

ECONOMIC INTERACTION BETWEEN THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH
AND THE OTTOMAN STATE IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS

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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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This is to certify that I have read this thesis and that it in my opinion is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the Degree of Master of Arts in the field of History at the Graduate School of Social Sciences.

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ABSTRACT

ECONOMIC INTERACTION BETWEEN THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE OTTOMAN STATE IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS

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Master of Arts, History

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Hasan Çolak

This thesis examines the nature of the financial activities of the Greek Orthodox Church vis-à-vis Ottoman State during the 17th century that has often been neglected by the historians due to the lack of archival sources. It proposes to overcome these challenges by systematically scanning two important archival collections, namely the *Atik Şikâyet Defter*s and *Mühimme Defter*s, which contain registers covering both ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical matters through an examination and analysis of the orders (*hüküms*) on financial aspects of the ecclesiastical matters between 1650 and 1690. This research will unveil the evolving dynamics between the church members and the Ottoman officers. Analysis of the orders in these registers with the religious, legal, financial and social dynamics of the petitioners sheds light on the financial changes of the period that is often characterized by almost exclusive crisis in the secondary literature. This thesis shows that the financial relations between them were more complex and that the crisis also included several cases of financial cooperation. Consequently, the findings promise to make a significant contribution to the field of Ottoman and ecclesiastical studies, providing a rich and comprehensive understanding of an important but under-explored period.

Keywords: Ottoman State, Greek Orthodox Church, Economic Interaction, 17th century

ÖZ

ON YEDİNCİ YÜZYIL OSMANLI BELGELERİNDE RUM ORTODOKS KİLİSESİ İLE OSMANLI DEVLETİ ARASINDAKİ EKONOMİK ETKİLEŞİM

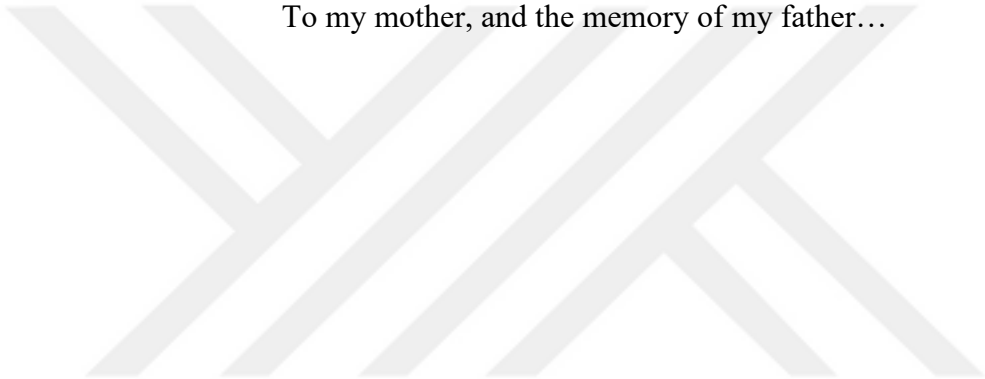
GÜRKAN, Deniz

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Hasan Çolak

Bu tez, 17. yüzyılda Rum Ortodoks Kilisesi'nin, Osmanlı Devleti karşısındaki ekonomik faaliyetlerinin, arşiv kaynaklarının eksikliği nedeniyle tarihçiler tarafından sıklıkla ihmal edilen doğasını incelemektedir. Bu çalışma hem dini hem de dini olmayan konuları kapsayan kayıtları içeren Atık Şikâyet Defterleri ve Mühimme Defterleri gibi iki önemli arşiv koleksiyonunu sistematik bir şekilde tarayarak, 1650-1690 yılları arasındaki etkileşimlerinin mali yönlerine ilişkin hükümlerin incelenmesi ve analizi yoluyla bu zorlukların üstesinden gelmeye çalışmaktadır. Kilise mensupları ile Osmanlı devlet idaresi yetkilileri arasında gelişen dinamikleri ortaya çıkaracaktır. Bu kaynaklardaki dilekçe sahiplerinin dini, hukuki, mali ve sosyal dinamikleriyle birlikte incelenmesi, ikincil literatürde genellikle kriz olarak nitelendirilen bu dönemin mali değişimlerine ışık tutacaktır. Aralarındaki mali ilişkilerin krizle birlikte daha karmaşık bir hal aldığını ve bazı alanlarda bunun iş birliğine dönüştüğünü de göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak, bulgular Osmanlı ve kilise çalışmaları alanına önemli bir katkı sağlamayı ve önemli ancak yeterince araştırılmamış bir dönemin zengin kaynakları aracılığıyla kapsamlı bir şekilde anlaşılmasını vaat etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Devleti, Rum Ortodoks Kilisesi, Ekonomik Etkileşim, 17.yüzyıl



To my mother, and the memory of my father...

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM PAGE	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	v
DEDICATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
CHAPTER I	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Primary Sources	2
1.2. Literature	14
1.3. Methodology	25
CHAPTER II.....	33
THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE OTTOMAN STATE: A HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THEIR RELATIONS	33
CHAPTER III.....	55
THE ECONOMIC INTERACTION OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH WITH THE OTTOMAN STATE	55
3.1. Taxation of the Church.....	64
3.2. Monastic and Church <i>Vakfs</i> from the Perspective of the State	91
CHAPTER IV	123
CONCLUSION	123
BIBLIOGRAPHY	129
Unpublished Primary Sources	129
Published Primary Sources	129
Secondary Sources	131

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, the aim is to analyze economic interaction between the Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox Church in the 17th century in the light of the *Atik Şikâyet Defters* and *Mühimme Defters*. As such, it seeks to trace the activities and roles of the church hierarchy and institutions in the Ottoman economy through primary sources. By examining of the relationship between the two institutions from the perspective of the state records, it navigates the boundaries of conflict and negotiation between them and analyses the intricate and multifaceted financial relationship between these two institutions with findings from the sources.

Spanning several centuries, this relationship evolved through various stages, from cooperation and coexistence to tension and conflict. However, since the 17th century was an age of drastic change and transformation period in the history of both the Ottoman state and the Church, it was also a period in which the dynamics of relations between the two were altered by the circumstances, particularly the economic ones. Analyzing a bulk of archival sources aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of this crucial interaction's historical dynamics and implications in the 17th century. The study will contribute to the understanding of the financial, political, social, and ecclesiastical dynamics of the period by analyzing their interactions. The registers provide insight into the interaction between the Church and the state. The activities of church members, their demands from the central administration, and the conflicts that them encountered will also be

examined and then will be placed in a wider historical context and the complex nature of the relationship will be revealed. This chapter provides an overview of the Greek Orthodox Church and the Ottoman State. It introduces the sources and methods used, sets the historical context, and presents the main themes explored in the literature.

1.1. Primary Sources

The documents in the archives were produced from a particular perspective, often that of the state. In essence, these documents are a compilation of records that were collected by the bureaucratic apparatus of the state and that included problematic issues. The archives have a lot to tell us about the perspective of the state on different topics. They contain a lot of information about internal organization and structure of the state and political, financial, and social life. In a period of political conflict, struggle, and problems, it is important whether the records are a reflection of these or to what extent they are a reflection of the political aspects of the time. Sometimes it is what they do not tell and what they keep silent about that is important. The study begins with the idea of examining how the political conflicts and power struggles between the Ottoman administration and the clergy in the seventeenth century were reflected in official documents. In the analysis phase, it begins to ask what the documents do not contain rather than what they do. In other words, the analysis aimed to determine whether there were any traces of the crisis, which is the term used in the literature to define the period. Then, as the questions began to be answered, it was realised that many things that would have been described as 'exceptions' in the historiography of the century were

a part of life. The problem in the secondary literature is that although historians use archival documents they transliterated them without much questioning according to his/her perspective. Only when placed in context does a document gain meaning. We need 'horizontal' and 'vertical' evidence to construct the context. These are what happened at the same time as the event studied (horizontal) and what happened before and after the event studied (vertical).¹ Documents are used as evidence for the development of an event or phenomenon. Depending on where it is placed on the horizontal and vertical axes, this evidence answers our questions. This is why history is a discipline of context, and why the skill of the modern historian is judged not by the document he or she finds, but by the context in which he or she places the document for.

Recently, there has been a move away from anachronistic analyses based on either chronicles or single documents, which used to be the basis for general conclusions, in historical writing on the non-Muslims in Ottoman administration. Open access to Ottoman archives and the exploitation of ecclesiastical and monastic archives and sources have contributed to this change. Up to this point, there has been little in the way of historical evidence and even less in the way of perspectives on the interaction of non-Muslims in their communities and with the state. Examining these peoples in their social context and seeing them as the multidimensional historical people rather than as one-dimensional cultural

¹ Michael Stanford, *Tarihin İncelenmesi İçin Bir Kılavuz* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010): 164.

monuments, is a good step toward a better understanding of the status and history of non-Muslims.²

This dissertation uses Ottoman documents that have not been used before, or if used, have never been used by in writing the Greek Orthodox Church history in 17th century, and focuses on the relationship, interactions, networks and conflicts between the church and state. The 17th century is characterized by the lack of notebooks (*defters*) or documents directly related to ecclesiastical matters. For this reason, and due to the lack of studied archival sources of the period, the relationship between them in this century is difficult to study in its entirety. For all of these reasons, Scholars who studied the Orthodox Church history mostly focused on the 18th century and later periods. Although there is a difficulty with the sources, this study will overcome them through a detailed examination and comprehensive research of two archival collections that contain several registers related to both ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical matters and registered in the same century.

Based on Heath Lowry's view that if there is more than one record for a particular region, we should use records serially whenever possible, used almost all the *Mühimme* and the *Atik Şikâyet Defters* (registers of complaints) of the 17th century in this thesis. Lowry adds to this view the following, using of a series of registers allows the scholars to capture the high degree of imprecision that characterizes this particular source, apart from the fact that the resulting study will be analytical, focusing on change over time, rather than purely descriptive, taking a

² Tom Papademetriou, *Render unto the Sultan: Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 41.

snapshot approach to history.³ Therefore, I scanned the *defters* for the years 1650-1690 consecutively and analyzed them.

Mühimme Defters and the *Atik Şikâyet Defters* are among the most important sources available for the political, social, economic, and cultural history of the Ottoman State and its provinces, especially from the 17th century onwards. These records also contain invaluable material, particularly on how problems are approached from a state perspective.

Despite the tendency to work on unexplored and untransliterated Ottoman documentation, these sources which provide an abundant and diverse variety of content available have not attracted much attention among scholars for the study of the Church. Moreover, scholars who use these sources in their work also unfortunately treated these records mostly as a single, homogeneous source for the political history of the state, despite the fact that they cover a wide geographical area and span several centuries. Several scholars working on the church-related matters also have used these sources mostly as supplementary materials in their studies.⁴

My argument in this study is that these records have a more complex structure and that they should be used as a reflection of the different voices of Ottoman subjects. They are an important source of material on how these voices were recorded and processed by the state, and the study evaluates them as the voices of different members of the church. The Church, previously characterized as

³ Heath W. Lowry and Nejat Göyünç, *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1992): 10.

⁴ K.A. Leal, *The Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul: sovereignty and identity at the turn of the eighteenth century*, PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2003., Elif Bayraktar Tellan, *The Patriarch and the Sultan: The Struggle for Authority and the Quest for Order in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire*. A Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara, 2011.

either in captivity⁵ or as an institution completely independent Ottoman realities, has been shown by the sources to be in a relatively different position from the state⁶. Although it is somehow believed that analyzed *hüküms* in *defters* include exceptional cases, they are not exceptional considering the intensity of relationship networks and interactions, these are findings that can be characterised as in tandem with the flow of that century. In addition, it would not be correct to describe them as exceptional, given that not all of the cases reached the Porte and only a certain number of them could be registered.

The Ottoman state gave everyone within her borders the right to seek justice and a complaint mechanism has been established in order to use this right, at least in theory.⁷ Any Ottoman subject who suffered injustice for political, economic, legal, or personal reasons had the right to appeal to the Ottoman sultan thanks to this mechanism. Contrary to the idea of offering limited Ottoman jurisdiction for non-Muslims, patriarchs and other church members or any dhimmi used this right and petitioned the sultan for various reasons. Imperial decrees given in response to their petitions were copied and gathered into the *Mühimmes* which contain records of all kinds of topics that were discussed in the *Divan* and then registered through a more specialized *defter* series like the *Şikâyet Defter*s.

⁵ Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

⁶ Theodore H. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination*, (Aldershot: Variorum, 1952).

⁷ Halil İnalcık, “Şikâyet Hakkı: Arz-ı Hal ve Arz-ı Mahzarlar,” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, no. VII–VIII (1988): 33.

In the 17th century, the variety and volume of issues in the *Divan* increased greatly and brought about specialization in the Ottoman bureaucratic apparatus.⁸ According to Kovács, this was not only a specialization but also a bureaucratic transformation, which is a natural consequence of a social transformation.⁹ A great reflection of this transformation is the organization of several funds and new notebooks series in the Imperial Chancery in the 17th century. Because the number of petitions and complaints increased dramatically in this century and the chancery had to transform and specialize. An examination of the content of sources reveals the diversity of orders and, almost all social, cultural, economic, administrative, and military issues are covered in them.

In some respects, it is difficult to distinguish between the *Şikâyet Defter*s and the *Mühimme Defter*s because they resemble each other quite closely stylistically and in content. For some scholars, while *Mühimme*s contain orders on matters throughout the state and affecting a significant portion of the population, *Şikâyet*s contain more individual issues.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the individual nature of the petitions in the *Şikâyet*s analyzed over a certain period provides information about the Church and its members' roles in ecclesiastical, economic, and social matters and the state's response to them in the 17th century. All *Mühimme* and *Şikâyet* registers recorded by the *Divan* involving a church member or church-related issue demonstrate the interaction between the Church and the central administration.

⁸ Murat Tuğluca, *XVII. Yüzyıl Sonu Şikâyet Defterlerine Göre Osmanlı Devlet-Toplum İlişkisinde Şikâyet Mekanizması ve İşleyiş Biçimi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2016): 7.

⁹ Nándor Erik Kovács, “17. Yüzyılda Divan-ı Hümayun’un Şikâyet Defterleri”, *Osmanlı Coğrafyası Kültürel Arşiv Mirasının Yönetimi ve Tapu Arşivlerinin Rolü Uluslararası Kongresi: Bildiriler*, no. 1, Ankara (2012): 273.

¹⁰ Emel Soyer, *XVI. yy. Divan Bürokrasi’sindeki Değişimlerin Bir Örneği Olarak Mühimme Defterleri*, İÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Unpublished Phd thesis, İstanbul 2007: 92. See also, Necati Aktaş, *Atik Şikâyet Defteri*, TDV. İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 1991.

These sources also pay testimony to the highly bureaucratized system of the Ottoman state because the language and terminology in the registers were uniform, consistent, and formulaic. A similar literary style was also used by the petitioners who were Muslim and non-Muslim subjects or their agents who penned these petitions, because their arguments should be persuasive and satisfy the state's expectations. Thus, the petitions were also written and (re)phrased in a similar style. The similarities in these *defters* have been studied by tracing and examining the small nuances in them.

The bulk of archival materials of the study are from the Ottoman section of the Directorate of the State Archives and they are part of the *Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn* and *Bâb-ı Âsâfî Kalemî Defters*. These funds are available in the classifications of *Dîvân (Beylikçi) Defters* (A.{DVN.d). This collection includes a total of 267 *Mühimme Defters* covering the period between 1553-1772 with the classification on the archive A.{DVNSMHM.d and 213 *Atik Şikâyet Defters* covering the period between 1649-1837 with the classification on the archive A.{DVNS.ŞKT.d.¹¹

In the study, *Şikâyet Defters* numbered 1-15 covering the dates 1649-1691 and *Mühimme Defters* numbered 92-101 recorded between 1656-1691 are used. In addition to the fifteen *Atik Şikâyet Defters* two more *defters* were used in the research. The first of them are the *defter* numbered 187, which was miscataloged, although it contains the records covering the years 1675 and 1676.¹² The other is in Austrian National Library registered with name of *Cod. mixt. 683*. This is also dated 1675 like the other *defter* and it was published in 1984 by Hans Georg Majer

¹¹ Uğur Ünal, İskender Türe, and Salim Kaynar, *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi* (İstanbul: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2017): 29-30.

¹² Soyer, 82.

entitled *Das Osmanische Registerbuch der Beschwerden (Şikâyet Defteri) vom Jahre 1675*.¹³

Whereas the aforementioned *Şikâyet Defters* are mostly unpublished and unexplored, the majority of the *Mühimme Defters* were published and transliterated. The orders transliterated in this study are given in the footnotes with their references. It should be mentioned, however, that there are some fundamental problems with these transliterated orders. First of all, the transliteration often misreads proper names (church members, patriarchs, dhimmis, place names). There are also significant errors, especially when transliterating terms of Greek origin. An attempt has been made to correct these errors in the relevant sections, where appropriate and the transliteration is given in the footnote as it stands. It is hoped that these issues will be addressed in a more careful manner by the future Ottomanists.

The main difference between this study and the others is that it is based on a wider scan of the major funds in the Ottoman archive. It identifies the orders (*hüküms*) that were linked to the Church and the nature of their relationship examined through these. To achieve this within a limited time frame, I selected a more restricted thematic and chronological scope. Despite some gaps in dating in the archival funds, it has been possible to establish the following chronological order: *Şikâyet Defter* no. 1 (1060/1650), no. 2 (1064/1653-1654), no. 3 (1065/1654-1655), no.4 (1081/ 1670-1671)¹⁴, no. 5 (1078/ 1667-1668), no. 6 (1078/ 1667-

¹³ Hans G. Majer, *Das Osmanische Registerbuch der Beschwerden (Şikâyet Defteri) vom Jahre 1675*, Wien 1984.

¹⁴ Yasemin Tataroğlu, “4 Numaralı Atik Şikâyet Defteri 1665-1670 (H. 1075-1081)”, Master’s Thesis, Marmara University, 2015.

1668), no. 7 (1083/ 1672-1673)¹⁵, no. 8 (1084/ 1673-1674), no.187 (1087/1676-1677), no. 9 (1092/1681-1682)¹⁶, no. 10 (1098/ 1686-1687)¹⁷, no. 11 (1100/ 1688-1689), no. 12 (1100/1688-1689), no. 13 (1100/ 1688-1689)¹⁸, no 14 (1102 / 1690-1691)¹⁹, no. 15 (1102 / 1690-1691). *Mühimme Defter* no. 75 (1011-1013/ 1602-1604)²⁰, no. 77 (1013-1014/ 1604-1605)²¹, no. 82 (1026-1027/ 1617-1618)²², no 85 (1040-1042/ 1630-1632)²³, no 88 (1046-1048/ 1636-1638)²⁴, no 92 (1067-1069/ 1656-1658)²⁵, no 93 (1069-1071/1658-1660)²⁶, no 94 (1073-1076/1662-1665)²⁷, no 95 (1075-1076/1664-1665)²⁸, no 96 (1089-1090/1678-1679)²⁹, no 99 (1100-

¹⁵ Muhammed Vergili, “Atik Şikâyet Defteri (7 numaralı H.1081-1083/ M.1671-1672) Transkripsiyon- değerlendirme”, Master’s Thesis, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University, 2019.

¹⁶ Kaan Ekin, “9 numaralı şikâyet defterinin transkripsiyonu ve incelenmesi”, Master’s Thesis, Sakarya University, 2019.

¹⁷ Mesut Demir, “1686-1687 (h.1097-1098) Tarihli Atik Şikâyet Defteri'nin transkripsiyon ve değerlendirilmesi”, Master’s Thesis, Marmara University, 2010.

¹⁸ Hasan Basri Türk, “13 numaralı Atik Şikâyet Defteri (Vr.1-142) (Değerlendirme-çeviri-metin)”, Master’s Thesis, Marmara University, 2019.; Muhammet Murat Hurç, “13 numaralı Atik Şikâyet Defteri (VR. 143-302) (Değerlendirme-çeviri-metin)”, Master’s Thesis, Marmara University, 2019.

¹⁹ Ümit Baki Erdem, “14 numaralı Atik Şikâyet Defteri (h.1101-1102/ m. 1690-1691) transkripsiyonu ve değerlendirilmesi”, Master’s Thesis, Marmara University, 2017.

²⁰ Selçuk Demir, “75 Numaralı Mühimme Defterinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi, (s. 1-170)”, Master’s Thesis, Atatürk University, 2008.; Adem Keleş, “75 numaralı Mühimme Defteri'nin transkripsiyonu ve değerlendirilmesi (s. 172-331)”, Master’s Thesis, Atatürk University, 2011.

²¹ Serpil Gökçe, “77 Numaralı Mühimme Defterinin Transkripsiyonu ve Hükümlerin Özeti (1-370)”, Master’s Thesis, Ağrı İbrahim Çeçen University, 2019.

²² Yusuf Sarınoy and Osman Yıldırım, *82 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, 1026-1027/1617-1618: Özet, Transkripsiyon, İndeks ve Tıpkıbasım* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2000).

²³ Yusuf Sarınoy, *85 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, 1040-1041 (1042)/1630-1631 (1632): Özet, Transkripsiyon, İndeks*. (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2002).

²⁴ Murat Ateş, “88 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri'nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi, 1637-1638 (H. 1046-1048)”, Master’s Thesis, Van Yüzüncü Yıl University, 2008.

²⁵ Selçuk Osmanoğlu, “92 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (Özet ve Transkripsiyon)”, Master’s Thesis, Marmara University, 2004.

²⁶ Azize Gelir Çelebi, “93 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (1069-1071/1658-1660), Tahlil, Transkripsiyonu ve Özet”, Master’s Thesis, Marmara University, 2008.

²⁷ Müjge Karaca, “94 Numaralı Mühimme Defterinin Özeti, Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi”, Master’s Thesis, Atatürk University, 2008.

²⁸ Ercan Alan, “95 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (Tahlil, Transkripsiyonu ve Özeti)”, Master’s Thesis, Marmara University, 2008.

²⁹ Yunus Mercimek, “96 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri'nin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi (S. 1-99).” Master’s Thesis, Gaziantep University, 2013; M.Alper Yayvan, “96 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri'nin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi (H. 1089-1090/M. 1678-1679) (s. 100-199)”, Master’s Thesis, Gaziantep University, 2014.

1101/1688-1689)³⁰, no 100 (1101-1102/1689-1690)³¹, no 101 (1102-1103/1690-1691)³².

This study used both records in all mentioned *defters* given as replies to petitions of church members and records of events in which these people were involved for various reasons. These records pay testimony to the church members' interaction with the Ottoman Court for seeking justice. Furthermore, *hüküms* in the *Mühimme* and the *Şikâyet* registers also contain intra-communal and inter-communal issues in economic, social, religious, and administrative matters in the 17th century. Some of them can be evaluated as insignificant in the first place, but if their context is discussed in the manner of handling problems, they are treasures for understanding the state's approach to the Church and determining the Church's role in administrative, social, and economic life in the Ottoman empire.

Each *defter* was carefully examined to determine cases involving the Church and its members. Then, their *hüküms* were classified and used to explore the network of relations between the Orthodox Church and Ottoman administration. The process was started by scanning the *defters* chronically and continued by examining and the *hüküms*, which included issues of the Church and its members. Then, they were classified and attached to the study according to their contents.

The registers expressly demonstrate the changing dynamic of the interaction between the Orthodox Church and the state in the 17th century in financial matters especially. Furthermore, the evidential materials in the *defters* illustrate the

³⁰ Mehmet Ali Tan, “99 numaralı mühimme defteri transkripsiyonu ve değerlendirmesi (91-180)”, Master’s Thesis, Bitlis Eren University, 2015.

³¹ Muzaffer Fehmi Şakar, “1101-1102 (1690-1691) Tarihli 100 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi”, Master’s Thesis, Marmara University, 2007.

³² Tuba Meryem Yıldız Karacan, “101 no’lu Mühimme Defteri’nin transkripsiyonu ve değerlendirmesi”, Master’s Thesis, Akdeniz University, 2010.

perspective of the Ottoman legal system for the patriarchate and Orthodox authorities. They also show how their internal affairs, economic power, and roles were reflected in the Ottoman sources. As I will attempt to show, the combined study of archival material produced by the state authorities allows us to draw conclusions about the nature and extent of the authority of the patriarch and the higher clergy. It also demonstrates the potentials and limitations of state support. In addition, through a comprehensive analysis of these archival materials, we can determine how the patriarch exercised authority and its place in the eyes of the state.

There has been a great deal of detail about the contribution of the sources to this study, but as with any study, there will be limitations and shortcomings. At the request of the subjects, *hüküms* or orders were issued by the central administration eventually as described. It is questionable to what extent the sources reflect the true picture of the current context. They are usually documents that serve as a summary of the legal proceedings and do not provide details about the background of the story. This does not mean, of course, that one cannot read between the lines and draw certain conclusions. It can be concluded that they primarily reflect the legal practices of the time, as they also shed light on the legal process between the Church and the State. Hence, we should carefully construct the framework with *hüküms*. They should be discussed in the light of their actual development under the conditions of the time and in the light of legal doctrines and practices.

Apart from these sources, this study uses ecclesiastical *berâts* which complement the study's main sources in indicating the changing role of the patriarch. The *berâts* defined the terms and conditions of the relationship between

the sultan and the holder of the *berâts* by granting the latter a certain position, income, possessions, privileges, and exemptions.³³ *Berâts* had to be renewed when there was a change of sultan or patriarch, as they were valid during the time of the two. A copy of the *berât* is registered in a *defter* and kept in the Imperial Treasury while the original is given to the holder. Only *berât* used in this research are these copies registered in the *defters*. They are very important sources as they clearly reveal the legal basis of the interaction between the sultan and the patriarchs. The acquisition of a *berât* was not an easy matter, because the patriarch was the subject of a number of mechanisms within the state bureaucracy.³⁴ Firstly, the holder had to pay a lump-sum amount called *pişkeş* to acquire the *berât* at least until the year 1686, when *pişkeş* was replaced with an annual payment.³⁵ Clergymen who competed for the seat of patriarchs increased the amount of *pişkeş* in due course. In the end, it was turned into a mandatory and permanent payment. Second, regarding the patriarchal candidate's eligibility and credibility, the Ottoman bureaucratic procedure made some additional checks even if these two criteria were met. These are indications that the acquisition of a *berât* is not a simple matter and has a detailed process.³⁶ The *berâts* used in the study are published primary sources. I will try to draw the boundaries of the patriarchal jurisdiction until the middle of the 17th century based on the *berât* of 1662.

In accordance with the state's approach to the Church and the conditions of the time, all these sources confirmed the Ottoman central administration's interaction with the Church and the rights and privileges of its members. Scholars

³³ Mübahat Küçüköğlu, 'Berât', TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi 5, (1992): 472.

³⁴ Hasan Çolak and Elif Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution: A Study of Early Modern Patriarchal Berât s* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2019). 33-34.

³⁵ Çolak and Tellan, 34.

³⁶ Çolak and Tellan, 35.

have often attributed great power to the Church in the period of Mehmed II based on privileges granted by the sultan which was regarded as the first *berât*. Following this, each succeeding patriarch was confirmed by similar documents issued by the sultans. In addition, the pashas started granting such testimonials like these to new bishops in the provinces.³⁷ Most studies were trying to situate it within the Ottoman State as an autonomous institution by cutting the Church off from its networks.³⁸ The patriarch who was under the authority of the sultan was considered the ethnarch of the Orthodox subjects and a tax collector role was attributed to him merely. As the registers used in this study show, contrary to the conviction of several historians, the patriarchate does not seem a stagnant institution.³⁹ It was engaged in a relationship with the Ottoman administration through bureaucratic, social, and financial networks in the 17th century.

In conclusion, the study is based on the analysis of previously unexplored and unused sources of the 17th century in order to examine the relationship between the Church and the State by focusing on the role of the Church in the Ottoman economy and the financial activities of the Church and the nature of their links during the century.

1.2. Literature

One of the biggest problems in the historiography on Ottoman non-Muslims is that seen as a completely different segment from the rest of Ottoman society, i.e. Muslims. According to this view, Christians and Jews are monolithic communities,

³⁷ G. Georgiades Arnakis, "The Greek Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire," *The Journal of Modern History* 24, no. 3 (1952): 237. See M. Süreyya Şahin, *Fener Patrikhânesi ve Türkiye* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 1999): 50-62.

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³⁹

closed to the outside world, without any significant difference or diversity within themselves. Although criticized in recent years, both in Ottoman historiography and in large parts of the society, this traditional view has maintained its place. In fact, critical studies in recent years, highlighting the diversity Ottoman non-Muslims and the need to rethink the traditional concept of community, have questioned the existence of an order, referred to the *millet* system.

The system which is believed to ensure the administration of non-Muslims living in the Ottoman lands and to grant them religious and administrative autonomous areas is a matter for the historiography with discussions about its existence and characteristics. The proponents of this systems argue that sultan Mehmed II appointed Gennadios as the first Patriarch and gave certain rights to him regarding religious, administrative, and judicial matters concerning all Orthodox Christians in the state after the conquest of Constantinople. With the system, it is thought that their economic, legal, religious, linguistic, and cultural identities were preserved under the administration of the state. The part of this idea to be criticized is the claim that the organization was established systematically from the first moments of the conquest of Constantinople for different *millets* and continued with almost no change for the decades to come. It is clear that there were administrative and legal improvements, especially in religious communities in the social order after the conquest in the records. However, these improvements were evaluated as tolerant understanding of the state by the historians who claim the existence of the *millet* system.⁴⁰ The system confirms differences in the social structure and uses a

⁴⁰ Karen Barkey, "Maintaining Empire: An Expression of Tolerance." Chapter. In *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 109–53. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

different tone against the religious group tolerated. What is meant to be emphasized is the existence of a system that lives under the absolute authority of the state where pluralism prevails, and that system is maintained with tolerance and differences are preserved. For these reasons, their interactions have been studied by many researchers in the context of the system. On the other hand, other studies in this context generally focused on the centralizing role of the Patriarchate of Constantinople over the whole Orthodox community, and the patriarchate is seen as an Ottoman institution. Recent studies which analyzed the complex structure of ecclesiastical institutions and their relations with the state have raised serious doubts about the reliability of this system.

This research supports the view that minority groups are not affected by an understanding of the proposals *millet* system. The existence of the system will be discussed in this chapter with reference to the historical account of the debate, when major contributions to the topic since the beginning of the 20th century.

In the traditional Ottoman historiography, the Greek Orthodox were among the non-Muslims who were seen as a minority group against the Muslim population of the empire or were characterized negatively. As there was not a monolithic Greek community in the empire, the small Greek communities at the regional level, and came together to form a *millet*. Historian Arnold Toynbee, who witnessed the Turkish War of Independence in the early 1920s, noted that these communities were "imaginary" at the time, but such ideas were unlikely to develop at a time when the nation-state paradigm was ascendant. Only after the 1980s, with the development of

poststructuralist criticism, historians began to question this perspective.⁴¹ The new critical approaches define the Greek Orthodox population in the empire in terms of difference and diversity. Considering the Greek Orthodox not as a whole in themselves, but in connection with the other segments of the Ottoman society brought different perspectives. In addition, new research is being carried out using connected approaches. The aim is to link the Ottoman and Greek histories, which are generally studied in isolation.

