x\hat{o}n=\sim29^{o}$*. The human figure is an Ottoman Armenian architect, from* Recueil de cent estampes représentent differentes nations du Levant*, 1714-15. (drawing by the author).*

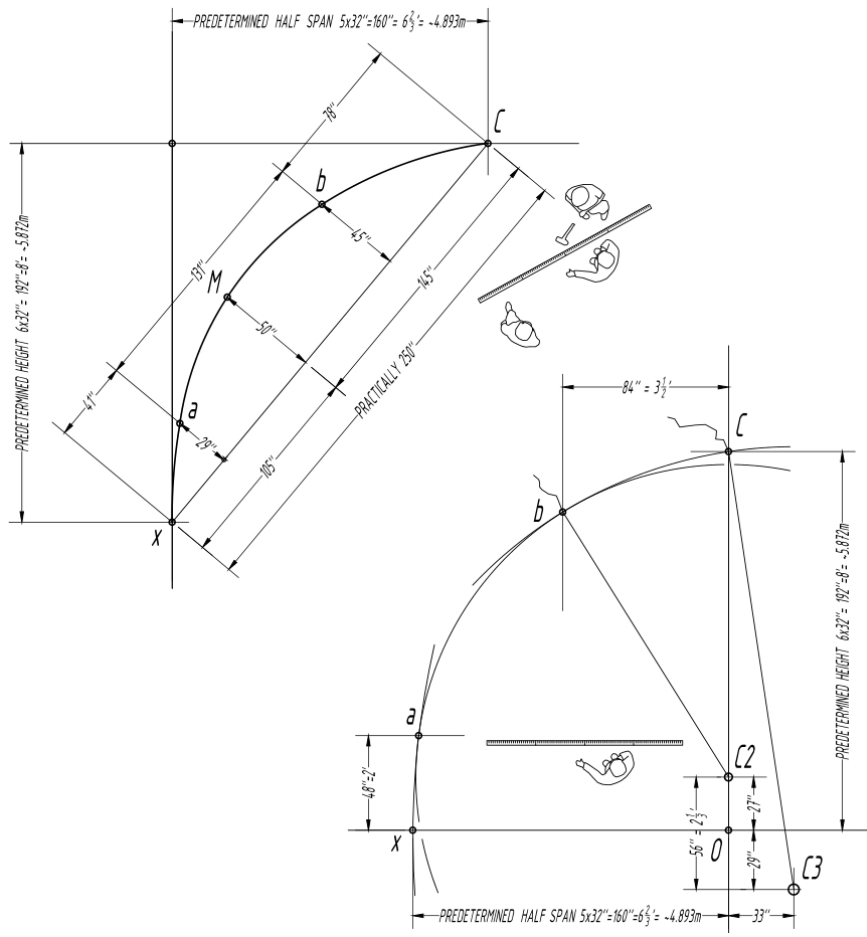


Fig. 13 *Two possible methods for transferring the theoretical dome's profile on a flat surface and to a 1:1 scale, to serve as a mould for the formwork ribs.* **Upper Left**. *Use of simple "coordinates" to define points a and b on an irregular bow. The precise curvature could be better defined with the additional point M. It would certainly have been a trial-and-error procedure with the help of flexible battens, corrected solely by sight in order to ensure the profile's geometrical smoothness;* **Right**. *The arcs are defined with the help of cords and circles. First a horizontal line passing 2 ells above baseline xo is marked; then a vertical one passing 3½ ells left from co; finally centers C_2, C_3 are marked on the ground. It then would suffice to draw two circles with the help of cords, thus defining points a and b. Note that it would not be necessary at all to use center C_4 (see fig. 11) which lies at a distance and controls the first arc segment xa; this is so short and open, that it could be easily estimated by sight. Both approaches are practically faithful to our theoretical scheme presented in fig. 11 (drawing by the author).*

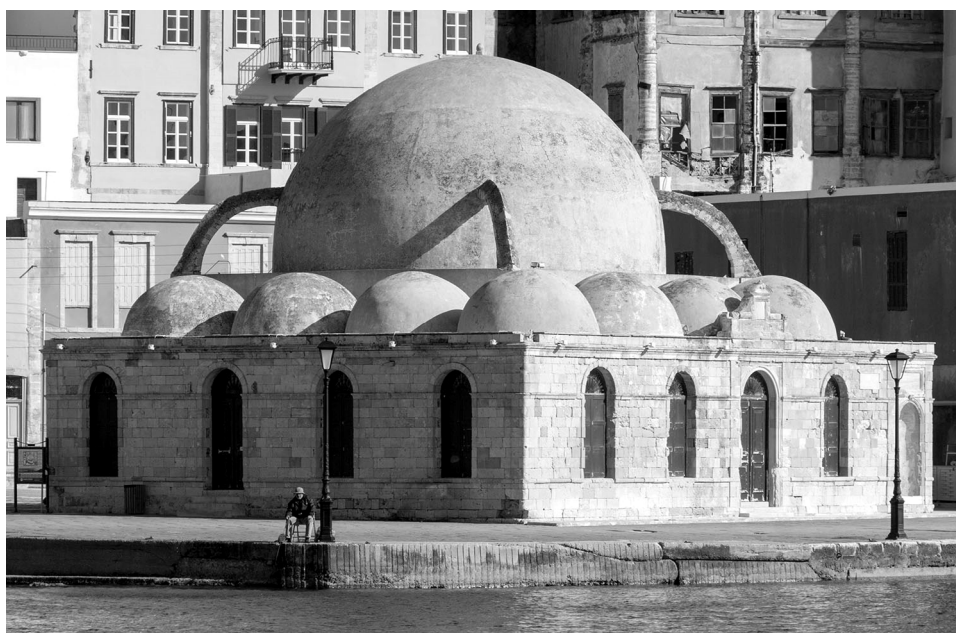


Fig. 14 *Reconstruction of the dome of Kaya Çelebi Camii (1660) in the old citadel of Van, Turkey, in 1993 (www.eba.gov, accessed Dec. 2019).* **Fig. 15** *Yalı Camii in 2018, photographed across the mole.*

OTTOMAN IMPERIAL SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS' ROLE IN ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE RELATED STUDIES AND PRACTICES IN LATE OTTOMAN ERA

Seda Kula*

The agenda of post-Tanzimat Ottoman architecture, in conformance with state policies, had two major concerns: the re-evaluation of cultural and architectural heritage to facilitate building-up of a national identity and to modernize Ottoman lifestyle via an accordingly reorganized architectural and urban program, incorporating new building programs, new materials, modern construction techniques and modern infrastructure, where necessary. Ottoman grand vizier's note and *irade* dated on the 1st of January 1882 in response to Osman Hamdi Bey's long and detailed petition, declared that Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) was to be founded and that Osman Hamdi Bey would be its first principal, in addition to his position as the director of Imperial Museum. Hence, as of 1882, the Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts would be the main educational institution supportive of these above-mentioned goals. The major emphasis in Osman Hamdi Bey's petitions,[1] next to the great demand for capable Ottoman architects to replace the foreign builders dominating post-Tanzimat Ottoman architecture, was the need to create an indigenous Turkish art. The country needed a new and original spirit, a new Turkish style in arts and architecture, that could embrace and

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[1] T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi [hereafter: BOA], İ..DH-67709, January 1, 1882.

represent everybody. This new Turkish art and architecture should also respond to new and modern requirements and have a theory based on European norms, while also preserving its own identity. This last called for native professionals with profound knowledge of the country's artistic and architectural heritage so that they could preserve them and derive from them the new Turkish art and architecture. This paper aims to assess how Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts met these goals and focuses on the way the school and its early graduates contributed to the architectural history and restoration disciplines.

Founders and Education in Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts and Institutional Efforts for Architectural Heritage

From the very start, academic, student and later-on graduate body of Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts were expected to contribute to the late Ottoman discourse on architectural history and restoration. The very first expression of this approach had actually been before the establishment of the School in 1873 when the team headed by Osman Hamdi Bey responsible for the Ottoman participation in International Exposition of Vienna composed the book "Usul-u Mimari-i Osmani", or the Method of Ottoman Architecture.[2] Osman Hamdi Bey, who was an artist and archaeologist, and also the director of the Imperial Museum, had during his long stay in Paris often attended the painting section's studios of École des Beaux Arts[3] after whose regulations he modelled the Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts.[4]

Figure 1: *The first professor and student body of the Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts. Vallaury is the seated second with hat on the front row next to Osman Hamdi Bey seated third on the front row.*

[2] Ersoy Ahmet, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance': 'Architectural Revival and Its Discourse During the Abdülaziz Era (1861-1876)'", PhD Diss., Harvard University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge Mass. 2000, 8–267.

[3] Eldem Edhem, *Osman Hamdi Bey sözlüğü*, İstanbul 2010, 114–17.

[4] BOA, İ..DH-67709. This document also includes the school regulations.

The architecture section of this Parisian model had a curriculum and organization, where architectural history and archaeology was predominant.[5] On the other hand, Alexandre Vallaury who cooperated with Osman Hamdi Bey (Figure 1[6]) in establishing the architecture section of the Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts, had received architectural education between 1868-1878[7] in Paris École des Beaux Arts which in that epoque greatly favored eclecticism.[8] This systematic eclectic discours of architecture shaped Vallaury's architectural conduct and would have long-running impacts on his career as an architect and as a professor of Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts. Nineteenth century eclecticism in architecture was indeed a method or approach that greatly responded to the needs of Ottoman architecture as well. It should be noted that eclecticism in architecture was not historicism at all, nor was it a style. Eclecticism was rather an approach that aimed to fulfill modern needs without cutting ties with the past. The eclectic architect tried to create a contemporary architecture for contemporary needs while also constituting a bond between traditional and modern values, a link between art and new technology; hence it always opted for a compromise between tradition and modernity. And for this purpose the architect also had to be as competent in technology and engineering as in architectural composition; for he had to represent structure as best as he could in his design.[9] Summarizing, eclecticism in architecture required: Emphasise on structure, a very wide repertory of historical references that the architect should choose from among and combine as appropriate for the project, decoration integrated to the structure and building, the free scaling of the building in reference to a well-recognized element chosen and integrated to the design, the scale being in accordance with the function and aim of the design and the design/architectural composition producing an optimal solution that brought a compromise between all parties involved in the project.[10]

With this educational background and in cooperation with Osman Hamdi Bey whose strong views on Ottoman artistic and architectural heritage are evident in his petitions as described above, Vallaury was evidently increasingly urged to research

[5] Chafée Richard, "The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole Des Beaux Arts," in: *The Architecture of the Ecole Des Beaux Arts*, New York-Cambridge Mass. 1977, 79–94; Guédy Henry, *L'Enseignement à L'Ecole Nationale et Spéciale Des Beaux Arts Section de l'Architecture*, Paris 1899, 16–29, 136, 198, 439, 440.

[6] Cezar Mustafa, *Sanatta Batı'ya açılış ve Osman Hamdi,* vol. 2, İstanbul 1995, 466.

[7] Archives Nationales de France [hereafter: ANF], AJ/52/384, "Ecole Des Beaux Arts Student Files," n.d.

[8] J. Épron, *Comprendre l'éclectisme*, Paris 1997, 73.

[9] Épron, *Comprendre*, 12, 141-190.

[10] Seda Kula Say, "Beaux Arts Kökenli Bir Mimar Olarak Alexandre Vallaury'nin Meslek Pratiği ve Eğitimciliği Açısından Kariyerinin İrdelenmesi", PhD Diss, İstanbul, Teknik Üniversitesi / Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü 2014, 73.

and incorporate Ottoman architectural heritage and historical references throughout his academic and professional career. Examining his numerous architectural works produced in parallel to his professorship in Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts, it can be observed that Vallaury gradually built an eclectic architectural vocabulary of his own, including increasingly more Turkish-Ottoman-Seldjukide references he adopted, adapted and scaled according to his composition over time.[11] Some very well known examples of Alexandre Vallaury's architecture incorporating this eclectic architectural vocabulary include Pera Palas Hotel (Figure 2), Ottoman Administration of Debts' Headquarters (Figure 3), Ottoman Bank Headquarters (Figure 4) and Ottoman Imperial School of Medicine (Figure 5) in Istanbul. Vallaury probably made use of his eclectic repertory in his architecture classes and studios as well, so his eclectic re-use of Ottoman architectural heritage motifs must have influenced his students as well.

