

THE PATRIARCH AND THE SULTAN:
THE STRUGGLE FOR AUTHORITY AND THE QUEST FOR ORDER
IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by
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Ankara
June 2011

To My Family

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OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

June 2011

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ABSTRACT

THE PATRIARCH AND THE SULTAN: THE STRUGGLE FOR AUTHORITY
AND THE QUEST FOR ORDER IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN
EMPIRE

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In the eighteenth century, the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul underwent a series of changes that were the result of eighteenth-century economic and social developments in Ottoman society. This study investigates the changing fortunes of the Patriarchate in the eighteenth century through a contextualization of these events in their Ottoman background. Despite the conclusions of previous historiography, the patriarch appears as more than a mere *mültezim* or a *milletbaşı* / *ethnarch*, functioning instead more as a religious leader of the Ottoman Orthodox community who acted according to the Ottoman principles of *nizam* [order] and the safety of the *mal-ı miri*. These two principles were an important part of the discourse of negotiations between the Patriarchate and the Porte in the eighteenth century, and were used efficiently by both sides. Many internal and external actors were involved

in the events, including *archons*, Catholics, Protestants, the *esnaf*, and merchants both Muslim and non-Muslim. A case study of the mid-eighteenth-century Patriarch Kyrillos V Karakallos demonstrates how one patriarch effectively struggled to consolidate his authority *vis-à-vis* his opponents. Following the patriarchal term of Karakallos, the system of *gerondismos* was established, as a result of which the Patriarchate had come, by 1763, to be represented before the Porte as a collective identity. Overall, far from being a static entity, the Patriarchate appears to have been an active subject in the urban setting of the imperial city, engaged in a relationship with the financial and social networks of Ottoman society.

Keywords: Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul, Patriarch, *berat*, *nizam*, eighteenth century, Ottoman history, Kyrillos Karakallos.

ÖZET

PATRİK VE SULTAN: 18. YÜZYIL OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞU'NDA OTORİTE VE NİZAM PEŞİNDE

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İstanbul Rum Ortodoks Patrikhanesi on sekizinci yüzyıl ortasında Osmanlı toplumunun ekonomik ve sosyal gelişmeleri sonucunda bir takım değişiklikler geçirdi. Bu çalışma Patrikhane'nin geçirdiği bu değişimi on sekizinci yüzyıl Osmanlı bağlamında inceliyor. Önceki çalışmaların aksine bu çalışmada patrik yalnız bir mültezim veya bir milletbaşından ziyade, nizâm ve mâl-ı mîrînin öne çıktığı Osmanlı prensipleri doğrultusunda işleyen Osmanlı Rum Ortodoks toplumunun lideri olarak değerlendiriliyor. Bu iki prensip on sekizinci yüzyılda Patrikhane ve Osmanlı merkezi yönetimi arasındaki ilişkilerde iki taraf tarafından da etkili bir şekilde kullanılıyordu. Patrikhane çevresinde gelişen olaylarda Rum toplumunun ileri gelenlerinin [*archon*], Katoliklerin, Protestanların, Müslüman ve gayrimüslim esnaf ve tüccarın da yer aldığı birçok aktör rol oynuyordu. On sekizinci yüzyıl ortasında patriklik yapmış olan Kyrillos V Karakallos dönemi, bu dönemde bir patriğin muhalifleri karşısında otoritesini sağlamlaştırmak için nasıl etkin bir şekilde

mücadele ettiğini gösteren güzel bir örnek. Karakallos'un dönemini ardından 1763'e gelindiğinde *gerondismos* kurulmuş ve bu tarihten sonra Patrikhane yönetim karşısında kolektif olarak temsil edilmeye başlamıştı. Sonuçta Patrikhanenin statik bir varlık olmaktan çok imparatorluk başkentinde Osmanlı toplumunun finansal ve sosyal ağlarıyla ilişki içinde olan aktif bir özne olarak ortaya çıkıyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: İstanbul Rum Ortodoks Patrikhanesi, patrik, berat, nizam, on sekizinci yüzyıl, Osmanlı, Kyrillos Karakallos.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
TRANSLITERATION	xv
ABBREVIATIONS	xvi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Literary Review	1
1.2. Approach	14
1.3. Structure	16
1.4. Sources	19
CHAPTER II: THE PATRIARCHATE UP TO 1700	24
2.1. THE INSTITUTION	24
2.1.1. Jurisdiction	24
2.1.2. Finances	34
2.1.2.1. Ecclesiastical taxes paid to the patriarchs by the Christian <i>re'âyâ</i> and the metropolitans	34
2.1.2.2. The fiscal obligations of the Patriarchate to the Porte.....	36
2.1.2.3. A note on “ <i>zarâr-ı kassâbiye</i> ”	38
2.2. ACTORS	41
2.2.1. ARCHONS	41
2.2.2. CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS AND CAPITULATIONS ...	43

2.2.2.1. Counter-Reformation and Capitulations.....	45
2.2.2.2. The Attitude of the Patriarchate towards Catholic Propaganda in the 17 th century	50
2.2.2.3. The Case of 1672-3	53
2.2.3. EASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA	56
2.3. A TURBULENT ERA: THE PATRIARCHATE VIS-À-VIS THE PORTE IN THE 17th CENTURY, 1638-1659.....	59
2.3.1. Kyrillos I Loukaris	60
2.3.1.1. Loukaris’s early career and his first encounter with the Protestants	61
2.3.1.2. Loukaris’s patriarchate years in Istanbul and his enmity with the Jesuits	62
2.3.1.3. The printing press:.....	64
2.3.1.4. Loukaris’s <i>Confession</i>	66
2.3.1.5. Loukaris’s final patriarchate and his execution:.....	68
2.3.2. Parthenios II.....	72
2.3.3. Parthenios III	73
2.3.4. Gabriel II.....	77
CHAPTER III: EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS	80
3.1. OTTOMAN REALITIES	80
3.1.1. Fiscal policies and their effects.....	81
3.1.2. From War to Diplomacy	88
3.1.3. The “Tulip Age” and Popular Revolts.....	91
3.1.4. Petitioning in the eighteenth century	95
3.1.5. A remark on non-Muslims and Muslims before the end of the eighteenth century	98
3.2. THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ACTORS.....	100
3.2.1. Financing the Taxes: The Network of Clergymen, <i>Esnaf</i> , and <i>Archons</i>	100
3.2.2. The Phanariots’ Rise to Prominence in Diplomacy and Bureaucracy.....	110
3.2.2.1. Logothetes as <i>exarchs</i> :	112
3.2.2.2. <i>Archons</i> in the Porte as intermediaries in the 18 th century.....	116

3.2.3. The Catholics	119
3.2.3.1. The eighteenth century	119
3.2.3.2. The Ottoman reaction	120
3.2.3.3. Change in the 18 th century: Ambassadors and Jesuits.....	121
3.3. THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE	
 PATRIARCHATE IN THE 18th CENTURY	123
3.3.1. The Institution	123
3.3.1.1. Change of terminology	129
3.3.1.2. “ <i>Te’bîden</i> ”: The patriarchate as a life-long office	131
3.3.1.3. The stipulations of 1714, 1716, and 1720	135
3.3.1.4. Additions and changes, 1725-1761	139
3.3.1.5. Practice of religion.....	140
3.3.1.6. Family Law.....	143
3.3.1.7. Countering the influence of local notables	144
3.3.1.8. The struggle for authority	147
3.3.1.9. Expansion of the rule of the patriarch as	
an intermediate	150
3.3.1.10. Countering interference in the patriarch’s	
right to collect dues	159
3.4. THE FINANCES OF THE PATRIARCHATE	
 IN THE 18th CENTURY	163
3.4.1. Payments	163
3.4.2. Debts	168
CHAPTER IV: PORTRAIT OF AN 18th-CENTURY PATRIARCH:	
KYRILLOS V KARAKALLOS	170
Kyrillos: A saint or a fraud?	170
4.1. THE FIRST TERM OF KYRILLOS V (1748-1751)	173
4.1.1. Avenue to the patriarchate	173
4.1.2. First term and its end	176
4.1.3. The history of anabaptism as a theological discussion.....	179
4.1.4. The social and political implication of anabaptism in	
eighteenth-century Istanbul.....	184
4.1.5. Auxentios	187

4.1.6. The riot of September 1752	192
4.1.7. The context of the event	196
4.2. THE SECOND TERM OF KYRILLOS (1752-1757)	198
4.2.1. Anabaptism during the second term of Kyrillos / The Paper War	198
4.2.2. The Finances of the Patriarchate	201
4.2.3. The supporters of Kyrillos: The <i>esnaf</i> and the Chiotes	204
4.2.4. Kyrillos versus the metropolitans	206
4.2.5. Kyrillos against the <i>Frenks</i>	216
4.2.6. The final downfall of Kyrillos: The limits of Ottoman policy	218
 CHAPTER V: <i>GERONDISMOS</i> , THE PATRIARCHATE AS A CORPORATE BODY	222
5.1. The Synod.....	223
5.2. The first step towards the <i>gerondismos</i> in 1741	225
5.3. The path to the <i>gerondismos</i> and the discourse of petitions, 1741 to 1763.....	227
5.4. Consolidation of the power of the metropolitans in 1763	232
5.5. Change in the patriarchal <i>berâts</i> after 1763.....	234
 CHAPTER VI: THE ANNEXATIONS OF PEĆ AND OHRID.....	240
6.1. Previous Literature	240
6.2. Evidence of Ottoman documents	242
 CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION.....	251
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	259
 APPENDIX A	281
APPENDIX B	283
APPENDIX C	284

TRANSLITERATION

Greek

A α	a
B β	b
Γ γ	g
Δ δ	d
E ε	e
Z ζ	z
H η	i
Θ θ	th
I ι	i
K κ	k
Λ λ	l
M μ	m
N ν	n
Ξ ξ	x
O ο	o
Π π	p
P ρ	r
Σ σ	s
T τ	t
Υ υ	y
Φ φ	f
X χ	ch
Ψ ψ	ps
Ω ω	o

Ottoman

ا	a, e
ب	b
پ	p
ت	t
س	s
ج	c
چ	ç
ح	h
خ	h
د	d
ذ	z
ر	r
ز	z
ژ	j
ش	s
س	ş
س	s
ط	z
ظ	t
ظ	z
ع	‘
غ	ğ
ف	f
ق	k
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	v
ه	h, e, a
لا	la
ی	i, y

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>D.PSK</i>	<i>Piskoposluk Kalemi Belgeleri</i>
<i>KK.d.</i>	<i>Kamil Kepeci Defterleri</i>
<i>ŞK</i>	<i>Şikâyet Defteri</i>
<i>TTK</i>	Türk Tarih Kurumu
<i>DIA</i>	Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi
<i>IA</i>	İslam Ansiklopedisi (M.E.B.)
<i>EI 2</i>	Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2 nd edition (Brill)
<i>BMGS</i>	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies Journal
<i>IJMES</i>	International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
<i>OTAM</i>	Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi
<i>IRSH</i>	International Review of Social History
<i>EEBS</i>	Epetiris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon
<i>TSAB</i>	Turkish Studies Association Bulletin

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Literary Review

Historiography in the twentieth century has produced many important works on the history of the Orthodox Patriarchate during the Ottoman era. Yet, despite the considerable volume of documents produced by the Ottoman chancery, the relationship between the Ottoman Porte and the Patriarchate and the changes this relationship underwent over the centuries remains an understudied subject.

One of the dominant tendencies in historiography is to attribute a wide scope of power to the patriarch *vis-à-vis* the Ottoman administration, beginning from the period of Mehmed II. The patriarch is considered the *ethnarch* / *milletbaşı* of the Orthodox subjects, and the Patriarchate is narrated as an autonomous institution within the Ottoman state. The patriarch is attributed a large scope of rights and privileges, as well as legislative and juridical jurisdiction. A major setback of this thesis is the presupposition that the position of the Patriarchate *vis-à-vis* the Ottoman Porte remained unchanged for the almost three and a half centuries of Ottoman rule.

Similarly, this historical discourse is primarily constructed around financial dealings between the Patriarchate and the Porte. This consideration of the Patriarchate as an unaltered entity over centuries, encompassing a wide range of power *vis-à-vis* the Ottoman Porte, will here be referred to as the “*millet* system theory”. The pioneer of this line of thought is the work of Gibb and Bowen, who propose that Mehmed II had formally organized the *dhimmis* into three recognized *millets*: Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish.¹ For the Orthodox *millet*, they note the following:

[...] the Patriarch was duly installed with as many of the traditional ceremonies as might be performed in the absence of an Emperor; he was assigned the ceremonial rank of a *Paşa* with three *tuğs*, and he was allowed his own court and prison in the Phanar quarter, with all but unlimited civil jurisdiction over and responsibility for the *dhimmis* of his Church.²

This stereotyped image was reproduced in Arnakis’s work, adding the Porte’s “greed” as the determining factor in the relation:

In the course of time the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople came to be regarded as the leader of the *Rum Milleti*—*i.e.*, of the Orthodox Christians who were under the authority of the Sultan. Since religion and nationality were identical in the eyes of the Turk, the Sublime Porte allowed a large measure of self-government to the *Rum Milleti* under the guise of religious toleration. When his security was not threatened, the Turk seemed to be mainly interested in the collection of taxes from the subject races and—down to the first decade of the twentieth century—referred to the non-Turkish populations as *raya*, an Arabic word meaning ‘flock’ or ‘herd animal’. As H.A. Gibbons remarked, they were regarded as nothing more than taxable assets.³

In 1982, for the first time, critics of the *millet* theory challenged the image of the all-powerful Patriarch, and the foundation of a systematic arrangement by

¹ Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb, and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1957, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 207-261.

² Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, p. 216.

³ G. Georgiades Arnakis, “The Greek Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire”, *The Journal of Modern History*, 24 / 3, 1952, p. 238. Concerning the identification of religion and nationality, he was inspired by Werner J. Cahnman, “Religion and Nationality”, *The American Journal of Sociology*, 49/6, 1944, pp. 524-529. The publication in 1958 of Runciman’s *The Great Church in Captivity* added legitimization to the claim. (Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

Mehmed II began to be seen as a “myth”.⁴ The nature of Ottoman non-Muslim administration has been proposed as a series of *ad hoc* arrangements rather than a uniformly adopted system.⁵ The revision of the Gibb and Bowen “*millet* system” targeted not only the Orthodox but also the Armenian Patriarchate and the Jewish Rabbinate.⁶

The nature and the scope of the power of the Patriarch, whether religious or political, is a major issue of dispute. Pantazopoulos’s proposition that the Ottomans not only extended the religious authority of the patriarch [*ethnarch* / *milletbaşı*] but granted him political authority as well, for religious, political and economic reasons, was confronted by Halil İnalçık.⁷ Against the political authority of Patriarchs assumed by the proponents of the *millet* theory, İnalçık emphasizes the Islamic principles with which the Ottoman administrators acted in accordance.⁸ He holds that recognition of the Orthodox Church as part of the Ottoman state was the most effective component of the *istimâlet* policy, the policy of tolerance towards the

⁴ Benjamin Braude, “Foundation Myths of the Millet System” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Braude and Lewis, Vol. I, Holmes and Meier, New York and London: 1982; Macit M. Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi: Mit ve Gerçek*, Klasik Yayınevi, İstanbul: 2004; İnalçık, Halil. “The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans” in *Essays in Ottoman History*, ed. Halil İnalçık, İstanbul: Eren, 1998, pp. 195-223.

⁵ Benjamin Braude, Bernard Lewis (ed.s). *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, New York, London: Holmes-Meier Publishers, 1982, pp. 12-13: “Rather than a uniformly adopted system, it may be more accurately described as a series of *ad hoc* arrangements made over the years, which gave each of the major religious communities a degree of legal autonomy and authority with the acquiescence of the Ottoman state. Power could be held by either lay or religious figures—actual leadership varied with community, time and place. The degree to which communal authority was merely local or empirewide also varied.”

⁶ See the articles in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews*, of Kevork B. Bardakjian, “The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople” in Vol.1, pp. 89-100; Joseph R. Hacker, “Ottoman Policy toward the Jews and Jewish Attitudes toward the Ottomans during the Fifteenth Century”, in Vol.1, pp. 101-115; Amnon Cohen, “On the Realities of the Millet System: Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century”, in Vol. II, pp. 7-18.

⁷ Nikolaos J. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula during the Ottoman Rule*, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1984, p. 19, see pp. 10-28. İnalçık, “The Status”, p. 195.

⁸ See İnalçık “The Status” pp. 195-196, against Pantazopoulos’s theories put forward in *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula*. He mentions the pre-existing Islamic system on p. 203. Zachariadou comments that the appointment of Gennadios was based on basic Islamic principles motivated by a wish to repopulate the deserted City. Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 25.

non-resistant Christians for the purpose of winning over the population.⁹ İnalçık emphasizes the Patriarch's role as an official of the Ottoman administration in this system.

In order to demonstrate that the position of the patriarch was not as extensive as assumed, İnalçık underlines the fact that after the Synod elected the Patriarch, an official Ottoman *berât* was needed in order to complete the process, just as in the appointment of guild *kethüdâs*.¹⁰ Following this line of thought, Macit Kenanoğlu proposed the role of the patriarch as a *mültezim*.¹¹ In this approach, however, the power of the Patriarchate as exercised upon the Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman society is overlooked. This interpretation, a reaction to the “*millet* system theory” of Gibb and Bowen, will be referred to as the “*mültezim* theory”.

Kenanoğlu puts forward the concept of “*ruhani mültezim*” and proposes that the Patriarchs and Chief Rabbis assumed the role of *mültezims* in the Ottoman Empire.¹² On the other hand, Anastasios G. Papademetriou's main argument is that the Patriarchate was considered by the Ottomans to be primarily a tax-farm just like any other tax-farm in the Empire, since the annual revenues were collected by the Patriarchate. He proposes that the Ottoman Empire did not act according to Islamic principles, but as an efficient and pragmatic administration.¹³ Although the two historians both propose that the patriarch was a *mültezim* in the Ottoman Empire, the motivations of the two historians are basically different: Kenanoğlu endeavors to demonstrate that the position of the patriarch did not extend beyond the duties of a

⁹ İnalçık, “The Status”, p. 197.

¹⁰ İnalçık, “The Status”, pp. 206-207, also Halil İnalçık, “The Appointment Procedure of a Guild Warden (Kethuda)”, *Festschrift für Andreas Tietze, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 76, 1986, pp. 135-142.

¹¹ Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi*.

¹² Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi*, p. 64, and the argument throughout the book.

¹³ Anastasios G. Papademetriou, “Ottoman Tax Farming and the Greek Patriarchate: An Examination of State and Church in Ottoman Society (15th-16th century)”, PhD diss., Princeton University, 2001.

mültezim, whereas Papademetriou stresses the Ottoman interest in money as an explanatory framework.

To return to the deconstruction of the *millet* theory, its followers concentrate on the erroneous usage of the term *millet*. Braude reexamined the work of Gibb and Bowen and wrote an article proposing that the term “*millet*”, prior to the nineteenth century, was not used by Ottomans to denote the mass of their non-Muslim subjects, but used instead “for themselves, Christian sovereigns and for rare Jewish favorites”. Braude’s main argument is against the existence of an administrative system for dealing with non-Muslims in the classical period of the Ottoman Empire, which is what is generally assumed of the extended autonomy given to the community leaders. He challenged the policies attributed to Mehmed II concerning not only the Orthodox, but also the Armenian Patriarch and the Jewish *hahambaşı* [Chief Rabbi] Capsali. According to him, *dhimma* was a concept that went back to the period of the Prophet Muhammed, whereas the *millet* system used by historians emerged in the nineteenth century; he also adds that the term *millet* still existed in the classical period, but with different connotations.¹⁴ Ursinus provided counter-examples to the usage of the term *millet* as proposed by Braude, and opposed the idea that, before the beginning of the period of reform, the term was used in Ottoman-Turkish sources to mean “the community of Muslims”. Ursinus provided examples from the *mühimme defterleri* of the *dîvân-ı hümayûn* in which *millet* refers to the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, at least from the end of seventeenth century onwards.¹⁵ As a response to Ursinus’s criticism, Braude claimed that the usage of the term in the way Ursinus proposed was restricted to the *mühimme* registers of the seventeenth century, and that such was not the case in sources outside

¹⁴ Braude, “Foundation Myths”, pp. 69-88.

¹⁵ Michael Ursinus, “Millet”, *EI* 2, Vol. VII, 1993, pp. 61-64.

Constantinople, such as *sharia* records. Therefore, he maintains his argument that “the *millet* system did not exist as an empire-wide system for regulating the affairs of the major non-Muslim communities during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries”.¹⁶ Goffman contributes to the discussion surrounding the usage of the term *millet* in the seventeenth century by proposing that the term *millet* was variable and “polychrestic”, like Ottoman society itself.¹⁷ Goffman shows that the *millet* system paradigm conceals more than it reveals, as in, for example, the bonds between the Empire’s communities of different religions in the early seventeenth century and the government’s “apparent indifference” to these bonds.¹⁸ The idea that a *milletbaşı* did not exist before the nineteenth century was also defended by Konortas.¹⁹ Again, Veinstein argues that İnalcık’s conclusions on the fiscal transformation of the eighteenth-century fiscal system –that is, the generalization of the “*impôt de répartition*”– is connected to the debate on the *millet* system. He agrees with Braude on the theory that the *millets*, in the sense of a self-ruled unit, “[were] able to emerge in the Ottoman Empire only after the appearance of the objective conditions for such an emergence”, which were “fully established only in the eighteenth century with the generalization of the *impôt de répartition*”.²⁰

In the discussion concerning the rights of the Patriarch, the main point of reference is the narrative concerning Mehmed II’s appointment of the first Patriarch, George Scholarios, who took the name Gennadios II. The *berât* of Gennadios, the

¹⁶ Benjamin Braude, “The Strange History of the Millet System” in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization*, Vol. 2, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000, p. 418, fn.3.

¹⁷ Daniel Goffman, “Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century”, *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11, 1994, pp. 135-158.

¹⁸ Goffman, “Ottoman Millets”, p. 150.

¹⁹ Paraskevas Konortas, “From *Taife* to *Millet*: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox Community,” in, *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi (eds.), Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 169-179.

²⁰ Gilles Veinstein, “İnalcık’s views on the Ottoman Eighteenth Century and the Fiscal Problem”, in *Oriente Moderno* 1999, The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century, Kate Fleet (ed.), pp. 9-10.

written official document of appointment, is missing, which is the major source of dispute in the discussions.²¹ In order to deconstruct or consolidate the theories concerning the scope of the Patriarch's power, historians have discussed whether the privileges of Gennadios were personal or institutional, whether they were written or oral, and whether the nature of the privileges was ecclesiastical or administrative.²²

One of the fifteenth-century accounts concerning the appointment of Gennadios is that of Kritovoulos. According to Kritovoulos, Mehmed II appointed Scholarios as patriarch in January 1454.²³ Another source for the story was the *Chronicon Maius* of Sphrantzes, but it has been proven that this account, long attributed to Sphrantzes, is actually a sixteenth-century forgery, the work of Makarios Melissenos Melissourgos, who was the archbishop of Monemvasia in the late sixteenth century.²⁴ Melissenos adopted the *Chronicon Minus* of Sphrantzes and

²¹ Sixteenth-century chronicles mention that it was lost during a fire in the Patriarchate. İnalçık comments that "It is inconceivable that while the Sultans had appointed metropolitans by *berât* before 1453, the Conqueror should abstain from doing so when appointing the Patriarch" (İnalçık, "The Status", p. 203). Zachariadou, depending on the work of Gennadios, claims that it was written (*grammasin*), Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika Eggrafa gia tin Megali Ekklisia (1483-1520)*, Athens: Ethniko Idryma Ereunon, Institutou Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996, p. 48. Kenanoğlu proposes that they must be oral, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi*, pp. 78-83. See also Despina Tsourka-Papastathi, "À Propos des Privilèges Octroyés par Mehmed II au Patriarche Gennadios Scholarios: Mythes et Réalités" in *Le patriarcat oecuménique de Constantinople aux XIVe-XVIe siècles: Rupture et Continuité: Actes du Colloque International*, Rome, 5-6-7 Décembre 2005, eds. Augustine Casiday, et al., (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, Néo-helléniques et Sud-est Européennes, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2007), pp. 253-275, pp. 269-273.

²² The nature of privileges and the legal status of non-Muslims are discussed in Theodore H. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1990, pp. 1-10; Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi*, pp. 27-90; Tsourka-Papastathi, "À Propos des Privilèges", pp. 267-274; Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, pp. 44-50, and İnalçık, "The Status", pp. 203-208.

²³ Charles Riggs, (trans.) *History of Mehmed the Conqueror* by Kritovoulos, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. 93-94. The fact that Kritovoulos dedicated his work to the Sultan as a faithful collaborator has put doubt on the account and on the story of the Patriarch. (For example Braude, "Foundation Myths", p. 77.) Upon the Sultan's expressed interest in the Orthodox religion, Gennadios prepared a report consisting of twenty sections explaining the principles of the Christian religion. The text was translated into Turkish-Arabic language by the *kadı* of Veroia Ahmet, son of Mahmut Çelebi. Immanuel Bekker (ed.), *Historia Politica et Patriarchica Constantinopoleos*, Epirotica, Bonn: 1849, p. 84. See also Ragıp Özdem, "Gennadios'un İtikatnamesi", *Ülkü Halkevleri Dergisi* 10/60, 1938, pp. 529-540.

²⁴ An overview of the gradual progress in studies concerning the forgery on *Chronicon Maius* is found in Marios Philippides, "An 'Unknown' Source for Book III of the *Chronicon Maius* by Pseudo-Sphrantzes", *Byzantine Studies* 10, 1983, pp. 174-183; İnalçık, "The Status", p. 203; Braude,

created a longer version, *Chronicon Maius*. One of the differences between the two accounts is the story of Gennadios.²⁵ While the original *Chronicon Minus* does not mention Gennadios, the sixteenth-century forgery does. Braude points to the fact that the fifteenth-century accounts of Doukas and Chalcocondyles do not mention Gennadios either.²⁶ Zachariadou, on the other hand, mentions the account of Theodoros Agallianos, the autobiography of Gennadios and his letters among fifteenth-century sources for the period. She is thus, in this sense, not as skeptical towards the story of Gennadios.²⁷

For the sixteenth-century accounts on Patriarchal history, Philippides proposes that Damaskenos the Studite's 1572 work "History of the Patriarchs of Constantinople" is the basic source on which other chronicles are directly or indirectly based.²⁸ Manuel Malaxos's *Historia Patriarchica* and *Historia Politica* were the other two fundamental sources, brought to the attention of a scholar from Tübingen, Martin Crusius, by a Patriarchate official named Theodosios Zygomalas.²⁹ The *Chronicon Maius* of Melissourgos, mentioned above as wrongly attributed to Sphrantzes, is the third chronicle of the sixteenth century. Philippides claims that the anonymous text (edited by himself), which is in many cases identical to Malaxos and

"Foundation Myths", p. 76; Hasan Çolak, "Co-Existence and Conflict Between Muslims and Non-Muslims in the 16th Century Ottoman İstanbul", MA Thesis, Bilkent University, 2008, pp. 3-6.

²⁵ Philippides, "An 'Unknown' Source", pp. 177-178; Marios Philippides (ed.), *Emperors, Patriarchs, and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373-1513: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century*, Brookline, Mass.: Hellenic College Press, 1990, p. 57.

²⁶ Braude, "Foundation Myths", p. 76.

²⁷ Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 41-42. C.J.G. Turner, "Notes on the Works of Theodore Agallianos contained in Codex Bodleianus Canonice Graecus 49", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 61, 1968, pp. 27-35. Christos G. Patrinelis, *O Theodoros Agallianos kai oi Anekdotoi Logoi Autou*, Athens: 1966. For Gennadios's letters, see Tsourka-Papastathi, "À Propos des Privilèges", p. 256-263.

²⁸ Philippides (ed.), *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans*, p. 17. Philippides says that this manuscript remains unpublished in the Patriarchate Library. Marios Philippides, "Patriarchal Chronicles of the Sixteenth Century", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 25/1, 1984, p. 94.

²⁹ Philippides (ed.), *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans*, pp. 17-19. "Nowadays we have every reason to believe that the *History of the Patriarchate of Constantinople*, attributed to Manuel Malaxos, is not an original document but that it derives largely from the composition of Damaskenos", Philippides (ed.), *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans*, p. 19. See also Ulrich Moening, "On Martin Crusius's *Collection of Greek Vernacular and Religious Books*", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 21/1, 1997, pp. 40-87. (For this study I will use the Bonn edition: Immanuel Bekker, (ed.), *Historia Politica et Patriarchica Constantinopoleos*, Epirotica, Bonn: 1849.)

Damaskenos, is part of this tradition.³⁰ Finally, a manuscript in the Library of Chios, which includes three tales for Gennadios and Mehmed II written in Constantinople in 1577, has recently been brought to light.³¹

The story of Gennadios has been the focus of the discussion on the privileges of the Patriarchs because the rights of the Patriarchs drew the boundaries of Christian religious practices in the Empire. The extent of the rights of the first patriarch of Ottoman rule would form the basis of the rights of the succeeding patriarchs. Zachariadou published the earliest surviving *berât* thus far discovered, dating to 1483; this may be the closest (in terms of the scope of the rights) to that of Gennadios.³² The ambiguity concerning the exact nature of authority invested to Gennadios by Mehmed II led to heated debates even during the Ottoman period. As extensive jurisdiction and privileges form the main core of the *millet* system theory, current historiography has followed suit.

At certain points during the Ottoman centuries, the need to legitimize the rights of the Patriarchate arose. For example, when the Porte's administration attempted to convert churches at the beginning of the sixteenth century, witnesses were produced who testified that the City was taken by agreement.³³ Thus

³⁰ Philippides (ed.), *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans*. The text exists in various manuscripts. (Including S. Lampros, *Ecthesis Chronica*, London: 1902) The unknown author also drew from other sources, such as Damaskenos. (Philippides (ed.), *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans*, p. 21). Zachariadou mentions *Ecthesis Chroniki*, *Historia Politica*, *Historia Patriarchica*, and the *Biblion Historikon* of Pseudo-Dorotheos as sixteenth-century chronicles, and says that they are based on another text, *The Chronicle of 1391-1514*, repeating more or less the same text with variations and additions. Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, pp. 42-44.

³¹ Dean Sakel, "Three Tales for a Sultan? Three Tales on Mehmed the Conqueror and Patriarch Gennadius", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 35/2, 2008, pp. 227-238. Sakel refers to K. Amantos, "Treis Agnostoi Kodikes tou Khronografou", *Hellenika*, 1, 1928, pp. 45-70 for information on the manuscript.

³² For a discussion views on the authenticity of this *berât* and the second earliest so far published, see pp. 26-27.

³³ For a thorough discussion of historiography on the problem of the attempt to confiscate the churches in the sixteenth century, see Çolak, "Co-Existence and Conflict Between Muslims and Non-Muslims in the 16th Century Ottoman İstanbul". Christos G. Patrinelis, "The Exact Time of the First Attempt of the Turks to Seize the Churches and Convert the Christian People of Constantinople to

Melissenos, mentioned above, fabricated a fifteenth-century text in the sixteenth century to produce argumentation against encroachment on supposed privileges.³⁴

Philippides also comments that the reason for the compilations of Patriarchal histories in the sixteenth century is related to the Patriarchate's attempt to stop the conversion of Christian churches in Constantinople to mosques.³⁵ The conversion of churches into mosques is one of the central issues related to the privileges of the Church.

By the eighteenth century, the myths related to the appointment of Gennadios had already been standardized, as the account of James Dallaway, written at the end of the century, testifies:

After the taking of Constantinople by Mohammed II, he continued, to the first patriarch, the same present which the Greek Emperors had been accustomed to make, a pastoral staff, a white horse, and four hundred ducats in gold. He left ample revenues to the Greek church, and the maintenance of its clergy [...].³⁶

By the nineteenth century, the idea that the rights and privileges of Patriarchs were rooted in the period of Mehmed II found followers in the Porte, as is expressed in the *Islahat Fermanı* of 1856.³⁷ The *Islahat Fermanı* stipulated that the

Islam”, *Actes du 1er Congres International des Etudes Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, Vol. III, Sophia: 1969, pp. 567-574.

³⁴ See fn. 24.

³⁵ Philippides (ed.), *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans*, p. 17.

³⁶ James Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad*, London: 1797, p. 100; Çolak, “Co-Existence and Conflict”, pp. 58-59.

³⁷ “Bâb-ı Âlîmizin nezâreti tahtında olarak mahsûsan patrikhanelerde teşkil olunacak meclisler marifetiyle bi'l-müzakere cânib-i Bâb-ı Âlîmize arz ve ifade eylemeye mecbur olarak Cennetmekan Ebu'l-feth Sultan Mehmed Hân-ı Sâni Hazretleri ve gerek ahlâf-ı izâmları tarafından patrikler ile Hıristiyan piskoposlarına itâ buyurulmuş olan ruhsat ve iktidar niyât-ı fütüvvet-karâne-i Padişâhânemden nâşi iş bu cemaatlere te'min olunmuş olan hâl ve mevki-i cedîd ile tevfiik olunup ve patriklerin el-hâletü hâzihî cârî olan usûl-i intihâbiyeleri islâh olunduktan sonra patriklik berat-ı âlîsinin ahkâmına tatbikan kayd-ı hayat ile nasb ve tayin olunmaları usûlünün tamamen ve sahîhan icrâ ve Bâb-ı Âlîmizle cemaât-ı muhtelifenin rüesâ-yı ruhâniyesi beyninde karar-gîr olacak bir sûrete tatbikan patrik ve metropolit ve murahhasa [sic] ve piskopos ve hahamların hîn-i nasbında usûl-i tahlifiyenin ifâ kılınması ve her ne sûret ve nâm ile olursa olsun rahiplere verilmekte olan cevâiz ve avâidât cümleten men olunarak yerine patriklere ve cemaât başlarına varidât-ı muayyene tahsis ve ruhân-ı sâirenin dahî rütbe ve mansıplarının ehemmiyetine ve bundan sonra verilecek karara göre kendilerine ber-veçh-i hakkâniyet maaşlar tayin olunup fakat Hıristiyan rahiplerinin emvâl-i menkûle ve gayr-i menkûlelerine bir gûna sekte irâs olunmayarak, Hıristiyan ve sâir tebaa-i gayr-i müsleme

privileges and rights of Patriarchs would be adapted to the new *status quo*. In 1862, a new regulation – the *Rum Patrikhanesi Nizâmnamesi* – was prepared by a commission of seven metropolitans and twenty-one laymen, presented to the Porte and accepted.³⁸ The stipulations of the *Rum Patrikhanesi Nizâmnamesi*, regulating the extended rights and privileges, demonstrate the extent of Patriarchal jurisdiction by 1862.³⁹

At the end of the nineteenth century, the question of the privileges of the Patriarchate [*pronomiako zitimata*] arose. Arnakis notes that the legal reforms of the late nineteenth century and the novelties in the *berât* of 1882 were disturbing for the Patriarchate. Further interferences in “judiciary and educational privileges” resulted in the resignation of Patriarch Ioachim III in 1884. Although the Porte declared that it did not intend to change the privileges of the Patriarch, further problems arose in 1890, and this time Patriarch Dionysios V resigned. Negotiations were held in 1891.⁴⁰

In fact, the core of the problem was centered around the stipulations of *berâts*, as Konortas notes in his article on the ecclesiastical *berâts*.⁴¹ In the negotiations between the Porte and the Patriarchate on matters relating to ecclesiastical rights and privileges, the Porte expressed that the bases of the legal status of churches and ecclesiastical privileges were the *berâts*, the *Hatt-ı Hümayûn*

cemaatlerinin milletçe olan maslahâtlarının idaresi her bir cemaatin ruhbân ve âvâmı beyinde müntehab âzâdan mürekkeb bir meclisin hüsn-i muhâfazasına havâle kılınması.” Gazi Erdem, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Hıristiyanların Sosyal ve Dini Hayatları (1856-1876)”, PhD diss., Ankara University, 2005, p. 132.

³⁸ Yorgo Benlisoy and Elçin Macar, *Fener Patrikhanesi*, Ankara: Ayraç Yayınevi, 1996, pp. 42-44. The Greek text was published as *Geniki kanonismoi peri dieuthetiseos ton ekklesiastikon kai ethnikon pragmaton ton ypo ton oikoumenikon thronon diatelounton Orthodoxon Christianon, Ypikoon tis A. Megalioititos tou Soultanou*, Constantinople: 1862.

³⁹ For the stipulations, see Erdem, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Hıristiyanların Sosyal ve Dini Hayatları”, pp. 232-252.

⁴⁰ Arnakis, “The Greek Church of Constantinople”, pp. 249-250. For a detailed discussion of the issue, see Basileios K. Stefanidis, *Ekklesiastiki Istoría: Ap’archis Mechri Simeron*, 4th ed., Athens: Astir, 1978, p. 692 onwards.

⁴¹ Paraskevas Konortas, “I Exelixa ton ‘Ekklesiastikon’ Beration kai to ‘Pronomiakon Zitima’ ”, *Ta Istorika* 9, 1988, pp. 259-286.

of 1856 and the regulations of 1862 [*Rum Patrikhanesi Nizâmnamesi*]. Upon this basis, the Patriarchate initiated a process of collecting and recording *berâts*. Konortas compares ecclesiastical *berâts* and proposes that common expressions in earlier and later *berâts* suggest that earlier ones might be inauthentic. He proposes that the *berât* of the metropolitan of Larissa dated 1604 may not have been composed until the 1850s.⁴² In this process, finding old *berâts* was imperative. Interestingly, the oldest *berât* found in the Patriarchal archive was dated to 1835. As Konortas notes, G.A. Mavrokordatos in 1853 and the Metropolitan Anthimos in 1868 voiced the opinion that the privileges had not changed since the fifteenth century, the official position of the Patriarchate. This was repeated by other ecclesiastics, e.g. Manuel Gedeon,⁴³ and by the metropolitan of Ilioupoli Gennadios in 1938. Papadopoulos accepted this opinion in 1952.⁴⁴ The final phase of the “problem of privileges” was related to the Patriarchate’s defense against the policies of Committee of Union and Progress.⁴⁵ Finally, books were printed in order to defend ecclesiastical rights. Gedeon’s books printed in the Patriarchal printing house relates to the later phase of “the problem of privileges”. Other books were published by Karavokyros, Delikanis and others. The problem was not unique to the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate, as similar printing efforts were undertaken by Armenians as well. Konortas notes, for instance, that Malahia Ormanian’s *L’Eglise Arménienne* was published in 1910.⁴⁶ It seems that the practical concerns of Christian subjects during the Ottoman period and the ideological

⁴² Konortas discusses this in his article “Exelixi”.

⁴³ For Gedeon’s life and works see Stavros Th. Anestidis, “I Ethnarchiki Paradosi tis Megalis Ekklesias kai o Manuil Gedeon”, PhD Diss, University of Athens, 1993. To mention some of his works; Manuel I. Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes: Eidisis Istorikai Biografikai peri ton Patriarchon Konstantinoupoleos apo Andreou tou Protoklitou mechris Ioakeim G’ tou apo Thessalonikis, 36-1884*, Athens: Syllogos pros diadosin Ofelimon Biblion, (reprinted) 1996, 2003; Manuel Gedeon, *Patriarchiki Efimerides: Eidisis ek tis Imeteras Ekklesiastikis Istorias 1500- 1912*, Athens: Typ. Sergiadis, 1938; Manuel Gedeon, *Tetrakosietiris Patriarchikis Doreas 1538-1937*, Athens: 1957.

⁴⁴ Konortas, “Exelixi”, p. 262.

⁴⁵ Konortas, “Exelixi”, p. 283.

⁴⁶ Konortas, “Exelixi”, pp. 281-286.

concerns of modern historians urged them to construct an image of an autonomous Patriarch.

Apart from historical contingencies, such as Abdülhamid II and the Committee of Union and Progress's effort to restrain unlimited patriarchal jurisdiction, the role of the Patriarchate in the Ottoman era became central in early twentieth-century Balkan historiography.⁴⁷ In writing the history of the Greek Revolution in 1821 and the formation of the modern Greek state, the attitude of the Patriarchate *vis-à-vis* the actors of the Greek Revolution was questioned. To address accusations against the clergy's role during the Greek Revolution, the Patriarchate was given the role of protector of the Orthodox subjects under Ottoman rule. Runciman proposes that credit for "keeping the light [of Hellenism] alive" should be given to the Church above all, apart from Gennadios, Mehmed II, the Phanariots and even Koraïs.⁴⁸ In this picture, the patriarch is considered the *ethnarch* and the ruler of the *millet*.⁴⁹ Clogg questions this role attributed to the Patriarchate by demonstrating that hostility against the clergy prior to the Greek Revolution existed not only among intellectuals, but also on the popular level.⁵⁰ Kitromilides also challenges the assumptions of twentieth-century Balkan historiography by attributing to the Orthodox Church and Orthodox Christianity the major role in the construction of a

⁴⁷ The attitude of the Patriarchate towards the "Greek Enlightenment" induced by the French Revolution was not favorable. The Paternal Exhortation (*Dhidaskalia Patriki*) of Anthimos, Patriarch of Jerusalem – attributed to Patriarch of Constantinople Grigorios V by Sergios Makraios – was in a short time answered by the Brotherly Exhortation (*Adelfiki Didaskalia*) of Adamantios Korais in 1798. The rift between the two ideologies revealed itself in the language problem (*diglossia*). In this process, the Patriarchate was accused of serving the Ottomans. For the authorship of *Dhidaskalia Patriki*, see Richard Clogg, "The Dhidaskalia Patriki (1798): An Orthodox Reaction to French Revolutionary Propaganda", *Middle Eastern Studies* 5/2, 1969, pp. 87-115.

⁴⁸ Steven Runciman, "Rum Milleti: The Orthodox Communities under the Ottoman Sultans," in *The Byzantine Tradition After the Fall*, John James Yiannias (ed.), Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁹ Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 165-185.

⁵⁰ See Clogg, Richard. "Anti-Clericalism in Pre-Independence Greece c. 1750-1821" in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, Studies in Church History 13, Derek Baker (ed.), Oxford: Blackwell, 1976, pp. 257-276. Also in Richard Clogg, *Anatolica: Studies in the Greek East in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Part VIII, Aldershot: Variorum, 1996.

national identity under the Ottomans, and he points out the antinomy existing between Orthodoxy and nationalism in the nineteenth century.⁵¹

1.2. Approach

The aim of this dissertation is, first of all, to contextualize the history of the Patriarchate within its Ottoman background, and to demonstrate its gradual transformation in the eighteenth century. The patriarch was both the spiritual leader of the Orthodox Christian subjects of the Empire, and an Ottoman administrator. Apart from the patriarch as a *mültezim* and as a religious leader, the nature of his role in the changing conditions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman society will also be explored.

Distinct social boundaries between Christians and Muslims only began to emerge from the end of the eighteenth century onwards, not before.⁵² In explaining the role of the Patriarchate during the Ottoman period, a more important distinction that should be taken into account is the distinction between the administrators of the Porte (in which the Patriarchate is included) and the tax-paying *re'âyâ*. This will be one of the key perspectives of this study.