At the beginning of the 1940s, Michalis Sakellariou stated that the study of the Ottoman period was necessary for the understanding of the modern history of Greece.⁴² In fact, scholars have begun to address the Ottoman context in Greek historiography since the 1960s, especially in the last two decades.

If we go back to the development of the system in historiography, the origins of the system date to the period after conquest of Constantinople in 1453 as mentioned above. After the conquest, the Orthodox Patriarchate became part of the Ottoman administrative and fiscal system, and the patriarchs had to be approved by the sultan. The first patriarch appointed by Mehmed II was Gennadios Scholarios (c. 1400 – c. 1473). In the course of the next decades, the Patriarchs in Constantinople were theoretically empowered to rule over all Orthodox Christians living in the Ottoman Empire. In addition to providing fiscal and legal autonomy to the Orthodox Church, Mehmed II was reputed to have granted several privileges to Patriarch Gennadios. He paid the taxes and the state-supported his authority in return. It is important to note that although these statements lack a basis in fifteenth-

⁴¹ Ayşe Ozil, *Anadolu Rumları: Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nun son Döneminde Millet Sistemini Yeniden Düşünmek*. (İstanbul: Kitap, 2016): 33.

⁴² Evangelia Balta, "Turkish Archival Material in Greek Historiography", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, Vol.8, No.15, (2010): 763.

century sources, they are pervasive in secondary literature today.⁴³ There is a discussion about this in the literature as some scholars argue that Mehmed II gave Gennadios a *berât* or *ferman* which were eventually lost as proof of rights and privileges, others say that he received them orally.⁴⁴ The scope of the rights or privileges granted to all Orthodox Christians within the empire is also an important issue. Some claim that these rights are only of an ecclesiastical nature, while others claim that the Patriarch has a wider range of administrative and judicial powers.⁴⁵ It was challenging from the beginning for the Patriarchate to integrate into Ottoman institutional and legal order since Islamic law does not recognize either legal persons or corporate bodies.⁴⁶ However, although this had legal validity in the 17th century and before, it is seen that they were adapted to the legal system with different regulations in practice.

The patriarch was considered personally liable and was expected to collect the necessary amount from the metropolitans and bishops. According to some scholars, these developments showed that the state regarded the patriarchs and the members of the church as tax farmers. According to the system, the church was an unchanging and stable institution over the years. Also it had a wide range of power thanks to the privileges granted by the sultan.

⁴³ Benjamin Braude, *Foundation Myths of the Millet System in Christians & Jews in the Ottoman Empire* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2014): 69-87. Daniel Goffman, "Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11 (1994): 177.

⁴⁴ Papadopoulos, 7-10. Runciman, 166-172. Macit Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi: Mit ve Gerçek* (İstanbul: Klasik, 2004): 83.

⁴⁵ Halil İnalcık, "The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans" in *Essays in Ottoman History*, ed. Halil İnalcık. (İstanbul: Eren, 1998): 195-229; Halil İnalcık, "The Policy of Mehmed II Toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23-24 (1969-70): 236-237. Nicolaos I. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula during the Ottoman Rule*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1967: 7-10, 19, 23, 86. Joseph Kabrda, *Le Système Fiscal de l'Eglise Orthodoxe dans l'Empire Ottoman (D'après les documents turcs)*, (Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1969): 14-16.

⁴⁶ Joseph Schacht, *İslam Hukukuna Giriş*, Trans., Mehmet Dağ ve Abdülkadir Şener (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1986): 134-135.

Gibb and Bowen proposed that Mehmed II had formalized the dhimmis into three recognized *millets*: Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish.⁴⁷ The system was directed not only against the Orthodox Church, but also against the Armenian Patriarchate and the Jewish Rabbinate.⁴⁸ The majority of historians were in favor of the system and their tendency was that the patriarch received a great deal of power from the Ottoman administration. The Patriarchate is narrated as an autonomous institution within the state, and the Patriarch is considered the ethnarch of the Orthodox subjects in their studies. This system also suggests that the Church and the Patriarch had many rights and privileges. What is more, the attitude of the state towards them did not change for centuries according to this system.

The system was first criticized in 1982, when Braude stated that it was inaccurate to describe the patriarch as totally autonomous to act in legal and ecclesiastical matters. For Braude, the system was only a myth, and the arrangements made by the sultan were ad hoc, rather than a uniform system that was adopted. He assumed that the extended autonomy given to community leaders is assumed to have not resulted in an administrative system for dealing with non-Muslims in the classical period. According to Braude, the concept of dhimmi dates back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad, while the term *millet* used by historians dates back to the 19th century. The term also existed in the early Ottoman centuries and had various connotations, it was not used with a meaning of dhimmi before the *Tanzimat* period. In the 15th and 16th centuries, the Ottomans did not have

⁴⁷ Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, 1969: 207-261.

⁴⁸ Tellan, 3.

a consistent policy towards non-Muslims.⁴⁹ The development of administrative policies was a gradual process over the course of centuries, in accordance with the conditions of the time. Historians tended to ignore changing policies and justify new ones by ascribing them to the past.

Michael Ursinus provided examples of the usage of the term *millet* from *Mühimme Defters* to refute Braude's arguments. Ursinus cites as evidence that, as early as 1591, millet was used as a term to refer to an empire-wide religious community. This and his other examples show that since at least the end of the 17th century, the term millet has referred to the non-Muslims of the empire.⁵⁰ The fact that the word *millet* appeared in these registers when referring to non-Muslims was not entirely new. However, the word was not used to point to the non-Muslim communities throughout the latter half of the 17th century in the *Mühimme* and *Şikâyet* registers. It is worth noting that it was used late in the century.

Braude, in a later article, accepted Ursinus' arguments with respect to the time of use of the term, but he added that the using in the way Ursinus suggested was limited to the 17th century *Mühimmes* and was not founded in sources outside Constantinople such as sharia records. The absence of the term in the Ottoman administration for non-Muslims is an indication of the absence of the *millet* system in Braude's view. On the other hand, Goffman has demonstrated the fluidity of the term *millet* as used in Ottoman political discourse in the 17th century. The word is juxtaposed with the word *taife*, referring to the Orthodox-Armenian conflict over control of Jerusalem's holy sites in a decree. Here the expression seems to refer to the community of Christians. According to Goffman, this usage was an example of

⁴⁹ Braude, 69-88.

⁵⁰ Michael Ursinus, "Millet", EI 2, Vol. VII, 1993: 61-64.

Braude's understanding of *millet*, in which the word refers to the ecumenical nature of Christianity as opposed to particular groups.⁵¹ In addition, he also points out other ways in which the word has been used. These several usages indicate that Ottomans did not have a specific type of community unit in mind when they used the term in the 17th century. Although the term appears more frequently in the later centuries, especially in the *Tanzimat* period, Braude's argument that the absence of the term suggests the absence of an empire-wide system does, seem to hold true for the 17th century.

The patriarchs had the responsibility for the Orthodox *re'âyâ* by the Christian canon law. Family law issues like marriage and inheritance according to their religion and mores fell under his jurisdiction. The boundaries of ecclesiastical judicial jurisdiction of the Church can be defined by examining documents of patriarchs' and metropolitans' appointments. It is clear that any privileges granted were personal to the Patriarch and not to the Church, as is evident from the *berâts* published by Zachariadou.⁵² Moreover, Konortas emphasizes that *berâts* granted administrative rights to patriarchs. Their offices could be validated by administration through these documents. It is clear that the Ottoman Porte expected the patriarchs to maintain order and taxation from the provisions of the *berâts*, which gave the patriarchs authority over the Christian clergy and laity. Patriarchal power, whether in religion or politics, has been an important point of the *millet* system paradigm. Konortas states that a *milletbaşı* or ethnarch did not exist before

⁵¹ Daniel Goffman, "Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century," 139-140.

⁵² See Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika Eggrafa gia tin Megali Ekklesia (1483-1520)*, Athens: Ethniko Idryma Ereunon, Institutouto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996.

the 19th century.⁵³ In his book which covers the 17th to the 20th centuries, he has consulted *berâts* in the discussion of the territorial jurisdiction of the Patriarch during the Ottoman period. A comprehensive bibliography on the Ottoman state's perception of the Greek Orthodox community is also included in this work.⁵⁴

Pantazopoulos contributes to this discussion with the idea that the Ottomans, for religious, political, and economic reasons, not only extended the religious authority of the *milletbaşı* but also granted patriarch political authority.⁵⁵ Runciman stated that the patriarch had complete control over the entire church structure, the bishops and all the churches and convents they owned. In addition, the rights and responsibilities of the authority of the Patriarch extended to the Greek Orthodox population as well. From this description Runciman's conclusion was that he was the ethnarch, the ruler of the *millet*.⁵⁶ Many scholars of Ottoman history have cited this work possibly because of the lack of material on the subject. Based on Runciman's conclusions, Yavuz Ercan, Süreyya Şahin, Halil İnalcık, and Kemal Karpat made a number of similar observations. However, İnalcık disagreed with the idea of ethnarch because Ottoman administrators acted in accordance with Islam. According to İnalcık, the patriarch was an official of the administration in the system rather than a political leader because the patriarch was appointed with an official *berât*.⁵⁷ His claims are supported and elaborated by Kenanoğlu. He

⁵³ Paraskevas Konortas, 'From Tâ'ife to Millet: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox Community', in D. Gondicas and C. Issawi (eds.), *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1999): 169–80.

⁵⁴ Leal, 85 and Tellan, 25. See Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis gia to Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio: 17os- arches 20ou Aiona* [Ottoman Perspectives on the Ecumenical Patriarchate], Athens: Ekdoseis Alexandreia, 1998: 209-281. He listed 14 patriarch *berâts*.

⁵⁵ Pantazopoulos, 19-21.

⁵⁶ Runciman, 171.

⁵⁷ İnalcık, The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans, 206-208.

proposed the *mültezim* theory for the *millet* debate in his book *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi: Mit ve Gerçek*. However, the Patriarch's power and influence over the Orthodox subjects of the society has been overlooked again in this approach. He conducted extensive research in the Ottoman archives to investigate the financial relations between the Church and the state. He concluded that the role of the patriarch was solely that of a *mültezim*, or tax farmer, for the state.⁵⁸ On the other hand, he expanded *mültezim*'s scope ecclesiastically and named it as *ruhani mültezim* as a part of religious *iltizam* system.⁵⁹ For the process of acquiring *berât* continued when the relevant tax was paid. According to Kenanoğlu, the state organized non-Muslims into a structure within the system in order to control the administrative, financial, and legal power of non-Muslim clerics. He stated that the *iltizam* system clarifies a lot of things. It shows that the religious communities were not autonomous, as was claimed. The religious leaders had their authority in accordance with the rules of the state, and the power of tax collection was under the control of the state. The religious leaders used this power as *mültezims* in their areas. Their jurisdiction was not autonomous; rather, it was dependent and intangible. Furthermore, the relationships between the central and other provincial patriarchates and metropolitanates in different regions were explained by Kenanoğlu's system.⁶⁰ In sum, Kenanoğlu claims that the empire had complete authority over its non-Muslim subjects and the patriarch played a minor role. The weakness of his work is that he uses archival sources without contextualizing them.

⁵⁸ Kenanoğlu, 64-70.

⁵⁹ Kenanoğlu, 59-61.

⁶⁰ Kenanoğlu, 59-67.

He also gave examples that support his claims without depending on the historical context.

Papademetriou agreed with Kenanoğlu's claims and added new ones. He considered the patriarch a tax farmer because his duty was a duty to collect taxes and he benefited from the financial archive's documents to demonstrate his claims. His main claim is that the empire was not an Islamic institution, but an efficient and pragmatic one. For this reason, the state considered the Patriarchate as a source of income and used it to collect taxes properly.⁶¹ However, it is not possible to consider the financial activities of the Church in the Ottoman lands. The economic roles of its members did not remain the same in all the centuries that passed, and it is not possible to deal with its relationship with the state in a limited framework.

Scholarship on the period of supposed decline has been reoriented away from terms such as rise and decline towards crisis, adaptation, and transformation since the 1990s.⁶² However, when it comes to the Church or a structure or institution with a different identity located in Ottoman territory, we cannot see these conceptual flexibilities. On the other hand, 20th and 21st century historiography has produced many important studies on the history of the Orthodox Church which was part of the empire. The relevant chapters of the thesis will be describing these valuable studies in detail. In particular, studies on the economics of the Church will be listed in the main chapter.

In the study, many of our old ideas about the history of the Church have been re-evaluated in Ottoman history. In some cases, they have been, and continue

⁶¹ Papademetriou, 61-62.

⁶² Alan Mikhail and Christine M. Philliou, Ottoman Empire and the Imperial Turn." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no. 4 (2012): 725.

to be, completely transformed. However, the relationship between the Ottoman administration and the Church has been either understudied or one-dimensional in Ottoman studies, despite the increasing emphasis on church history in recent years. Since both the Ottoman administration's view of the Church and the Church's view of the state were discussed in terms of political history, much was missing in the literature on this subject. This research aims to fill in the missing parts of the topic and make a contribution to the literature of Ottoman historiography by using archival material. There has been little research on textual analysis of these documents. I want to look at practice rather than theory, that is, how the church's relations with the state and society are shaped in public complaints and state resources. For the purpose of this essay, the discussion will be on the different perspectives of the state with regard to the economic and political functions of the church vis-à-vis the state.

1.3. Methodology

The Ottoman State and its borders, as well as how these borders changed over time, is one of the main topics studied by historians. The impermeability of political and cultural borders, dominated by political and military history, as the portrayal of two mostly separate and hostile worlds in traditional historiography has led to the assumption that interaction is not possible. Where the distinction in question is a strong one, such as religion, the desire to cluster institutions, individuals and structures and squeeze them into separate worlds has been even more pronounced. However, since the Church has existed in the territory of the state for centuries and its activities and roles are part of many areas of religious,

economic and social interaction, it will not be possible to remove it from the Ottoman context and place it in a separate set of worlds. The creation of literature on the history of the Church through the removal of the Ottoman context is as impossible as the above proposition. While studies with a Eurocentric perspective explain history entirely in terms of European phenomena, they examine other regions outside the discipline of history under the roof of area studies.⁶³ Whereas it is not possible to put the empire in complete isolation and limit its interaction with the outside world only through war, and to believe in the existence of an iron curtain separating the empire from the outside world.⁶⁴ In addition, the root of these problems lies in the fact that, especially in the studies conducted until the twentieth century, the empire was treated only as a political unit and was subjected to history only in this aspect. As Goffman emphasizes, from this centralist perspective, the view of the empire and its history is shaped in parallel with where you position the center.⁶⁵

The categories of East and West are always fluid, always polymorphous and almost always projections of an imaginary difference.⁶⁶ Therefore, a binary reading of the Patriarchate versus the Ottoman State should not be applied to developments in the history of the Church during the Ottoman period. Instead of the ideological walls that allegedly separate Europe from the empire, the focus should be on its heterogeneous character, socially, religiously, and culturally as well as politically and militarily, and these rich and complex relations should be analyzed in their

⁶³ Pascal W. Firges ve Tobias P. Graf, "Introduction," *Well-Connected Domains: Towards an Entangled Ottoman History*, (Brill 2014): 2-3.

⁶⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Etrafındaki Dünya*, (İstanbul: Kitap, 2010): 13.

⁶⁵ Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 13-16.

⁶⁶ Bernard Heyberger, "East and West". In *Arabic Christianity between the Ottoman Levant and Eastern Europe*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2021): 3.

context with connected history methods. This is because issues such as limited interactions, insurmountable intercultural borders, and the monolithic nature of identities, which are assumed in traditional historiography, have begun to lose their reality with the contributions of a connected approach. The focus on cross-border dialogues and transfers increasingly challenged political boundaries' definitions.

New methodological approaches will be used to examine not only the official perceptions of states, but also the perceptions of societies and communities, the creation of contact zones and the impact of interactions in these zones.⁶⁷ Since the 1990s, when global history began to be discussed, debates among historians about terms such as transnational history, connected history and *histoire croisée* became more frequent.⁶⁸ In these approaches, the place and the moment of contact and exchange between people who come from different backgrounds, speak different languages, belong to different religion, and display different behavioural patterns, are examined in particular detail. An important factor in situations of contact and exchange is the figure of the "mediator", the "go-between".⁶⁹ Focusing on SheikhuIslam Feyzullah Efendi (1639-1703), Cesare Santus argues that he played a central role in the religious and social upheavals that affected the Eastern Christian communities of the state at the beginning of the 18th century, and through an analysis of his actions and a cross-check of Ottoman, Western and Armenian sources, he attempts to answer the political and entangled dimension of Ottoman confessionalization. Using and analyzing primary sources to construct a trans-

⁶⁷ Caroline Douki ve Philippe Minard, "Global History, Connected Histories: A Shift of Historiographical Scale," *Revue D'histoire Moderne & Contemporaine* 5, (2007): 5-7.

⁶⁸ Tassos Anastasiadis, "Eastern Orthodoxy. An Histoire Croisée and Connected History Approach." *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique moderne et contemporain*, no. 2 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.4000/bchmc.463>.

⁶⁹ Heyberger, 5.

religious and trans-cultural narrative through the networks established by an intermediary shows the key role these individuals played in historiography.⁷⁰ The present study is based on a similar set of objectives. The objective of this historical research is not to define identities and boundaries, but to highlight the role of intermediaries and to analyze through primary sources the relationship their economic interactions created between Church and State in the 17th century.

The scholars also proposed several analytical concepts, namely entanglement, hybridity, intersectionality, and transculturality to present a global perspective for interaction.⁷¹ Entanglement creates a transnational history by focusing on the historical development of cross-border networks.⁷² Hybridity introduced the necessity or possibility of adaptation, translation, and imitation. Hybridity developed in the context of the post-colonial debate,⁷³ and intersectionality interrogates the multiple ways in which social inequalities develop.⁷⁴ Finally, transculturality eschews the comparative and focuses on the zones of contact, the processes of adaptation and exchange, the modes of translation, and the periods when borders are crossed within a global framework.

⁷⁰ Cesare Santus, "Sheikh ül-islam Feyzullah Efendi and the Armenian Patriarch Awetik': A Case of Entangled Confessional Disciplining?" In *Entangled Confessionalizations?: Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th-18th Centuries* edited by Tijana Krstic and Derin Terzioglu (Piscataway, NJ, USA: Gorgias Press, 2022): 233-254.

⁷¹ Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüesch and Christiane Sibille, (2012). Introduction: What is Transcultural History? In: *Transcultural History. Transcultural Research – Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context*. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.

⁷² See Sebastian Conrad and Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements, 1880s–1930s*, Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series (New York: Palgrave, 2007).

⁷³ Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009). Joel Kuortti and Jopi Nyman, *Reconstructing Hybridity: Post-Colonial Studies in Transition* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007).

⁷⁴ See Janet Siltanen and Andrea Doucet, *Gender Relations: Intersectionality and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Gudrun-Axeli Knapp, "'Intersectionality' - Ein neues Paradigma der Geschlechterforschung," in *Was kommt nach der Genderforschung? Zur Zukunft der feministischen Theoriebildung*, ed. Rita Casale (Bielefeld: 2008).

All these concepts questioned intellectual monopolies and sought to avoid methodological and disciplinary Eurocentrism.⁷⁵

In order to write the history of the Church, especially after the fall of Constantinople, it is necessary to re-establish the connections between different networks and to have a more comprehensive understanding of interactions. By using the methods of connected history can we overcome the shortcomings and limitations of the studies of church-state interactions influenced by the *Millet* system literature detailed in the previous chapter.

This study proposes to contribute to the history of the Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox Church relations in the 17th century using by the orders (*hüküms*) of the *Şikâyet Defters* and *Mühimme Defters*, which include church members and their interactions, to reveal the relationship and interactions between them on an economic basis. Reconstructing the Church's connections, relationships, negotiations, and conflicts with the state is essential to the realization of this contribution. In this reconstruction process, the focus is on the functional aspects of the strategies and mechanisms of each *hüküm*. Each of them has always been analyzed in the light of its own circumstances and the points of overlap and not overlap with others. Antecedent privileges, the location and possible geographical spread of their landed property, and different political and social experiences before and after the conquest are among the analytical criteria used in the study.

The study also aims to investigate the continuity of the differences, privileges, and exceptions of the Church and its members at the local and regional levels in the eyes of the state in the 17th century. Furthermore, it provides archival

⁷⁵ Herren.

documentation. One of the main gaps remains a broad sampling over as wide an area and time as possible. To do these properly, the tools and propositions of approaches putting the emphasis on connections will be used.

Studies on the relationship between them have adopted a variety of approaches and themes. In analyzing and explaining their interactions, I use the offers of connected history. This is not only the most appropriate way to assess the process of their relationship. It is also a way of avoiding the traditional approach of looking at them as separate institutions and making comparisons. Connectedness point that we need to go beyond singular binaries (national or local versus imperial, central versus peripheral, secular versus ecclesiastical, western versus eastern, Greek versus Ottoman) and to multiply angles of approach and perspective in order to identify 'tensions and equilibria' more accurately of specific periods.⁷⁶ It also will be used when discussing political, financial, cultural, and ecclesiastical interactions of the Church members and state's officials.

In 1997, Sanjay Subrahmanyam proposed the connected approach.⁷⁷ He demonstrated the "patchwork" nature of the world in the early modern period. As an alternative to comparative history, this offers a "transnational perspective". This approach allows the empire to be meaningfully engaged in comparative analysis while preserving the specificity of the Ottoman historical experience.⁷⁸

Connected history, which breaks away from comparative approaches, makes this possible by emphasizing the multifaceted character of transfers. The inability of Comparative History to break away from the bonds of a nation and national identity,

⁷⁶ Anastassiadis.

⁷⁷ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640," *American Historical Review*, (December 2007): 1359-1385.

⁷⁸ Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997): 735-62.

the "Spatial Turn", "Dependency Theory", "Globalization" and the need for reflexivity have strengthened the hand of connected history in historiography.⁷⁹ Among the relational approaches, Bénédicte Zimmermann proposed the *histoire croisée* as a multiple perspective. However, it and the connected approach are slightly different. Their epistemology differs but not sharply ones, but the researcher's methodology affects how relational approaches can fit into theories.⁸⁰ For research focused on theoretical concepts such as knowledge transfer or communication, the *histoire croisée* approach is a valuable tool, with its emphasis on hybridization or homogenization because it transcends different territorial, linguistic, and cultural borders, and revisits the categories of analysis of their spatial and temporal configuration.⁸¹

The comparative approach consists in choosing a focal point. In order to ensure symmetry, this focal point must be the same for each of the entities studied. The aim of it is to fill in the gaps and the blind spots that arise when these are carried out separately.⁸² Comparative history is not appropriate for this study. This approach ignores cultural transmissions and interactions, detaching what it deals with from its historical context and confining it to a singular context. This context is often one where standardized models are used, such as the "*Millet System*". In contrast to comparison, it provides an active field of study. In comparative history, the effects and repercussions of events are analyzed in detail, that all processes that

⁷⁹ Sönke Bauck and Thomas Maier. 2015. "Entangled History." *InterAmerican Wiki: Terms - Concepts - Critical Perspectives*: www.uni-bielefeld.de/cias/wiki/e_Entangled_History.html

⁸⁰ Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, No. 1 (February 2006): 30-50.

⁸¹ Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Histoire Croisée: A Relational Process-Based Approach," *Footprint* 26, no.14, (Spring/Summer 2020): 12.

⁸² Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Histoire Croisée", 7-13.

can be evaluated are considered from a broader perspective, and that not only those positioned in the intersection cluster are included in the research, but also the environments in contact are included and analyzed. However, it is essential to focus on the change that comes with influence and interaction. It is also an alternative to the grand narrative of modernization, its focus is on interactions at different levels, from the micro to the macro.⁸³ The connected approach provides a new gateway to analyze and understand the State and the Church relationship in detail. Given that this study is concerned with two large institutions interacting with each other, I use the connective approach throughout the study to identify their interactions and relations.

In this study, the relations between the Church and the State will be analyzed within the framework of interactive and relational approaches. I will adopt a relational, transcultural, and connected approach, not looking at the Church as only an institution, but at the forms of relationships that the Church's members have developed with the state and society. The question of how we can explain the intricate nature of Church history in connection with Ottoman history focal points of this thesis. Another question is where we will place the financial relations between them that made the Church and its members a part of the Ottoman world. These questions will be answered through a combination of primary sources and the above-mentioned approaches.

⁸³ Douki and Minard, 12-14.

CHAPTER II

THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE OTTOMAN STATE: A HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THEIR RELATIONS

The 17th century was a significant period in the history of the Greek Orthodox Church, marked by several important events and developments. The Church experienced several crises in the century, both in its relations with the Ottoman administration and in its internal. At the turn of the century, the patriarchate was experiencing an especially turbulent period. The Ottoman administration interpreted some contacts of the patriarchs in the century as treason, and their results were fatal for patriarchs. Three patriarchs and one ex-patriarch were executed for alleged treason between 1638 and 1659.⁸⁴ The relationship between the state and the Church went through ups and downs as a result of the tumultuous events of the century.

The rapid succession of patriarchs evidences the increasing competition inside and outside the Church. Between 1453 and 1500, the office of the Patriarch of Constantinople changed hands eighteen times with an average of one patriarch every 2.4 years. It changed thirty-two times between 1500 and 1600, averaging one patriarch every 3.1 years, and fifty-three times between 1500 and 1600, averaging one patriarch every 1.9 years. During the period 1694-1801, had thirty-four patriarchs, giving an average lifespan of about three years per patriarchate. However, there were twenty-five Patriarchs during this period, several of which

⁸⁴ Runciman, 259-88.

occupied the seat several times. Only four Patriarchs during this period died in office; the rest were forced to resign or were deposed.⁸⁵ These data are an indication that the patriarchate was not a stable institution for a large part of the century.

The network of church-state involved more than just members of the Church and the state officials. It was made up of a complex network of actors, both internal and external. In this chapter, I will try to present a panorama of Church history in the turbulent 17th century and the role of its members in the century's political atmosphere.

The beginning and the half of the century can be characterized by a post-Reformation atmosphere. Both Catholics and Protestants, not only in Europe but also in the Ottoman lands, sought to win the Orthodox to their side. The Catholics in the Empire, who were particularly influenced by the Catholic missionaries who worked in the Empire from the 17th century, lived mainly in the Aegean islands. They consisted of those who had been Catholic since the Venetian period, as well as those Orthodox who converted to Catholicism. The patriarchs reacted to this influence because it was not only an ecclesiastical issue, but also closely related to current political conflicts.

In response to the Protestant Reformation, which culminated in Luther's manifesto, the Catholic Church held the Council of Trent (1545-1563). This council created great division which caused a serious rupture in the structure of Western

⁸⁵ Papademetriou, 214.

Christianity, leading to accusations of unbelief and wars in the end.⁸⁶ The reasons for this separation were undoubtedly both theological and political. In this context, Catholic-Protestant rivalries played a crucial role, especially in the first half of the 17th century.

The establishment of Catholic orders in Europe resulted from the Church's spiritual renewal in the 16th century in Spain and Italy. Jesuits, who began as a small fraternity established by Ignatius Loyola in Paris in 1534, were the most successful of all of the orders. After receiving papal approval, they moved to Italy in 1540.⁸⁷ The Capuchins, founded in 1528 as an offshoot of the Franciscans to restore the Franciscan Order to its original ideals, were another sign of the forces of renewal. In numbers and influence in the course of the Catholic Reformation, they rivaled the Jesuits.⁸⁸

Jesuits first arrived in Constantinople in 1583. Because Pope Gregory XIII and Jesuit General Claudio Aquaviva agreed to send five members of the Society there in response to the Galatians' request for educators.⁸⁹ After the accession of Pope Clement VIII (1536-1605) to the throne of St. Peter in 1592, there was an increase in the intensity and activity of the orders in the Ottoman lands. He developed a strong interest in the Eastern Churches. To encourage communion with the see of Rome and a possible alliance against the Turks, he sent numerous delegations to these churches. The Pope was particularly concerned with Catholicism among the Orthodox Greeks. He sent generous sums to the bishoprics

⁸⁶ Thomas S. Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church* (New York: Doubleday, 2005): 372. See Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State a Reassessment." *The Catholic Historical Review* 75, no. 3 (1989): 383–404.

⁸⁷ Bokenkotter, 368.

⁸⁸ Bokenkotter, 369.

⁸⁹ Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans the Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 73.

of the Aegean. He also urged the Jesuits to establish more eastern foundations. Convincing the Ottoman Grand Vizier of Catholicism was also one of his plans. This was Cığalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha who had been taken prisoner in a raid on the Italian coast and converted to Islam. If he were to return to his original faith, it would be a remarkable success for Christianity. The Pope sent two Jesuit members of Pasha's family to carry out this plan, but they were not successful.⁹⁰

In the late 16th century, France and the Ottoman empire came close in their interests. Jesuits from France returned to Constantinople in September 1609, as chaplains of the French embassy. Although they worked with individual Orthodox Christians, their main goal was to bring about the union of the Greek Orthodox Church with Rome. They also paved way for the re-establishment of union between these churches and Rome. In addition to these, Neophytos II, the Greek Orthodox patriarch when they arrived in Istanbul, was favorably disposed towards Catholicism and he simplified their works. However, with the death of Ambassador de Salignac in 1610, the Jesuits lost their great patron and progress.⁹¹ The Ottoman authorities ordered their arrest and imprisoned them until the arrival of the next ambassador to Constantinople. In spite of these setbacks, the Jesuits still remained hopeful until 1616 when Halil Pasha, the new grand vizier, radically changed the fate of the Catholics in the capital. He wanted to stop the advance of Catholicism and the spread of French influence. He fulfilled his aim with the order of the arrest of Jesuits who were accused of secretly baptizing Muslims.⁹²

⁹⁰ Frazee, 78.

⁹¹ Frazee, 79-80.

⁹² Frazee, 81-82.

A number of Catholic monarchs throughout Western Europe underwrote the expenses of Catholic missionaries during the 16th and early 17th centuries. For this patronage, missionaries were expected to represent their home countries, and churches from one country may see others from another country or order as rivals, not as co-workers. From the point of view of Rome, there was an urgent need to centralize and institutionalize the missionary activity under a Congregation directly responsible to the Pope, and for that purpose, during the brief pontificate of Gregory XV (1621-23) established the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Propaganda Fide*) in the year 1622.⁹³ It expedited the activities of missionaries especially Jesuits in the lands of the Empire.