Figure 2: *Pera Palace hotel, inner covered court, Beyoğlu, 1893.*

[11] Kula Say, "Beaux Arts...", 299–303, Annex B.

Figure 3: *Headquarters of Administration of Debts at Cağaloğlu, 1897 ; entrance. (today İstanbul Erkek Lisesi campus)*

Figure 4: *Ottoman Bank headquarters, Galata, 1892. (today SALT Galata) Detail from rear façade.*

Figure 5:
Tıbbiye-i Şahane, Haydarpaşa,1903. (Today Sağlık Bilimleri University campus) Rear façade

The number of architect graduates increased gradually and by the turn of the century Muslim Ottoman subjects also began to appear among students.[12] In early 1900s, some years after the School began graduating architects, we see efforts and attempts by the Museum Directorate and Osman Hamdi Bey via written petitions to have their graduates be given the priority in state commissions and restoration works. In a 1905 petition written from the Museum Directorate to the Ministry of Education, Osman Hamdi Bey was denoting that architecture was a positive science and its proper practice by Turkish architects was a crucial matter. He continued to remark that though the Imperial School of Fine Arts had already graduated many proficient architects since 20 years, due to lack of regulations to benefit fully from their services, public works were still recruiting masons and other workforce completely ignorant of science of architecture and so the resultant buildings were far from being robust, let alone being elegant and stylish, and that such incapable workforce recruited in reparations and restorations caused damage in ancient edifices as well. On the other hand , he emphasised that it was essential to use and incorporate «Ottoman style» in buildings and only learned local architects could do this properly. For these reasons, he suggested precautions to be taken to recruit predominantly learned architects who had studied architecture at school. And for those other workforce who were not graduates of an architecture school, he insisted that Imperial School of Fine Arts should organize examinations to test their proficiency and only those who passed it should be authorized to be recruited in public works[13]. Similar petitions within this context are observed to have been assertively submitted by the Museum via the Ministry of Education to Ministry of Interior Affairs, to the Municipality as well as State Council in 1905 and 1906. While these efforts to recruit learned architects targeted municipalities, restoration and reparation activities predominantly concerned the edifices belonging to various foundations which were controlled by the Ministry of Foundations. Hence, regarding the Ottoman quest about architectural heritage and researching and restoring it, The Imperial School of Fine Arts was to cooperate with and educate architects to work for the Imperial Museum and the Ministry of Foundations.

The institutional chronology of architectural heritage of Ottoman Empire from Tanzimat onwards can be summarized as follows[14]:

[12] The documentable statistics regarding number of graduates per year until 1912 is as follows: 1889:6, 1891:5, 1892:5, 1894:4, 1895:5, 1896:6, 1897:9, 1899:9, 1900:16, 1901:11, 1902:8, 1903:14, 1904:9, 1905:9, 1906:18, 1907:7, 1908:28, 1909:11, 1910:9, 1911:13, 1912:22. Kula Say, 325–32.

[13] BOA, ŞD 220-26," March 25, 1905.

[14] Kula Say Seda, Aydın Elif Özlem Oral & Tekin Ömer Faruk, "Sustainability Prospects for the Urban Identity of the Seldjuk City of Konya: The Case of Alaaddin Mound", *Importance of Place*, Sarajevo, 2017.

- 1838: Ministry of Foundations, Directorate of Reparations was founded
- 1858: Law punishing unpermitted archaeological excavations was issued
- 1863: In March,the state sent inspectors to Rumeli and Anatolia, in order to detect and solve problems in implementation of new regulations about heritage
- 1867: The assignment of a place across the tomb of Mahmoud II as the Museum
- 1869: First Regulations for Ancient Edifices; founding of Museum as an institution
- 1873: Participation to International Exposition of Vienna and the publication of «Usul-u Mimari-i Osmani» (Method of Ottoman Architecture)
- 1873: Moving of the collections in St.Irene to Çinili Kiosk as the new museum site
- 1874: Regulations for Ancient edifices was renewed
- 1880: Ministry of Foundations, Department of Reparations and Constructions was reorganized
- 1881: Osman Hamdi Bey became the director of the Imperial Museum
- 1882: Imperial School of Fine Arts was founded
- 1889: Inauguration of the new Imperial Museum and the new Museum Regulations
- 1892-1893: Demand of the Imperial Museum via ministry of Education from governors and directors of education to collect, document and send ancient items related to especially Principalities' and Seldjuks' era in Anatolia
- 1899: Attempt of Osman Hamdi Bey to open a section for Islamic Crafts in a seperate space in the museum building
- 1906: Turkish and Islamic edifices' preservation issues were added to the Museum Regulations
- 1908: Halil Edhem Bey became the director of Imperial Museum
- 1909: Recruitment of new architects and engineers in Ministry of Foundations Department of Reparations and Constructions
- 1910: Osman Hamdi Bey died; Halil Edhem Bey became also the director of Imperial School of Fine Arts. Participation to Munich Exposition of Masterpieces of Islamic Arts
- 1911: Reorganisation of Ministry of Foundations Department of Reparations and Constructions with provincial directorates. İstanbul Fans Society was founded
- 1912: New regulations for Preservation of Monuments; establishment of Museum of Islamic Foundations.

Throughout this chronology, central institutions in charge of or related to heritage conservation are observed to be Imperial Museum, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Foundations' Department of Reparations and Constructions, Ottoman

Imperial School of Fine Arts. This chronology also shows that regulations and organizations, hence interest related to Turkish and Islamic past and heritage increased near the turn of the century. Archival sources reveal that the number of diplomed architects recruited in Ministry of Foundations also increased towards the 20th century (Figure 6).[15]

REGISTRATION NO	DIPLOME NO	NAME	SURNAME	DATE OF GRADUATION (Rumi)	DATE OF GRADUATION (Miladi)	YEARS OF SERVICE IN MINISTRY OF FOUNDATIONS	ORIGIN
		VELİSARİOS	MAKROPOULOS		1889	1890-1908	GREEK
19	56	MEHMET ALAETTİN	ÖZAKTAŞ	1311	1895	1922-1926, 1934-1935, 1936-1947	TURKISH
28	71	KARABET	BOGOSYAN/ EKMEKÇİYAN	1313	1897	1945-1947	ARMENIAN
39	89	İSTEPAN	İSTEPANYAN	1315	1899	1910-1914, 1919-1922, 1924-1925, 1945-1946	ARMENIAN
65	125	MEHMET HİKMET	KOYUNOĞLU	1318	1902	1906-1910	TURKISH
68	128	HÜSEYİN KAMİL		1318	1902	1908	TURKISH
69	129	MEHMET SALİH		1318	1902	1910-1920	TURKISH
		OTHON	ANDREADİS		1904	Approximately 6 years around 1907	GREEK
89	166	OSMAN FİKRİ		1321	1905	1911-1920	TURKISH
91	168	MEHMET ASIM	KÖMÜRCÜOĞLU	1321	1905	1903-1910	TURKISH
101	186	MEHMET NİHAT	NİGİZBERK	1323	1907	1904-1927, 1934-1943	TURKISH
121	206	NİKOLAOS	ZOUBOULİDİS	1324	1908	1912-1914	GREEK
123	216	VASİL	KALINOGLOU	1325	1909	1909-1911	GREEK
		YUNUS MUKBİL KEMAL			1911	? -?1916	TURKISH
169	269	TORKOM	ÇUBUKÇUYAN	1328	1912	1945-	ARMENIAN
166	266	ALİ VASFİ	EGELİ	1329	1913	-1959	TURKISH

Figure 6 : *Early Graduates (before 1912) who worked in Ministry of Foundations*

[15] Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi [hereafter: VGMA], Evkaf Nezareti Personal Dosyaları, n.d.

Tracing Early Graduates Involved in Architectural Heritage Related Practices[16]

On the other hand, early architect graduates of Imperial School of Fine Arts involved in heritage conservation and restorations did this either as freelance work, or in relation to the Museum, or the Ministry of Foundations, or in few cases the municipalities. Among early graduates working for the Ministry of Foundations, the heritage-related works and the careers of the following architects can be traced:

İSTEPAN İSTEPANYAN (Istanbul 1875 - ??)[17]: Graduated in 1899 as architect from Imperial School of Fine Arts and worked intermittently at the Ministry of Foundations in the years 1910-1914, 1919-1922, 1924-1925, 1945-1946. During his services for Foundations, he did restaurations at «Yeni Cami» and also the *imaret* of Süleymaniye complex to organize it as the Muslim Foundations Museum («Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi»). He also worked at restaurations of imperial palaces with architect Vedat Tek.

MEHMET ASIM (KÖMÜRCÜOĞLU) (İstanbul 1878 - Ankara 1957).[18] Graduated in 1905 with the highest grade from Imperial School of Fine Arts department of architecture. In 1906, he began working in Ministry of Foundations. In 1911 he was sent to Berlin Academy of Fine Arts as a gift for his dedicated works and he studied there until his return in 1915 he was appointed as the first Turkish professor in Imperial School of Fine Arts section of architecture. He is known to have worked in restorations in Thessaloniki and Skopje; contributed to annexes to restaurations in Istanbul palaces. His contributions include annex to Yıldız Palace, restauration of Ayasofya Bath, reparations of some bathhouses in Üsküdar. He was sent to Bursa for reparation of Yeşil Mosque and Yeşil Tomb. During these restaurations, he also worked on Kütahya chinaware and was appreciated for this work by the sultan as well. As of 1923, he started to work freelance as subcontracter and did some restaurations in Topkapı Palace and annexes.

[16] Tracing the works of early graduates of Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts involved next to research on secondary sources, a thorough scanning of many state and private archives and collections, namely : Archives of Foundations Directorate of Turkey, Staff files and foundation records , Ottoman state archival documents, Newspaper archives of İstanbul Atatürk Library, ISAM Library and Gallica.fr, Copies of Architects' resumes from Greece Technical Office, courtesy of Elena Fessas-Emmanouil, Copies of Raymond archive, courtesy of Alain Raymond, Istanbul Archaeological Museum archives, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts university archives, student records and files, SALT Galata archives, Koç University Digital Archives. The school registration and graduation dates of these architects were listed in Kula Say, "Beaux Arts...", 299–303.

[17] VGMA, Personeli İstepan İstepanyan Dosyası, n.d., D.1740.

[18] DH.SAİD.d.144-51, n.d., 97. Anonymous, "Kaybettiklerimiz: Y. Mimar Asım Kömürcüoğlu Hayatı ve Eserleri (1879-1957)," *Arkitekt*, no. 290/1 (1958), 43–45.

MEHMET NİHAD (NİGİZBERK) (İstanbul 1879 – İstanbul 1945).[19] Graduated as architect in 1907 and in 1908 he began working in The Ministry of Foundations and continued until his retirement in 1943. He initially worked in Syria, Damascus and Medina for restaurations. He was promoted to become head of Reparations Department in the Ministry of Foundations and conducted numerous constructions and reparations. He documented his work in notebooks, collected reports etc. Nihad Nigizberk seems to have been a key person in the formation of an expert team of architects and contractors for the Republican years of the Foundations Directorate. Being the student of Kemaleddin Bey and choosing as co-worker Mehmed Asım Bey, a student of yet another 1st National Architecture Trend designer Vedad Bey, the dedicated director of Reparations and Architecture Department Nihad Nigizberk thus formed the core of this expert team in compliance with the initial motivations for establishing the Imperial School of Fine Arts.