In Orthodox Christianity, monasteries are symbols of isolation founded primarily on high hills at a distance from residential areas. Contrary to this, churches,

⁵¹ Paschalis Kitromilides, “‘Imagined Communities’ and the Origins of the National question in the Balkans” in *Enlightenment, Nationalism and Orthodoxy*, XI, pp. 149-192. In order to bridge the gap between the ancient world and the modern era by reinterpreting medieval Byzantium as a manifestation of Hellenism during the Middle Ages, Konstantinos Paparrhigopoulos wrote the first history of Greece as an unbroken continuity (Herkül Milas, *Yunan Ulusunun Doğuşu*, Istanbul: İletişim, 1994, pp. 54-55.) *Tourkokratia* does not occupy a favored place in the course of nationalist Balkan historiography. Only recently has the Ottoman period begun to be explored by a new generation of historians using Ottoman sources.

⁵² See Chapter 3.1.5, “A remark on non-Muslims and Muslims before the end of the eighteenth century”.

as administrative centers, were located in more central positions.⁵³ The Patriarchate, situated in Fener [Phanari] since the beginning of the seventeenth century, should thus be considered as a part of the urban structure of Istanbul, influencing and being influenced by that city's networks of people and communication.⁵⁴ Far from being a static institution, the Patriarchate should be considered as an entity encompassing laypeople and clergy, as well as forming a part of various social networks. Not just an object of Ottoman administration, or an apparatus of the tax-collection system, the Patriarchate should be considered an active subject in the urban setting of the imperial City.

The history of the Patriarchate during the Ottoman period did not simply follow a straight line of growth or decadence, but rather experienced various ups and downs. What is crucial is to determine the factors behind these ups and downs. For this purpose, different dynamics in the making of Ottoman policies regarding the Patriarchate of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will be examined.

Investigation of Ottoman policies towards the Patriarchate is not meant to in any way imply that the Patriarchate was not a part of the Ottoman administration. On the contrary, one of the major results of this thesis comes from research on Patriarchal documents regarding the Patriarchal *berâts*, which demonstrate that the Ottoman administration considered the Patriarchate to be a part of its administrative

⁵³ For the issue of ascetic renunciation and monasteries versus churches as administrative buildings, see Caroline T. Schroeder, "A Suitable Abode for Christ?: The Church Building as Symbol of Ascetic Renunciation in Early Monasticism", *Church History* 73/3, 2004, pp. 472-521.

⁵⁴ The first Patriarchal Church during the Ottoman period was the Church of the Holy Apostles [*Havariyyun Kilisesi*], allotted to Gennadios. When the Sultan wanted to build his mosque and complex of Fatih on this spot, a new Church, the Church of Panagia Pammakaristos, was given to the Patriarchate in 1456. Pammakaristos was turned into a mosque [*Fethiye Camii*] in 1586, and the Church of the Virgin Mary of Vlahsaray in Fener became the new Patriarchal center. Afterwards, the Church of St. Dimitrios in Xyloporta [*Ayvansaray*] was used by the Patriarchate from 1597 on. Finally, the Church of St. George in Fener became the Patriarchal Church at the beginning of the seventeenth century and is still in use today. Aristeidis Pasadaios, *O Patriachikos Oikos tou Oikomenikou Thronou*, Salonica: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1976.

body; for example, the *berâts* secured the rights of the Patriarchs *vis-à-vis* the Christian clergy and subjects.

Finally, a note on the terms defining the Patriarchate is necessary. In this dissertation, I will refer to the Patriarchate as the “Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul”, as a translation of “*İstanbul Rum Patrikhanesi*”, which was the usage of Ottoman documents of the eighteenth century. The translation of *Rum* as “Greek” is not free from problems inasmuch as the terms “Greek” and “Turk” (for the Rum Orthodox and Ottomans, respectively) are embedded with a nineteenth-century Western viewpoint. The term “Ecumenical”, on the other hand, was used in documents written in the Greek language among the internal correspondence of the Patriarchate.⁵⁵ The official seals of the Patriarchs had inscriptions in both Ottoman and Greek. For example, on Kyrillos V Karakallos’s seal is found “*bende patrik-i Rum Kirilos Kostantiniyye*”, surrounded by the Greek inscription “*Kyrillos eleo theou Archiepiskopos Konstantinoupoleos Neas Romis Oikoumenikos Patriarchis*” [Kyrillos, by the grace of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, Ecumenical Patriarch].⁵⁶

1.3. Structure

After the introductory chapter, the second chapter will look at the early period of the Patriarchate until the seventeenth century. I will examine the rights and

⁵⁵ For example, in a Patriarchal *sigillion* of 1681 of Patriarch Iakovos, the Patriarch’s title is “*Iakovos eleo theou archiepiskopos Konstantinoupoleos Neas Romis kai oikoumenikos Patriarchis*” (Nikolaos B. Tomadakis, *Istoria tis Ekklisias Kritis epi Tourkokratias (1645-1898)*, Athens: Typografeion Iordanou Myrtidi, 1974, p. 288). In another *sigillion* dated 1706, it is “*Gabriel eleo theou archiepiskopos Konstantinoupoleos Neas Romis kai oikoumenikos Patriarchis*” (Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 291).

⁵⁶ See Appendix B.

privileges of the Patriarchs in this period based on Greek contemporary sources and a number of published documents, with a discussion on the authenticity of the documents. Subsequently, the fiscal obligations of the Patriarchate to the Imperial Treasury and the revenues of the Patriarchate and the local clergy at this period will be discussed. The second section of Chapter II will deal with the actors who were influential in events concerning the Patriarchate prior to the eighteenth century. These are the *archons*, the Catholics and the Protestants, and finally the northern Orthodox, *i.e.* the Russians and the Cossacks. This is because the relationships of the Patriarchs to these actors were determinant in the events of the turbulent first half of the seventeenth century. Subsequently, based on the account of Galland, the events of 1672-3 will be mentioned as a convenient case showing the interaction between these actors and the Patriarchs. The following section, narrating events from 1638 to 1657, *i.e.* the execution of three Patriarchs and an ex-Patriarch, is mainly based on contemporary Greek accounts, and less on Ottoman chronicles. The reason for this is that chronicles and Ottoman archives are silent on these events, which can be found only in Western secondary sources and primary Greek accounts, except for one particular case.

In order to contextualize the transformation of the Patriarchate in the eighteenth century within its Ottoman background, I will open Chapter III with an overview of certain Ottoman realities of the eighteenth century, *e.g.* the transformation of the military and fiscal system of the Empire beginning from the earlier period, the rise of the Porte's bureaucracy and the socially mobile atmosphere of the period. As petitions are one of the main sources of this study, I will look at the nature of petitioning in this period. Subsequently, based on recent studies, I will present some remarks on the nature of the relationship between Muslims and non-

Muslims in Ottoman society before the end of the eighteenth century. In the second section of Chapter III, the actors of the eighteenth century will be presented. The first part of this section will reveal the Patriarchate as part of a financial and social network in Ottoman society. Subsequently, the place of the Phanariots in the Ottoman taxation system and their position as intermediaries will be examined. Finally, the situation of the Catholics, who were active in the Empire beginning in the seventeenth century, and the change in attitude of the Patriarchate and the Porte towards Catholics in the eighteenth century will be presented. In the third section of Chapter III, I will present the transformation of the rights and privileges of the Patriarchs, based on a detailed study of the stipulations of nineteen Patriarchal *berâts* dating from 1714 to 1769. This section aims to present the changing role of the patriarch in eighteenth-century Ottoman society. The fourth section of Chapter III deals with changes in the finances of the Patriarchate from 1686 to the 1760s, based on thus far unused Ottoman documents.

Chapter IV is a case study presenting a portrait of one rather interesting Patriarch, Kyrillos Karakallos. In this chapter, I will attempt to uncover what the story of Karakallos – a story which has so far attracted the attention of theologians – signifies in terms of Ottoman conditions. I will look at how the patriarch dealt with his rival metropolitans, with financial problems, with the guilds of the capital, and with the Porte’s administration.

In Chapter V, a major transformation in the structure of the Patriarchate from the 1740s to the 1760s will be examined: the “Reform of the Synod”, *i.e.* the establishment of the *Gerondismos*. This was an important development on behalf of the Patriarchate, at the end of which the corporate identity of the Patriarchate *vis-à-vis* the Porte was ultimately recognized.

Finally, Chapter VII is an attempt to re-examine the annexations of the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid to the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul in 1766 and 1767. In this chapter, as in the previous chapter on the *Gerondismos*, I will question the role thus far attributed by historiography to the Phanariots, primarily in the light of new documentation.

1.4. Sources

The *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive provides the basic archival source for this study. The *piskoposluk kalemi* was a part of the *Evâmir-i Mâliye Kalemi*. These are available in three classifications: the *Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi* contains approximately 35, while the *Bâb-ı Defteri Defter Kataloğu* (1169-1250 / 1756-1834) contains ten *defters*. The third classification (D.PSK) contains 31 folders of documents dating from 1016 to 1207 (1607-1792).⁵⁷ The documents concern not only the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul but also the Armenian Patriarchate, the Orthodox Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, Peć and Ohrid. In his seminal articles “Ottoman Archival Materials on Millets” and “The Status of the Orthodox Patriarch”, İnalçık mentions and refers to the *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers.⁵⁸ Apart from the *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers, various *ahkâm*, *şikâyet*, *mühimme* and *kalebend* registers have also been used for this study. The *berâts* of Patriarchs and metropolitans, as well as the petitions of not only

⁵⁷ Although the first document in the D.PSK collection was catalogued as 1015/1606, it seems that this date is wrong, as the document is a petition signed by Kallinikos the Patriarch (Kallinikos II: 1688, 1689-1693, 1694-1702). The second document is dated 1016/1607, and the following documents start from 1046/1636 onwards. Cezar notes that the *piskopos kalemi* was a part of the *maden kalemi* during the period of Grand Vizier Ali Paşa's reforms, which were reverted. Yavuz Cezar, “XVIII. yy'da Bab-ı Defteri”, *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi* IV, 1993, p. 152.

⁵⁸ Halil İnalçık, “Ottoman Archival Materials on Millets”, in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Braude and Lewis, Vol. I, Holmes and Meier, New York and London: 1982, pp. 437-449.

the Patriarchs but also of Christian *re'âyâ* and clergy, are also among the basic sources of this study. The *berâts* used in this study are the official orders to issue ecclesiastical *berâts* in the *ahkâm* and *berevât defters* in the *piskopos mukâta'ası* collections.

Partial selection of Ottoman documents related only to the fiscal issues of the Patriarchate has misled scholarship into believing that the fiscal role of the patriarch was the only one exercised. However, *şikâyet* and *ahkâm* registers complement the *berâts* in demonstrating the changing role of the patriarch in eighteenth-century Ottoman society.

Published primary sources, such as the documents of the Patriarchate (Codex, letters, synodical decisions, and orders sent from the patriarch to the bishops) and Greek chronicles, have also been useful for this study.⁵⁹ From the end of the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century, Manuel I. Gedeon of Istanbul produced numerous articles and books on Church history under the Ottoman Empire, as we have seen above. His articles have been published in such ecclesiastical periodicals as *Orthodoxia*, *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia* and *Ekklesia* in Istanbul, Salonica and Athens. As he was a member of the Patriarchate, his works were based on Patriarchal archives. It is possible to find reprints of both Patriarchal and Ottoman documents in his works, as he was fluent in both Greek and Ottoman.⁶⁰

Gennadios Arabatzoglou, the metropolitan of Ilioupoleos, wrote on similar subjects

⁵⁹ To mention some, Nomikos Michael Vaporis (ed.), *Some Aspects of the History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22 of the Yale University Library*, USA: 1969; Konstantinos D. Mertzios, *Patriarchika itoi anekdoti pliroforiai schetika pros tous patriarchas konstantinoupoleos apo tou 1556-1702*, Athens: Akadimia Athinon, 1951; Kallinikos Delikanis (ed.), *Patriarchikon Eggrafon*, Vol. III, *Ta en tis kodixi tou patriarchikou archiofylakiou sozomena episima ekklesiastika eggrafa ta aforonta eis tas schesis tou Oikoumenikou Patriarcheiu pros tas ekklesias Rossias, Blachias kai Moldabias, Serbias, Achridon kai Pekiou, 1564 - 1863*, Konstantinoupoli: Patriarchikon Typografeion, 1905; Gennadiou M. Arapatzoglou, *Foteios Bibliothiki, itoi episima kai idiotika eggrafa kai alla mnimia schetika pros tin istorian tou Oikoumenikou Patriarcheiu meta genikon kai idikon prolegomenon*, Konstantinoupoli: Typis Fazilet, 1935.

⁶⁰ See fn. 43.

in the first half of the twentieth century, relying on Patriarchal archives. These sources were produced at a time of conflict between the Porte and the Patriarchate on ecclesiastical privileges, as was explained above. In spite of this, Gedeon and Arabatzoglou's research has been invaluable for this study. Apart from works based on these official documents, various Greek chronicles and contemporary testimonies have also been used,⁶¹ the major one being Hypsilantis's *Ta meta tin Alosin*, regarded as the "peak of Phanariot historiography".⁶²

Chronicles in the Ottoman and Greek languages, reports of ambassadors, and Ottoman archival documents present completely different facets of the same stories. In matters concerning the stance of the Patriarchate towards theological issues, such as the issue of anabaptism, the Patriarchate has generally been considered an entity existing in a vacuum. In order to situate the history of the Patriarchate in the Ottoman context, the major tool in this study will be the multiplicity of sources complementing each other.

One difficulty of chronicles and manuscripts is that they sometimes tend to present relationships in terms of bribery and the venality of offices. While intermediaries did play a role in accession to thrones, they were not the sole factors in this regard.⁶³

⁶¹ Athanasios Komnenos Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin* (1453-1789), ed. Archim. G. Afthonidos, 1870 (reprinted in Athens: 1972). The major contemporary source for the period of Karakallos was the anonymous *Planosparaktis* published in Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 275-364. Another source is Sergios Makraios's *Ypomnimata Ekklesiastikis Istorias* (1750-1800) in Kontsantinos Sathas (ed), *Mesaioniki Bibliothiki*, Vol. III, Venice: Typois tou Chronou, 1872, including Kaisarios Dapontes' *Chronografos* (1648-1707) and his *Istorikos Katalogos* (1700-1784). (For *Chronografos*, Paizi-Apostolopoulou writes that Dapontes was aware of an unpublished manuscript by Dimitrios Ramadanis. See Machi Paizi-Apostolopoulou, "Dimitrios Ramadanis: Enas Istorigrafos tou 18ou Aiona se Afaneia", *O Eranistis* 20, 1995, pp. 20-35). The ecclesiastical history of Meletios, the metropolitan of Athens, Georgios Ventotis (ed.), *Ekklesiastiki Istorika Meletiou*, 4 Vols, Vienna: 1783, 1784, 1795. It was edited and increased in content by Ventotis. See Chapter IV, fn.6. Another account useful for ecclesiastical history is that of K.M. Koumas, *Istorikai ton Anthroponon Praxeon*, Vol. 10, Vienna: 1831.

⁶² Johann Strauss, "The Rise of Non-Muslim Historiography in the Eighteenth Century", in *Oriente Moderno*, The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century, Kate Fleet (ed.), p. 226.

⁶³ On ascending to the throne, it was not only the Rums who paid *peşkeş*, nor was it only the Porte to

In contemporary accounts, the position of the author, and consequently the source of information, have influenced the tone of the accounts. Western travelers – whether Catholic or Protestant – recording their observations on Eastern Christians under “Turkish” rule have a contemptuous point of view towards the Orthodox Church. In search of the remnants of ancient Greek civilization, they were disappointed by Greek-speaking subjects’ eastern modes of behavior, which they scorned. In this sense, they perceived it as a sacred duty to unite the Orthodox Church to their own Church.⁶⁴ As a result of this position, the typical attitude of western observers as well as Greek historians towards the office of the patriarch was to consider it an object of simony. Greek ecclesiastical histories provide chronological information on the biographies and deeds of Patriarchs. They frequently mention bribes and money as the reason for the change in the throne. If a contemporary author was from inside the Ottoman Porte, such as Hypsilantis,⁶⁵ the explanation for this is based on complex personal relationships. Hypsilantis reveals the personal links of Patriarchs as a way to access the Patriarchal throne. On the other hand, Ottoman chronicles very rarely provide us with direct information

whom money was paid. The high clergy paid the Patriarchate as well. On March 15, 1681, Athanasios, the metropolitan of Christianoupolis in Peloponessos, borrowed money from the *dikaiophylax* Rhales 420 *aslania* to pay for his “gift of ordination” to the Patriarchate. The promissory note was signed by the Patriarch Iakovos I and the other metropolitans. Nomikos Michael Vaporis, *Some Aspects of the History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22 of the Yale University Library*, USA: 1969, pp. 53-54.

⁶⁴ For example, Tournefort, who visited the Aegean islands and Istanbul around 1700, notes on many occasions that Greek priests were illiterate and that Greeks devoid of missionary education were ignorant and superstitious (Stefanos Yerasimos (ed.), *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, İstanbul: Kitap Yaymevi, 2005, p. 122, p. 177). From the commission of the French ambassador Nointel, the illustrator William Joseph Grelot recorded his personal observations of the Ottoman Empire. His account also has a scornful point of view towards Orthodox subjects, as well as towards the Muslims of the Empire. (Joseph Grelot, *A Late Voyage to Constantinople*, London: 1683.)

⁶⁵ Athanasios Komninos Hypsilantis (1696-1789) claimed that he descended from Emperor Manuel Komnenos. He studied in Iasi from 1724 to 1727, went to Venice in 1734, and became a medical doctor in Padua in 1738. He was the doctor of Gregory Ghica at Iasi until 1744, and from 1744 onwards he was the doctor of Grand Vizier Ragıb Paşa. He was also the Grand Skevophylax of the Patriarchate. Nicolae Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium*, Iasi, Portland: Center for Romanian Studies and Romanian Institute of International Studies, 2000, pp. 227-230. Strauss, “The Rise of Non-Muslim Historiography”, pp. 226-229.

concerning the Patriarchs. They have been used in this study as points of reference, especially to verify the accounts of travelers, memoir writers and other chroniclers.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Mehmet İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima* (1000-1070/ 1592-1660), 4 Vols, Ankara: TTK, 2007; Ziya Yılmaz (ed.), *Topçular Katibi Abdülkadir (Kadri) Efendi Tarihi (1000-1054 / 1592-1644)*, Ankara: TTK, 2003; Vahid Çubuk (ed.), *Solakzade Tarihi* (Mehmet Hemdemi Çelebi Solakzade), Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1989; Mesut Aydın (ed.), *Subhi Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2008; Abdülkadir Özcan, *Zübde-i Vekayiât: Tahsil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704) / Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa*, Ankara: TTK, 1995; *Fezleke-i Katip Çelebi*, İstanbul: Ceride-i Havadis Matbaası 1286-1287 (1869-1871); Fındıklılı Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928; Süleyman İzzi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, (1157-1165, 1744-1752), İstanbul: Mütferrika Matbaası, 1199/1784; *Tarih-i Raşid*, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1282.

CHAPTER II

THE PATRIARCHATE UP TO 1700

2.1. THE INSTITUTION

2.1.1. Jurisdiction

Mehmed II initiated a new period of the Patriarchate of Istanbul by appointing Gennadios as the first patriarch in 1454. As was mentioned in the introduction, the scope of the privileges of Gennadios granted in the fifteenth century were intensely discussed in the following centuries, as the privileges of patriarchs were perceived as the basis of the rights of Ottoman Orthodox laypeople and clergy.¹

The rights and privileges of a patriarch or a metropolitan – as is true for other owners of *berât* like an *imam*, a *mültezim* or a *vezir* – is recorded in their *berâts*, given upon accession to office. These are documents of authorization granted

¹ For the historiographical discussion on the privileges of patriarchs and the motivations behind these discussions see the Chapter 1.1, “Literary Review”.

by the *dīvân-ı hümayûn kalemi*.² Upon arrival in office and in the case of *cülûs-ı hümayûn* [accession of a new sultan to the throne], the *berâts* of patriarchs and metropolitans, like those of all other officials, were renewed.³ İnalçık underlines the importance of *berâts* as a sign of the Ottoman official appointment of non-Muslim clergymen and “a pre-requisite to exercise authority”.⁴ Konortas also stresses that *berâts* granted administrative rights to Christian clergymen.⁵ The patriarch needed a *berât* in order to validate his office in the eyes of Ottoman officials. It is crucial to study patriarchs’ *berâts* in order to be able to make a full comment on the status of the Christian high clergy in the Ottoman Empire.

Thus far, very few patriarchal *berâts* covering the period from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century have been published.⁶ These are the *berâts* of Symeon I (1483, published in Ottoman and in Greek translation)⁷, Ieremias I (1525, published in Ottoman and in Greek translation),⁸ Dionysios III⁹ (1662, exists only in Greek translation), Dionysios IV¹⁰ (date not clear, and only in French and a Greek translation of the French), Kyrillos V (1755, in Greek translation)¹¹, Serafeim II

² Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, (3rd ed.), Vol. I, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1983, p. 205, Lajos Fekete, “Berât”, *EI 2*, Vol I, pp. 1170-1171.

³ For example, upon the *cülûs* of Sultan Mahmud I in 1143/1730, the *berâts* of the metropolitans of Marmara, Kayseriye, Sofya, Brusa and Gemlik, Girid, Midilli, Özi, Sakız, Kapıdağı, İskeçe and Kavala, Drama, Selanik and others were renewed. See D. PSK 9.

⁴ İnalçık, “The Status”, pp. 206-207; Halil İnalçık, “The Appointment Procedure of a Guild Warden (Ketkhudâ)”, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Des Morgenlandes* 76, Festschrift Andreas Tietze, 1986, pp. 138-139.

⁵ Konortas, “Exelixi”, p. 261.

⁶ Paraskevas Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis gia to Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio: 17^{os}- arches 20^{ou} Aiona*, Athens: Ekdoseis Alexandria, 1998, pp. 57-58. Konortas lists 14 patriarch *berâts*, 7 of them being prior to the 19th century.

⁷ Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, pp. 160-162.

⁸ Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, pp. 177-178.

⁹ Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis*, p. 57. The *berât* is published in Manuel Gedeon, *Episima Grammata Tourkika*, Konstantinoupoli: Patriarchikou Typografeiou, 1910, pp. 9-14 (only in Greek).

¹⁰ The French text is in Jean Aymon, *Monumens authentiques de la religion des Grecs, et de la fausseté de plusieurs confessions de foi des Chrétiens orientaux*, La Haye: 1708, pp. 486. The Greek translation of Aymon is in Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, pp. 98-99. The *berât* of Dionysios IV was published first by Aymon in French and in Greek by Gedeon, and therefore the translation misses many points.

¹¹ This was referred to as the *berât* of 1754 by Konortas due to the date of the *cülûs* of 1754. The *berât* was issued in 1755. A Greek translation of the text is in Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, pp. 76-86.

(1757 in Ottoman and in Greek translation)¹², and Neofytos VII¹³ (1789, in French translation).¹⁴

Kenanoğlu, in order to provide evidence for the forgery of the two patriarchal *berâts* of Symeon and Ieremias published by Zachariadou, proposes that, in earlier *berâts*, places under the jurisdiction of the patriarchs were not recorded, and that this was done only in order to distinguish the jurisdictions of Ohrid and Peć. However, in the first *berât* after the inclusion of Peć and Ohrid in 1766 and 1767 – *i.e.* the *berât* given to Meletios in 1768 – the places under the jurisdiction of Istanbul were written down, including Peć and a list of places in its vicinity and Ohrid and places in its vicinity as well.¹⁵ Also, in the *berâts* of 1483 and 1525, the fact that the areas that were not exclusively in Ottoman lands were included in the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate might be an Ottoman policy to claim spiritual jurisdiction even in areas not conquered yet. This could arise from political and ideological reasons against Venetians, Russians, and others. Another argument Kenanoğlu puts forward concerns the expression “*kâfirler mirâsına padriyahdan gayrı kimesne aralarına girmeye*”, proposing that the issue of inheritance was not conceded to the patriarchs. In this way, he proposes that the document was a forgery produced in later years in

İnalçık lists the names of places under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate in his article, İnalçık, “Archival Materials”, pp. 444-446. The official order of the *berât* is in KK.d. 2540, pp. 39-42. See Chapter 3.3.1, “The Institution”, and Appendix A.

¹² The *berât* of Serafeim was renewed in 1757 due to *cülûs* two months after his accession to the throne. The Ottoman text was published by Pavlos Chidirolou, “Soultanika Beratia”, *Epetiris tou Kentrou Epistimonikon Erevnon VII*, Levkosia, 1973-1975, pp. 179-189, and a Greek translation is on pp. 230-241. The official order of the first *berât* of Serafeim (not the one renewed upon *cülûs*) is in KK.d. 2542-15-33, 34 (pp. 34-35). See Appendix A.

(For the documents in KK.d.2542 series used in this study, references are first to the electronic document numbers as they are recorded in the archive, and then to the page numbers, as page numbers are not consistent in the *defters*. For example 2542-15-33, 34 (pp. 33-35) means *defter* no. 15, JPG no.s 33 and 34, and page numbers 33-35).

¹³ M. D’Ohsson, *Tableau Général de L’Empire Ottoman*, Vol. V, Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2001, (1st ed: Paris: 1824), pp. 56-63.

¹⁴ For the eighteenth century, however, documents relating to patriarchal rights, *i.e.* the official copies of patriarchal *berâts*, are available. For an examination of Ottoman documents relating to patriarchal *berâts*, see Chapter 3.3.1, “The Institution”, and Appendix A.

¹⁵ KK.d. 2542-17-70, 71 (pp. 138-140). 12 *Receb* 1182 / 22 November 1768.

an effort to “extend [the patriarchs’] jurisdiction by way of presenting false documents to the *divân*”¹⁶ However, the right of patriarchs on the issue of inheritance is clear in the *berât* documents of the eighteenth century, as we will see. Inheritance was one of the many areas of family law that the patriarchs were responsible for according to their *berâts*. Moreover, the *berâts* Zachariadou published were found in monasteries.¹⁷ It is unlikely that monks would fabricate these documents, as they would gain nothing from such forgery.¹⁸

A patriarch acceded to the throne through the appointment of the council of metropolitans, *i.e.* the Synod.¹⁹ After election, the Porte gave *berât* to patriarchs upon payment of a certain amount of money.²⁰ The Ottoman Porte’s expectation from the patriarchs, *i.e.* the maintenance of order and proper taxation, is evident in the *berâts*’ stipulations bestowing authority over the Christian clergy and laymen to the patriarchs.

Since there are a limited number of documents regarding the patriarchal *berâts* before the seventeenth century, I will attempt to draw the limits of patriarchal jurisdiction up to the last quarter of the seventeenth century based on these documents, *i.e.* the *berâts* of 1483, 1525, and 1662. Although most of these *berâts*’ authenticity is questioned, I will attempt to discern which stipulations could be acceptable by comparison to other sources.

One of the issues related to patriarchal rights was the patriarch’s term of office. The 1483 *berât* of Symeon gave him the right to stay on the patriarchal throne until his death. The document stipulated that if the patriarch acted contrary to their

¹⁶ Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi*, p. 87.

¹⁷ The document of 1483 was found in the Archive of the Vatopedi Monastery in Mount Athos, and the document of 1525 in the Archive of the Monastery of Ioannis Theologos in Patmos. Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 157, p. 174.

¹⁸ See pp. 30-32 concerning the discussion on the authenticity or forgery of the 1662 *berât*.

¹⁹ See Chapter V for a detailed discussion on the Synod.

²⁰ The *peşkeş* was abolished in 1686. See Chapter 3.4.1.

religion, the metropolitans would remove him and elect another patriarch.²¹ The 1525 and 1662 *berâts* did not specify the time span of the patriarchate. According to later documents, the patriarchate was not a lifetime appointment at the end of the seventeenth century.²² As we will see in the chapter on the eighteenth century, lifetime appointment to the patriarchate was related to fiscal transformation, and the practice changed over time.²³

A clear definition of the patriarch's jurisdiction was necessary for the preservation of *nizâm*. According to the documents, the local clergy was expected to obey the patriarch. It seems that it was for this reason that the geographical jurisdiction of the patriarchs was recorded in their *berâts*, including the names of *vilâyets*. The Christian clergy – *i.e.* the metropolitans [*metropolid*], bishops [*piskopos*], priests [*papas*], monks [*keşiş*], priors [*gomenos*], and nuns [*kalogerye / kalogria*] – were expected to obey [*itâ'at ve inkiyâd*] their patriarch in matters relating to their religion.²⁴ The term defining their religion was *âyin*, generally accompanied with the pejorative adjective *âtıl / bâtıl*, being *âyin-i âtıla* [void religion] in Ottoman documents before the beginning of the eighteenth century.²⁵

²¹ Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, pp. 160-161: [1483: *mezbûr badriyah fevt oluncaya dek mukarrer badriyah ola amma kendü âyinlerine muhâlif hareket iderse cemî' medrebolidler ittifâkiyla teftiş olunub azle müstehakk olursa ihtiyâr eyledikleri bir kimesne dahi badriyah nasb oluna*]

²² The metropolitans testify in court to the *kadı* of Istanbul that they are content with their patriarch and apply for the removal of his term, and his term is renewed. “*İstanbul Rum patrikliğine tâbi' olan metropolidler dîvân-ı hümayûnuma memhûr arzuhâl idüb berât-ı âlişân ile Rum patriki olan kıdvetü muhtârî'l-milleti'l-mesihîyye Kallinikos nâm râhibden her vechile hoşnûd ve şâkir olub cümlemizin nizâm ve râhatına kezâlik muvâfik olmağla mukaddemâ yedine virilen hatt-ı hümayûn-ı şevket-makrûn ve berât-ı âlişân ve emr-i şerîf iktizâsınca zikr olunan patriklik müceddeden kendüye ibkâ ve mukarrer kılınmak bâbında emr-i şerîfim ricâ eyledikleri ecilden hazîne-i âmiremde mahfûz olan defterlere nazar olundukda [...] zikr olunan patriklik meşûr Kallinikos râhibe müceddeden tevcîh ve ibkâ ve mukarrer kılınmağla*” KK.d. 2542-10-31 (p. 83/B). *Gurre-i Cemâziye'l-evvel* 1112 / 14 October 1700.

²³ See Chapter 3.3.1.2.

²⁴ “*kendü âyinleri üzere itâ'atde ve inkiyâdlarında kusûr eylemeyeler*”, with variations of expression in the eighteenth-century *berât* documents.

²⁵ See Chapter 3.3.1.1.

The religious rights of Orthodox Christians were also secured in patriarchal *berâts*, such as the right not to be converted to Islam by force [*bir kâfiri bir kimesne cebrle Müslüman itmeyeler*].²⁶

One term in the *berâts*, “*kadîmden*”, indicates an important element of the Porte’s policy. The reference point for decisions was “past practice”.²⁷ This was expressed as “*kadîmden olageldiği üzere*” or “*bundan evvel hükm-i hümâyûn verilmiş imiş*” in the *berâts* of 1483 and 1525.²⁸ The *berât* of 1483 specified the geographical jurisdiction of the patriarch of Istanbul dependent on previous practice as follows: “This patriarch will govern those areas where the previous patriarchs of Anatolia and Rumelia have governed” [*Rumelinde ve Anadoluda evvelden badriyah olanlar her nereye hükm idegeldiyse bu dahi hükm ide*].²⁹ The *berât* of 1525 begins with: “Previously, a patriarch was appointed in Istanbul to handle the affairs of the void religion of the infidels. If Chios, Crete, Rhodes, Wallachia, Moldavia, or Russia needed a metropolitan or a bishop, they would ask for the permission of the patriarch of the city in question and bishops would be appointed from my imperial city.”³⁰ Most likely, old records were checked before handing in the patriarch’s *berât*, and the appointment documents of the metropolitans or bishops of Chios [Sakız], Crete [Girit], Rhodes [Rodos], etc., were discovered. As we will see, as a result of the increase of bureaucracy by the eighteenth century, in order to look into past practice,

²⁶ In the *berât* of 1483 (Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 161 (1483) and p. 178 (1525), [(...) ve bir kâfiri bir kimesne cebrle Müslüman itmeyeler ve (...)].

²⁷ For using the past as a standard, “*kadîmü'l-eyyâm*”, reference to ancient usage, and relying on custom and habits, see Suraiya Faroqhi, “Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers and the Problem of Sultanate Legitimation (1570-1650)”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 35/1, 1992, pp. 1-39, pp. 5-6.

²⁸ Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 162. [1483: *bu şerâ'it-i mezbûre üzere bundan esbak hükm-i hümâyûn verilmiş imiş, şimdiki hâlde dahi mukarrer badriyah edüb*]

²⁹ Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 161.

³⁰ [1525: *Bundan evvel tevâ'if-i keferenin aralarında vâki' olan âyin-i bâtilaların görüb ve gözetmek için mahrûse-i İstanbul'da bir patrik vaz' olunmuş, Sakız ve cezîre-i Kriti ve Rodos ve Eflak ve Karaboğdan ve Rus vilâyetlerinde metropolide ve piskoposa ihtiyâc olsa dergâh-ı mu'allâmdan ta'yîn olunmuş piskoposları ile âdem virilüb mahrûse-i mezbûrede patrik olandan isticâze iderlermiş (ve memâlik-i mahrûsemde) vâki' olan metropolidleri ve piskoposları görüb gözedüb patriklik ider imiş*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 177.

the *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers were checked and reports were written on the subject before the final decision [*piskopos mukâta'ası defterlerine nazar olundukda*].³¹ The *berât* of 1483 ordered that the patriarch fulfill his duties “in the manner in which his predecessor did” [*bundan evvel patrik olanlar ne vechile göregeldiler ise bu dahi ol vechile göre*].³²

The patriarchs were responsible for the proper functioning of appointments and removals in the church hierarchy, again for the sake of *nizâm*. According to the *berât* of 1483, the patriarch would “appoint or remove whomever he wished” [*zıkr olan kimesnelerden kimi dilerse çıkara ve kimi dilerse yerine nasb eyleye*].³³ In places under the jurisdiction of the patriarch, the patriarch was responsible for the affairs of the Christian clergy.³⁴

In matters of Christian canon law, the patriarch was responsible for the affairs of his flock. Matters of family law, such as marriage and inheritance in accordance with their religion and custom, were under the authority of the patriarch,³⁵ unless the Christians applied to the *kadı* court, as specified in the *berât* of 1525 [*meğer ki vilâyete mürâca'at eyleyeler anun gibilerin emrlerin kuzât görüvire*].³⁶ According to the documents of 1483 and 1525, the patriarch could excommunicate the Orthodox *re'âyâ* [*kiliseye koymayalar*] for acting contrary to their religion, by, for example, marrying or divorcing contrary to the stipulations of

³¹ See Chapter 3.3.

³² *Berât* of 1483, Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 177.

³³ Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 161.

³⁴ [1483: *vilâyetlerinin azli ve nasbı bunun elinde ola*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 160; [1525: *vilâyetlerinin metropolitlerinin umûrun bundan evvel patrik olanlar ne vechile göregeldiler ise bu dahi ol vechile göre*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 177.

³⁵ [1483: *bir avrat erinden kaçsa ve bir kâfir avratını boşamalı olsa veyâ bir kâfir almalı olsa âdetlerince olan ... ve âdetlerince kâfirler mîrâsına badriyahdan gayri kimesne aralarına girmeye*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 161; [1525: *tevâ'if-i kefere arasında âyinleri üzere nikâh husûsun mezbûr patrik görüvire ve âdetlerince kâfirler mîrâsına patrikden gayri kimesne girmeye ve dahl eylemeye*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 178.

³⁶ 1525, Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 178.

their religion.³⁷ The will of metropolitans, priests, and patriarchs were valid according to the *berâts* of 1483 and 1525.³⁸ The *berâts* of 1483 and 1525 also specified that if the inheritance of priests or monks without heirs was equal to or more than 5,000 (*akçes*), the sultan had a right over it. If the amount was less than 5,000, the patriarch would claim it, and Ottoman officers would not intervene.³⁹

Matters relating to penal law and civil law, however, were under the authority of the *ehl-i örf* in this early period, when the *tumar* system was prevalent. At this time, the patriarch does not seem to have had the intermediary role relating to public order that he would acquire by the eighteenth century.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, no patriarchal *berât* for the period from 1525 to 1662 has so far come to light. The only patriarchal *berât* of the seventeenth century thus far revealed is that of Dionysios III, dated 1662 and published by Gedeon.⁴¹ This document has certain stipulations in common with the *berâts* of 1483 and 1525, such as the stipulations against forced conversion,⁴² patriarchal authority over the

³⁷ [1483: *kâfirlerden bir kimesne âyinleri üzere nikâh itdürmeye ve boşamaya ve kiliseye koymaya*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 161; [1525: *kâfirlerden bir kimesne âyinleri üzere avratına nikâh itdirmese veyâhûd bî-günâh boşasa kiliseye koymalar*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 178.

³⁸ [1483: *medrepolid ve papaslar ve padriyahlar veya bir keşiş fevt olmalu olsa her ne vasiyet iderse makbûl ola*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 161; [1525: *metropolidler ve papaslar ve sâ'ir keşişler mürd olmalu olsa âyinleri üzere her ne vasiyet iderlerse makbûl ola*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, pp. 177-178.

³⁹ [1483: *mezbûrlardan bir keşiş veya bir papas fevt olub kimesnesi vârisesi olmasa kendü rızkının beşbin ve beşbinden ziyâdesi benimçün zabt idüb beşbinden eksiğünü mezbûr badriyah alub mutasarrıf ola ol bâbda mevkûfcu dahl eylemeye*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 161; [1525: *mezbûrlardan bir keşiş veya bir papas fevt olub vârisi kalmayub mâlı beytü'l-mâl olmalu olsa rızkının beşbin ve beşbinden ziyâdesi benim için zabt olunub beşbinden eksiğün şimdiye değın patrik olanlar tasarruf ider imiş vech-i mezbûr üzere beşbinden eksiğüne girü mezbûr patrik mutasarrıf ola*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 178.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 3.3.1.9. for the expansion of the role of the patriarch as intermediary between the Porte and the Christian *re'âyâ*. See also Karen 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.

⁴¹ Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, pp. 9-14. There is also the text of the *berât* of Dionysios IV. (See fn. 10 of this chapter.) However, this is published only in a Greek translation of the French text, and the translation is incomplete. The date is not clear either. For this reason the text does not seem to be reliable.

⁴² (1662) "No one may bring any infidel to Islam by force" in Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 13.

clergymen under his jurisdiction,⁴³ and patriarchal authority over matters of family law.⁴⁴ Again, in the seventeenth-century document, it is specified that the punishment of Orthodox clergymen for acting contrary to their religion [*âyinlerinin hilâfi*] was under the authority of the patriarch.⁴⁵ The procedure of the appointment of a metropolitan is more detailed in the seventeenth-century *berât* than in the earlier two *berâts*, stating that, after the patriarch presents an *arz-ı hâl* [petition] to the Porte, the money should be paid and the *berât* is to be given.⁴⁶ Metropolitans and bishops were appointed to and removed from their seats “with the sealed petition of the patriarch [to the Porte]” according to this document of 1662.

The *berât* of 1662 has additional stipulations that the *berâts* of 1483 and 1525 did not include. These are identical to the stipulations of the *berâts* of the eighteenth century. For example, it was specified that the patriarch had the right to hold and repair churches and monasteries according to their original plan in accordance with *sharia*.⁴⁷ It is also specified that “monks who have retired from the world” under the authority of the said patriarch are not allowed to wander here and there, and that they should be sent to the monasteries where they were originally

⁴³ [1662: Now the metropolitans, priests, monks, priors, nuns, and others of the infidel race residing in Constantinople and its environs in Galata, Haslar, Silivri [...] Russia, Moscow, recognized the said Dionysios as their patriarch, promising that they will accept his patriarchal jurisdiction in their affairs and would not go against their void custom, his word, and that they will respect him], Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁴ [1662: If one of the infidels marries or divorces a woman, no one may interfere with them, apart from the said clergymen, or outside my imperial order and the letter of his appointed representatives.] Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 11.

⁴⁵ [1662: No one may interfere with the patriarch when he disciplines according to their religion the metropolitan, bishops, priors, monks, and priests under his jurisdiction] Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 11; [1662: The case on behalf of the patriarch or his representatives against those priests who, in the absence of the knowledge of the patriarch, conduct illegal marriages, seen in my imperial *dîvân*.] Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 12.

⁴⁶ [1662: No one may interfere in the position of an appointed priest. According to their religion, the said patriarch can remove whomever of the metropolitan bishops, priests, monks, and priors he considers fit to remove, and in their place he should put more appropriate priests, and according to ancient law, he should apply to my capital. He should represent with a petition them to my capital. After the payment to the treasury of the usual money according to my imperial *berat*, authority should be given to them. Without the sealed petition of the patriarch, no metropolitan seat may be given.] Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 12.

⁴⁷ Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 11. See Chapter 3.3.1.3., fn. 267 for the same stipulation in the eighteenth-century *berâts*, *i.e.* the repairing of churches.

made monks.⁴⁸ An additional stipulation of the *berât* of 1662 is the right given to representatives of the patriarch to have guides, to carry arms, and to change clothes to protect themselves during tax-collection, and that no one from the *mirliva*, *voyvoda*, *subaşı*, etc., should interfere with them.⁴⁹ It is also recorded in 1662 that the patriarchs of other areas coming to the capital should act through the intervention of the Patriarch of Istanbul and that no one should interfere with them.⁵⁰ The *berât* of 1662 does not specify an amount concerning the property of deceased clergy, as the eighteenth-century *berâts* do.⁵¹ In 1662, in addition to the stipulation that the will of clergymen was to be accepted as valid (as in 1483 and 1525),⁵² it is also recorded that the donations of priests to the poor of the church upon their death are to be accepted as valid in the presence of Rum witnesses, as is also the case in the *berâts* of the eighteenth century.⁵³ It is probable that 1662 was too early a time for these stipulations, and that only after eighteenth-century developments did the patriarchs need such stipulations. This increases our suspicions concerning the authenticity of the 1662 document.

As we will see in Chapter III, in the documents relating to the patriarchal *berâts* of 1714, 1716 and 1720, the stipulations were almost the same as those of the

⁴⁸ Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 13. This must be the translation of “*patrikliğine müte‘allik ba‘zı târik-i dünya olan keşişler âyinlerine muhâlif istedikleri yerde gezmeyüb girü kadîmî sâkin oldukları manastırlarına gönderile*” in the *berâts* of the eighteenth century. See Chapter 3.3.1.8., fn.332.

⁴⁹ Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 13. Most likely the translation of the stipulation in the eighteenth-century *berâts*: “*patrik-i mesfûrun tarafından emr-i şerîfle mîrî rûsûm tahsîli için ta‘yîn olunan vekîllerine ve âdemlerine kılavuz virilüb ve mürûr ü ubûr eyledikleri yerlerden ahsen vechile geçmek için tebdîl-i câme ve kisve idüb ve def‘-i mazarrat ve kendü nefslerin eşkiyâdan halâs itmege âlât-ı harb götürdüklerinde mîrîmîrân ve mîrlivâ ve voyvodalar ve subaşılar ve sâ‘ir ehl-i örfden ferd dahl ve rencîde eylemeyüb*” See Chapter 3.3.1.3. fn.279.