It is often suggested the Orthodox Church did not experience either a Reformation or a Counter-Reformation because the forces of reform stopped when they reached the borders of the Empire and Russia. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that these two movements have had no effect at all on the Orthodox Church. These worlds have been in contact with each other through several agents. The Orthodox went to study in the West, the Jesuits, and Franciscans were sent out to the eastern Mediterranean to undertake missionary work among the Orthodox, the foreign embassies in Constantinople, and the foreign embassies in Constantinople played religious and political roles for Catholic and Protestant powers.⁹⁴ Protestants and Roman Catholics, whose cooperation in the 16th century was characterized by the absence of patriarchal hierarchies and theologians, made

⁹³ Frazee, 88.

⁹⁴ Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1997): 93.

inroads in the 17th century.⁹⁵ In the course of the century, these contacts and inroads led to significant developments in Orthodox theological debates.

One of the most important factors in bringing the Orthodox and Protestants closer to each other in mutual understanding implied a common hostility toward Catholicism based on developments at the end of the 16th century. In 1558, the Patriarch of Constantinople Joasaph II the Magnificent (1556-1565) sent his deacon, Demetrios Mysos the Thessalonian, to Wittenberg to learn about Protestant doctrine.⁹⁶ During the first Patriarchate of Jeremias II Tranos (1572-1579), the dialogues with Protestantism under Joasaph II found a more substantial continuation. However, these attempts at establishing dialogues with each other left no fundamental traces on the Orthodox Church.⁹⁷ In contrast to the insecurity or hostility that often characterized Orthodox dealings with Catholics, the early contacts under Jeremias II suggest suspicion towards Protestants. In 1573, he conducted the first significant exchange of views between Orthodox and Protestants. He adhered strictly to the traditional Orthodox position in responding to the Tübingen theologians in 1576, 1579, and 1581, and showed no inclination toward Protestantism. In these answers, he also declared that clearly, the Orthodox Church had no desire for Reformation.⁹⁸ The Lutherans responded to the first two letters, but the third letter ended in an impasse between the parties. Therefore, the relationship between the Orthodox Church and the Reformation Church had been

⁹⁵ Papademetriou, 214.

⁹⁶ In 1559 the Lutheran theologian Melanchthon sent him a letter along with a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession, but it did not produce any effect. Some scholars suggest that Melanchthon's letter never reached Constantinople.

⁹⁷ Paschalis Kitromilides, "Orthodoxy and the West: Reformation to Enlightenment." Chapter. In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, edited by Michael Angold, 5:187–209. Cambridge History of Christianity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 188-190.

⁹⁸ Ware, 94.

presented precisely and clearly for the first time in the exchange during the period of Jeremias II.

At the beginning of the 17th century, attitudes toward Protestantism were to change completely. This was closely related to the changing nature of the relationship of the Orthodox Church with the West and the Empire. In light of political conflicts and events, the Church and the Porte had conflicting interests in this century. In order to improve the Orthodox position in the Empire and in Europe, the Church saw the West as an ally. Especially during the time of the pro-Protestant Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris, it can be said that many foreign missions, such as the Catholic and Protestant Embassies, intervened in the Orthodox Church.

Between 1612 and 1638, Patriarch Cyril Loukaris ascended the throne of Alexandria and Constantinople seven times (1612, 1620–23, 1623, 1623–33, 1634–35, 1637–38). Because he was heavily influenced by 16th-century Calvinism, he was known as a "Calvinist" patriarch. Sympathizing with Calvinist doctrine, he showed strong opposition to Roman Catholicism, and he tried to reform Orthodoxy according to Calvinism. He wrote the *Confession of Faith* in Latin and published in 1629. He argued that instead of relying solely on the teachings of the Church, the Church should emphasize the study of the Bible and encourage individuals to interpret it for themselves. These views caused conflict between Loukaris and other clerics and were considered heretical by many within the Church.⁹⁹ The most controversial theological issues in Loukaris' work, "Confession of Faith," were those concerning images and his insistence on "justification by faith alone," which

⁹⁹ Detailed Bibliography on Kyrillos Loukaris: G. A. Hadjiantoniou, *Protestant Patriarch: The Life of Cyril Lukaris (1572–1638) Patriarch of Constantinople* (London: The Epworth Press, 1961); Runciman, 259-288.

irritated the traditional Orthodox Christians. To create as much trouble for Loukaris as possible, the Catholics spread the contents of his work in Constantinople.

Their efforts began to bear fruit and diminish his hold on the church. In the end, he was executed in 1638 and his body was thrown into the Bosphorus, and Kontaris became the next patriarch. As a result, he was the first patriarch to be executed in the period. It is generally acknowledged that he played a fundamental role in shaping Orthodoxy like he devised a grand strategy for the defense of Orthodoxy by courting the Protestant powers of Europe to form a united front against Rome¹⁰⁰ but his theological policies have been largely contested.

He had a complicated relationship with the Ottoman administration. On the other hand, he was able to negotiate certain privileges and concessions for the Church from the Ottoman authorities. On the other hand, he was a target of the administration's suspicions and accusations that he was too sympathetic to Western ideas and influences. He faced opposition from both the state and the clergy. His legacy has been the subject of debate among scholars and theologians. Some see him as a courageous reformer, while others see him as a divisive figure who undermined the unity of the Orthodox Church.

His period when especially five times as patriarch of Constantinople between 1620 and 1638 is important for a discussion of the nature of the ecclesiastical and political authority of both the Church and state in the first half of the 17th century. At this time, the church and its hierarchy were not stable from a financial perspective. It is evident from many synodical decisions that refer to an increased financial burden. The Patriarchate was in serious debt, which had reached

¹⁰⁰ For strategy see Kitromilides, 194-197.

4,000,000 *akçes* by the time Loukaris took office.¹⁰¹ A portion of the debt was paid from his own funds, and the rest was apportioned among the Hierarchs of the Patriarchate. It took less than a month after his election for the Holy Synod to agree to the apportionment and it was decided that the hierarchs were to pay their share before St. George's feast day (23 April). The patriarch was permitted to depose metropolitans and bishops who refused to pay as disobedient and uncooperative and to appoint other people to their dioceses.¹⁰² Loukaris was not the first patriarch to demand the deposition of hierarchs who could not or refused to pay their share of the Patriarchate's debt. Since the 1580s, there has been the threat of such a penalty. Metropolitans and bishops were deposed by a Constantinopolitan synod under Patriarch Hieremias II in 1593 for refusing to pay their financial contributions to the Patriarchate. An attempt was made in May 1595 to convene a synod in Thessaloniki to force the bishops of 'Western Greece' and of the Peloponnese to fulfill their financial obligations. On various occasions, subsequent patriarchs have implemented or renewed this ruling.¹⁰³

When Patriarch Neofytos died in 1612, Loukaris was supported by the bishops who wanted to see him elected Patriarch.¹⁰⁴ About ten years later, Loukaris was enthroned in 1621. During his tenure, he continued to struggle with them, which resulted in his dismissal several times.¹⁰⁵ It is clear that interchurch politics in

¹⁰¹ Eleni Gara and Ovidiu Olar, "5. Confession-Building and Authority: The Great Church and the Ottoman State in the First half of the Seventeenth Century" In *Entangled Confessionalizations?: Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th-18th Centuries* edited by Tijana Krstic and Derin Terzioğlu, (Piscataway, NJ, USA: Gorgias Press, 2022): 178-180.

¹⁰² Gara and Olar, 181.

¹⁰³ Gara and Olar, 181.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, (London: Miles Flesher & Richard Davis, 1653): 246-248.

¹⁰⁵ Smith, 250.

this century has been one of great struggle. He was deposed and exiled in 1622 and was replaced by Gregory of Amasia. Gregory was appointed by the Grand Vizier Hüseyin Pasha in May 1623, but he was succeeded by Anthimos of Adrianople three months later. However, Anthimos resigned shortly after despite the attempts of the Jesuits. Meanwhile, Loukaris was on good terms with the Dutch and English ambassadors.¹⁰⁶ After this change of throne, he continued to struggle with the Jesuits unceasingly. However, the latter continued complaints about him at the same time to the Church and Ottoman Porte to dethrone him. In May 1635, Kontaris won a costly war against Loukaris became a patriarch. The synod approved a special contribution and authorized the Patriarch and his exarchs to punish and depose the hierarchs who refused to pay their share of the debt resulting from Loukaris' deposition and restoration to the throne of Constantinople. As a result of the heavy debts of the Church, a synod convened by Kyrillos II Kontaris decided to impose another contribution in 1636. Those unwilling or unable to meet the financial requirements were again replaced by the Patriarch. These decisions also have political overtones. He regained the throne from Gregory, Loukaris began to use the removal of bankrupt hierarchs not only to deal with the Church's debts but also to take control of appointments, thus neutralizing his political and ideological rivals. Not all elections and decisions have been controversial, and the reasons for each appointment or the "political leanings" of those appointed cannot be known. However, we can assume that the patriarch had to cope simultaneously with the indebtedness of the Church and the pressure of allies who supported his enemies. They had an impact on his decisions and plans for the restoration of the Church

¹⁰⁶ Tellan, 74.

without the cooperation of the higher clergy. The decisions of the Synod which as mentioned above strengthened the authority of Loukaris and authorized him to appoint a close circle. Hence, his subordinates within the holy synod played an important role in limiting Kyrillos II's actions.

The Holy Synod, which was directly affected by the conflict among the clergy, had to appoint a finance committee to oversee all revenues and consists of four to five hierarchs and three ecclesiastical officers in 1635.¹⁰⁷ The committee took the responsibility for auditing the Church and checking revenues which include taxes, alms, inheritances, monasteries' and exarchates' fees and the Church expenses for a certain fee. In addition, it enforced all decrees concerning the punishment, deposition, and election of high clergymen, and appointment of tax officials. It had to also submit a report at the end of its term.¹⁰⁸

Loukaris remained as patriarch until 1636 at which time Kyrillos Kontaris replaced him. However, Kontaris failed to control the higher clergy when he was enthroned again in 1638. Furthermore, he did not eradicate Loukaris faction's traces from the clergy. The Synod elected Kontaris for a third time after Loukaris' deposition in 1638, but his hold on the Patriarchate was tenuous and many enemies threatened him. He signed a formal profession of the Catholic faith in order to consolidate the Catholic support behind him in 1638. In 1639, he was exiled to Tunisia and then arrested and imprisoned. In 1640, he was strangled by his guards.¹⁰⁹ In 1642, an important synod convened in Iași by patriarch Parthenios I

¹⁰⁷ Gara and Olar, 183.

¹⁰⁸ Gara and Olar, 183-184.

¹⁰⁹ Frazee, 94.

who succeed Kontaris.¹¹⁰ The aim of the Synod was to provide a comprehensive Orthodox statement in order to counter certain Roman Catholic and Protestant "heresies" which have penetrated into Orthodox theology.¹¹¹ The condemnation of the Calvinist doctrines attributed to Loukaris was the first item on the agenda. The main contribution of the Synod has been to strengthen the sense of unity in the Church through the promulgation of an authoritative statement that was agreed upon by all the hierarchy.¹¹² Parthenios I was succeeded by Parthenios II, the former Metropolitan of Chios. He called a special session of the Holy Synod, which approved the decrees issued in Iași. He was exiled and replaced in 1646 by Ioannikios II, a cleric sympathetic to Catholicism.¹¹³

Loukaris was an important figure of the period. His relations with foreign ambassadors, conflicts with Jesuits, and activities of the printing press were important during his time as patriarch. In the years to follow, when the internal crisis was at its height, the supporters of Loukaris' teachings did not disappear in the circle of the Church.¹¹⁴ The long-term consequence of his death was that for the rest of the 17th century, an aggressive spirit of anti-Protestantism prevailed in Orthodoxy. In addition, this spirit would be the explanation for the otherwise different rapprochement between the Catholic and Orthodox churches in the last decades of the century.¹¹⁵ A struggle for control of the Patriarchate continued between Greek factions and their allies until 1648. In most cases, power struggles for ecclesiastical offices were the underlying reasons for the depositions of many

¹¹⁰ Runciman, 342.

¹¹¹ John Anthony McGuckin, "Iasi (Jassy), Synod of (1642)," in *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011): 325.

¹¹² Runciman, 342-343.

¹¹³ Frazee, 94.

¹¹⁴ Gara and Olariu, 187.

¹¹⁵ Kitromilides, 201.

patriarchs.¹¹⁶ There were, however, a few major doctrinal disagreements responsible for patriarchal succession in the century apart from these major events. The patriarchs became more cautious in expressing their theological, ideological, or political affiliations at the end of this period.

The beginning and the half of the century can be characterized by a post-Reformation atmosphere. Both Catholics and Protestants sought to win the Orthodox to their side. During the reign of Mehmet IV (1642-1693), good relations between the Eastern patriarchs and the French ambassadors in Istanbul were a matter of concern for all parties. The Patriarch at that time, Ioannikios II, stayed with the French ambassador for ten months. Then he was deposed and went to Venice.¹¹⁷ In addition to these major events, one more patriarch was executed in those years: Parthenios II. He was denounced to the sultan with the accusation of treason. Then, he was killed and thrown into the sea due possibly to the political threat posed by the Cossacks.¹¹⁸

Parthenios III Parthenakes became the Patriarch in 1656 when Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (1578-1661) took over the office of the Grand Vizier. He was credited with ushering in a period of relative stability in the empire. During his tenure and that of his son and successor, Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (1661-1676), members of the Orthodox archon families became prominent in the Ottoman Porte because of their education and bureaucratic skills from the second half of the

¹¹⁶ Eugenia Kermeli, "Kyrillos Loukaris' Legacy: Reformation as a Catalyst in the 17th Century Ottoman Society: Reformation in the 17th Century Ottoman Society," *The Muslim World* 107, no. 4 (2017): 737-53.

¹¹⁷ Tijana Krstić, "2. Can we Speak of 'Confessionalization' beyond the Reformation? Ottoman Communities, Politics of Piety, and Empire-building in an Early Modern Eurasian Perspective " In *Entangled Confessionalizations?: Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th-18th Centuries* edited by Tijana Krstic and Derin Terzioğlu, 25-116. (Piscataway, NJ, USA: Gorgias Press, 2022): 42; Frazee, 99.

¹¹⁸ Tellan, 72-73.

17th century. In suppressing the "heretical" teachings of Loukaris and the Loukarist circle, they played a key role. Panagiotis Nikousios (1613-1673), was a Phanariote physician was appointed the first dragoman (chief interpreter) of the Ottoman Porte, orchestrated the promotion of Mohila's Orthodox Confession¹¹⁹ as the authoritative text of Orthodox Christians in the 1660s.¹²⁰ In addition, his appointment marked the beginning of the Phanariots' rise to high political offices in the government.

Parthenios III, who respected the memory of Loukaris and sided with the Russians in the struggle to control the Church in the Ukraine, denounced the Confession of Faith of the former Metropolitan of Kiev, Peter Mohila, because of considering to be too close to Catholic doctrine.¹²¹ Reflecting Mohila's desire to reconcile Eastern and Western Christianity, the Mohila's Confession is based on the Nicene Creed and incorporates elements of Orthodox theology and Western theological concepts. As well as highlighting the importance of sacraments such as baptism and the Eucharist, it emphasizes the role of the Bible and the Orthodox Church's traditions.¹²² Recognized as one of the most important theological works in Eastern Christianity, the Confession outlines the beliefs of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Parthenios III became suspected of having corresponded with Russian and Romanian prince because he sent letters to a Greek bishop in the Tsardom of

¹¹⁹ It is a document outlining Orthodox beliefs and rejecting certain Protestant doctrines. It was confirmed by the Synod of Jassy in 1642, while a year later it was recognized by the four Patriarchates of the East as the fundamental text defining the right faith of the Orthodox world under the title Confession of the Orthodox faith of the Catholic and Apostolic church of Christ.

¹²⁰ Gara and Olar, 187.

¹²¹ Runciman, 344-345.

¹²² See Ronald Peter Popivchak, "Peter Mohila, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633-47): Translation and Evaluation of his "Orthodox Confession of Faith" (1640)." Order No. 7601178, The Catholic University of America, 1975. <https://www.etu.edu.tr/dissertations-theses/peter-mohila-metropolitan-kiev-1633-47/docview/302760296/se-2>.

Russia, then a political enemy of the empire, to raise funds. His letters were intercepted and handed over to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, who decided that Parthenios should stand trial on charges of betraying the empire.¹²³ The Tatars of Crimea, allies of the Ottomans, found out this correspondence, and they passed it on to the vizier, who interpreted it as a call by the Cossacks for an invasion of the empire.¹²⁴ He was also accused of secretly urging Venice and the Habsburgs to attack Constantinople at a time when the army was in a precarious state. Sultan Mehmed IV ordered his execution in order to set an example for those who might attempt such a thing in the future.¹²⁵ He was executed on March 24, 1657 and hanged at the *Parmakkapı*.¹²⁶ Thus, he was the third patriarch to be executed during this turbulent period. A new era began for the relationship between the Great Church and the state after his execution. The symbolically important privilege of the Patriarch to pay homage to the sultan upon his appointment was abolished by the Grand Vizier.¹²⁷ Hence, patriarchs were for a time deprived of the right to present themselves in person to the sultan.

Parthenios III's immediate successor, Gabriel II, was also hanged on charges of disloyalty, after he had been exiled to Bursa on the orders of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. He held office very briefly in 1657 and was executed in 1659 for allegedly baptizing a Jew in Bursa. In return, the Jews made a false accusation against him to

¹²³ Nomikos Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ: Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period, 1437-1860* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000): 114-115.

¹²⁴ Vaporis, 114.

¹²⁵ Demetrius Kiminas, *The Ecumenical Patriarchate: A History of Its Metropolitanates with Annotated Hierarchy Catalogs* (San Bernardino, CA: Borgo Press, 2009): 47.

¹²⁶ Marc David Baer, *Honored by the glory of islam: Conversion and conquest in Ottoman Europe*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011): 60.

¹²⁷ Gara and Olar, 186-187.

the Vizier saying that he had baptized a Muslim.¹²⁸ As a result of this, he suffered the same fate as the other three patriarchs.

Maintain the order appear to be the most important Ottoman expectation from patriarchs in this period. The state considered that strict practices and executions were necessary to keep the Church under control. The executions and imprisonments of the Patriarchs were also mostly based on suspicions of treason. It is noteworthy that their execution was by strangulation or hanging, as was the case with Ottoman officials.¹²⁹

Unfortunately, there are limited resources that allow us to follow the history of the Patriarchate from the middle to the end of the century. If we want to examine the period from the *berâts*, we can see only two *berâts* issued in the century: Makarios III of Antioch (1649)¹³⁰ and Dionysios III of Constantinople (1662).¹³¹ These documents state that the punishment of Orthodox clergy for acts against their religion was under the jurisdiction of the patriarch. The 1662 *berât* contains other provisions not contained in 1483 and 1525. The procedure of the appointment of metropolitans was described in more detail there.¹³² In this century, the position of the patriarch seems to have become more bureaucratized, and he began acting as a mediator between the community and the state. The patriarchate gained greater power, and the church administration in the empire became more systematic and regular. In this way, we can see that the state now views the church primarily from

¹²⁸ Tellan, 77-78.

¹²⁹ See Ahmet Mumcu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Siyaseten Katl* (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınları, 2007): 118-119.

¹³⁰ Yavuz Ercan, *Kudüs Ermeni Patrikhanesi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988): 37-38.

¹³¹ Çolak and Tellan, 61-63. It was allegedly issued in 1662 and published by Manouel Gedeon in 1910, exists only in a translation from Greek, and is of dubious authenticity. For the English translation: Tellan, 32-33 footnotes. See Manuel Gedeon, *Episima Grammata Tourkika*, (Konstantinoupoli: Patriarchikou Typografeiou, 1910): 9-14.

¹³² Tellan, 32.

an administrative point. From an economic point of view, the Porte expected from the patriarchs, of course, the full and timely payment of their dues to the treasury. However, it is important to remember that patriarchs, metropolitans, and officers of the Porte's administration were not the only members of the network of relationships between the Church and the State. In the making of the state's policies, financial and administrative relations played a main role. The Patriarchate was also under the influence of the conditions of the empire and played a role in the political, fiscal, and social transformation.

Another important milestone in the 17th century the Church history was the Synod of Jerusalem also known as the Synod of Bethlehem held in 1672. The synod was by the patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem (1669-1707) and produced a confession that is known as *the Confession of Dositheus*¹³³. He defined the Orthodox dogma in the areas that had been disputed in the Reformation, and he reorganized the monasteries of his patriarchate on a more rigorous basis. While the Synod was a response to the Reformers in doctrinal terms, it was also an attempt to articulate Orthodoxy's dogmatic heritage in the face of Catholic and Protestant disputes.¹³⁴ The synod refuted the confession of Lucaris, as was done in Iași. Philip Schaff asserts that the synod was the most important synod in the modern history of the Eastern Church and can be compared to the Council of Trent due to both the determination of the doctrinal status of the churches they represent and the condemnation of the doctrines of Protestantism.¹³⁵

¹³³ "The Confession of Dositheus (Eastern Orthodox, 1672)," The Confession of Dositheus (Eastern Orthodox), <http://www.crivoice.org/creeddositheus.html>.

¹³⁴ Kenneth Parry and John R. Hinnells, in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity* (Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2007): 267.

¹³⁵ Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom: With A History and Critical Notes* (Baker Books, 2007): 84.

On the other hand, the 17th century for the empire can be evaluated in a number of different ways. Politically, the Ottomans were at war with the Holy League led by the Austrian Habsburgs at the end of the century. An intense period of fighting began in 1683 and ended in 1699 with the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz. Financially, the empire underwent radical administrative, fiscal and military transformations that were not independent of each other. Financial problems were particularly prevalent at the end of the 16th century. The devaluation of the *akçe* was a recurring phenomenon that occurred in 1600, 1618, 1624, and 1640. A series of revolts broke out in the first half of the century in response to inflation and devaluation in the Ottoman currency. During the 16th century, the state's growing need for cash and a decline in the *timar* system led to a series of changes in the fiscal sphere. In the first half of the 17th century, the *cizye*, *avâriz-ı dîvâniyye* and *tekâlif-i örfiyye* taxes became more important and then the *avâriz* became a permanent tax. These fiscal measures created new provincial units. Due to the growing need for cash during times of war, the state waited for significant contributions from these administrators in the provinces.¹³⁶ Diplomatically, the Ottomans, either a threat to the Habsburgs or an ally of the French, were major players in European politics in the 16th century. However, in the 17th century, the empire was in need of Western diplomatic support in their war against the Habsburgs. Because after the second failed siege of Vienna in 1683, the tides in the conflict between the Ottomans and their Western allies turned decisively against the empire. It was from this time that the Ottomans began to encounter many

¹³⁶ Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi*, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999): 140-160. See Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1996): 80-93.

complications in the conduct of their foreign relations and there was need for people who would engage in lengthy and complex diplomatic negotiations. In need of skilled diplomats and administrators, the state turned to the Phanariots, an efficient Greek Orthodox nobility which had originally made their fortunes as merchants and bankers.¹³⁷ They acted as intermediaries between the church and the state. In order to pursue their political goals, they needed the support of the Church. As the administrators of the affairs of the Patriarchate, they had acquired a comprehensive understanding of the state administration. In time, the Phanariots entered the Ottoman bureaucracy gradually and rose to the top-ranks.¹³⁸

In sum, the 17th century was a more challenging and complicated era than expected for analyzing the Church's political history. Some of the Church's actions have been met with a reaction from the administration because of their political connotations in this era. Above all, political and religious developments both in Europe and in the Empire after the spread of Protestantism, complex alliances between patriarchs and church hierarchy with councils, and the foreign relations of the Porte determined Ottoman church policy in the 17th century. At the beginning of the century, both the Catholics and Protestants attempted to infiltrate the Ottoman Empire through their connections with patriarchs or missionaries. Especially after 1622, under the strong patronage of France, the Jesuits were active in this direction. In the election of the patriarch, the ambassadors took an active role by providing financial support to them. The empire perceived these actions to be direct interference and reacted in harsh ways.

¹³⁷ Panayotis Alexandrou Papachristou, *Three Faces of the Phanariots: An Inquiry into the Role and Motivations of the Greek Nobility under Ottoman Rule, 1683-1821*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, (Simon Fraser University, 1992): 7.

¹³⁸ Runciman, 378-79.

The century was an important period in the history of the Orthodox Church, marked by a number of significant events and developments. These events and developments aforementioned in this chapter had significant implications for the Church, shaping its theology and history, institutional structures, and relationship with administration. There were also periods of conflict and tension between the Church and the state, particularly during times of political unrest or war. Moreover, the administration of the Church in the century was also marked by internal divisions and controversies. The relationship did not proceed positively in the absence of political and financial stability in the Ottoman system and Church organization. The instability is reflected in the fact that the patriarchal throne was occupied by several patriarchs for short periods, and three patriarchs and one ex-patriarch were executed between the years 1638 and 1657. Taking everything above into account, one can reach the conclusion that the 17th century was a chaotic one for the Orthodox clergy in the Ottoman realm.

This study traced the reflections of the effects of this turbulent period on archival sources. The materials obtained indicate that political chaos or disorder did not cause a radical collapse in the relations between the state and the Church. Among others, the state was interested in the Church's actions for two major reasons: its desire to have its taxes properly collected, and its desire to control the Orthodox population through the institutional mechanism of the Church. The administration had little cause for concern as long as these were in accordance with the order, the *nizam* which was one of the major concerns for the state's *raison d'être*. When the century is examined through archival materials in a systematic

way, it can be seen that their relationship in the 17th century was characterized by a synthesis of cooperation, conflict, and negotiation through a delicate balance of power and influence on both sides. Findings from the archival material will be analyzed in detail in the following chapters.





CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC INTERACTION OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH WITH THE OTTOMAN STATE

The present chapter deals with the economic interaction between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Ottoman state in the light of the Ottoman archival sources from the 17th century. The members of the church were mainly the recipients of documents from the provincial and central authorities of the state. These documents informed the community of what was required of it or of the administration's response to the community's petitions and requests, tax relief, and permission to repair churches.¹³⁹ This will allow the Church's economic activities to be traced and the State's attitude towards them. I also address the economic power of the Church and the impact of its internal transformations and struggles on the state and vice versa. For, the Church played an active role in social and economic change, influenced by the conditions of the empire. This part will be an exploration of cooperation, negotiation, and conflict in financial matters between them.

It is impossible to look at the economic structure of the state and the Church without considering their administrative structure and relations between them. As, the relationship between them directly affects the economic activities and functions of the Church for the state. This chapter will focus on the economic relations of the Church and the state rather than the administrative structure of them, the archival

¹³⁹ Evangelia Balta, "Ottoman Archives in Greece." In *Balkanlar ve İtalya'da Şehir ve Manastır Arşivlerindeki Türkçe Belgeler Semineri: 16-17 Kasım 2000*, 15–16. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003).

sources analyzed are also focused on economic orders for this reason. In future studies, Church-State relations can be studied in line with administrative and political aspects.

The majority of the orders (*hüküms*) in the *Şikâyet* and *Mühimme defters* are related to economic issues. Although most of them are complaints about non-payment of debts between members of the church and another member, a dhimmi, a government official or a foundation official, it is still possible to glean information that can be useful in completing the picture of the economy of the time through reading between the lines and analysis of other complaints.

Church members who played an active role in the debt economy both lent and borrowed. Borrowing and not paying back, and the legalisation of these issues, are common problems. Most of the orders classified in the analyzed *defters* are related to debt or credit issues between the church members and other subjects for these reasons. Sometimes the complaints and orders about the alleged harassment of church members by the Ottoman officials in financial matters became the subject of several orders. Sometimes church members appealed to the qadi for the collection of their debts.

The 493rd order in the 13th *Şikayet Defter* (1689) is the first order that deserves a special attention. It contains many important details about the patriarchs' financial relations with the metropolitans and the place of their relationship in the eyes of the state. In this order, Kalimnos who was metropolitan of Edirne 'bought' the metropolitanate of Edirne for ten sacks of *akçe* from the patriarch Kaligos (*sic.* Kallinikos II (1694-1702)) by handing over the amount in full (*İstanbul patriği olan Kaligos nâm râhibden Edirne metropolidliğin on kîse akçeye alıp ve meblâğ-ı*

mezbûru bi't tamâm teslîm eyledikden). Up to this point, the first question to be asked is whether it is possible to purchase the office of metropolitan for a certain amount. In this century we find examples of the sale of important positions due to the economic crisis in the Church. However, this is the first time we have witness it clearly declared in the *defters*. In the order after the delivery of this sum, the patriarch was deposed during this time, and Neofytos who was the former metropolitan of Edirne became the patriarch of Constantinople (*mezbûr patrik azl ve yerine sâbık Edirne metropolidi olan Bilafyos nâm râhib İstanbul patriği olmağla*). It was at this point that things got complicated. Bilafyos (probably Neofytos) reportedly said, "metropolitanate of Edirne used to be my place of office and authority, but the patriarch filled it with you by presenting it to me, and I will give it to another one," (*Edirne metropolidliği benim mukaddemâ mansıbım idi, bana garzen patrik-i sâbık sana verdi, ben dahi âhara veririm*). As such he took another fifteen sacks of money from him. Then Neofytos was metropolitan of Edirne, he incurred a debt of one hundred and fifty sacks of *akçe* (*mesfûr Bilafyos râhib Edirne'de metropolid iken yüz elli kîse akçe deyn edinmekle*). I have seen no evidence that suggest whether he did so from his personal pocket or the account of his office. However, the people to whom he owed money wanted to collect their debts by saying that Kalimnos had promised to pay the patriarch's debts and thus they wanted the said amount from him (*dâyinleri mezbûrlar mesfûrun yüz elli kîse akçe deyni sen vermeği taahhüd eylemiş idin, senden alırsız deyü*). In the order written to the qadi of Edirne, such harassment against Kalimnos was prohibited.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Türk, 264.

Edirne kadısına hüküm ki,

The other question that comes to mind when examining this order is whether the debts of the purchased metropolitanate were also taken over. While there is such an expectation here, it will not be possible to generalise it. While this order reveals that the metropolitan office was seen as a source of income, it also contains interesting nuances about the debts and guarantors of church members. It is also important to note here that a metropolitan sought a solution to his problems with another metropolitan or patriarch by submitting his complaint to the Ottoman administration instead of resorting to canon law. The fact that guarantors and debtors are seen as belonging to the same administration, despite changes in appointment and dismissal, maybe shows that this law is institutional despite its individuality.

In a nutshell, the economic turmoil of the period inevitably affected both the church and the state economy. Most of the economic relations of church members with the public and other members were based on debt issues. Sometimes the debtor and sometimes the creditor members found the remedy in applying to the qadi or the *divan* and wanted to collect their debts through the mechanisms of the state. The orders dealing with these matters provide us with important information not only about the relations of the members with the state mechanism but also about the internal functioning of the church and the financial aspects of this functioning.