YUNUS MUKBİL KEMAL (İstanbul 1890 - ??).[20] In 1911 he graduated with the highest grade from Imperial School of Fine Arts department of architecture. He was fluent in Arabic, German and French. Sometime after his graduation he also was recruited in Ministry of Foundation and worked there until 1916.

Among early graduates working as museum collaborators and freelancers, the heritage-related works and the careers of the following architects can be traced:

EDHEM BEY (ELDEM) (1882-1957).[21] Edhem Bey is the son of Osman Hamdi Bey. In 1903, he graduated as architect from Imperial School of Fine Arts. Between 1902-1903, he did excavations with the Imperial Museum in Aydın/Tralleis to reveal Gymnasion , its stoa and a basilica with several sculptures uncovered. Later on he worked in Alabanda ancient city. Between 1903 and 1922, he was partner with architect Nouridjian, also graduate of Imperial School of Fine Arts. They are known to have built the Thessaloniki Administration of Public Debts building, and some apartment houses in Istanbul.

THRASİVOULOS RİZOS (HADJIRİZOS) (İstanbul 1879 - ??).[22] Rizos graduated from Galatasaray High School in İstanbul. He attended Imperial School of Fine

[19] Egeli Vasfi, "Mimar Nihad Nigizberk," *Arkitekt*, 169–170 (1946), 44–45. VGMA Personeli Mehmet Nihat Nigizberk Dosyası, n.d. Anonymous, "Y. Mimar Nihat Nigizberk'i Kaybettik," *Mimarlık*, 1 (1946), 35. "Each Member's Own Handwritten Resume Prepared for the Annual of the Society for Engineers and Architects," January 12, 1920, TMDOC0003005, SALT archives. Mehmet Nihad Nigizberk, "Notebook on Roman and Ottoman Architecture, 1904, 1910, 1922, 1928, NB 05," n.d., MNN_NB_05, Koç University Digital Collections.

[20] VGMA Personeli Yunus Mukbil Kemal Dosyası, n.d.

[21] Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey sözlüğü...*, 185–88. Kula Say, "Beaux Arts...", 362, 363, 373, 374. "La Dette Publique Ottomane A Salonique," *Levant Herald*, September 8, 1906.

[22] Kula Say, "Beaux Arts...", 365, 366, 374, 375. Thrasivoulos, "Lettre de Konia , Konia 17 Janvier," *Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, January 26, 1907. "YTB Thrasivoulos Rizos /Hacırizos Dosyası," n.d., Yunanistan Teknik Bürosu arşivi. N. Kiçiki Senator, *Yunanistan Teknik Bürosu Yıllığı,* vol. 2, Athens 1934.

Arts , Section of Architecture between 1899-1903 and 1906-1908. He graduated on 17th Nov 1908. He was fluent in Italian, French, Arabic, Turkish and Greek. Rizos is known to have lived and worked in Istanbul, Beyrouth then Konya. From 1926 onwards he moved to Greece and lived and worked in Hanya, Crete. However, his architectural practice in Turkey did not end abruptly, for in his resume, he states that between 1905-1930 he worked as chief engineer of Konya Municipality for 16 years, then worked to supervise Thracian railroads for Turkish army and that he was also a Museum collaborator and restaurateur of Seldjukides monuments. According to this resumé, his works between 1905-1930 include : waterworks of cities of Ereğli and Niğde, project and realization of Konya-Çumra waterworks, İstanbul Megarevma (Arnavutköy) Taksiarhis church, Orosdi Bak department store building in Beyrouth, railway station buildings between Konya and Ereğli, «Buğday Pazarı» or the main Marketplace for Grains in Konya, Amber Bey Mosque in Konya, A grain mill of 300 cc capacity in Konya, Aya Eleni hospital and Yeorgiadu Hospital and one and two storey buildings in Hanya, Crete.

Newspaper coupures from 1910-1913 reflect the prominent social status and ongoing architectural/conservationist activities of Rizo in Konya.[23] Among these activities, that related to the Seljukide Imperial Palace on Alaaddin Mound in central Konya is noteworthy: The Alaaddin Hill in the centre of city of Konya had been the seat of Anatolian Seldjukide Empire in the 12th and 13th centuries and the Imperial Palace built by Sultan Alaeddin in 12th century still stood on the hilltop at the turn of the 20th century. The incidence that caused the palace to collapse dated to the 1905-1908 period when Cevat Bey was the governor of the city. Cevat Bey is said to have ignored those who demanded precautions to be taken to preserve the palace intact. Correspondence regarding this collapse are found in Archaeological Museum archives and contain reports and petitions by architect Rizos[24]. The chronology of this event can be traced in newspaper and archaeological museum archives:[25] In September 1906 the vice principal of the Imperial Museum Halil Bey had visited Konya and examined the ancient edifices; he is known to have given

[23] "Notes de Konia," *Stamboul,* February 8, 1910. "Archeologie," *Stamboul*, September 22, 1906. "Celles Qui s'en Vont," *Stamboul*, April 11, 1907. "Notes de Konia," *Stamboul*, November 30, 1910. "Daucourt a Constantinople," *Stamboul*, November 13, 1913.

[24] Koşay Hâmit Zübeyr (ed.), *Arkeolojik hafriyatlar ve müzecilik tarihimizi aydınlatacak, muhtelif belge örnekleri, giriş,* Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti çağlarında Türk kazı tarihi, Hâmit Zübeyr Koşay ... ; Cilt 1, kitap 1, Ankara 2013, 342, 347. "Karton 88 1322-1324 Dosyaları Konya'da Vaki Atik Köşk," 1905, İAMA (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Arşivi). "Karton 88 1326 Senesi Dosya No.1691," 1326, İAMA (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Arşivi). "Karton 88 1326 Senesi Dosya No.2915." "Karton 88 Dosya No.8531," n.d., İAMA (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Arşivi).

[25] "Lettre de Konia , Konia 17 Janvier," *Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, January 26,1907. Rizo, "Lettre de Konia, Konia 24 Janvier," *Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, February 9, 1907. R..., "Lettre de Konia, Konia 18 Decembre," *Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, December 28, 1907.

instructions as to their maintenance, even decided to have a roof built upon one of the Seldjukide buildings for protection. A *Levant Herald*'s newspaper issue of 26th January 1907 announced that the repairment of ancient Alaaddin Palace was entrusted to the «architect and conservation specialist of ancient monuments of city of Konya», M. Th. Rizo. The conservation work was due springtime. M. Rizo was actually authorized by the Imperial Museum to develop also the restauration projects for İnce Minareli Medrese. M. Rizo here explains himself that he had been for a month then on excursion on Taurus mountains to examine the silver and lead sulphid (Galena) mines as well as taking notes and surveys of archaeological finds and inscriptions on Taurus mountains.

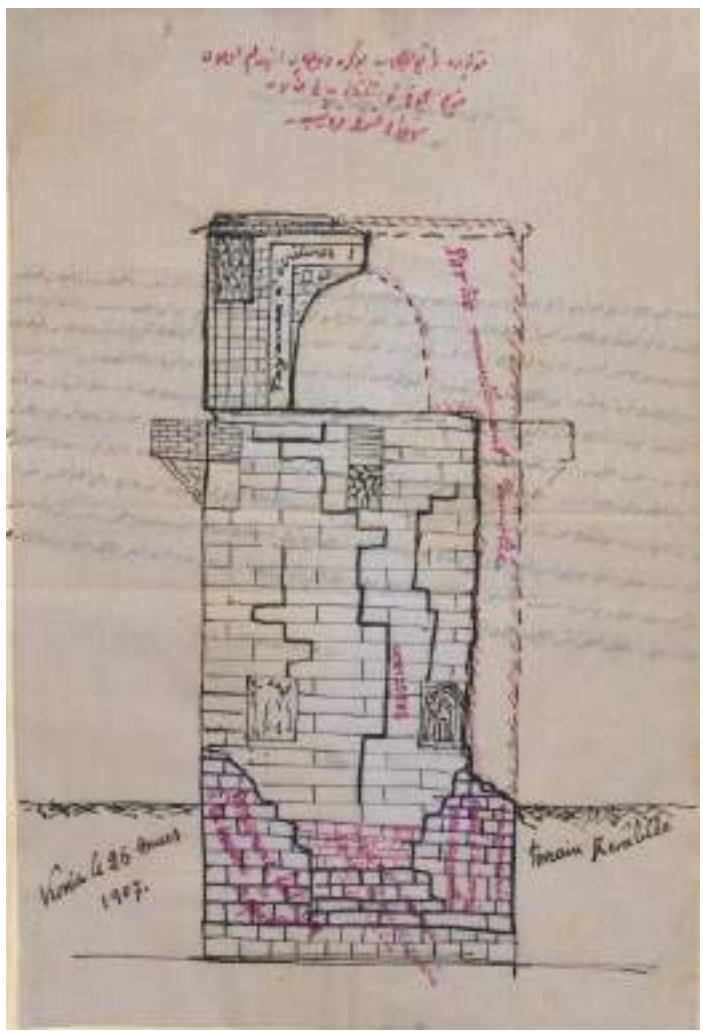

Figure 7. *Sketch of Alaaddin Kiosk on 26th March 1907 by Rizos. It depicts the state of the edfice before its collapse.*

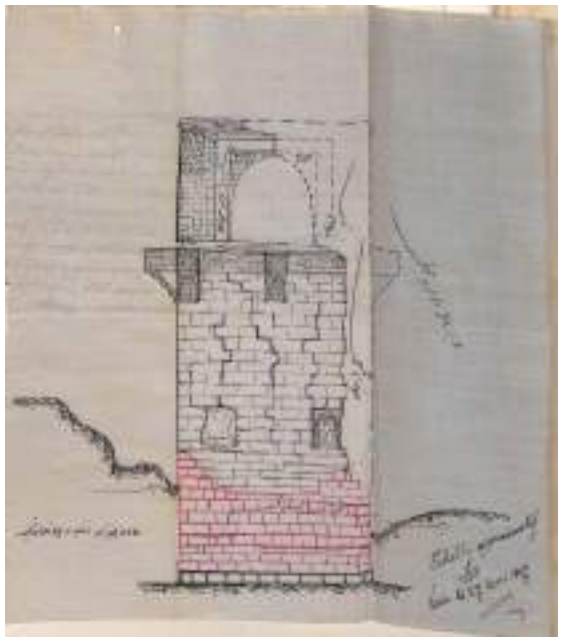

Figure 8. *Report and sketch of Seljukid Alaaddin Kiosk dated 27th March 1907 by Rizos. It depicts the state of the edifice before its collapse*

Figure 9. *Report and sketch of Seljukid Alaaddin Kiosk dated 29th March 1907 by Rizos. It depicts the state of the edifice before its collapse.*

There indeed were surveys and a report by Rizo for the conservation of the Palace dated March 26, 27 and 29th of 1907 in Archaeological Museum's archives (Figure 7, 8, 9).[26] However the heavy rains on 5th April 1907 caused the Palace to collapse at 6 o'clock in the morning, before the projected restauration could be begun. Historian Konyalı holds Rizo responsible for this collapse saying that he had dug under the palace under pretext that he would repair it. There are also people accusing Rizo of letting extract one of the lion sculptures at the base of the palace due the request of some authority (probably the governor) and placing it at the military barracks. The Rizo drawings indeed depict only one lion sculpture and the place of other is filled with material on the drawing. However the palace is known to have been originally decorated with about 20 lion sculptures which over time had been removed/ stolen / reused elsewhere or lost.

Figure 10. *Rizos' sketch and notes dated July 1908.*

[26] "Karton 88 1326 Senesi Dosya No.2915."