⁵⁰ Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 13. The Ottoman expression in the *berâts* of the eighteenth century for this stipulation is: “*âher diyârın/mahallerin patrikleri iktizâ iden mesâlihleri görmek için Âsitâne-i Sa‘âdetime geldiklerinde patrik-i mezbûr/patrikler ma‘rifeti ile görölüb hâricden/âherden ta‘arruz olunmaya*”. See Chapter 3.3.1.3. fn.285.

⁵¹ [1662: The properties of metropolitans, bishops, priests, and nuns in his patriarchal authority would come into the possession of the said patriarch. No one from the *beytül mal*, *kassam*, and *mütevelli* would interfere into his property.] Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 11.

⁵² See fn. 38 of this chapter.

⁵³ [1662: When clergymen, according to their void habit, donate anything whatsoever for the poor of the church after they die, this is valid and done with Rum witnesses.] Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 11. See Chapter 3.3.1.3. fn. 271.

berât of 1662. Either the patriarchal *berâts* did not change from 1662 to 1720, or the 1662 document published by Gedeon in 1910 was not original and was composed based on documents of this period.⁵⁴ Since it exists only in Greek translation, and we do not have any other *berât* from 1662 to 1714, it is difficult to determine whether it was original or not. Beginning from 1725 onwards, the details and the number of the stipulations of patriarchal rights increased.

2.1.2. Finances

2.1.2.1. Ecclesiastical taxes paid to the patriarchs by the Christian *re'âyâ* and the metropolitans

Our information on the early fiscal situation of the Patriarchate is limited to the few *berâts* that have been discovered so far and to the testimony of Greek chronicles, as the *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers only start from the mid-seventeenth century onwards.⁵⁵ The early *berâts* of 1483 and 1525 stipulated that the *re'âyâ* paid alms to the patriarch voluntarily; they were not obliged to do so. These alms would in turn be used for the Patriarchate's payments to the Imperial Treasury.⁵⁶ In the

⁵⁴ Recall the efforts of Gedeon during the "problem of privileges". See p. 12.

⁵⁵ See Chapter I, fn. 57. Copies of earlier orders and registers relating to patriarchal documents might come to light from a study of the *sharia sicils*.

⁵⁶ [1483: *Hızâne-i Amireme virilen ikibin flori mezbûr badriyah güç getürmeyüb her kişi hallü hâlince yardım ideler*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 162; [1525: *her yıl Hızâne-i Amireme virilen peşkeşleri için tevâ'if-i kefere ihtiyârlarıyla mu'âvenet edüb patrik olanlara tarîk-i tasdik ile bir mikdâr nesne virilür imiş âdet-i kadîmeleri üzere girü bu bâbda mu'âvenet ideler, hiç ahad mâni' olmaya, ammâ cebr ve te'addî edib bilâ-ihtiyâr kimesneden nesne almaya*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 178.

eighteenth-century documents, taxes to be collected by the patriarch were expressed in more detail.⁵⁷

The patriarchs' representatives were sent to the dioceses to collect these dues from the local Orthodox laypeople and clergy.⁵⁸ The collected amounts were used for the payment of not only imperial debts, but also debts to money-lenders.⁵⁹ The patriarchs' proper collection of their share from the Christian clergy and laypeople facilitated, in turn, proper payment to the treasury. For this reason, the patriarchal *berâts* included stipulations that secured the tax-collection of the patriarchs' representatives against the interference of local authorities. In case taxes were not collected properly and completely, the local *kadis* were responsible for assisting in the collection of patriarchal taxes.⁶⁰ In case the payments were in kind, the officers in ports and stations were ordered not to ask for custom dues.⁶¹ The patriarchs were allowed to keep vineyards, fields, orchards, mills, and similar places for economic activities as *vakf* for the Church, in order to maintain the financial

⁵⁷ See Chapter 3.4. The *berât* of 1662 also makes it clear that, in accordance with ancient practice [*kadîmden*] and the stipulations of *berâts*, “the infidels” should give the patriarch yearly taxes, alms, *panayır*, marriage, monasteries, and the rest of the patriarchal rights without delay. Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, pp.12-13.

⁵⁸ See Chapter III, p. 158 for an example of a petition written against the abuse of a metropolitans in the eighteenth century.

⁵⁹ See Chapter 3.2.1. *Zitiye* was used for that.

⁶⁰ [1483: *badriyahlığa müte'allik rüsûmdan her kangı vilâyetden nesne varsa hâkimü'l-vakt olanlar hükm idüb alvireler*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 161; [1525: *patrikliğe müte'allik rüsûmdan her kangı vilâyetde nesne varsa ki husûlünde izhâr-ı acz eyleyeler hâkimü'l-vakt olanlar hükm idüb alvireler*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 178; [1662: If the (financial) rights of the said patriarch have not been collected from metropolitan bishops, priests, and infidels, according to law and according to their *berat* when he sends along with my imperial order his letter and his representatives for collection, the local *kadis* according to holy law should help to collect the money] Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 12.

⁶¹ [1483: *bir vilâyetden manastıra zahîre ve şıra nesne gelse ol dahi gümrük vormeyüb müsellemler ola*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 162; [1662: When the metropolitans and some of the bishops do not have the means to pay taxes and they instead offer clothes and objects his representatives and people are carrying in the customs, stations, or ports, none of the (civil servants) should harass them by demanding *bâc* and taxes. When the representatives and the people of the said patriarch carry the fruit of vineyards and honey, olive oil, wheat, and grape juice that have been given as alms, no one may interfere in the *gümrük* or *yasakçıs*] Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, pp. 13-14.

situation of the patriarchs.⁶² Again, the financial stipulations of the *berât* of 1662 remind one of the eighteenth-century documents. It stipulates that no one should interfere in the patriarch's list arranging the taxes given to the bishops and metropolitans.⁶³ In the document of 1662, the "people in the service of the patriarch" were exempt from the poll-tax.⁶⁴ The metropolitans collected from the local Christians for religious services such as marriages and funerals, with the amount varying according to local conditions.⁶⁵ The metropolitans also collected from local monasteries and priests. A special category of monasteries [*stavropegion*], however, did not pay to the local metropolitan, but directly to the patriarch.⁶⁶

2.1.2.2. The fiscal obligations of the Patriarchate to the Porte

The Porte expected the patriarchs to pay their dues to the treasury fully and on time [*vakti ile bi-kusûr*].⁶⁷ The financial demands of the Porte varied in

⁶² [1483: *kiliselere müte'allik olan vakf bağlar ve bağçeler ve yerler ve ayazmalar ve panayırlar ve değirmenler bunun hükmünde ola*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 161; [1525: *metropolidler ve piskoposlar ve gomenoslar ve papaslar ve kiliselere müte'allik olan bağlar ve ayazmalar ve panayırlar ve değirmenler ve bostanlar her ne varsa bundan akdem patrik olanlar nice tasarruf idegelmişlerse bu dahi ol vech üzere mutasarrıf olub kendüden ve kendü ma'rifeti ile bu emre mübâşir olanlardan gayri sultanlardan ve kâfirlerden kimesne mutasarrıf olmaya*] Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, pp. 177-178; [1662: The said patriarch should have the same authority as all of the patriarchs in Constantinople according to their ancient *berats*, 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*, p. 14.

⁶³ Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 13. The Greek word for the list is *omologa*, which is probably the translation of *temessükât* in the eighteenth-century *berâts*. See Chapter 3.3.1.3., fn. 397.

⁶⁴ Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 14. In the eighteenth-century *berâts* of 1714, 1716, and 1720 this is expressed as "*patrik-i mesfûrun kapu kethüdâsı ile hizmetinde olanlardan avârizdan ve cizye ve tekâlîf-i örfiyye taleb olunmayub*". See Chapter 3.3.1.3., fn. 283.

⁶⁵ For example, in Crete from the 1650s to 1735, the metropolitans were in conflict with the local Sinaite monks. For cases of conflict between the two groups, see Elif Bayraktar Tellan, "The Orthodox Church of Crete: 1645-1735, A Case Study on the Relation between Sultanic Power and Patriarchal Will", forthcoming in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* (2012).

⁶⁶ A *stavropegion* monastery is subject not to the local ecclesiastical authorities but directly to the Patriarchate. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 373.

⁶⁷ 1525, Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 178.

accordance with the economic *status quo*. The amount of payments was a matter of negotiation; the debts were divided into installments, the amount was decreased and increased, and the names of taxes were changed.

In order to receive their *berâts*, the patriarchs paid for *peşkeş*.⁶⁸ In 1686, the patriarchal *peşkeş* was replaced with an annual amount.⁶⁹ According to the sixteenth-century patriarchal chronicles, the source of the first *peşkeş* paid by patriarchs in the fifteenth century was the rivalry among noblemen concerning the patriarchate on patriarchal candidates. As the story goes, the *archons* [noblemen] paid for a *peşkeş* of 1,000 florins [in 1466] in order to seat Symeon of Trabzon in place of Patriarch Markos Xylokaravis. After this first payment, the following patriarchs had to pay for *peşkeş* as well. The contemporary account records that “[the patriarch] swore that he was unaware of it but they did not believe him.”⁷⁰ Later [in 1467], in order to replace Symeon with Dionysios, Mehmed II’s stepmother Mara paid for 2,000 florins, presenting the money to his son on a silver plate, according to the chronicle.⁷¹ Again, according to Greek sources, the annual tax (“*haraç*” in Greek accounts) to the treasury was introduced in 1474, initially as 2,000 gold pieces.⁷² According to the *berât* of 1483, the annual payment was 2,000 florins, to be paid annually every Easter [*her iyd-i nasârîde Hizâne-i Âmireme ikibin flori teslîm eylemege mültezim olmağın*].⁷³ The *berât* of 1525 was handed in upon the payment of 500 *sikke-i hasene-i efrenciye*, on the condition of paying 3,500 *sikke flori* to the

⁶⁸ *Peşkeş* was the ceremonial amount paid by an Ottoman official to the higher post.

⁶⁹ See Chapter 3.4.

⁷⁰ Philippides (ed.), *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans*, pp. 74-75. The same story takes place in *Historica Patriarchica*, pp. 101-104. (Edited by Immanuel Bekkerus, as part of *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn: 1849.) Kotzageorgis mentions that, according to Greek sources, *peşkeş* was introduced c. 1465, initially as 500 gold pieces/*floria*. (Phokion P. Kotzageorgis, “About the Fiscal Status of the Greek Orthodox Church in the 17th Century”, *Turcica* 40, 2008, p. 68.)

⁷¹ Philippides (ed.), *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans*, p. 75.

⁷² Kotzageorgis, “Fiscal Status”, p. 68.

⁷³ Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 160.

Imperial Treasury on 1 April.⁷⁴ Unfortunately, our knowledge before the eighteenth century is limited.⁷⁵

2.1.2.3. A note on “*zarâr-ı kassâbiye*”

Zarâr-ı kassâbiye was an empire-wide tax introduced at the end of the sixteenth century, not a tax specific to the Patriarchate. It was a *mukâta‘a* of 1% taken generally from trade commodities (like silk and *sof*) in order to provide for the meat of the Janissaries. “*Kassab akçası*” was introduced around the Ankara region in 1599. Ergenç notes that the tax was first given as *emânet*, and a few months later as *iltizâm* in the Ankara region in 1599.⁷⁶ In order to supply meat for the army and the palace, the butchers of Istanbul had to sell meat at low prices. To compensate for the butchers’ loss, this empire-wide tax was collected. The revenue of this tax was invested at interest.⁷⁷ From 1591 at the latest, the state was collecting money by levy from certain urban populations in order to pay for the butchers’ losses. In the first half of 1597, the *zarâr-ı kassâbiye* tax was turned into a regular tax levy of one percent.⁷⁸ The amount of *zarâr-ı kassâbiye* and *kasap sermayesi* were fixed for some

⁷⁴ Kotzageorgis notes that, at the end of the sixteenth century, Greek chronicles and *berâts* stopped mentioning the two taxes of *peşkeş* and *harac* side by side. Kotzageorgis, “Fiscal Status”, p. 69.

⁷⁵ The *berât* of 1662 – the authenticity of which is doubtful, as noted above – records that, according to ancient practice [*kadîmden*], Dionysios paid his *peşkeş* of 10 *yük* of *akçes* and gave to the sultans’ treasury 9 *yük* and 60 *puggia* [*kese*] *akçes*. He had the right to take the patriarchal income, the established 299,300 *akçes* of (*peskesia* [sic]) every three months 75,000 *akçe* to the *beytü’l mal*. The patriarch would receive a receipt for paying (Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 9).

⁷⁶ Özer Ergenç, “1600-1615 yılları arasında Ankara İktisadi Tarihine ait Araştırmalar”, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri* (8-10 Haziran 1973), Ankara 1975, 145-169, pp. 160-162.

⁷⁷ Yücel Özkaya, *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumunu*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2008, p. 340.

⁷⁸ Antony Warren Greenwood, “Istanbul’s Meat Provisioning: A Study of the Celepkeşan System”, PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1988, pp. 213-214. For the document see Greenwood “Istanbul’s Meat Provisioning”, pp. 279-280. For the transformation of extraordinary taxes into regular ones, see Halil İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation”, *Archivum Ottomanicum* VI, 1980, pp. 312-327. Greenwood notes that *zarâr-ı kassâbiye* (*kasap zararı / kasap ziyarı / bedel-i*

places, while for others they were determined on the basis of current need.⁷⁹ Originally, the one-percent tax was kept separate from the rest of the custom dues, sent separately to Istanbul, and distributed to the butchers. By the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was absorbed into the rest of the dues, and the butchers were paid by the state from a variety of other sources.⁸⁰

On the other hand, in my documents related to patriarchal *berâts* of the eighteenth century, the term “*zarâr-ı kassâbiye*” denotes a local tax given by the Christian clergy to the patriarch, apart from *zitiye*, *tasadduk ayazma*, *panayır*, and marriage taxes. For example, in the 1725 *berât* document of Ieremias, it is recorded that the metropolitans, bishops, priests, and monks under the patriarch’s jurisdiction will pay for the annual *mîrî* taxes, *zarâr-ı kassâbiye*, *zitiye*, *tasadduk*, *ayazma*, *panayır*, and the tax for the first, second, and third marriages. [*ve memâlik-i mahrûsemde sâkin ve iltizâmına dâhil kazâlarda vâki’ metropolid ve piskoposlar ve papaslar ve keşişler ve sâ’ir zimmîlerin senevî mîrî rüsûm, zarâr-ı kassâbiye ve zitiye ve tasadduk akçeleri ve ayazma ve panayırları ve evvelki ve ikinci ve üçüncü nikâhlarında kadîmî viregeldikleri rüsûmları alıvirilüb*].⁸¹ Kabrda, having worked on metropolitan *berâts*, also notes that the “*zarâr-ı kassâbiye* is a tax paid by the metropolitans to the patriarch”.⁸²

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Patriarchate of Istanbul paid

zarar) was different from *kasap sermayesi*, which was “the money collected for the butchers’ loan fund that was to be put at interest”. Greenwood, “Istanbul’s Meat Provisioning” p. 205.

⁷⁹ Greenwood, “Istanbul’s Meat Provisioning”, p. 206.

⁸⁰ Greenwood, “Istanbul’s Meat Provisioning”, p. 216.

⁸¹ In the *berât* documents from 1725 to 1768, the related expression is as follows: [*memâlik-i mahrûsemde sâkin ve (patrik 1761, 1763, 1768) iltizâmına dâhil kazâlarda vâki’ metropolid (ve arhipiskoposların 1761, 1763, 1768) ve piskoposlar ve (gomenosların ve 1761, 1768) papaslar ve keşişler ve sâ’ir zimmîlerin senevî mîrî rüsûm, zarâr-ı kassâbiye ve zitiye ve tasadduk akçeleri ve ayazma ve panayırları ve evvelki ve ikinci ve üçüncü nikâhlarında kadîmî viregeldikleri rüsûmları alıvirilüb* (1725, 1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, 1757b, 1761, 1763, 1768)] For a list of these documents, see Appendix A.

⁸² Josef Kabrda, *Le Système Fiscal de l’Église Orthodoxe dans l’Empire Ottoman*, Brno: Universita J.E. Purkyně, 1969, pp. 74-75. See fn. 169.

for the equivalent of 105 *vukıyye* [*okka*] of meat per day, which amounted to almost 400,000 *akçes* annually, in addition to the annual *maktû*.⁸³ [*her sene hâsıl olan patriklik rüsûmundan zabt ve iltizâm-ı sâbıkasına göre hâssa bostâniyân ocağına beher yevm ocaklık olan yüzbeş vukıyye lahm bahâsı kadîmden viregeldikleri üzere ma'an mahalline teslîm ve edâsı lâzım gelen yirmidört yük akçe maktû'u dahi kalemiyyesiyle ma'an dört taksîd ile Mart duhûlünde cânib-i mîrîye edâ idüb ve sene-be-sene kalemiyyeden muhâsebesi görüleb yedine mümzâ ve mahtûm sûret-i muhâsebe alub kusûru olmaya*]⁸⁴ In previous literature, this amount has been termed “*zarâr-ı kassâbiye*”.⁸⁵

In my documents, however, the term “*zarâr-ı kassâbiye*” is not used for the annual amount of meat paid by the Patriarchate to the *bostâniyân-ı hâssa*, but rather for the money paid by the local metropolitans to the patriarch. It was not only the

⁸³ For the amount and the amendments see Chapter 3.4.

⁸⁴ In the documents related to patriarchal *berâts* of 1716, 1720, 1725, 1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, and 1757b: [*her sene hâsıl olan patriklik rüsûmundan zabt ve ta'ahüdü ve iltizâm-ı sâbıkasına göre hâssa bostancılar ocağına beher yevm ocaklık olan yüzbeş vukıyye lahm bahâsı kadîmden viregeldikleri üzere tamâmen mahalline teslîm ve edâsı lâzım gelen yirmidört yük akçe (or: yirmibin guruş) mâl-ı maktû'unu dahi kalemiyyesiyle ma'an dört taksîd (Mart duhûlünde) ile cânib-i mîrîye edâ idüb sene-be-sene lâzım gelen muhâsebesin görüb yedine mümzâ ve mahtûm sûret-i muhâsebe alub kusûru olmaya*]

In the documents of 1761, 1763, and 1768: [*her sene hâsıl olan patriklik rüsûmundan edâsı lâzım gelen mâl-ı maktû'unu kalemiyyesiyle ma'an (ve İpek ve Ohri patriklerinin dahi mâl-ı maktû'uları kalemiyyeleriyle ma'an beher sene Muharrem guresinde 1768) (senede dört taksîd ile, does not exist in 1768) cânib-i mîrîye teslîm ve bostaniyan-ı hâssa ocağına dahi viregeldikleri lahm bahâsı edâsını iltizâm itmeğle kapu harcı ve avâ'id tekâlîfi ile mukayyed ve mu'ayyen olan aklâm-ı avâ'idinden ziyâde talebiyle kimesne tarafından rencide olunmayub zabt ü rabtına (ve idâre-i umûr-ı patrikliğine 1761) (ve metropolitân-ı mezkûrûndan re'y ile olan umûr 1763, 1768) patrikliğine ve icrâ-yı âyinlerine taraf-ı âherden hilâf-ı şûrûtu berât-ı âlişân dahl ve ta'aruz olunmaya*]

⁸⁵ Based on *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers, İnalçık says that the patriarch paid 20,000 *guruş pişkeş* and 105 *okkas* of meat per day or its equivalent to the imperial gardeners in 1641-51. İnalçık, “Status”, p. 208. İnalçık, “Ottoman Archival Materials”, p. 441, referring to KK.d. 2539. Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis*, p. 414. Kotzageorgis notes that *zarâr-ı kassâbiye* and *peşkeş* are the two main taxes of the Patriarchate according to the 1662 *berât* (Kotzageorgis, “About the Fiscal Status”, p. 70). However, there is no mention of the term “*zarâr-ı kassâbiye*” in the Greek text of the *berât* (the only version). Instead, the term “*ocaklık* for the *bostancı*” is used (Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 10). The synodical decisions of 1654 and 1655 referred to by Kotzageorgis do not mention the tax as “*zarâr-ı kassâbiye*” either, but rather as “the price of the meat of the imperial *bostan*” (Dionysios Apostolopoulos and Panagiotis Michailaris, *I Nomiki synagogi tou Dositheou: Mia pigi kai ena Tekmirio*, Athens: Kentro Neoellinikon Ereunon tou Ethnikou Hidrymatos Ereunon, 1987, docs 174 and 718, Kotzageorgis, “Fiscal Status”, p. 70). Greenwood also notes that the monks of Aynoroz were supposed to pay for a *maktû* of 120,000 *akçes* for the *zarâr-ı kassâbiye* for the Greek butcher Laskari of the *Bostancıyan-ı Hassa*, which was more than the 105 *okkas* paid daily for the butcher by the Patriarchate. He sold each *okka* for 3 *akçes* to the *bostancıyan* (Greenwood, “Istanbul’s Meat Provisioning”, p. 215).

Patriarch of Istanbul, but also the Patriarchates of Ohrid, Peć, and the monasteries of Mount Athos [Aynoroz / Agion Oros] who paid for an annual amount to the *bostâniyân-ı hâssa*. In 1125/1713, the Patriarch of Istanbul paid for 339,996 *akçes* as the annual *ocaklık* to the *bostâniyân-ı hâssa*, the Patriarch of Peć paid for 70,000, the Patriarch of Ohrid paid for 60,000, and the monks of the monasteries of Mount Athos paid for 120;000 *akçes*, making a total of 649,996 *akçes*, termed as “*lahm bahası için ocaklık*”.⁸⁶

2.2. ACTORS

The network of relationships between the Patriarchate and the Porte did not only involve the high clergy (patriarchs and metropolitans) and the members of the Porte’s administration. In these financial and administrative relationships, a complex network of actors played roles, which influenced the making of the Porte’s policies. In this section, I will attempt to demonstrate the role played by these factors prior to the eighteenth century.

2.2.1. ARCHONS

The *archon* [notable] families of Constantinople were situated in Fener on the Golden Horn, where the Patriarchate Church was also situated from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. They claimed to be the descendants of

⁸⁶ D.PSK 4/152, 1125.

Byzantine nobility, from such families as Argyropoulos, Cantacuzenos, Rangavis, Mourouzis, and Hypsilantis.⁸⁷ The families of Mavrokordatos, Karatzas, and Soutzos had acquired wealth through trade after the conquest of Constantinople.⁸⁸ The families originated from different parts of the empire – the Pontus, the Cyclades islands, Karaman, etc. – and they intermixed with Rumanian and Armenian families.⁸⁹ This testifies to the complex nature of identities in the Ottoman Empire, specifically in the Orthodox community.

The *archon* families in Istanbul began to have an effect in the affairs of the Church beginning in the fifteenth century. Already during the time of Mehmed II, Dimitrios Apokaukos Kyritzes and Thomas Katabolenos (Yunus Bey), two *archons*, were secretaries to the Sultan and played important roles in the restoration of the Patriarchate.⁹⁰ Among the other notables in Mehmed II's court were Nicholas Isidoros, the “judge and grand *emin*” of the Sultan, Dimitrios Sophianos, John Dokeianos, and members of the Palaiologian and Comnenan imperial families.⁹¹

The interference of the *archons* in patriarchal elections was not always useful for the Patriarchate, as the sixteenth century chronicles demonstrate. Rivalry among groups of notables with the aim of bringing their own patriarch to the throne resulted in increased payments to the Porte. As we have seen, the Trabzonians were blamed for the first payment of *peşkeş* to the Ottomans.⁹² In the second half of the

⁸⁷ Runciman notes that the Cantacuzenos family was probably from the Byzantine nobility, but says that the claimed Byzantine origins of the Argyropoulos, Aristarchos, and Rhangabe families is less convincing. Mouroussi and Hypsilantis families were from Trabzon and related to the Comnenos family. Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 362.

⁸⁸ A.A. Pallis, “The Phanariots: A Greek Aristocracy under Turkish Rule”, Notes of his Lecture at King's College, London, 22 November 1951, p. 2. (Bilkent University Library, Halil İnalcık Collection).

⁸⁹ Christos Patrinelis, “Phanariots before 1821”, *Balkan Studies* 42/2, 2001, p. 181.

⁹⁰ See Elisabeth A. Zachariadou, “Les Notables Laïques et le Patriarcat Oecuménique Après la Chute de Constantinople”, *Turcica* 30, 1998, pp. 119-134.

⁹¹ Julian Raby, “Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorum”, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37, 1983, p. 25-26. Michael Pylles under Murad II and Theologos Korax under Bayezid I were earlier Greek secretaries in the Ottoman court. Raby, “Mehmed the Conqueror's”, p. 28.

⁹² See Chapter 2.1.2.2.

sixteenth century, the enthronement of Ieremias in 1573 in the presence of *archons*, the role of Antonios Cantacuzenos in that of Patriarch Metrophanes in 1563, and Michael Cantacuzenos's role in the fall of Patriarch Ioasaf II [1565] are presented as examples of *archon* influence by Iorga.⁹³ The *archons* had acquired considerable wealth, and were a part of trade networks.⁹⁴ They were thus able to contribute to the well-being of the Rum Orthodox community, of which Zachariadou provides a number of examples. Nikolaos Isidoros provided protection for clerics as well as providing for the education of children in a school near his house in Adrianople. Tzane Kanavoutzis, who cooperated with the Genoese, left a considerable trace in Ainos, Lesbos, and neighboring Fokaia, while another member of the family, Augustarikis Kanavoutzis, established an Orthodox church in Catholic-ruled Ainos.⁹⁵

Beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century, members of the *archon* families rose to prominence in the Ottoman Porte due to their education and their bureaucratic capacities. As we will see in Chapter III, the first two grand dragomans to the Porte were Panagiotis Nikousios and Alexander Mavrokordatos. By 1711, the Phanariot families coming from the Orthodox nobility in Istanbul were appointed as *hospodars* to the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia.⁹⁶

2.2.2. CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS AND CAPITULATIONS

In the Ottoman archival documents, *Frenk* was the term used both for foreign and resident Catholics by the Ottomans, while *Rum* was the term used for the

⁹³ Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium*, p. 117.

⁹⁴ See Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium*, pp. 117-119.

⁹⁵ Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika*, p. 71. Zachariadou considers these philanthropic acts as a contribution to the preservation of Hellenism.

⁹⁶ See Chapter 3.2.2.

Orthodox. What was important for the Ottoman administration was whether the Christians in the empire were *zimmî*, rather than whether they were Catholic or Orthodox. This concern followed the Islamic classification. Non-Muslims who accepted to pay the poll-tax [*cizye*] were considered under the status of *zimmî*, tax-paying non-Muslims protected by the state. Non-Muslims of the *darü'l-harb* [abode of war] in the Ottoman Empire were bound by a temporary safe-conduct [*aman*] and were called *müste'men*.⁹⁷ Both the *müste'men* and *zimmî* Catholics were called *Frenk*. An Ottoman document from 1765 informs us that in Chios, the representative (*kocabaş*) of the resident Catholics of Chios declared in the court that “we are called *Frenks* and our rites differ from the Orthodox. However, our residence on the island dates back to the pre-Ottoman period. We have been paying our *cizye-i şeriyye* and other taxes, and abstain from acts contrary to the imperial will. We are different from those *müste'men Frenks* coming and going to the island”.⁹⁸ On the other hand, a document from Naxos dated 1748 records that “there is no difference between the Catholics [*Efrenc*] who voluntarily agreed to pay *cizye* and became an Ottoman *re'âyâ* during the conquest, and those Orthodox [*Rum*] who settled later. The term *Rum* and *Frenk* is only an oral difference, and not a reason to prefer one to the other; both are *re'âyâ* of the *devlet-i aliyye*.”⁹⁹ These terms were used in a period when

⁹⁷ Joseph Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964, 1998) p. 131; C. Cahen, “Dhimma” *EI* 2, Vol. II, 227-231, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, “The Concept of Dhimma in Early Islam”, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 37-51.

⁹⁸ “(...) âmed şod eden müste'men Efrenc tâ'îfesi misillü bizler dahi Frenk tesmiye olunub ve eğerçi Rum âyini ile âyiniz ba'zen mugâyir olub ancak feth-i evelden bu hengâm-ı bî-men'-i encâma gelince bizler dahi cezîre-i mezbûrede sâkin ve mutavattın kadîmî cizye-güzâr re'âyâ oğlu re'âyâ olub ve beher sene üzerimize edâsı lâzım gelen cizye-i şer'iyye ve evâmîr-i aliyye ile irâde olan tekâlîf-i örfiyye ve mesârîf-i beldeyi cümle ile edâ idegelüb ve an evvel ilâ yevminâ hâzâ hilâf-ı emr-i âlî ve mugâyir-ı tavr-ı ra'îyyet olacak mikdâr-ı zerre hareketden ictinâb üzere olduğumuzdan mâ'adâ (...)” C. ADL. 3/146 (10 Cemâziye'l-evvel 1179 / 24 November 1765). Also used by Dilara Dal, “XIII. Yüzyılda Sakız Adası'nın Etnik Yapısı ve Ortodoks-Katolik Reaya Arasındaki İlişkiler”, *Tarihin Peşinde* 1, 2004, p. 64.

⁹⁹ “(...) hîn-i fetihde cezîre-i merkûmede bulunub bi't-tav' ve'r-rızâ kabûl-i cizye-i şer'iyye ile re'âyâ silkine münselik olan Efrenciyyü'l-asl ehl-i zimmet ile sonradan cezîre-i mezbûrede tavattın eden Rumîler ra'îyyetden farkı olmayub ve beynlerinde vâki' Efrenc ve Rum ta'bîri mutlakâ nizâ'-i lafz ve ahad-ı hümayı ol cihetden tercihe bilâ-müraccaha kabîlinden olub cümlesi devlet-i aliyyem

identities were complicated as a result of the Catholic missionary effort. The Orthodox reaction to this situation is noteworthy, as will be elaborated further in Chapter III.¹⁰⁰

Catholic *zimmîs* resided especially on the Aegean islands, which consisted of those who had been Catholic since the Venetian period as well as of Orthodox converts to Catholicism.¹⁰¹ The Orthodox *zimmîs* in the empire were under the influence of Catholic missionaries who were active in the empire beginning in the seventeenth century. The patriarchs' reaction to this influence in the empire was not only a theological issue: behind this influence was the diplomatic *status quo* of the period. The rivalry of the Catholics and Protestants in the Ottoman capital in the first half of the seventeenth century would be a factor in these events.¹⁰²

2.2.2.1. Counter-Reformation and Capitulations

The Council of Trent, from 1545 to 1563, was a reaction of the Catholic Church in Rome to the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. The establishment of Catholic orders in Europe was an outcome of the spiritual renewal movement of the Church in sixteenth-century Spain and Italy.¹⁰³ The most successful

re 'âyâsından olmağla (...)" Küçük, *Ege Adalarının Egemenlik*, pp. 157-159, doc. no.102 (BA. CBSD, no.1, p.86, *Evâsıt-ı Safer* 1161 / February 1748). The same expression is used also in another document in Küçük, *Ege Adalarının Egemenlik*, pp. 162-163 (Doc. no.107, BA.CBSD. no.1, p. 110, *Evâhîr-i Receb* 1161, July 1748).

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter 3.2.3.

¹⁰¹ For the Ottoman administration on the Aegean islands, see Feridun M. Emecen, "XV-XIX. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı idari teşkilatı," in *Ege Adaları'nın İdari, Mali ve Sosyal Yapısı*, ed. İdris Bostan, (Ankara: SAEMK, 2003), pp. 7-31, C. F. Beckingham, "Djaza'ir-i Bahr-i Safid" in *EI 2*, Vol. II, 521-522. See also Cevdet Küçük, ed., *Ege Adalarının Egemenlik Devri Tarihçesi* (Ankara: SAEMK, 2001).

¹⁰² See Chapter 2.3.1.

¹⁰³ Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, New York: Doubleday, 1990, p. 214.

of all the established orders were the Jesuits. They started as a small group personally recruited by Ignatius Loyola in Paris in 1534. A short time later they moved to Italy and Rome.¹⁰⁴ The Society of Jesus was officially founded in 1540 with Pope Paul III's bull *Regimini Militantis ecclesiae*.¹⁰⁵ In Italy, the Capuchins were founded in 1528 as a derivative of the Franciscans, in an effort to restore the primitive ideals of the Franciscan order.¹⁰⁶

The arrival of the first Jesuits in Constantinople dates back to 1583. However, due to pestilence and other difficulties, the first missionary priests did not survive. Pope Clement VIII in 1592 had a strong interest in the Eastern Churches. The "Congregation for the affairs of the holy faith and the Catholic religion" was founded as the predecessor of "Congregation for the Propagation of Faith". The Pope was generous towards the Aegean bishoprics, and he encouraged the Jesuits to establish Eastern foundations. In September 1609, Jesuits from France arrived in Constantinople as French embassy chaplains. The French ambassador de Salignac introduced them to the grand vizier Murad Paşa. The vizier was distant towards them, but after the meeting the ambassador threatened that, if they were ousted, relations between the French and the Ottomans would be shattered. The Jesuits remained, and their condition improved in time. The institutionalization of Catholic missionaries in 1622 under the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith [*Propaganda Fide*] accelerated the activities of Jesuits on Ottoman lands.¹⁰⁷ Subsequently, three groups of Capuchin missionaries arrived in 1626. One of the members in Constantinople was a relative of the French ambassador de Cesy. St.

¹⁰⁴ Bokenkotter, *Concise History*, pp. 214-215.

¹⁰⁵ John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Bokenkotter, *Concise History*, pp. 214-215.

¹⁰⁷ Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 88-102, Philip Argenti, *The Religious Minorities of Chios: Jews and Roman Catholics*, Cambridge University Press, 1970, pp. 287-364.

George was given to their service. By the early seventeenth century, “the golden age of missions” began.¹⁰⁸

On the other hand, the dialogue between Protestant theologians and the prelates of the Orthodox Church in Istanbul at the end of the sixteenth century did not produce the theological effect hoped for by the Protestants.¹⁰⁹ These contacts did, however, result in a transfer of Greek literature into Germany.

The rights of the Catholic *müste'men* were protected by the French based on the capitulations granted by the Ottomans. The end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth marks the era of the arrival of the Catholic missionaries into Ottoman lands, particularly after the capitulations granted to France.¹¹⁰ France was granted capitulations in 1535 and 1569, but İnalçık notes that the first authentic capitulations to the French are dated 1569, and that the capitulations of 1535 were the renewal of the Mamluk capitulations.¹¹¹ They assumed the role of guardians of Catholicism in 1569.¹¹² In accordance with the decisions of the Council of Trent (1546–63), missions consisting of Jesuits, Capuchins, or Franciscans were sent out. The missionary priests were aiming to convert the empire’s Eastern-rite Christian subjects to Catholicism, or “at the least, recognize the pope as the head of the Christian churches while retaining their

¹⁰⁸ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, pp. 73-87.

¹⁰⁹ Paschalis M. Kitromilides, “Orthodoxy and the West: Reformation to Enlightenment” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 5: Eastern Christianity, Michael Angold (ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 188-191.

¹¹⁰ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, pp. 73-87.

¹¹¹ İnalçık, “İmtiyazat”, *EI* 2, Vol III, pp. 1178-1189. For the date of the capitulations, see Bahadır Apaydın, “Kapitülasyonların Osmanlı-Türk Adli ve İdari Modernleşmesine Etkisi”, PhD Dissertation, İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi, 2009, p. 54, fn. 5. The related article (no.6) of the capitulations is as follows: “*Fransa tebaasından olan tüccar ile maiyetlerindeki memur ve hademe veya efrad-ı saire din ve mezhebe dair hususat ve mesailden dolayı kadılar, sancak beyleri ve subaşilar tarafından muhakeme edilemeyecekler ve tasdiat ve izaacata maruz bulundurulmayacaklardır. Bu gibi mesaili hal ve fasıl etmek hakkı Bâb-ı Ali'ye ait olacaktır. Fransızlar adet ve mu'tekadât-ı diniyelerine riayet hususunda tamamıyla serbest bırakılacaklardır. Keza arzu-i vicdaniyesiyle din-i islamiyeyi kabul etmeyen ve tebdil-i mezheb eyledigini mütearriif bulunmayan hiçbir Fransız İslam addedilmeyecektir. Keyfiyet-i itirafın bila cebir ve tazyik vuku bulması şarttır.*” Apaydın, “Kapitülasyonlar”, pp. 62-63.

¹¹² Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 67. Additions to religious stipulations to the capitulations to the French were made in 1581, 1604, 1673, and 1740. Apaydın, “Kapitülasyonlar”, p. 62.

accustomed ecclesiastical rites”.¹¹³ In 1576, the Greek College in Rome was opened by Pope Gregory XIII. In 1604, the Capitulations were renewed, and one of the articles concerned the rights of Catholics in Holy Places¹¹⁴ to control the holy sites in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*Kamame*) in particular.¹¹⁵ Although the Habsburgs were also granted privileges in 1616 as guardians of the Catholics in the empire, it was the French who endorsed the Jesuit presence in 1583 and 1609.¹¹⁶ The Capuchins were also present in the empire beginning in the 1620s, but it was the Jesuits who proved the more effective. The institutionalization of Catholic missionaries in 1622 under the *Propaganda Fide* accelerated the activities of Jesuits on Ottoman lands.¹¹⁷ Although the Habsburgs were keen to patronize post-Tridentine Catholicism, their frequent wars with the Ottomans resulted in the sponsoring of missionary activities to their rival, the French king.¹¹⁸ In 1673, the capitulations to the French were renewed and new articles were added.¹¹⁹ The Capuchin church, which was burnt in a fire twelve or thirteen years

¹¹³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around it*, London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004. p. 35.

¹¹⁴ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 79. Article no.4: “Fransa kralına ve mumailayhin muhibbileri veya müttefikleri olan sair mülük-ı İseviye’ye tabi efradın Kudüs’teki makamat-ı mübarekeyi ziyaret etmek hususunda serbest bırakılması ve kendilerine ika’ mevâni’ ve müskülât edilmemesi ve haklarında tecavüzatta bulunulmaması bizce matlûp ve mültezimdir.” Apaydın, “Kapitülasyonlar”, p. 63.

¹¹⁵ Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around it*, p. 35. Faroqhi notes on p. 167 as follows: “[...] differently from all [other Christians], the Catholics received aid from outside potentates, namely the Habsburg emperors and the French kings. But a recent study has demonstrated that, on the whole, these activities of foreign rulers were of no major political importance on the Jerusalem scene before the late seventeenth century. It was only during the disastrous Ottoman-Habsburg War of 1683–99/1094–1111 that the Ottoman court attempted to secure the support of Louis XIV of France by making concessions to the Catholics with respect to possession of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre” (Referring to Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem, The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*, Leiden, Cologne and Boston: E. J. Brill, 2001.)

¹¹⁶ After the 1616 capitulations to the Habsburgs, the Jesuits were able to build churches, read gospel, and perform religious services. But the one Jesuit church of Constantinople and the one in Chios did not take advantage of the permission. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, pp. 79-80. İnalçık, “İmtiyazat”, p. 1186.

¹¹⁷ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 88-103, Argenti, *The Religious Minorities of Chios*, pp. 287-364.

¹¹⁸ Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around it*, p. 173.

¹¹⁹ “Fransa’ya tabi olan piskoposlar vesair Frenk mezhebinden olan ruhban taifesi her ne cinsten olursa olsun Osmanlı memleketlerinde kadimde oldukları yerlerde kendi hallerinde olup ayinlerini icra eylediklerinde kimse engel olmya. Kudüs-ü şerif’in dahilinde ve haricinde ve Kamame Kilisesinde eskiden beri olageldiği üzere oturmakta olan Frenk rahiplerinin hala oturup ellerinde

earlier, would be reestablished. Every condition that enabled the Catholics to perform their religion on the Ottoman lands was approved.¹²⁰

After 1683, the Ottomans needed diplomatic support from Western states in their war against the Habsburgs. The Catholics won the right to enter certain sacred sites in Jerusalem in 1690, along with a reduction of custom dues for the French in Egypt. France made a treaty with the Habsburgs in 1697, with the Ottomans this time granting privileges to the English, such as the monopoly on sea trade between Egypt and Istanbul. In 1716 and 1740, relations with France once again improved.¹²¹

In 1740, the capitulations granted to the French were renewed in reward for their help in the Austro-Turkish war of 1739.¹²² Nine of the eighty-five articles concerned religious issues, including the right of the French to provide protection for the Holy Land Catholic pilgrims. Additionally, all Catholic bishops and religiousmen, regardless of national origin, would be represented by the French ambassador.¹²³ The capitulations of 1740, signed by Villeneuve, were part of a larger context of Ottoman-French cooperation in the first half of the eighteenth century. In his research concerning the French Trade in the Levant, Eldem evaluates French

olan ziyaretgahlarına öteden beri olduğu gibi kimse el atılmıya. Vergi isteğiyle rahatsız edilmeyeler. Davaları zuhur eyledikte mahallinde halledilmezse İstanbul'a havale oluna. Kudüs-ü şerife varan Fransız ve onlara tabi olan her ne cinsten olursa varış ve gelişte kimse dokunmaya. Hala Galata'da olan Cizvit ve Kapuçin nam iki Fransız ruhban taifeleri kadimden ellerinde olan iki kiliseleri yine ellerinde ve tasarruflarında olup bu kiliselerin biri yanmakla izn-i şer'i ile tamir olunup yine eskisi gibi Kapuçin ellerinde olup rahatsız olunmayalar. Kezalik İzmir'de Sida'da, İskenderiye'de vesair iskelelerde olan Fransızların kiliselerine el atılmaya ve onlar rahatsız edilmeyeler. Bu bahane ile paraları alınmayalar. Galata'da olan imarhanelerinde kendi hallerinde İncil telavet eylediklerinde rahatsız olunmayalar.” Apaydın, “Kapitülasyonlar”, p. 63. (Reference to *Mecmua-i Muahedat*, Vol I, 4-14.)

¹²⁰ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 102. Galland mentions this as the success of Nointel. Charles Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland, İstanbul'a ait Günlük Hatıralar (1672-1673)*, Nahid Sırrı Örik (trans.), Ankara: TTK, 1987, Vol II, p. 66, 5 June 1673.

¹²¹ İnalçık, “İmtiyazat”, p. 1185.

¹²² İnalçık, “İmtiyazat”, p. 1185; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 156.