Edirne metropolidi olan Kalimnos nâm metropolid arzuhâl edip İstanbul patriği olan Kaligos nâm râhibden Edirne metropolidliğin on kîse akçe ye alıp ve meblâğ-ı mezbûru bi't tamâm teslîm eyledikden sonra mezbûr patrik azl ve yerine sâbık Edirne metropolidi olan Bilafyos nâm râhib İstanbul patriği olmağla Edirne metropolidliği benim mukaddemâ mansıbım idi, bana arzen patrik-i sâbık sana verdi, ben dahi âhara veririm deyü tekrâr bundan mesfûr Bilafyos on beş kîse akçesin alıp ve mesfûr Bilafyos râhib Edirne'de metropolid iken yüz elli kîse akçe deyn edinmekle yüz elli kîse deynine kefil bi'l-mâl olmuş değil iken dâyinleri mezbûrlar mesfûrun yüz elli kîse akçe deyni sen vermeği taahhüd eylemiş idin, senden alınız deyü hilâf-ı şer-i şerîf rencide eylediklerin bildirip hilâf-ı şer-i şerîf rencide olunmayıp vech-i meşrûh üzere yazılmışdır.

Fî Evâsıt-ı C. sene [1]100. See for the other debt issues orders in the 13th Şikâyet defter 112,170,333,483,660.

It should be noted that due to the severe economic problems of the time, the clergy were urged to negotiate with the state at the beginning of the 17th century. This is also true for the state since the extent of state control in this century was also dependent on the social and economic conditions at the local level. In theory, all the Church property was protected by the Ottoman administration, and no one could interfere with its management. However, abuse of power on the part of Ottoman officials was common, especially in the periphery of the empire.¹⁴¹ In particular, the difficult economic conditions forced the local officials to compensate for the loss of income by imposing “illegal” taxes and collecting more taxes than the required amount from the church members and their foundations. For example, the order in the 2nd *Şikâyet Defter* (1654) and numbered 789 sent to the qadi of Egypt upon the written petition of one of the priests in Egypt, it is understood that the priests and his flocks were willing to pay their taxes as of old, but some regional administrators were not satisfied with these taxes and harmed them against the sharia and law (*hilâf-ı şer‘ ve kânûn ziyâde alup zulm ve te‘addî etmeleriyle*). The order calls for an end to unjustified harassment by the authorities (*men‘ u def‘ olunmak bâbında hükm-i hümayûnum ricâ etmeğin şurûtuyla hükm yazılmışdır*).¹⁴²

Although the content of the complaints about the state officials varied, most of the orders asked them not to interfere with the members of the Church. The

¹⁴¹ Victor Roudometof and Michalis N. Michael. “Economic Functions of Monasticism in Cyprus: The Case of the Kykkos Monastery.” *Religions* 1, no. 1 (2010): 60.

¹⁴² *Mısır kâdisına hükm ki*

Mahrûse-i Mısır’da ruhban taifesi tarafından (...) nâm rahib rikâb-ı hümayûnuma rik’a idüp tâife-i mezbûre kadîmü’l-eyyâmdan vergeldikleri üzre lâzım gelen tekâlîflerin vermeğe râzılar iken hâliyâ kadîmden olagelene muhâlif kâşif olanlar kanâ‘at etmeyüp hilâf-ı şer‘ ve kânûn ziyâde alup zulm ve te‘addî etmeleriyle bundan akdem kadîmden olagelene muhâlif ve te‘addî ve tecâvüz olmamak için emrim olmuşdur kanâ‘at etmeyüp ziyâde taleb ile rencîdeden hâlî olmayup gadr ve muhâlefet olunduğun bildirüp men‘ u def‘ olunmak bâbında hükm-i hümayûnum ricâ etmeğin şurûtuyla hükm yazılmışdır.

intense struggle between the church members and the local authorities is shown by the fact that most of the petitions about the interventions are answered with the expression that they should not be oppressed (*rencide itdirilmeyüb*).¹⁴³ A number of bishops and metropolitans raised complaints against various officials of the Ottoman provincial administration especially in the Balkans. They accused mostly the *ehl-i örf taifesi* who were the district governors (*mütesellim*) of extorting money from them with the *beys*, *kapudans*, *subaşı*s, *emins* and the others.¹⁴⁴ Considering the frequent complaints of church members or dhimmi subjects that we come across in the first *defters* onwards in this topic, it can be concluded that they were quite common in the 17th century. The church members who were harassed have complained to the state, sometimes by themselves and sometimes through intermediaries who were other Church members and state officials, and have sought their rights. It is understood from the orders that the state responded to these actions with sanctions to maintain order and justice. For this purpose, the necessary members of the judiciary were involved in the cases. The large number of examples indicates that these issues were common problems of the period rather than exceptions.

Protecting churches and monasteries from the abuses of local authorities was seen by the state as a public duty to maintain order. A frequent subject of complaint was that the officers, who were equipped with a special order, would demand food and money in the course of their tour. The fact that *timar* owners or *vakf* administrators did not allow metropolitan and other church members to collect taxes

¹⁴³ Hasan Çolak, *The Orthodox Church in the Modern Middle East: Relations between the Ottoman Central Administration and the Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2015): 216.

¹⁴⁴ Michael Ursinus, "Petitions from Orthodox Church Officials to the Imperial Diwan, 1675." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 18 (1994): 244.

from their own flocks in their territories was another issue of complaint frequently mentioned in the *defters*.

The order 1239 of the *Şikâyet Defter* No. 4 is an example that can be considered representative of the orders under this heading. In the order sent to the qadi of Rahovica (today a city in the Slavonia region of Croatia) the monks of the monastery of Zumena (?) on the mountainside made a request by giving a petition and sending a man (*kazâ-i mezbûrede cebel-i azîm içinde Zümena dimekle ma'rûf manastır râhibleri arz-ı hâl ve adam gönderub*). Since the olden times, a sergeant has been assigned to oversee this community (*kadîmden bunların vaktini gözetmek için çavuşları olub*), and while they have not harmed anyone (*kimesneye zarar ve ziyânları almayub*), a few people led by a certain Mahmud from the region united and oppressed them in order to take their property (*Mahmûd ve hevâsına tâbi' birkaç adem ile müttefik olub bunları celb etmek sevdâsına düşüb*). This order has been written to ensure that they are not subjected to any harassment by the officers and that those responsible put an end to their oppression. The fact that it is desired to resolve this issue without opposing the ancient tradition (*kadîme muhâlif te'addî ve tecâvüz olunmamak bâbında*) may also be considered as the aim of the administration to preserve and maintain the order established beforehand.¹⁴⁵

105A/3rd order of *Cod. Mixt.* 683 relates an interesting complaint about abovementioned officers. Ursinus analyzed the other orders in the *defter* and

¹⁴⁵ Tataroğlu, 817.

Rahoviçe kâdisına hüküm ki

Kazâ-i mezbûrede cebel-i azîm içinde Zümena dimekle ma'rûf manastır râhibleri arz-ı hâl ve adam gönderub kadîmden bunların vaktini gözetmek için çavuşları olub kimesneye zarar ve ziyânları almayub nesne lâzım gelmez iken Mahmûd ve hevâsına tâbi' birkaç adem ile müttefik olub bunları celb etmek sevdâsına düşüb saatiniz kaldırın deyu rencide idub te'addî itmeleriyle kadîme muhâlif te'addî ve tecâvüz olunmamak bâbında emr-i şerîfim ricâ eyledikleri ecilden bilâ- emr-i şerîf rencide olunmamak için yazılmıştır.

Fî evâil R sene 81

established the context of the case based on this complaint. The metropolitan bishop of Serres complained to the *bostancı* who asserted that the bishop had guaranteed a sum that the patriarch of Constantinople had borrowed from himself. But the bishop denied all such claims, arguing that he owed no money to anyone and had stood no surety. He also wanted an imperial decree that would put an end to this illegal harassment, in violation of the sharia law, and to any interference in his own affairs. A *hüküm* is issued and the case was to be the subject of an on-site investigation by a qadi. The case continued, however, and the *bostancı* insisted on his position despite a hearing in a court. Furthermore, a fatwa was issued after consulting a mufti. The bishop asked for an imperial decree to end the *bostancı*'s activities on the basis of this fatwa, which was in his favor. The result was a *hüküm* that the case was to return to a qadi, along with *zabit*, who was to attend the trial.¹⁴⁶

These orders are examples of how the clergymen interacted with the central administration against the state officials who wanted to extort money from them. The financial matters and the desire of both the members of the Church and the Ottoman administration to increase and sustain their economic power was the main area of conflict between church members and state officials. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that it was important for both sides to pursue their economic issues on a common basis. This means that the same issues can also be an area of

¹⁴⁶ Ursinus, 245.

Siroz kâdisına hüküm ki

Siroz metrepelidi olan (...) nâm rahib gelüp mezbûr kimesnenin deynine kefil olmuş olmayıp kendü halinde iken Bostancı Mehmed dimeğle ma'rûf kimesne İstanbul'da patrike bin gurus vermiş idim sen kefilimsin ol akçeyisenden alırım diyü mukaddemâ rencide etmeğle elinde olan fetvâ-yı şerife mücebince murâfa'a-i şer' olunup görüldükde kefil olan râhibin vereceği olmayup mezbûr Bostancı Mehmed müdâhaleden men' olundukdan sonra kanâ'at etmeyip tekrâr yemîn verdirüp bir vechile alakası yoğiken müdâhale etmeğle elinde fetvâ-yı şerife olduğun bildirüp men' u def' olunmak bâbında emr-i şerifim ricâ etmeğin zâbiti ma'rifetiyle şer'le görülmek emrim olmuştur.

cooperation and negotiation. Expectedly, these cases of cooperation and negotiation feature in the documents produced by the imperial chancery rarely and when a certain conflict broke out.

This thesis will prefer to focus on the dynamics between the Church and the Ottoman state, that is, between the two institutions, rather than focusing on the relations between church members and state officials. Therefore, the examples given above are given both to draw a general framework and to shed light on the relations of the actors of the two institutions locally. By following the traces of the church's activities in taxation and foundation, the institutional relations it has established with the state will be detailed, and the nature of their relations will be revealed by exemplifying these with the orders in the *defters*. Despite the paucity and limitations of the petitions, these analyzed *defters* sometimes include long records of disputes which can be traced in more than one *defter*. In addition, there are a large number of similar and repetitive cases, which is an indication that the problems are the same for most places, regardless of their wide geographical extent. Most of the instances refer to petitions from the Church members such as monks, metropolitans, bishops, and patriarchs. In all of these petitions or cases, the members of the church were involved in financial or tax matters. When analyzing these, it is important to remember that they are responses by the state to the petitions of the clergy, hence reflecting the views held by the State, at least to a certain extent.

3.1. Taxation of the Church

The state entrusted the members of the Church with public, administrative, and financial duties on behalf of its local communities. Loyalty was a key part of the basis of this relationship. The Patriarch had been responsible for the collection of an annual tax from his flock and the payment of the tax to the state. The state's expectation from the patriarchs was the full and timely payment of their dues to the treasury. Depending on the economic status quo, the financial demands varied. The amount of payment was a matter of negotiation; debts were divided into installments, reduced and increased, and taxes were renamed.¹⁴⁷ According to İnalcık, the main ecclesiastical taxes paid by the Church members or the *re'âyâ* in the 17th century, as enumerated in the *berâts*, were as follows: *Mîrî rûsûm* or *mal-i mîrî*, *patriklik* and *metropolidlik* tax, *zarâr-ı kassâbiye*, *manastır resmi*, *panayır*. Moreover there were patriarchal dues like *tasadduk* (alms) , *zitiye* (*zeteia*), *ayazma* and *ayasmos*, *marriage tax* (*nikah*).¹⁴⁸ They were collected from people under the jurisdiction of the patriarch such as metropolitans, bishops, monks, and priests. The patriarchs' representatives were sent to each diocese to collect these contributions from the local *re'âyâ* and clerics.

First of all, the *mîrî* represented the amount that is paid to the state treasury. This tax refers to the amount collected by the priests for the Church, which in turn is used to pay taxes to the state, the *mîrî*. The origin and scope of the *mîrî rûsûm*, literally 'taxes that belong to the treasury', are a matter of dispute. İnalcık stated that the government considered all taxes collected by the church members to be the property of the state or *mîrî* and them as tax farmers. Joseph Kabrda argues that *mîrî*

¹⁴⁷ Tellan, 35-36.

¹⁴⁸ İnalcık, "The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans.", 422.

means the sum of ecclesiastical taxes and dues collected by the metropolitans and bishops in their dioceses to cover the annual payment to the Church and their own expenses.¹⁴⁹ It is known that the patriarch had to pay a certain sum to the treasury each year, in addition to the *pişkeş* paid when he took office. If members of the church were found to be unable to perform their duties, or if they failed to renew their *berât* when a new sultan came to power, they could lose their position. To put it another way, to renew their *berât*, they had to pay *pişkeş*. In 1686, the patriarchal *pişkeş* was replaced with an annual amount.¹⁵⁰ In addition, each patriarch had to pay an annual *mîrî* tax upon taking office. For this reason, the annual *mîrî* tax was already in place by the middle of the 16th century.

The conversion of customary payments and fees into regular taxes was an Ottoman practice, especially in the early periods. Incorporating pre-Ottoman taxes into the state tax system, as long as they did not contradict the principles of taxation, was also a well-known practice.¹⁵¹ There were various ways of introducing new regular taxes in the Ottoman tax system. Hence, the occasional *pişkeş* was probably the origin of the *mîrî rûsûm*, one of the regular annual taxes.¹⁵² The *berâts* were also the official documents that authorized the church members to collect the state tax (*mal-ı mîrî*), as mentioned above. It was also by these *berâts* that the rights of ownership of church property and the administration of the metropolitan or patriarch were legally established. They were able to meet their financial obligations to the state, as well as their personal and ecclesiastical expenses, with

¹⁴⁹ Kabrda, 68-70.

¹⁵⁰ Phokion P. Kotzageorgis, "About the Fiscal Status of the Greek Orthodox Church in the 17th Century", *Turcica* 40, (2008): 72.

¹⁵¹ Halil İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, VI (1980): 318-323.

¹⁵² İnalcık, "The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans.", 423.

the taxes and income from these properties. İnalçık suggested that the *patriklik* tax, also called *mîrî patriklik*, was a specific tax to cover the contribution to the patriarch's annual payment to the treasury, whereas Kabrda claims that all taxes and dues levied in a diocese, even such purely canonical taxes as the marriage tax, were included in the *mîrî-rûsûm* or *mal-ı mîrî*.¹⁵³ For the collection of the *mîrî* taxes, the metropolitans and bishops received deeds (*temessükât*) from the patriarch. Church members who refused to pay the *mîrî* tax were punished by having their hair shaved, being exiled, and being replaced by other members and no one could interfere with these punishment.¹⁵⁴

It is possible to come across these taxes in the *Şikâyet* and *Mühimme* registers. For example, the 308th order in the *Mühimme Defter* numbered 82 is about some priests in the monasteries near Eğridere in Kratova region who, taking advantage of the fact that they were not to be interfered with, collaborated with the bandits and *haramzades* in the vicinity, blocked roads, killed people, harbored bandits and wounded them. These priests were to be found out and inspected; those who were found guilty but were not required to be presented to the center were to be punished on the spot, and those who needed to be presented were to be imprisoned and dispatched.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, in the 255th order of the 11th *Şikâyet*

¹⁵³ Kabrda, 62-63.

¹⁵⁴ Tellan, 137.

¹⁵⁵ Sarımay, 42.

Ermîye kâdîsına hüküm ki:

Kazâ-i mezbûra tâbi', Dergâh-ı Mu'allâm müteferrikalarından Ferruh Kethudâ zîde mecdühûnun ze'âmeti karyelerinden Kiremidli (?) nâm karye ahâlîsinden Bedir ve İdrîs ve Osmân ve Hisâr ve Nazar ve Turhân ve Halil ve Hasan ve Hudâvirdi ve Zülfikâr ve Hâcât nâm kimesneler mûmâ-ileyhûn defterde mukayyed ra'yyetlerinden olup ösr ü resmlerin ser' u kânûn üzre mûmâ-ileyhe edâ iderler iken hâliyâ Selanik ve Ofçabolu Yörükleri Beği olan Abdülcelîl nâm kimesne mezbûrlar içün; Kadîmü'l-eyyâmdan eben an-ceddin yörükler olmağla bu âna gelince esküncileri sefer-i hümayûna gidüp yamakları kânûn üzre harcların viregelmişlerdür." diyü bunlardan dahı yörükler harcı taleb idüp lâkin mezbûrlar yörükler olmayup mûmâ-ileyhûn sûret-i defterinde mukayyed ra'yyetleri olduğına Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetüm'den sûret-i defter virilüp murâfâ'a-i ser'-ı serîf olduklarında

Defter, a dhimmi named Yanaki submitted a petition and stated that he had asked the patriarch of Constantinople (probably Kallinikos II) for 2,000 *kuruş* of his debt with the metropolitans as guarantors, but they did not give it to him (*Yanaki nâm zimmî arz-ı hâl idüp hâlâ İstanbul patriki olan nâm rahib zimmetinde metropolidler kefâletleriyle iki bin guruş hakkı olup taleb eyledikde vermekde te'allül üzre oldukların bildirüp*). In the order written to the district governor and qadi of Istanbul, they were ordered to collect the debt of the creditor dhimmi in accordance with the debt deed and to imprison the metropolitans if the latter refuse it (*yedinde olan temessükleri mücebince şer'le aliverilip te'allül ederler ise metropolidler habs olunmak bâbında*). The reference to the vizier at the end of the order, stating that he could imprison the metropolitans, is a sign that the administration could impose such sanctions when necessary (*sen ki vezîr-i müşârun ileyhsin te'allül eder ise habs eylemek için yazılmışdır*).¹⁵⁶

Zarar-ı kassâbiye was one of the treasury's *mîrî* taxes. It was not a church-specific tax, but an empire-wide tax introduced at the end of the 16th century to finance the state's expenditures and to cover the difference between the fixed price of meat supplied to the standing army divisions in the capital and the market

mezbûrlar yörüklerden olmayup ra'yyet-oğlu ra'yyet oldukları defterde mukayyed bulunmağla yörük beğleri men' u def' olunmak bâbında cânib-i ser'-ı serîfden tenbîh olunup huccet-i ser'yye virildiği" i lâm olunmağın, ol huccet mücebince amel olunup ol huccete muhâlif mezbûrlar rencide vü remîde olunmamak bâbında fermân-ı âlî-sânûm sâdır olmsudur. Buyurdum ki:

Vusûl buldukda, bu husûsa onat vechile mukayyed olup göresin; fi'l-vâkı' mezbûrlar yörük-oğlu yörük olmayup defterde mukayyed ra'yyet-oğlu ra'yyet olmağla yörük beğleri rencide itmemek bâbında huccet-i ser'yye virilmiş ise ol huccet mücebince amel idüp min-ba'd ol huccete ve sûret-i deftere muhâlif mezbûrları yörük beğlerine dahl ü rencide itdürmeysin. Memnû' olmayanları yazup arzeyeysin.

¹⁵⁶ *İstanbul kâimmakâmına ve kâdisına hüküm ki*

Yanaki nâm zimmî arz-ı hâl idüp hâlâ İstanbul patriki olan nâm rahib zimmetinde metropolidler kefâletleriyle iki bin guruş hakkı olup taleb eyledikde vermekde te'allül üzre oldukların bildirüp yedinde olan temessükleri mücebince şer'le aliverilip te'allül ederler ise metropolidler habs olunmak bâbında emr-i şerîfim ricâ etmeğın sen ki vezîr-i müşârun ileyhsin te'allül eder ise habs eylemek için yazılmışdır.

Evâil-i Zâ sene 99

price.¹⁵⁷ The butchers of Istanbul had to sell meat at low prices to supply the army and the palace. This empire-wide tax was levied to compensate for the butchers' losses. In the first half of 1597, it became a regular tax of one percent. Its amount was fixed for some places, while for others it was determined on the basis of the local conditions. At the end of the 17th century, it was part of the rest of the customs duties and the butchers were paid by the state from various other sources.¹⁵⁸ Kabrda was of the opinion that it is a tax from the metropolitans to the patriarch.¹⁵⁹ Bayraktar Tellan also notes that *zarar-ı kassâbiye* is not used for the annual meat paid by the Patriarchate, but for money paid to the Patriarch by local metropolitans.¹⁶⁰

One of the other most important ecclesiastical dues was the *zitiye*. It was contributions in cash or in kind paid by the *re'âyâ* to the patriarch and local metropolitans to meet the expenses of the Church. It was a voluntary contribution by Christians, synonymous in its first phase with almsgiving and it was not a formal tax levied by the Church. From the 17th century onwards, it was referred to as one of the ecclesiastical revenues of the metropolitans and patriarchs.¹⁶¹ The tax collected was used to pay not only the treasury but also used to pay off the debts of Church members.¹⁶² *Tasadduk akçesi* was collected in a box by the monks for the monasteries and the needs of the Church and it was usually the money that all

¹⁵⁷ Tellan, 38-39.

¹⁵⁸ Tellan, 37-38. See, Antony Warren Greenwood, "Istanbul's Meat Ordering: A Study of the Celepkeşan System", PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, (1988): 213-216.

¹⁵⁹ Kabrda, 74-75.

¹⁶⁰ Tellan, 40.

¹⁶¹ Tellan p. 159 in footnotes. See Paraskevas Konortas, "Les Contributions Ecclésiastiques 'Patriarchike Zeteia' et 'Basilikon Charatzion', Contribution À L'Histoire économique du Patriarcat Oecuménique aux XVe et XVIe Siècles" in *Actes du IIe Colloque International d'Histoire (Athènes, 18-25 Septembre 1983) économiques Méditerranéennes équilibres et Intercommunications XIIIe-XIXe siècles*, Vol III, Athens: 1986: 220-222.

¹⁶² Tellan, 35 and 109.

Christians give to the Church after Sunday Mass.¹⁶³ These alms were in turn used for the payments of the Church.¹⁶⁴ The 1662 *berât* clarifies that with the following expression: “According to the ancient practice and according to the orders of the *berâts*, the infidels should immediately give the Patriarch the annual taxes, alms, *panayır*, marriages, monasteries and the rest of the patriarchal rights.”¹⁶⁵

The 502nd order of the 99th *Mühimme defter* contains references to *tasadduk*. This is a decision sent to the mollahs of Istanbul and Jerusalem about not prohibiting them from collecting alms upon the petition of the members of the monastery in Mount Sinai.¹⁶⁶ The 381st order of the *Mühimme defter* numbered 100 (1690-91) is also related to *tasadduk*. It is about the prevention of the flock of the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople from giving the alms to the monks of the monastery

¹⁶³ For the orders on collecting alms see *Şikâyet Defter* 8/2389, 13/939, *Mühimme Defter* 75/6, 92/131, 99/502, 100/381.

¹⁶⁴ Tellan, 34. See, Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika Eggrafa gia tin Megali Ekklisia (1483-1520)*, 162-178.

¹⁶⁵ Tellan, 35. Translation from Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, 12-13.

¹⁶⁶ Tan, 155.

İstanbul ve Kudus-i Şerif Monlalarına Hüküm ki

Cebel-i Tûr-i Sina'da vaki deyrin râhibleri dergah-ı muallama arzhal idüb deyr-i merkumda kadîmden Hazret-i Amr ibn-i Âs zamanından beru ruhbân taifesi sakın Olub dâhilinde olan mescid-i şerifde dahi ehl-i İslam gelüb edâ-yı ferâ'iz idüb mescid-i merkûmenin mefrûşât ve kanâdili ma'mûr Ve frûzân-ı şe'â'ir-i İslâm'a edâ olunub bunlar etrâf ve eknâfında diyârı Rum ve sâ'ir memâlikde sâkin millet-i Nasârâdan cem'-i (...) idüb Mahall-i mezbûrda müsferet tarîkı üzre murûr iden muslimîn ve urbân ve huccâc-ı zevi'l-ibtihâcî it'âm idüb ve mahall-i merkûm mahûf ve arz-ı munkati' olub (...) tarikle bâ'is iken hâlâ Kudus-i Şerif ve İstanbul patrikleri diyâr-ı Rum'da olan millet-i Nasârâ'yı deyr-i merkûm fukarâsına tasaddukdan Men' ile zaruret-i hâl ve ma'îşetlerinin mezâyikalarına sebep olub bunlar dahi millet-i nasârânın tasaddukâtına munhasıra olmalarıyla mahall-i merkûmda ikamet mahalleri Kalmayub perakende ve perişan olmalarına bâ'is ve arz-ı merkûmun harâbete hususan değirmenin mu'attal ve hâlî kalmasına bâdî oldukların bildirüb Kadîmü'l-eyyâmdan bu âna gelince selâtîni İslâm'ın takrîrleri ve yedlerinde olan fetvâ-yi şerif evâmîr-i 'aliyye mucibince sadakâtların ke'l-evvel cârî olub Kudus-i Şerif ve İstanbul patrikleri bi-vech mu'ârazadan men' ve def' ve millet-i Nasârâ'nın kadîmden infâk ittikleri sadakâtların kemâ fi'l-evvel kat' ittirmeleri Babında hükm-i humayunum reca eyledikleri ecilden tasdik-ı ehl-i zimminin hakkında dahi tasaddukâtı câ'izeden olub murâd ittikleri memerre sarf eylemelerinden men edilmeleri Hilâf-ı 'akd-i zimmet olmağla patrik-i mezkur ve ğayrısı bir vecihle mezburları deyr-i merkûm ruhbanlarına îsâr-ı tasaddukâtıdan men' ve mu'âraza eylememeleri için yazılmışdır Fî evâsıtı b sene 1101

of Tur-ı Sinai. For such prevention would be against the dhimmi convert (*hilâf-ı 'akd-i zimmet olmağla*).¹⁶⁷

For the sake of the Church's control over social and financial matters, the Patriarch struggled against the 'illegal' practices of local church members. The major concerns of the Church arise mainly from problems of the practice of collecting alms and other taxes. Some disputes are related to the fact that a group of monks would set out from somewhere not only to collect the alms and the income of the church foundations and the inheritances of certain distant provinces but also to collect alms along the way. Normally, the consent of both Patriarchates should be obtained for the collection of alms in regions under the jurisdiction of another Patriarchate.¹⁶⁸ However, the boundaries of the churches under the control of

¹⁶⁷ Şakar, 184.

İstanbul ve Kuds-i şerîf monlalarına hüküm ki:

Cebel-i Tûr-ı Sînâ'da vâki' deyrün râhibleri ordu-yı hümâyûnuma 'arz-ı hâl idüp deyr-i merkûmda kadîmden Hazret-i 'Amr ibn-i 'Âs zemânından berü ruhân tâifesi sâkin olup dâhilinde olan Mescîd-i Şerîf'de dahî ehl-i İslâm gelüp edâ-yı ferâiz idüp mescîd-i merkûmun mefrûsât ve kanâdîl-i ma'mûr ve fûrûzân şe'âir-i İslâmiyye edâ olunup bunlar etrâf [ve] eknâfdan diyâr-ı Rûm ve sâir memâlikde sâkin millet-i nasârâdan cem'-i sadakât idüp mahall-i merkûmda müsâferet tarîkı üzere mürûr iden müslimîn ve 'urbân ve hüccâc-ı zevil-ibtihâcî it'âm idüp ve mahall-i merkûme mütehavvîf ve arz-ı münkatı' olup 'umrânına bu tarîk ile bâ'is iken Kuds-i şerîf ve İstanbul patríkleri diyâr-ı Rûm'da olan millet-i nasârâyı deyr-i merkûm fukarâsına tasaddukdan men' ile zarûret-i mâl ve ma'îşetlerinin müzâyakalarına sebep olup bunlar dahî milel-i nasârânun tasaddukâtına münhasır olmalarıyla mahall-i merkûmda ikâmete mecâlleri kalmayup perâkende ve perîşan olmalarına bâ'is ve arz-ı merkûmun harâbına husûsen zikr değirmenün mu'attal ve hâlî kalmasına bâdî oldukların bildiriüp kadîmü'l-eyyâmdan bu ana gelince selâtîn-i İslâm'un takrîrleri ve yedlerinde olan fetevâ-yı şerîf ve evâmir-i 'aliyye mücibince sadakâtlar kel-evvel câriyye olup Kuds-i şerîf ve İstanbul patríkleri bî-vech mu'ârizadan men' ü def' ve millet-i nasârânun kadîmden ittifâk itdikleri sadakâtları kemâ-fi'l-evvel kat' itdirmemeleri bâbında hükm-i hümâyûnum ricâ eyledükleri ecilden tasadduk-ı ehl-i zimmetün hakkında dahî tasaddukât-ı câizeden olup murâd eyledükleri yere sarf olunmasından men' olunmaları hilâf-ı 'akd-ı zimmet olmağla patrík-ı mezkûr ve gayrısı bir vechile mezbûrları deyr-i merkûm ruhânlarına isâr-ı tasaddukâtdan men' ve mu'ârizâ eylememeleri içün bundan akdem emr-i şerîfim virilmişiken ol tarafda piskopos olan râhib mücerred ta'cîz içün zikr olunan tasaddukâtı hukûk ve rusûm ve 'avâid ta'bîr idüp râhibler kendüleri almayup tebdîl ve tagyîr eylemeyeler diyü hilâf-ı inhâ ile mukaddemâ mâliyeden emr alup ve hâlâ yine bir tarîkile tecdid itdiriüp şer'-i şerîfe muhâlif olmağla.

İmdi: Vech-i meşrûh üzere mâliyeden virilen emrün mazmûnı ilka olunup mukaddemâ Edirne'de Dîvân-ı Hümâyûnum tarafından virilen emr-i şerîfim mücibince 'amel olunmak bâbında yazılmışdır.

Evâhir-i Z Sene [I] 101

¹⁶⁸ Çolak, 213-216.

patriarchs were not delineated in the geography of the empire was another reason for the problems with the *vakfs*, property ownership, and tax collection. Problems or conflicts of influence are often driven by economic considerations. However, when the two had problems with each other, or when the patriarchates had problems with their subjects, the problems were reflected in the *defters*. This means that the central government is involved in the issues of alms collection and other church affairs through complaints. This is why the disputes are no longer a matter for the church alone.

The *manastır resmi* seems to have been occasionally included in the *mîrî* taxes in the *berâts* of the metropolitans. It was an annual tax that was paid to the Metropolitan. He also received the property of the monks and nuns who died. Another important source of income for the church was the *ayazma*. When the *re'âyâ* visited a holy spring near a church or monastery in search of healing, they gave alms or paid a fixed fee. The metropolitan took his share in this due. Since the fairs were usually held near a place of pilgrimage or a *hagiasma* on the occasion of a religious festival, the *panayır* tax was also considered a religious tax. An important part of the proceeds of these fairs went to the metropolitan.