Rizos also was interested in neolithic times' architectural remains. He reported an inscription he found near Dedemoğlu village to the Museum directorate as traces of a Hittite city in July 1908 (Figure 10).[27]

ALEXANDRE RAYMOND (Istanbul, 22nd of January, 1872 – Nanterre, 16th of May, 1941).[28] He was the son of architect Marc Raymond. Between 1888-1892, he travelled and examined ancient cities of Konya, Iznik, Bursa, Yenişehir and he made drawings of Islamic Architecture he observed, possibly thanks to his father's occupation. In 1894, he began studying architecture in Imperial School of Fine Arts and was student of Alexandre Vallaury. Raymond was very active in various fields related to architecture. He also editored first the monthly periodical "Revue Technique d'Orient" between 1910-1911. Then he also editored the periodical "Genie Civil Ottoman" where contemporary architectural projects realized in Ottoman Empire were published. This periodical was published by Raymond publishing house run by his brother in Istanbul and was also served as the journal of the 1913 founded Association des Architectes and Ingenieurs en Turquie of which Raymond was a founding member.[29] As for Raymond's architectural portfolio from 1894 on, it includes Bursa Institute of Sericulture, Agency of Ankara – probably that of Régie de Tabac, Adapazarı Agency (of Régie de Tabac), Hotel Imperial in Thessaloniki. However his degree of contribution to these projects is not clear. Raymond also was interested in prefabricated houses in reinforced concrete; his blueprints for a few types of such houses are found in Hennebique archival fonds. Raymond is known to have traveled for architectural commissions or field work on ancient edifices in Anatolia, the Balkans, Egypt, and Syria until 1922, when he departed for Prague. He then settled in Paris in 1927.

As for Raymond's heritage related work, it seems to be entirely freelance. He made several publications:

- 1908: L'Art du Constructeur en Turquie- Notes Pratiques et Resume sur L'Art Du Constructeur En Turquie . Dedicated To Pierre Loti. Published first in Alexandria then in Paris by H. Dunod et E. Pinat. It included 250 pages, 180 sketches and 15 plates . It was prepared in collaboration with Anatolian Railroad Company.
- 1908-1909: Faiences Decoratives de la Vieille Turquie. Then Vieilles Faiences Turques or L'Art Islamique en Orient – Part 1

[27] "Karton 88 Dosya No.8531."

[28] Kula Say, "Beaux Arts...", 349, 350, 370, 371. Raymond Alain, Interview in person 2011. Raymond Alexandre M., *L'Art Islamique En Orient. 2eme Partie, Fragments d'architecture Religieuse et Civil,* Istanbul 1924. Le Centre d'archives d'architecture contemporaine [hereafter: CAA], BAH-76-IFA-1385, n.d.

[29] Günergun Feza, "Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimarları Arasında İlk Cemiyetleşme Teşebbüsleri," in Ünalın Çetin (ed.), *Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimar Cemiyeti: belgeleriyle,* 1st ed., Ankara 2009, 62–64.

- 1922: Une Ville Celebre :« Angora » « L'antıque Ancyre », presented to Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) and the new Turkish Parliament (TBMM)
- 1922: Alttürkische Keramiks, which was the german edition of Vieilles Faiences Turques or L'Art Islamique en Orient – Part 1
- 1922: Fragments D'Architecture Religieuse et Civile ou L'Art Islamique en Orient – Part 2
- 1923: L'Art Islamique en Orient – Part 3, which was completed, but never published.
- 1933: La Basilique de Sainte Sophie de Constantinople: Visions Féeriques d'Orient, Manifestations Artistiques.

Raymond also prepared some album books, including mostly surveys, detail drawings and reconstruction drawings of Byzantine heritage, but they were never published (Figure 11,12).[30] These include, La Basilique d'Ayia Sophia de Constantinople, Essai de Reconstitution de la Basilique des Saints Apôtres, Mosaiques Byzantines et Theodora de Byzance.

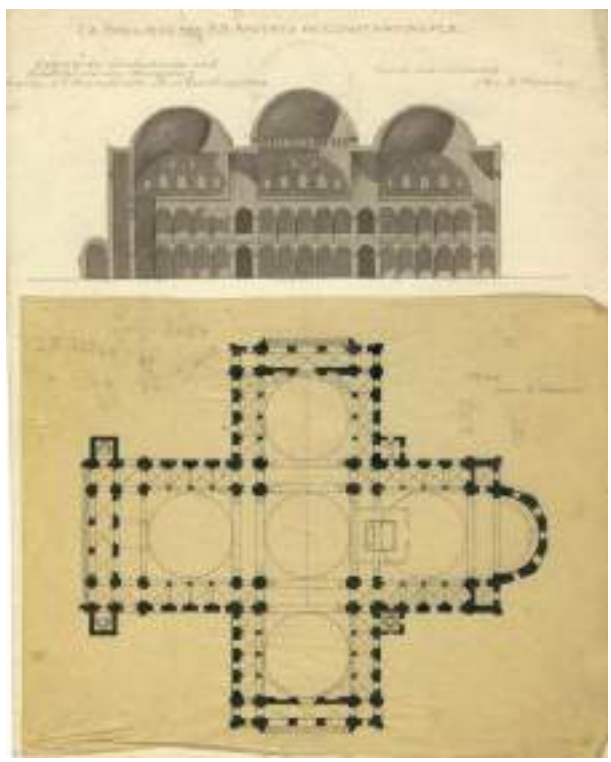

Figure 11. *The plan and section sketches for reconstruction of St.Apostle's Church in Constantinople by Alexandre Raymond.*

[30] Raymond, interview. Images from private collection of Raymond. Courtesy of Alain Raymond.

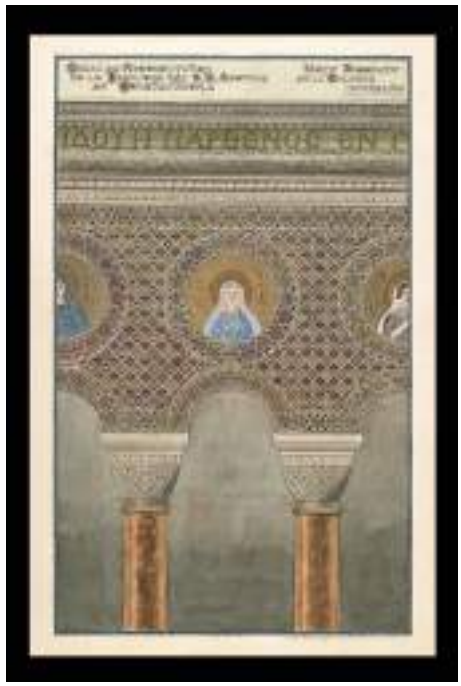

Figure 12. *St.Apostle's Church mosaics on the lower galerie restitution drawings by Alexandre Raymond.*

Figure 13. *Design of A. Raymond for Pavillon of Turkish Republic in 1925*

As his book presented to Atatürk manifests, Raymond's links with Republican Turkey was also active. He is also known to have prepared sketches for the projected participation of new Turkish republic to the 1925 International Exposition of Decorative Arts in Paris (Figure 13).[31]

Finally an official document dated 24th of September 1933 and signed by the President of Turkish Republic Atatürk and several ministers reveals that Alexandre Raymond was granted the permission to execute an archaeological expedition in Bostancı, Maltepe and Kayışdağı regions of Istanbul Anatolian side (Figure 14).[32] However there is no knowledge if this expedition could ever be realized.

[31] Raymond. Images from private collection of Raymond. Courtesy of Alain Raymond.

[32] T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivi, 030_0_18_01_02_39_66_020," September 24, 1933.


T.C.
BAŞVEKÂLET

Figure 14. *Permission granted to A.Raymond for archaeological expeditions in Istanbul, signed by Atatürk and ministers.*

Final Remarks

The early architect graduates of Imperial School of Fine Arts had contributed considerably to architectural heritage conservation and documentation. Though number of graduates was limited there was real interest among new architects for archaeological research and ancient edifices. Graduates recruited in Ministry of Foundations were often those with highest grades. Young architects pursued work on architectural heritage either as employee or collaborator of Ministry of Foundations or the Museum or as a freelance architect. But it should be noted that in neither case these architects worked solely for work on heritage. They were also builders of new buildings, tried new material and building techniques, became entrepreneurs and contractors of new constructions.

So there was no very specialized restauration or heritage preservation discipline in these early years. Engineer could be a restauration specialist

and archaeologist as well. There also seemed to be a genuine interest in restitutions. Most of the graduates involved in architectural heritage issues documented their historical research and surveys, so that they produced notes, reports and even books in architectural history and restauration of architectural heritage. On the other hand, the early graduates analyzed and incorporated historical references on a great extent in their new architectural designs. Probably inspired also by their first professor Vallaury, they increasingly adopted the Islamic-Turkish architectural elements and incorporated them to their designs, regardless of their own ethnic or religious origins. This architectural conduct would lead eventually to the First National Architecture Trend (*1.Milli Mimari Akımı*).

THE DOUBLE *HAMAM* OF OTTOMAN ZICHNA; AN EFFORT TO INTERPRET AN UNKNOWN BATH

Dr. Melpomeni S. Perdikopoulou*

At a distance of 6 km approximately and to the North-West from the present-day town of Nea Zichni, at the foothills of Menoikion Mountain,[1] lies the settlement of Byzantine and later Ottoman Zichni. The town was once surrounded by strong walls, parts of which are still preserved today, while within the fortified zone there are residential remains, which bear witness to its progress over the centuries.

The first confirmed written reference to Zichni dates back to the 12th century. The Arab geographer Al-Idrisi, who visited the region around 1142,[2] describes Zichni as a fertile and happy city, with vines, fruit trees, arable plains, and ploughs. On the contrary, the 13th century seems to be a particularly turbulent period for the town of Zichni, as it was successively occupied by the Franks, the Despotate of Epirus and the Empire of Nicaea.[3]

During the reign of Andronikos III (1328-41), the walls of the town were renovated, like many others of the Empire, after the many years of civil war between the emperor and his grandfather. In fact, the emperor himself visited Zichni in

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1 Samsaris Dimitris, *Ιστορική Γεωγραφία της ανατολικής Μακεδονίας κατά την Αρχαιότητα* [Historical Geography of Eastern Macedonia during Antiquity], Thessaloniki 1976, 60, 75.

2 Muhammad Ibn-Muhammad al- Idrisi, *Opus geographicum sive "Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peregrare studeant*, v. 3, Leiden 1972, 104-106.

3 Moutsopoulos Nikolaos K., "Το βυζαντινό κάστρο της Ζίχνας. συμβολή στη μελέτη ενός βυζαντινού οικισμού στην περιοχή του Στρυμόνα" [The Byzantine castle of Zichna: A Contribution to the Study of a Byzantine Settlement in the Strymon Region], *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Πολυτεχνικής Σχολής - Τμήμα Αρχιτεκτόνων Α.Π.Θ.*, v. 1, (1986), 178.

1328 and promoted the Diocese to a Metropolis, a year later.[4] This act of his does not respond only on a religious or spiritual level, but also testifies to the economic prosperity that the city knew at the time, so that it was able to respond to the new conditions.

According to the written sources, Zichni was occupied by the Ottomans, whose troops were led by Gazi Evrenos in 1375, by order of Sultan Murat I. The inhabitants of the city surrendered to the Ottomans, as the besiegers had cut off the water supply, resulting in its forced surrender. According to Evliya Çelebi: "*He (Gazi Evrenos) took it by force from the non-Muslim Greeks in 776 (1375). It remains under the charity of Sultan Süleyman in the Rumelian Eyalet in the sanjak of Selânik….. The surrounding villages and regions are well developed. A ruined castle, located to the south of the town has not seen a warden or castle guards since it was overrun by its conqueror*".[5] However, a different point of view identifies the conqueror of Zichni with Timurtas Pasha, the general who captured the city of Serres and the wider region a few years later (1383).[6]

The reconstruction of the image of the settlement during the first years after the Ottoman conquest constitutes a difficult task, as the references to Zichni are scarce. By order of Sultan Bayezid I, the Ottomans that settled in the area, were given *timar*s in return. In those years, Zichni was the capital of a *ziamet* and the seat of a *subaşı*, while the presence of a *kadı* is also witnessed in the city.[7] The lack of references in the written sources continues until the 16th century. On the contrary the references increase during the 17th century, and they mainly concern ecclesiastical evidence, which demonstrate the hardships of the city's inhabitants.