¹²³ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 156; Apaydın, “Kapitülasyonlar”, p. 67. In the *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers, there are examples of petitions presented by French diplomats as representatives of Latin bishops. For example, D.PSK 22/33 and 22/34 are documents of renewal of the *berât* of the Latin bishop of Chios, Can Batista, upon the petition of the French ambassador, dated 14 Şevvâl 1171 / 21 June 1758.

supremacy in the Levantine trade as part of this friendly environment. The French mediation during the Treaty of Belgrade, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi's embassy to Paris, the supervision of such French officers as Bonneval, Tott, and Laffite-Clavé over Ottoman military and technical reform efforts, as well as cultural contacts – *i.e.* the Ottoman elite's interest in French forms of the arts, particularly architecture – are the components of the French-Ottoman cooperation.¹²⁴ After 1756, however, the French alliance gradually retreated, having realized that the Ottoman support would eventually result in future loss.¹²⁵ It ultimately seems that the capitulations were effected by diplomatic requirements, and they functioned as a factor that influenced not only the rights of foreign Catholics in the Empire, but also the balance in inter-European maritime trade in the Mediterranean.

2.2.2.2. The Attitude of the Patriarchate towards Catholic Propaganda in the 17th century

The interest of Orthodox clergymen in the Catholic creed was first manifested during the final years of the Byzantine Empire. The Florentine Synod had convened in 1438-39 and was renowned for its decision of Orthodox-Catholic union under the Papacy. After the fall of Byzantium, it was condemned in a synod of 1482. This synod had convened under Patriarch Maximos III, attended by the patriarchs of

¹²⁴ Edhem Eldem, "French Trade and Commercial Policy in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century", Kate Fleet (ed.), *Oriente Moderno* 1999, p. 29.

¹²⁵ Eldem, "French Trade", p. 30.

Eastern Churches and their representatives, and concluded during the period of the following patriarch, Symeon I.¹²⁶

As early as the sixteenth century, instances of clergy inclined towards the Roman Catholic Church were observed, but this was something exceptional. Here is the account of Busbecq:

Whilst I abode in these islands, I got acquaintance with one Metrophanes, a Metropolitan, who presided over a monastery in Chalkis, one of those islands; he was a learned and vertuous man, very desirous of the agreement between the Latine and the Greek Churches; so that he differed from the Humour of the rest of the Grecians, who esteem the Latins as Men of an impure and profane Sect; so much doth every Man abound in his own sense.¹²⁷

A period of intellectual curiosity towards Catholicism was initiated from the beginning of the seventeenth century. This coincides with the increased activity of Roman Catholics in the region and a general awareness towards doctrines following the Lutheran advancement. In the mid-sixteenth century, some patriarchs “without the usual animosity towards the Latin Church” appeared,¹²⁸ partly due to the return of Rums educated at Padua who had lost their prejudices and achieved responsible positions in the Church.¹²⁹ Some of the patriarchs they advised were Dionysios II Ioasaf II, and Metrophanes III.¹³⁰ Patriarch Metrophanes (1565-1572) was deposed by the Synod and powerful laymen in 1572 because he strayed too far

¹²⁶ Stefanidis, *Ekklesiastiki Istoría*, p. 696; Basilis Th. Stavridis, *Istoria tou Oikoumenikou Patriarchiou*, Athens: 1967, p. 16; Manuel Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes: Eidiseis istorikai biografikai peri ton Patriarchon Konstantinopleos*, Athens: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofeilimon Biblion, 1996, 2003, p. 367; Ioannis Karmiris, “Pos Dei Dechestai tous Prosiostas ti Orthodoxia Eterodoxous”, *Theologia* 25, 1954, p. 228.

¹²⁷ Busbecq, *The Four Epistles of A.G. Busbequius Concerning his Embassy into Turkey*, London: 1694, p. 288. Francfort, 16 December 1562.

¹²⁸ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 29.

¹²⁹ For the relation of the Orthodox Church to Catholics, see Runciman, *The Great Church*, pp. 230-237, Timothy Ware, *Eustratios Argenti: A Study of the Greek Church under Turkish Rule*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, pp. 16-42, Argenti, *The Religious Minorities of Chios*, S. Th. Laskaris, *I Katholiki Ekklesia en Elladi apo Apopseos Dimosiou Dikaiou*, Athens: Typografiou Thanou Tzabella, 1924.

¹³⁰ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 29.

from the traditional anti-Western tradition.¹³¹ Jeremias II was first approached by the Protestants, and then by the Catholics, who tried to convince him to accept the Gregorian calendar.¹³² In the seventeenth century, Raphael II (1603-1607) and Neofytos II (1602-1603, 1607-1612) were inclined towards the Roman Catholic Church due to their connections to Jesuit fathers.¹³³ It has also been proposed that Neofytos II secretly communicated with Rome in 1608.¹³⁴ Timotheos II (1612-1620), who died after dining with the Dutch ambassador Cornelius van Haag in 1620, was also friendly towards Rome; the French ambassador de Cesy was convinced that he was murdered.¹³⁵ The list also includes the patriarchs Gregory IV (1623), Kyrillos II Kontares (1633, 1635-1636, 1638-1639), Athanasios III Patelaros (1634), and Ioannikos II (1646-1648, 1651-1652, 1653-1654, 1655-1656), who was taken to Crete by the Venetians in order to influence the Orthodox subjects of the island.¹³⁶

It was not just the Catholic affiliations of the Orthodox clergy that made the Ottomans uneasy, but also their close relationship to Western ambassadors. In the seventeenth century, the case of Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris and the intervention of Dutch ambassadors in his rivalry with Timothy had fatal results for Loukaris, as we will see.¹³⁷ For the seventeenth century, we have evidence for the close relationship of the Armenian Gregorian patriarchs in Jerusalem to the Franks, as Faroqhi quotes based on the account of Simeon of Zamosc.¹³⁸

¹³¹ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 70, Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 200.

¹³² Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 71, Stefanidis, *Ekklesiastiki Istoría*, pp. 698-699, Stavridis, *Istoría tou Oikoumenikou Patriarchiou*, pp. 18-19, (depending on Hysilantis and Mertzíou).

¹³³ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 82, Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 232.

¹³⁴ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, pp. 82-83, Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 232.

¹³⁵ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 84.

¹³⁶ Subsequently, there were a few more patriarchs who were thought of as being inclined towards the Western Church. Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 233, referring to S. Vailhé.

¹³⁷ See Chapter 2.3.1.

¹³⁸ Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around it*, pp. 166-167.

2.2.2.3. The Case of 1672-3

The account of Galland¹³⁹ from 1672-3 testifies to the complex nature of relationships between French diplomats, Orthodox *archons*, the Porte and the patriarchs of Istanbul, and the Eastern Churches. This was a period when the French were endeavoring to secure the capitulations. They were in close contact with the Patriarchate of Istanbul as well as the Patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria.

The patriarch at the time was Dionysios IV (Mouselimes¹⁴⁰). His close relationship with the French and his affinity to the Catholic Church is apparent in Galland's account. Accordingly, on 3 January 1672, the ambassador sent a nobleman to the patriarch for the Christmas celebration. During the visit, the envoy delivered the wishes of the ambassador, who wished the patriarch "enough power to return the discipline the Eastern Church needs". The patriarch thanked him and expressed his wish that "with the help of God, he was hoping to return the Church to the unity in which it belongs."¹⁴¹

One effort by the members of the French embassy was to ensure that the Orthodox clergy refused the Calvinist doctrine. On 22 January 1672, Galland and Fornetti, as representatives of the ambassador, went to Balat to see the copy of a synodic decision against the Calvinist doctrine.¹⁴² It is interesting that the Orthodox high clergy was eager to prove that they were against the Calvinist doctrine. On 26 January, the Patriarch of Istanbul informed the ambassador that he and the three

¹³⁹ Galland was the personal clerk and librarian of the French ambassador of the period, M. de Nointel, who managed to renew the capitulations in 1673. His account covers the daily events of 1672 and 1673. Charles Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland, İstanbul'a ait Günlük Hatıralar (1672-1673)*, Nahid Sırrı Örik (trans.), Ankara: TTK, 1987.

¹⁴⁰ *Mouselimis* from the Ottoman word *müsellem*.

¹⁴¹ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol I, p. 23.

¹⁴² Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol I., p. 40.

other patriarchs had signed a synodic decision against Calvinism.¹⁴³ On 20 February, the patriarch sent the decision to the French ambassador through the metropolitans of Edirne and Athens written on silk with illustrated decorations.¹⁴⁴

Galland notes that, on 14 February 1672, the patriarch informed the ambassador through Fornetti that he wished to visit him, and that he would spend the night before in the house of an Orthodox jeweler at Beyoğlu so as to keep the visit a secret.¹⁴⁵ During a conversation, Galland asked Fornetti whether or not the patriarch could visit the ambassador Nointel. Fornetti prudently answered that it would be better to wait for the negotiations between the Ottomans and the French to have a positive result, as an explicit and ostentatious visit would make the grand vizier suspicious of the patriarch, who already had many enemies.¹⁴⁶

Not only the Patriarch of Istanbul, but the Eastern patriarchs as well were willing to express hostility towards Calvinism in this period. The ambassador received letters from the Patriarch of Antioch and from the Patriarch of the Syrians in May 1672.¹⁴⁷ The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos II, sent gifts to the French ambassador with an envoy after his arrival in Istanbul.¹⁴⁸

Although the Patriarch Dionysios had explicitly expressed his wish for the union of the two Churches,¹⁴⁹ there were cases when the patriarch himself did not in practice act in accordance with this wish. For example, in 1672, an *archidiakos* of the island of Naxos visited the ambassador and complained that the patriarch had sent an assistant to beat him, accusing him of being a *Frenk* and not a Christian. The priest told him that the patriarch was praying for the well-being of the sultan and burning a

¹⁴³ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol I, p. 43.

¹⁴⁴ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol I, pp. 58-59.

¹⁴⁵ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol I, p. 52.

¹⁴⁶ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol I, p. 61-62, 24 February 1672.

¹⁴⁷ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol I, p. 133.

¹⁴⁸ More examples in Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland* Vol I, p. 153, 20 July 1672. See also Vol I: p. 157, 191, Vol II: p. 28, p. 43.

¹⁴⁹ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol I, p. 24.

candle for him in the church. He also asked the ambassador to provide him a ship to escape.¹⁵⁰ When the accusations of the *archidiakos* were questioned by an envoy of Fornetti, the patriarch refuted the claims of the *archidiakos* from Naxos.¹⁵¹ He was also heard threatening excommunication for those in contact with Catholics, particularly for those who went to confession during a Sunday sermon.¹⁵² On this occasion, the *bailo* of Venice and the French ambassador refused the patriarch's celebration of Easter, which was soon to be celebrated.¹⁵³ According to Galland, Panagiotis Nikousios wrote a harsh letter to the patriarch, and the patriarch sought a way to compensate for his behavior, which had caused bitterness among the Catholic representatives.¹⁵⁴ Nikousios's move suggests that he was in a position in the Porte to balance the relationship with the French.

The French also benefited from this relationship, as the dragoman acted as an intermediary between the Porte and the ambassador. During a visit to the Patriarchate, the patriarch informed Picard that, as he had learned from Panagiotis Nikousios, the renewal of the capitulations was not a hopeless matter.¹⁵⁵ Another way to benefit from the Patriarchate was through the mechanism of excommunication. On one occasion, the ambassador asked the patriarch to excommunicate some Orthodox believers in Athens who had disturbed a captain called Brunet, and the patriarch sent the excommunication document to the ambassador.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol. I, p. 158-159.

¹⁵¹ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol. I, p. 160.

¹⁵² Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol II, p. 31-32, 8 March 1673.

¹⁵³ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol. II, p. 33, 1 April 1673.

¹⁵⁴ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol II, p. 35, 4 April 1673.

¹⁵⁵ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol I, p. 146, 18 June 1672.

¹⁵⁶ Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland* Vol I, p. 160, 3 August 1672.

2.2.3. EASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA

Apart from other states and their local actors, it was important for the Porte's administration to rely upon the patriarchs. The patriarchs could be discredited not only by the influence of the Catholics, but also by that of the Orthodox outside the Ottoman realm.

The first half of the seventeenth century was marked by hostilities between Poland and Russia over the area of Smolensk. This was a period when the Crimean Tatars made raids on Russia's southern borders. Supported by the Cossacks, Russia incorporated the Ukraine, a dependency of Poland, in 1654. King Charles of Sweden invaded Warsaw and Krakow and announced himself King of Poland, which led to a Russian-Swedish War.¹⁵⁷ The conflict over Poland-Lithuania between Sweden and Russia lasted from 1656 to 1661. During this period, the Swedish envoy Claes Ralamb came to the Ottoman capital. Sweden – in alliance with the Cossacks and Erdel against Russia – aimed to prevent any conflict with the Ottomans over Swedish claims on Poland.¹⁵⁸ The invasion of Poland by the Ottomans in 1672 led to an Ottoman-Polish war, and subsequently to a war with Russia.¹⁵⁹

Pressure from Russia and from Polish colonization had displaced the Cossacks further south in previous centuries. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Cossacks gradually settled in autonomous semi-military colonies, principally along the rivers of the Ukraine. Don Cossacks lived on the Don River, while the Zaporozhian Sech was based on the Dnieper. Geographically, they were located between the Crimean Tatars and the Ottomans on the one hand, and between Poland-

¹⁵⁷ Michael T. Florensky, *Russia: A Short History*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964, pp. 130-132.

¹⁵⁸ Claes Ralamb, *İstanbul'a bir yolculuk 1657-1658*, Ayda Arel (trans.), İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008, p. 15.

¹⁵⁹ Florensky, *Russia*, p. 132.

Lithuania and Muscovy on the other. Both Poland and Russia used the Cossacks as auxiliary forces to protect their borders, but the Cossacks also served the Ottomans and Crimean Tatars against Russia and Poland. In 1570, Don Cossacks agreed to serve the Russian Tsar Ivan IV, while Poland expanded its authority over the Dnieper Cossacks. However, due to religious conflicts, the Polish-Ukrainian alliance did not work out, insofar as the Cossacks were fervently Orthodox. The Jesuits also had some influence in the Ukraine and Lithuania. After the Union of the Lithuanian Orthodox clergy with the Roman Church in 1595, a struggle began between the Uniates – supported by Catholics – and their opponents. In 1623, the Uniate bishop Kuntsevich was murdered in a popular revolt. These developments aligned the Cossacks against Poland, and numerous anti-Polish uprisings broke out in the Ukraine. Finally, in 1638, the Zaporozhie autonomy was abolished and the hetman was replaced by a Polish officer. These events led to the legendary uprising of Bogdan Khmelnitsky in 1649 with the support of Crimean Tatars, and the autonomy of the Zaporozhian Sech was restored. However, their Tatar allies ultimately abandoned the Cossacks, and the Ukraine once more became a place of conflict. In 1651, Khmelnitsky turned to Moscow asking for protection. The Russians hesitated, as they wanted no more conflict with Poland and did not trust the Cossacks. Moscow was finally persuaded when Khmelnitsky threatened to go over to the Turks or Crimean Tatars, and they agreed to incorporate the Cossacks in 1654. The Cossacks “took an oath for allegiance” to the tsar.¹⁶⁰

The southward expansion of Russia into the Ukraine and its approach toward the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea put an end to the milder course of relations between Russia and the Ottomans until the seventeenth century. On the

¹⁶⁰ Florensky, *Russia*, pp. 133-136.

other hand, Tatar raids on the Ukraine threatened Russia's agriculture in the south. Russia's advance toward the Dnieper from 1654 to 1667 resulted in more Tatar attacks in the Ukraine, which widened the breach between Russia and the Ottomans.¹⁶¹

It has been claimed that Russian protection of the Cossacks inspired Balkan Christians and the Ottomans that Russia might serve as their protector as well. The representatives of Eastern Orthodoxy visited Moscow.¹⁶² O'Brien quotes a conversation between the Tsar and Greek merchants in Moscow in 1657, recorded by the Archdeacon of Aleppo during Tsar Alexis' reign:

During an Easter church service, the Tsar, having heard a report of the woes of the Balkan Christians, asked the Greek merchants if they wished him to free the Greeks from Turkish captivity. They replied: "How could it be otherwise?" The Tsar then declared, "Well then, having returned to your country, ask all the monks and bishops to pray [to] God ... for me, so that their prayers might give me [the] strength to cut off the head of the enemy." And turning to his Russian noblemen he added: "... I have decided, if God is willing, that I will employ all my army, shedding my own blood to the last drop, but I shall try to free them."¹⁶³

One must of course be cautious about the idea that Russian ideals were rooted in the seventeenth century. However, it is certain that Russia and the Cossacks posed a military and political threat to the Ottomans. Nevertheless, the Orthodox high clergy of the empire might have felt a certain affinity for Russia. Paul Rycout,

¹⁶¹ C. Bickford O'Brien, "Russia and Turkey, 1677-1681: The Treaty of Bakhchisarai", *Russian Review*, 12/4, 1953, p. 260.

¹⁶² O'Brien, "Russia and Turkey", pp. 261-262: "It was true that the representatives of eastern Orthodoxy were received with courtesy at the Muscovite court and that reports of the oppressions of the Balkan Christians were listened to with patience and sympathy, but little encouragement was given before the eighties that Russia would take any positive steps to relieve their burdens. [...] If the Ukrainian Cossacks – the vanguard fighters of Orthodoxy – could successfully obtain aid from Moscow in their struggle against the infidel Tatars, might not the Moldavians, Wallachians, and other Christian subjects of Turkey hope for similar support against the infidel Turk? Such arguments for aid from Russia by Balkan Slavs and the Greek Orthodox clergy became more articulate in the second half of the seventeenth century."

¹⁶³ O'Brien, "Russia and Turkey", p. 262.

the English Consul in Izmir from 1667 to April 1678,¹⁶⁴ expresses the religious affinity of the Orthodox towards Russia as follows:

The Greeks have also an inclination to the Muscovite beyond any other Christian prince, as being of their rites and religion, terming him their Emperour and Protector, from whom, according to ancient prophesies and modern predictions, they expect freedom and delivery to their Church.¹⁶⁵

The relationship of the Ottoman Orthodox Christians to the Russian and Cossack Orthodox would be interpreted as disloyalty by the Porte. This in turn would have fatal results for the patriarchs, as we will see in the next chapter.

2.3. A TURBULENT ERA: THE PATRIARCHATE *VIS-À-VIS* THE PORTE IN THE 17th CENTURY, 1638-1659

In this part, I will present one particular period in the seventeenth century which shows the network of actors presented in the previous chapter in action. The period in question is the period from 1638 to 1659, a time when three Patriarchs of Istanbul and one former patriarch were executed by the Porte: Kyrillos I Loukaris in 1638, Parthenios II in 1650, Parthenios III in 1656, and Gabriel II in 1659. The events of this period constitute a convenient case study concerning Ottoman policy towards the Patriarchate, particularly in comparison with the eighteenth century. Evidence from contemporary sources will provide the primary material in this section.

¹⁶⁴ Helene Pignot, "A Trip to the Origins of Christianity: Sir Paul Rycaut's and Rev. Thomas Smith's Accounts of the Greek Church in the 17th Century", <http://www.catholicae-disputationes.org/articles/articlepignot01.pdf>, p. 2.

¹⁶⁵ Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London: John Starkey and Henry Brome, 1668. Republished: Farnborough, Hants, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1972, p. 94.

2.3.1. Kyrillos I Loukaris

Kyrillos Loukaris, the so-called “Calvinist” patriarch, is one of the most renowned and studied patriarchs of the Ottoman period.¹⁶⁶ He was an exceptionally well-educated theologian and knew Latin and Arabic.¹⁶⁷ His friendship with the Protestant ambassadors and the treatise he wrote (*Confession of Faith*) resulted in his being called the “Calvinist patriarch”, which is a much debated issue. His proximity to foreign ambassadors, his struggle against the Jesuits in Constantinople, his relationship to the Venetians, the printing press established in Constantinople during his patriarchal period, and finally his execution in 1638 have made Kyrillos a popular case for study.¹⁶⁸ Despite his fame in the Western world, there is limited information on him in Ottoman sources. As Hering notes, a Venetian citizen born in Crete yet rising to the highest post in the Church in the Ottoman Empire was an exception, but the fact that the highest Orthodox position was occupied by a Calvinist was a “scandal”.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Writing in the eighteenth century, Hypsilantis explains the conversion of people to the Roman Catholic Church in relation to the Kyrillos events of the 1630s, commenting that because of the rumor that Kyrillos was a Calvinist, the Orthodox Church lost many people in Lithuania, Ukraine, Podolia, and Poland to the efforts of the Jesuits (Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 143). According to Hypsilantis, it was the Jesuits, angry at having been thrown out of Istanbul, who called Loukaris a “Calvinist”. Hypsilantis attempts to refute the accusations against Kyrillos Loukaris that he was a Calvinist. Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 133.

¹⁶⁷ Hering, *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio kai Europaiki Politiki*, p. 31.

¹⁶⁸ Bibliography on Kyrillos Loukaris: Gunnar Hering, *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio kai Europaiki Politiki 1620-1638*, Dimosthenes Kourtovik (trans.), Athens: Morfotiko Idryma Ethnikes Trapezes, 1992; Thomas Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, London: Miles Flesher & Richard Davis, 1653; Manuel I. Gedeon, “Kyrillos o Loukaris”, *Epetiris Eterias Kritikon Spoudon* 1, 1938, pp. 317-347; Georgios A. Chatziantonios, *Protestant Patriarch: The life of Cyril Lucaris, 1572-1638, Patriarch of Constantinople*, Richmond: John Knox Press, 1961; Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes*, pp. 424-445; Runciman, *The Great Church*, pp. 259-288; Zacharia N. Tsirpanli, “O Kyrillos Loukaris kai i Katholiki Propaganda tis Romis (1622-1638)”, *Kritologia* 4, 1977, pp. 49-56; Perikleous G. Zerlentis, *I Proti Patriarchia tou Kyrillou Loukareos*, Athens: Georgiou I. Basiliou, 1921; Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes*, pp. 424-445; Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, “Schesis Kyrillou Loukareos pros goustauon Adolfon B’ tis Souidias”, *Theologia* 12, 1934, pp. 289-292. For further bibliography on Loukaris see Hering, *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio*, pp. 399-406.

¹⁶⁹ Hering, *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio kai Europaiki Politiki*, p. 30.

2.3.1.1. Loukaris's early career and his first encounter with the Protestants

Konstantin Loukaris, born in 1570 in Herakleion, Crete, assumed the name Kyrillos when he became a monk.¹⁷⁰ After his education in Venice, Loukaris traveled to different parts of Christendom, and through his relationships with people and his observations, he learned all about the Reformed Church.¹⁷¹ Loukaris was then made a priest by Meletios Pigas, the Patriarch of Alexandria and his uncle.¹⁷² This was a period of struggle between Protestants and Catholics in Europe. Poland was expanding into Ruthenia and most of the Ukraine. The population here was Orthodox, and so the Patriarchate was concerned about their fate. The king of Poland, Stephen Bathory, was tolerant towards Orthodox and Lutheran bishops, but he also allowed Jesuits to operate. However, his successor, Sigismund III, elected in 1587, decided to take measures against non-Catholic Christians.¹⁷³ In 1596, the Polish Orthodox bishops summoned a council in Brest-Litovsk and decided to submit to the Roman Church. The Pope announced the Uniate Orthodox Church of Poland on 23 December 1595. A second council was summoned in Brest to approve the settlement.¹⁷⁴ In this council, the duke of Ostorovia refused to submit to the Union being proposed. The Patriarchs of Istanbul and Alexandria (Meletios Pigas) sent

¹⁷⁰ See Hering, *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio kai Europaiki Politiki*, pp. 30-42 for Loukaris's life before his patriarchate.

¹⁷¹ Smith, pp. 240-241. Thomas Smith's "An Account of the Greek Church" is a very detailed contemporary account for the biography of Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris. As a member of the Church of England, Thomas Smith's narration gives us the Anglican point of view on the struggle between the Anglicans and the Jesuits, which resulted in his strangulation. It was first printed in Latin and then in English in 1680. Smith was a fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford and he accompanied Sir Daniel Harvey as his chaplain during his diplomatic mission to Constantinople from 1668 to 1671. After his visit to Istanbul, he wrote down his observations on the Greek Church of Istanbul, fulfilling the promise he had given to a gentleman in England in his letters. In his invaluable report, he describes the dogmas, practices, and liturgies of Orthodox Greek subjects and clergy in the empire. What is more interesting, he gives an account of the events that occurred during the patriarchate of Kyrillos I Loukaris based on "authentic papers and memoirs". Thomas Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, 1653, p. 8. See Pignot, "A Trip to the Origins of Christianity", p. 2.

¹⁷² Hering, *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio kai Europaiki Politiki*, p. 31.

¹⁷³ Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, p. 262.

¹⁷⁴ Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, p. 263.

Nicephorus and Kyrillos Loukaris as their respective representatives to the council in order to try to prevent the Union with the Church of Rome. Nicephorus was caught by Sigismund's men and strangled, while Loukaris managed to escape.¹⁷⁵ Loukaris was sent to Poland a second time by Meletios Pigas. His duty this time was to deliver the letters written by Pigas to Sigismund as a reply to Sigismund's invitation to submit to Rome. Smith records that Loukaris did not deliver the letters because Meletios's answer would "disgust the King and all of the Roman Communion".¹⁷⁶ Kyrillos Loukaris succeeded Pigas on the patriarchal throne of Alexandria, where he stayed for more than nineteen years.¹⁷⁷

2.3.1.2. Loukaris's patriarchate years in Istanbul and his enmity with the Jesuits

By this time, Loukaris had begun to correspond with Protestant friends. By 1618, "he had distanced himself from the basic teachings of the traditional Orthodox Church".¹⁷⁸

During his visit to Istanbul, in a Lent sermon he opposed a monk ["*kaloir*"] who spoke in favor of the Roman Church.¹⁷⁹ While still in Istanbul, the Patriarch Neofytos died in 1612, and Loukaris was supported by bishops favoring his election to the patriarchal throne. Smith notes that the followers of Patriarch Timotheus

¹⁷⁵ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 244.

¹⁷⁶ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 246.

¹⁷⁷ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 247.

¹⁷⁸ Hering, *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio kai Europaiki Politiki*, pp. 39.

¹⁷⁹ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 248.

“managed to bribe the Turks and handled his accession to the throne”.¹⁸⁰ Later, Timotheus was poisoned during an entertainment at the Dutch embassy.¹⁸¹

Loukaris’s accession to the throne in 1621 disappointed the Jesuits in the capital who were aware of his hostility towards the Catholic Church.¹⁸² During his patriarchate, his struggle with the Jesuits continued, resulting in his dismissal from the seat in a number of cases.¹⁸³ With the help of the French ambassador Count de Cesy, the Jesuits deposed Kyrillos in 1622, exiling him to Rhodes, and brought in Gregory of Amasia, who had submitted to the Pope. Hypsilantis says that Gregory was appointed by grand vizier [*epitropos*] Hüseyin Paşa¹⁸⁴ in May 1623, but three months later Hüseyin Paşa “rapaciously” brought in Anthimos instead.¹⁸⁵ According to Smith, Gregory was replaced by Anthimos of Adrianople through “simony”.¹⁸⁶ Kyrillos, on the other hand, was on good terms with the Dutch and English ambassadors. Smith notes that Kyrillos was pardoned and released in September 1622 through the efforts of Sir Thomas Roe – the English ambassador – who was following the orders of King James for the favor of the Greeks. Anthimos, despite the efforts of Jesuits to prevent him from doing so, resigned in favor of Kyrillos.

Shortly after this change of throne, Kyrillos was forced to continue his struggle with the Jesuits. In 1624, the Pope sent Greeks trained in Rome to persuade Kyrillos to act against the Calvinists and Lutherans, *i.e.* to admit the Florentine Council and to anathematize their errors and blasphemies. Kyrillos, however,

¹⁸⁰ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 249.

¹⁸¹ Smith casts doubt on the story at this point, which is natural for a Protestant author. Hypsilantis, writing more than a hundred years later, comments that Allatios was lying when he says Timotheus was poisoned, but that it was true that he took a poisonous drink. Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 130.

¹⁸² Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 250.

¹⁸³ Loukaris was on the patriarchal throne in 1612, 1621-1623, 1623-1630, 1630-1634, 1634-1635, 1637-1638. (Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakess*, p. 774.)

¹⁸⁴ The grand vizier of the period was Mere Hüseyin Paşa; see İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, pp. 506-507 for his second period as grand vizier.

¹⁸⁵ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 133.

¹⁸⁶ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 257.

consulted the English ambassador who advised him to make no reply.¹⁸⁷ His silence was taken for contempt, and the Jesuits provoked the bishops into dethroning Kyrillos and replacing him. Smith claims that the Jesuit intrigue was made known to the Porte, “who yet would understand nothing of it”.¹⁸⁸ Hypsilantis says that, in 1625,¹⁸⁹ the Jesuits were not confined to the West, but that they also served as provocateurs to the kings and lords of the Eastern Church. They thus spoke ill about Loukaris to the Ottoman Porte. However, this Jesuit scheme was ultimately discovered, and Kyrillos remained on the throne.¹⁹⁰

2.3.1.3. The printing press:

In 1627, an Orthodox person named Nicodemos Metaxas brought a printing machine to Istanbul from London, where he had learned the art of printing.¹⁹¹ The patriarch went to the English ambassador with the archbishop of Corinth to ask him to keep the printing machine under his protection. The patriarch’s request was repeated by Gerasimos, the Patriarch of Alexandria, accompanied by the Dutch ambassador Van Haaghe. According to the account, “although the Greeks were careful to keep it as a secret from the Turks, the English ambassador informed the Vizier about it”.¹⁹² The patriarch could not persuade the ambassador to set up the press in his own house, so he instead proposed moving the machine into a house in

¹⁸⁷ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 260.

¹⁸⁸ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 261.

¹⁸⁹ Hypsilantis narrates this event under the title “Year 1625, *Hicri* 1035”. He claims that Hüsrev Paşa became the grand vizier following Halil Paşa. Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 133. However, according to Naima, Hüsrev Paşa became the grand vizier in 1628. See İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, p. 622.

¹⁹⁰ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 133.

¹⁹¹ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 263. Smith spells Metaxas as “Mataxas”.

¹⁹² Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 264.

his neighborhood. The Jesuits, watching for an opportunity to surmount the Protestants, found about the printing press. They first won over Metaxas and then threatened him. In the meantime, Loukaris sent a book dedicated to King Charles I, concerning the faith and doctrine of the Orthodox Church, which he had written for possible publication before Metaxas's arrival. The Jesuits hired a man to inform the vizier about this publication. The man claimed that the patriarch's text included passages against Islam; that he was protected by the English ambassador; and that the "Greeks" would use the text to stir up the Cossacks in the Ukraine and persuade them to invade the empire while the sultan was away on campaign.¹⁹³ The immediate precaution taken against this suspicion was to send a group of Janissaries to destroy the printing machine, which Smith considers a "rash and heady practice of the Turks."¹⁹⁴ The vizier, "without any investigation", sent more than 150 Janissaries to seize Metaxas and destroy the press. Metaxas managed to escape, but the book was examined by two Greek "renegades" in the presence of the vizier and some church men; nothing harmful could be found, however. Smith claims that the vizier confessed that he was over-zealous and that he would convince the mufti about the harmlessness of the book.¹⁹⁵ Hypsilantis, writing in the next century, records the names of some of the books printed on this press – including the *Syntagma* of Palamas and Scholarios, the *Dialogue on the Holy Spirit* of Margounios, the *Letters* of Meletius Pigas of Alexandria and of the monk Varlaam – and adds that it was the Jesuits who paid for the Ottomans to throw the press into the sea.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 266.

¹⁹⁴ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 267.

¹⁹⁵ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 269.

¹⁹⁶ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 137.

2.3.1.4. Loukaris's *Confession*

Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, was replaced by Peter Wych, who assumed the role of protector of the Protestants. Smith mentions that, after all the unrest, things were quiet for a while, though they were far from secure. Kyrillos had enemies among the Orthodox bishops who favored the Catholics. In the meantime, the Dutch ambassador Van Haaghe had sent a copy of Loukaris's *Confession* in Latin to Geneva to be printed in 1630. This alarmed the "Christians of Rome". A reply was written by Joannes Matheus Caryophilus in 1631, and a Greek version was printed in 1632 by the Propaganda Fide and dedicated to Pope Urban VIII. Loukaris translated his *Confession* into Greek in 1631, and printed it in 1633 in Geneva.¹⁹⁷

The Russians grew curious about the events that had occurred between Kyrillos and the Jesuits. According to Hypsilantis, the Russians sent Theofanis of Jerusalem, living in Iasi at the time, to Constantinople, to report on whether or not the Jesuits had been right in their accusations against Kyrillos. Theofanis reported that Kyrillos and the Eastern Church were not a part of the plan.¹⁹⁸

The idea that the text was not actually written by Loukaris and that Loukaris was devoted to the Orthodox position has followers among Orthodox writers.¹⁹⁹ As a Protestant, Smith endeavors to eliminate the doubt cast upon the authorship of the *Confession*. He cites a letter written by Van Haaghe, where he tells of how, during a visit to the new French ambassador Count de Marcheville, Loukaris confirmed that he was indeed the author of the *Confession* and had shown the treatise

¹⁹⁷ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, pp. 270-273.

¹⁹⁸ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 134. Hypsilantis's date for this event is 1630 / 1040.

¹⁹⁹ See "The Greek Orthodox Position on the Confession of Cyril Lucaris" by George P. Michaelides, *Church History* 12/2, 1943, pp. 118-129.

to the ambassador after dinner.²⁰⁰ According to Smith, when the ambassador said to Loukaris that he was considered in Rome and France to be a Calvinist, Loukaris expressed “stoutly” that he would “neither follow the King of France nor any person in the world whatsoever”.²⁰¹ Smith praises Loukaris for upsetting the French ambassador.

Persecution by his enemies forced Kyrillos to take refuge in the protection of English and Dutch ambassadors.²⁰² After the arrival of the French ambassador Count de Marcheville in 1633, two bishops were sent from Rome “to accuse the patriarch of being Lutheran and heretic”. They were supported by the French ambassador.²⁰³ Shortly afterwards, the metropolitans of Adrianople, Larissa, Chalcedon, Cyzicus, and Naupactos entered into a conspiracy against Kyrillos. “Ten thousand dollars” were allayed, an amount which helped Kyrillos Kontaris to dethrone Kyrillos Loukaris in October 1633.²⁰⁴ Unsurprisingly, Kontaris was aligned with the Roman Church. Personal revenge was another factor, as Kontaris had failed to become the archbishop of Salonica. Six months later, in March 1634, another patriarch, Athanasios Patelaros, assumed the patriarchal seat, or rather, in Smith’s words, “bought it for 50,000 dollars”.²⁰⁵ According to Hypsilantis, Athanasios

²⁰⁰ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 274

²⁰¹ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 275.

²⁰² Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 277. Both the account of Smith and that of Antoine Galland, who was in Istanbul from 1672 to 1673, refer to a discussion between Monsieur Arnaud and Priest Claud. It seems that Arnaud wrote a treatise in which he accused Kyrillos Loukaris of being a hypocrite. Priest Claud, obviously a Calvinist, wrote an essay probably defending Loukaris. Thomas Smith opposes Monsieur Arnaud’s accusation of Kyrillos Loukaris as a hypocrite, claiming that Arnaud bases his proof on Allatius, an Orthodox convert to Catholicism, and that his book was printed by the Propaganda Fide. Smith says that it is not his duty to oppose Arnaud, but refers the reader to his friend Claud. Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 279; Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol. I, p. 14, pp. 26-27, pp. 58-59, p. 65, p. 205, Vol II, p. 53.

²⁰³ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, pp. 281-282.

²⁰⁴ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, pp. 282-283.

²⁰⁵ Athanasios Patelaros was the Patriarch of Istanbul in 1634 and 1652. Gedeon, *Patriarchiki Pinakes*, p. 438, pp. 456-457.

Patelaros had been dressed as patriarch by Sultan Murad IV with the help of “Kaptan Paşa Cafer”.²⁰⁶

2.3.1.5. Loukaris’s final patriarchate and his execution:

Loukaris was back on the throne next June. A year later, in March 1635, Kyrillos Kontaris was willing to “pay 50,000 dollars for the patriarchal throne”, and Loukaris was sent into exile on Rhodes. Loukaris was restored to the throne in July 1636 through the “intervention of his friends and great sums of money [...] (without which) nothing is done in Turkey”, in the words of Smith.²⁰⁷ This time, Loukaris again had to face the same enemies: Kyrillos Kontaris and the Jesuits in Istanbul. Loukaris’s stubborn ascensions and reascensions to the throne made the Jesuits furious about their own inability to remove him, as, in Smith’s words, “nothing less than his blood would satisfy their revenge”.²⁰⁸

Loukaris had made friends with the grand vizier Bayram Paşa, and so his enemies had to wait for a time when the sultan and the vizier would be away from the capital. Smith claims that Kyrillos’s friends managed to bribe Bayram Paşa, who then helped them to achieve their goal. Bayram Paşa, assisted by Hüseyin Paşa, took advantage of being on good terms with the sultan, stating that the Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris “had a great power over those of his religion, and that by his instigation the

²⁰⁶ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 136. Cafer Paşa was appointed *kapudan* on 11 *Rebî’ü’l-âhir* 1043 (15 October 1633). İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, p. 760. Hypsilantis mentions that the patriarch and the bishops were so busy fighting with each other that they overlooked an important problem: one day, an Armenian trader came and told the patriarch that people devoted to the Eastern Church in India had been disturbed by Papists, and requested the patriarch to send a wise man to the area to deal with the problem. Hypsilantis complains that, although the patriarch was ecumenical, he did not use his title efficiently, owing to the attacks on the throne. Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, pp. 137-138.

²⁰⁷ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 286.

²⁰⁸ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 287.

Cossacks had but lately fallen upon Azac [...] which they took and pillaged, and that he was a dangerous man and might stir up the Greeks which were so numerous in Constantinople [...] ”.²⁰⁹ Since they were away and the Janissaries were in camp, Loukaris posed a threat to the imperial city, and so had to be put to death. The sultan, convinced by the story, signed the order for his strangulation.²¹⁰ According to Smith, Loukaris was sent as prisoner to one of the castles along the Bosphorus, placed in a boat on 27 June 1638, and told that he was being taken to a vessel in St. Stephanos. Loukaris understood what was happening and, falling to his knees, began to pray. After he was strangled, his body was cast into the sea. Fishermen took the body to the shore, but his enemies again secured an order to throw him back into the sea. Finally, his body was buried on an island. Smith esteems Loukaris as a saint and a martyr.²¹¹ In Hypsilantis’s account, Kyrillos was given to Ahmet Ağa, taken by him to the new castle Lemokopien, west of Euxeinos, hanged, and cast into the sea.²¹²

According to Ottoman sources, Bayram Paşa became the grand vizier and *serdâr-ı ekrem* in 1046 (February 1637) in place of the dismissed grand vizier Mehmed Paşa, and then set out for Haleb in March 1637.²¹³ He was responsible for leading the army on the Baghdad campaign. On the 8 May 1638 (1047), Sultan Murad took to the road on the Baghdad campaign.²¹⁴ He arrived at İnönü on 28 May 1638 (14 *Muharrem* 1048), and Bayram Paşa arrived at the sultan’s position from Konya.²¹⁵ However, Bayram Paşa died on the way to Baghdad in August 1638, and

²⁰⁹ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, pp. 289.

²¹⁰ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, pp. 288-289.

²¹¹ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, pp. 290-291.

²¹² Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 142.

²¹³ İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, p. 842.

²¹⁴ İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, p. 861. “Somewhere around Konya, Bayram Paşa met the army of the grand vizier, and he set out for Baghdad via Birecik”; Neşet Çağatay (ed.), *Mustafa Nuri Paşa, Netayicül Vukuat: Kurumları ve Örgütleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1979, p. 241.

²¹⁵ İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, p. 864.

Tayyar Paşa became the grand vizier.²¹⁶ Bayram Paşa was married to Hanzade Sultan, the daughter of Ahmed I.²¹⁷ It is probable that Bayram Paşa spoke about Kyrillos Loukaris to the sultan, his brother-in-law, during their meeting at İnönü at the end of May 1638. However, according to Hammer, although Bayram Paşa occupied a high position during a brutal and bloody period, he had a mild character. He was against measures, and was always ready to alleviate death penalties.²¹⁸ We do know, however, that Bayram Paşa ordered the execution of the satirical poet Nef'i.²¹⁹ Hammer observes the connection between the Jesuits and Kyrillos, that the succeeding patriarch "Karfila" [Kyrillos Kontaris] was an explicit friend of the Jesuits, and that he had to pay 50,000 golden coins to the treasury. It thus seems likely that he blames another intermediary than Bayram Paşa.²²⁰

It is clear that, in the early seventeenth century, both Jesuits and Anglicans took enormous pains to win the Orthodox Church to their side. Ambassadors were determining factors in the selection of patriarchal candidates. On the other hand, there were also Ottoman-Russian relations and the threat of the Cossacks. Before his patriarchal terms in Alexandria and Istanbul, Kyrillos Loukaris was sent to Poland as part of the Patriarchate's policy to prevent Union with the Roman Church, as we have seen above. During his patriarchate in Istanbul, he was close to the English and Dutch ambassadors. Smith – not surprisingly, inasmuch as he was English –praises Kyrillos Loukaris and blames the Jesuits for the events that led to Kyrillos's execution. Despite his awareness of the intrigues and the struggle between the two parties, he does not ask why the Ottomans executed a patriarch. According to him,

²¹⁶ İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, p. 875.

²¹⁷ İsmail Hami Danişmend, *Osmanlı Devlet Erkanı: Sadr-ı-A'zamlar (Vezir-i-A'zamlar), Şeyh-ül-İslamlar, Kapdan-ı-deryalar, Baş-defterdarlar, Reis-ül-küttablar*, İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1971, p. 35.

²¹⁸ Joseph von Hammer Purgstall, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Mehmed Ata Bey (trans.), Mümin Çevik (ed.), İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1986, Vol. 5, Book 48, p. 1427.

²¹⁹ İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, pp. 799-800.

²²⁰ Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 5, Book 48, p. 1422.

money and bribes are the only factors affecting the Ottoman decision as to who the patriarch will be.²²¹

It is interesting that the events of Loukaris were echoed in the following centuries, as seen in the work of Hypsilantis, written in the second half of the eighteenth century, as well as in other sources. For example, the chronicle of Kyrillos of Laura more briefly narrates a similar story concerning Kyrillos Loukaris.²²² Kyrillos of Laura explicitly claims that Loukaris brought the printing press from London to publish against the heresies of Catholics. However, the rulers of the West did not like this imputation, and they despised Kyrillos Loukaris. Because of this conflict, he was dethroned several times, but each time he managed to return to the throne. Kyrillos of Laura mentions Ottoman greed as a reason of the changes on the see. Ultimately, Loukaris was jailed in a castle in Propontida, hanged there, and his body was cast into the sea. Another Western source that mentions the execution of Kyrillos Loukaris is Alphonse de Lamartine's *History of Turkey*, whose English translation was published in New York in 1855.²²³ According to Lamartine, Kyrillos was "taken off from his church and martyred by night in the fortress of the Seven Towers, for having corresponded with the Russians and for having exposed the intrigues of the Jesuits, who were favored by Spain and France. A partisan of the Jesuits, named Carfila, purchased for fifty thousand piasters the office of patriarch."²²⁴

²²¹ Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, p. 80-81, p. 248.