The metropolitan had an agent (*vekîl*) in the church or monastery to collect the money (*vekîl nasb u ta'yîn idiüp, vekîl nasb idiüp*).¹⁶⁹ In general, the patriarch also usually sent an agent to the provinces for the collection of taxes from the metropolitans. The agent was empowered to punish or dismiss priests or monks who refused to pay their taxes. The state granted protection and immunity to the

¹⁶⁹ İnalçık, "The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans.", 424. For orders agent in *Şikâyet Defters*, see 7/16, Cod. Mixt.683 102B/4, 141A/4, 193B/2, 12/1039. For orders agent in *Mühimme Defters*, see 85/333, 88/113, 92/310, 93/217, 93/218, 93/279, 93/298.

representatives of the Patriarch and the Metropolitan on their travels. Moreover, they were not allowed to be harassed or oppressed. They also did not impose commercial charges on the taxes in kind collected for the Church.¹⁷⁰

The marriage tax or *nikah resmi*, which was introduced during the Byzantine period, was fixed in 17th-century Ottoman documents at 80 *akçes* for the first marriage, 160 for the second, and 240 for the third. *Re'âyâ* and priests paid it to the metropolitan.¹⁷¹ Taxes included in the annual *mîrî* tax started to be diversified and increased towards the 17th century. However, all these taxes and *pişkeş* that the patriarchs and metropolitans had to pay to the Ottoman treasury represented a heavy addition to the overall tax burden for the *re'âyâ*, since much of the payments had to be made by them. Hence, we encounter several ramifications of these disputes in the *defters*. İnalcık divided the various taxes paid by the *re'âyâ* and the local priests and monks into three categories. The first were the taxes that went directly to the Ottoman treasury, the second were those reserved for the patriarch and the metropolitans, and the third were those collected exclusively for the local clergy.¹⁷²

The resulting tax revenue belonged to the holder of the privilege. This was often a church or a monastery. Holders paid to the government a lump sum for the privilege of collecting taxes, part of which went to metropolitans with churches or monasteries in their dioceses. Generally, the income associated with a particular monastery or church would be farmed out at an amount agreed upon by the clergy associated with the place. Hence, the state was closely linked to the religious and economic function of the Church.

¹⁷⁰ Tellan, 160.

¹⁷¹ Kabrda, 89-100.

¹⁷² İnalcık, "The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans.", 426.

In fact, the patriarch depended on the metropolitans for his income. Through their agents, the metropolitans collected the taxes owed by bishops and priests and the *re'âyâ*. Thus, in the final analysis, it was the bishops or village or neighborhood priest who was the actual collector of taxes or dues from the *re'âyâ*. There was a problem of agency in these matters that has come up on a number of occasions. This problem also affected the Ottoman economy because the state received the taxes collected by the local bishops and ultimately sent to the Church.¹⁷³ Thus, delaying and failing to pay the Patriarch resulted in government action, including sending the Patriarch every four to five years to collect taxes and punishing them.¹⁷⁴ The members who refused to pay or used fraud to pay less faced some sanctions. The Ottoman registers contain necessary to these matters. In the order 174 of the 13th *Şikâyet Defter*, the former metropolitan of Thessaloniki had given 100,000 *akçes* to the patriarch of Constantinople under the name of olive oil *akçes* in 1688 and had collected 100,000 *akçes* from the bishops of Thessaloniki in accordance with his guarantor but he demanded 16,000 *akçes* more from the bishops and even extorted 60 *akçes* more from them. In 1689, the bailiff he had appointed while he was in charge of it oppressed the bishops by demanding money from them again while it was not his responsibility to collect the *jizya* (*bin yüz senesi cizyesi uhde[sinde] olmayıp bunun uhdesinde iken arz peydâ ve emr-i şerîfle mübâşir alıp buna ve piskoposlara gadr eylediğin bildirip*). In the order written to the Vizier Süleyman Pasha in Thessaloniki and the qadi of Thessaloniki were ordered to return the

¹⁷³ Monastic Economy across Time: Wealth Management, 16.

¹⁷⁴ İnalçık, "The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans.", 424.

unnecessary sums taken from the poor (*fukarâdan cebren fuzûlî aldığı akçe gerü ashâbına aliverilmek üzere*).¹⁷⁵

As is clear from the Ottoman documents, it was not uncommon for the Christian *re'âyâ* to fulfill their tax obligations in grain or cloth. Goods such as wine, butter, olive oil and honey were used as alms.¹⁷⁶ It was not easy for people to find enough cash to pay the church taxes in addition to the *jizya* and other state taxes. İnalçık argued that it was the Ottoman government that came forward to protect the *re'âyâ* against the illegal and excessive demands of the church members. For, the state was on the lookout for those who were overtaxing the *re'âyâ* and took action in response to complaints.¹⁷⁷ Ursinus also stated that *re'âyâ* had a right to write a petition or complaint in cases of abuse by them in collecting taxes. Evidence suggests that Christians, on occasion, resented, and openly opposed, the fiscal regime imposed on them by their bishops, rather than the payments as such.¹⁷⁸

It has already been mentioned that people from all walks of life have the right to complain, but the provision under analysis below is instrumental in terms of showing how this will work in practice. The 690th order of the numbered 96 *Mühimme defter* is about the *Dâru's-sa'âdet Ağası*'s request to collect taxes from the beehives belonging to the monastery in the places belonging to the *vakf* land of

¹⁷⁵ Türk, 155.

Selanik muhâfazasında [olan] Vezîr Süleyman Paşa'ya ve Selanik kadîsına hüküm ki, Hâlâ Selanik metropolidi Benoktoz? nâm râhib gelip bin doksan dokuz senesinde Selanik metropolidi olan Benoktoz? nâm râhib âyinleri üzere İstanbul patriğine zeyt yağı akçesi nâmiyla yüz bin akçe verip ve Selanik piskoposlarından beherine verilen temessük mücebince yüz bin akçeyi tahsîl eylediğinden gayrı on altı bin akçe ziyâde taleb ve ibtidâdiye? nâmiyla piskoposlardan altmış akçe isteyip ve cebren alıp ve bin yüz senesi cizyesi uhde[sinde] olmayıp bunun uhdesinde iken arz peydâ ve emr-i şerîfle mübâşir alıp buna ve piskoposlara gadr eylediğin bildirip tekrâr akçe talebiyle rencide olunmayıp fukarâdan cebren fuzûlî aldığı akçe gerü ashâbına aliverilmek üzere şurûtuyla hüküm yazılmışdır.

Fî evâhiri Ca. sene 1100.

¹⁷⁶ İnalçık, "The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans.", 428.

¹⁷⁷ İnalçık, "The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans.", 428.

¹⁷⁸ Ursinus, 244.

Athens. The monks of monasteries said that they would not pay these taxes because they were not equal to the taxes demanded from Muslims. In the above-mentioned order, 2,000 *akçes* were delivered and registered every year from the beehives on the foundation land of the Vâlide Sultan Vakf's *menzil* monastery in Athens, 8 acres per beehive as beehive rent and 4 acres as tax and that the crops are left to the monks of the monastery (*menzil manastırı (...) nâm mahalde vakıf toprağında olan kovanlarından kovan başına sekizer akça resm-i kovan (...) isticâr iden dörder akça müceddeden tahrir ve defter olunub mahsulâtı manastır-ı mezbûr râhibleri üzerine*). However, the monks of the monastery did not give this amount this time because they considered it unjust that the amount they pay not equal to pay by Muslims (*ber-müceb-i defter Müslümanlardan taleb eylediği öşre mu âdil değildir deyû virme-yüb gadr olmağla*). This situation was reported by the foundation's *kethüda* and the ruling ordered the qadis of Athens to collect the amount recorded in the ledger from the monks in accordance with sharia, law and the stipulations of the orders registered in the *defter* (*şer ve kânun ve defter mûcibince alivirilmek emr olunmuşdur*).¹⁷⁹ This order was written with reference to the records kept and in order to ensure the continuity of the order, in which we hear the voice of the Greek subjects in the reorganisation of the tax, which was considered unfair.

¹⁷⁹ Yayvan, 173.

Atina ve (...) Kâdıları'na hüküm ki

Vâlide Sultan dâmet ismetuhânın kethüdâsı Mustafa dame mecdühü 'arz-ı hâl idüb müşârün ileyhin bağçekapusu kurbünde müceddeden binâ eylediği câmi-i şerîf evkâfından Atina Kazâsı'na tâbi' menzil manastırı (...) nâm mahalde vakıf toprağında olan kovanlarından kovan başına sekizer akça resm-i kovan (...) isticâr iden dörder akça müceddeden tahrir ve defter olunub mahsulâtı manastır-ı mezbûr râhibleri üzerine ve her sene ikişer bin vukiyye asel getürdüb câmi-i mezbûre kilâvete(?) teslim eylemek üzere ber-vech-i maktu kayd olunub rahibler dahi ber-müceb-i defter Müslümanlardan taleb eylediği öşre mu âdil değildir deyû virme-yüb gadr olmağla hüccet-i şer'iyye ve defter mûcibince alivirilmek ricâ itmeğin şer ve kânun ve defter mûcibince alivirilmek emr olunmuşdur deyû yazılmışdır.

Evâsit-ı Ş. Sene 89

Tax issues have created many areas of conflict. They sometimes took place between two church members, sometimes between church members and state officials, and sometimes between Greek subjects and the members who collected taxes from them. In this chapter, I would like to present examples of the orders related to these issues. For instance, in the 409th order of the 14th *Şikâyet defter* (1691), there is a decision that the people of Sömbeki were overtaxed by several dhimmis, and the excess should be returned. The *re'âyâ* of Sömbeki island petitioned that many of the dhimmis in the region interfered and collected the taxes and embezzled them together with other tax officers (*tekâlifleri umûruna karışup cem' ü tahsîl itmeleriyle tekâlif cem'ine me'mûr olanlar ile yek-dil ve emr ü defterden ziyâde akçelerin cem' ve kendüleri ekl ü bel' ve istihlâk eyledüklerinden*). Since they made excuses and fled when they were asked to be held accountable immediately, orders were given to the Kapudan Pasha and the qadi of Rhodes to be held accountable according to the sharia law and to collect the amount remaining in their dues.¹⁸⁰

Orders 3 and 4 in the page 201 the of *Şikâyet defter Cod. mixt. 683. (1675)* dealt with similar issues. In the 3rd order, Avakim who was the former patriarch of the flock of İpek, asked some dhimmis to collect and deliver the taxes to himself. Even though the aforementioned dhimmis collected taxes, they did not give them to

¹⁸⁰ Erdem, 315.

Kapudân Paşa'ya ve Rodos kâdisına hüküm ki:
Kazâ-i mezbûre tâbi' Sömbeki ceziresi re'âyâsı Dergâh-ı mu'allâma arz-ı hâl idüp karye-i mezbûre zimmîlerinden Piket Re'is Kosta Re'is ve diğer Kosta ve diğer Piket ve Yani ve Papalis? (...) ve Papa (...) ve Papa Sabrin? ve Bako ve diğer Kosta ve Nikola ve Kosti ve diğer Yani ve diğer Piket? ve Baltaz? () nâm zimmîler bin doksan () senesinde tekâlifleri umûruna karışup cem' ü tahsîl itmeleriyle tekâlif cem'ine me'mûr olanlar ile yek-dil ve emr ü defterden ziyâde akçelerin cem' ve kendüleri ekl ü bel' ve istihlâk eyledüklerinden mâ'adâ nice akçelerin tahmiline? taksîm? idüp zimmetlerinde? kalmağla? bunlar dahî şer'le muhâsebelerin görölmek istedikde te'allül üzere oldukların bildürüp şer'le muhâsebelerin görölmek istediklerinde te'allül üzere oldukların bildürüp şer'le muhâsebelerin görölüp zimmetlerinde zuhûr iden hakları alıvirilmek için yazılmışdır.
Fî evâhir-i Z Sene 1101

him, and they also said to lose collected taxes. The pasha of Hersek and the qadi of İpek were ordered to collect the taxes from them. In the 4th order, Avakim could not collect the taxes that he was entitled to receive from the dhimmis, and an agent was sent to collect them, but since they were still not collected, a collection decree was sent to the qadis of Foça and Taşlıca.¹⁸¹

Sometimes the problems in collecting taxes were caused not by the subjects, but by the church members under the jurisdiction of the patriarch. İnalçık asserted that as many *re'âyâ* preferred the qadi court to evade religious taxes or to benefit from extra security, the state issued orders in favor of the metropolitans to prevent such interference. The metropolitan also had the power to punish priests and monks who did not fulfill their tax obligations as mentioned above. Shaving their hair and dismissal from office were among the canonical penalties.¹⁸² For example, in the 263rd order of *Mühimme defter* 96, Okatos (probably Nikiphoros II Skotakis), the Metropolitan of Crete, refused to pay taxes (*Okatos nâm rahib üzerine lâzım gelen mîrî rüsümü virmekde ta'allül itmeğle*) and was complained about by the Patriarch of Constantinople. In the order, the decision to bring the priest to the capital was

¹⁸¹ Hersek paşasına İpek kâdîsına hüküm ki

Sâbıkâ İpek kazâsında sâkin zimmî tâifesinin patriki Avakim nâm patrik gelüp bunun (...) kazâ-i mezbûrda vâkı' zimmîlerin üzerlerine edâsı lâzım gelen rüsûm-ı âdiyelerin âyin-i bâtılları üzre cem' ve tahsîl ve buna teslim eylemek üzre tarafından (...) nâm zimmîleri göndermeğle mezkûr zimmîler varup kazâ-i mezbûrda olan zimmîlerden mîrîye âid rüsûm-ı âdilerin cem' ve tahsîl idüp buna vermeyüp muhâsebelerin dahi görmeyüp gaybet etmeleriyle zimmetinde zuhûr eden rüsûm-ı âdiyeleri akçesi aliverilmek bâbında emrim ricâ etmeğın şer'le görülmek [içün] emrim yazılmışdır
Fî evâil-i C sene 86

Hersek paşasına Foça ve Taşlıca kâdîlarına hüküm ki

Sâbıkâ İpek kazâsında sâkin zimmîlerin patriki Avakim nâm patrik gelüp Foça kazâsı sâkinlerinden Yanko ve Yeroni ve İlarik ve Hristot ve Kaniber ve Yuhan ve Miloş ve Havze nâm zimmîleri berâtları yazıları üzre kendüye âid ve râci' ve mîrîye teslim olacak rüsûmâtların cem' ve tahsîl eylemeleri için mübâşir ve irsâl etmeğle mezbûr zimmîler varup meblağ-ı mezbûru cem' ve tahsîl idüp buna getirüp vermeyüp ve muhâsebelerin dahi görmeyüp zimmetlerinde kalmağla bu taraftan âdem gönderip taleb eyledikde vermede te'allül eylemeleriyle emr-i şerîfim ricâ etmeğın şer'le görülmek için yazılmışdır.
Fî evâil-i C sene 86

¹⁸² İnalçık, *The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans.*, 425.

conveyed to the pasha of Heraklion.¹⁸³ As can be seen here, the church member did not refrain from appealing to the *Divan* for pragmatic reasons when tax revenues were at stake. The fact that church members appealed to the Porte or qadi shows that their relations with the State were conducted in the context of negotiation. In the *Şikâyet defter* 12, order 1200, while the priest of Pomorie was authorized to collect taxes from the *re'âyâ* under his responsibility, the bishop of Shumen claimed rights over these taxes, and the administration appointed a bailiff to make the necessary observations and referred the matter to the *Divan* in Edirne.¹⁸⁴ In this order sent to the qadi of Shumen, the priest, who was the metropolitan of the Ahyolu region with a *berât*, was supposed to receive the *mîrî rûsûm*, patriarchal and metropolitan *rûsûm* to be collected from the villages under his responsibility, the bishop of Shumen unnecessarily interfered and took these taxes (*Şumnu piskoposu olan Safranbus* (probably Sofronios) *nâm rahib fuzûlî dahl ve rûsûmâtı ahz u kabz etmeğle*). A bailiff had been appointed previously by the finance

¹⁸³ Mercimek, 153.

Kandiye muhâfazasında olan İbrâhîm Paşa'ya ve kâdisına hüküm ki İstanbul patriki Dibokastos(?) 'arz-ı hâl idüb cezîre-i Girid metropolidi Okatos nâm rahib üzerine lâzım gelen mîrî rûsumı virmeğe Asitâne-i sa'âdete ihzâr olunmak bâbında emr-i şerîf recâ itmeğin vech-i meşrûh üzre hükm yazılmışdır.

Evâil-i Câ sene 1089

¹⁸⁴ *Şumnu kâdisına hüküm ki*

Berât ile Ahyolu ve tevâbi'i keferesinin metropolidi olan (...) nâm rahib gelüp bunun menzilinde tebe'yyetine (?) dâhil Şumnu kazâsına tâbi' Simrave ve Çalikkavak nâm karyeler keferesinin âyîn-i âdetleri üzre yedinde olan berât mâliye tarafından verilen evâmîr-i şerîfleri mücebince kendüye aid olan senevî mîrî ve rûsum vesâir patriklik ve metropolidlik rûsumu kadîmden Ahyolu metropolidi olanlar ahz u kabz edegelmişler iken Şumnu piskoposu olan Safranbus nâm rahib fuzûlî dahl ve rûsumâtı ahz u kabz etmeğle men' için mâliye tarafından emr-i şerîfimle mübâşir ta'yîn olunup mahalline vardıkda mezbûr piskopos dahl etdirilmeyip aid olan rûsumâtı Ahyolu metropolidine ahz u kabz etdirüp ve mezbûr piskopos muhâsebesin görmek için dîvân-ı hümâyûna havâle olunmak üzre mâliye tarafından mukaddemâ emr-i şerîfim verildiğin bildirüp yedinde olan hüccet-i şer'îyye ve mâliye tarafından verilen evâmîr-i şerîfem mücebince kendüye aid olan rûsumâtı ahz u kabz etdirilüp cevâbı var ise dîvân-ı Edirne'ye havâle olunmak bâbında emr ricâ etmeğin hüccet-i şer'îyye ve mâliye tarafından verilen emr-i şerîf mücebince vech-i meşrûh üzre amel olunmak için emr yazılmışdır.

Evâil-i C sene 1100

department with the order to prevent the bishop's actions, and ordered to refer the bishop to the *Divan* if he does not cease his afore-mentioned actions. In addition, the bishop was ordered to collect the taxes belonging to him, and if he had an answer, he was ordered to be referred to the *Divan* in Edirne (*cevâbı var ise dîvân-ı Edirne'ye havâle olunmak bâbında*).

Taxes contributing to the church economy as charity were a slightly different matter. In this case, the state was more a mediator in the resolution of internal church affairs. In the 2,389th order of the 8th *Şikâyet defter* (1673), while the alms and taxes of the Latin *re'âyâ* were given to their priests through their own choice (*kendü ihtiyârlarıyla papasları olanlara virüp*), the Orthodox priests wanted to collect them themselves and they demanded 12 *akçes* alms per house and oppressed the *re'âyâ* while they have no right to collect taxes here (*Rum papaslara aslâ alakaları yoğiken hâlâ Eğin kasabasında vâkı' Rum keferesi tarafından ladikası (?) gelüp bunlardan ev başına on ikişer akçe nezr ve sadakât akçesi taleb ile rencîde etmekden*). Hence, the Latin priests complained against these priests. In the order sent to the qadi of Mostar, it was ruled that the subjects should not be oppressed and should not be treated contrary to what was customary in the past.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, in the order 2 in 70/A of *Cod. Mixt.* 683, while Philotheos, the priest of Crete, was collecting the taxes according to the order, some people said that they would collect 50,000 *akçe* of tax themselves and deliver it to the treasury. His claim was that they

¹⁸⁵ *Mostar kâdîsına hüküm ki*

Sen ki kâdîsın dergâh-ı mu'allâma mektûb gönderüp kazâ-i mezbûrede vâkı' Latin keferesi meclis-i şer'a varup bu âna gelince nezir ve sadakât vesâir ayîn-i bâtılları üzre lâzım gelen mîrmîrân harçların kendü ihtiyârlarıyla papasları olanlara virüp Rum papaslara aslâ alakaları yoğiken hâlâ Eğin kasabasında vâkı' Rum keferesi tarafından ladikası (?) gelüp bunlardan ev başına on ikişer akçe nezr ve sadakât akçesi taleb ile rencîde etmekden hâlî olmadığın arz eylediğin ecilden kadîmden oligelmişe mugâyir te'addî olunmamak için hükm yazılmışdır.

Fî evâil-i S sene 84

were preventing him from taking control of tax collection. So he requested an edict from the sultan ordering the observance of the old customs and the conditions of his *berât*, and the non-interference of anyone in the collection of the taxes. In response, the state issued a *hüküm* stating that an examination of the accounts of the treasury and a review of the latest census register confirmed that the annual lump sum to be paid by the holder of the office of Metropolitan of Crete was 50,000 *akçes*.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, no one had the right to interfere with the collection of contributions and taxes by him.¹⁸⁷ In the *hüküm*, *ehl-i fesâd* is an interesting way of describing them, referring to law and order and the habitability of offenses.

In the 6th order of the *Şikâyet Defter* No. 12, the dhimmis again prevented the collection of taxes. Kallinikos, the patriarch of Constantinople, sent a petition to the army about this. In the petition, some of the dhimmis had a debt from another priest who was the metropolitan of Edirne, and they wanted to collect them from the current metropolitan of Edirne during the collection of the taxes of *mîrî rûsûm* and *zarar-ı kassabiye* taxes. It was reported to the army in Özi and the qadis that this

¹⁸⁶ Ursinus, 243-244.

¹⁸⁷ *Kandiye paşasına ve kâdisına hüküm ki*

Philotheos nâm rahib gelüp beher sene elli bin akçe maktû' ile Girid cezîresinde olan zimmîler üzerinde metrepelid nasb ve ta'yîn olunup sene-be-sene maktû'ı olan elli bin akçeyi Kandiye hazînesine edâ ve teslim idüp kusûrî yoğiken sâir memâlik-i mahrûsede olan metrepelidler cem' ve tahsîl edegeldikleri mîrî resm ve tasarruf akçelerini vesâir cüz'î ve küllî mahsûlâtı mezbûr metrepelid dahi Girid cezîresinde olan re'âyâdan cem' ve tahsîl etmek istedikde bazı ehl-i fesâd kimesneler biz metrepelidlik mahsûlün elimizde emrimiz vardır biz mâ-beynimizde cem' ederiz senede maktû'ı olan elli bin akçeyi Kandiye hazînesine edâ ve teslim ederiz diyü mezbûr metrepelidin zabtına mâni' ve rencide etmeleriyle olageldiği üzre ve yedinde olan berât-ı âlişân mücebince amel olunup mahsûlâtına müdâhale olunmamak bâbında emr-i şerîfîm ricâ etmeğin hazîne-i âmiremde mahfûz olan başmuhâsebe ve tahrîr-i cedîd defterlerine nazar olundukda cezîre-i mezbûrede vâkı' metrepelidlik ber vech-i maktû' senede elli bin akçeye mestûr ve mukayyed bulunmağın imdi mezbûre müceddeden tevcih olunmağla yedine verilen berât mücebince zabt etdirilip rûsûmât ve mahsûlâtına müdâhale olunmamak üzre mâliye tarafından emr-i şerîf verilmeğle mücebince amel olunmak için hükm yazılmışdır.

Fî evâil-i M sene 86

case would be heard in the Porte.¹⁸⁸ Again, in the 926th order of this *defter*, the metropolitan of Tarnova submitted a petition, saying that he did not owe any debts to anyone and had not committed any offence. He also stated that in 1687, while he was in possession of the *mîrî rüsum*, the *mütesellim* of Niğbolu oppressed him by saying that he owed him 700 kurus (*yedi yüz guruşun alup te'addî eylediğin*). Afterwards, the *mütesellim* appointed a person as a representative to collect the debt and took the metropolitan's *rüsum* in force. The *mutasarrıf* and qadi of Niğbolu sanjak were ordered to return the *rüsum* taken to its owner, and if the representative prevented this, to refer it to the Porte.¹⁸⁹

In the 91st order of the 13th *Şikâyet Defter*, the priest submitted a petition stating that Nikiforos, who was still the metropolitan of Thessaloniki, had appointed him as his deputy, that he had collected and delivered to the metropolitan the *rüsumat* that belonged to him for three years and that he had no debts left (*nâm râhib gelip hâlâ Selanik metrepolidi olan Nikokotos [Nikiforos] nâm metrepolid*

¹⁸⁸ Özi tarafında olan ordu-yı hümayûnuma (...) ve (...) ve (...) kâdîlarına hüküm ki Hâlâ İstanbul'da Rum patriki olan Kalikos nâm rahib ordu-yı hümayûnuma arz-ı hâl gönderüp bi'l-fi'il patrikliğine dâhil ve Edirne metrepelidi olan Sarafım nâm rahib üzerine edâsı lâzım gelen senevî mîrî rûsum zarar-ı kassâbiye akçelerin cem' ve tahsîl üzre iken Halebli Hacı Gargori ve (...) nâm zimmîler şirrete sülûk idüp on altı seneden mukaddem silk-i münselikimde olan ve Edirne'de olan metrepelid olan (...) nâm rahibde bizim alacağımız varidi sen ânın yerine metrepelid oldun akçemizi senden alırsız diyü şuhûd-ı udûl ile şer'an üzerine bir nesne sâbit ve zâhir olmuş değil iken mezbûr Sarafım'ı te'addî ve rencîdeden hâlî ve mîrî rûsumun cem' ve tahsiline mâni' olmalarıyla bu makûle zamân mürûr idüp hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf âhar kimesnenin deynini da'vâ eden kimesnelerin da'vâları İsakçı'da ve gayrı yerlerde istimâ' olunmayup dîvân-ı hümayûnumda görülmek için vech-i meşrûh üzre yazılmışdır.

Fî evâil-i M sene 100

¹⁸⁹ Ber vech-i arpalık Niğbolu sancağına mutasarrıf olan (...) dâme ikbâlehu ve Niğbolu kâdîsına hüküm ki

Turnova ladikası (...) nâm rahib arz-ı hâl idüp bunun kimesneye verecek deyni olmayup ve üzerine şer'an bir nesne sâbit olmuş değil iken bin doksan sekiz senesinde mîrî rûsum hüccetinde iken sâbıkâ Niğbolu mütesellimi olup hâliyâ Niğbolu'da sâkin Dayı İbrahim nâm kimesne bunu tutup hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf ve bi-gayrı hakk yedi yüz guruşun olup te'addî eylediğin ve tarafından (...) nâm kimesneyi vekil eylediğin bildirüp hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf zulmen aldığı mâl-ı mîrîyi mîmâna'at vermekde te'allül eder ise dîvân-ı hümayûnuma havâle olunmak bâbında hükm-i hümayûnum ricâ etmeğin vech-i meşrûh üzre amel olunmak için hükm yazılmışdır.

Fî evâil-i R sene 1100

taraflarından bunu vekîl edip üç sene mikdârı kendüye âid olan rüsûmâtın tahsîl ve kendüye teslim edip zimmetinde bâki nesnesi kalmış değil iken). The Metropolitan dismissed the priest and oppressed him, saying that ‘I would have you brought to the Divan in Edirne and take akçe from you again’ (*ben seni Dîvân-ı Edirne’ye ihzâr etdirip tekrâr senden akçe alırım*). In the order written to Vezir İsmail Pasha and the qadi of Thessaloniki, it was ordered that the priest should not be oppressed and the case should be heard on the spot in accordance with the sharia (*mahallinde şer ile görölüp ihkak-ı hak olunmak için yazılmışdır*).¹⁹⁰ We see this metropolitan’s name again in the 94th order. In this order, the metropolitan submitted a petition and claimed that in 1689, the *imdadiyye akçes* from the year 1099 A.H., and the *zarar-ı kassabiye* and *zitiye akçes* of the year 1100 A.H., which were under the responsibility of the bishops of Thessaloniki, remained in their possession. In order to collect them, the metropolitan appointed a deputy, and in this *hüküm* addressing the pasha guarding Thessaloniki and the qadis of the region, it was ordered by the *Maliye* to send them to Istanbul should they resist the collection of the deputy or persist in not making payments.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Türk, 127.

Selanik muhâfazasında olan Vezîr İsmâ’îl Paşa’ya ve Selanik kadısına hüküm ki, (...) nâm râhib gelip hâlâ Selanik metropolidi olan Nikokotos nâm metropolid taraflarından bunu vekîl edip üç sene mikdârı kendüye âid olan rüsûmâtın tahsîl ve kendüye teslim edip zimmetinde bâki nesnesi kalmış değil iken bunu azl etmekle ben seni Dîvân-ı Edirne’ye ihzâr etdirip tekrâr senden akçe alırım deyü bî-vech ve bilâ-emr-i şerîf rencîde ve remîdeden hâlî olmadığın bildirip ol bâbda hükm-i hümayûnum recâ etmeğin sen ki vezîr-i müşârun-ileyh ve mevlânâ-yı mûmâ-ileyhsin mahallinde şer ile görölüp ihkak-ı hak olunmak için yazılmışdır.

Evâhir-i Ca. sene 1100.

¹⁹¹ Türk, 129.

Selanik muhâfazasında olan paşaya ve Selanik ve Siroz ve Serfiçe ve Doyran ve Balatmene? ve (...) ve (...) kâdîlarına hüküm [ki], Selanik ve tevâbiî keferesi metropolidi olan Nikogokos nâm râhib gelip kazâ-i mezbûrun piskoposlarının bin doksan dokuz senesinde üzerlerine edâsı lâzım gelen imdâdiye akçeleri ve bin yüz senesinin zarar-ı kassâbiye ve zeyd akçesi zimmetlerinde kalmağla tarafından vekîli olan (...) nâm kimesneye mübâsir marifetiyle tahsîl etdirdip inâd [ve] muhâlefet ederler ise mübâşire? konulup muhâsebesin görölmek için Âsitâne-i sa’âdet’ime gönderesin deyü Mâliye tarafından emr-i şerîf verilmele mücebince yazılmışdır.

In the 330th order of the 85th Mühimme *defter*, it was ordered to prevent the interventions reportedly made by the elders of the province, and the others the vineyards, gardens, fields, and pastures, which were endowed to the monastery named Aya (probably *Panagia*) on the island of Naxos. The priest who was appointed by the Patriarch for all the monks in monastery complained that some people unleashed their animals on the lands belonging to the monastery and that this was causing damage to the monastery. This complaint was forwarded to the administration by the patriarch, and since the actions subject to the complaint continued despite previous orders to the relevant state officials (*An-yedi Ahmed Ağa, Kethudâ-i Voyvoda-i Boğdan, sâbıkâ Cezîre-i Naksa [Nakşe] kâdîsına*) were ordered to prevent those who damaged the monastery's property and if anyone continued to interfere and cause damage to monastery lands despite the order, their names should be written down and reported (*Memnû' olmayanlar her kim olursa olsunlar ism ü resmi ve istihârları ile yazup arzeyeleyesin ki, sonradan haklarında ne vechile emr-i serîfûm sâdır olur ise mûcebi ile amel oluna*). Moreover, it was ordered should not be allowed to interfere with the churches and monasteries here and to prevent the disruption of the ancient order.¹⁹² This order is valuable for

Evâsıt-ı Ca. sene 1100.