Another source for Zichni during the 17th century is the testimony of Evliya Çelebi, who visited the city at the third quarter of the century. Evliya describes a thriving town of 200 two-story stone-built houses, with narrow and uphill streets. "*The town consists of two neighborhoods founded on red earth in a perilous area with cliffs and drops that resemble the entrance to Hell. There are two hundred stone houses built one next to the other with almost no space in between. In fact, some of the houses do not even have enough room for a place to wash the deceased before the burial. They are very small houses. The houses belonging to Emir Molla Çelebi, the local kadi, are the biggest in the area. All the roads are narrow, steep and rough, carriages could*

[4] Theocharidis Georgios, *Κατεπανίκια της Μακεδονίας : συμβολή εις την διοικητικήν ιστορίαν και γεωγραφίαν της Μακεδονίας κατά τους μετά την φραγκοκρατίαν χρόνους* [*Katepanikia* of Macedonia: A Contribution, to the Administrative History and Georgaphy of Macedonia during the era following the Frankish rule], Thessaloniki 1954, 59.

[5] Çelebi Evliya, *Ταξίδι στην Ελλάδα,* έρευνα-λογοτεχνική απόδοση: Χειλαδάκης, Νίκος [Travels in Greece, literary version: Nikos Cheiladakis], Athens 1991, 28.

[6] Vakalopoulos Apostolos, *Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας (1354-1833)* [History of Macedonia], Thessaloniki 1969, 29.

[7] Moutsopoulos, "Το βυζαντινό κάστρο της Ζίχνας…", 196.

never enter them. This is a strange and craggy place, not really appropriate for habitation. However, as the place benefits from the profits of the charitable foundation of Süleyman Khan, it is being developed day by day. Its lowlands are wide, and its soil is fertile. There are vineyards in parts of the surrounding mountains. One mosque in the town, the Eski (Old) Mosque, is the property of Sultan Bayezid Velî. It is a bright mosque covered with tile in an old style. It has a neighborhood Masjid which could also be used as a mosque. The other charitable institutions of the town are one madrasah, one primary school, one Dervish lodge, and a hamam located in front of the Eski Mosque, two merchant khans and fifty shops. Zihne folks are quite friendly to the poor. May God make them happy and make their wishes come true".[8]

Hadji Kalfa, who passed through the area a few decades after Evliya Çelebi, offers a limited description of the landscape, while painting a very general picture of the town that was built in a prominent and naturally but also artificially fortified position, with narrow streets and tile-roofed houses.[9]

At the beginning of the 19th century, Cousinéry visited Zichni and was impressed by the wealth of the area. He walked around the castle, where he discovered medieval ruins, about which he does not, however, give further information.[10]

Today's visitor to Palaia Zichni, as it is known today, faces the remains of the Byzantine and later Ottoman town. Among them dominates the Byzantine castle, the main phase of which is chronologically placed during the 14th century. Five sections of the fort, two gates and one tower are preserved today, as well as one Byzantine church, one cistern and two public buildings, one of which is a *hamam*. The existence of an internal wall inside the castle that would separate the administrative center and upper-class residences from the rest of the town is highly disputed, while the Christian quarters spread outside the walls.[11] As for the *hamam* of the settlement, the only reference is that of Evliya Çelebi, who placed it near the Eski Mosque.

Professor N. Moutsopoulos, who visited the area of Zichni in 1982 with Mr. Iraklis Mitrou as his guide, the last inhabitant of Zichni before it was abandoned, located the *hamam*, mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, half buried in the slope of the mountain, while opposite of it lied the mosque of the settlement. According to the guide's testimony, the mosque was built on the ruins of the Byzantine church of Saint Catherine, a hypothesis that today cannot be confirmed. Prof. Moutsopoulos in his work about Zichna pointed out to vestiges of a mosque and a *hamam* laying

[8] Çelebi Evliya, *Ταξίδι στην Ελλάδα*… 32.

[9] Haji Khalifah (Kâtip Çelebi), J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Rumeli und Bosna, geographisch beschrieben*, Vienna 1812, 126-128.

[10] Cousinery, Esprit Marie, *Voyage dans la Macedoine,* v. 2, Paris 1831, 140, 143-144.

[11] Ketanis Konstantinos, "Οδοιπορικό στο Βυζαντινό Κάστρο της Ζίχνα" [Travelogue in the Byzantine Castle of Zichna], *Αρχαιολογία & Τέχνες,* 88 (2003), 44-45.

in a very close distance to each other.[12] This is enough evidence to locate the Muslim quarter of Zichna inside the walled area.

The now ruined building, identified by Nik. Moutsopoulos as a mosque, is located at a short distance from the single *hamam* of the settlement. After on-site research and observation along with photographic evidence, it was found that the building is actually a double *hamam* of large dimensions, as can be seen from the building's features and plan.

More specifically, the area of the hearth was found, in which burning traces can be seen, as well as the distinguished the boiler area with traces of the cauldron, which was covered by a semi-cylindrical dome. In addition, two steam passage doors were found that corresponded to two hot rooms or halvets. Also, two clay pipes were preserved in the outer masonry of the boiler room for the entry of water into the boiler and the overflow and a duct for the removal of smoke from the hypocausts towards the roof, which was built-in on the partition wall of the cauldron and the southern warm space. Finally, we ascertained the existence of the space, which functioned as a locker room as well as a toilet with a cesspool for the evacuation of the effluents. The above-mentioned spaces of the building clearly point out to its use as a public – judging by its dimensions – *hamam* rather than a mosque.

The *hamam* of Zichna is shaped like the Greek letter "Γ", based on its current state of preservation. It retains the space of the hearth, the boiler, the locker room, and the lavatory. Most of the south and east walls have collapsed, as have most of the interior partition walls, as well as the *hamam*'s roofing. Thus, the interior today is occupied by rubble and lush vegetation. On the contrary the north and west exterior masonry is kept in relatively good condition, up to a height of 2,50 m.

Based on the floor plan and after the identification of the three distinct spaces, as well as the traces that can be seen on the interior masonry of the *hamam*, we can conclude that there were two warm spaces as well as two corresponding lukewarm ones. Therefore, it is possible to partially design and restore a large part of the *hamam* with two distinctive parts, to be used by men and women at the same time, with two separate warm and lukewarm spaces, covered with hemispherical domes, as can be seen from the trail of the brick arch in one of the two warm spaces.

The two ports for the passage of steam through the boiler room reinforce the case of a double *hamam*, as does the trace of the masonry, which separated once the two warm spaces. The two entrances to the bath were on the east side, most of which has collapsed.

The hearth area is the only one that survives in good condition, and it occupies the southwest corner of the building. It is open and covered by a semi-cylindrical dome. The space is built exclusively of bricks with the upper part of the cylinder,

[12] Moutsopoulos, "Το βυζαντινό κάστρο της Ζίχνας…", 214.

which acts as a key, consisting of bricks arranged vertically into the masonry. The thickness of the cylinder is 40 cm and is based on the two adjacent walls with the intervention of a small protrusion (tooth). Finally, in the area of the hearth there are burning traces.

The next space is that of the boiler. On the inside it is coated with strong hydraulic mortar, with a pink hue, as can be seen on the remaining part of the masonry. The space was covered by a semi-cylindrical or boat-shaped dome with a flange. In the outer western wall, two clay pipes are preserved, where the cauldron was supplied with water from the lowest altitude, while the taller one functioned as an overflow. In addition, a curved flange is located on the inside, which served as the base of the boiler.

A hole in the dividing wall of the boiler room from the hot one, preserves burning traces that lead us to the conclusion that it functioned as a smoke pipe. Two ports that open on the same wall supplied the respective warm spaces with steam. In the western outer wall, except for the two clay pipes, an opening is located at a low height, which acted as a conduit for the water removal in order to clean the cauldron.

The third distinct space is divided into two parts by a partition wall, the locker room and the toilet. Its entrance was through an opening, in the partition wall between this space and the lukewarm one, which ended in a pointed arch with a single brick strip, while a flange runs through the opening to the side of the lukewarm space. On the inside it is coated with strong hydraulic mortar. This space was covered by a semi cylindrical arch, which rested on the walls with a flange (tooth), as it can be seen from the remaining masonry. This entrance was closed at a later stage, which cannot be determined chronologically, effectively eliminating this part of the *hamam*.

An opening of square cross-section was found in the outer wall at the height of the toilet and under its floor, which was used for the evacuation of the entrails. By using the mild slope, the entrails were led to a nearby stream.

The north and south walls of the lukewarm and the warm spaces are their only parts that survive. On the masonry, brick arches are formed that allow us to restore their interior image and their housing with domes.

The bath is built with rough carved stones, which are placed mainly in the corners of the building, as well as bricks in the openings, in the formation of arches, in the domes and in the masonry, where they are placed in sections of horizontal layers between stones. Lime mortar is used as a binder, with coarse-grained gravels, reinforced also with coarse-grained tiles. On the inside, the bath is coated with strong hydraulic mortar, in bright red color, in order to withstand high temperature and humidity. On the outside the *hamam* was also coated, traces of which are preserved on the north wall.

The mosque, therefore, recorded by Evliya Çelebi and mentioned by Moutsopoulos in his work about Zichna cannot be identified with the building in question, which functioned as the double *hamam* of the town.

Furthermore, the two construction phases that were identified in the building do not point to an alteration in its use-meaning from a *hamam* to a mosque, but rather to an abolishment of a space. The demolition of the wall that separated once the two warm and the lukewarm spaces was not intentional-in order to unify the interior of the building-but was due to natural decay and cessation of use.

Rather interesting is the absence of reference by the traveler Evliya Çelebi to the double bath of the settlement, or the two *hamams* of the town, which may be due to his omission, the subsequent to his visit construction of the building, or the private-or better non-public use of the small *hamam*.

The small *hamam* of Zichna which lies nearby is dated by Moutsopoulos and Kanetaki during the 15th-16th centuries.[13] Based on the formation of its arches the date provided by the fore mentioned researchers is acceptable, while its use, based on its small dimensions and its location inside the walls might be linked to the administration, whose seat would be inside the castle.

The existence of two *hamams* points to a prosperous and blooming period for the town of Zichna, when its Muslim population grew in numbers. More specifically, according to the Ottoman population registers the inhabitants of Zichna in 1455 were one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six, reaching two thousand six hundred and ten in 1519 with the Christians being constantly the dominant religious group. Onwards and gradually its population is reduced reaching one thousand eight hundred and seventy in 1573.[14] Approximately one hundred years later and before Evliya's visit, the region is hit by a plague epidemic that drastically reduces its population, according to the Chronicle of Papasynadinos[15].

Based on the population records along with the building technique of the double *hamam* of Zichna and especially the way that its brick arches are formed, it can be dated in the 16th century, probably to meet the needs of the rising – but never dominant – Muslim population of Ottoman Zichna. Up until that time, the small *hamam* that can be dated earlier, would cover the needs of the Muslims. When the new double *hamam* was built, the smaller one would either be left to ruin or would pass to a more private, more exclusive use.

[13] Moutsopoulos, "Το βυζαντινό κάστρο της Ζίχνας …", 254. Kanetaki Eleni, *Οθωμανικά Λουτρά στον Ελλαδικό Χώρο* [*Ottoman Baths in the Greek Lands*], Athens 2004, 136-137.