²²² Kyrillos of Laura was a monk from Mount Athos about whose life very little is known. He was born around the 1730s and died in Bucharest in 1827. His ecclesiastical history narrates events from 1453 to 1794, and was found in Megistis Laura Monastery by Manuel Gedeon and edited by him in 1877. Manuel Gedeon, *Kyrillou Lauriotou Patriarchikon Chronikon*, Athens: Typ. Ermou, 1877.

²²³ Alphonse de Lamartine was a French poet and politician. His trip to the Ottoman Empire in 1832-1833 lasted for sixteen months. D. H. Carnahan "The Financial Difficulties of Lamartine" in *Modern Philology* 16/3, 1918, pp. 143-150.

²²⁴ Alphonse de Lamartine, *History of Turkey*, New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855, Vol III, p. 263.

The Ottoman accounts of Topçular Kâtibi Abdülkadir Efendi (1000-1054 / 1592-1644), Naima, and Solakzade do not mention the execution of Kyrillos Loukaris. For the period of Kyrillos I Loukaris, the two relevant *mühimme* registers are *Mühimme* no. 87 (1046-1048 / 1636-38) and *Mühimme* no. 88 (1046-1048 / 1636-38). In *Mühimme* no. 87, there are two subsequent registers: the first one orders that the former patriarch Kyrillos²²⁵ be freed from his exile on Rhodes and taken to Mytilene [Midilli] to be settled there,²²⁶ while the second one refers to the handing over of the former patriarch to local monks when he arrives.²²⁷ In *Mühimme* no. 88, there is a record according to which the patriarch Kyrillos has written a petition concerning a bishop who has refused to pay his share in the financial burden.²²⁸ However, as far as I have found, there is no entry concerning or referring to the execution of the patriarch.

2.3.2. Parthenios II

The second patriarch we know of executed in this period was Parthenios II. Ottoman chronicles are silent on this event as well, but they suggest some connections.²²⁹ We know of the Patriarch's execution from Greek sources only, all of which more or less tell us the same story without much detail. Kyrillos of Laura's chronicle mentions that Parthenios was slandered to the sultan that he was a political

²²⁵ There are two patriarchs named Kyrillos in this period: Kyrillos of Veroia and Kyrillos Loukaris, both exiled to Rhodes. This Kyrillos must be Kyrillos Loukaris. According to Greek sources, while Kyrillos Loukaris was in exile on Rhodes, Kyrillos of Veroia was sent to Rhodes, and Loukaris was taken to a monastery in Midilli. Gedeon, *Patriarchiki Pinakes*, pp. 139-142.

²²⁶ *Mühimme* 87/105.

²²⁷ *Mühimme* 87/106.

²²⁸ *Mühimme* 88/290. We do not have the date, so it might be either Loukaris or Veroia.

²²⁹ For the period of Parthenios II, executed in 1650 (1060-1061), there are no *Mühimme* records.

traitor. He was killed and thrown into the sea for this reason.²³⁰ According to Hypsilantis, “Parthenios was falsely accused by Paulakios and others to the vizier”. He was killed in a boat and thrown into the sea in 1650.²³¹ According to Naima, there is a certain Pavlaki [Paulakios] who was killed in 1060 (1650). Pavlaki was supposed to take Yoven, the daughter of the Moldavian ruler, to the king of Hungary in order for her to be married there. He had paid the vizier Murad Paşa and Bektaş Ağa 200 *guruş* to obtain this permission. Later, the news arrived that, while on the way there, Pavlaki had submitted to the Tatar Khan, and around forty thousand Cossacks roaming the area took the girl from Pavlaki’s hands. The ruler of Moldavia demanded Pavlaki’s execution, which was subsequently carried out.²³² The execution of Parthenios II in 1650, which Naima does not mention, may have a connection with this event. Most likely, the patriarch was accused of the link between Pavlaki and the Cossacks, which presented a political threat at the time.²³³

2.3.3. Parthenios III

Parthenios III was probably executed owing to Ottoman suspicion of treason related to the situation with the Russians and the Cossacks. Contemporary accounts, however, provide a variety of different details.

Claes Ralamb was a Swedish envoy sent to the Ottoman Empire in 1657. During his stay in the capital, he had the chance to meet Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paşa. Ralamb mentions that Köprülü was a strict and respected man who

²³⁰ Gedeon, *Kyriellou Lauriotou*, pp. 38-39.

²³¹ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 152.

²³² İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, p. 1283.

²³³ See Chapter 2.2.3.

executed and dismissed many people. Ralamb witnessed the execution of the Patriarch of Istanbul and the imprisonment of the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1657.²³⁴ He considers these penalties as a part of the strict practices of a statesman necessary for the maintenance of discipline. He also notes that the piracy of the Don Cossacks in the Black Sea resulted in opposition between the Russians and the Ottomans. The Rums were suspected of working secretly for the benefit of the Russians, and the execution and imprisonment of the patriarchs were due to the suspicion of treason by the Rum subjects of the empire.²³⁵ According to Hypsilantis, during the patriarchate of Parthenios III, the khan of the Tatars sent an envoy to the ruler of the Cossacks. This envoy grew jealous of the (former) metropolitan of Nikaea after seeing him conversing with the Cossack ruler. Upon his return, he spread gossip concerning the metropolitan and the patriarch, claiming that the patriarch had sent letters to Moscow admitting his devotion. The vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paşa investigated the subject in detail and found that the patriarch was not guilty. However, since the khan was not someone who accused in vain, he had the patriarch hanged in Parmakkapı “for the khan’s sake”. He was left to hang for three days, and then his body was cast into the sea. The Orthodox Christians in Istanbul found him and buried him on the islands, saddened at his fate. Hypsilantis notes that, after this, none of the patriarchs were allowed by the sultan’s viziers to present themselves to the sultan.²³⁶ Kyrillos of Laura’s manuscript briefly claims that the patriarch was accused by sycophants that

²³⁴ “[...] İstanbul patriğinin asılmasını emretti, Kudüs Patriğini ise haftalarca hâpiste tuttu. Benzer şeyleri bir yığın bey ve subaya da yaptı. Bir defasında bir filonun bütün kaptanlarını hâpsettirdi, sonra da onları ya işten çekti ya da idam ettirdi. Özetleyecek olursam: Bu sıkı ve gaddar uygulamalarıyla şimdilik amaçlarına ulaşmış oldu.” (Ralamb, *İstanbul’a bir Yolculuk 1657-1658*, p. 77)

²³⁵ Ralamb, *İstanbul’a bir Yolculuk 1657-1658*, p. 91: “Moskoflarla Osmanlı sarayı arasındaki geçimsizlik, Don Kazakları’nın Karadeniz’deki korsanlıkları yüzünden sürüyor. Dahası, Osmanlı sarayı kendi uyruğu olan Rumların gizlice Moskova’nın çıkarına çalışmalarından kuşkuluyor. Bu da geçen yıl Rum patriğinin asılmasının, Kudüs patriğinin de birkaç hafta hâpiste tutulmasının nedenidir.”

²³⁶ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 158.

he had sent letters to the king of Russia asking for his aid, and that this is why he was hanged outside the Patriarchate and thrown into the sea.²³⁷ Hammer mentions the execution of the patriarch, claiming that Köprülü found out about the letter sent to Konstantin Besaraba, the *voyvoda* of Wallachia, and investigated the patriarch. It is also mentioned that he was the third of the executed patriarchs, though the first two are not mentioned. Hammer comments that the patriarch was innocent, and that the execution of Şeyh Salim as well as that of the patriarch increased people's hatred of the vizier.²³⁸ The neomartyr literature mentions Parthenios III as a martyr – *i.e.* a Christian who was killed for refusing to convert – and says that he was hanged in Parmakkapı on 24 March 1657.²³⁹ The account of Vaporis, which includes Parthenios among Christian neomartyrs, is revealing on the Porte's suspicion of the patriarch's relationship with the Orthodox in Russia. According to this account, the patriarch asked for financial assistance from Russia through the former metropolitan of Nikaia, who was living among the Orthodox Cossacks. As allies of the Ottomans, the Tatars of Crimea intercepted this correspondence and relayed it to Sultan Ibrahim [*sic*]. This was interpreted by Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü as an appeal by the Cossacks to invade the Ottoman Empire.²⁴⁰

Among the four executions, only the story of Parthenios III takes place in the Ottoman chronicles I have examined. The only reference to the execution of a patriarch in Naima concerns the execution of Parthenios III in 1067. According to

²³⁷ Gedeon, *Kyriou Lauriotou*, p. 40.

²³⁸ Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 6, Book 53, pp. 1610-1611. Şeyh Salim was a Moroccan who had a daily income of 1000 *akçes* from customs, silk, *evkâf*, and other *mukâta'as*. During his inspections, Köprülü Mehmed Paşa discovered the amount of his income and reduced it to 200 *akçes*. Şeyh Salim was furious and said that it was the grant of the sultan. Köprülü answered that the treasury and the army needed money for campaign. Şeyh Salim became furious and insulted Köprülü. As a result, he was strangled and thrown into the sea. İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, pp. 1728-1729.

²³⁹ Athanasios Margaritis, *Synaxaristis Neomartyron*, 3rd ed., Salonica: Ekdoseis Orthodoxos Kypseli, 1996, pp. 406-407.

²⁴⁰ Nomikos Michael Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ: Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period 1437-1860* Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000, pp. 114-115. The sultan of the time was not Ibrahim, but Mehmed IV.

Naima, the patriarch – no name is given – was hanged in Parmakkapı due to a letter he wrote to Konstantin, the *voyvoda* of Wallachia. In this letter, he claimed that the time of Islam was coming to an end and that the religion of Christ would soon rule. When the letter was found and the patriarch investigated, he answered that he wrote such letters every year merely for the purpose of collecting annual payments (*sadaka*). As Naima relates, at around this time, non-Muslims in Istanbul dressed in Janissary uniforms and participated in fires, sabotage, and other acts against Muslims. When the patriarch was arrested, Janissary uniforms were found in his house. When asked, they answered that the clothes belonged to the *çorbacı neferatı* who were on duty at Fener.²⁴¹ The account of Silahdar is similar to Naima's.²⁴² Thus, it is probable that the execution was also related to the unrest with non-Muslims that Naima mentions. According to Baer, Nihadi accuses the patriarch of secretly corresponding with Venice and the Habsburgs, urging them to attack Istanbul while the Ottoman military is in a precarious state. If Christians attacked from both inside and outside, he hoped that they could “completely do away with the Muslims”. When the vizier found the letters, he had them translated and asked about them, and the patriarch did not deny his activities. He refused to become a Muslim, and therefore

²⁴¹ İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, p. 1730: “*Salb-ı Patrik: İstanbul’da Rum patriği olan müfsid, Eflak voyvodası olup Kostantin nam pelide ilka-i fesadı mutazammın ekazible memlu gönderdiği varaka-i batıla tutulub hıyaneti zahir olucak kendüye gösterilib sual olundukda cevabında beher sene sadaka tahsili için bu makule kağıt gönderelmişizdir deyu ikrar itmeğin Parmakkapı’da salb olundu. Mel’unun kağıdında olan mazmun bu ki müddet-i devr-i İslam tamam olmaga az kalmışdır velvele-i din-i İsevi tekrar alemgir olacaktır ana göre tedarikde olasız an karib cümle vilayetler mesihiler eline girüb ashab-ı salib ve nakus tamamen memalike malik olsalar gerekdir demiş. Haza lehum Allah-ı teala. Bundan maada İstanbul’a vaki olan fitnelerde ve ihraklarda metin ve tuvana kefereler dolama ve fes giyüb yeniçeri kıyafetine girüb yağma ve talan ve ümmet-i Muhammed’e izarar ve ihanete cüret itdikleri ol vakitte gayet şüyu bulmuş idi. Batrik ahz olundukda menzili basılıb kırk elli kat dolama ve fes ve yeniçeri üsküfû çıkub bu kelamı tasdik etmiş aslı tafahhus olundukda fener kapısını bekleyen çorbacı neferatındır deyu def’-i töhmet etmişler.*”

²⁴² *Silahdar Tarihi*, Vol. 1, p. 68. “[...] İstanbul Rum Patriği Eflak voyvodası olan Kostantin nâm pelide ilkâ-yı fesâdı mutazammın ekâzible memlu gönderdiği varaka-i bâtila dutulub hıyâneti zâhir olıcak kendüye gösterilib su’âl olundukda cevâbında beher sene sadaka tahsili için bu makûle kâğıd gönderelmişiz, deyu ikrâr itmeğin Parmakkapı’da salb olundu.”²⁴²

he was hanged at Parmakkapı.²⁴³ Solakzade explains the execution of the patriarch in a similar fashion, claiming that he was hanged in Parmakkapı because the letters he had sent to the enemy included elements of treason.²⁴⁴ The *Zübde-i Vekayıat* of Defterdâr Sarı Mehmed Paşa relates the period from 1656 to 1704 (1066-1116). Unfortunately, the narration of events occurring from 1656 to 1672 is only a summary and makes no reference to the patriarch.²⁴⁵ *Mühimme* registers of the period do not refer to the event, either.²⁴⁶

2.3.4. Gabriel II

Gabriel II was on the patriarchal throne for a very short time in 1657. According to Hypsilantis, he was “so illiterate that he did not know how to lead a marriage ceremony”, and was therefore refused by the archbishops and sent to Bursa as a metropolitan. In Bursa, he baptized a Jew, and the Jews falsely accused him to the vizier Köprülü Paşa, saying that he had baptized a Muslim. As a result, he was

²⁴³ Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 59-60, references to *Silahdar Tarihi* and Nihadi. I was unable to look at Nihadi’s account in the Topkapı Palace Archive Library owing to the restoration work begun in April 2009.

²⁴⁴ Çubuk, *Solakzade Tarihi*, Vol II, p. 634, “Öte yandan, İstanbul’da bulunan Patrik’in yıkılası düşman tarafına gönderdiği mektuplar ele geçirilmişti. Patrik’in böylece hıyaneti ortaya çıktığından, Parmakkapı’da asıldı.” [1657] The original text is not included in the standard Solakzade, printed in 1880, but the text is included in a manuscript held at Topkapı.

²⁴⁵ Abdülkadir Özcan, *Zübde-i Vekayıât: Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704) / Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa*, Ankara: TTK, 1995.

²⁴⁶ For the period of Parthenios III, we have *Mühimme* 92 (1067-1069 / 1656-58). A register in this *defter* about the patriarch Parthenios concerns the amount of money he is supposed to take from the metropolitans (*Mühimme* 92/26/148). This may be either Parthenios III (1656-57) or Parthenios IV (1657-62 and later). Another register concerns the former patriarch Païsios I’s complaint about a Christian who was harassing one of his relatives in Midilli (*Mühimme* 92/60/281). A final record in this *defter* concerns the complaint of a former patriarch against a certain Mehmed who was harassing his servant, but the name of the patriarch is not recorded (*Mühimme* 92/60/283).

hanged in 1659 (1070).²⁴⁷ Kyrillos of Laura mentions that Gabriel, who came to the throne thanks to a certain amount of gold, was so illiterate that the Synod did not want him as patriarch. And so, after only ten days, he was sent to Bursa. He gives no information about his death.²⁴⁸ For this period, the *mühimme defteri* contains no registers concerning the patriarch.²⁴⁹

A brief look at simultaneous events suggests that the execution of the former patriarch Gabriel fits in with the atmosphere of the period. According to Naima, the sultan spent the summer of 1659 in Bursa, at which time there was an ongoing war between the Tatars and the Cossacks.²⁵⁰ Moreover, the Ottoman envoy to Austria (Nemçe) came and reported the betrayal of the ruler of Erdel [Transylvania], Rakoçioğlu [Rakoczi], and a decision was made to begin a campaign in the region the following spring.²⁵¹ Dealing with numerous foreign threats at the time, the Ottoman Porte was physically very close to Gabriel. The former patriarch may have been the victim of the policies of the time.

* * *

The account of Smith for the period of Loukaris, presented above, is a typical example of contemporary accounts, claiming that greed was the main factor in all that happened. Taking into consideration all of the actors who played a part, it seems that *nizâm* and reliability were the key Ottoman expectations from patriarchs in this period.

The end of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century were characterized by a post-Reformation atmosphere. Catholics and

²⁴⁷ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 160, Gedeon, *Patriarchiki Pinakes*, p. 462. Gedeon's narration for Gabriel's patriarchal adventure is similar to Hypsilantis's, but he gives no reason for his execution in Bursa.

²⁴⁸ Gedeon, *Kyriou Lauriotou*, p. 40.

²⁴⁹ *Mühimme* 93 (1069-1071 / 1658-60). Parthenios IV was the patriarch at this time.

²⁵⁰ İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, pp. 1842-1846.

²⁵¹ İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, p. 1836.

Protestants both endeavored to win the Orthodox to their side, not only in Europe, Poland, and the Ukraine, but also on Ottoman lands. The Ottomans' suspicion of disloyalty by the patriarchs, which led to their execution, was in some cases related to Ottoman-Russian relations and to the situation in the Ukraine with Cossacks in the seventeenth century. The activities of the Propaganda Fide in the Ottoman Empire and their struggle with Protestant ambassadors was another point of tension.²⁵² The Köprülü period began with this background, in the year 1656. The Swedish envoy Claes Ralamb describes Köprülü Mehmed Paşa as an honest and experienced grand vizier who endeavored to clean up state affairs through severe measures.²⁵³ The precautions Köprülü Mehmed Paşa took were considered severe not only by Western observers, but by the Ottomans as well.²⁵⁴ Thus, it seems that, in addition to the Ottoman reaction against the supposed *sû'-i hâl* of the patriarchs, the Ottoman policy towards the patriarchs was related to the atmosphere of the dangerous conditions of the first half of the seventeenth century, when the execution of Ottoman officers was prevalent. It is also noteworthy that, as the accounts relate, the patriarchs were executed through strangling or hanging, just like Ottoman officials, as *kuls*: high-ranking officials were executed by strangling, as it was forbidden to shed their blood, as was also the case with members of the Ottoman dynasty.²⁵⁵

²⁵² See Chapter 2.2.2.

²⁵³ Ralamb, *İstanbul'a bir Yolculuk 1657-1658*, pp. 77-78.

²⁵⁴ Şeyh Salim case referred to above. İpşirli (ed.), *Tarih-i Naima*, p. 1728-1729.

²⁵⁵ Ahmet Mumcu, *Siyaseten Katl*, pp. 118-119. Members of the *askeri* class in the military ("*ordu mensubu*") would be demoted first, put into a dungeon, strangled at night, and thrown into the sea. Mumcu, *Siyaseten Katl*, p. 121, based on D'Ohsson, VII, 352.

CHAPTER III

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

3.1. OTTOMAN REALITIES

As a part of Ottoman society, the Patriarchate was affected by the conditions of the empire and actively participated in the transformation of the fiscal and social conditions of society. In this section, I will first look at the fiscal transformation in the empire that affected societal roles. This is necessary in order to understand the position of the Patriarchate at this period. Then, I will look at a further transformation in state policies, *viz.* the shift from a military to a bureaucratic state, which was a factor in the increasing role of the Orthodox *archons* in the eighteenth century. Finally, I will examine the social turmoil of the first half of the eighteenth century, so as to point out the efforts of the Patriarch to control Orthodox Christians, efforts similar to the sultan's efforts to counterbalance turmoil and control society.

3.1.1. Fiscal policies and their effects

The eighteenth century has been identified as “the age of *a’yâns*”.¹ This is basically due to the increasing role of community leaders as a result of the new fiscal policies put into effect during that time.² İnalçık notes that “in the eighteenth century the new military, administrative and financial conditions required that the representative of a community be the wealthiest and most influential member of that community”.³ In the eighteenth century, the *mütesellims* who collected state revenues and other taxes were generally chosen from among the local *a’yân*.⁴

The general trends of the eighteenth-century transformation were rooted in the long-term effects of changes in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The world’s changing financial conditions following the discovery of the New World, the flow of silver from the West, and the need for cash that arose due to the ongoing wars had initiated a series of radical changes in the military and fiscal systems of the empire.⁵ The devaluation [*tağşiş*] of 1585-86 was followed by the adjustments [*tashih-i sikke*] of 1600, 1618, 1624, and 1640. Inflations and devaluations in

¹ See Ali Yaycıoğlu, “The Provincial Challenge: Regionalism, Crisis, and Integration in the Late Ottoman Empire (1792-1812)”, PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2008; Yuzo Nagata, *Tarihte Ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları Üzerinde bir İnceleme*, Ankara: TTK, 1997; Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlık*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1977; Bowen, “Ayan”, *EI* 2; Canay Şahin, “The Rise and Fall of an Ayân Family in Eighteenth Century Anatolia: The Caniklizâdes (1737-1808)”, PhD Dissertation, Bilkent University, 2003. For an overview of the literature on the discussion of the source of *ayan* power, see Nagata, *Tarihte Ayanlar*, pp. 1-5, Şahin, “The Rise and Fall”, pp. 23-38; Halil İnalçık, “The emergence of big farms, çiftliks: State, landlords and tenants”, in Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Paul Dumont (eds.), *Contributions à l’histoire Économique et Sociale de l’Empire Ottoman*, Louvain: 1983, pp. 105-26.

² The rise of *a’yâns* in the eighteenth century was an aspect of the “localization of authority in provincial governance” during that period. See Yaycıoğlu, “The Provincial Challenge”, Chapter 1.

³ Halil İnalçık, “Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration”, in T. Naff and R. Owen (eds.), *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, London: 1977, p. 46.

⁴ İnalçık, “Centralization and Decentralization”, p. 35.

⁵ Halil İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation”, *Archivum Ottomanicum* VI, 1980, pp. 283-337.

Ottoman currency in the first half of the seventeenth century not only put financial pressure on the empire's subjects, but also triggered a series of revolts.⁶

As a result of the state's growing need for cash beginning at the end of the sixteenth century onwards, as well as decay in the efficiency of the *timar* system, a series of changes in fiscal policies were triggered. The *cizye*, *avâriz-ı dîvâniyye*, and *tekâlif-i örfiyye* taxes grew in importance in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁷ By 1621, *avâriz* had become a regular tax.⁸

The fiscal measures of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries created new administrative actors in the provinces and cities. Due to the growing need for cash during times of war, particularly during the war of 1683-99, the state expected contributions from the *a'yân* and *eşraf* in the provinces, as well as from governors, palace women, and even the *ulema* of Istanbul; this led to the *imdâd-ı seferiyye* [urgent war contribution], a tax collected from the wealthy beginning in the early seventeenth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the *imdâdiyye* was transformed into a general tax, the *imdâd-ı hazariyye* [emergency peace time contribution] was introduced in 1713, and new taxes were imposed upon the *re'âyâ* by governors or their agents.⁹ After 1130 (1717-18), the *imdâd-ı seferiyye* and *imdâd-ı hazariyye* were institutionalized and legalized.¹⁰ The *imdâdiyye* was to be collected locally by the notables and functionaries of the provinces. İnalçık considers this to have been a major factor paving the way for *a'yân* predominance.¹¹

⁶ Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, pp. 143-161.

⁷ Linda Darling, *Revenue-raising and Legitimacy: Tax collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*, Leiden, New York: E.J. Brill, 1996, pp. 81-82.

⁸ Darling, *Revenue-raising and Legitimacy*, p. 93.

⁹ İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal", 313-327; "İmdâdiyye", by Tabakoğlu in *DIA*, Vol. 22, pp. 221-222, İnalçık, "Centralization and Decentralization", p. 363.

¹⁰ Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi (XVIII. yy'dan Tanzimata Mali Tarih)*, İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1986, pp. 54-57.

¹¹ İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal", p. 325.

The *maktû'* system as a method of tax-collection was becoming prevalent.¹² Here, a direct agreement between tax-payers and the administration was made concerning the amount of collective taxes a community had to pay to the state as a lump-sum.¹³ İnalçık notes that “[t]he immediate collection of *maktû'* was made the duty of the *imams* and the *kethüdâs* of the villages and the city districts. Thus, large-scale application of the *maktû'* system was bound to bring about some major social and administrative changes”.¹⁴

The expansion of *iltizâm* (tax-farming)¹⁵ and the introduction of the *mâlikâne* system in the eighteenth century¹⁶ were further fiscal developments that affected administrative roles in society. The two tax-collection systems were *emânet* and *iltizâm*.¹⁷ A great portion of the *mukâta'as* [revenue units] outside the *timar* system were collected by tax-farming, with a limited portion, the *emîns*, controlled by state officials.¹⁸ In the *iltizâm* system, the *mukâta'a* as tax-income was auctioned and sold to a *mültezim*. The *mültezim* was responsible for paying a portion of the tax he would get from the *mukâta'a* in cash to the state.¹⁹ In general, the *mültezim* would hold the tax-farm for three years. Tax-farming expanded in the seventeenth century and became prevalent in the eighteenth century.

The burden of the deficit and profit of the tax-income was laid on the *mültezim* in the *iltizâm* system. An immediate disadvantage of the expansion of tax-farming was that it was not possible for the central government to control the

¹² İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal”, p. 333.

¹³ İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal”, p. 333.

¹⁴ İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal”, p. 334.

¹⁵ İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal”, pp. 327-333. Mehmet Genç, “İltizam”, *DIA*, Vol. 22, pp. 154-158.

¹⁶ For the *mâlikâne* system, see Mehmet Genç, “Osmanlı Maliyesinde Mâlikâne Sistemi”, in *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri, Metinler / Tartışmalar*, 8-10 June 1973, Osman Okyar (ed.), pp. 231-296; Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul: Ötüken, 2000.

¹⁷ Genç, “İltizam”, p. 154.

¹⁸ Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005, p. 147.

¹⁹ See Genç, “İltizam”, pp. 154-158.

activities of tax-farmers who tried to increase their profits.²⁰ As the *timar* system decreased, the rural *re'âyâ*, who were required to pay taxes to the *mültezim* in cash, had to get credits from usurers, and were thus in danger of losing all their property and identity as farmers. In order to overcome this problem, lifelong (*kayd-ı hayat*) tax-farms were regulated by a decree of 1695.²¹ In the “*mâlikâne* system”, the *mâlikâne* owner who held the source of tax as income for a lifelong term had to consider future production. In this way, the state secured the income of future years and gained a new source of income, the *mu'accele*, the price paid for the *mukâta'as* to be sold as *mâlikâne*.²² The *mâlikâne* owner was supposed to pay for the “tax provided by the *mukâta'a*” (*mâl*) plus additional fees of 5 to 20% to the state, in cash, in three installments per year.²³ The amount of *mu'accele* needed to be as high as possible so that the state could benefit.²⁴ By selling the tax-income of *mukâta'a* in a certain area, the state transferred some of the administrative and security responsibilities to the *mâlikâne* owner.²⁵ The “[heyday] of the *mâlikâne* system” were from 1720 to 1760.²⁶

In the *iltizâm* system, taxes were sold by auction (*müzayede*), and the auction involved an annual amount to be paid to the treasury. In the *mâlikâne* system, there was again an auction involved, but the annual amount was determined by the state and neither raised nor lowered at auction.²⁷ In *iltizâm*, the tax-farmer could lose

²⁰ Yaycıoğlu, “The Provincial Challenge”, p. 73.

²¹ Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, p. 104 et seq.

²² Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, p. 105. The *mâlikâne* is considered to be domestic debt [*iç borçlanma*] by Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, p. 158, and by Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, pp. 148-150. Yaycıoğlu argues that the *mâlikâne* system was an effort by the Porte to solve the problem of tension between the “public” interest of the state and the “private” interest of the tax-farmer. Yaycıoğlu, “The Provincial Challenge”, pp. 74-75.

²³ Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, p. 105.

²⁴ Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, p. 159.

²⁵ Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, p. 107.

²⁶ Yaycıoğlu, “The Provincial Challenge”, p. 98.

²⁷ Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, p. 156.

the *mukâta'a* in an auction to someone offering a higher price, but the *mâlikâne* system was more stable.²⁸ The lifelong term [*kayd-ı hayat*] provided for stability.

In the *mâlikâne* system, tax-farms were generally held by members of the higher *askeri* class situated in Istanbul, and the tax-farms were transferred to local secondary sub-*mültezims*.²⁹ In Salzman's words, "The institutionalization of the *mâlikâne* system assured the dominance of central state elites over the most important state resources. At the same time, it opened select sectors of the state economy to local elites."³⁰

One way to increase the cash income of the state was to have the members of the military class give their salaries to the treasury and obtain the *iltizâm* of the *mukâta'as*. This process, known as *hazîne-mande*, began in the first half of the seventeenth century and expanded in the second half of the century.³¹

Following the Russian war of 1766-1774, a new solution brought by the state was the *eshâm* system. The annual incomes of some of the *mukâta'as* were sold in dividends (*sehimler / eshâm*) to individuals in return for a total sum paid in advance.³²

Despite its prevalent usage in studies on economic history, the term *mukâta'a* does not denote only a fiscal measure. Ergenç proposes that, despite the prevalent point of view in studies on Ottoman finances, *mukâta'a* is not solely a tax unit. In his view, *mukâta'a* should be considered as an important dimension of the organization of space, a necessity to provide for the responsibilities of the state

²⁸ Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, p. 157.

²⁹ Genç, "İltizam", p. 157.

³⁰ Ariel Salzman, *Measures of Empire: Tax-Farmers and the Ottoman Ancien Regime, 1695-1807*, PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1995, pp. 148-149.

³¹ Genç, "İltizam", p. 156.

³² "Mukataa adıyla bilinen vergi kalemlerinden bazılarının ait yıllık nakdi gelirlerin, faiz denilen belirli bölümlerinin sehimler halinde dilimlenerek özel şahıslara mu'accele adı verilen bir peşin meblağ karşılığında kayd-ı hayat şartı ile satılması", Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, 186-195.

towards the *re'âyâ*.³³ *Timar* and *iltizâm* were two systems of tax-collection accompanied by certain responsibilities on the *timar* holder or the *mültezim*. The latter became prevalent over the course of time. As spaces were transferred from *timar* to *iltizâm*, the *mültezims* assumed the responsibilities of the *beys*. The *mültezim*, just like the *timar* holder, was an administrator over the population that performed the activity of the object of taxation.³⁴ Through their *berâts*, the *mültezims* assumed the previous responsibilities of the *sancakbeyis* of the “classical” period.³⁵

In the context of the eighteenth-century financial situation, the role of certain urban actors increased as well. In a financial system where cash was important, the role of cash providers expanded. In order to pay for the total sum to the state, the *mâlikâne* owners had to be supported by *sarrafs*.³⁶ The *kefils* of the *iltizâm* system in the fifteenth and sixteenth century became professional by the eighteenth century, with organized *sarrafs* providing credit, especially in central areas like Istanbul.³⁷ Yavuz Cezar notes that the increasing importance of the *sarrafs* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was partly because of the levy of new taxes. As the circulation of money increased, money lenders grew in importance in the economy.³⁸ The new taxes imposed by the Ottoman financial organization required new actors for the collection and management of these taxes. *Sarrafs* could help in financial operations, especially in tax-farming operations, in which the assistants, called *kapı kethüdâsı*, were not sufficient to help the local governors. The

³³ Özer Ergenç, “The Sphere of Muqata’a: A Particular Dimension of Ottoman Spatial Organization and Inspection”, *International Congress in Honour of Professor Halil İnalçık: Methods and Sources in Ottoman Studies*, Harvard University, 2004.

³⁴ Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehirlerindeki Yönetim Kurumlarının Niteliği Üzerinde Bazı Düşünceler”, *VIII. TTK Kongresi 1976, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Vol.2, (Ankara: TTK, 1981), p. 1267.

³⁵ Ergenç, “The Sphere of Muqata’a”; Özer Ergenç, “XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Taşra Yönetiminin Mali Nitelikleri”, *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10, 1986, pp. 87-96.

³⁶ Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, pp. 150-152.

³⁷ Genç, “İltizam”, *DIA*, p. 155.

³⁸ Cezar, “The Role of the *Sarrafs* in Ottoman Finance and Economy in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries”, in Colin Imber and Keiko Kiyotaki (eds.), *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, Vol. 1, London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005, p. 65.

sarrafs paid the claims of the Central Treasury in advance. Cezar explains that, in this way – particularly after the mid-eighteenth century – “a new trio of vizier, *kapı kethüdâsı* and *sarraf* began to play an important role in the Ottoman financial system”.³⁹

Stagnation in the political power of the empire and the burden of wars brought about a financial depression, but this does not entail a decrease in economic terms.⁴⁰ Historians working on the Ottoman economy point out the difference between finances and economics, as well as the respective Ottoman documentation.⁴¹ Genç proposes that the tax-figures are unrelated to the volume of economic activity, and that there is no relation between increase in taxes and the amount of revenues to the treasury.⁴² According to a study by Çizakça, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, only $\frac{1}{3}$ (net) of tax incomes went directly to the treasury. The remaining portion was shared by a coalition of high bureaucrats, *mâlikâne* holders, *sarrafs*, and local powers.⁴³ Despite the eighteenth-century financial depression, the economy did not go into stagnation until 1760.⁴⁴ According to the research of Genç, economic activity increased from 1730 to 1740 and from 1760 to 1770.⁴⁵ The research of Panzac demonstrates the growth of trade between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe in the eighteenth century.⁴⁶ In Chios, silk textile production increased after

³⁹ Cezar, “The Role of the *Sarrafs*”, p. 67.

⁴⁰ Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, p. 153.

⁴¹ Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, pp. 35-36.

⁴² Mehmet Genç, “A Study of the Feasibility of Using Eighteenth Century Ottoman Fiscal Records as an Indicator of Economic Activity”, in *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (ed.), Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 345-373.

⁴³ Referred to by Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, p. 151.

⁴⁴ Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, pp. 178-187.

⁴⁵ Mehmet Genç, “18th century Ottoman Fiscal Records”, p. 346. Mehmet Genç, “XVIII. yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş”, *Yapıt* 49/4, 1984, pp. 52-61, 49/5, pp. 86-93; Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, p. 179.

⁴⁶ See Daniel Panzac, “International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th Century”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24, 1992, pp. 189-206; also see Elena Frangakis-Syrett, “The Economic Activities of Ottoman and Western Communities in Eighteenth Century İzmir” in *Oriente Moderno* 1999, *The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, Kate Fleet (ed.), pp. 11-26, Edhem Eldem, “French Trade and Commercial Policy in the Levant in the Eighteenth

1720 and, by 1750, the products were being exported to Istanbul and the Black Sea region.⁴⁷

Another precaution taken to increase state income was the reform of the poll-tax [*cizye*] instituted by Grand Vizier Köprülüzade Mustafa Paşa in 1690; this was basically the collection of *cizye* on an individual rather than a household basis. After 1691, priests and monks were included among the payers of *cizye*.⁴⁸ The *maktû'* system in the payment of *cizye* – *i.e.* a fixed sum sometimes agreed upon between the *cizye* collectors, the *kocabaşıs*, and the Christian notables – was extended during the period when the central government was losing control of tax collection in the provinces.⁴⁹ Parallel to this development, the role of local religious dignitaries and the wealthy, who were able to pay a total sum, was increasing.

In sum, the fiscal policies of the eighteenth century increased the role of local notables and community leaders. The actors constituted a large web of *mültezims*, sub-*mültezims*, their agents, local notables and functionaries, and cash-providers in the city and in the provinces.

3.1.2. From War to Diplomacy

The Ottoman Empire was faced with a different Europe in the eighteenth century. The 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz and its aftermath signified a change in the

Century” in *Oriente Moderno* 1999, *The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, Kate Fleet (ed.), pp. 27-47.

⁴⁷ Genç, “18. yy’da Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş”, pp. 53-54. Also in Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, Part 10, pp. 209-225.

⁴⁸ İnalçık, “Djizya” in *EI* 2, Vol. II, p. 563, İnalçık, “Cizye”, *DIA*, Vol. 8, pp. 45-48, Ahmet Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme Dönemine Girerken Osmanlı Maliyesi*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1985, p. 137.

⁴⁹ İnalçık, “Djizya”, p. 563.

Ottoman attitude towards Europe.⁵⁰ Aksan notes that “the ideology of the ‘ever-victorious frontier’ and the ‘circle of equity’ was slowly being replaced with that of service to *din-u-devlet* on the part of each individual.”⁵¹

The two significant developments in Ottoman diplomacy in the eighteenth century were the bureaucratization of foreign affairs in the scribal bureaucracy, and the subsequently increasing contacts with Europe.⁵² Aksan proposes that the eighteenth century represents a shift from the centuries old “*edeb*” tradition to a civil bureaucracy.⁵³

The most important indicator of this shift was the increasing importance of the *re’isü’l-küttâb*.⁵⁴ Among the three elite groups of *seyfiyye*, *ilmiyye*, and *kalemiyye*, the participation of the members of the *kalemiyye* (the scribes of the *Bab-ı Defteri* and *Dîvân-ı Hümayûn*) in administration increased in the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ According to Aksan, the fact that the grand viziers of the eighteenth century were chosen from among former *re’isü’l-küttâb* demonstrates the gradual shift from a military to a bureaucratic empire.⁵⁶

Bureaucrats were replacing military people in certain careers. During periods when the viziers were away from the city, they were represented in their posts by *kâ'im-i makâms*. In the eighteenth century, many posts in the palace were

⁵⁰ Rifa’at Ali Abou-El-Haj, “Ottoman Methods of Negotiation: The Karlowitz Case”, *Der Islam* 51, 1974, pp. 131-137.

⁵¹ Virginia H. Aksan, “Ottoman Political Writing, 1768-1808”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25/1, 1993, p. 63.

⁵² Virginia Aksan, “War and Peace”, in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. III: The Later Ottoman Empire 1603-1938*, Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.), Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 108.

⁵³ Virginia H. Aksan, *Savaşta ve Barışta bir Osmanlı Devlet Adamı: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783*, Özden Arıkan (trans.), İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997, p. 28.

⁵⁴ Halil İnalçık, “Reisülküttab”, *IA* Vol. 9, pp. 671-683.

⁵⁵ Aksan, *Ahmed Resmi Efendi*, pp. 21-22. Rather than the “ruling institution” and “Muslim institution” theory of Lybyer, Itzkowitz proposes that “[...] at least three pillars correspond[ed] to the three main career lines or opportunities in the empire – the *kalemiyye*, *seyfiyye*, and *ilmiyye*, that is, the bureaucratic, military, and religious careers.” (Norman Itzkowitz, “Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities”, *Studia Islamica* 16, 1962, p. 84.)

⁵⁶ Aksan, *Ahmed Resmi*, p. 22.

held by *kâ'im-i makâms*, who were among the bureaucrats rather than being of the *askeri* class.⁵⁷ Based on his study on the careers of provincial governors and grand viziers, Itzkowitz describes the process of the appointment of professional bureaucrats to these posts as “*efendi-turned paşas*”, indicating the emergence of a new kind of top-level Ottoman administrator.⁵⁸

Another symptom of the change was that the *hariciye* gained importance in the *dîvân kalemleri*. Before 1699, treaties with foreign administrations were signed under the authority of military commanders. The Treaty of Karlowitz, however, was signed by *Re'îsü'l-küttâb* Rami Mehmed Efendi in 1699.⁵⁹ During this process, the increasing importance of Rum dragomans is noteworthy. In the peace treaties with Venice after the War of Crete, Panagiotis Nikousios went to Crete with Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa in 1670, and Mavrokordatos accompanied Rami Mehmed Paşa to Karlowitz in 1699.

In 1703, Rami Mehmed Paşa, in charge at Karlowitz, assumed the grand vizierate and “adopted peace as the basic principle of Ottoman policy”.⁶⁰ After a series of wars with Russia, Iran, the Venetians, and Austria, a period of peace finally emerged, lasting from 1739 to 1768.⁶¹

Ottoman awareness of the European transformation is evident from the embassies to Europe.⁶² Murphey cautions us concerning the true nature and the limited scope of the missions by Ottoman diplomats to Europe in this period. They

⁵⁷ Aksan, *Ahmed Resmi*, p. 28.

⁵⁸ See Itzkowitz, “Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities”, pp. 86-87.

⁵⁹ Aksan, *Ahmed Resmi*, p. 25.

⁶⁰ Halil İnalcık, “Eastern and Western Cultures in Dimitrie Cantemir’s Work”, in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993, p. 412.

⁶¹ Aksan, “War and Peace”, p. 102. Robert Olson thinks that this is a Eurocentric view, and reminds us of the Siege of Musul and other conflicts with Iran. Robert W. Olson, “The Ottoman-French Treaty of 1740” in *Imperial Meanderings and Republican by-ways: Essays on Eighteenth Century Ottoman and Twentieth Century*, Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1996, p. 79.

⁶² See Faik Resit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, Ankara: TTK, 1968.

were diplomatic encounters of a military and fiscal nature which did not lead to or aim at any profound understanding of the cultural sphere.⁶³ Only after the 1790s, during the period of Selim III, were permanent embassies established in Europe.

The increase of documentation on the part of the Patriarchate in the *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers is based on the fact that there was an empire-wide increase of bureaucracy. In Chapter II, we saw how the patriarchs were not allowed by the viziers to present themselves to the sultan following the execution of Parthenios III in 1657. In the eighteenth century, however, patriarchs would present themselves to the Porte and achieve their goals, a clear sign that their post had gained respectability and importance.⁶⁴

3.1.3. The “Tulip Age” and Popular Revolts

Popular unrest was a frequent phenomenon of the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire. Not all popular movements were of the same character; they were triggered by a variety of actors and motivations. What is important for our purposes here is the way the Ottoman administration perceived unrest caused by mobs, and the way it was dealt with.

Concerning political life in the Porte of the eighteenth century, MacGowan notes that there were two sources of pressure: the crowd as the “pressure below”, and the harem as the “pressure from above”.⁶⁵ If the government was weak, the *ulema*

⁶³ See Rhoads Murphey, “Westernization in the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Empire: How Far, How Fast”, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 23 (1999), pp. 116-139.

⁶⁴ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 158. See Chapter 3.3.

⁶⁵ Social turbulence was not peculiar to the eighteenth century. From the end of the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the Ottoman administration encountered social upheavals, including the Celali

would join with the Janissary agha against the government. If the viziers were strong and supported by the sultan, they could more easily resist pressure from the mob and the harem.⁶⁶

A series of urban revolts occurred in the first half of the century, beginning with the Edirne incident of 1703. In that year, Sultan Mustafa II left the throne to his brother Ahmed III, and Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi was executed.⁶⁷ The Patrona Revolt of the Janissaries in September 1730 is considered the revolt that ended the “Tulip Age” of 1718 to 1730, the period when Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Paşa served as the grand vizier. As a result of this revolt, Sultan Ahmed III left the throne to his nephew, Mahmud I.⁶⁸ The revolt of 1740 in the capital was also significant.⁶⁹ Urban revolts, not only in Istanbul but also in other parts of the empire, such as Damascus and Palestine created turbulence.⁷⁰

rebellions. For the 1651 and 1688 revolts of the guilds, see Eunjeong Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004, p. 213 et seq.

⁶⁶ Bruce McGowan, “The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (eds), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 640.

⁶⁷ See Rifa’at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1984.