¹⁹² Sarımay, 201-202.

Bâ-hatt-ı hazret-i efendi.

An-yedi Ahmed Ağa, Kethudâ-i Voyvoda-i Boğdan, sâbıkâ Cezîre-i Naksa kâdîsına hüküm ki: İstanbul keferesinin Patriki olan Kirilos nâm râhib Südde-i Sa'âdetüm'e arz-ı hâl idüp; "cezîre-i mezbûrede vâkı' Aya nâm manastırda sâkin kesîslerün üzerlerine bas u buğ ta'yîn olunan () nâm râhibün manastır-ı mezbûra vakıf ta'yîn olunup mahsûs u müstekil tasarrufında olan bâğ u bâğçe vü tarla vü mer'âlarına kadîmden olıgelene muhâlif a'yân-ı vilâyetden ve âhardan ba'zı kimesneler fuzûlî dahlidüp ve tavarların ve koyun u sığır u at u katır ve sâyir hayvânâtların salıvirüp te'addî itmeleriyle bundan akdem ser'le görildükde men' u def' olunup eline huccet-i ser'ıyye virilmisken mezbûrlar girü memnû' olmadukların" bildürüp huccet-i ser'ıyye mûcebince amel olunmak bâbında emr-i serîfûm recâ itmeğin, vech-i mesrûh üzre amel olunmak emridüp buyurdum ki: Vusûl buldukda, husûs-ı mezbûra mukayyed olup ve bu bâbda olan huccet-i ser'ıyyesine nazar idüp göresin; arzolunduğı üzre husûs-ı mezbûr mukaddemâ ser'le görilüp huccet-i ser'ıyye virilüp ser'-ı*

analysing the relationship between the patriarch and the members of the monasteries in the provinces and for understanding the actions and measures taken by the administration after the patriarch shared monks' demands with the state. In the following 331st order, it was ordered to prevent the interventions reportedly made by shepherds and the *Efrenc re'âyâ* to the vineyards, gardens, farms, and fields in the village of Çoklarpa. Villagers damaged lands of the Panaya (probably same monastery *Panagia*) Monastery on the island of Naxos, herd their animals into monastery lands, and seized their monastery's incomes. The decision was made for the priest named Papa Yerasimo to seize the said lands and farms there to protect the income of the monastery as in ancient times.¹⁹³ As in the above order, it is requested

serîfde men' olunmuşlar iken mezbûrlar girü memnû' olmayup tekrâr dahl ü tecâvüzden hâlî olmadukları vâkı' ise bu bâbda olan huccet-i ser'iyye da'vâsına muvâfık olup mazmûnı alâ-vechî'l-hasm sâbit olur ise mukarrer tutup mücebiyle amel idüp min-ba'd huccet-i ser'iyyeye muhâlif manastır-ı mezbûrenün zikrolunan bâğ u bâğçe vü tarla vü mer'âlarına a'yân-ı vilâyetden ve ehl-i örf tâyifesinden ve âhardan bir ferdi dahl ü ta'arruz itdürmeyüp oligeldüğü üzre mezbûr () nâm râhibe zabt u tasarruf itdüresin ve kazâ-i mezbûrda vâkı' ve kadîmî Nasârâ tâyifesine ta'yîn olunan kilise vü manastırlarına Efrenc ve sâyir kefare tâyifesin aslâ dahl ü ta'arruz itdürmeyesin. Memnû' olmayanlar her kim olursa olsunlar ism ü resmi ve istihârları ile yazup arzeyelesin ki, sonradan haklarında ne vechile emr-i serîfüm sâdir olur ise mücebi ile amel oluna. Ser'-ı serîfe ve kadîmden oligelene ve emr-i hümayûnuma muhâlif kimesneye is itdürmeyesin

¹⁹³Sarinay, 202.

Bâ-hatt-ı hazret-i efendi.

An-yedi mezbûr Ahmed Ağa.

Cezîre-i Naksa kâdisına hükmü ki:

İstanbul keferesinin Patrikî olan Kirilos nâm râhib Südde-i Sa'âdetüm'e arz-ı hâl idüp; "cezîre-i mezbûra tâbî' Çoklarpa nâm karyede vâkı' patrikliğına müte'allik Penaye nâm manastır-ı mezbûreye vakıf ta'yîn olunup tasarrufında olan bâğ u bâğçe vü çiftlik ü tarla vü mer'âlarına hılâf-ı ser'-ı serîf hâricden ba'zı çobânlar ve gayriler koyunların ve sığırların ve sâyir hayvânâtların salıvmeleriyle zikrolunan bâğ u bâğçe vü çiftlik ü tarla vü mer'âların harâb u yebâb idüp ve kadîmî patrikliğına müte'allik olan kilise vü manastırların ellerinden alup fuzûlî zabıtmek murâd itmeleriyle mahsûline gadreyledüklerin ve bu bâbda elinde huccet-i ser'iyyesi olduğın" bildürüp mücebince ser'le görölüp men' u def' olunmak bâbında emr-i serîfüm recâ itmeğin, hılâf-ı ser'-ı serîf dahl ü rencide olunmamak emridüp buyurdum ki:

Vusûl buldukda, emrüm üzre husûs-ı mezbûra mukayyed olup husûs-ı mezbûr[d]a olan huccet-i ser'iyyeye nazar idüp göresin; bu bâbda olan huccet-i ser'iyye da'vâsına muvâfık ve mazmûnı muvâfık-ı ser'-ı serîf olup alâ-vechî'l-hasm sâbit olur ise mukarrer tutup mücebiyle amel idüp min-ba'd ser'-ı serîfe ve huccet-i ser'iyyeye ve kadîmden oligelene muhâlif bunların vech-i mesrûh üzre olan kenîse vü manastırlarına ve bâğ u bâğçe vü çiftlik ü tarla vü mer'âlarına harbî Efrenc ve çobân tâyifesin ve âhardan bir ferdi dahl ü ta'arruz itdürmeyüp mahsûline zarar u ziyân itdürmeyüp oligeldüğü üzre mezbûr Papa Yerasimo nâm râhibe zabt u tasarruf itdüresin. Anun gibi memnû'

here that those who oppose this decision be notified and reported. In both cases, the monks of the monastery reported the problems that they were encountered in the land where they were collecting taxes, and the state issued strong warnings to the qadis and other officials to maintain the order, demanding that the problem be resolved. The fact that the orders deal with the same subjects is also noteworthy in terms of seeing the continuity of the problem and the ways of solution.

In the 340th order, the *Sadaret Kaymakamı* Recep Pasha in Zistovi complained about the priests named Bob Sinto (?) and Bob Istamet (?), who were reported to have prevented the *hass* voivodes from collecting taxes such as *öşür* by provoking the *re'âyâ*. It was ordered that these priests o be sent to Istanbul and the janissaries named Mustafa, Kenan and Selim were ordered to be banned and expelled on the ground that they prevented the tax collection by these priest.¹⁹⁴ The matter in the 340th order was also the subject of the 353rd order. Hasan, the voivode of the aforementioned Recep Pasha, complained to the *Divan* the

olmayup emr-i serîfûme muhâlîf girü dahliderler ise ism ü resmleriyle yazup arzeyleyesin ki, sonradan haklarında ne vechile emr-i serîfûm sâdır olur ise mücebiyle amel oluna.

¹⁹⁴Sarinay, 208.

Bâ-hatt-ı hazret-i efendi.

() kâdisına hüküm ki:

"Düstûr-ı mükerrerem, müsîr-i mufahham, nizâmü'l-âlem bi'l-fi'l Sadâret-i Uzmâ Kâyimmakâmı olan Receb Pasa edâma'llâhü te'âlâ iclâlehünun Zistovi hâslarında sâkin Bob Sinto(?), Bob Istamet nâm ruhânlar serîr olmalarıyla her umûra müdâhale idüp müsârun-ileyhe âyid ü râci' olan a'sâr-ı ser'ıyye ve sâyir rüsûm-ı örfiyyeyi bu âna değın varan voyvodalar almağa mâni' olup ve sâyir re'âyâyı dahı tahrîk ü idlâl idüp ve karye-i mezbûre ve tevâbi'ı re'âyâsın yeniçeri tâyifesinden Ellibirinci Ağa Bölüğü'nde Voynuk Mustafâ ve Otuztokuzuncı Ağa Bölüğü'nde Ken'ân ve () Selîm nâm yeniçeriler dahı minvâl-i mesrûh üzere tahrîk ü idlâl idüp müsârun-ileyhün voyvodasının zabt u tasarrufına mâni' oldukları" i'lâm olunmağın, mezbûrân râhibler Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetüm'e ihzâr olunmak fermânım olup ve mezbûrân yeniçeriler dahı men' u def' olunmak bâbında iftihârul'emâcîd ve'l-ekârim Sekbânbası Kâsım dâme mecdühû tarafından mühürlü mektûb virilmeğın buyurdum ki:

Vusûl buldukda, bu bâbda sâdır olan emrüm üzere mezbûrân râhibleri yarar âdemlere kosup mu'accelen Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetüm'e gönderdükden sonra müsârun-ileyh tarafından virilen mektûb mücebince mezbûrân yeniçerileri dahı men' u def' idüp min-ba'd müsârun-ileyhün re'âyâsına ve mahsûli ve voyvodası umûrına karışdurmayup memnû' olmazlar ise müsârun-ileyh tarafından virilen mektûb mücebince amel eylesin.

mentioned priests for provoking the *re'âyâ* and damaging his crops. The qadi of Zıstovi was ordered to send the people in question to Istanbul immediately with a bailiff.¹⁹⁵

The 298th order of the 93rd *Mühimme defter* (1658-80) is about the debt of Pavlov from the metropolitan named Ustlusto. However, this is not a simple case of debt and credit. The molla of Konya and the qadis of the neighboring districts were ordered by the sultan's order to collect the debt, and if he opposes or fails to make the payment, the metropolitan was ordered to be brought to Istanbul by his dhimmi *kefils*.¹⁹⁶ The 331st order of the same *defter* is the decision of the complaint made by the priest Papa İstefan about some people demanding money from him when he owed anything to anyone. Some dhimmis from the inhabitants of Chios took 1,700 *kuruş* from him by perjury and committed cruelty and mischief. If the debt cannot be collected, it is ordered that he be dispatched to Istanbul.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵Sarınay, 216.

Bâ-hatt-ı hazret-i efendi.

Zistovi kâdisına hüküm ki:

Kazâ-i mezbûrda vâkı' düstûr-ı mükerrerem, müsîr-i mufahham, nizâmü'l-âlem Sadâret-i Uzmâ Kâyim-makâmı olan Vezîrüm Receb Pasa edâma'llâhü te'âlâ iclâlehûnun Zistovi ve tevâbi'ı Hâsları Voyvodası olan Hasan Südde-i Sa'âdetüme arz-ı hâl idüp; "havâss-ı mezbûre re'âyâlarından Bob Sinto(?), Bob İstamet nâm zimmîler papaslar kendü hâllerinde olmayup serîr ü gammâz olduklarından mâ'adâ re'âyâyı tahrik ü ıdlâl itmeleriyle müsârun-ileyhün mahsûline zara[r] u noksân terettüb eylediğin" bildürüp mezbûrlar Dîvân-ı Hümâyûnum'a ihzâr olunmak bâbında emr-i serîfüm recâ eylediği ecilden, ihzâr olunmak emridüp buyurdum ki:

Vusûl buldukda, emrüm üzre mezbûrları mübâsir-i mezbûra kosup mu'accelen Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetüm'e gönderesin.

¹⁹⁶ Çelebi, 166.

Konya Monlâsına ve Isparta ve [...] Kādılarına ve mütesellimlerine hüküm ki,

Pavlov nâm zimmî arz-ı hâl idüp hâlâ Konya ve Isparta metropolidi olan Uslusto nâm rahibden mikdâr-ı hakkı olmağla bundan akdem emr-i şerîfimle bir akça vakf-ı vekilin kondurup şer'le müteveccih olan hakkı taleb eyledikde... sülûk idüp vermekde ta'allül ü inâd eylediğin bildirüp bu def'a dahi vermeyüp gaybed ider ise vekili olan Menkovale ve Yani nâm zimmîlere buldurdup Âsitâne-i sa'âdetime ihzâr olunmak bâbında emr-i şerîfim verilmek recâ etmeğin inâd ider ise şer'le buldurması lâzım olanlara buldurdup Âsitâne-i sa'âdete ihzâr olunmak için şurûtuyla emr-i şerîf yazılmışdır.

Fî Şevvâl 70

¹⁹⁷ Çelebi, 181.

The clergmen and monks are expected to avoid overt illegal practices and based their strategy on the already recognized status of their properties and on the preservation of tax privileges related to these or other properties. However, violations of the order and commitments of offences are also found in the *defters*. For example, in the 255th order of the 2nd *Şikâyet Defter* dated 1654, the inhabitants of Aydos made a petition and complained about the priest who had been living here for several years, but he had been committing violence and mischief (*şirret ve şekâvet üzre olup nice fesâdâtı zuhûr etdiğinden*). The priest spied on for the infidel ships coming to the strait and committed the offense of exporting grain¹⁹⁸ to the ‘infidels’ (*Boğaz’a kâfir gemileri geldikde casusluk idüp küffâra zahîre verdiği şer‘an sâbit olup hüccet-i şer‘iyye verilmişiken*). Although his offenses were recorded, the inhabitants were constantly oppressed by the priest, and they even reported that they almost had to leave their neighborhood because of him (*mezbûr memnû‘ olmayup dâimâ bunları rencîde ve remîde eylemekden hâlî olmamağla mezbûrun şerrinden âciz kalıp terk-i tekâsül etmeleri mukarrer olduğun*). In the order written to the qadi, it was ordered that if the priest, whose guilt was clear, escaped, he should be found wherever he was and his case be handled in his place,

Sakız muhâfızı olan vezîr, ve Sakız Kādısına hükm [ki]

Ruhban tâ‘ifesinden Papa İstefan nâm râhib sütte-i sa‘âdetime arz-ı hâl idüp mezbû kendü halinde olup hilâf-ı şer‘-i şerîf kimesneye zulm u te‘addî ve şer‘an üzerine nesne sâbit ü zâhir olmuş değil iken mahrûse-i Sakız sâkinlerinden Papa Hristo‘yu ve Papa İstefan ve Anton Yorşoşo‘yu ve [...] ve [...] nâm zimmîler zûr şâhid olmağla hilâf-ı şer‘-i şerîf bunun bin yedi yüz gurusu alup ziyâde zulm u te‘addî ve fesâd eylediklerin bildirüp mahallinde ve huzûrunda alınan gurusu aliverilüp ta‘allül eder ise Âsitâne-i sa‘âdetime ihzâr olunmak için hükm yazılmışdır.

Fî Evâhir-i Z. 70

¹⁹⁸ From the 16th century onwards, the Ottoman Empire banned the export of certain substances. Wheat had an important place among these materials. However, despite the prohibitions and measures taken, grain smuggling continued until the mid-19th century. For detailed information see Zeki Arıkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda İhracı Yasak Mallar (Memnu Mallar)”, *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu’na Armağan*, (İstanbul: 1991): 279-306.

and if it was not possible, he be brought to Istanbul.¹⁹⁹ It is not surprising that the state took into account the people's complaints and took action, but the threat of tax loss and disruption of order that may occur as a result of the displacement of the inhabitants should not be overlooked as it was used by the *re'âyâ* probably facilitate the process. Another similar order is number 670 in the 75th *Mühimme defter* (1602). In the petition submitted here, it was reported that some priests and dhimmis secretly gave wheat to the infidels (*ba'zı rahibler ve zimmiler harbi kefereye hafıyyeten bûğday verüb*), smuggled those who opposed this to infidel ships (*ayak iden külları kâfir gemilerine virüb kaçırub*), spied on them and imprisoned those who converted to Islam in their churches (*harbi kefereye casusluk idüb ve zimmilerden İslâma gelenleri sen Müslümân oldun deyû tutub kiliselerinde haps idüb*). In the decree written to the qadi of Antakya, it was ordered that the matter be inspected closely and if it is as it was presented, to record the names and descriptions (*bu makûle fesâd ve hıyânet idenleri isim ve resimleriyle yazub ve sicil itdirüb*) of the offenders.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ ... *kâdısına hüküm ki*

Kazâ-i mezbûra tâbi' Aydos nâm karye ahalisi gelüp (...) nâm papas (...) cezâresinden gelüp birkaç seneden beri karye-i mezbûrede sâkin olup lakin mezbûr kendü hâlinde olmayup şirret ve şekâvet üzere olup nice fesâdâtı zuhûr etdiğinden mâ'adâ Boğaz'a kâfir gemileri geldikde casusluk idüp küffâra zahîre verdiği şer'an sâbit olup hüccet-i şer'ıyye verilmişiken mezbûr memnû' olmayup dâimâ bunları rencide ve remide eylemekden hâlî olmamağla mezbûrun şerrinden âciz kalıp terk-i tekâsül etmeleri mukarrer olduğun ve bu bâbda ellerinde hüccet-i şer'ıyyeleri olduğun bildürüp hükm-i hümayûnum ricâ etmeğın mahallinde ahvâlî ve töhmeti suâl oluna firâr eder ise her kande ise ve her ne mahalde bulunur ise ahz olunup mahallinde görülmek mümkün değil ise Asitâne-i sa'âdetime ihzâr olunmak bâbında emr-i şerîf yazılmışdır.

Fî evâsıt-ı M sene 63

²⁰⁰ Keleş, 265-266.

Mektûbi Antakya kâdısına hüküm ki:

Ol taraftan dergâh-ı mu'allâma arz-ı hâl sunulub ba'zı rahibler ve zimmiler harbi kefereye hafıyyeten bûğday verüb ve ayak iden külları kâfir gemilerine virüb kaçırub ve harbi kefereye casusluk idüb ve zimmilerden islâma gelenleri sen Müslümân oldun deyû tutub kiliselerinde haps idüb hıyânet eyledüklerin bildirdikleri ecilden buyurdum ki:

Varduk da bu husûsa bi'z-zât onat mukayyed olub göresin arz olunduğu gibi ise bu makûle fesâd ve hıyânet idenleri isim ve resimleriyle yazub ve sicil itdirüb vukû üzere arz eylesin ki hâkklarından

Privileges granted to church members included *maktu* method of payment and/or the non-payment of the *avarız* (cash levies), tithes, or the *tekâlîf-i şâkka*.²⁰¹ The 331st order of the 99th *mühimme defter* (1688-1689) is interesting and important for analysing state-church relations in the context of Jerusalem the context to *tekalif-i şakka*. The *mutasarrıf* and qadi of Jerusalem sanjak were informed that the patriarch of Jerusalem and all of his flock were exempt from the *takalif-i şakka* since the conquest of Selim I and those responsible for attempting to collect this tax were banned in this order. Nevertheless, Salih Pasha, the pasha of Jerusalem, did not comply with this and tried to collect the tax and persecuted those who did not pay it. Although he was dismissed in 1688, those who succeeded him continued to collect this tax by claiming that it was old custom. This issue was emphasized and ordered to be prevented.²⁰²

geline amma bu bahâne ile reâyâ'dan celb u ahz olmak ve hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf ve gârez ve ta'assub ile kimesneye zulm olmakdan begâyet hazer eyleyesin.

²⁰¹ For examples of privileges see *Şikâyet Defter* 4/312, *Mühimme Defter* 96/187, 99/330, 99/331, 100/467.

²⁰² Tan, 40-41.

Ber vech-i Arpalık Kudus-i şerîf sancağına mutasarrıf olan (...) dâme ikbâluhûya ve Kudus-i şerîf kâdîsına Hüküm ki

Kudus-i şerîfde sakin Rum patriği ve Rum ruhban fukarâsıyla Kudus-i şerîf dâhilinde olan harâc-gûzar Rum re'âyâsı milletinin Cenâb-ı Rasûl-i Ekrem sallallâhu aleyhi ve sellem hazretlerinin ve cenâb-ı Ömer bin El-Hattâb radıyallâhu anh hazretlerinin nihân-ı zaman-ı se'âdetlerinde virilen mu'âf-nâme-i şerîf mucibince ruhban neferâtı ve Kudus-i şerîf dâhilinde olan ra'âyâ fukarâsı cümle tekâlîf-i şâkkadan mu'âf olub ve selâtîn-i mâzîyede dahi mu'âf-ı tammeleri olduğundan mâ-'adâ merhûm ve mağfurun leh ceddim Sultan Selim Han tâbe serâhu Mısır ve Kudus-i Şerîf feth eyledükde minvâl-i meşrûh üzre mu'âf-ı tamm virilüb ol zamandan беру imdâd-ı 'izâmdan her birinin zamanında Kudus-i şerîf Paşaları ve kadıları tekâlîf-i şâkka ile mudâhale eyledikçe yedlerinde olan ahidname-i şerîfe ile men' olunub âsûde hâl iken Salih Paşa Kudus-i şerîf Paşası olmağla yedlerinde olan temessukâta amel itmeyüb zulmen tekâlîf-i şâkka (...) namıyla yedi seneden беру akçelerin alub ta'addi etmekle iki üç def'a i'lâm-ı hâl eyledüklerinde men'i i.ün kat'i evâmîr-i şerîfe virilüb götürüb ibrâz eyledüklerinde amel eylemeyüb zulmünü ziyâde idüb tekrar bin doksan dokuz senesinde kat'i emr-i şerîf virilüb ve ünvanına hatt-ı humâyûn (...) sâdır olub ve hâlen Salih Paşa azl olunub lâkin bundan sonra Kudus-i Şerîf sancağına mutasarrıf olanlar mücerred Salih Paşa'nın tekâlîfi şâkka namıyla zulmen aldığı akçeyi adettir deyu fukarâdan taleb ve rencide olunmak ihtimâli olduğun bildirüb yedlerine virilen hatt-ı humâyûn-ı se'âdet makrûnumla mukaddemâ emr-i şerîfî mahalline g.türdüklerinde kayd u icrâ ve fukarâya zulm ve ta'addisinden tahlis olunmak bâbında hukm-i humâyûn reca eyledükleri ecilden ellerinde olan temessukât-ı ma'mûlun bihâya muğâyir Kudus-i Şerîf sancağına mutasarrıf olanlar ve kadılar hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf tekâlîf-i şâkka mutâlebesiyle rencide ve remîde eylemeyeler memnû' olmayub sen ki mîri mîrân-ı

In the 81st order of Şikâyet Defter no. 6, the priests and the people of some regions and villages of Larissa sent their petitions through an agent. While they were paying the *avarız* and other taxes for which they were responsible without any problems according to their tax status as *a'lâ and evsât ve ednâ*, the *beylerbeyi* demanded heavier taxes and other items such as caftans. The order was written to Larissa and Urmiye qadis to stop these offenses in violation of the sharia and the law.²⁰³ The 1021st order of the 8th *Şikâyet Defter* (1673) was similar to the one above. Also in this order sent to the qadi of Jerusalem, the monks of the monastery who collected alms were unjustly harrassed by the *beylerbeyi* and qadi of Jerusalem with the demand of *takâlîf-i şakka* without any order or decision. In the priest's petition, he stated that they had been taxed by the *beylerbeği* and qadi of Jerusalem for several years, with types of taxes such as based on the orders given to them by the sharia and law, and that they had even been charged with debts for the *çuka*, *kumaş*, and goods in their possession, with new types of taxes such as *imdâd* and *hırfet*.²⁰⁴ The order was sent to the qadi of Jerusalem that they should not be further

mûmâ ileyhsin sâbıkan Kudus-i şerîf sancağına mutasarrıf olanlar zulmen ve bi-ğayri hakk akçelerin alub (...) deyu ânın zulmünü mu'tâd i'tibâr idüib mukaddemâ ve hâlen virilen evâmîr-i şerîfeye muğâyir hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf tekâlîf-i şakka ile ta'zîb ve tecâvûze cesaret idenlerisen ki Mevlânâ-yı mûmâ ileyhsin der-i devlet-i medârıma arz eylemeniz babında ferman-ı alışanım sadır olmuşdur deyu yazılmışdır.

Fî evâhiri Ca sene 1101

²⁰³ *Yenişehir-i Fener kâdîsına ve Armiye kâdîsına hüküm ki*

Armiye kazâsına tâbi' Mitrâliye ve Kodolovîn (?) nâm manastır rahibleri ile Sabun ve Çotovirez ve Kodolor ve Perertam ve Aryani (?) nâmûn karyeler ahalileri arz-ı hâl ve âdem gönderüp bunlar üzerlerine edâsı lâzım gelen avâriz vesâir emr-i şerîfimle vâkı' olan tekâlîfi a'lâ ve evsât ve ednâ i'tibârıyla tahammüllerine göre edâ edip ve kusurları olmayıp âhardan rencide olunmak lâzım gelmez iken hâliyâ Azdîn ahalisi üzerlerine mîrmîrân tarafından birer emr-i şerîf nakl bahâ ve kaftan bahâ vesâir tekâlîf-i şakka teklîf olundukda mezbûrlar bizim ile ma'an verin diyü hilâf-ı şer' ve kânûn rencide etmeğle men'iyçün hükm yazılmışdır.

Fî evâhir-i N sene 77

²⁰⁴ *Kudüs-i şerîf kâdîsına hüküm ki*

Kazâ-i mezbûrda vâkı' (...) nâm manastır rahibleri geliip bunlar Manastır-ı mezbûrda sâkin sadakât-ı nâss ile gitmeyüp hilâf-ı kânûn ve bilâ emr-i hümayûn tekâlîf-i şakka talebiyle dahl ve

oppressed and that a decision should be made without violating the law and sharia, and the old traditions.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to compile the orders under which the Church or its members are subject to direct or indirect taxation. The reaction of the administration to the problems experienced by church members, who were sometimes involved as subjects and sometimes as objects, was shaped by the concerns of maintaining order and ensuring the continuity of taxes. On the other hand, the church and its members are concerned not only about the loss of their sources of income, but also about the preservation and expansion of their privileges. Some rights and privileges are necessary for the maintenance of order in society and the laws have been bent for them for the same reason in some cases to collect taxes properly. The secure collection of taxes from the provinces was, as has often been mentioned, the primary concern of both Church and State. Therefore, there was a mutual relationship and important cooperation between the two as far as tax matters were concerned.

3.2. Monastic and Church *Vakfs* from the Perspective of the State

The *Atik Şikâyet defters* and *Mühimme defters* contain also documents involving the bilateral nature of the relations of the monastic and Church *vakfs* and with both central and local Ottoman authorities. Of course, these can be used to draw conclusions about the relationship of both the state and these *vakfs* to the local population, but also to the patriarch. Firstly, this study aims to show the structure of

rencide olunmak lâzım gelmez iken birkaç seneden berü Kudüs-i şerîf beğlerbeğisi ve kâdisi olanlar hilâf-ı şer' ve kânûn ve bilâ emr-i hümayûn imdâd ve hırfet nâmıyla küllî akçelerin aldıklarından gayrı çuka ve kumaş dahi teklîf ve celb-i mâl için elinizde olan hüccet ve temessükâtların imzâ etdirin diyü rencide etmekden hâlî olmadığın bildirüp hilâf-ı şer' ve kânûn ve olıgelmişe mugâyir rencide olunmamak hükm yazılmışdır.

Fî evâhir-i L sene 83

these *vakfs* and their interactions with the state with pieces of petitions from these archival sources. I will discuss primarily the economic functions of the said *vakfs*. The petitions of the Muslims, non-Muslims, and patriarchs in the 17th century from these *defters* show some of the disputes that arise in the *vakfs*. In view of the abundance of examples of these institutions in the *defters*, they have a decisive role in the understanding of the relationship between the State and the Church.

In the history of both the Empire and the Church, the foundations were one of the most important institutions. There is a vast literature especially on Ottoman Muslim *vakfs*. However, studies on non-Muslim *vakfs* are scarce. Many scholars have focused on the legal and socio-economic aspects of the establishment of *vakfs* by Greek Orthodox subjects. Most of the studies about *vakfs* are either on the theoretical-legal conditions governing their establishment and functions of them or on their political, social, and economic structures.²⁰⁵ The donations to *vakfs* of monasteries and churches were not only a reflection of the donors' religiosity but were also a reflection of the economic interests of both the donors and the beneficiaries, i.e. church members such as monks, bishops, and priests. What kind of problems these economic interests cause, what socio-economic effects they have, and how they are reflected in the documents are the questions that this chapter tries to answer.

As emphasized in each chapter of this research, relations, institutions, and structures should be evaluated according to their historical contexts. Therefore,

²⁰⁵ Eugenia Kermeli, "Ebu's-Suud's Definition of Church Vakfs: Theory and Practice in Ottoman Law" in *Islamic Law Theory and Practice*, R. Gleave, E. Kermeli (eds.), (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997): 141.

especially when it comes to non-Muslim *vakfs*, adopting a general and descriptive approach to *vakfs* can cause several misleading approaches.

Among the non-Muslim *vakfs*, monastic *vakfs* are the most common. Even before the conquest, endowments for monastic *vakfs* were common in the Balkans. During the Byzantine period, the monasteries were among the most powerful landowners in the region.²⁰⁶ The monasteries became centers of flourishing economic activity during the Byzantine period and even more so during the Ottoman period. On the other hand, from the beginning of the spread of monastic life in the Mediterranean basin, the status and privileges of the properties owned by monastic communities were a matter of dispute between monasteries and local and central authorities.²⁰⁷

As might be expected, each monastery should be analyzed according to its own particular characteristics, and often in comparison with the other monasteries in the same period and region. According to John C. Alexander, each monastery as an institution has its manager (*hegoumenos, prohegoumenos*), its governing board of partners (elders: *synaxis geronton*), its programming manager (*oikonomos*), its other partners (monks and priest-monks, *monachi, hieromonachoi*), its lay employees and their dependents, as well as its satellite holdings (subsidiaries of branches variously called *sketae, kellia or metochia*) scattered at various distances from the center in rural areas and towns and cities.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Kermeli, 142.

²⁰⁷ Kermeli, 141-142.

²⁰⁸ John C. Alexander, "The Turkish Documents of the Orthodox Christian Monasteries as Sources for the Study of the Ottoman Period in Greece ." Essay in *Balkanlar ve İtalya'da Şehir ve Manastır Arşivlerindeki Türkçe Belgeler Semineri: 16-17 Kasım 2000*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003): 3.