[14] Moutsopoulos, "Το βυζαντινό κάστρο της Ζίχνας …", 214.

[15] Kaftantzis Georgios, *Σερραϊκή χρονογραφία του Παπασυναδινού*, Σέρρες [Chronography of Serres by Papa-Synadinos], Serres 1989, 40, 54-56.

According to the typology suggested by Aimilia Stefanidou,[16] the double *hamam* of Zichna falls in the first category-with a centralized layout based on two parallel axes.

As for the water provision, near the *hamam* lies a cistern, with its internal height rising to 5 meters. Also, we can discern the ruins of a fountain that was supplied from the cistern via pipes.

Apart from the rainwater, Zichna had also an underground water supply system which connected with a *qanat* system. Certain parts of the *qanat* are visible today at the northwest of the hill.[17]

As for the mosque, its ruins should be sought near the *hamam*. Moutsopoulos in his map notes down a church that according to his guide was dedicated to Saint Catherine.[18] It is plausible that the Ottomans turned the church into a mosque, during the time of Bayezid II, which would explain Evliya's description as a mosque with tiles, not lead, built in the old style. However, due to the dense vegetation, the alluvium created by the rinsing of the soil from the rain and the steep slope of the soil, it becomes particularly difficult to prove or disprove this hypothesis.

In conclusion, the building that Moutsopoulos identified as a mosque is in fact a large double *hamam*, which dates probably during the 16th century. It was built to meet the rising needs of the Muslim community of Zichna that the small adjacent *hamam* could not cover. It consisted of two lukewarm and two warm spaces, the water tank, the hearth, and another space that was interpreted as a locker room and a lavatory.

An opening of the *hamam* was later closed, thus excluding that certain area from the rest of the building. Apart from that closure no other alteration was found in the structure, so we can safely assume that it never functioned as a mosque.

The mosque of Zichna probably was originally a church that was converted into a mosque, which bore the name of Bayezid Veli, Bayezid II, according to Evliya Çelebi.

Despite this contribution and the Moutsopoulos's work, Ottoman Zichna is yet to be revealed. Excavations and archival research will give us answers about its size, buildings, its topography and its economy.

[16] Stefanidou Aimilia, "Τα χαμάμ στην Ελλάδα: τύποι και εξέλιξή τους" [The hamams in Greece: their types and development], in: N.Th. Cholevas (ed.), *Στο βέλος του χρόνου, Τιμητικός τόμος για τον ακαδημαϊκό-καθηγητή Γεώργιο Π. Λάββα*, Thessaloniki 2004, 85-86.

[17] Ketanis, "Οδοιπορικό …", 49.

[18] Moutsopoulos, "Το βυζαντινό κάστρο της Ζίχνας …", 309.

1. The castle of Zichna. View from the facing hill.

2. The cliffs of Zichna.

3. Remnants of a stone house in Zichna.

4. Map of the area of Zichna.
The perimeter of the castle is indicated with red outline.

5. The eastern wall of Zichna.

6. The NW gate of the castle.

7. The western walls and the tower.

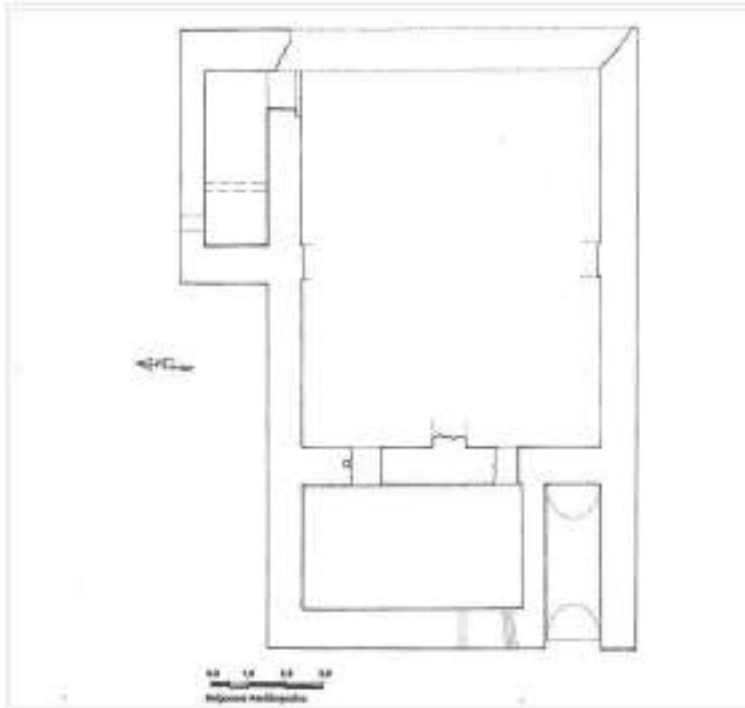
8. Diagram of the castle drawn by Moutsopoulos. N. 4 marks the small hamam and n.5 the so-called "Eski Camii".

9. The so-called Eski Camii and the small hamam *on the back.*

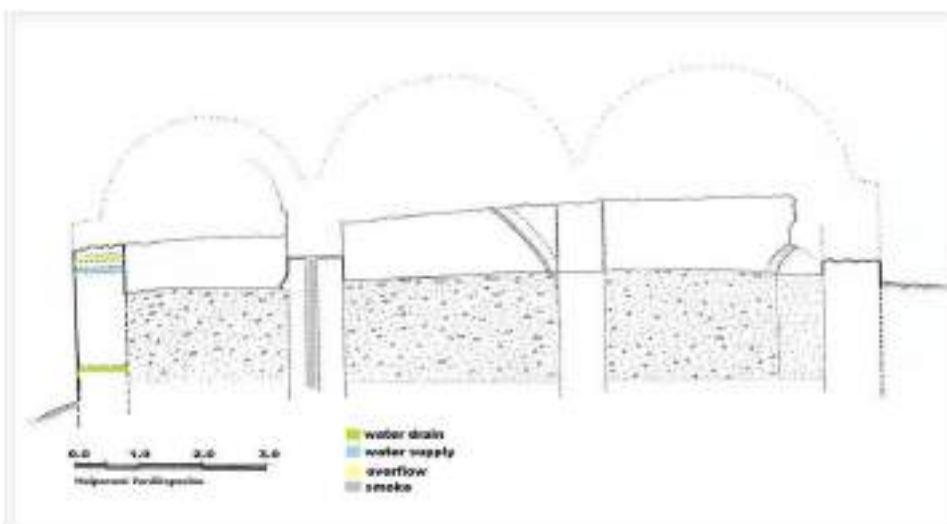
10. The area of the hearth.

11. One of the openings for the steam.

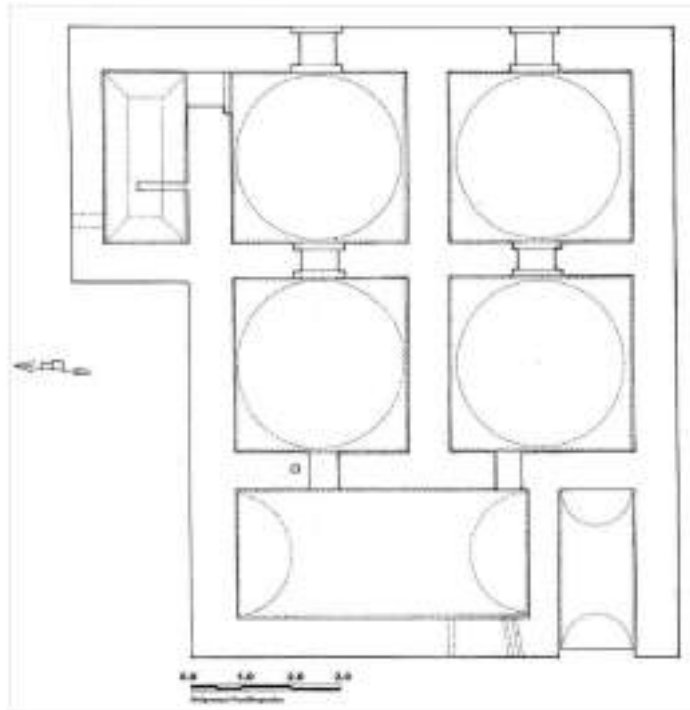
12. Clay pipes for the provision of warm and cold water.



13. Floorplan of the existing state of the building.



14. Cross-section of the building.



15. Restored floorplan of the building.

16. The base for the cauldron.

17. The entrance to the locker room.

18. The locker room, view from the interior.

19. Opening for the removal of the discharges.

20. North wall of the luke-warm space.

21. The interior of the warm space.

22. North wall of the warm space.

23. The exterior of the hamam.

24. The exterior masonry of the hamam.

25. The small hamam *of Zichna.*

26. The byzantine cistern inside the castle.

27. The remnants of the byzantine church.

AN 18TH CENTURY GREEK TRANSLATION OF MEHMED B. PİR ALİ BİRGİVİ'S *VASİYETNAME*

Georgios Salakidis*

The confessionalization process observed in the 16th and 17th centuries in Catholic and Protestant Europe seems to have had its parallel in the countries of Islam, especially the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran.[1] Birgivi (or Birgili) Mehmed Efendi (died 981/1573), who was a prominent figure in this context, wrote his *Vasiyetname* (Testament), a catechism in Islam, in 1562 in Ottoman Turkish prose. Since then, this text has become very popular among Turkish-speaking Muslims. Explanatory notes were written, it was rendered in Turkish verse, and was translated into other languages, apparently because it explained the rules of the Islamic faith in a simple and understandable way. So great was the popularity of this work over the centuries that it was the first religious work to be printed in the Ottoman Empire.[2]

The *Testament* of Mehmet Efendi was also translated into Greek for Greek-speaking Muslims.[3] Such existed in various parts of the Ottoman Empire. Their largest

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1 For a very interesting study on this phenomenon, which does not stay only at the religious level, but explores the political and social background of Ottoman confessionalization and Sunnitization see Terzioğlu Derin. "Where 'ilm-i hal meets catechism: Islamic manuals of religious instruction in the Ottoman Empire in the age of confessionalization", *Past & Present*, 220 (2013), 79-114.

2 Terzioglu, "Where 'ilm-i hal ...", 87. Not only was and is his work highly acclaimed, Birgivi himself is considered a saint by many in Turkey today and his tomb is a place of pilgrimage for many believers, see Halim Saim Parladır, "When Folk Religion Meets Orthodoxy: The Case of Imam Birgivi", *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 15/1 (2014), 65-86.

3 The question of the relationship between faith and knowledge, or, to put it in another way, the question of how deeply one must know one's own faith to be considered a faithful Muslim, has

concentrations were in Epirus, Western Macedonia, Crete and Pontus, but also elsewhere. In this paper we will focus on a Greek translation of Birgivi's *Testament* kept in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul.[4] It is an example of the *aljamiado* literature, since the language used is Greek, but the alphabet is Ottoman/Arabic. Judging from the Greek dialect the text was written it seems that the translator belonged to the community of Greek-speaking Muslims of Epirus, specifically of Ioannina (turk. Yanya). This dialect –although it contains a relatively large number of Turkisms– must have been easily understood both in adjacent area of Western Macedonia, but certainly in other parts of the Greek-speaking world, except maybe for the remote areas of Pontus and Cyprus. However, it is the linguists, especially the dialectologists of Greek, who will decide definitively on the geographical classification of the dialect of our text, when we publish this. For example, in this text there is a special meaning of the verb "μαθαίνω" (learn), which is found in Epirus. The Turkish verb "okumak" (read, recite, sing, study), which in the Turkish original text, when accompanying the word Quran or a verse of the Quran or a prayer, then it means "read aloud, recite", in the Greek translation is always rendered with "μαθαίνω". Thus, the verse *Να μάθ' και τούτον τον ντουά 'πο τρεις φορές τη μέρα*[5], has the meaning of "to read, to recite this prayer three times a day". An example that most clearly shows this very dialectical meaning of "μαθαίνω" is found towards the end of the catechism, when the *imam* is exhorted, when leading the prayer, to recite the Quran aloud, while when he is alone, he has the option of reciting it either loudly or softly (emphasis mine):

Αχσάμ' σαμπάχι και γιατσί στα φάρζα αν 'σαι ιμάμης
Του Κουρανιού το μαθημό δυνατά να το κάνεις

Κι αν προσκυνήσεις μοναχός είσαι στο θέλημά σου
Στους ναφιλέδες της νυχτός είσαι στο θέλημά σου

preoccupied Muslim theologians since the first centuries of the spread of Islam and is directly related to the new converts, as were the Greek speaking Muslims of the Balkans. For a comprehensive study on the subject see Tijana Krstić, "*You Must Know Your Faith in Detail*: Redefinition of the Role of Knowledge and Boundaries of Belief in Ottoman Catechisms ('İlm-i ḥāls)", Tijana Krstić - Derin Terzioğlu (eds.), *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450–c. 1750*, Leiden – Boston, 2020, 155-195.