⁶⁸ The “Tulip Age” and the revolt of 1730 (the “Patrona Halil Revolt”) is a very popular subject in Ottoman history. Aktepe’s work has long been the major reference work on the subject (Münir Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı: 1730*, İstanbul Üniversitesi: 1958). For a critical review of historiography on the “Tulip Age”, see Selim Karahasanoğlu, “Osmanlı Tarihyazımında ‘Lale devri’: Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme” in *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 7, 2008, pp. 129-144. Karahasanoğlu distinguishes three points of view in historiography on the “Tulip Age”: consideration of the period as the beginning of the modernization and Westernization of modern Turkey; the beginning of the “decline of Ottoman order”; and a period of “ethical decay”. He proposes that the discourse of “ethical decay” or “decline” was actually the discourse of the surprised individuals of the period. He proposes that the consumption behaviors of the era should be studied. An edition of an Ottoman account of the revolt of 1730 is published in his recent work *Politics and governance in the Ottoman Empire: The Rebellion of 1730*, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, Harvard University, 2009. For the revolt of 1730 and studies on the incident, see also Karahasanoğlu’s “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda 1730 İsyanına Dair Yeni Bulgular: İsyanın Organizatörlerinden Ayasofya Vaizi İspirizâde Ahmed Efendi ve Terekesi”, *OTAM*, 24, 2008, pp. 97-128.

⁶⁹ Olson proposes that the changed position of the *esnaf* between 1730 and 1740, on the side of the sultan, and the opposition to this by the Janissaries and Muslims brought about important consequences. See Robert Olson, “Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul”, in *Imperial Meanderings and Republican By-Ways: Essays on Eighteenth Century Ottoman and Twentieth Century History of Turkey*, Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1996, pp. 13-31.

⁷⁰ See James Grehan “Street Violence and Social Imagination in Late-Mamluk and Ottoman Damascus (ca. 1500-1800)”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 35/2, 2003, pp. 215-

On the other hand, local troubles caused by the abuses of local administrators assuming responsibilities in the collective rather than the personal tax-collection system were felt in Istanbul.⁷¹ Increase in the collective petitions from provinces was a feature of the eighteenth century, as “the localization of authority in provincial governance caused struggles among the local power-holding individuals and families to hold provincial offices.”⁷² Local power holders mobilized groups to send collective petitions to Istanbul favoring them for provincial offices.⁷³

Local communities complained to the Porte against over-taxing and abuses. For example, the Christian *re'âyâ* of Sofia were not content with their metropolitans in the middle of the eighteenth century. According to a record dated 20 September 1752, the Christian *re'âyâ* of Sofia presented a petition to the Porte to ask for an order to stop the misbehavior of the metropolitan, Anthimos.⁷⁴ This problem had begun at least four years earlier. In 1748, the *re'âyâ* of Sofia came to the *kadı* court to complain of Anthimos.⁷⁵ In 1750, Patriarch Kyrillos wrote a petition to the Porte reporting that, in Sofia, four priests did not pay their debts to the Patriarchate, kept the money that they were supposed to pay, and they harmed the *mâl-ı mîrî*.⁷⁶ On

236; Adel Manna, “Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Rebellions in Palestine”, *Journal of Palestine Studies* 24/1, 1994, pp. 51-66.

⁷¹ İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal”, p. 317.

⁷² Yaycıoğlu, “The Provincial Challenge”, p. 56.

⁷³ See Yaycıoğlu, “The Provincial Challenge”, p. 57, for examples from Konya. This happened in Crete as well. For example, according to a document of 1701, people accused the metropolitan of asking for more than he was supposed to in their petitions. Upon this, a *ferman* sent from Adrianople ordered the *kadis* of Crete to examine whether the metropolitan Kallinikos was collecting the right amount of money. The patriarch defended the metropolitan in the Porte against these accusations. The decree ordered the *kadis* to ensure that he got only what he should, and not to allow anyone from outside to interfere. Nikolaos Stavrinidis, *Metafraseis Tourkikon Istorikon Eggrafon Aforonton eis tin Istorian tis Kritis, Vol.3: 1694-1715 (1105-1127)*, Herakleion: 1978, Doc. 1578, pp. 261-262, 5 *Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1113 / 7 November 1701.

⁷⁴ D.PSK 19/33, 12 *Zi'l-ka'de* 1165 / 20 September 1752. Also in KK.d. 2542-06-28 (p. 27), the *re'âyâ* of Sofia complain of the metropolitan Anthimos.

⁷⁵ D.PSK 17/3, 13 *Muharrem* 1161 / 14 January 1748. Copy of the decree sent to the *kadı* of Berkofça.

⁷⁶ “*zîkr olunan papasların zimmetlerinde gerek banka ve gerek nikâh ve sâ'ir mûte'allik hesâbları var iken metropolid-i mesfûr veyâhûd vekîli ile hesâbların görmeyüb te'addî üzere olub mâl-ı mîrîye küllî gadr olunmağla*” D.PSK 18/82, 27 *Zi'l-hicce* 1163 / 27 November 1750

3 February 1754, the patriarch complained about the metropolitan Anthimos once again, claiming that the metropolitan was not paying the necessary dues.⁷⁷

A few days later, on 8 February 1754, Kyrillos requested an order summoning the metropolitan's representative Thomas to the capital.⁷⁸ Finally, in May 1754, Anthimos resigned from his post, and Ieremias, the metropolitan of Ankara, replaced him.⁷⁹

Another case of unrest occurred in Istanbul in 1751. Seven Cypriots, four of whom were priests, were put in prison and then sent back to their homeland, accused of causing trouble, "*ihtilâl-i nizâm-ı memleket*".⁸⁰ Patriarch Kyrillos and the dragoman Ioannis Kalimakis were accused of instigating the unrest the Cypriots had caused in the city.⁸¹

The cases of Sofia and Cyprus are actually examples of the expression of the discontent of the *re'âyâ* as a group towards the Ottoman Porte in the eighteenth century. Although communal complaints are evident in the seventeenth century, the eighteenth-century complaints are more organized and effective. We should note the difference between protesting *against* the administration and making a complaint *to* the administration. The cases of 1752 and Sofia were not protests against the Ottoman administration, but rather complaints to the Porte. People were using their networks in order to achieve ends related to their intracommunal relationships.

⁷⁷ KK.d. 2540, p. 11, 9 *Rebî'ü'l-âhîr* 1167 / 3 February 1754.

⁷⁸ KK.d. 2540, p. 12, 15 *Rebî'ü'l-âhîr* 1167 / 8 February 1754.

⁷⁹ D.PSK 19/121, (8, 16 *Receb* 1167 / 1, 9 May 1754); KK.d. 2540, p. 15; KK.d. 2540, p. 16; D.PSK 19/122 (16 *Receb* 1167 / 9 May 1754).

⁸⁰ ŞK 174/ 161/ 2, *Evâil-i Receb* 1164 / 26 May- 4 June 1751.

⁸¹ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 367. See Chapter IV.

3.1.4. Petitioning in the eighteenth century

The right of Ottoman subjects to convey their complaints and grievances to the sultan has been theoretically associated with the concept of *adalet* (justice), the roots of which are found in Middle Eastern state traditions.⁸² The *dîvân-ı hümayûn* was a place to submit personal grievances to the sultan.⁸³ Even if the sultan was not present, applications to the *dîvân* were considered direct applications to the sultan. On some occasions when the sultan was out of the palace, people could submit their petitions directly to him; these petitions were called *rik'a*.⁸⁴

Orders of issues discussed in the *dîvân* were recorded in the *mühimme* registers.⁸⁵ In the seventeenth century, different kinds of orders began to be recorded in related registers. *Şikâyet* registers were one of these kinds of records to emerge in the seventeenth century; here, orders given as replies to petitions were recorded.⁸⁶ Most of the time, the petitions of the *askeri* class and of officials were called *arz*, whereas those of the *re'âyâ* were called *arz-ı hâl*.⁸⁷ The collective petition of a group of people, in which their names were recorded, was called *arz-ı mahzar*.⁸⁸

⁸² Halil İnalçık, “Şikâyet hakkı: Arz-ı hal ve arz-ı mahzarlar”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* VII-VIII, 1988, p. 33; İnalçık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ (1300-1600)*, Ruşen Sezer (trans.) İstanbul : YKY, 2003, p. 96. For petitions, see also Hülya Taş, “Osmanlı’da Şikâyet Hakkının Kullanımı Üzerine Düşünceler”, *Memleket* II/3, 2007, pp. 187-204.

⁸³ İnalçık, *Klasik Çağ (1300-1600)*, pp. 94-98; Pal Fodor, “Changes in the Ottoman Ruling Elite”, in *In quest of the Golden Apple: Imperial Ideology, Politics, and Military Administration in the Ottoman Empire*, *Analecta Isisiana* 45, İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2000, p. 211.

⁸⁴ İnalçık, *Klasik Çağ*, p. 96; İnalçık, *Şikâyet Hakkı*, p. 33.

⁸⁵ İnalçık, *Klasik Çağ*, p. 99. See also W. S. Peachy, “Register of Copies or Collection of Drafts? The Case of Four Mühimme Defters from the Archives of the Prime Ministry in İstanbul”, *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* X/2, 1986, pp. 79-85; Suraiya Faroqhi, “Mühimme Defterleri”, *EI* 2, Vol. VII, pp. 470-472; Mübahat Kütükoğlu, “Mühimme Defteri”, *DIA*, Vol. 31, pp. 520-523; Tevfik Temelkuran, “Dîvân-ı Hümayûn Mühimme Kalemi”, *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 6, 1975, pp. 129-169.

⁸⁶ İnalçık, “Şikâyet Hakkı”, p. 34.

⁸⁷ İnalçık, “Şikâyet Hakkı”, p. 35.

⁸⁸ İnalçık, “Şikâyet Hakkı”, p. 41.

The foundation of the *arz odası* (1526-28) by İbrahim Paşa has been considered a proof of royal isolation.⁸⁹ “To honor tradition”, petitioners were able to reach the sultan on a few occasions.⁹⁰ Faroqhi deals with the petitions of the subject people in the Ottoman Empire as a political activity.⁹¹

In the *piskopos mukâta‘ası* collections, there are petitions presented to the Porte by patriarchs, metropolitans, and Christian subjects. When the grand vizier⁹² or the *başdefterdâr* would write a *telhîs* for the case, their reference point for the suggested decision would be the “*piskopos mukâta‘ası defterleri*”. Finally, the decision of the sultan was recorded above the petition and the *telhîs* and called the *hatt-ı hümayûn*, *hatt-ı şerîf*, *işâret*, or *buyuruldu*.⁹³ The entire procedure would be recorded in the *ahkâm ve berevât defterleri*. Imperial decrees upon petitions were recorded in the *şikâyet defterleri*.

Petitioners adopted the jargon of the party in power.⁹⁴ In order to achieve their purpose, the petitions’ discourse had to be convincing, and the expectation of the administration was to be satisfied. This was true not only for actors related to Patriarchate, but for guild members, *imams*, and other actors in Ottoman society.⁹⁵

Writing petitions to the administration was not a practice unique to the Ottoman bureaucracy.⁹⁶ However, the motivation for petition writing seems to have been different in the Ottoman Empire. The question is whether, in the Ottoman

⁸⁹ Fodor, “Changes in the Ottoman Ruling Elite”, p. 220.

⁹⁰ Fodor, “Changes in the Ottoman Ruling Elite”, p. 223.

⁹¹ Faroqhi, “Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers and the Problem of Sultanic Legitimation (1570-1650)” in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35/1, 1992, pp. 1-39.

⁹² Fodor proposes that the emergence of the grand vizier *telhises*, as a restatement of the reports and petitions of state officials and the subject population, was related to the process of princely isolation that began during the period of Mehmed II and culminated at the end of the sixteenth century. See Fodor, “Changes in the Ottoman Ruling Elite”, p. 226.

⁹³ Fodor, “Changes in the Ottoman Ruling Elite”, p. 226.

⁹⁴ Lex Heerma van Voss, “Introduction”, *Petitions in Social History in International Review of Social History*, Supplement 9, 46, 2001, Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-10, referring to Nedostup and Hong-ming.

⁹⁵ For the petitions of guildsmen, see Yi, *Guild Dynamics*, pp. 196-212.

⁹⁶ See *Petitions in Social History in International Review of Social History*, Supplement 9, Vol. 46, 2001, Cambridge University Press.

context, writing a petition was an option, or a bureaucratic procedure. The *berâts* make it clear that the patriarchs were supposed to present their petitions to the Porte, and, in cases relating to their religion, the petitions of the patriarchs were to be acted upon.⁹⁷ Faroqhi mentions that most of the replies to petitions were not concerned with complaints, but with routine, such as the introduction of candidate tax-farmers or the appointment of foundation administrators.⁹⁸ This stems from the fact that petitions are not only a means to convey subjects' grievances, but also an obligatory part of Ottoman bureaucracy. This is the case for the patriarchal or metropolitan petitions. While some of the petitions are means of expressing complaints and grievances and thus very interesting pieces for research, others are a part of the bureaucratic procedure, such as the appointment of a new metropolitan to a certain diocese upon the death of the previous one. This sort of practice arose because, following the directives of the *berâts*, it was necessary.

The history of the Patriarchate involves the stories of the different strata of society: the Ottoman administration, the clergymen of the Patriarchate, laypeople in and around the Patriarchate, the Orthodox community of Istanbul and of the rural clergy high and low, and the rural Orthodox population. The degree of our ability to hear the voices of these groups is not the same. Würgler notes that petitions are sources to study ordinary people and the silent masses.⁹⁹ Again, the situation is different in the Ottoman case. The procedure of petition writing and the style of

⁹⁷ "*patriklerin arzı ma'mûlün bih olub âyinlerine müte'allik her ne ki arz ve i'lâm iderler ise müsâ'ade olunub*"

⁹⁸ Faroqhi, "Political Activity", pp. 4-5.

⁹⁹ Andreas Würgler, "Voices from the "Silent Masses": Humble Petitions and Social Conflicts in Early Modern Central Europe", *Petitions in Social History in International Review of Social History*, Supplement 9, 46, 2001, Cambridge University Press, pp. 11-34.

language petitions needed to follow prevents them from reflecting the direct voices of the petitioners.¹⁰⁰

3.1.5. A remark on non-Muslims and Muslims before the end of the eighteenth century

One of the shortfalls of the *millet* system theory is its projection of the nineteenth-century rift between Muslims and non-Muslims onto previous centuries. What this theory misses is the fact that non-Muslim communities were as much a part of Ottoman society as Muslims were. This is true for the Patriarchate as well. Contrary to the unverified premise of the *millet* theory, the Patriarchate was not a distinct non-Muslim entity in society. Rather, it was an inherent part of Ottoman society, and reacted just like other groups.

Yi claims that “the guilds were simultaneously objects of suspicion and handy sources of revenue”.¹⁰¹ So, too, was the Patriarchate and the Orthodox community around the Church. Such a view of the government concerning the Patriarchate did not stem from the fact that they were non-Muslims. As Faroqhi demonstrates, the boundary between Muslims and non-Muslims was to be emphasized by the government only after the last quarter of the eighteenth century. She notes that in the late eighteenth century, the old distinction between ordinary tax-paying subjects and servitors of the sultan had become much less significant than in earlier periods. A basic characteristic of the Ottoman “classical” period was the

¹⁰⁰ For the issue that petitions were not directly the voices of petitioners, see Başak Tuğ, “Politics of Honor: The Institutional and Social Frontiers of “Illicit” Sex in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Anatolia”, PhD Dissertation, New York University, 2009, p. 116ff.

¹⁰¹ Yi, *Guild Dynamics*, p. 174.

classification of subjects as *askeri* and *re'âyâ*. As artisans began to enter the Janissary corps, cannoneers, and sappers in Rumelia and the Arab provinces, the boundaries between tax-free soldiers and tax-paying artisans were blurred. The response of the central administration to this intermingling was to emphasize another boundary: that between Christians and Muslims. In this way, the term "*re'âyâ*" acquired the meaning of non-Muslim tax-paying subject, and was no longer unconnected with religion. From the early nineteenth century onwards, officials increasingly recorded Muslims as "Islam".¹⁰² Considered in this way, it would be misleading to evaluate events concerning Ottoman policies towards the Patriarchate in terms of a distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims before the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Recent studies in various areas of Ottoman history testify to this. According to urban studies, Ottoman quarters were not isolated; on the contrary, different communities were linked across different quarters through various relations.¹⁰³ Non-Muslims and Muslims were in trade and business relationships, and it was natural to live in common spaces in the early seventeenth century.¹⁰⁴ Goffman demonstrates that, in the seventeenth century, Armenian, Jewish, Orthodox, and Muslim merchants formed cross-cultural groups in Ottoman commercial centers against compatriots as well as against Dutch, Venetian, French, and English traders.¹⁰⁵ Further evidence is provided by a recent study on the guilds. In the eighteenth century, the major link between certain groups of craftsmen in eighteenth-century Istanbul was *hemşehrilik*

¹⁰² Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman Guilds in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Bursa Case", in *Making a Living in the Ottoman Lands 1480 to 1820*, İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1995, pp. 95-96.

¹⁰³ Özlem Sert Sandfuchs, "Reconstructing a Town from its Court Records: Rodosçuk (1546-1553)", PhD Dissertation, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, 2008, p. 198.

¹⁰⁴ Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrinde Esnaf Örgütlerinin Fiziki Yapıya Etkileri" in *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)*, Papers Presented to the First International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey, Hacettepe University, Ankara, July 11-13 1977, Osman Okyar and Halil İnalcık (eds.), Ankara: Meteksan, 1980, pp. 103-109. For examples on trade between Muslims and non-Muslims, see Ergenç, "1600-1615".

¹⁰⁵ Goffman, "Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century", p. 150.

rather than religion. According to the preliminary results of the study of Kırılı and Başaran based on the *Esnaf Kefalet Defterleri*, the dominant identity of craftsmen was their homeland, not their religion.¹⁰⁶ Also, the major disputes between non-Muslim and Muslim guild members were not based on religion and ideology, but on other daily problems stemming from, for example, sharing a working space. It was only in the nineteenth century that ideological problems between Muslims and non-Muslims came to matter.¹⁰⁷ Before the Ottoman-Russian wars of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and before Muslim immigration to Anatolia, when Muslims still lived peacefully in the Balkans and the Caucasus, the boundaries between the Muslims and non-Muslims of Istanbul and Anatolia were not as sharp as they would become in the nineteenth century. Therefore, the prevalent conclusions of the *millet* theory concerning the rift between Muslims and non-Muslims as being the major distinction in Ottoman society need to be avoided, particularly when considering the position of the Patriarchate in Ottoman society.

3.2. THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ACTORS

3.2.1. Financing the Taxes: The Network of Clergymen, *Esnaf*, and *Archons*

The financial responsibilities of the Patriarchate to the Porte were subject to a kind of negotiation between the two, as has been mentioned.¹⁰⁸ Financial crises sometimes hit the Patriarchate as a result of huge expanses consisting, mainly but not

¹⁰⁶ Presentation by Cengiz Kırılı, at the conference “Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Esnaf ve Ticaret”, 15 October 2010, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul.

¹⁰⁷ Presentation by Suraiya Faroqhi, at the conference “Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Esnaf ve Ticaret”, 15 October 2010, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul.

¹⁰⁸ See Chapter 2.1.2.2.

exclusively, of payments to the Porte, at which times the Patriarchate was financially supported by a network of people. These financial supporters consisted not only of wealthy Christian figures, but also of non-Christians as well. The financial crisis that the Patriarchate encountered in the middle of the eighteenth century was expressed in patriarchal petitions presented to the Ottoman administration. In these Ottoman documents, the most frequently referenced creditors of the Patriarchate were the trustees of pious foundations (*evkâf mütevellileri*), the Janissaries, and the *bostâniyân-ı hâssa ocağı*.¹⁰⁹

In the web of networks surrounding the Patriarchate, the Christian guilds of Istanbul played a major role. Through their economic power and social relations, they played a financial and political role in the Orthodox community.¹¹⁰ In the eighteenth century, the *esnaf* appears as a money lender in a *sigillion* dated May 1744, concerning a debt of Mount Athos to the *kürkçü esnafı*.¹¹¹ A hospital was

¹⁰⁹ These documents are mentioned in Chapter IV. For example, in KK.d. 2540, p. 86: “*ashâb-ı düyûn olan evkâf mütevellilerine dergâh-ı mu'allâm yeniçerileri ortalarının*”, KK.d. 2540, p. 7: “*evkâf-ı selâtin ve ortaların mâl-ı mevkûfesi ve sâ'irenin*”, D.PSK 23/20: “*düyûn-ı mezbûre dergâh-ı mu'allâm yeniçerileri ortalarından ve evkâfdan ve bostâniyân-ı hâssa ocağından ve sâ'ir kesândan istidâne olunduğunda*”, D.PSK 25/93: “*dergâh-ı mu'allâm yeniçerileri ortaları ve evkâf ve eytâma olan düyûn-ı kesirelerinin*”.

¹¹⁰ One reaction of the *esnaf* to eighteenth-century economic conditions was the formation of *gediks*, a kind of monopoly that provided for the stricter control of entrance into the guilds. *Gedikleşme* was one of the ways of the *esnaf* to adapt themselves to the realities of the period. For more information on the *esnaf* and *gediks*, see Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrinde Esnaf Örgütlerinin Fiziki Yapıya Etkileri”, p. 107; Engin Deniz Akarlı, “Gedik: A Bundle of Rights and Obligations for Istanbul Artisans and Traders, 1750-1840” in *Law, Anthropology and the Constitution of the Social, Making Persons and Things* eds. Alain Pottage and Martha Mundy, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 166-200; Suraiya Faroqhi, “The Fieldglass and the Magnifying Lens” in *Making a Living*, pp. 89-90 (also in *The Journal of European Economic History* 20, 1991, pp. 29-57); Faroqhi, “The Bursa Case”, pp. 93-112; Onur Yıldırım, “Osmanlı Esnafında Uyum ve Dönüşüm, 1650-1826”, *Toplum ve Bilim* 83, 1999, pp. 146-177; Onur Yıldırım, “Ottoman Guilds as a Setting for Inter-Religious Conflict: The Case of Silk-Thread Spinners in Istanbul”, *International Review of Social History* 47, 2002, p.407-419; Onur Yıldırım, “Ottoman Guilds in the Early Modern Era”, *International Review of Social History* 53, 2008, p. 73-93; Özlem Sert, “Becoming a Baker in the Ottoman Town of Rodosçuk (1546-1552): A Textual Analysis of the Records of Designation”, *New Perspectives on Turkey* 42, 2010, pp. 159-178. Mehmet Genç accounts for the reinforcement of artisanal monopolies in accordance with traditional Ottoman economic policies under the impact of eighteenth-century realities. Mehmet Genç, “Ottoman Industry in the Eighteenth Century: General Framework, Characteristics, and Main Trends”, in *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950*, Donald Quataert (ed.), Albany: State University of New York Press: 1994, pp. 62-63.

¹¹¹ Tasos Ath. Gritsopoulos, “O Patriarchis KPoleos Kyrillos E' o Karakallos”, *EEBS* 29, 1959, p. 368.

established through the contribution of the guild of grocers in Istanbul outside Yedikule in “1752 or 1753”.¹¹² In 1753, the monastery of Christ on the island of Prinkipos [Büyükada] was given over to the supervision of the guild of retail traders [*mperzizides*].¹¹³

Pitarakis and Merantzas mention that the members of the administrative councils of the churches consisted of wealthy guildsmen. The list of a 1734 inscription on the Church of Panagia Kaphatiane includes the wealthy lumber merchants, furriers, and a goldsmith, Ioannes Chrysochoos.¹¹⁴ Another document of 1794 demonstrates that the members of the council of Zoodochos Pege of Balıklı consisted of the leading *abacıs*, furriers, *çuhacıs* from Chios, goldsmiths (*cevahirci*), and *hatayicıs* (silk merchants).¹¹⁵ Pitarakis also mentions that most church icons from the late Ottoman centuries were donations from these foundations. Among the donators of icons and other liturgical objects were the guilds of gardeners, woodcutters, *mutafçıs*, *sarrafs*, and goldsmiths.¹¹⁶

The furriers in particular appear as an important figure in the financial affairs of the Church. It seems that the fur trade was a profitable one. In this way, furriers were able to provide a good education for their children.¹¹⁷ The furriers provided financial support for the maintenance of the Church of Agios Tafos in Jerusalem, as well as for schools and hospitals in Istanbul.¹¹⁸ A golden medal plastered with emerald, enamel, and diamond decorations in the Patriarchate

¹¹² Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes*, p. 540, Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 190, (referring to Eugenios, *Zoodochos Pigi*, p. 140.)

¹¹³ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 189. Papadopoulos notes that *mperzizides* is the *bezirgan*.

¹¹⁴ Brigitte Pitarakis, and Christos Merantzas, *Parıldayan Hatıralar: Sevgi Gönül Koleksiyonlarından Son Dönem Osmanlı İstanbuluna ait Kilise Gümüşleri*, Serdar Alper (trans.), İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2006, p. 88, referring to Zafer Karaca.

¹¹⁵ Pitarakis, *Parıldayan Hatıralar*, p. 88, referring to Benay.

¹¹⁶ Pitarakis, *Parıldayan Hatıralar*, p. 88, referring to Palas, Petit and Gedeon.

¹¹⁷ Panagiotis Nikousios's father was a fur trader in the early seventeenth century. Apostolos E. Vakalopoulos, *Istoria tou Neou Ellenismou*, 2nd ed., Vol. IV, Salonika: 1973, p. 238.

¹¹⁸ Pitarakis, *Parıldayan Hatıralar*, p. 88, referring to Mansel, Stoianovic and Koromila.

Treasury was known as the *enkolpion* of the furriers, and was donated by the furriers to Kallinikos of Nikaea.¹¹⁹

The furriers' financial power was also related to the demand for furs in the empire. Fur was, above all, used for *hil'ats*. Relying on Adnan Giz, Kireev mentions that "sable fur was worn not by women but by men, [and] became a uniform of the state officials of Turkey". Fur was brought to Istanbul in the form of skins. As Obreskov – a Russian resident in Istanbul – observed in 1752, there were up to seven thousand craftsmen making furs in the city. A Dutch company selling Russian furs brought them from Amsterdam.¹²⁰ A fur cap was the symbol of the privileged class. Throughout the eighteenth century, privileged Christians and Jews wore fur caps to dissociate themselves from the common *zimmî*. This symbol was abolished in 1806 by an imperial decree.¹²¹

The members of the Patriarchate served as arbitrators in a dispute between a furrier and a middleman. According to a document of 1738, Manes from Mega Reuma [Arnavutköy] sold furs to Tzanes for 16.5 *grosia*. The middleman, Nicolas from Therapeia [Tarabya], did not pay the furrier's money. Through the intervention of members of the Patriarchate, Tzanes promised to pay 11.5 *grosia* [*kuruş*] to Manes, and the remaining money if he received it from Nicolas, in the presence of Grand Ecclesiarch Kritias, Repherentarios Constantine, Rhetor John, Archon of the Monasteries Constantine, Archon of the Churches Markos, Primikerios of the Notaries John, Protokanonarches Theophilos, and Notary Alexander.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Pitarakis, *Parıldayan Hatıralar*, p. 88, referring to Sotiriou.

¹²⁰ N. G. Kireev, "On the History of Russian-Turkish Trade Relations via İstanbul in the middle of the 18th century", in *İstanbul à la jonction des cultures Balkaniques, Méditerranéennes, Slaves et Orientales, aux XVIIe- XIXe siècles*, Proceedings, Istanbul 15-20 October 1973, Bucharest: 1977, p. 128.

¹²¹ Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989, p. 46.

¹²² Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, pp. 95-96.

The position of Orthodox guilds in the Ottoman market provided them with considerable economic wealth. They occupied a place in the financial network that was linked to the Patriarchate. As we will see in Chapter IV, during the patriarchate of Kyrillos Karakallos, guild members were given administrative roles in the Patriarchate, and they constituted a political power influential in returning Kyrillos to the patriarchal throne for the second time in September 1752. After Karakallos, the role of the *esnaf* was not totally abolished, but it was reduced.¹²³ Contemporary accounts describing the role played by the guilds in the 1750s depict the guildsmen as a lower class of society by opponents.¹²⁴

The guilds functioned as a factor in the urban unrest of Istanbul in the eighteenth century. During this period, craftsmen were evolving into more structurally organized bodies. Studying seventeenth-century guilds, Yi claims that organization was an important factor in helping guildsmen in their dealings with the government; during the negotiating process, organized guilds were more advantageous.¹²⁵ As an example of the increasing organization of bodies, Faroqhi gives as an example of the case of Bursa guilds:

Now the Ottoman central administration was no longer confronted with individual merchants or artisans, whose guilds could be employed as a means of political and social control. More highly structured guilds probably made it easier for eighteenth century craftsmen to make their voices heard.¹²⁶

¹²³ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 202.

¹²⁴ The author of *Planosparaktis* defines the crowd as “barbarians”. Papadopoulos (ed.), “Planosparaktis”, p. 284, 289, 292 and others. The letters of Kallinikos and manuscripts in the Zagora library were studied by Chrysobergis. The influence of especially the furriers [*gounaradon*], and the “vulgar herd” [*amathi ochlos*], and similar point of view applies to Symeon the Kalfa. Athanasios D. Chrysobergis, “Oi Theologikes Kateythynseis tou Patriarchi Kallinikou G’ (1713-1791) kai ta Basika Problemata tis Epochis tou, me basi tin Epistolografia tou”, PhD Dissertation, Salonika, 1998, p. 95, fn.81, p. 96.

¹²⁵ The state was also sympathetic to unorganized groups of poor artisans. Yi, *Guild Dynamics*, p. 211.

¹²⁶ Faroqhi, “The Bursa Case”, p. 101.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the guilds of Cairo played a part in popular movements; one example of this is the butcher guilds of the Al-Husayniyya quarter, which acted against political authority at the end of the eighteenth century.¹²⁷ It was the organizational structure of the guilds that enabled them to function as a collective power in society. The collective power of guilds did not only function as a factor of unrest, but also as a protection against turbulence. As early as 1599, *esnaf* leaders played an active role in protecting the urban population from the Celali rebellions occurring in Anatolian cities.¹²⁸ The fact that European traders were dominated by local merchants in the Istanbul market in the eighteenth century was primarily due to the strong organization of guild structures. Boycotts by local merchants were frequent in the late 1720s.¹²⁹ In the periphery of the empire, guilds would assume administrative responsibilities as well.¹³⁰

Faroqhi demonstrates that the guilds did not operate in a vacuum. Wealthy artisans established networks outside the guild, especially through rural money lending, guild foundations lending money, and guildsmen linked to the larger urban context.¹³¹ Referring to Ergenç, she also mentions the townsmen's increased capacity to maneuver, and links the situation in the guilds – *i.e.* the structural strengthening of guilds and their growing integration into the urban environment – to this

¹²⁷ Guilain Denoeux, *Urban Unrest in the Middle East: A Comparative Study of Informal Networks in Egypt, Iran and Lebanon*, Albany: State University of New York, 1993, p. 49.

¹²⁸ Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehirlerindeki Yönetim", p. 1274.

¹²⁹ Eldem, "French Trade", p. 36.

¹³⁰ For the case of Cairo, see André Raymond, "The Role of the Communities (Tawa'if) in the Administration of Cairo in the Ottoman Period", in *The State and its Servants: Administration in Egypt from Ottoman Times to the Present*, Nelly Hanna (ed.), Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1995, pp. 34-36. Gazaleh proposes that the administrative roles of guilds do not imply that the guilds were the instruments of Ottoman administration. Pascale Gazaleh, "The Guilds: Between Tradition and Modernity" in *The State and its Servants: Administration in Egypt from Ottoman Times to the Present*, Nelly Hanna (ed.), Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1995, p. 67. Gabriel Baer's designation of guilds as passive instruments in the hands of the Ottoman administration has also been criticized. Gazaleh, "The Guilds", pp. 62-63.

¹³¹ Faroqhi, "The Bursa Case", p. 111.

development.¹³² Similarly, the Patriarchate was also a part of a larger setting, borrowing money from the Janissaries and the *evkâf* as part of a larger network, as we have seen above.

To return to the role of the *esnâf* in the network, a wealthy Orthodox community consisting of silk merchants had an influence in Bursa as well, as a part of a larger community in relation to Istanbul. A *diskos* [paten] from 1716 belonging to the Church of Agio Ianno of the metropolitan of Bursa reveals the cultural and religious relationships of the clergy of Bursa, connected to the Patriarchal Church. Silver donations to the churches are in this sense important artifacts, as they reveal these networks of relations.¹³³

Apart from pious Christian donators to the Orthodox Churches, there was also a flow of cash from creditors to high clergy. An ecclesiastical manuscript from Yale published by Vaporis reveals the financial relationships among the Orthodox community.¹³⁴ The network involved not only the lay and clerical members of the Church of Istanbul, but also the Patriarchs of Eastern Churches, the high clergy of provinces, guild members, and Muslims.

The officials of the Patriarchate, among them the grand *skevophylax* and logothetes, were in some cases creditors.¹³⁵ In 1671, the grand *skevopyylax* John Karyophylles appears as creditor to Gerasimos, the metropolitan of Trnovo and the future Patriarch Gerasimos II (1673-74). Gerasimos promises to pay back 1,200 *aslania* at an annual interest of twenty percent. The deed was confirmed by Patriarch

¹³² Faroqhi, "The Bursa Case", p. 112.

¹³³ Pitarakis, *Parıldayan Hatıralar*, pp 127-128. The Museum of Benaki and the Byzantine Museum in Athens, as well as the collection of Sevgi Gönül, contain silver artifacts which are donations by individuals, families, guilds, or fraternities to churches in Istanbul or Asia Minor. I would like to thank Suraiya Faroqhi for drawing my attention to this.

¹³⁴ Nomikos Michael Vaporis, *Some Aspects of the History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22 of the Yale University Library*, USA: 1969.

¹³⁵ For the lay officials of the Patriarchate, see Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 60-85. Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 26.

Parthenios in the presence of archbishops.¹³⁶ A year later, the archbishop borrows 600 *aslania* more from his creditor, again at an annual interest of twenty percent.¹³⁷ Gerasimos seems to have been in grave financial need, for he borrowed 500 *grosia* at an annual interest of twenty percent a short time later, in 1672, from Roxandra Mavrokordatos (Alexander Mavrokordatos's mother) in the presence of witnesses, among them his former creditor the *skevophylax* John.¹³⁸

The officials of the Church were in a financial relationship with guild members as well. According to an agreement of 1669 signed between the *skevophylax* John and two master bakers, in lieu of the interest of 200 *aslania* on a loan, the bakers promised to provide the *skevophylax* daily with 13 loaves of bread.¹³⁹

In 1674, John the *skevophylax* borrowed 519 *aslania* from Malouses, the *protonotarios* of Adrianople. This loan was without interest, and was given "for the sake of friendship".¹⁴⁰ A year later, in 1675, John gave 1,480 *aslania* to Ezekiel of Trnovo at an annual interest of 20 percent.¹⁴¹ The archbishops of Trnovo continued to borrow money for diocesan needs. In 1677, Ezekiel is helped by John once again, this time being promoted to the office of Grand Logothete, at a lower interest of ten percent.¹⁴² Later, in 1677, the archbishop of Trnovo, Daniel, promised to pay back Roxandra Mavrokordatos 390 *aslania*, with 290 *aslania* of this amount belonging to the previous metropolitan Ezekiel ("according to the prevailing custom"), and 100 *aslania* belonging to Daniel, the amount of his ordination gift.¹⁴³ The next Grand Skevophylax, Alexander Mavrokordatos, lent 400 *grosia* to the former patriarch

¹³⁶ Vapouris, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 28.

¹³⁷ Vapouris, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p.35.

¹³⁸ Vapouris, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 38.

¹³⁹ Vapouris, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 26.

¹⁴⁰ Vapouris, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 39.

¹⁴¹ Vapouris, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 41.

¹⁴² Vapouris, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 44.

¹⁴³ Vapouris, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 47.

Parthenios with no interest in 1677.¹⁴⁴ A year later, in 1678, Roxandra Mavrokordatos loaned 1,000 *grosia* to the Patriarch of Alexandria. In this process, two intermediaries, John the Logothete and Alexander the Dragoman, served as middlemen between the two parties.¹⁴⁵ A month later, John and Alexander bought a diamond-studded belt from the *kaimakam* Hasan Ağa for 8,500 *grosia*.¹⁴⁶ The manuscript contains other promissory deeds of business agreements conducted between John and Alexander.¹⁴⁷ In 1705 and 1707, the Voivode of Moldo-Vlachia, John Antiochos, borrowed 3,250 *grosia* from the grand *chartophylax* Ralaxes.¹⁴⁸

Among the cases of high clergy in the Orthodox Church borrowing money from patriarchal officials and members of Phanariot families at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century were the cases of Nektarios of Philippopolis, from the Grand Ecclesiarch Manolakes and from Andronakes Karyophylles in 1687; Makarios of Melenikos, from the Grand Logothete John in 1689; Ioasaph of Amasya, from Helene Kantakouzenos in 1693; and Nicodemos of Mytilene, from Skarlatos Karatzas in 1711.¹⁴⁹ In some cases, attorneys collected the debts. In 1691, an *oikonomos* in Christianoupolis was empowered by his family to collect the deceased Manolakes Karyophylles's money plus the interest owed on it from Silvestros of Argos and Nauplion.¹⁵⁰ In the Yale manuscript, the only case of a metropolitan acting as creditor is that of Kyrillos of Kyzikos (the later Patriarch Kyrillos IV), who lent money to Bartholomeos, the son of Vranas of Antigone.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁴⁵ Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 50.

¹⁴⁶ Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 51. Vaporis comments that this is probably the creditor of the Patriarch of Alexandria in 1666.

¹⁴⁷ See Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, pp. 56-57,

¹⁴⁸ Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 83-84.

¹⁴⁹ See Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, pp. 66-7, 73, 77 and p. 86.

¹⁵⁰ Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 77.

¹⁵¹ Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22* p. 78.

In one 1687 case, Kallinikos, the metropolitan of Crete, granted the right to collect the bishopric income of Kydonia (on Crete) through an agent to his creditors Grand Rhetor Manolakes, Grand Ecclesiarch Ralakes, and Hypomnematographos Andronakes, until such time as the debt would be paid in full. The income included the yearly “*haratsi*” [probably the annual *mîrî* tax], the patriarchal *zeteia* [*zitiye*], one gold florin from each priest, and twelve *aslania* from each layman.¹⁵²

The patriarchal *zeteia* [*zitiye*] was used for payment of debts in another case. In 1685, Patriarch Parthenios promised to pay Rosetos, the former grand *spatharios*, 2,710 *aslania* borrowed by the former patriarch Dionysios. The money would be derived from the *zeteia* collected by the metropolitans of Smyrna, Neocaesaria, Serres, Trnovo, as well as by the latter’s bishops. The term was one year and twenty percent on the unpaid balance.¹⁵³ The grand *spatharios* Rosethos appears twice more as creditor, to Patriarch Iakovos, in 1685.¹⁵⁴

Muslims and Jews, in addition to the Orthodox, also acted in the network as creditors. In 1666, the Patriarch of Alexandria borrowed 500 *aslania* from a former *kethüda*, Hasan Ağa, for church needs, promising to pay back 575 *aslania*. After two extensions, 875 *aslania* was promised to be paid in 1670.¹⁵⁵ In 1754, the Jews served as creditors to Anthimos, the metropolitan of Sofia, and his representative Thoma, who were having trouble paying off their debts and complained of by the *re’âyâ* and the patriarch.¹⁵⁶

Credit given with no interest “for the sake of friendship” was also officially recorded in church records and, thanks to these promissory deeds, we can see the

¹⁵² Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, pp. 67-68.

¹⁵³ Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁴ Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, pp. 64-65. According to the records, the money would be used to purchase some jewelry given as a gift in the first instance, while in the second instance it had been used to buy a gift for Kaimakam Paşa of Constantinople by former Patriarch Dionysios.

¹⁵⁵ Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, p. 23.

¹⁵⁶ See Chapter 3.1.3., for the case of unrest in Sofia.

financial and “friendly” networks extant among the higher Orthodox community at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. These records bring to light the close links between the official posts of the Patriarchate and the Phanariot families, and their financial support provided for not only the former and present patriarchs, but also for the provincial metropolitans, some of whom would go on to be patriarchs.

The *sarrafs* were also among the donators of churches in Istanbul, being members of the wealthy class of the Orthodox community.¹⁵⁷ The rise of the role of *sarrafs* and other financial actors in the eighteenth century was linked to the increasing need for cash and the financial requirements of the period, as explained above.¹⁵⁸

As evidence from a large variety of documentation reveals, the Patriarchate was a part of a financial network that included Orthodox craftsmen, traders, *archons*, and *sarrafs*, as well as Muslims. Apart from generous creditors, donators were functional in supporting the financial needs of the Patriarchate Church. Thus, the clergy of the Church were in a financial relationship with *archons*, craftsmen, and traders, who were a part of Ottoman society and the Ottoman market, and thus were influenced by the economy’s ups and downs.

3.2.2. The Phanariots’ Rise to Prominence in Diplomacy and Bureaucracy

The importance of *archon* families increased in the eighteenth century under the conditions explained above, as they were notables who could pay for taxes

¹⁵⁷ Pitarakis, *Parıldayan Hatıralar*, p. 88, (referring to Palas, Petit and Gedeon).

¹⁵⁸ See Chapter 3.1.1.

in cash, as well as being a group of trusted and educated bureaucrats who could represent the Ottomans in diplomacy and government. The former was beneficial for the Patriarchate, while the latter was beneficial for the Ottoman administration. A reciprocal relationship of benefits existed among the high clergy, the Phanariots, and Ottoman administrators.

The Phanariots formed an important part of the social and political network of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul.¹⁵⁹ They were a part of the Orthodox elite in the city.¹⁶⁰ “Phanariot”, literally meaning a resident of Fener, was a term used for people from the notable Orthodox families of Istanbul, who assumed posts as princes of Wallachia and Moldavia from *ca.* 1711 to 1821. Their history dates back to the first years after the conquest of Constantinople.¹⁶¹

Due to their wealth, education, and knowledge of Western languages, the members of notable families had acquired positions in the Ottoman Porte from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. The ranks they acquired were the Dragoman [translator] of the Porte, the Dragoman of the Fleet [*tersane tercümanı*], the *hospodar* [prince] of Wallachia, and the *hospodar* of Moldavia.¹⁶² Until 1711, the Ottoman principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were governed by local Romanian boyars. These posts were trusted to the dependable Orthodox members of Ottoman diplomacy, *i.e.* the Phanariots. The local ruler Cantemir’s flight to Russia is

¹⁵⁹ Phillou defines the social and political network consisting of the Muslim and Christian members of the Ottoman central state, the Orthodox Church administration, provincial administration, and international diplomacy as the “Phanariot complex.” Christine M. Philliou, “Worlds, Old and New: Phanariot Networks and the Remaking of Ottoman Governance in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century”, PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2004, p. 19. See also Christine M Philliou, “Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51/1, 2009, p. 157.

¹⁶⁰ For the biography of Phanariot families, see Epameinondas Stamatiadis, *Biografiai ton Ellinon Megalon Diermineon tou Othomanikou Kratous*, Athens: 1865; Mihail-Dimitri Sturdza, *Dictionnaire Historique et Généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce d’Albanie et de Constantinople*, Paris: 1983.