Monasteries comprised a complex organization of production and distribution. They were prominent institutions in the local economy producing agricultural goods. They were governed by a constitution or by a set of internal rules and regulations. The monasteries, like other institutions, were intended to be self-sufficient entities. They evolved from economic self-sufficiency to growing enterprises thanks to their agricultural surpluses.²⁰⁹ Participating in the market led to increased agricultural innovation, and monastic agricultural prosperity created more opportunities for local employment. As the importance and visibility of the local monastery increased as a result of its participation in the market, its benefactors were increasingly willing to donate to it for spiritual concern. With the expansion of their property holdings, monasteries began to operate more explicitly as agricultural enterprises.²¹⁰ Hence, the survival and growth of every monastic *vakf* depended on profit. One of the aims of this study is to shed light on the nature of the monastic enterprise. The survival and growth of each monastic community and its constituent sub-units were all the more profitable as they were unable to receive material support from the state and had to rely in part on benefactors of varying personal circumstances within and, increasingly, beyond the immediate borders of the empire.²¹¹ Moreover, Zachariadou explains that the donation of property to monasteries at the time of the conquest and afterward was more than an act of

²⁰⁹ Robert B. Ekelund, *Sacred Trust the Medieval Church as an Economic Firm*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996)42-43.

²¹⁰ Ekelund, 43.

²¹¹ Alexander, 4.

devotion; it was a means of securing this property by placing it under the protection of the monastery, which had a relationship with the would-be the Church.²¹²

In the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, Orthodox monasteries aimed to achieve economic security through the acquisition of landed property to get through turbulent times.²¹³ Churches and monasteries maintained their existence by cultivating the land, by donations from pious people of all classes, or by bequests left in wills. The large sources of income they obtained in this way increased their power.

There are outstanding centers of monastic life the Balkan region such as the Mount Athos, the rock monasteries of Meteora, the monasteries of Kykkos, Petritsoni monastery, Dečani, and Mileševa, and those in the Ottoman vassal principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, to name but few.²¹⁴ Monasteries were secure and often fortified institutions in rural areas. Perhaps more importantly, they took part in organizing their Orthodox subjects' religious life and agricultural production.²¹⁵

In particular, the monasteries of Mount Athos were social, financial, and cultural institutions in the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. They were rooted in the rural economy where they drew their sustenance in both periods. According to Kolovos, through successful negotiations for their protection, the rural estates of the

²¹² Zachariadou, "Some Remarks about Dedications to Monasteries in the Late 14th Century." Essay in *Ho Athos Stous 14o-15o Aiones: Mount Athos in the 14th-15th Centuries*. (Athena: Ethniko Hidryma Ereunon, Inst. Byzantinon Ereunon, 1997): 27-31.

²¹³ Sophia Laiou, "Diverging Realities of a Christian Vakıf, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries", *Turkish Historical Review*, v.3, (2012): 4.

²¹⁴ Avramov Rumen Lûbenov, Fotić Aleksandar, and Elias Kolovos, *Monastic Economy across Time: Wealth Management, Patterns, and Trends* (Centre for Advanced Study, 2021): 9-10.

²¹⁵ Elias Kolovos, "Christian Vakıfs of Monasteries in the Ottoman Greek Lands from the Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries", in Sabine Mohasseb Saliba (ed.), *Les fondations pieuses Waqfs chez les chretiens et les juifs* (Paris, 2016): 103.

Athonite monasteries were held as *çiftliks* in the empire throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. During and even before the time of the Ottoman expansion, the monasteries had already submitted to the authority of the Ottoman state in exchange for protection. On the other hand, the granting of such protection to the monasteries was a powerful legitimization policy for the state vis-à-vis the Orthodox subjects.²¹⁶ Actually it was a way to continue taxes on agricultural produce since monastic lands were ever expanding instead of diminishing through inheritance.

When Murad II conquered Thessaloniki in 1430, the Athonite monks presented themselves and asked for the documents issued by the previous sultans, Beyazid I and Mehmed I, regarding their status to be confirmed. He issued an edict detailing the status and especially the tax exemptions that the Athonite monasteries had already obtained from the sultans in the previous century.²¹⁷ No one from outside the monastic community was allowed to enter Mount Athos or its rural lands without the permission of the sultan or the monks. Their rural lands had the status of *vakfs* and *mülks* and were exempt from taxation. The *kadıs* and *subaşı*s were not allowed to collect taxes from them and the *haraç* (as land tribute) collectors were not allowed to collect taxes from them. They were also exempted from extraordinary taxes. Lastly, they were free to ship the products of their estates to Mount Athos.²¹⁸ However, after the census (*tahrir*) ordered by Murad probably in 1432-33, both Mount Athos and its rural estates had lost, at least in part, their previous status. As part of a general policy of centralization pursued by Murad II,

²¹⁶ Kolovos, "Negotiating for State Protection: Çiftlik-Holding by the Athonite Monasteries (Xeropotamou Monastery, Fifteenth-Sixteenth c.)." *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, (2005): 197-198.

²¹⁷ Kolovos, *Ibid.*, 199.

²¹⁸ Kolovos, "The Monks and the Sultan outside the Newly Conquered Ottoman Salonica in 1430". Republished with corrections and additions from the *Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 40 (December 2013) [= *Deftology. Festschrift in Honor of Heath Lowry*], : 271-279.

the full imposition of the *tımar* system for the distribution of tax revenues from this area in the Thessaloniki region abolished its tax exemption. The tax revenues of the peninsula of Mount Athos were reserved for the sultan. However, it appears that the monks had negotiated the payment of their poll tax in the form of a lump sum, at the same level for all monasteries there. The *berâts* of successive sultans up to Selim II confirmed this special status. Monks also continued to be exempt from paying extraordinary taxes.²¹⁹

The monasteries also had to start paying taxes on their rural properties in the region they continued to own as farms according to the registers. They continued to enjoy state protection for their rural estates during this period, even though they had lost their full tax-exempt status and the tax revenues from their dependent peasants. According to a *berât* of Beyazid II, dated 1495, which was renewed earlier by Mehmed II and Murad II, the monks of Mount Athos could have the usufruct (*tasarruf*) their churches, houses, mills, and fields in the districts of Serres and Thessaloniki, as long as they did not abandon them, regularly registered them in the *defters*, and did not change their building structure and established functions.²²⁰ No one had the right to deprive them of any of their properties. The officials of the state were ordered to protect the legal rights of the monks in any case. They were also not allowed to oppress them (*rencide, zulm* and *taaddi*) by contradicting sultan's legislation (*kanun*) and customary practice (*adet, kadimden beri*).²²¹

²¹⁹ Kolovos, "Negotiating for State Protection: Çiftlik-Holding by the Athonite Monasteries (Xeropotamou Monastery, Fifteenth-Sixteenth c.)." : 199. See, Zachariadou, "Ottoman Documents from Archives of Dionysiou (Mount Athos) 1495-1520." Essay. In *Romania and the Turks, c.1300-c.1500*. (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985): 1-35.

²²⁰ Kolovos, *Ibid.*, 200. See these *berâts*, Zachariadou, *Ibid.*, 4-7.

²²¹ Kolovos, *Ibid.*

After the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, and in some cases, even before, sought to maintain the status of their institutions and properties. Research has shown that the monasteries, in general, have survived, and in some cases further flourished under Muslim rule. Several monasteries were able to receive various prerogatives from the sultans during the transition from Byzantine to Ottoman rule. These monasteries were usually the most prestigious Orthodox *vakfs* in the Balkans. The state pursued a pragmatic policy of protecting selected religious institutions of its Orthodox Christian subjects. We must also remember that monasteries were major taxpayers. Zachariadou stated that monks seemed to be left undisturbed and untaxed for a temporary period after the hostilities. In addition, their requests were mostly accepted and implemented by the administration, which protected the monks and granted privileges to monasteries and monastic properties. These privileges are mentioned in the early years of the empire in official documents in both Greek and Turkish.²²² Moreover, Wittek and Lemerle argued that the empire respected the practices of monasteries and granted them the privileges and exemptions they enjoyed under Byzantium.²²³ Therefore, the state was able to increase its prestige for the Orthodox Christian *re'âyâ* with the privileges while adhering to the principles of its own religion.

Fotić stated that the term *vakf* was used to refer to each and every *vakf*, regardless of whether the founder was Muslim or non-Muslim.²²⁴ In addition, according to Akgündüz, a Christian could bequeath his property to churches or

²²² Zachariadou, "Monks and Sailors under the Ottoman Sultans". *Oriente Moderno* 20 (81), no. 1 (2001): 140.

²²³ Kermeli, 143. See, P. Wittek and P. Lemerle, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Status des Monastères Athonites sous la Domination Turque*, *Archives d'histoire du Droit Oriental* 3 (1947): 428.

²²⁴ Aleksandar Fotić, "The Official Explanations for The Confiscation and Sale of Monasteries (Churches) and Their Estates at the Time of Selim II", *Turcica*, vol. XXVI, (1994): 43.

monasteries. S/he could even endow his/her property for the public good and for other purposes that, according to Islam, were considered to be for the pleasing of God.²²⁵ However, Abraham Marcus asserted that the fact that non-Muslims approached the issue of helping the poor in a different way and established *vakfs* for them is related to the tight community organization of these groups dating back to the past as well as the sense of insecurity they experienced as a minority. For they had learned from their experiences that converting to Islam, which was a threat to their communities, affected the poor who wanted to be free from tax obligations and their dhimmi status.²²⁶ Van Leeuwen also suggested that the restrictions on the establishment of Christian *vakfs* in the empire may have been intended to prevent the Church and its members from gaining an independent, solid and financial basis as an institution.²²⁷ However, not here is no restriction only a legal problem of organisation solved by Ebussuud.

In the transition period, monasteries also showed a strong tendency to rationalize their landholdings and were deeply involved in the economy as landowners.²²⁸ Although they did not continue their role as landowners during the Ottoman period, they held an abundance of land in the region and provided the area with economic stability.²²⁹ They had managed to maintain their rural estates and endowments (*mülks*, *vakfs*), and some of them even expanded during the Ottoman

²²⁵ Ahmed Akgündüz, *İslam Hukukunda ve İslam Tatbikatında Vakıf Müessesesi*. (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1996): 48-55.

²²⁶ Abraham Marcus, *Middle East on the eve of modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*. (New York N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1989)

²²⁷ Kermeli, 144. See, Richard van Leeuwen, *Notables and clergy in Mount Lebanon: The khāzin sheikhs and the Maronite Church, 1736-1840*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994): 30.

²²⁸ Angeliki E. Laiou and Cécile Morrisson. *The Byzantine Economy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 173-175.

²²⁹ Kostis Smyrlis, Monasteries, Society, Economy, and the State in the Byzantine Empire, in *The Oxford Handbook of Christian Monasticism*, ed. B. M. Kaczynski (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020): 155–157.

period. It is known from Greek documents that the Athonite monasteries had collected taxes from their dependent peasants in previous years, in accordance with Ottoman fiscal practice, after the restoration of Byzantine rule around Thessaloniki (1403).²³⁰ It seems that the monasteries collected a tax called *harâç* from the peasants. One-third of this tax went to the state. This can be identified with the poll tax (*cizye*) that non-Muslims had to pay to the state. The two-thirds of this tax probably corresponded to the *resm-i çift* that the peasants had to pay to their landowners, in this case the monasteries. The monasteries also collected tithes (*öşür*) from the farmers and a tax called *kephalatikion* (*salariae*), which the former in turn paid to the state.²³¹

The monasteries assumed the role of representatives of the dhimmi communities within their jurisdiction as intermediaries between them and the state. They were instrumental for the Church and the State by playing an ecclesiastical and political role in their communities.²³²

Property rights were at the heart of the relationship between the monasteries and the state. After the conquest, the properties of the Church and its monasteries, although their state was in a gray area, were gradually integrated into the legal and administrative framework of the Muslim *vakfs*, with the protection and tax benefits that come with it.²³³ After the protection of the monasteries and the churches, it seems that the state was not so much concerned with or not able to control the development of a strict legal definition of the status of monastic property or Church

²³⁰ Kolovos, *Negotiating for State Protection: Çiftlik-Holding by the Athonite Monasteries*, 198.

²³¹ Kolovos, *Ibid.*

²³² Laiou, 5.

²³³ *Monastic Economy across Time: Wealth Management, Patterns, and Trends*, 12.

property.²³⁴ However, obtaining the status of freehold or *vakf* for the landed property and achieving a similar status for the previously acquired property were the main goals of the monks' policies. At the time when in the absence of a political environment where property rights were guaranteed in the empire, the status of *vakfs* served as the safest way to ensure the inalienability of property for the Church.²³⁵ According to Islamic law, there are two basic prerequisites to achieve that. The first is that the property to be endowed must have the status of freehold property. The second is that making endowments must have charitable motives and be in favor of individuals in need. Endowments in favor of religious *vakfs* such as churches and monasteries are not accepted by the law as the legal personality is not recognized.²³⁶ However, the establishment of *vakfs* for the benefit of churches or monasteries depended on the authorization of the central or local rulers and this was possible in practice unless it was countered by the *ulema*.

One of the most important legal issues that the higher *ulema* experienced in the 16th century was the status of the non-Muslim *vakfs*. Until the second half of the 16th century, the legal background to this issue was quite complex. Fotić notes that the financial support of churches, monasteries, and the entire Church organization and their *vakfs* in the empire have been an area of research that is still inadequately explored. For him, the main reason for this state of research is the fact that this issue is caught between the autonomous laws of the Church and the Sharia. The boundaries of this subject were blurred by the application of pre-Ottoman traditions and the new legal regulations, as well as by the attempt to adapt to the completely

²³⁴ Kolovos, *Christian Vakıfs of Monasteries in the Ottoman Greek Lands from the Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, 104.

²³⁵ Laiou, 4.

²³⁶ Akgündüz, 239-240.

different new living conditions in the empire.²³⁷ The existence of a number of church *vakfs* between the beginning of the 17th and the end of the 18th century may raise the question of these implementation of law in these matters. The answer may be the Byzantine legal traditions that were still in force at the time. In some cases, donations to monasteries continued the Byzantine tradition.²³⁸ Elias Kolovos also conceptualizes this dual legal situation in the context of ecclesiastical and monastic *vakfs* by using the concept of "hybrid".²³⁹ The *vakfs* were important for an understanding of the combination of church law and practice with the rules established by Islamic law.

Apart from non-Muslim subjects, there was uncertainty and even resistance to priests and monks dedicating *vakfs* for monasteries and churches. For this reason, during the reign of Selim II (1566-1574), many monastic foundations in Rumelia were confiscated and subsequently sold to generate revenue for the treasury and financial stability assurance.²⁴⁰ Orthodox monasticism was hit hardest by the "Confiscation Crisis (1567-1571)".²⁴¹ During this period, in order to redefine the legal basis for the retention of the monastic possessions on a continuous basis, the state asked the monasteries to repossess their properties. Lacking the large sums needed to re-purchase their properties, many of the monasteries had to borrow loans, which they repaid for the upcoming decades. The smaller and poorer

²³⁷ Aleksandar Fotić, "Concealed Donation or a Sale: The Acquisition of Monastic Property (15th – 17th C.)", 721.

²³⁸ Laiou, 14.

²³⁹ Kolovos, *Christian Vakıfs of Monasteries in the Ottoman Greek Lands from the Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, 116.

²⁴⁰ Aleksandar Fotić, "The Official Explanations for the Confiscation and Sale of Monasteries (churches) and their Estates at the Time of Selim II," *Turcica* 24 (1994), 42-44.

²⁴¹ For the "confiscation crisis" detailly see Fotić (1994): 33-54; Alexander (1997): 149-200; Kermeli (2000): 39-53.

monasteries were mostly abandoned.²⁴² In the crisis, the monasteries and their monks renegotiated the status of their lands according to the general legal definition of state lands. It is possible to examine the role played by the individual monasteries in the local and regional power structures of their respective areas, both individually and collectively.

The grand mufti Ebussuud Efendi's argument was that monasteries and churches did not have *tapu*, i.e. certificates of ownership or possession for their lands, and they were not paying taxes for their lands, as such, they should be registered and taxed. Especially, the monks, like other taxpaying subjects, should had to start paying *tapu* in order to keep their land. For these reasons, he redefined the landholding status, whereby the state owned all lands in the empire, and all possessors should have licence (*tapu*). As a result of the redefinition, the newly adjudged "unlawful" monastery *vakfs* were repossessed, and the monasteries were obliged to repurchase their possessions with a *tapu*.²⁴³ The whole status of ecclesiastical and monastic lands throughout the empire was called into question in this re-definition process. This is because the monasteries were already in existence before the Ottoman conquest and were under the institutional control of the Church bishoprics rather than under the personal control of the monks.

The state granted the Orthodox monks the right to automatic succession to the monastic properties of deceased monks by the other members of a monastic community. With this arrangement, monastic foundations and other Church foundations were considered family foundations, and legal arrangements were made

²⁴² Monastic Economy across Time: Wealth Management, Patterns, and Trends, 11.

²⁴³ Colin Imber, *Ebussuud The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997):124-125.

accordingly. This arrangement protected monasteries and their *vakfs* from the intervention of local Ottoman officials.²⁴⁴ The incoming monks and other members of the community were considered the descendants of the deceased monks.²⁴⁵ Thus, the legal basis was created for the monks to keep their property, provided it was re-registered. In this way, he satisfied both the monks, through the regulation of their affairs, and the central government, through the generation of more revenues for the state treasury. Naturally, not all of the monastic *vakfs* were able to survive this turn of events. Despite the crisis, monks also re-established *vakfs* for their properties. These *vakfs* also included agricultural lands, which were now given the *tapu*.²⁴⁶ A glance at their building activities in the registers can be evidence of their prosperity.

The grand mufti recognized monasteries in terms of one of the existing appropriate categories, rather than creating a category of Church *vakfs*. Furthermore, in his opinion, the confiscation of the endowments was based on two principles. The first was that the Church was now endowed by using the land donated by the State. The second was that the monasteries' properties, i.e., buildings, monasteries, holy springs, vineyards, orchards, farms, fields, meadows, and animals, were donations.²⁴⁷ However, patriarchs were allowed to donate these and other properties to the church to protect their finances.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ Kermeli, "The confiscation and repossession of monastic properties in Mount Athos and Patmos Monasteries, 1568-1570", *Bulgarian Historical Review* 28/34. (2000): 39-53.

²⁴⁵ Kermeli, "Ebu's-Suud's Definition of Church Vakfs: Theory and Practice in Ottoman Law", 148-153.

²⁴⁶ Kolovos, *Christian Vakıfs of Monasteries in the Ottoman Greek Lands from the Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, 111-112.

²⁴⁷ Tellan, 135.

²⁴⁸ Tellan, 36. 1662 *berât*: *The said patriarch should have the same authority as all of the patriarchs in Constantinople according to their ancient berâts, and he should have the same jurisdiction as the patriarchs before him on churches, vineyards, fields, kışlak, panayır, manastır, ayazma, mills, and other things that have been dedicated to their church.* Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, 14.

The purpose of these regulations is the creation of a framework that is under the control of the state. However, the functioning of the *vakfs* was not smooth and did not necessarily follow the regulations suggested by Ebussuud Efendi. For example, the monasteries in the districts of Thessaloniki and Serres refused the status of *tapu*. In the negotiations in Istanbul, they used the threat of flight and the consequent loss of taxation as a bargaining chip. In the end, Selim II agreed to the exemption of their lands from the status of *tapu*, and in the registers, a special arrangement was made for them.²⁴⁹ These lands were held as *tapu*. However, they were *mîrî* and after 1569 all acquisitions were made under the *tapu*.

The negotiations between the monasteries and the Porte that were aimed at resolving the crisis are also worth mentioning. Two firmans illustrate this process. The first was sent to the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos in 1569 and initiated the repossession process. The second was the result of the final stage of the negotiations between the Porte and the monks of the Dionysiou monastery on Mount Athos in same year for all monasteries.²⁵⁰ Since copies of the firman initiating the process can be found in almost all monasteries, it seems that the order to confiscate all monastic property was a general one, at least in the Balkans. It is also clear that confiscating and repossessioning monastic property was not initiated at the same time.²⁵¹ In these firmans, the monks made a request to the Porte to avoid any interruption by local authorities in case of the death or departure of a monk. In accordance with the Islamic law of inheritance, in the event that no heir asserts their right to the deceased's possessions, said possessions would be transferred to the

²⁴⁹ Kolovos, *Negotiating for State Protection: Çiftlik-Holding by the Athonite Monasteries*, 201.

²⁵⁰ Eugenia Kermeli, "Central Administration Versus Provincial Arbitrary Governance. Patmos and Mount Athos Monasteries in the 16th Century." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32 (2): 2008: 192-193.

²⁵¹ Kermeli, 193. For the translation of firmans: 193-194.

treasury. In addition, the remaining monks within the monastery requested to be acknowledged as a collective entity. The sultan's replies reiterated the reasons for the confiscation to these requests, he granted the monks their requests. These firmans show us that both the state and the members of the church could capably negotiate with the state. At the end of this process, the property of the monasteries, excluding their lands, was repossessed, and turned into foundations for the benefit of monks, travelers, and the poor. They completed the confiscation process in qadi courts.²⁵²

The monasteries proceeded to the formal establishment of monastic foundations, including the buildings of their farms. For each monastery, foundation documents (*vakfiyes*) were drawn up between February and March 1569 by the qadi of Istanbul and Ebussuud himself.²⁵³ The monasteries underwent an important change during the establishment process because the Ottoman authorities took the monasteries under their protection and took the property of the monasteries and then sold it on to the same monasteries. The monasteries were forced to seek support not only from the Orthodox rulers, but also from anyone willing to lend a hand.²⁵⁴ Receiving contributions from the congregation was one way, and not a negligible one, of generating income for the *vakfs*. The great churches and monasteries, especially those on Mount Athos, regularly received donations from the Orthodox religious *re'âyâ*. These donations were mostly transferred by traveling monks on

²⁵² Kermeli, 194.

²⁵³ John C. Alexander (Alexandropoulos), "The Lord Giveth and the Lord Taken Away: Athos and the Confiscation Affair of 1568-1569," *Mount Athos in the 14th-16th Centuries*, (Athonika Symmeikta 4), Athens (I.B.E./E.I.E.) (1997): 162-169.

²⁵⁴ Aleksandar Fotić, "Athonite Travelling Monks and the Ottoman Authorities (16th-18th Centuries)", *Perspectives on Ottoman Studies*. Papers from the 18th Symposium of the International Committee of Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Studies (CIEPO) at the University of Zagreb 2008, eds. Ekrem Čaušević, Nenad Močanin, Vjeran Kursar, Berlin: LIT Verlag, (2010): 157.

their way to collect alms. The gifts consisted mainly of money, books, icons, more or less valuable liturgical objects of the church, and other objects. The monks probably sold grain and cattle that came to them from outlying regions. Whenever possible, they would also take such contributions with them to a monastery or to the nearby metochia organized as large *çiftlik*s. The monks themselves, especially the hegumens of the monasteries, were also donors.²⁵⁵ These donations could vary in size and production from a single building, a vineyard with its shed, to, especially among the Athonites, entire agricultural units like *çiftlik*s with a church and a tower. Each unit was at the service of, and theoretically accountable to, its headquarters, whether in kind.²⁵⁶

Another practice related to generate income for the *vakfs*, of a different nature and worthy of further explanation, was the widespread dhimmi practice of making a will to a monastery or church, which was not recognized by Islamic law. Gifts of money and other personal property did not need to be designated in any particular way. Moreover, the bequests of immovable property in the empire were subject to certain legal regulations. Moreover, the legal relationship between the Ottoman state and these entities was not bound by a written declaration of exclusion, as is more common in modern times.²⁵⁷

According to the Sharia, it was not permissible to make a bequest to the monastery itself as mentioned above. Donors were required to give their property to monks, novices, and servants of monasteries, provided that income from such

²⁵⁵ Aleksandar Fotić, *Concealed Donation or a Sale: The Acquisition of Monastic Property (15th – 17th C.)*, 721.

²⁵⁶ Alexander, *The Turkish Documents in Greece*, 4.

²⁵⁷ Ayşe Ozil, “Whose Property Is It? The State, Non-Muslim Communities, and the Question of Property Ownership from the Late Ottoman Empire through the Turkish Nation State.” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 6, no. 1 (2019): 215-216.

property is used to feed monks, pilgrims, and poor people. The bequest was considered revoked if this condition was not met. There was a certain imprecise restriction that was probably not observed in reality: Bequests were to be given only to poor monasteries and not to rich ones. However, the largest and richest monasteries received the largest bequests.²⁵⁸

We can assume that the main reason that led Orthodox subjects to make a will to monasteries was primarily for charity. Another factor was the possibility for wealthy donors to live in monasteries for a short or long period of time, or even for life. Thus, the security of the donor's properties was protected by these *vakfs* against problems that might arise both from their heirs and from the state. The main motive of the donors, both big and small, was undoubtedly the desire to join the ranks of the *ktetors*. They also wanted to be included in the monastery's memorial books and to be mentioned regularly during liturgical services. The person who donated his property to the monastic foundation would achieve it for the rest of his/her life in exchange for a small rent agreed upon with the monastery.²⁵⁹ The monasteries leased the cells, sometimes for a short time, sometimes for a longer period, and even for life. Rich donors could provide themselves with large cells inside or outside the monasteries, as well as with servants to take care of them in case of illness or infirmity, by means of valuable bequests. For these reasons, many donors from the hinterland became monks in their old age because they wanted a peaceful life and daily prayer.²⁶⁰ In other words, monasteries in the Balkans have devised new procedures to avoid bankruptcy, either by placing struggling houses under the

²⁵⁸ Fotić, Concealed Donation or a Sale: The Acquisition of Monastic Property (15th – 17th C.), 722.

²⁵⁹ Nuri Adıyeke, "XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Resmo (Girit) Manastır Vakıfları". *BELLETEREN* 79 (2015): 562-563.

²⁶⁰ Fotić, Concealed Donation or a Sale: The Acquisition of Monastic Property (15th – 17th C.), 723.

protection of lay elders or by turning them into subsidiaries of a more prosperous monastery.²⁶¹ However, many years after the endowment process, there were significant problems between the heirs of the property owners and the monastic *vakfs*.

Dhimmis could freely bequeath one third of their possessions, as was the case with Muslims. The rest of the property was divided among the heirs. If the bequest exceeded one-third of the total estate, the heirs had the right to contest it. However, dhimmis could bequeath more than one-third, even all of their property, if the heirs could come to an agreement, or if there were no heirs. Of course, only the property in full personal ownership could be bequeathed. The property included vineyards, gardens, orchards, mills, houses, stores, livestock, beehives, and other similar possessions, with the exception of arable land, meadows, and pastures.²⁶² Donations and bequests of state land were strictly prohibited, as it is known. However, Fotić states that fields and pastures could be given to monasteries for permanent use by assigning the rights of *tasarruf* to the monks of the monasteries.²⁶³ This was probably a privilege granted by the sultan, which allowed monks to use a piece of land together, with *tapu*, but without payment of *tapu resmi* after the death of a monk.²⁶⁴

The inheritances of the testators who willed their possessions to the Church were another point of contention in the petitions because if donation becomes a case of inheritance, i.e. if a dhimmi donates to the church and dies and his/her heirs

²⁶¹ Daniela Kalkandjieva, "Monasticism in Bulgaria." *In Monasticism in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Republics*, edited by I. A. Murzahu, (New York: Routledge, 2016): 10-12.

²⁶² Fotić, Concealed Donation or a Sale: The Acquisition of Monastic Property (15th – 17th C.), 722-723.

²⁶³ Fotić, Concealed Donation or a Sale: The Acquisition of Monastic Property (15th – 17th C.), 722-723.

²⁶⁴ Akgündüz, 173.174; Kabrda, 85.

claim something after his/her death, there would be a conflict between the two parties. It is often unclear how this dispute will be resolved. The competent authority for non-Muslim *vakfs*, as with other *vakfs*, is the sharia courts. Both the approval of *vakfs* and the settlement of disputes related to them were carried out in the presence of the qadi himself. It is observed that these procedures were carried out in the presence of the qadi, and that the writings received from Istanbul regarding the Church and *vakfs* were recorded in the registers.

Following the general evaluation of the Church and its *vakfs* above, it would be pertained to provide examples from the primary sources (*defters*) that form the core of the thesis. When all the available examples are analyzed, a general conclusion can be drawn that the qadi first evaluated the problem according to the circumstances and then generally made a decision on a case-by-case basis. Mostly, the qadis were instructed to investigate the matter and to prevent actions contrary to the sharia in these examples. Furthermore, the same case could be referred to a qadi several times. Hüküms merely referred to the evidence in the central archives, without requiring a formal decision from a qadi or a legal opinion from a mufti, often when the institutions and concerns of the Ottoman central administration is concerned.²⁶⁵ For example, in the 85th order of the Şikâyet Defter No. 187, it states that the documents and registers in the *defterhane-i amire*, the government office where the registers related to land and timar records were kept, were examined and decisions were made in line with the records (*defterhâne-i âmiremde mahfûz olan*

²⁶⁵ Ursinus, 246.

defter-i evkafa defter-i mufassalda olan kaydına nazar olundukda).²⁶⁶ This is a nice example of how the monastery was rending Muslim vakf land.

The fact that the members of the Church also resorted to the qadi or sharia law for their disputes is important for analyzing and understanding the relations of this period. Between the lines of a simple debt issue, we can encounter many surprising details. For example, the 111th order of the 6th *Şikâyet Defter* (1667) contains many details to understand the relations of the period. Even the analysis of this order alone unveils numerous misconceptions about the church-state interaction in the Ottoman Empire. In the order written to the qadi and molla of Chios, a dhimmi named Papa İsteke submitted a petition and stated that he had lent 6,300 *kurus* to the metropolitan of Chios (*Papa İsteke nâm zimmî arz-ı hâl idüp Sakız cezîresi metropolidi olan nâm [...] rahibe karz-ı şer'iden altı bin üç yüz esedî gurus virüp*). In the record, this debt is mentioned as *karz-ı şer'i*, which shows that it was recorded in the presence of the qadi. The registration of a debt between a dhimmi and a metropolitan or another church member by the qadi shows that a Church could take the metropolitan to an Islamic court. The fact that he had the means to do

²⁶⁶ *Erzin kâdisına hüküm ki*

Vâlidem Sultân dâmet ismetuhânın kethudâlığı hizmetinde olan Mustafa dâme mecduhu arz-ı hâl idüp müşârün ileyhânın mahrûse-i İstanbul'da vâkı' müceddeden binâ eyledikleri câmi'-i şerîf ve Harameyn-i şerîfeyne vakf eylediği Erzin mukâta'asına tâbi' Gardik nâm karye hâsılından olan Kokotos nâm manastır rahibleri üzerlerine hîn-i fetihden berü ber vech-i maktû' senede beş bin akçe vakf-ı şerîfe hâsıl ve kayd ve tahrîr olunup ve kadîmden bu âna değin vakf-ı mezbûr voyvodaları sene-be-sene manastır-ı Kokotos rahiblerinden vakf için ahz u kabz olunup bir vechile mu'âraza olunagelmüş değil iken hâlâ Kokotos nâm karye sipahisi olan Hasan'ın yüz elli akçe yazusu olan manastır-ı Panayaki ez yedd-i Papa Luka mezkûr Hasan'ın kayd ve berâtında olup merkûm Hasan kanâ'at etmeyüp şirrete sülûk etmeğle Kokotos manastır-ı (...) berâtım dâhilinde olan manastırdır diyü mücerred ahz ve celb ve hilâf-ı kânûn ve defter da'vâ ve nizâ'dan hâlî olmamağla hükm-i hümâyûnum ricâ etmeğın defterhâne-i âmiremde mahfûz olan defter-i evkafa ve mezbûr Hasan'ın defter-i mufassalda olan kaydına nazar olundukda Gardik nâm karye hâsılunda vâkı' senede beş bin akçe deruhde olunan manastır Kokotos nâm karyenin hasılı dâhilinde olup yüz elli akçe yazusu olan manastır-ı Panayaki der yedd-i Papa Luka mezkûr Hasan'ın kayd ve berâtında olup ber müceb-i mufassal başka başka olup birbirinde alakaları olmadığın defter emini arz etmeğın manastır-ı mezburda sâkin olan ruhbanlar tahrîr-i cedîd mücebince maktû'ların taraf-ı vakf-ı şerîfe her sene teslîm idüp hilâf-ı kânûn ve defter te'allül etdirilmemek için hükm yazılmışdır.