[4] It is kept in the Süleymaniye Library in İstanbul under the code «Demirbaş 02295-001» (bölüm: Yazma bağışlar). Hereafter it will be referred to it as BGr. In 1974 Dimitri Theodoridis had described two other copies of the same work which he had in his possession, see Theodoridis Dimitri, "Birgivi's Katechismus in griechisch-aljamiadischer Übersetzung", *Südost-Forschungen*, 33 (1974), 307-310.

[5] BGr 49α/3.

Γιάνιμ αν θέλεις ***δυνατά μαθαίνεις*** *το Κουράνι*
Κι αν θέλεις ***απογαληνά μαθαίνεις*** *το Κουράνι*[6]

The Epirot scholar of the 19th century, P. Aravantinos, gives the meaning "αναγινώσκω" (read, usually loudly) for the verb "μαθαίνω", as it is used in Epirus,[7] so it is very likely that this is where this Greek translation of the catechism comes from. A closer study of the language of our text is needed, however.

The first two pages of the 18th century Greek translation of Birgivi's Testament *(BGr)*

The translator introduces himself as Ömer, son of Mustafa and grandson of Rind,[8] and, as he notes, he completed his translation in 1204, on January 19th. We read: "The year was 1204, I had finished it on the 19th of January".[9] It is a paradox that the year is given in Hegira, which is Muslim chronology, while the day and month are according to Christian calendar. This is perhaps an indication of the

[6] BGr, 88α/5-6 – 88β/1.

[7] Aravantinos Panayotis, *Ηπειρωτικόν Γλωσσάριον* [Glossary of Epirus], Athens 1909, 59, where he gives the following example: «Σε παρακαλώ, μάθε μου αυτό το γράμμα» [please, read this letter (aloud) to me]. I thank you my colleague, Doris Kyriazis, for this information.

[8] *Ομέρης γιος του Μουσταφά κι είναι του Ριντ αγγόνι* (BGr, 104α/2).

[9] *Χίλιους διακόσους τέσσερεις ο έτος είχε πάνει – Του Γεναριού τις δεκαννιά ταμάμι το 'χω κάνει* (BGr, 103β/5).

incomplete integration of the Turkoyaniotes, the Muslim Greek-speaking residents of Yanya, into the broader Islamic community at the given time. Even so, we can calculate the exact date with accuracy. Since the Islamic year 1204 begins on the 21st of September in 1789, the date 19th of January probably refers to the year 1790. The translation was therefore completed on 19th January 1790 which corresponds to 3 Cemaziyülevvel 1204. The copy we have in our hands was prepared on the 18th of December 1862.[10] The name of the copyist is not mentioned.

The translator himself again counted the couplets he created and found them 1.044. He even urges the reader to count them for himself, obviously proud of his not insignificant achievement.[11] Indeed, there are 1.044 couplets (*beyit*) each of which consists of two 15-syllable rhymed verses. In other words, the Greek version of Birgivi's Testament is composed in the literary genre of *mesnevi*, which was common for extensive narrative works. Moreover, this choice of the translator, along with his choice of the Arabic alphabet, shows his intention to approach Ottoman literary standards despite the Greek language he uses. Each page usually consists of five or six such couplets, and some pages contain Arabic text from the Qur'an or prayers in Arabic. The Arabic texts were not translated into Greek, just as they were not translated into the original Turkish work: A clear exhortation for the faithful Muslim to memorize them in the sacred language of Islam.

My colleague Phokion Kotzageorgis and I are preparing an edition of the Greek translation of Birgivi's *Testament,* and we are facing several problems. Here, however, I will limit myself to a few remarks that have more to do with the audience for which this translation was intended. These observations are based entirely on the manuscript we are talking about. As usual, the prologue and the epilogue of a work tell us some things about the conditions in which this work was created. So, we will first turn our attention to these parts of the work.

Indeed, the Greek translation begins with translator's preface, with one difference: This preface does not take place at the beginning of the work, but our translator finds a smart way to incorporate it into the text. The original Turkish work begins with a few sentences by Birgivi in Arabic, in which, after praising Muhammad and introducing himself by his name, he justifies why he wrote his catechism in Turkish. He did it so that more people could benefit from it. Our translator, therefore, begins by translating this Arabic text into Greek, contrary to the practice he will follow below, where, as we have already noted, he leaves the Arabic texts untranslated. And exactly at the point where the Arabic text of the original ends by

[10] 25 Cemaziyülahır 1279 (BGr, 104β). This time, 75 years after the translation, both the year and the month are given according to the Muslim way of dating. The integration had apparently been completed.

[11] *Χίλια σαράντα τέσσερα μπεΐτια έχω ουιντίσει - Οπ' θέλει να τα βρει σωστά ας πιακ' να τα μετρήσει* (BGr, 104α/6-104β/1).

giving the reason for writing the work in Turkish, he inserts the 'translator's preface' which consists of five couplets.

Και 'γω για ν' απ'καστεί καλά είπα να το διαλύσω
Και βάλθηκα ρωμέικα που να το μολογήσω

Να γένη ζάμπτι εύκολα και το 'χω ουιντισμένο
Για ράμπη άφβι κάνε μ' το όπ' το 'χω λαθεμένο

Και σεις, αδέρφια, κάνετε σι τ'μένα μερχαμέτι
Όπ' βρείτε το χαράμπικο κάν'τε το μερεμέτι

Μον' είναι σε κάποιες μεριές δύσκολα να ουιντίσει
Εγώ σε τ' αυτές τις μεριές λόγια 'χω αυγατίσει

Και από τούτο που 'καμα ζαράρι δεν εγίνη
Των ουλεμάδων το 'δειξα μου είπαν καλό εγίνη.[12]

Just as Birgivi wrote his work in Turkish, so the translator of the present text undertook the task to translate it into Greek in order to be well understood, by his Greek-speaking community, we must complete. Just as Birgivi conceived the idea of writing a catechism in Turkish so that it could be easily understood by the vast majority of Turkish-speaking Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, so our translator cares for his Greek-speaking community. It is clear evidence that the Greek-speaking Muslim community of Epirus did not speak or understand Turkish at the end of the 18th century.

Then he explains why he chose the specific form of translation, that is the verse form: "να γένει ζάπτι εύκολα", writes our translator, that is "so that one can seize it easily". We can assume that by this expression the translator means "to be easily memorized". Exactly the same explanation is given by Bahti, the poet who in 1642 rendered Birgivi's *Testament* to Turkish verse.[13] Bahti says that he did it to facilitate its memorization by the children, who find it difficult to remember texts in prose.[14]

[12] BGr, 2α/1-5.

[13] Arslan Ahmet Turan, "Vasiyetname (وصيتنامه) Birgivî Mehmed Efendi'nin (ö. 981/1573) Türkçe ilmihali", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v. 42 (2012), 556.

[14] This is how he explains that in rhyming verses: Ḳamu ṣıbyāna ez-ber oḳudurdı - Ki ḥıfẓ eyleñ diyü tenbîh iderdi. Anı nesr olmaġ-ıla lîki ṣıbyān - Çekerlerdi taʿab ḥıfẓında ey cān. Bilüp bu sırrı ol ṣāḥib-kerāmet - Ki ḥıfẓ itdürmeden itdi ferāġat. Faḳirüñ ḳalbine ol dem bu geldi - Derūn-ı pāküme bu lāyıḥ oldı. Anı naẓm eyleyem miḳdār-ı ḳudret - İdem anuñ içün bezl-i biżāʿat. Oḳuduḳça anı raġbetle ihvān - K'ola ḥıfẓ itmesi anlara āsān. Hem ol ṣarṭ-ıla naẓm oldı risāle - O diḳḳatle yazıldı bu maḳāle (Sezer Özyaşamış Şakar, *Birgivî Muhammed Efendi'nin manzum vasi-*

Probably the same was true in the environment of Greek-speaking Muslims, adults and children alike. If we take for granted the pressure of the Muslim community towards its members, especially the Greek-speaking ones, to prove their faith in practice, then the need to understand and memorize the basic principles of their faith must have been imperative.

The translator then raises an important issue: Rendering the text in rhyming verses poses particular difficulties for the translator. The most important of these is that he is often forced to 'chatter', to use more words, than the prose original, to make his verses. However, he reassures the readers, saying that he showed his work to the learned men (*ulema*) and got their approval. As will be seen, however, from the following, our translator sometimes adds more words to the text, not only for metrical reasons, but also in other circumstances. These are circumstances that have to do with the special character of the audience to which the Greek translation is addressed. In the following we will give some examples of such additions.

The first case has to do with the rendering of abstract nouns. While in these cases the Turkish original uses the Arabic language, thus giving the text a more learned character, we do not see anything similar happening in the Greek translation. While similar terms could be found from the Greek learned vocabulary, this is not done in any case. In the Greek translation there is not a single learned type of Greek. Instead, the translator either resorts to the descriptive rendering of abstract names, or to the use of a vernacular that tries to render the foreign abstract term, or to the adoption of a foreign (Arabic or Turkish) term by adapting it to the Greek grammatical system. In fact, sometimes this adoption is followed by a descriptive periphrastic rendering, with the obvious purpose of explaining the adopted term. Here are some examples:

The Arabic word "ihtilaf" (اختلاف) means "disagreement" and on a theological level it denotes "difference on religious matters". Birgivi Mehmed Efendi says at one point in his *Testament*: *Bir kişi bir gayre beddua idüb "Allâhü Teâlâ senin canını küfürle alsın" dîse kâfir olmasında ulemâ ihtilâf ettiler*.[15] Our translator rendered it in Greek as follows:

> *Ένας Τούρκος ενού αλλ'νού κατάρα αν του κάνει –*
> *Και να ειπεί «Για Ράμπι, αυτός με κιούφρι να πεθάνει»*

yyet-namesi (*Eleştirili metin-dil incelemesi-sözlük*), unpubl. PhD diss., Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul 2005, 13-14).

[15] Halis Demir, "Birgivi'nin 'risale-i Birgivi' adlı eseri üzerine incelemeler", *Journal of Balıkesir Faculty of Theology*, 3/2 (2017), 231. A possible translation would be: "If a person curses someone, 'May Allah take your life with unbelief', the scholars disagreed on his being a disbeliever or not".