¹⁶¹ See Chapter 2.2.1.

¹⁶² For the dragomans of the fleet, see Vas. Vl. Sfyroeras, “Oi Ellines Dragomanoi tou Stou”, in *Romioi stin Ypiresia tis Ypsilis Pylis*, Athens 2002, pp. 53-65.

mentioned as one of the reasons for the change of hand from local rulers to the Phanariots.¹⁶³ What is important for our purposes here is the Ottoman administration's perception of the Phanariots as dependable and capable rulers.

The careers of the first two Grand Dragomans are examples of Phanariot ascendance to important posts thanks to their education.¹⁶⁴ Nikousios was the first holder of the office of "Great Translator of the Porte" from 1661 to 1673.¹⁶⁵ As the son of a fur trader, he was educated in Padua, and had a good command of Eastern and Western languages. He was influential in the peace talks between Venice and the Ottomans at the end of the long Cretan War in 1669.¹⁶⁶ Contemporary records testify to his intermediary role between the French diplomats and the Porte.¹⁶⁷ He also managed to get a *ferman* obtaining Agios Tafos [The Church of the Holy Sepulchre] in Jerusalem for the Orthodox. Nikousios's successor as dragoman from 1673 onwards was Alexander Mavrokordatos,¹⁶⁸ the son of a Chiote trader in Constantinople. He was educated first in Istanbul and then went to the Greek College at Rome. He continued his education in medicine in Padua and Bologna before returning to Istanbul. After teaching at the Manolaki Kastoriani School in Constantinople from 1675 to 1671-2¹⁶⁹, he replaced Nikousios in 1673. He took part

¹⁶³ Phillou, "Communities on the Verge", p. 165, fn. 44. In her PhD, Phillou comments that the reasons might also include "the rising power of Phanariot merchants and ecclesiastics in Istanbul Court politics from the Treaty of Carlowitz and the pre-existing connections of Phanariots with Church and monastic affairs in the Principalities", "Worlds, Old and New", p. 27.

¹⁶⁴ Patrinelis notes that this should not be generalized, and that not all the children of Phanariot families had a university education in Europe, and thus that this idea has been exaggerated. Christos Patrinelis, "The Phanariots Before 1821", *Balkan Studies* 42/2, 2001, p. 189, fn. 30.

¹⁶⁵ Patrinelis, "The Phanariots before 1821", p. 180.

¹⁶⁶ For Nikousios, Stamatiadis, *Diermineon*, pp. 29-60; Aikaterina Stathi, "Contemporary Representations of The Cretan War (1645-1669) and the Role of the First Greek 'Great Interpreter' of the Ottoman Court", MPhil Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2004, for Mavrokordatos, Stamatiadis, *Diermineon*, pp. 60-94, K. Amantos, "Alexandros Maurokordatos o ex aporrison (1641-1709)", *Ellinika* 5, 1932, pp. 335-350.

¹⁶⁷ Charles Schefer (ed.), Antoine Galland, *Istanbul'a ait Günlük Hatıralar (1672-1673)*, Nahid Sırrı Örik (trans.), Ankara: TTK, 1987.

¹⁶⁸ Amantos, "Alexandros Maurokordatos", pp. 335-350.

¹⁶⁹ Dionysios Apostolopoulos, "Didaskontas Fysiologia ton 17o aiona stin Konstantinoupoli", in *Giatous Fanariotes*, Athens 2003, pp. 83-104.

in the Karlowitz negotiations. Alexander Mavrokordatos held the position of *o ex aporriton* [ο ἐξ Απορρήτων / minister of secrets], a translation of *kâtibü'l-esrâr*¹⁷⁰ or *muharrem-i esrâr*.¹⁷¹

From 1711, the Phanariots took over the posts of the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia.¹⁷² By the eighteenth century, not only the Patriarchate, but also the Ottoman administration, had begun to make use of Phanariot support, especially in the diplomatic arena. The rise of the Phanariots in the eighteenth century was meaningful in the context of eighteenth-century Ottoman dynamics, with the emergence of a new Ottoman class of bureaucrats.¹⁷³ By 1763, the patriarch was the Phanariot Samuel Hantzeris, and the Patriarchate was represented by the patriarch and the Synod as a collective entity, rather than as a person, as we will see in Chapter V.

3.2.2.1. Logothetes as *exarchs*:

The nature of the relationship between the Patriarchate and the Phanariots is evident from the case of the exarchates given to logothetes in return for their salary. The *logothetis* was an administrative official of the Patriarchate.¹⁷⁴ The

¹⁷⁰ Pallis, “The Phanariots”, p. 5.

¹⁷¹ Amantos, “Alexandros Maurokordatos”, p. 347.

¹⁷² Radu Florescu, “The Fanariot Regime in the Danubian Principalities”, *Balkan Studies* 9, 1968, pp. 301-308. The Phanariot regime had a negative place in Romanian historiography. Florescu notes that Iorga challenged the negativity of the Phanariot rule in the principalities and changed the historiographical tradition. Florescu, “The Fanariot Regime”, p. 301.

¹⁷³ See Neumann, Christoph K. “Political and diplomatic developments” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. III: The Later Ottoman Empire 1603-1938*, Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.), Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 44-62. For a comparison of the rise of *a'yâns* and Phanariots, see Phillou, “Communitites”, pp. 174-179.

¹⁷⁴ Papadopoulos notes that the logothetes were responsible for composing discourses intended for the public, as well as for carrying the patriarchal seal in the earlier [Byzantine] period. In Ottoman practice, Papadopoulos says that the responsibilities had increased, and included among them the first *pentas* rather than the second [first being a hierarchically upper level]. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 70-71.

logothetes of the Patriarchate were the *exarchs*¹⁷⁵ of certain villages [*exarcheia*] under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate, which were Psara Island (dependent to Chios), the two villages of Pyrgiou and Volissou in Chios, Kavarna (on the Black Sea coast near Varna) and Ineos (İnöz).¹⁷⁶

The exarchs had the right to collect ecclesiastical dues from their *exarcheias* instead of the metropolitans of the regions in question. The metropolitans were also devoid of religious authority, such as the ability to appoint priests. This created conflict between the exarchs and the metropolitans, as the clergy were replaced with laymen as exarchs from the sixteenth century on.¹⁷⁷

The ecclesiastical and *mîrî* taxes of these *exarcheia* areas were removed [*ifrâz*] from the jurisdiction of the metropolitans and allocated to the logothetes for life, to be collected by their representatives as salary [*medâr-ı ma'âş*], as eighteenth-century documents testify.¹⁷⁸ Iskarletzade [the Ottoman name of the Mavrokordatros family] was one of these families.

Documents clarify the position of logothetes as exarchs in Ottoman practice in the eighteenth century. Kavarna¹⁷⁹ was one of the *exarcheia* areas given to the logothete Iskarletzade Yorgaki, and his representative for the collection of

¹⁷⁵ *Exarch* is defined as “certain bishops lower in rank than patriarchs but having rights over the metropolitans of one civil diocese” in the Cross, F.L., Livingstone, E.A. (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 584. See Phillou p. 323 for the Phanariots as exarchs.

¹⁷⁶ See Phillou, “Worlds, Old and New”, p. 323 for *exarchs*.

¹⁷⁷ Ioannis Andreadis, *Istoria tis en Chio Orthodoxou Ekklisias*, Athens: Pirsou, 1940, pp. 201-217.

¹⁷⁸ In a *telhîs* dated 10 Şevvâl 1185 / 16 January 1772 to a petition of the Patriarchate it is recorded as follows: “[...] Kavarna kazâsı mülhakâtıyla Sakız cezâresinde vâki‘ Pirgi ve Volisu karyeleri ve Ipsare adası öteden berü keşişhânedede logofet olanlara medâr-ı ma‘âş olunmak üzere mahsûs olmağla zikr olunan mahallerde sâkin ehl-i zimmet Rum tâ‘ifesinin ber müceb-i şürût üzerlerine edâsı lâzım gelen rûsûm-ı mîrîleri tahsîl ve âyinleri icrâsı için logofet olanlar taraflarından ta‘yîn olunan vekîllerine hilâf-ı şürût ve kadîmden olunagelmişe mugâyir âheri bî-vech müdâhale ve ta‘arruz itdirilmemek üzere [...]” The name of İnöz was also included in the petition. (D.PSK 26/72)

D.PSK 26/78 (March 1772) is the petition of Karaca, concerning his son-in-law Manol and his father’s appointments.

KK.d. 2540, pp. 93-94, 22 Şevvâl 1168 / 1 August 1755: “patrikliğine dâhil Karadeniz sevâhilinde vâki‘ Kavarna nâm karye mülhakâtıyla keşişhânelerinde logofet olanlara ber vech-i serbestiyet üzere ekzarhiye nâmıyla te‘biden mahsûs”

¹⁷⁹ Situated on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria, northeast of Varna.

taxes was the metropolitan of Varna. A document dated 1755 and issued upon the petition of Patriarch Kyrillos orders the *kadı* of Kavarna to help the metropolitan of Varna, the representative of the exarch of Kavarna, to collect his taxes, as he was being resisted by the local population.¹⁸⁰ Six years later, when his representative, the metropolitan of Varna, moved to Istanbul, another representative was sent, as we learn from a decree written to the *kadı* of Kavarna upon the petition of Patriarch Ioannikos III in October 1761, ordering that no one should interfere with the logothete in holding the village or the representative in fulfilling his duty.¹⁸¹

In Chios, the villages of Pyrgiou and Volissou and the small island of Psara were the *exarcheia* of the logothete Iskarletzade Yorgaki. These passed through several hands among the clergy and laymen. On the condition that it was against the ecclesiastical order to have laypeople instead of clergy as exarchs, Patriarch Paisios II had abolished the exarchate and returned the areas to the jurisdiction of the metropolitan in 1743. Kyrillos reversed this in 1755.¹⁸² A document of April 1755 demonstrates that the logothete struggled against the metropolitan Dionysios to hold the areas as his *exarcheia*. According to an order issued in 1755 upon the petition of Patriarch Kyrillos, during the period of the former Patriarch Paisios, in August 1746, the metropolitan Dionysios had managed to obtain a *berât* to hold the places (and collect the dues), “contrary to custom” [*hilâf-ı kadîm*]. Now, the *re’âyâ* demanded

¹⁸⁰ KK.d. 2540, p. 116, 11 *Rebî’ü’l-evvel* 1169 / 15 December 1755. “(...) patrikliğine dâhil Karadeniz sevâhilinde vâki’ Kavarna nâm karye mülhâkatıyla keşişhanelerinde logofet olanlara ber vech-i serbestiyet üzere eksarhiye nâmıyla te’biden mahsus (...)” “(...) logofet-i mezkûrun tarafından nasb ve ta’yîn olunan vekîli Varna metropolidi karye-i mezkûr ve tevâbi’i Rumiyân re’âyâsının mâl-ı mîrî ve rûsûmât-ı sâ’irelerinin cem’ ve tahsiline âheri mümâna’at ve dahl ü ta’arruz itdürmemek bâbında emr-i şerîfîm (...)”

¹⁸¹ D.PSK 23/96, 15 *Rebî’ü’l-evvel* 1175 / 14 October 1761. “(...) bundan akdem emr-i âlî ile tarafından mu’ayyen olan vekîli ve Varna metropolidi Âsitâne-i Sa’âdetime gelüb ikâmet itmeğle bu def’a metropolid-i mezbûr yerine ta’yîn eylediği vekiline re’âyânın icrâ-yı âyinleri ve patriklik berâti şürûtu mücebince mâ-tekaddemden berü üzerlerine edâsı lâzım gelen mîrî ve rûsûmât-ı sâ’ireleri cem’ ve tahsili tahsîs olunub vekil-i mezbûrun zabt ü rabtına ve vekâlet-i umûruna âheri karıştırmayub (...)”

¹⁸² Andreadis, *Istoria tis en Chio*, pp. 205-206.

their villages be removed from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan [*ifrâz*] and given to the logothete as *exarcheia*. Iskarletzade Yorgaki was given a *berât* to hold the area as his *exarcheia* upon payment of 2,000 *akçes* as *peşkeş*. The record of the metropolitan was ordered to be cancelled.¹⁸³ Later, in 1755, Dionysios managed, through a petition, to obtain a new *berât* to hold the two villages and the island. In August 1755, it was ordered to return the areas to Iskarletzade Yorgaki and cancel the metropolitan's record for the areas in question.¹⁸⁴ This document clarifies that, on the occasion of the ascension to the throne of Sultan Osman III, Dionysios had written a petition to renew his *berât* in March 1755 and hold the areas, and this is how he managed to include the two villages and the island, *i.e.* the *exarcheia* of the logothete, in his own *berât*.¹⁸⁵ In the following years, these *exarcheias* changed hands continuously.¹⁸⁶

In other words, even an ecclesiastical position could be given as a tax-farm following Ottoman practices, which is an indicator of the function of the Patriarchate in the Ottoman system.

3.2.2.2. *Archons* in the Porte as intermediaries in the 18th century

The Orthodox *archons* were in direct contact with the Porte. Apart from the converted Muslim statesmen in the Porte, the Christian *archons* served as

¹⁸³ KK.d. 2540, p. 68, 11 *Receb* 1168 / 23 April 1755.

¹⁸⁴ KK.d. 2540, pp. 93-94, 22 *Şevvâl* 1168 / 1 August 1755.

¹⁸⁵ The record for the renewal of Dionysios's *berât* for the enthronement [*cülûs*] is in KK.d. 2540, p. 65. Dionysios had written a petition for his own *berât*, mentioning the interference of others, probably the logothete. The record was cancelled, crossed out, and noted as "*terkîn*". Relevant records on pp. 65 and 66.

¹⁸⁶ See Andreadis, *Istoria tis en Chio*, pp. 201-220.

dragomans, doctors, and architects.¹⁸⁷ Those with high connections at the Porte were influential in Ottoman diplomatic relations. For instance, Alexander Komnenos Hypsilantis, the doctor of Grand Vizier Ragıp Paşa, was influential in decisions concerning the Christians of the empire. Hypsilantis's *Ta meta tin Alosin* is a basic source for the ecclesiastical deeds of patriarchs in the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁸ Hammer notes that the alliance of May 1756 between Austria and France triggered a series of changes of ambassadors in Istanbul, which was completed by January 1757 with an alliance of England and Prussia. The Porte was cautious of the efforts of the English ambassadors against the diplomats of the respective governments. For example, Porter, the English ambassador, was in contact with Hypsilantis in his efforts against Austria and France.¹⁸⁹ Hypsilantis also operated as a contact of the Prussian ambassador in the treaty signed with Prussia in 1761. Other actors as intermediaries in this treaty were the English ambassador James Porter, Giacomo Riso – the father-in-law of the dragoman Ghika – Defterdâr Ali Ağa, and Drako, the messenger of the *voyvoda* of Moldavia.¹⁹⁰

Contact with intermediaries in the Porte was an important factor for promotion among the Orthodox high clergy. As we will see in Chapter IV, in the story of the first accession to the throne of Patriarch Kyrillos V, intermediaries in the Porte were very effective. In order to regain the seat of the archbishopric of Nikomedia, Hayatizade and Loukis (doctors of the sultan) supported Gabriel, while Beşir Ağa (*Kızlar Ağası*) and Kyrillos's brother's friend) supported Kyrillos.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Sfyroeras, "Oi Ellines Dragomanoi tou Stolou", pp. 53-65, Konstantinos Trompoukis, "Romioi Iatroi os Dioikitikoi kai Ygeionomikoi Axiomatouchoi tis Othomanikis Autokratourias", pp. 165-181, Sabbas E. Tsilenis, "Oi Romioi Architectones para ti Ypsili Pili", pp. 183-236 in *Romioi stin Ypiresia tis Ypsilis Pylis*, Athens: Etaireia Meletis tis Kath'imas Anatonis, 2002.

¹⁸⁸ Johann Strauss, "The Rise of Non-Muslim Historiography" pp. 226-228. For Dapontes, see the same article, pp. 228-229.

¹⁸⁹ Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 8, Book 71, p. 2291.

¹⁹⁰ Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 8, Book 71, p. 2309.

¹⁹¹ See Chapter 4.1.1.

Again, the story of Kyrillos's final downfall was related to the mediation of Baron de Tott's brother-in-law, whose negotiation with Hanım Sultan resulted in Kyrillos's replacement by Kallinikos III.¹⁹² This was true for other posts as well. Patrinelis quotes from Stefanos Kantakuzinos, the prince of Wallachia, who in 1714 wrote the following passage: “[anyone who needed to occupy a princely throne needed] to have friends such as the vizier's *kehaya*, such as *defterdar*, such as *reiz-effendi*, such as *chaushbashi*, such as *silahtar*, or a chief eunuch or grand *ibrohor* of the Sovereign, and to write to them countless times in order to achieve his purpose”.¹⁹³

The place attributed to the Phanariots in the historiography on the Patriarchate is problematic. In the major events concerning the Patriarchate's history, such as the “Reform of the Synod” and the annexations of the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid, the Phanariots have been considered the major actors. Seeing the Phanariots as the “preservers of the Hellenic nation during the Ottoman era” was one of the erroneous conclusions of the *millet* theory. As we will see in the following chapters, contextualizing the Patriarchate of Istanbul in eighteenth-century Ottoman developments reveals that the rise of the Phanariots to prominence in the eighteenth century was only one of the factors in the events which occurred, and that other actors played roles as well.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² See Chapter 4.2.6.

¹⁹³ Patrinelis, “Phanariots Before 1821”, p. 187, fn 25, from Hurmuzaki, 14/1, p. 587.

¹⁹⁴ See Chapter VI.

3.2.3. The Catholics

3.2.3.1. The eighteenth century

By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, although the Catholic influence over Orthodox subjects was still in force, the patriarchs' attitude to Catholics gradually changed.¹⁹⁵ A number of cases testify to this fact. In 1706, Gabriel III wrote a letter to the inhabitants of Andros, advising them to stay firm in their own dogma and expressing his sorrow upon learning that they were inclined to the Catholic religion and had thereby lost their souls.¹⁹⁶ In 1710, Patriarch Athanasios asked for an imperial decree to exile an Orthodox monk who was married and claimed to be a Catholic.¹⁹⁷ From 1710 to 1713, the patriarchs presented at least five petitions concerning the proselytizing of Catholics.¹⁹⁸ The Synod of 1722 sent an encyclical to the Orthodox of Antioch against proselytism. In 1727, the Synod again published the Orthodox Creed to fight against Catholic influence.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Ware lists a number of other reasons: firstly, the Ottoman policy to keep the Orthodox and Catholics apart; secondly, that of the Protestant embassies in Constantinople, the Venetian rule in the Peloponnesos 1685-1718, and also in Chios in 1694-5; and finally, the "unexpected" success of Catholic propaganda. Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, pp. 23-33. "From the time of Peter the Great on (1689-1725) 'Holy Russia' appeared as a big European power and as the preserver of the Christians, the hope of the *reaya* as their preserver and future freedom." (Stefanidou, *Ekklesiastiki Istoría*, p. 696)

¹⁹⁶ Dimitrios P. Paschalis, "O ek tis Nisou Androu Auxentios Askitis", *Theologia* 11, 1933, p. 303: "Why do you incline towards these false teachers? How do you accept to betray your dogma and to be enslaved in the Latin-thinking religion? We heard this horrible rumor with great sorrow and we were very upset thinking on the misery and the loss of the soul of all people who joined. Remember the zeal and the religiousness of your forefathers and consider the brink on which you stand when you are apostates of the Eastern Church and deny the tradition and forefathers. Those who fool you laugh at you because you are ignorant, easily fooled."

¹⁹⁷ Ahmed Refik Altınay (ed.), *Hicri on ikinci asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1100-1200)*, İstanbul: Enderun, 1988, p. 44. *Evâil-i Zi'l-hicce* 1121 / 1-10 February 1710.

¹⁹⁸ Leal, "The Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul", pp. 375-378.

¹⁹⁹ Stavridis, *Istoria tou Oikoumenikou Patriarcheïou*, p. 21.

In the mid-eighteenth century, Kyrillos Karakallos expressed the most explicit negative attitude towards the Latin influence on Orthodox subjects, as we will see in Chapter IV.²⁰⁰

The problems with Catholics at the Holy Sites was also an important factor in the attitude of the Patriarchs of Constantinople.²⁰¹ The rights of Catholics and Orthodox Christians over the churches and holy places of the region were a matter of conflict for centuries. The seventeenth-century struggle among the Franciscans and Orthodox Christians to control these sites is evident in a number of imperial decrees.²⁰² The government of the holy places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem under Ottoman rule was subject to foreign intervention after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. In the mid-eighteenth century, Orthodox Christians were able to gain the control of the holy places, backed by Russia. However, the conflict between Catholics and the Orthodox was not settled, and remained a problem until the nineteenth century. By then, it had evolved into the international “Eastern Question”.²⁰³

3.2.3.2. The Ottoman reaction

Imperial orders against Catholic influence on Orthodox and Armenian subjects reflected an empire-wide reality. In one case, an Armenian Patriarch was put into prison for being tolerant to the practice of a different rite [*tâ'ife-i mezbûrenin*

²⁰⁰ See Chapter 4.2.5.

²⁰¹ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 225; Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem, The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*, Leiden, Cologne and Boston: E. J. Brill, 2001.

²⁰² Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, pp. 105-114.

²⁰³ Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, p. 202.

aher âyine intihâllerine müsâmaha].²⁰⁴ The decrees order Christian subjects to protect their rite. The Ottoman archive provides numerous documents of this kind.²⁰⁵ Ottoman policy was to prevent conflict among different Christian communities, as conflict could damage order and the collection of taxes. The Orthodox party, aware of the Porte's concerns, would stress these points in the official documents they presented to the Porte. The fight among Christian communities was in no way desirable, for it threatened order [*nizâm*]. Karen Leal demonstrates in her dissertation that the Ottoman administration dealt with the problem of Catholic missionaries as a threat, and this threat was identified as *ihtilâl* (rebellion / riot) in bureaucratic terminology.²⁰⁶ Beginning from the end of the seventeenth century, the Ottoman reaction became more severe due to an increase in Catholic missionary activities.²⁰⁷

3.2.3.3. Change in the 18th century: Ambassadors and Jesuits

In the seventeenth century, Catholic missions were in full force in the Ottoman Empire and in other parts of the world. The Catholic orders, mainly the Jesuits, operated in accordance with the orders of the Catholic Propagation of Faith. The eighteenth century brought many changes in the operations of Jesuits and French

²⁰⁴ *Evâsıt-ı Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1113 / 16-25 August 1701, in Ahmed Refik, *Hicri Onikinci*, p. 33. For other examples concerning the Armenians, see the document against Catholic influence on the Armenians in Istanbul, Ahmed Refik, *Hicri Onikinci*, pp.21-22; for the punishment and imprisonment of an Armenian priest see pp. 32-33; for an order against the Catholic service in the churches of Galata and others, pp. 160-164.

²⁰⁵ To give just one example, an order to the *vali* of Sivas to expel the *Frenks* who were trying to convert the subjects of the empire, C.DH.6602/133, 29 *Cemâziye'l-evvel* 1120, 16 August 1708. Others in KK.d. 2540, pp. 23, 24, 26; Topkapı Palace Museum Archive, E 7019 / 43; İstanbul Ahkâm 2/36/128 , also published by Kal'a, Ahmet and Tabakoğlu, Ahmet (eds), *İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*, İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997, p. 208, Ahmed Refik, *Hicri Onikinci*, p. 35.

²⁰⁶ Leal, "The Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul", p. 357.

²⁰⁷ Goffman, "Ottoman Millets", p. 154.

in the empire. In his report, the French ambassador Jean Louis d'Usson pointed out that Catholic missionaries made the Ottomans uncomfortable, as they went too far beyond the limits of the capitulations.²⁰⁸ He was aware that too many missionaries had made the "Turks" uneasy, which affected relations negatively.²⁰⁹ The Porte wanted the missionaries to concentrate their attention on the indigenous Catholic population, rather than on the Ottoman Orthodox.²¹⁰ Occasionally, the missionaries "pursued policies of their own, which did not coincide with the wishes of the French ambassador".²¹¹ Leal explains the transformation of the French policy at the beginning of the eighteenth century, taking into account such factors as the French ambassador's personal attitude, the position of the Patriarchate, the increased influence of the Phanariots, and the influence of Peter the Great.²¹² Louis-Sauveur, Marquis de Villeneuve, complained that he was consulted only by the clergy when they were badly treated by the Turks or schismatics, and some missionaries, especially the Franciscans, made their appeal through the Austrian and even the Dutch embassies.²¹³

After Pope Benedict died in 1758, he was replaced by Pope Clement III. This signified a new era in the fate of Jesuit missionaries.²¹⁴ Jesuit missionaries were systematically suppressed, particularly after 1768. By that time, the monarchies of Europe had become stronger, and they did not favor ecclesiastical privileges for the Jesuits. The campaign against the Jesuits required the intervention of the Pope, who was unable to resist governmental pressures. Pope Clement XIII (1758-1769) had to give consent to the suppression of the Jesuits, first in Portugal, then, through royal

²⁰⁸ Quoted by Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 155, from *Memoirs* of d'Usson.

²⁰⁹ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 155.

²¹⁰ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 155.

²¹¹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Ottoman Empire and the World Around it*, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2004, p. 35.

²¹² Leal, "The Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul", p. 374.

²¹³ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 156.

²¹⁴ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 163.

decrees, in France in 1762 and in Spain in 1767.²¹⁵ Clement XIV, the successor of Clement XIII, was elected under the dominance of rulers who wished to suppress the Jesuit order. Being unable to resist the struggle against the Jesuits raging across Europe, and “in order to avoid the danger of schism and the establishment of national churches”, Clement XIV suppressed the Jesuit order through the bull *Dominus ac redemptor noster* of 21 July 1773.²¹⁶ Until 1830, Catholic missionaries were out of the picture on Ottoman lands.²¹⁷

3.3. THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PATRIARCHATE IN THE 18th CENTURY

3.3.1. The Institution

In the eighteenth century, the *berâts* of patriarchs served as reference points for the Porte in cases of decisions upon Patriarchal petitions, as is clear from the expression “*âyinlerine müte‘allik arz ve i‘lâm iderler ise müsâ‘ade olunması berâti şürûtunda musarrah olduğu mukayyed olmağın*” [it is recorded that the stipulations of his *berât* are clear that (the patriarch) should be given permission in matters relating to their religion upon his petition].²¹⁸ Upon receiving a petition from a patriarch or a metropolitan, the *piskopos mukâta‘ası* registers were consulted for the stipulations of the *berâts*, and the outcome was recorded on top of the petition,

²¹⁵ Anne Fremantle (ed.), *The Papal Encyclicals in their Historical Context, USA: Mentor Books, 1956*, p. 110.

²¹⁶ Fremantle, *The Papal Encyclicals*, p. 113. For the text of the bull see pp. 114-115.

²¹⁷ For the aftermath see Laskaris, *I Katholiki Ekklesia en Elladi*, p. 15ff.

²¹⁸ *Ahkâm* 003, p. 210, no.1140.

leaving the decision to the sultan as follows: “[...] *deyu berâtları şürûtunda musarrah olduğu defterde mukayyedir, fermân devletlu sultânım hazretlerindir*” [it is recorded in their registers that the stipulations of their *berâts* are clear as to (...), the decision is upon my sultan].²¹⁹

Despite the scarcity of *berâts* for earlier centuries, the eighteenth-century documentation on patriarchal rights and privileges is abundant.²²⁰ For this study, nineteen documents issued in the eighteenth century in Ottoman Turkish regarding patriarchal rights will be used. These are the official orders in the *ahkâm* and *berevât* registers ordering the issue of patriarchal *berâts*. In these registers, the stipulations of the *berâts* are recorded. They belong to the patriarchal terms of Kosmas III (1714), Ieremias III (1716, renewals in 1720 and 1725), Serafeim I (1733), Paisios II (his second term as a patriarch in 1740, a *berât* with an addition in 1741, his third accession in 1744, and his fourth in 1751), Neofytos VI (second term in 1743), Kyrillos (first in 1748, his accession of 1754²²¹, and his second term in 1757), Kallinikos IV (1757), Serafeim II (1757), Ioannikos III (1761), Samuel Hantzeris (1763), Meletios II (1768), and Theodosios II (1769). These are as follows:²²²

- 1) 1714, Kosmas III: The official order of the *berât*.²²³
- 2) 1716, Ieremias III: The official order of the *berât*.²²⁴
- 3) 1720, Ieremias III: The official order of the *berât*. Eleven metropolitans applied to the *kadı* court to complain of Patriarch Ieremias and in his place bring Kyrillos to the patriarchal throne. However, 116 people (consisting of the *esnaf* of Istanbul) testified

²¹⁹ D.PSK 19/33 and other examples.

²²⁰ For earlier *berâts* see Chapter 2.1.

²²¹ See fn. 235 below.

²²² For convenience, these will be referred to as “the document of 1714”, “the document of 1716”, and so on. The first document of 1757 will be referred to as 1757a, and the second as 1757b. These documents are not the *berâts* handed over to the patriarchs. For this reason, we will not call them “*berâts*”, but rather “documents relating to patriarchal *berâts*”.

²²³ KK.d. 2542-(0)-44, 45 (pp. 46, 47) (23 *Safer* 1126 / 10 March 1714) [KK.d. *Defter* no. 2542, *özel* no. 5 is mentioned as 2542-(0) in the references of this study].

²²⁴ KK.d. 2542-01-03 (pp. 7, 8) (10 *Rebiülahir* 1128 / 3 April 1716).

in court in favor of Ieremias, and he was given a new *berât*. The stipulations are the same with the *berât* of 1716.²²⁵

4) 1725, Ieremias III: The order of the renewal *berât* of Ieremias for a term of life. This is an important document, as many new stipulations were added for the first time to a patriarchal *berât* and used as a model for later documents.²²⁶

5) 1733, Serafeim I: (First part missing) The official order of the patriarchal *berât* on the occasion of the patriarch's accession to throne.²²⁷

6) 1740, Paisios II: The official order of the *berât* given to Paisios II on the occasion of his second accession to throne, as Neofytos VI had been deposed. The stipulations of this *berât* are almost identical to those of 1733. It exists in two parts.²²⁸

7) 1741, Paisios II: The renewal of the *berât* of Patriarch Paisios. 23 metropolitans wrote a petition [*mahzar*] to the *dîvân-ı hümayûn*, asking for a very important addition to the patriarch's *berât*. This establishes the beginning of the *gerondismos*, as will be explained below.²²⁹

8) 1743, Neofytos VI: The official order of the *berât* given to Neofytos VI for his second patriarchate, after Paisios II had been deposed. The only difference from the *berât* of 1741 is that the term “*te'bîden*” [lifelong] is missing in 1743.²³⁰

9) 1744, Paisios II: The official copy of the order given upon Paisios's petition requesting his *berât* for his third term as patriarch. The stipulations of his *berât* are recorded in this document. Neofytos had been deposed. It reads: “*patrik-i mesfûrun*

²²⁵ KK.d. 2542-01-47, 48, 49 (pp. 93-97) (4 *Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1132 / 14 February 1720).

²²⁶ KK.d. 2542-08-18, 19 (pp. 17-18) (18 *Safer* 1138 / 26 October 1725).

²²⁷ KK.d. 2542-13-01, 02 (pp. 1, 2). The first part is missing, and there is no date on it. But Ieremias had been deposed and Serafeim became the patriarch, so it must be 1733 (1145/1146)

²²⁸ First part: KK.d. 2542-03-47, 48 (pp. 107-108). Second part: KK.d. 2542-03-94, 95 (pp. 200-202). The first part also in D.PSK 11/167 (10 *Receb* 1153 / 30 September 1740).

²²⁹ KK.d. 2542-09-02, 03, 04 (pp. 3-5) (3 *Ramazan* 1154 / 12 November 1741). Related documents in D.PSK 12/ 104, 132 and 135.

²³⁰ KK.d. 2542-09-08, 09 (pp. 9, 10) (10 *Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1156 / 3 June 1743).

şürût-ı kadîmesi bâlâda mukayyedir” [the stipulations of the patriarch have been recorded above].²³¹

10) 1748, Kyrillos V: The official copy of the order given upon Kyrillos V’s petition, requesting his *berât*, for his first accession to the patriarchal throne. It is the same as that of 1741 and 1743 (and 1744).²³²

11) 1751, Paisios II: The official copy of the order given on the petition of Paisios II requesting his *berât*, with the stipulations of his *berât* also being recorded in this document. Kyrillos had been deposed, and Paisios II had replaced him.²³³

12) 1752, Kyrillos V: The order [*fermân*] given to the patriarch, who was requesting his *berât*, in place of the deposed Paisios. The stipulations are recorded in the order.²³⁴

13) 1755: Kyrillos V: On the occasion of the accession to the throne of Sultan Osman III at the end of 1754, the patriarchal *berât* was renewed. This document is the order of the *berât* of Kyrillos V.²³⁵

14) 1757a, Kallinikos IV (III): The order written upon the petition of Patriarch Kallinikos requesting his *berât* when Kyrillos V was deposed and exiled to Cyprus. The stipulations of the *berât* are recorded within the document.²³⁶

²³¹ KK.d. 2542-09-30 (p. 31) (10 *Rebî’ü’l-evvel* 1157 / 23 April 1744).

²³² KK.d. 2542-05-36, 37 (pp. 33, 34) (21 *Şevâl* 1161 / 14 October 1748).

²³³ KK.d. 2542-06-10 (p. 10) (13 *Şa’bân* 1164 / 7 July 1751).

²³⁴ KK.d. 2542-06-29, 30 (pp. 28, 29) (15 *Zi’l-ka’de* 1165 / 24 September 1752).

²³⁵ KK.d. 2540, pp. 40-42, The date at the end of the document is 28 *Safer* 1168 / 14 December 1754, but this is the date of the accession of Sultan Osman III, as is also stated in the document. On page 39 of the same *defter*, the date of the record informing us of the petition and the *telhîs* of the *baş defterdâr* Abdullah Naili and expressing the necessity of giving a *berât* is 22 *Rebî’ü’l-evvel* 1168 / 6 January 1755. The petition of Kyrillos in D.PSK 20/45 was processed on 25 *Rebî’ü’l-evvel* 1168 / 9 January 1755. Thus, the *berât* was given in 1755. This *berât* of 1755 was published in Greek in Manuel Gedeon, *Bracheia Simeiosis peri ton Ekklisiastikon imon Dikaion*, Kostantinoupoli: Patriarchiko Typogrefeio, 1909, pp. 51-62, also in *Episima Grammata Tourkika*, Kostantinoupoli, 1910, pp. 76-87. Konortas refers to Gedeon’s *Grammata* pp. 76-86, as “Kyrillos’s *berât* of 1754”, because it was given in 1755 upon the occasion of Osman’s accession in 1754. Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis*, p. 57.

²³⁶ KK.d. 2542-15-21, 22 (pp. 22, 23) (12 *Cemâziye’l-evvel* 1170 / 2 February 1757).

15) 1757b, Serafeim II: Kallinikos had been deposed, and Serafeim assumed the throne, writing a petition to request his *berât*. The *fermân* was issued, and the stipulations of his patriarchate are recorded here.²³⁷

16) 1761, Ioannikos III: The metropolitans of the Patriarchate residing in Istanbul wrote a petition [*mahzar*] complaining of the Patriarch Serafeim. Ioannikos was chosen as the Patriarch, and his *berât* was requested through a petition. The order was given, and the stipulations of his patriarchate are recorded therein.²³⁸

17) 1763, Samuel Hantzeris: Eighteen metropolitans residing in Istanbul wrote a petition complaining of Ioannikos III and chose the metropolitan of Derkoi [Terkos] as the patriarch, and he was given a *berât*, recorded in the document. The seal of the Patriarchate given to the Synod is mentioned in this document.²³⁹

18) 1768, Meletios II: The official order of the *berât* of Meletios. The information that Samuel had been deposed upon the petition of 12 metropolitans is in the copy of the document. The novelty of this *berât* is that the Patriarchates of Ohrid and Peć are added as part the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate.²⁴⁰

19) 1769, Theodosios II: Five metropolitans resident in Istanbul wrote a petition stating that, after the deposition of Meletios, Theodosios, the metropolitan of Salonica, was chosen to occupy the patriarchal throne. In the official order given upon the petition of the metropolitans, it is recorded that the stipulations of the *berât* of the patriarch were the same as those of his predecessor.²⁴¹

Study of the stipulations of these eighteenth-century documents from 1714 to 1769 demonstrates the changes and the transformation the Patriarchate went

²³⁷ KK.d. 2542-15-33, 34 (pp. 33-35) (28 *Zi'l-ka'de* 1170 / 14 August 1757). This was renewed upon the accession of Sultan Mustafa III two months later. The renewed *berât* was published by Chidiroglou, *Soultanika Beratia*, pp. 179-189. The stipulations of the two *berâts* were the same.

²³⁸ KK.d. 2542-16-17, 18 (pp. 17, 18) (28 *Şa'bân* 1174 / 4 April 1761).

²³⁹ KK.d. 2542-16-43, 44 (pp. 43, 44) (19 *Zi'l-ka'de* 1176 / 1 June 1763).

²⁴⁰ KK.d. 2542-17-70, 71 (pp. 138-140) (12 *Receb* 1182 / 22 November 1768).

²⁴¹ KK.d. 2542-17-81 (p. 160) (14 *Safer* 1183 / 18 June 1769). For this reason, the *berât* of 1769 will not be mentioned in the examples below, but only the *berât* of 1768 will be mentioned.

through during this period. Apart from these registers relating to patriarchal *berâts*, petitions and orders in the *ahkâm* and *berevât defters*, as well as entries in the *şikâyet defters*, reflect the transformations of the eighteenth century.

In case of an addition to a patriarchal *berât*, the new stipulation would be recorded in a new *berât*. For example, one year after Paisios II had come to the patriarchal throne for the second time, a new *berât* was given to him in 1741 upon the request of twenty-three metropolitans, in which the new stipulations were added [*zamm ve ilhâk*]. Thus, inclusion of new stipulations in a *berât* were necessary in order to validate the change. Both rights and privileges as well as limitations were made official in the *derkenâr*s. For example, a *derkenâr* to the record of Serafeim's *berât*, dated 7 Şevvâl 1172 / 3 June 1759, clarified that the Orthodox Patriarch was responsible for the affairs of the Rum community, not for those of the Armenian one. To act against this was to act against the stipulations of their *berât* and the established order [*mugâyir-i şürût-ı berât-ı âlişân ve nizâm-ı kadîm*]. The *derkenâr* was added upon a petition of the Armenian Patriarch, who tried to prevent the punishment of an Armenian, which had been requested in the petition of the Rum Orthodox Patriarch Serafeim.²⁴²

New formulations in the *berâts* show developments. Additions signify that something had already been practiced for some time before being included in the *berâts*. The local priests, bishops, and archbishops informed the patriarch of the problems they frequently experienced, and the solution was included in the new *berâts*.

The registers in the *berâts* give an idea of the extension of the geographical jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Istanbul in the middle of the eighteenth century. The

²⁴² KK.d. 2542-15-33 (p. 34) (7 Şevvâl 1172 / 3 June 1759).

names of the metropolitan seats and the bishoprics were normally recorded in the *berâts* of the patriarchs.²⁴³ Entries in the *şikâyet* and *ahkâm defters* also suggest a wide range of geographical jurisdiction.²⁴⁴ This gives the lie to the opinion of scholars who advocate a rather limited scope of patriarchic jurisdiction.

3.3.1.1. Change of terminology

In the documents of the eighteenth century, the terms used for the patriarchs, the Christian *re'âyâ*, and the Christian religion undergo a transformation. Gradually, pejorative terms are replaced by “neutral” ones. Although terms seem to be used interchangeably during the transition period, the documents of 1725, 1755, and 1761 are distinguished from previous documents in their usage of the terms. This signifies the transformation of Ottoman bureaucratic language in the eighteenth century.

In the expression “*patrikliğe tâbi vilâyetlerde vâki metropolitler ve piskoposlar ve papas ve keşişler ve sâ'ir kefere tâ'ifesi*” [the metropolitan, bishops,

²⁴³ Names of places under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul in the patriarchal *berâts* in the eighteenth century (before Ohrid and Peć were included) are: İstanbul ve tevabii, Kayseriye, Magnisa, Kuşadası, Ereğli, Rodoscuk, Gelibolu, Miriofona, Çatalca, Çorlu, Ankara, Kapudağı, İznikmid, İznik, Kadıköy, Selanik, Citroz(?), Kapanya, Blatomina, Serfice, Toyran, Pitros(?), Ardameri(?), Aynoroz, Tırnova, Çirmen, Lovca(?), Şumnu, Edirne, Ahtapolu, Amasya, Brusa, Niksar, Konya, Karaferye, Antalya, Talantova(?), cezîre-i Girid, Trabzon, Yenişehir, Tırhala, Narda, İnebahtı, Filibe, Rodos, Siroz, Drama, Zihne, Midillü, Yanya, Dimetoka, Alaşehir, Menlik, Badrecik, İstefe, İnöz, Mulo(?), Nakşe, Misivri, Vidin, Silistre, Eğriboz, Sofya, Vize, Midye, Ahyolu, Varna, İbrail, Gümülçine, Silivri, Süzebolu, İskete, Golos, Kefe, Közlova, cezîre-i Sakız, Limni, İmroz, Haslar, Kordos, Benefşe, Ravendos, Balyebadra, Gaston, Mizistre, Arkadye, Anabolu, Marmara, İlica, Santorin, Mesta(?), Alasonya, Sisam adası, İstanköy, Fenar, Gümüşhane, Mezid(?) Adası, Kesendire, Değirmen adası, Sifnos, Andre, Egin, Bogonyani, Krine, Ayamavra, Alakilise, Kefalya, İstendil, Kordos, Eflak, Boğdan. İnalçık, based on the *berât* of 1754 in KK.d. 2540, makes a list in “Ottoman Archival Materials on Millets”, pp. 444-446. For the geographical jurisdiction of the Patriarchate, see also Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 86-122.

²⁴⁴ For example, places where Christians under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Patriarchs live, according to *Şikâyet Defteri* no. 174, are Paleopatra, Filibe, Dimetoka, Mora, Siroz, Kili, Malkara, Keşan, Ruscuk, Sakız, Rodos-Simi, Rodos-Meis, Nevşehir, Kefe, Limni, and Patmos. For discussion on the term “İstanbul ve tevabii”, see Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi*, pp. 56-59.

priests, monks, and similar *tâ'ifes* of infidels under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate] in the documents of 1714, 1716, and 1720, the term used for the Christian clergy, *kefere* [infidel], becomes *zimmî* [the term denoting “non-Muslims under covenant”] in 1725, and remains as such to 1757.²⁴⁵ From 1761 onwards, the term becomes *nasara tâ'ifesi* [the Christian *tâ'ife*]. The expression used for the patriarchs is “*İstanbul Rumiyan patriki*” or “*İstanbul ve tevabii keferesi patriki*” in 1714, 1716, and 1720. From 1725 onwards, the expression used for the patriarchs in *berât* documents is “*İstanbul ve tevabii Rumiyan patriki*”. However, in other documents, the term “*Rumiyan keferesi patriki*” was in use, at least in 1738.²⁴⁶ For the Christian *re'âyâ*, the terms used in the *berât* documents were *kefere* in 1714, 1716, and 1720, *zimmî* in 1725, 1755, 1757a, and 1757b (except for one instance in 1757b), *kefere* again from 1733 to 1752, and *nasara-i Rum* from 1761 to 1769. For the expression of the death of a Christian clergyman, the term *mürd* was in use from 1714 to 1757, and was replaced with *fevt* from 1761 onwards. The practice of the Christian religion was expressed as *âyin-i âtula* [void religion], as used in the documents from 1716 to 1752, and was replaced with *âyin* from 1755 onwards, omitting the pejorative adjective *âtula* [void].