Fî evâil-i Ş sene 86

so and contradicts the idea that relations at that time were lived separate. Contrary to the prominent presumptions in the secondary literature, we are faced with an intricate network of intertwined relationships where borders cannot be traced. When the dhimmi could not collect his debt (*edâsında te'allül etmeğle*), a *mübâşir* was appointed, and when the bailiff went to collect, he could not find the debtors because the metropolitan and his guarantors had deserted, and report was issued stating that they were hiding and could not be found (*emr-i şerîfîmle mübâşir verilip vardıkda merkûm rahib ile kefil-i bi'l-mâl olanlar firâr idüp hâkimü'ş-şer' tarafından tecessüs etdirmeğle ihtifâ eylediğine eline arz verilip*). In the meantime, the metropolitan went to the patriarch of Constantinople (probably Parthenios IV) and said, "Do not have offended me in the capital and let there be a trial in the said place" (*Asitâne'de beni rencîde eyleme kazâ-i mezbûrda murâfâ'a olalım diyü*). It is understood that the patriarch was involved here at the request of the metropolitan. Why for cases like that it would be preferable to go to the capital and have the support of the patriarch if he wants to go local there is a reason. The priest opened the case in İstanbul. The metropolitan would feel at ease if the case is heard locally because he has leverage.

In order for his request to be realized, an order was given to have the trial in Chios as the said metropolitan made a promise in the presence of Muslims (*Müslümânlar huzûrunda kavî ve şart edip hâliyâ kazâ-i mezbûra revâne olmağla icrâ-yı hakk olunmak bâbında*), and the fatwa of the grand mufti was taken for the same arrangement (*emr-i şerîfîm ricâ etmeğîn yine şeyhü'l-islâm fetvâsı ve nakl-i şehâdet-i şer'îyye mûcebince mahallinde şer'le görülmek için yazılmışdır*).²⁶⁷ The

²⁶⁷ *Sakız muhâfazasında olana ve Sakız mollarına hüküm ki*

fact that the problem was resolved within the Ottoman law, by fulfilling the wishes of both the dhimmi and the metropolitan is significant from many angles that the course of the case changed with the intervention of the Patriarch indicates that, contrary to popular belief, relations between the administration and the church were closer during this period. It is recorded in a few orders that church members obtained a fatwa from the grand mufti for their cases.²⁶⁸ Some inferences can also be drawn from this order about the relation among the hierarchy of church members. This in itself shows the need to move away from the portrayal of a period when religious borders exclusively were characterized by conflicts.

Not only in matters of debt, but also in matters concerning the church's property, the church members would have recourse to the qadi or liaise with the administration. Most of the disputes over church property arose in places where the authority of the church was largely unclear or where its boundaries could not be defined, and which later came under the control of the empire. They were mainly in the Balkans, where the financial Church organization was much stronger and well-established.²⁶⁹ The church and monastery properties and their multifaceted economic ventures created competition and contradicted the local authorities, which sought to exert control over assets and resources managed by them. Claims regarding *vakf* properties and disputes about them have been the subject of many

Papa İsteka nâm zimmî arz-ı hâl idüp Sakız cezîresi metropolidi olan (...) nâm rahibe karz-ı şer'iden altı bin üç yüz esedî gurus virüp edâsında te'allül etmeğle bundan akdem emr-i şerîfîmle mübâşir verilip vardıkda merkûm rahib ile kefil-i bi'l-mâl olanlar firâr idüp hâkimü's-şer' tarafından tecessüs etdirmeğle ihtifâ eylediğine eline arz verilip Asitâne-i sa'âdetime geldikde merkûm rahib patrike varup mezbûrî ahz ve şer'-i şerîfe ihzâr eylemek sadedinde iken Asitâne'de beni rencide eyleme kazâ-i mezbûrda murâfa'a olalım diyü müslümânlar huzûrunda kavl ve şart edip hâliyâ kazâ-i mezbûra revâne olmağla icrâ-yı hakk olunmak bâbında emr-i şerîfîm ricâ etmeğin yine şeyhü'l-islâm fetvâsı ve nakl-i şehâdet-i şer'iyye mücebince mahallinde şer'le görülmek için yazılmışdır.

Fî evâil-i L sene 77

²⁶⁸ For these examples in 14th *Şikâyet Defter* see orders of 172, 203 and 228.

²⁶⁹ Çolak, 214.

orders (*hüküms*). For example, a dhimmi claimed the right to monastery property in the 729th order in the *Şikâyet defter* no. 187 (1675). The priest Estelyano, who was a monk in the monastery in the town of Galata, presented his petition and stated that he had been a priest, (sic., monk) in this monastery for nine years with a sealed certificate from the metropolitan (*mühürlü temessüklü dokuz seneden berü papas iken*). The dhimmi named Adonahizo, who resided in the town, said that this monastery was built by his father and hence it was his property (*ol manastır benim babam binâ eylemiş ol takdîrce benim mülkümdür*). This order was written to the pasha and qadi of Chania so that the priest's property is not interfered with and the matter is resolved without violating the sharia (*hilâf-ı şer' rencîde etdirilmeye*).²⁷⁰

In addition, the 931st order in the same *defter* contains a complaint about the dhimmis who wanted to usurp the rents of the properties endowed to the church. The priest named Makarios, who held a *berât* and was the metropolitan of İzmir, wrote a petition. While it is not necessary to interfere with the rents of houses, vineyards, cellars, and shops, which are the endowments of their churches (*kazâ-i mezbûrda vâkı' kenisalarına vakf olan ev ve bağ ve mahzen ve dükkân ve harâr kiralalarına dahl olunmak icâb etmez iken*) in the aforementioned place, some dhimmis of the region united to take their property without their orders and certificates. The petition entailed that in violation of the law and sharia, they wanted to take the rent of the house in which the priest lived, as well as the rent of the things that were endowed. They also they said that they would appoint the priest

²⁷⁰ *Hanya paşasına ve kâdisına hüküm ki,*

Galata nâm karyede vâkı' manastırda papas olan Estelyano nâm papas arz-ı hâl idüip bu manastır-ı mezbûrda metrepelid tarafından mühürlü temessüklü dokuz seneden berü papas iken karye-i mezbûrede sâkin Adonahizo (?) nâm zimmî ol manastır benim babam binâ eylemiş ol takdîrce benim mülkümdür diyü dahl ve rencîde [etmeğin] hilâf-ı şer' rencîde etdirilmeye diyü hükm yazılmışdır.

they wanted (*senin oturduğun evin kirasın ve vakf olan şeylerin kirasın biz alıruz ve istediğimiz papası koruz*). The qadi of İzmir was ordered to resolve the matter by following the sharia and customary law.²⁷¹ This order, which explicitly states that the properties endowed to the church should not be interfered with, emphasises that the ancient order should be maintained in accordance with the public order.

In the 1032nd order in this *defter*, a priest named Makarios, who was the Orthodox metropolitan of Silistre, Tulca and Kharşova with a *berât* (*Silistre ve Tulca ve Hırsova'da vâkı' kefare tâifesinin berât-ı şerîfimle metropolidi olan Makarios nâm rahib gelüp*), filed a petition and complained against the qadis of Tulca and Kharşova for collecting 30 or 40 *akçes* more money than the legal one in violation of the law (*kânûndan ziyâde otuzar ve kırkar guruşların alup gadr etmeleriyle*). In the order sent to the qadi of Silistre, it was ordered that the issue be resolved by returning the sums taken from the metropolitan according to the sharia.²⁷² I see officials seizing money belonging to a church member. The fact that the metropolitan who had been appointed by the state with a certificate, was protected by Ottoman law is important in this case.

²⁷¹ *İzmir kâdisına hüküm ki*

İzmir'de vâkı' kefare tâifesinin berât-ı şerîfimle metropolidi olan Makarios nâm rahib gelüp âyîn-i bâtılları üzre kazâ-i mezbûrda vâkı' kenisalarına vakf olan ev ve bağ ve mahzen ve dükkân ve harâr kiralarına dahl olunmak icâb etmez iken kazâ-i mezbûrda sâkin (...) ve (...) nâm zimmîler bilâ emr ve berât ve hilâf-ı şer ve kânûn mücerred ahz-ı mâl için birbiriyle yekdil olup ve senin oturduğun evin kirasın ve vakf olan şeylerin kirasın biz alıruz ve istediğimiz papası koruz ve hıdmetinde olan zimmîleri diyü hilâf-ı kânûn ve bilâ berât ve bilâ emr rencîdeden hâlî olmadıkların bildirüp hilâf-ı şer'-i kânûn te'addî olunmamak için hüküm yazılmışdır.

Fî evâil-i Zâ sene 86

²⁷² *Silistre kâdisına ve mütesellimine hüküm ki*

Silistre ve Tulca ve Hırsova'da vâkı' kefare tâifesinin berât-ı şerîfimle metropolidi olan Makarniyos nâm rahib gelüp bundan akdem âyîn-i bâtılları üzre elinde olan zeydiyye akçesinden onarlı sicill kayd olundukda Tulca ve Hırsova kâdîları olanlar kânûndan ziyâde otuzar ve kırkar guruşların alup gadr etmeleriyle şer'le görölüp ziyâde alınan akçeleri girü aliverilip icrâ-yı hakk olunmak için emr-i şerîfim ricâ etmeğin hilaf-ı şer'-i kânûn aldığı red etdirilmek için hüküm yazılmışdır.

Fî evâhir-i Zâ sene 86

In the 438th order of the *Şikâyet Defter* No. 1 dated 1650, the patriarch of Constantinople (probably Dionysius II) petitions the Ottoman chancery stating that the priest sent by him to receive the state taxes (*mîrî rûsum*) of Edirne and the taxes for the patriarchate retained them for himself (*Edirne'de vâkı' patrikliğe müte'allik mîrî rûsûmı ve kendüye aid olan hukûkı ve rûsûmâtı ahz u kabz etmek için gönderdiği Papa Tarsus nâm rahib ahz u kabz idüp*). After the priest was taken to Istanbul, he had a large sum of money left on him, and when he was invited to the court for a hearing, he fled (*bundan akdem Asitane-i sa'âdete götürülüp üzerinde küllî akçe kalmağla dîvân-ı hümayûnuma murâfa'aya da'vet olundukda firâr idüp*). Upon the petition of the patriarch, the sultan ordered that the case be judged with sharia and justice be delivered (*şer'le da'vâları dîvân-ı hümayûnumda görülüp icrâ-yı hakk olunmak bâbında emr-i şerîfim ricâ etmeğın ihzâr olunup*). This order was sent to the molla of Edirne and the *bostancıbaşı* to find the priest wherever he was and bring him to the court, and to settle the case in the presence of viziers and *kadiasker* in the Porte (*dîvân-ı hümayûnumda vüzerâ-yı a'zâmım ve kadiaskerim huzûrlarında murâfa'a-i şer' olup ahvâlleri şer'le görülüp*).²⁷³ The fact that the patriarch, after a problem with the priest he had appointed, turned to the Porte in an attempt to recover his financial losses, shows that the relationship between the state and the church was much more entangled than previously thought.

²⁷³ *Edirne monlâsına ve Edirne bostancıbaşısına hüküm ki İstanbul'da Rum taifesinin patriki olan (...) nâm patrik südde-i sa'âdetime arz-ı hâl idüp nefsi-i Edirne'de vâkı' patrikliğe müte'allik mîrî rûsûmı ve kendüye aid olan hukûkı ve rûsûmâtı ahz u kabz etmek için gönderdiği Papa Tarsus nâm rahib ahz u kabz idüp bundan akdem Asitane-i sa'âdete götürülüp üzerinde küllî akçe kalmağla dîvân-ı hümayûnuma murâfa'aya da'vet olundukda firâr idüp şer'le da'vâları dîvân-ı hümayûnumda görülüp icrâ-yı hakk olunmak şer'le ahvâlleri görülmek emrim olmuştur buyurdum ki vüsûl buldukda bu bâbda sâdır olan emrim üzre amel idüp dahi mezkûr râhib her kande bulunur ise getirüp Asitâne-i sa'âdetime ihzâr eylesesin ki gelüp dîvân-ı hümayûnumda vüzerâ-yı izâmım ve kadiaskerim huzûrlarında murâfa'a-i şer' olup ahvâlleri şer'le görülüp ihkâk..*

The problems with the property of the church and the property of the monastic *vakfs* are mostly related to interference with them. For example, in order 1092 of the 12th *defter* (1689), one of the monks of the Tur-ı Sina monastery complained about the seizure of the mill, one of the properties of the monastery *vakf*, by Voyvoda Saltık on the grounds that it belonged to him. The mill was in Kavarta *hass* and was registered before the conquest as a monastery *vakf* property and after the conquest it was recorded as a *vakf* of the mill (*Kavarta hâssı dâhilinde kable'l-feth manastır-ı mezbûrun vakfı olmağla ba'de'l-feth selâtîn-i maziyye temlîki ile defter-i cedîd-i hâkânîde mukayyed evkâfdan olan değirmende*). However, Saltık had seized this property. Even though the monks had an order on this matter, justice has not been delivered yet. In the order that was sent to the *serasker* Vizier Mustafa Pasha and the qadi of Balçık, it was ordered that Saltık had no right to seize it, and he was asked to be sent to Babadağı along with an officer.²⁷⁴ In most of the orders, as in this one, it was requested that the property should not be interfered with or damaged, emphasising that those who committed such acts had no right to do so and that they should be prevented.

A/4th order on page 141 of the *Şikâyet Defter* numbered Cod. Mixt.no. 683 (1675), the metropolitan of Cisir-i Ergene petitioned that the inheritance left behind by the monks and priests living there had always belonged to the metropolitans

²⁷⁴ *Babadağı cânibinde serasker Vezîr Mustafa Paşa'ya ve Balçık kâdisına hüküm ki Tur-ı Sina manastır ruhbânlarından (...) nâm rahib gelüp kazâ-i mezbûrda Kavarta hâssı dâhilinde kable'l-feth manastır-ı mezbûrun vakfı olmağla ba'de'l-feth selâtîn-i mazenne temlîki ile defter-i cedîd-i hâkânîde mukayyed evkâfdan olan değirmende kimesnenin alakası yoğiken hâss-ı merkûm voyvodası Saltık nâm kimesne zikr olunan değirmen hâssı toprağında kadîmî tapulı ve resmlü değirmendir diyü bin doksan (...) senesinde fuzûlî zabt eylediğın ve bu bâbda hüccet-i şer'iyyesi olduğun bildirüp mücebince birkaç defa mahallinde murâfa'a olmak istedikde hevâsına tâbî' kâdiya istinâd idüp icrâ-yı hakk olunmadığın bildirüp zâbiti ma'rifetiyle Babadağı'na ihzâr olunmak içün yazılmışdır.*

Evâhir-i R sene 1100

according to their old customs (*Kazâ-i mezbûre kefare tâifesinin metropolidi (...) nâm pelid gelüp kazâ-i mezbûrede olan keşiş ve papas ve metrûkâtı mu'tâd-ı kadîm üzre metropolid olanlara aid olup*). However, when the monk in one of the villages of the *vakf* died, one of the trustees of the Sultan Murad Han *Vakf* in this region, appointed a deputy to receive the inheritance for the metropolitan in accordance with the *berât* in his hand (*dahi mu'tâd-ı kadîm ve elinde olan berâtı mücebince metrûkâtın ahz u kabz etmek için tarafından vekîl nasb idüp gönderdikde*). However, the *subaşı*, *vakf* trustees and other officials of the village prevented the delivery of the inheritance by stating that the taxes of the foundation were not paid in full (*evkâf-ı mezbûre karyesinin subaşı ve mütevellîsi vesâir örf tâifesi mücerred ahz ve celb için mâni' olup mezbûr vakfın mahsûlini küllî noksân müterettib olduğun bildirüp*). In the *hüküm* sent to the recent of the region, it was ordered that the matter be dealt with on the spot in accordance with the sharia (*mahallinde şer'le görülmek için hüküm yazılmışdır*).²⁷⁵

All examples given above are also an indication of the interaction between the state and the monastic *vakfs* in financial matters. They also show that when the Church and its members' properties are damaged, they were able to seek their rights by using their complaint rights in several legal bodies in the capital and the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The members of the Church *vakfs* tried to

²⁷⁵ *Cisr-i Ergene nâibine hüküm ki*

Kazâ-i mezbûre kefare tâifesinin metropolidi (...) nâm pelid gelüp kazâ-i mezbûrede olan keşiş ve papas ve metrûkâtı mu'tâd-ı kadîm üzre metropolid olanlara aid olup âhardan bir vechile dahl olunmak icâb etmez iken hâlâ kazâ-i mezbûrede vâkı' merhûm Sultan Murad Hân evkâfının mütevellîsi olan (...) nâm kimesne evkâf-ı karyelerinden (...) nâm karyede keşiş olan (...) nâm rahib mürd olup bu dahi mu'tâd-ı kadîm ve elinde olan berâtı mücebince metrûkâtın ahz u kabz etmek için tarafından vekîl nasb idüp gönderdikde evkâf-ı mezbûre karyesinin subaşı ve mütevellîsi vesâir örf tâifesi mücerred ahz ve celb için mâni' olup mezbûr vakfın mahsûlini küllî noksân müterettib olduğun bildirüp emr-i şerîfim ricâ etmeğin mahallinde şer'le görülmek için hüküm yazılmışdır.

Fî evâil-i R sene 86

regulate their relations with the state authorities and to negotiate their position both as units subject to taxation and as ecclesiastical entities. The monks took an effort to appear as law-abiding and reliable taxpayers in their official contacts with such state representatives as qadis and *timar* holders.²⁷⁶ However, there are some ambiguities and gaps in these issues in *defters*. In order to fill these gaps, the parameters which are the land ownership status of the area, the presence or absence of a Muslim population in the vicinity, and the relationship between the local authorities and the dhimmi communities are to be taken into consideration to conduct a comprehensive understanding of the issues.

Another important issue that we come across in the *defters* is the lending of money from the foundations to the patriarch or other church members and its repayment with interest (*murabaha*). The earliest example of this issue in the records analyzed is in the 475th order of the 187th *Şikâyet Defter* dated 1675. Such early examples have not been included in studies before, although examples of these problems were encountered in the 18th and 19th centuries. The relations of Muslim foundations with the Church and the patriarch will be the main subject of a prospective study and here, suffice it to provide a brief introduction to these relations and to include their existence in the literature. The first order concerns a patriarch who borrowed money from the trustee of a Muslim *vakf*. Mehmed, one of the trustees of the Ayşe Hatun *Vakf* in Istanbul by holding a *berât* lent 7,000 *akçes* to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch from the funds of the *vakf* with *murâbaha* and with the guarantorship of several dhimmis (*zimmîlerin kefâletleriyle murâbaha ile yedi bin esedî gurusş alup*). Although a year has passed, the patriarch did not pay the debt

²⁷⁶ Laiou, 12.

(senesi hulûl idüp hâliyâ bu meblağ-ı mezbûrî ribhi ile taleb eyledikde vermekde te'allül eyledikde), and he made excuses for not giving the money even though Mehmed had a deed in his hand (*bu bâbda hüccet-i şer'iyyesi olduğun bildirüp*), the qadi of Istanbul was ordered to allocate this amount from the patriarch or his guarantors in accordance with this order.²⁷⁷

We see similar orders in the 12th *Şikâyet Defter* dated 1689. In the 1095th order of the *defter*, Mustafa who was one trustee of the same Ayşe Hatun Vakf which is also included in the above order, made a petition, and declared that all the money of the foundation was in the possession of the patriarch of Constantinople (probably Kallinikos II) (*vakf-ı mezbûrun nükûdunun cümlesi İstanbul'da Rûm patriği zimmetinde olmağla*). The trustee demanded 2,500 *kuruş* on the condition that the amount bring a profit of 10 to 11.5 per year, which the patriarch refused to give (*meblağ-ı mezbûr deyn-i şer'î ve ilzâm-ı ribh olınan senelerün ona on bir buçuk hisâbı üzre iki bin beş yüz guruş mu'âmelesin taleb eyledükde virmekde te'allül ve inâd eylemeğle*). Then, in addition to the *mîrî rûsûm*, it was ordered that the money of the *vakf* and interest be given to the creditors in proportion to their shares every year according to their income (*bundan akdem mîrî rûsûmdan mâ'adâ vakf ve murâbahalu deynleri her sene îrâdlarına göre ber vech-i taksît tedricli ashâb-ı duyûna senede guremâdan hisselerine isâbet itdüğü mertebe virilmek*).²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ İstanbul kâdîsına hüküm ki

İstanbul'da vâkı' Âyişe Hatun evkâfının berât-ı şerîfimle mütevellîsi olan Mehmed zîde kadruhu arz-ı hâl idüp bundan akdem Rum patriki olan (...) nâm zimmi vakf-ı mezbûrun nükûdundan (...) ve (...) ve (...) nâm zimmilerin kefâletleriyle murâbaha ile yedi bin esedî guruş alup ve senesi hulûl idüp hâliyâ bu meblağ-ı mezbûrî ribhi ile taleb eyledikde vermekde te'allül eyledikde ve bu bâbda hüccet-i şer'iyyesi olduğun bildirüp hüccet-i şer'iyye mücebince amel olunup meblağ-ı mezbûr kendüden veyahud ve kefillerinden aliverilmek emr-i şerîfim ricâ etmeğîn şer'le aliverilmek için yazılmışdır.

Fî evâil-i L sene 86

²⁷⁸ İstanbul kâimmakâmı paşaya ve kâdîsına hüküm ki:

Mahmiyye-i İstanbul'da vâkı' müteveffîye el-Hâce Âyişe Hâtûn evkâfının berât-ı şerîfümle mütevellîsi olan Mustafâ gelüp vakf-ı mezbûrun nükûdunun cümlesi İstanbul'da Rûm patriği

Notwithstanding the exceptions in the *hüküms*, the interaction between monastery and the state was characterized by considerations of lasting mutual benefit and cooperation. These monasteries adapted their actions according to their social and financial considerations. It can be assumed that they were considered politically safe and profitable for the state on the whole, despite the occasional disorders in the monasteries. It should be noted that the monasteries, in their entrepreneurial endeavors, had two primary and persistent objectives. The first was to acquire and retain secure title and control over their land holdings, and the second was to secure the most extensive and permanent tax relief possible. This is also supported by the fact that most of the orders include expressions such as *ruhban fukarası* as being in a state of misery (*perişân olmağın*) for a legal strategy.²⁷⁹ While the form expressions emphasized their status as the subjects of the sultan who must be protected the latter was a call to the sultan to cooperation for the continuation of the taxation of the monasteries.

It has already been established from the sources analyzed that the state's attitude towards the economic activities or economic power of monasteries was shaped according to the conditions of the period and the context. It is essential to draw from the sources how the monasteries and their representatives were seen from the state's point of view, and what the state's and the judiciary's attitudes were when they faced problems. The study overcame difficulties such as thematic

zimmende olmağla meblağ-ı mezbûr deyn-i şer'î ve ilzâm-ı ribh olınan senelerün ona on bir buçuk hisâbı üzre iki bin beş yüz guruş mu'âmelesin taleb eyledükde virmekde te'allül ve inâd eylemeğle bundan akdem mîrî rûsûmdan mâ'adâ vakf ve murâbahalı deynleri her sene irâdlarına göre ber vech-i taksît tedricli ashâb-ı duyûna senede guremâdan hisselerine isâbet itdüğü mertebe virilmek emr-i şerîfüm virilmeğle ol bâbda hükm-i hümayûnum recâ eylemeğın fermân-ı sâbık mücebince sâire virdüğü minvâl üzre ancak buna dahi virilmek emrüm olmuştur diyü yazılmışdur.

Fî evâhir-i R sene [1]100 [11-20 Şubat 1689]

²⁷⁹ For the orders in which these expressions are used, see *Şikâyet Defter* 12/789, 12/841, 13/174, 13/939.

limitations and discontinuities with the help of a representative sample of sources and some observations on specific cases. Of course, these *hüküms* are not sufficient to provide a complete picture of each and every monastic *vakfs* in the empire. However, they do give us information about their inhabitants, possessions, and interests, as well as their effects and results on the perspective of the state. However, the image that can be drawn on the basis of these sources shows that monastic *vakfs* in question did not suffer from the crisis mentioned in the previous chapters. What is more, in some of the cases analyzed here patriarchs and metropolitans also interacted with the Ottoman central administration without any problems.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

This study focused on building a new empirical basis for understanding the economic interactions between the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman administration through Ottoman archival sources. These sources consist of the *Atik Şikâyet Defters* and *Mühimme Defters* covering the period between 1650-1690. As mentioned throughout this thesis, the aforementioned *defters* contain numerous examples where economy is concerned. These series of orders are valuable in that the subjects concentrate on similar issues and the resolutions offer similar attitudes by the Ottoman state. Especially during the economic turmoil in the empire in the 17th century, the relations between State and the Church serve as a catalyst for understanding the period. The study brings to light the dynamics of their interactions by reconnecting financial areas that were in contact in the century, by tracing the economic interaction between the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman administration outline a new synchronic process of transfer and interaction between them.

The cumulative experience of centuries of skillful adaptation to political, social, and financial circumstances was used and refined by both parties in their interaction areas, especially financial matters. In fact, it can be argued that the Church, its members, and its institutions as a whole were seen as political and financial players to maintain order. The point at the heart of this thesis is that in its dealings with the Ottoman state, the Orthodox Church, with its members and

monastic foundations, as socio-economic as well as ecclesiastical institutions, has also been the subject of negotiation rather than mere conflict. Their relationship was also based on considerations of lasting mutual benefit.

These petitions and complaints by the members of the Orthodox Church reflect a certain concern for the protection, consolidation, and expansion of the prerogatives, privileges, status, and property against all sides, including other church members and state officials. In the 17th century, the boundaries of economic activities, taxation and financial matters were highly permeable, involving many intermediaries. The impact of these activities was also very strong on institutions and communities. The economic functions of the Church from the perspective of the state, which we can observe in the registers, also provide us with insights into the duties and missions of church members and communities in these functions. We are confronted with the fact that the imagined reality of the period is different between the lines of these registers, in which we trace disagreements, arguments and sometimes conflicts of interest. This study is a humble contribution to pave the way for the construction of this complicated picture, which needs to be further explored.

It is obviously impossible to draw clear conclusions from a sample of no more than a hundred petitions. Nevertheless, some observations about this group of petitions, all of which concern the Church and its members, can be made and some significant conclusions can be drawn. As far as the content is concerned, the petitions here hardly confirm the common stereotypes about the Great Church being in captivity or under domination as noted by such scholars as Runciman or Papadopoulos. Moreover, in most cases under discussion, Church members seem to be preoccupied with their own concerns, many of which are financial in nature. An

impressive amount of archival material from these *defters* contributes to the understanding of the economic interactions of the Church with the State. In his studies of ecclesiastical taxes and the tax administration of the Greek Orthodox Church, Kabrda concludes that the Church actually came to cooperate with the state in consolidating Ottoman rule over the flock. At the same time, the Church succeeded in preserving and developing identity and religion. It can be argued, therefore, that mutual interests had created a political and financial relationship between the Church and the State. The documents analyzed in this thesis support this view.

The members of Church constituted an important part of Ottoman social and economic life. The taxation of the church and the role of church members as tax collectors, are topics discussed by several scholars including İnalcık, Kenanoğlu and Papademetriou. However, the documents analyzed in this thesis shows that the economic interaction between the Church and the state was not limited to the role of the members of the Church as tax collectors for the state. When the relevant documents are studied in a more systematic fashion, it becomes clear even in the area of taxation that both the state and the church had to interact with each other in practice for the collection of a myriad of state and ecclesiastical taxes by and from the Church.

In particular, the third chapter of the study devotes a great deal of space to monastic *vakfs*, focusing on their economic function for both the church and the state. The *vakfs* apparently had a positive effect on financial transactions in economy of these institutions. In the case of monastic or church *vakfs* in the Ottoman period, one is faced with the challenge of the rarity of the relevant material. It was

felt that this difficulty could be overcome by researching and analyzing the complaints of people from all walks of life who were seeking solutions to their social and financial problems. In particular, some of the issues that can be observed in the *defters* are the role of the qadis and the taxpayers together with the local population in the areas where church *vakfs* were established, and the attitude of the central authority towards these *vakfs*. In the Ottoman countryside, monasteries were stable and largely productive social and economic units. Therefore, these *vakfs* also placed the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman administration in many ways of interaction.

In conclusion, the 17th-century economic interactions between the Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox Church have been systematically examined through *Atik Şikâyet Defters* and *Mühimme Defters*, with a focus on taxation and foundations (*vakfs*). On the other hand, their 18th-century economic interactions mostly were studied in the light of the *Piskopos Mukâta'ası* registers. This research sheds light on the intricate dynamics of fiscal relations during that 17th century, revealing how the Ottoman state and the Church were intertwined economically. Analyzed *defters* in thesis offer valuable insights into the nuances of taxation policies and the management of *vakf* properties. However, this study merely scratches the surface of a complex historical relationship that requires further exploration. Further research for their relations in upcoming centuries is necessary to delve deeper into the socio-political contexts surrounding these transactions and explore the long-term ramifications on both parties' financial stability. Future research should explore the long-term effects of these economic interactions and their impact on social structures between religious institutions and state authorities.

Furthermore, these interactions not only influenced their respective economies but also had broader implications on the social and political dynamics within their institutions. An understanding of this historical interplay can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of wider socio-economic processes and their impact on church-state relations. This research underscores the importance of analyzing primary sources to gain a comprehensive understanding of historical events and emphasizes the need for further investigations to enrich our knowledge of this critical era for both the Greek Orthodox Church and the Ottoman state.





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