Αυτός που καν' τέτοιον ντουά Ρωμιός ειν' ή όχι –
Καμπόσ' είπαν ερώμιεψε καμπόσ' είπαν πως όχι.[16]

In this case the Arabic technical term was rendered in Greek descriptively with the expressions "some said yes" and "some said no". However, we must be a little cautious in our judgment, because we know that the translator had an additional difficulty. He did not simply translate a Turkish prose text into Greek prose, he also had to adapt it to the needs of poetic speech. Furthermore, the translator interfered with the text by rendering the neutral noun "someone" in the Turkish original work as "a Turk". On the contrary, he rendered the "unbeliever" of the Turkish original with "a Greek". It is obvious that here, that is in 18th century Ottoman Epirus, the present-day ethnonyms of Turks and Greeks are used only with their religious meaning. That is, a Greek is a Christian, while a Turk is a Muslim. By analogy, "ρωμιεύω" simply means "become an unbeliever, non-Muslim". Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing how the people of a community that spoke Greek (ρωμαίικα) and at the same time used a cognate (Ρωμιός) to denote an unbeliever felt.[17]

In another case, on the one hand the Turkish term is adopted and on the other hand it is explained descriptively. We are in that part of the catechism where various moral rules imposed by Islam are developed. One of them says that one should not "examine someone else's disgrace" (*elin ayıbını yoklamak*). The translator renders this short phrase with the following couplet: *Κι από καϊνού την ιντροπή οπού να γιοκλατίσεις – Γιάνιμ για την ντροπή καϊνού φ'λάγου να μη ρωτήσεις*.[18] The second 15-syllable verse, which is even introduced with the explanatory "that is" –though using the Turkish word "yani" in its Greek dialectal form–, clarifies the verb of the first verse, "γιοκλατίζω" (Turk. yoklamak).

Another characteristic of the Greek dialectal language used to render this Islamic catechism is the large number of abstract terms, which do not come from the learned language but from the vernacular. Most of them are abstract nouns, which today sound strange in the common Modern Greek language. Some of them are clearly designed to fit the rhyme. For example, in order for our translator to render the Turkish term "hata" (error), he creates the word "(α)λαθοσύνη" -by analogy with the Greek nouns in -σύνη-, so that it rhymes with "ισοσύνη", but he also uses

[16] BGr, 54β/1-2.

[17] For their counterparts in Crete see Dedes Yorgos, "Blame it on the Turko-Romnioi (Turkish Rums). A Muslim Cretan song on the abolition of the Janissaries", Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez (eds.), *Between Religion and Language: Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, İstanbul 2011, 321-376. In this text a lot of information is given about these Turko-Rums, that is, the Turkish Greeks and the special situation in which they lived.

[18] BGr, 40α/6-40β/1.

the more common form "λάθεμα":

Μόνε να λες «τούτο καλό, θαρρώ 'χ' και λαθοσύνη
Και τ' άλλα όλα λάθεμα, θαρρώ 'χουν κι ισοσύνη»[19]

The word "ισοσύνη" here renders the Turkish term "hak" (right, truth) and is, of course, derived from the adjective "ίσος" (equal, even) which is used here in its figurative sense. So, within the same couplet we see the words "λαθοσύνη" and "λάθεμα" being used as synonyms. Therefore, we can conclude that possibly some such abstract terms were created simply for poetic purposes. Other such abstract nouns used by the translator are the following: *εινοσύνη* (existence, being),[20] *καλοσύνη* (goodness),[21] *κακοσύνη* (badness, malice),[22] *ζωντανοσύνη* (aliveness),[23] *γεροσύνη* (strength, health),[24] *πλουσοσύνη* (richness),[25] *παστροσύνη* (cleanness, pureness),[26] *βεβγιοσύνη* (certainty).[27]

At the end of the catechism an appendix is added which deals with various practical issues. One of them is the question of the "purification" –the term *απαστριά* is used by our translator– of the woman after menstruation and puerperium, to which a lot of space is devoted, because it is directly related on the one hand to the religious duties of the woman, such as prayer, but also with her marital duties, such as intercourse with her husband. At this point the translator adds two couplets which are not in the original text:

Της γυνικός την απαστριά άντα ν' απογιννήσει
Οι ουλεμάδες μας νιφάς την έχουν 'νοματίσει

Της γυνικός τ'ν απαστριά που γλεπ' κάθε φεγγάρι
Χαΐζ' τη λεν μον' βάλε το να 'χεις μεγάλη χάρη[28]

Both for menstruation and for puerperium there are special terms in the Greek

[19] BGr, 30α/6-30β/1. This couplet renders the Belki eyide: "Ebu Hanife mezhebi hakdır, hata ihtimali de var. Gayri mezhebler hatadır, hak olmak ihtimali de var." (Demir, "Birgivi'nin …", 221)
[20] BGr, 3α/5-6. The word renders the Turkish term "varlık".
[21] BGr, 6α/5, 37β/3-4 and elsewhere. The word is used both with the current meaning of "goodness, kindness", and with the meaning of "well-being", which is now obsolete.
[22] BGr, 6β/1.
[23] BGr, 7β/5.
[24] BGr, 37β/3.
[25] BGr, 40α/5.
[26] BGr, 40α/5.
[27] BGr, 80α/4.
[28] BGr, 98β/1-2.

dialect used by the translator –"φεγγάρια" for the first and "λιχωνιά" for the second– and, in fact, he makes use of them in various parts of his text.[29] However, at the beginning of the appendix dealing with these two important issues, the translator chooses to introduce the Arabic terminology of these two special female conditions –"haiz" for menstruation and "nifas" for puerperium–, apparently because this is also used in the Turkish official vocabulary. Greek-speaking Muslims had to adopt, if not the official language of their religion, at least its official terminology.

A last example from the field of vocabulary is particularly typical, because it is precisely the term that defines the literary genre of the text we are discussing. This is the term "ilmihal", which corresponds to catechism. At one point the Turkish original says: *Farz-ı ayn olan ilimleri ki ilm-i hâldir, öğreneler.*[30] The translator renders this short text with six 15-syllable Greek verses:

Θέλεις θηλ'κός θέλεις ασερκός να μαθ' το ιλμιχάλι
Στον κάθε έναν φαρζ' είναι αυτό το ιλμιχάλι

Σ' ο,τ' τέχνη είναι πάσαν εις, γιάνιμ σε ο,τ' αχβάλι
Ο,τ' μεσελές χρειάζεται αυτό 'ναι ιλμιχάλι

Καμπόσ' αλίμ'δες μου 'χουν πει ένα γκαρίμπ' αχβάλι
Σ' τούτο το κιτάπι μας βρίσκεις το ιλμιχάλι[31]

He explains in detail what this "ilmihal" is, which in the original text is described as "farz-i ayn", that is "individual religious obligation". This Arabic technical term is explained in a people's vernacular: Men and women alike, that is everyone, should learn it. But he dedicates most of the details to the etymology of the term "ilmihal": It is the knowledge of the respective situations, how one should behave in each given situation. It is obvious in this case that the pleonastic words do not serve the requirements of the poetic discourse but aim to draw the public's attention to the importance of the specific textual genre, that is catechism. It is important for our translator to make his audience understand the importance of catechism in the new religion.

In short, we could say that the Greek translation of the Turkish catechism shows a Greek-speaking community that was completely cut off from the learned Greek

[29] See, for example, BGr, 99β/4 for puerperium and 100β/3 for mensruation. In this second case it is said that the woman is "στα φεγγάρια της".

[30] Demir, "Birgivi'nin …", 234. A rough English translation would be as follows: "They should obtain all that knowledge, which is an individual obligation, namely the knowledge of the situations, the ilmihal/catechism".

[31] BGr, 61β/3-5.

tradition that we know existed at that time. We can assume that this was something that one consciously sought. It is a Greek vernacular full of Turkish vocabulary and Turkisms. However, throughout the text, next to the Turkish word "incil" we read the Greek *ευαγγέλια* (Gospels), next to the Turkish "cennet" we read the Greek *παράδεισος* (Heaven). The frequency of occurrence of these terms though is overwhelmingly in favor of Turkish. The Greek word *παράδεισος* -in combination with the dialectal form *πίσσα* for hell- occurs a total of only three times. In contrast, the Turkish term *τζεννέτι* -the hellenized form of the Turkish "cennet"- occurs fifteen times in the Greek translation. It is obvious then that there is a preference for theological terms derived from the Muslim religion.

We shall give now some examples that have nothing to do with words, but with the deeds, the habits of the Greek-speaking Muslims, for whom this translation was prepared. It is no coincidence that the deviations from the original text that have to do with practices and habits are found mainly in the last part of the catechism, which deals with practical issues, such as those related to death. At one point, when describing the actions to be taken when someone dies, the translator adds a couplet that does not exist in the original: *Και η ψυχή μ' σαν βγει τα μάτια να μου πιάκουν – Να μ' δέσουν τα τσαούλια μου κι απέ να μ' απαριάκουν*.[32] It is, obviously, the custom, followed by both Christians and Muslims, to close the eyes of the deceased and tie his jaws. For some reason the translator thinks he has to emphasize a ritual that is already known to everyone. Why does he feel this need? May be because an old Christian practice tended to be avoided by newly or not so newly converted Muslims because it reminded them of their, or their ancestors' past. But since it is also a Muslim burial practice the translator considers it necessary to add this couplet in order to put emphasis on it. We must keep in mind that these former Christians continued to live in a predominantly Christian environment and apparently felt the need to identify themselves as opposed to both their own past and the present of their neighbors.

A little further on, when the word is about the grave in which the deceased will be placed, the original text speaks of a hollow in this grave, in which the head of the deceased will rest, so that it faces Mecca. At this very point our translator intervenes and, saying that this hollow is called a "lahd", adds that in their part of the world the morphology of the soil does not allow such a hollow to be dug. This geological detail might as well help to determine the geographical location of this community of Greek-speaking Muslims:

Και σα μπιτίσουν, αδερφέ, το μνήμα μου σα σκάψουν

[32] BGr, 70α/2. English translation: "And when my soul comes out, they will close my eyes, tie my jaws and then put me down".

Ένα λαγούμ' καρσί κιμπλέ ως για τ' εμέν' να σκάψουν

Και το λαγούμ' λάχντι το λεν σε 'κείν' τη γης που βαστάει
Στη γης μας λαχντ' δε γένεται πέφτει δε σταματάει[33]

There is one more point in the burial customs of this community that clearly shows the attempt of the new Muslims to renounce their Christian past. While the original Turkish text mentions only once that the coffin should not be placed in the grave, the translator feels the need to create yet another couplet of two 15-syllable verses –without anything analogous in the original Turkish text– in which he emphatically repeats that the coffin must not enter the grave with the dead:

Πλιθάρ' αν 'σως και δε βριθεί, καλάμι θελ' να βάλουν
Ξύλο και ψάθα και ταμπούτ' και κεραμίδ' μη βάλουν

Και μες το χώμα το ξερό θέλω που να με βάλουν
Με[ς] το ταμπούτι φ'λαγωθούν δε θέλω να με βάλουν[34]

As already mentioned, at the end of the *Testament* there are several pages that have to do with advice on very personal habits, such as hygiene in the toilet or the special days of women during menstruation or childbirth. At the point where the cleansing is done after the emptying of the colon, our translator adds a couplet about the emptying of the bladder, which, however, does not exist in the original text: *Πάσα 'νας θελ' να φ'λαγωθεί ορθός να μην κατ'ρήσει – Τι 'ναι μεκρούχ το όρθωμα και πρέπει να καθήσει*.[35] "Mekruh" is an adjective denoting a deed that is not religiously forbidden but is considered obscene. We thus get an idea of what it meant to change religion. There were not just abstract theological doctrines that one might possibly ignore, but very specific actions that were imposed on someone even in his most personal moments.

In conclusion, in this paper we tried to show that the piece of *aljamiado* literature under discussion is not only a translation of the Turkish original *Vasiyetname* into Greek, but at the same time it is partly a manifestation of the situation of a Greek-speaking Muslim community in the Ottoman periphery. It is literally an "ilmihal" of their community.

[33] BGr, 73α/3-4.
[34] BGr, 75β/1-2.
[35] BGr, 80β/5. In English: Everyone should be careful not to pee while standing up – Because it is awful to do it while standing up and one has to sit.