Terms were sometimes used interchangeably. For example, in the same document, the terms *zimmî* and *nasara* were used interchangeably.²⁴⁷ Similarly, the term *mürd* was used once in the *berât* of 1763, with the term *fevt* already having been used. Also, in the *berât* documents from 1740 to 1755, the term *kefere* was not completely abandoned, but rather was used alongside the term *zimmî*. However, from

²⁴⁵ The beginning of the document of 1733 is missing, so we do not know what the expression was in the *berât* of 1733.

²⁴⁶ “Rumiyan keferesi patriği Neofitos” D.PSK 11/72, (6 *Muharrem* 1151 / 26 April 1738).

²⁴⁷ For example, this is the case in the *berât* of Ioanikos III, KK.d. 2542-16-17, 18 (pp. 17, 18) (28 *Şa'bân* 1174 / 4 April 1761).

1761 onwards, the term *kefere* disappeared from the patriarchal *berât* documents that we have examined.

In the eighteenth-century *berât* documents examined in this study, the *dua* sentence of “*hutumet avâkîbuhu bi’l-hayr*” was first used for Ieremias in the *berât* document of 1725.²⁴⁸ The *elkab* of the Patriarchs were “*kıdvetⁱⁱ muhtâri’l-milleti’l-mesihyye*” “*umdetⁱⁱ tâ’ifeti’l-İseviye*”, and “*kıdvetⁱⁱ ümerâ’i’l-milleti’l-mesihyye*” until 1755. For Kyrillos V, in 1748 “*kıdvetⁱⁱ muhtâri’l-milleti’l-mesihyye Kirilos*”, and in 1755 “*kıdvetⁱⁱ ümerâ’i’l-milleti’l-mesihyye umdetⁱⁱ küberâ’i’t-tâ’ifeti’l-İseviyye Kirilos*” were used. In the two *berât* documents of 1757, it was “*kıdvetⁱⁱ muhtâri’l-milleti’l-mesihyye Kalinikos*” and “*kıdvetⁱⁱ ümerâ’i’l-milleti’l-mesihyye Serafim*”, “*umdetⁱⁱ küberâ’i’t-tâ’ifeti’l-İseviyye Yanikos Karaca Iskarletzade*”, and, for Hantzeris, “*kıdvetⁱⁱ ümerâ’i’l-milleti’l-mesihyye umdetⁱⁱ küberâ’i’t-tâ’ifeti’l-İseviyye Samuel*”. The same formula was used for Meletios in 1768 and Theodosios in 1769, as “*kıdvetⁱⁱ ümerâ’i’l-milleti’l-mesihyye umdetⁱⁱ küberâ’i’t-tâ’ifeti’l-İseviyye Meletios*” and “*kıdvetⁱⁱ umerâ’i’l-milleti’l-mesihyye umdetⁱⁱ küberâ’i’t-tâ’ifeti’l-İseviyye Teodosios*”. The documents of 1725 and 1755 and those after 1763 show a development on the part of the Patriarchate in the usage of Ottoman bureaucratic language. Some stipulations introduced in 1725 are not present in intermediate documents, but reappear in 1755. From 1763 onwards, the new stipulations reflect the change in the administration of the Church.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ In Ottoman bureaucratic language, a *dua* [prayer] sentence was used after the name of the addressee of the document.

²⁴⁹ See Chapter 5.5.

3.3.1.2. “*Te’bîden*”: The patriarchate as a life-long office

The *berât* of 1483 granted the patriarchal term for life, while the *berâts* of 1525 and 1662 were silent on the patriarchal term.²⁵⁰ According to the documentation available thus far, at the beginning of the eighteenth century (until 1714), patriarchal *berâts* were to be renewed every three years *de jure*. This is stated in a document of 1708 as “*patrik-i mesfûr üç senede bir tebdil veyâhûd mukarrer oldukca*”.²⁵¹ In this way, the Porte would renew the *iltizâm* period of the patriarch and his jurisdiction. The patriarch would continue [*ibka*’], and obtain a new *berât* every three years. Despite the fact that the *berâts* were supposed to be renewed every three years *de jure*, this sometimes happened more frequently *de facto*. Thus, the *berât* of Kallinikos II was renewed in 1697 and in 1699 upon the petition [*mahzar*] of metropolitans, as a document of 1700 informs us.²⁵² This points at the position of the patriarch as a *berât*-holding Ottoman official chosen by ecclesiastical authorities, *i.e.* the metropolitans.

One of the stipulations of the document of 1714 relates to the patriarchal term. According to this document, the patriarchs would not be dismissed without reason, and would stay on the patriarchal throne for life [*te’bîden*]. Thus, the patriarchal *berâts* would be valid during their term in office. [(...) *azlini mûcib töhmeti zâhir olmadıkca ber vech-i te’bîd mutasarrıf olmak ve beher sene mîrî ve*

²⁵⁰ See Chapter 2.1.1.

²⁵¹ KK.d. 2542-01-01 (p. 2) (12 *Safer* 1120 / 3 May 1708).

²⁵² KK.d. 2542-10-31 (p. 83/B) *Gurre-i Cemâziye’l-evvel* 1112 / 14 October 1700. This is an order to the *kadı* of Istanbul stating that the metropolitans, in a *mahzar* to the *dîvân*, requested the renewal of the *berât* of Patriarch Kallinikos II, with whom they were content. The stipulations recorded in this document are that: the Christian clergy will accept Kallinikos as their patriarch and act upon the patriarch’s word; and the patriarch has the right to dismiss and appoint the clergy, to punish those who act contrary to their religion, and to collect the annual *miri* taxes with no interference. The basic rights of the patriarch are briefly recorded in this document.

kalemiyyesini virdikce ref' olmamak (...).²⁵³ This must be the “decision of 1126” referred to in later documents.²⁵⁴ The *berât* of 1720 does not use the terms “*te'biden*” or “*mürd oluncaya değin*”.²⁵⁵ In the *berât* document of 1725, it was recorded that the patriarch (Jeremias) would not be dismissed as long as he paid annually [*beher sene mîrî rüsûm ve kalemiyyesi ve aklâm-ı avâ'idi virdikce ref' olunmamak üzere patrik olub şürût-ı kadîmesiyle zabt idüb*].²⁵⁶ In the documents of 1725 and 1741, and in the *berât* documents from 1755 onwards, it was stated that the patriarch would hold the patriarchate, as his predecessors did, for life. The only difference between the documents of 1741 and 1743 is that the term *te'biden* is not used in the document of 1743, and this remained the case until 1755.²⁵⁷

This is related to the development in this period of lifelong *iltizâms*, *i.e.* the *mâlikâne*. However, the practice was not stable, but varied over time, as the documents we have mentioned demonstrate. It is important to note that the decisions of the Porte recorded in the *berâts* applied to the specific patriarch to whom the *berât* was given. In contrast to the practice of modern states, a new application ordered in a

²⁵³ *Berât* of Kosmas III KK.d. 2542-(0)-44, 45 (pp. 46, 47), 1126 / 1714. Also, there are references in the *berâts* of 1741 and 1744: “*patrik-i mesfûr azlini mûcib töhmeti zahir olmadıkca ber vech-i te'bîd mutasarrıf olmak ve beher sene mîrî ve kalemiyyesini virdikce ref' olunmamak üzere bin yüz yirmi altı senesinde telhîs ve fermân-ı âlî berât virildiği*”

²⁵⁴ References to the decision of 1126 are in the documents for Paisios in 1741, D.PSK 12/103, 10 *Ramazan* 1154 / 19 November 1741, and in KK.d. 2542-09-02, 03, 04 (pp. 3-5): “*patrik-i mesfûr azlini mûcib töhmeti zâhir olmadıkca ber vech-i te'bîd mutasarrıf olmak ve beher sene mîrî ve kalemiyyesini virdikce ref' olunmamak üzere bin yüz yirmi altı senesinde telhîs ve fermân-ı âlî berât virildiği*”. Also in the document of Paisios’s accession in KK.d. 2542-09-30 (p. 31), 10 *Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1157 / 23 April 1744.

²⁵⁵ The term “*te'biden*” is not used. The expression is as follows: “1720: *bu ana değin İstanbul ve tevâbi'i Rumiyân keferesi patriği olanlar kânûn-ı kadîm ve berâtları mücebince ne vechile mutasarrıf olagelmişler ise mesfûr râhib dahi ol minvâl üzere mutasarrıf olub*”

²⁵⁶ KK.d. 2542-08-18, 19 (pp. 17-18), (18 *Safer* 1138 / 26 October 1725).

²⁵⁷ The petition of Kyrillos in 1755 requesting the renewal of his *berât* claims that previous patriarchs held the patriarchate for life (“*bundan mukaddem patrik olan te'bîden serbestiyet üzere zabt itmek üzere ve metropolitlerin âmed şodlarına mûmâna'at olunmamak üzere fermân-ı âlî dahi sâdır olub nîzâm-ı kadîmimiz üzere bir ferd müdâhale eylememek üzere berâtum tecdîd ve müceddeden ihsân buyurulan tecdîd berâtum ale't-tafsîl ihsân buyurulmak bâbında*” D.PSK 20/45, 25 *Rebî'ü'l-evvel*, 1168 / 9 January 1755). According to the *berât* of 1755, he was given the office for life (“*bundan evvel patrik olanlar te'bîden zabt eylemek üzere fermân-ı âlî sâdır olmağla kendüsü dahi ol vechile serbestiyet üzere zabt idüb kendüsünden evvel patrik olanların ber vech-i te'bîd zabt eylediği minvâl üzere zabt*” KK.d. 2540, pp. 39-42).

decree would not necessarily apply to future office holders or all officials of the same rank at this period in the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, granting a lifelong term to a patriarch in a decree did not guarantee that the next patriarch's term would be lifelong, unless this was stated in his *berât*.²⁵⁸

In the documents of 1740, 1743, 1744, 1748, 1751, and 1752, the specific reason for the dismissal of the previous patriarchs was not expressed. However, the reason why Patriarchs Kyrillos V and Kallinikos III were dismissed in 1757 was expressed as “*devlet-i aliyyme sū’-i hâli zâhir olduğundan ref’inden*” [removal from office on the basis of misconduct].²⁵⁹ In the *berât* of his successor Serafeim, it was stated that Kallinikos had been dismissed because of his “misconduct to the Ottoman state” [“*selefi Kalinikos râhibin devlet-i aliyyme sū’-i hâli zahir olduğundan ref’inden kendüye tevcîh ve ihsân olmağla*”].²⁶⁰ After 1741, the metropolitans acquired the responsibility [*kefâlet*] of informing the *dîvân* of the *sū’-i hâl* [misconduct] of the patriarchs.²⁶¹ From 1761 onwards, the reason for the dismissal of the patriarchs, or rather, the reason why the metropolitans were not satisfied with the patriarch, was expressed in more detail at the beginning of the *berât* documents of their successors.²⁶²

The stipulation that the patriarchs would hold the patriarchate for life and that they would not be dismissed without reason so long as they paid their dues was a positive development for the Patriarchate. In this way, a patriarch would hold his seat until his death, and his *berât* would be valid until the end of his term. This did not

²⁵⁸ This reflects exactly the personal character of the rights and duties of an office holder. As we will see, in the middle of the eighteenth century the office become corporate.

²⁵⁹ 1757a (KK.d. 2542-15-21, 22, [pp. 22, 23], 12 *Cemâziye’l-evvel* 1170 / 2 February 1757) and 1757b (KK.d. 2542-15-33, 34 (pp. 33-35), 28 *Zi’l-ka’de* 1170 / 14 August 1757).

²⁶⁰ KK.d. 2542-15-33 (p. 33).

²⁶¹ This will be elaborated on Chapter V.

²⁶² The *berâts* of 1761, 1763, 1768, and 1769.

happen in practice, however, because each time a reason was found for dismissal, according to our documents.

3.3.1.3. The stipulations of 1714, 1716, and 1720

The *berât* document of 1714 was for Kosmas III, and the *berât* documents of 1716 and 1720 belong to Ieremias III, who was on the patriarchal throne from 1716 to 1726. The stipulations of 1714, 1716, and 1720 were almost identical.²⁶³ The stipulations of later *berâts* were expanded, however, as we will see.

Some of the stipulations secured the patriarch's and the Orthodox *re'âyâ's* religious rights and possessions. As in the *berâts* of 1483 and 1525, no non-Muslim could be converted to Islam without his own consent.²⁶⁴ The churches and monasteries that they had owned since the conquest could not be taken from them.²⁶⁵ The patriarchs would be allowed to possess their churches, vineyards, orchards, gardens, farms, fields, meadows, *panayırs*, monasteries and *agiasmas*, mills, and other objects of their church *vakfs*.²⁶⁶ In addition to these, which exist in the early *berâts* of 1483 and 1525, it is also stated in these eighteenth-century documents that the churches could be repaired by permission of Islamic law.²⁶⁷

²⁶³ The *berât* of 1662, which exists only in Greek translation, is also identical to these. For a discussion of this and the authenticity of the document of 1662, see pp. 31-33.

²⁶⁴ “bir zimmînin kendü rızâsı yoğiken kimesne cebren Müslüman eylemeye.” See Chapter II, fn. 26.

²⁶⁵ “memâlik-i mahrûsemde vâki' kadîmî tasarruflarında olan kilise ve manastırları bilâ-emr-i şerîf/mugâyir-i kadîm kimesne ellerinden/yedlerinden almayub”

²⁶⁶ “patrikliğine dâhil kiliselerine müte'allik bağ ve bağçelerine ve çiftliklerine ve tarla ve çayırlarına ve panayırlarına ve manastır ve ayazmalarına ve değirmenlerine ve (bunun emsâli büyüt ve dekâkîn, from 1725 onwards) sâ'ir kiliselerine (vakf olan eşyâ ve davarlarına) bundan akdem ve bunun emsâli patrik olanlar ne vechile mutasarrıf olub ve ne minvâl üzere patriklik idgelmişler ise râhib-i mezbûr/mesfûr [name] dahi ol minvâl üzere (te'bîden, in 1741) patriklik idüb zabt ve tasarruf eyleye”

²⁶⁷ “vaz'-ı kadîm üzere izn-i şer'le vâki' olan meremmetlerine (âherden bir ferd) müdâhale/dahl olunmayub/ve ta'arruz eylemeyeler” This existed in the document of 1662 as well.

The patriarch's jurisdiction over the Christian clergy was secured in some stipulations. The patriarch would be allowed to keep a share of the effects of deceased priests and monks, and the remaining part would not be held by the *beytü'l-mâl* and *kassâm emînleri*.²⁶⁸ Now, it is also stipulated that, without the sealed petition of the patriarch, no priest would be allowed to be an archbishop or bishop.²⁶⁹

The patriarch's authority over matters relating to Christian canon law was secured in the eighteenth-century *berât* documents as well. In case of the marriage and divorce of Christians under the patriarch's jurisdiction, no one but the priest appointed by the patriarch would be involved.²⁷⁰ The will of deceased priests and monks according to their religion would be valid, and was applied according to their religion and canon law.²⁷¹

Punishment of Christian clergy was under the authority of the patriarchs in the eighteenth-century *berât* documents.²⁷² In case the bishops, priests, and monks in the patriarch's jurisdiction were required to be punished due to a religious crime, no one could interfere in the punishment.²⁷³ Priests or their representatives who performed marriages contrary to the stipulations of their religion would be punished

²⁶⁸ “*patrikliğine müte'allik mürd olan metropolid ve piskoposları ve papas ve keşişleri ve kalogeryeleri mu'tâd-ı kadîm üzere kendüye â'id olan metrûkâtlarını girü olageldiği üzere patrik-i mezbûr tarafından zabt ve kabz olunub kendüye mahsûs (ve mu'ayyen) muhalledâtlarına beytü'l-mâl ve kassâm ve mevkûfât tarafından dahl [ü] ta'arruz olunmaya*” In the *berâts* of 1483 and 1525, it is stated that, if the property of deceased priests was specified as less than 5,000 *akçes*, the patriarch would take it. If it was 5,000 *akçes* or more, it would go to the treasury. See Chapter II, fn. 39.

²⁶⁹ “*patrik-i mezbûrun/mesfûrun/patrik olanların memhûr/mühürlü arzı olmadıkca bir ferde metropolidlik ve piskoposluk zabt ve tasarruf itdirilmeye*”. Patriarch Kosmas requested an order in a petition reminding of this stipulation in 1714. D.PSK 5/18, 10 Şa'bân 1126 / 21 August 1714.

²⁷⁰ “*patrikliğine dâhil kefereden birisi âyinleri üzere tezevvüc itmelü olduğunda veyâhûd avrad boşamalu oldukda aralarına râhib-i mezbûr veya emr-i şerîfimle ve mektûbuyla ta'yîn olunan vekîllerinden gayri kimesne girmeye*”

²⁷¹ “*mürd olan kendü âyin-i âtuları muktezâsınca kiliseleri fukarâsına her ne vasiyet iderler ise makbûl olub kendü âyin kâ'idelerince Rum şâhidler ile şer'le istimâ' ve amel oluna*”

²⁷² For the stipulations of *berâts* before the eighteenth-century see Chapter 2.1.1.

²⁷³ “*patrikliğine müte'allik piskoposların ve gomenosların ve keşişlerin ve papasların (kalogeryelerin ve sâ'ir keşişlerin) âyinlerine müte'allik kabâhati zuhür eyledikde âyinleri üzere te'dib eylediğinde/olundukda âherden kimesne/ferd karışmaya*”

according to canon law, their lawsuits would be heard in the *dîvân-ı hümâyûn* and no one could disturb the priest appointed in his place.²⁷⁴

Some of the stipulations secured the tax-collection of the patriarch. In case the patriarch was unable to acquire the money he was supposed to collect in ecclesiastical dues, his appointed representatives would be assisted by the *kadı*s.²⁷⁵ The Christian *re'âyâ* would not hesitate to pay for the annual *mîrî*, *tasadduk*, *panayır*, *nikah*, *manastır* taxes, and relevant patriarchal dues.²⁷⁶ Developments from the seventeenth century onwards are reflected in the *berâts*.²⁷⁷ Accordingly, if the metropolitans and bishops did not have cash to pay for the *mîrî* tax or pay the equivalent of the taxes in kind, in clothes, the representatives bringing them would not be asked for *bâc* and *gümrük* in the ports and stations, nor would the officers in the ports and *kapus* interfere in the products gathered for the consumption of the patriarch or the *şıra* [grape juice], honey, oil, and similar objects, called *tasadduk*, given by Christians to the Patriarch.²⁷⁸ Finally, representatives of the patriarch appointed to collect taxes would be allowed to change clothes and carry arms in order to protect themselves at dangerous spots, and would not be prevented by the *ehl-i örf*.²⁷⁹ It is noteworthy that, by the eighteenth century, the patriarch's

²⁷⁴ “patrikliğine müte'allik piskoposların ve gomenosların ve keşişlerin ve papasların (kalogeryelerin ve sâ'ir keşişlerin) âyinlerine (muhâlif/mugâyir) kabâhati zuhûr eyledikde âyinleri üzere te'dib eylediğinde/olundukda âherden kimesne/ferd karışmaya”

²⁷⁵ “patrik-i mezbûr/mesfûr (râhibin) kânûn-ı kadîm üzere berâtları muktezâsınca senevî lâzım gelen ve patriklik rûsûmundan her kangı diyârda vâki' metropolid ve piskopos ve papas ve keşişler ve gomenoslar ve sâ'ir zimmilerde alacağı var ise der sa'âdetimde emr-i şerîf ile ve mektûb mücebince irsâl eylediği/olunan vekillerine tahsîl için hâkimü'l-vakt olanlar şer'le mu'âvenet idüb alvireler”

²⁷⁶ “keferesinin senevî lâzım gelen mîrî rûsûm ve tasadduk akçeleri ve panayırları ve nikâhları ve manastırları rûsûmu ve sâ'ir düşen patriklik mahsûlâtı kendü kadîmî olageldiği üzere berâtları mücebince patrik-i merkûma virüb tereddüd eylemeyeler”

²⁷⁷ Unfortunately, we have thus far not been able to see when exactly these stipulations appeared, as we do not yet have sufficient number of *berâts* from the seventeenth century.

²⁷⁸ “patrik-i mesfûrun kendü me'kûlâtı için hâsıl olan bağları mahsûlâtı ve tasadduk nâmıyla keferenin viregeldikleri şıra ve bal ve yağ ve sâ'ir eşyâları getürdüğü iskelelerde ve kapularda olugelmiş muhâlif gümrük emînleri ve yasaçuları ve âherden kimesne rencide eylemeye”

²⁷⁹ “patrik-i merkûm/mezbûr tarafından (emr-i şerîfimle) mîrî rûsûm tahsîli için ta'yîn olunan vekil ve âdemlerine kılavuz virilüb ve mürûr ü ubûr eyledikleri yerlerden ahsen vechile geçmek için tebdil-i câme ve kisve ve def'-i mazarrat için kendü nefslerin eşkiyâdan tahallus itmeğe âlât-ı harb

representatives and servants had begun to carry arms [*âlât-ı harb*] in order to protect themselves. In a society in which Christians acquired new roles, as we have explained above, additional rights were necessary for the maintenance of *nizâm* in society.²⁸⁰

The stipulations that appear in our documents from 1714 on (and in the 1662 *berât* published in Greek) are as follows. Title deeds granted by the patriarch to the metropolitans and bishops for *mîrî kesim*²⁸¹ will be acted upon.²⁸² Fifteen *kapı kethüdâsı* in the service of the patriarch will be exempt from *avârız* and *tekâlif-i örfiyye*; according to the documents of 1714, 1716, and 1720. From 1725 onwards, *cizye* was included in the taxes from which they were exempt, to *avârız* and *tekâlif-i örfiyye*.²⁸³ In the document of 1662, *cizye* is recorded among the taxes from which the patriarchs' men were exempt, which is a further stipulation that increases our suspicions as to the authenticity of the document.²⁸⁴

A final stipulation was that, when the patriarchs of other places came to Istanbul in order to deal with their affairs, the Patriarchs of Istanbul would act as intermediaries and no one could interfere.²⁸⁵

getürdüklerinde” According to an entry in the *ahkâm* and *berevat defteri*, the representatives of the Patriarch of Istanbul, Symeon and Parthenios, collecting dues in Kavala, were asked to be allowed to change clothes and not to be disturbed in the process of tax-collection. KK.d. 2540, p. 36.

²⁸⁰ See Chapter II pp. 31-33 for a comment on the document of 1662 bearing some of these stipulations.

²⁸¹ This term becomes *mîrî maktû'* from 1725 onwards.

²⁸² “*tarafından mîrî kesim (1716, 1720) / maktû' (from 1725 on) için metropolid ve piskoposların yedlerine virdiği ma'mûlün bih temessüklerine amel olunub hilâf-ı mu'tâd-ı kadîm dahl [ü] ta'arruz/rencide olunmayub*”

²⁸³ In 1716 and 1720: “*patrik-i mezbûrun kapu kethüdâları hizmetinde olan onbeş nefer âdeminden avârız ve tekâlif-i örfiyye taleb olunmaya*”, and from 1725 onwards as “[...] kapu kethüdâlığı hizmetinde olan onbeş nefer âdemlerinden cizye ve avârız ve tekâlif-i örfiyye taleb olunmayub” (In the *berât* of 1757 published by Chidiroglou, this is recorded as five instead of fifteen, which is probably a mistake. Chidiroglou, *Soultanika Beratıa*, p. 186).

²⁸⁴ Gedeon, *Episima Grammata*, p. 14.

²⁸⁵ “*âher diyârın/mahallerin patrikleri iktizâ iden mesâlihleri görmek için Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetime geldiklerinde patrik-i mezbûr/patrikler ma'rifeti ile görülüüb hâricden/âherden ta'arruz olunmaya*” (1716, 1720, 1725, 1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, 1757b); “*âher mahallerin patrikleri ba'zı mesâlihlerini rü'yet için Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetime gelmek murâd eylediklerinde patrik-i mûmâ ileyh/merkûmun (ve cemâ'at-i metropolidânın 1768) ma'rifetiyle gelüb umûrlarını rü'yet ideler* (1761, 1763, 1768)” For the relationship of the Patriarchate of Istanbul to the Greek Orthodox

3.3.1.4. Additions and changes, 1725-1761

The document of 1725 has quite a lot of additions to the documents of 1714, 1716, and 1720, although the last two were given to the same patriarch, Ieremias III. Ieremias was on the patriarchal throne from 1716 to 1726, and we have the orders of the renewal of his *berât* in 1720²⁸⁶ and 1725. In 1725, there is a considerable expansion of stipulations.²⁸⁷

The stipulations of the document of 1725 remain, in general terms, the same until 1757, with some additions or changes following the general trends of the period. It is interesting that the word “*vekîlleri*” [representatives] of metropolitans is missing in the document of 1752, *i.e.* Kyrillos V’s *berât* document. For example, in the sentence which expresses the right to collect the *pangaria/banka* and similar taxes, “the metropolitans and their representatives” becomes “the metropolitans” only in the document of 1752. Again, in the stipulation prohibiting priests from performing illegal marriages, the term “*vekîl* of the metropolitans” is missing in the document of 1752.²⁸⁸ As we will see in Chapter IV, Kyrillos had a problem with the metropolitans’ sending their representatives to the provinces to collect taxes, preferring they stay in their own dioceses and collect the taxes themselves.²⁸⁹ The

Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, see Hasan Çolak, “Relations between the Ottoman Administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria: 16th-18th centuries”, PhD Dissertation, Birmingham University, in progress.

²⁸⁶ The metropolitans complained of him, but Ieremias III remained on the throne due to the defense of the 116 *esnaf* in the *kadı* court. KK.d. 2542-01-47, 48, 49, (pp. 93-97), 4 *Rebî’ü’l-âhir* 1132 / 14 February 1720.

²⁸⁷ In 1726, the patriarch changed, but unfortunately we do not yet have this *berât*. The increase of stipulations in 1725 may be an effort on the part of the Porte to make stipulations clear in order to prevent disorder in the Patriarchate, which would be against *nizâm*. This is apparent in the petition against the patriarch in 1720, which resulted in the renewal of his *berât*. In 1725, the metropolitans were content with him. For the increase of the stipulations in 1725, we do not yet have any other explanation.

²⁸⁸ “*patrik-i mesfûr ve metropolidlerin (ve vekîllerinin, in 1755, 1757a) ma’rifeti ve izinleri yoğiken [taht-i] iltizâmında olan papaslar nikâh câ’iz olmayan kefereye nikâh eylemeyeler*” (1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, 1757b).

²⁸⁹ See Chapter 4.2.4.

lack of the term “*vekîlleri*” from the *berât* documents in his period may be related to this.

Some of the innovations of the document of 1725 are repeated from 1755 onwards, but not before. For example, all the “*kefere*”s are replaced with the term “*zimmi*” in 1755, as in the document of 1725, and afterwards remain as such, as we have mentioned above. The stipulation of 1725 regulating the movement of metropolitans and their stay in Istanbul was due to the intervention [*ma’rifet*] of the patriarch, and “no one may interfere” is repeated from 1755 onwards as well.²⁹⁰ This is most likely also because of the trouble between the metropolitans and Kyrillos V concerning where the metropolitans should stay.²⁹¹

3.3.1.5. Practice of religion

There is an expansion and increase in details in the stipulations concerning the basic rights of the patriarch’s authority in the eighteenth-century documents. The patriarchs are not to be dismissed or changed without establishment of their guilt.²⁹² Whatever the Patriarchs request through petition concerning their religion [*âyinlerine müte’allik*] is to be accepted.²⁹³

²⁹⁰ “*mâ-tekaddemden berü metropolidlerin Âsitâne-i Sa’âdetime gelüb gitmeleri patrik ma’rifetiyle olagelüb ve metropolidlerin Âsitâne-i Sa’âdetime âmed şodlarına muhâlefet olunmayub*”

²⁹¹ The conflict of Jeremias III with the metropolitans in 1720 is noteworthy. Recall that in 1720, eleven metropolitans made a complaint of the Patriarch, who was defended in the court by 116 *esnaf*, and his *berât* was renewed as a result. KK.d. 2542-01-47, 48, 49, (pp. 93-97), 4 *Rebî’ü’l-âhîr* 1132 / 14 February 1720.

²⁹² “*şimâ ba’d patrik olanlar bilâ-cürm azl ve himâye ile tebdil olunmayub*”

²⁹³ “*patriklerin arz-ı ma’mûlün bih olub âyinlerine müte’allik her ne ki arz ve i’lâm iderler ise müsâ’ade olunub*”

No one may interfere with the patriarch's scepter [*asa*, a sign of authority] or his affairs.²⁹⁴ The patriarch should not be disturbed by *kapıkulları* forcefully claiming to be his *yatakçısı* [guards], contrary to his will.²⁹⁵

The patriarch should hold the patriarchate just as his predecessors did, and no one may interfere.²⁹⁶ The coming and going of metropolitans to and from Istanbul is to be regulated through the petitions of the patriarch, and no one may interfere.²⁹⁷ If someone puts himself forth as a candidate for the patriarchate, claiming an increase in the tax rate [*mâl*], his word should not be trusted.²⁹⁸ The patriarch, the metropolitans, and the bishops are allowed to read the Bible at home, and no one may interfere.²⁹⁹

This stipulation was enlarged, and more details were given on the practice of religion in the *berât* documents of 1757 and onwards.³⁰⁰

As in the earlier *berâts*, stipulations against forced conversion existed in the eighteenth-century documents as well.³⁰¹ Conversion to Islam in the Ottoman

²⁹⁴ “*patrik-i merkûmun/mesfûr yedinde getirdüğü âsâsına ve âyinlerine müte'allik umûrlarında (ve husûslarına) hilâf-ı mu'tâd-ı kadîm âherden dahl ve rencide itdirilmeyüb*”

²⁹⁵ “*kapıkulları(m) tarafından biz (sana) cebren yatakçı oluruz deyu patrik-i mersûm/mesfûrun ve metropolitlerin rızâsı olmadıkca rencide itdirilmeyüb patriklerin ve cemâ'at-i metropolitânın rızâsı olmadıkca kimesne tarafından cebr olunmaya*”

²⁹⁶ “*bundan evvel İstanbul ve tevâbi'i Rumiyân patrikleri olanlar ne vechile zabt ve tasarruf idegelmişler ise merkûm [name of the Patriarch] patrik hutumet avâkıbuhi bi'l-hayr dahi ol minvâl üzere zabt ve tasarruf olub patriklikden ve ref' olunan patrik ve taraf-ı âherden ferd mâni' ve müzâhim olmayub vechen mine'l-vücûh dahl ve ta'arruz kılmayalar*”

²⁹⁷ “*mâ-tekaddemden berü metropolitlerin Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetime gelüb gitmeleri patrik ma'rifetiyle olageliüb ve metropolitlerin Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetime âmed şodlarına muhâlif olunmayub*” (1725, 1755, and subsequent documents)

²⁹⁸ “*fimâ ba'd patrik olmağa tâlib olanlar ziyâde mâl zamm eylemek üzere tâlib olurlar ise kavline kat'an i'tibâr olunmamak üzere*”. This was probably an attempt to prevent the misconduct arising from rivalry between candidates for the patriarchal throne. We know that, beginning in the fifteenth century, the higher bidders for payment to the treasury were at an advantage. See Chapter 2.1.2.2.

²⁹⁹ “*patrik-i merkûm ve metropolitler ve papas tâ'ifelerinin hânelerinde izhâr-ı savt eylemeksizin İncil kırâ'at eylemelerine mûmâna'at olunmayub mâbeynlerinde bu minvâl üzere kadîmî nizâmları câri devlet-i aliyemde dahi kadîmî nizâmlarına müsâ'ade olunagelmegle*” [In the document of 1725]

³⁰⁰ “*patrik-i merkûm ve metropolitler ve papas tâ'ifelerinin hânelerinde izhâr-ı savt itmeksizin İncil kırâ'at itmelerine mûmâna'at olunmayub ve ehl-i örf tâ'ifesi mücerred ta'ciz için siz mülk-i mezkûrun bir odalarında tevriye ve İncil okuyub kandil asmişsiz ve mum yakmışsiz ve iskemle ve tasvîr koyub perde asmişsiz ve buhûr yakub salarsız ve elinizde değnek tutarsız bahâne ile ref'-i savt ve i'lân-ı küfür eylememek şartıyla icrâ-yı âyin-i âtlularına mücerred celb-i mâl kasdıyla mîrimîrân ve sâ'ir ehl-i örf tâ'ifesi taraflarından hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf ve bi gayrı hakkın akçe mutâlebesiyle te'addi itdirilmeyüb*” [From 1757b onwards]

Empire has been a widely studied subject, and research has demonstrated that conversion was sometimes the result of deliberation.³⁰²

Although forced conversion to Islam was not a state policy, in practice, conversion to Islam served as a means of escaping certain kinds of punishment.³⁰³ In the *nomokanon* of Theophilos at the end of the eighteenth century, it is advised not to mention problems to Muslim authorities; otherwise, conversion might be the result.³⁰⁴

On the other hand, conversion of the Orthodox to Islam was a concern for the Patriarchate, especially in the case of Crete during the Ottoman Era.³⁰⁵ The earliest *sicils* of Crete provide evidence for mass Islamization in the middle of the seventeenth century.³⁰⁶ The expression concerning conversion in the *berâts* as a novelty is an example of the reflection of ongoing practical concerns in official documentation.

³⁰¹ In metropolitan *berâts* as well. KK.d. 2540, p. 57 (Filibe metropolitan *berât*), p. 53 (Silistre metropolitan *berât*), on p. 60 (Crete metropolitan *berât*), p. 63 (Kudüs Patriarchal *berât*).

³⁰² See Minkov's study on the *kisve bahası* petitions. Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahası Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.

³⁰³ Those who did not convert to Islam and were executed were considered martyrs. See Nomikos Michael Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ: Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period 1437-1860*, Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000; Athanasios Margaris, *Synaxaristis Neomartyron*, 3rd ed., Salonica: Ekdoseis Orthodoxos Kypseli, 1996.

³⁰⁴ Personal communication with Eugenia Kermeli.

³⁰⁵ When the Crypto-Christians asked for the opinion of the Patriarch of Constantinople around the 1670s, he answered in the words of the Gospel as follows: "Whoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven". The Cretan Patriarch of Jerusalem, Nektarios (1664-1682), understood Crypto-Christianity and forgave. Stavro Skendi, "Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans", *Slavic Review* 26/2, 1967, p. 232; Detorakis, *Istoria tis Kriti*, Crete: 1990, p. 290.

³⁰⁶ Elif Bayraktar, "Implementation of Ottoman Religious policies in Crete: Men of Faith as Actors in the *Kadı* Court, 1645-1735, MA Thesis, Bilkent University, 2005, pp. 74-88; Ayşe Nühket Adıyeke, "XVII. Yüzyıl Girit (Resmo) Şeriye Sicillerine Göre İhtida Hareketleri ve Girit'te Etnik Dönüşüm", XIV. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 9-13 September 2002, Vol. II, Part I, Ankara: TTK, 2006, pp. 557-568; Pavlos Chidioglou, "Exislamismoi stin Kriti" in *Pepragmena tou D' Diethnous Kritologikou Synedriou*, Vol III, Athens: 1981, pp. 336-350.

3.3.1.6. Family Law

The increased detail in the *berâts* concerning judicial procedures as well as rites [*âyinler*] is evidence of legal awareness in the eighteenth century. The existence of issues concerning family law was not a novelty in the *berâts*. However, the increase in details is noteworthy, and reflects the patriarch's effort to control Christians and guarantee his rights.

Stipulations concerning marriage, especially, were repeatedly recorded in the *berât* documents.³⁰⁷ One novelty that is reflected in the Ottoman documents is the stipulation that *zimmîs* are allowed to marry up to three times, and, according to their religion, they are not allowed to be married to more than one woman simultaneously, which is recorded in 1725, 1755, and subsequently.³⁰⁸ This was probably related to the practice of *kepinion*, i.e. temporary marriage, which was commonly practiced from the seventeenth century onwards. *Kepinion* was performed in the *kadı* courts, but it was against Christian canon law, for the woman did not bring a dowry but accepted an amount of money from her husband in case the husband left the wife, following the Islamic law stipulations of contracts conducted in the *kadı* court.³⁰⁹

Matters related to inheritance were also explained in detail in the *berât* documents. For example, from 1725 onwards, it was recorded that, in the case of a Christian donating something to the patriarch, the metropolitan, the bishops, or the churches (defined as *parisiye* and *portesi* from 1733 on), upon their death the

³⁰⁷ “*patrik-i mesfûr ve metropolitlerin (ve vekîllerininin 1755, 1757a) ma'rifeti ve izinleri yođiken (taht-ı) iltizâmında olan papaslar nikâh câ'iz olmayan kefereye nikâh eylemeyeler*” (1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, 1757b).

³⁰⁸ “*zimmî tâ'îfesi için üç def'a te'ehhül idüb ziyâde olmamak ve avrat boşamak ve avrat üzerine avrat almak âyinlerine muhâlif olmađla*”

³⁰⁹ Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law*, pp. 92-102.

property might be claimed by the heirs by decision of the *kadı*.³¹⁰ Again, if the *zimmîs* donate $\frac{1}{3}$ of their property to the churches, monasteries, the patriarch, the metropolitans, or the bishops, the heirs can reclaim it by *izn-i şer'*.³¹¹ Islamic law did not did not recognize the widely performed Christian practice of wills. Thus, heirs were allowed to reclaim property donated after death by will, provided that it was more than the $\frac{1}{3}$ allowed for *hibe*, and only upon the authorization of the *kadı*, who would decide on each case individually.³¹²

Misconduct in Christian family law required disciplining [*te'dîb ve terbiye*]³¹³ or excommunication.³¹⁴ In such cases, the right to excommunicate priests conducting uncanonical marriages was secured in the *berâts*, as we have mentioned.³¹⁵ From 1725 onwards, the right of the patriarch expanded to the ability to excommunicate laymen, as seen in the *berâts*.³¹⁶

3.3.1.7. Countering the influence of local notables

Some of the stipulations in the *berâts* were directed against the pressure of notables on local clergy in matters relating to religion. Accordingly, no one from

³¹⁰ “*zimmî tâ'ifesinden ba'zıları hâl-i hayâtlarında patrike ve metropolide ve piskoposlarına (ve kiliselerine) bir mikdâr şey vasiyet eyledikde (ve ol vechile âyinleri üzere parisiye [παρρησία] ve portesi(?) ta'bir olunur, from 1733 on wards) (ba'dehu) mürd olduklarında vârislerinden ma'rifet-i şer'le alivirilüb*” (also with variations, from 1725 to 1768)

³¹¹ “*ba'zî zimmîler sülüs mâlını kilise ve manastırlarına ve patrike ve metropolide ve piskoposa vasiyet eylediklerinde vârislerinden izn-i şer'le alivirilüb*” (1725, 1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, last part missing in 1757b)

³¹² Personal communication with Eugenia Kermeli.

³¹³ In all of the *berâts* from 1716 to 1761, and as “*patrik-i merkûmun iltizâmında olan metropolitlerin ve arhipiskoposların ve piskoposların ve gomenosların ve papasların ve kalogeryelerin ve sâ'ir keşişlerin âyinlerine mugâyir hareketleri zuhûr idüb âyinleri üzere patrikden ve cemâ'at-i metropolitândan te'dîb olduklarında bir ferd karışmaya*” in 1763 and 1768 (and 1769).

³¹⁴ See Chapter II fn. 37 for the Patriarch's right to excommunication in the earlier period.

³¹⁵ See Chapter 3.3.1.3.

³¹⁶ “*zimmî tâ'ifesini/bir zimmîyi te'dîb ve terbiye için âyinleri muktezâsınca gönderdikleri aforos ta'bir olunur te'dîb kağıdlarına müdâhale olunmayub/eylemeyeler*” (1725, 1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, 1757b, 1761, 1763, 1768)

outside was allowed to interfere in the appointment of metropolitans and bishops.³¹⁷ If someone complained about the dismissal and exile of a metropolitan or a bishop and obtained a petition from (notable) pashas, *kadı*s, and *nâ'ibs*, one should pay no heed to the complaint, even if a previous order had been produced.³¹⁸ This probably reflects an effort on behalf of the Christian clergy to prevent local notables from forcing the dismissal and exile of priests. The expression “*fermân-ı âlişân dahi sâdır olur ise i'tibâr ve icrâ olunmayub*” [even if an imperial order is issued, it is not to be paid attention to or acted upon] reflects an awareness of the complexity of bureaucracy in this period. Under the Ottoman bureaucracy [*kalemiyye*], two kinds of documents were produced: those of the administrative department, called the *askeri* documents, and those concerning the treasury, which were financial [*mâli*] documents.³¹⁹ It was possible to obtain *berâts* produced by the administrative department under the *re'îsü'l-küttâb*, and from the financial department under the *defterdâr*. Many conflicts and ambiguities occurred due to this duality.³²⁰ Moreover, the expression “*kadılarından ve nâ'iblerden arz alub gelüb teşekkî olundukda*” suggests that a multiplicity of legal means was efficiently used.

From 1733 on, it was stipulated that, when priests (performing marriage against canon law) were excommunicated according to their religion, no *kadı*, *nâ'ib*,

³¹⁷ From 1725 to 1768: “*âherden şefâ'at ve ricâ ile bu keşişi metropolid ve piskopos eyle deyu cebr ve te'addî olunmaya*” (In 1761, 1763 and 1768 the expression was modified as “*taraf-ı âherden şefâ'at/müsâ'ade ve ricâ ile bu keşişi metropolid veyâhûd arhipiskopos ve piskopos eyle deyu cebr ve te'addî olunmaya*”).

³¹⁸ “*hâlâ patrikliğine müte'allik bir vilâyetin metropolidi ve piskoposlarının azl ve nefyi ve sû'-i hâlini müş'ir paşalardan ve kadılarından ve nâ'iblerden arz alub gelüb teşekkî olundukda sıhhati ma'lûm olmadıkca ısgâ olunmayub ve bir tarîk ile (mukaddem ve mu'ahhar târîh ile) fermân-ı âlişânım dahi sâdır olur ise i'tibâr olunmayub ve bir vechile emr-i şerîfim virilür ise mahallinde amel olunmamak üzere men' olunub*” (1725 to 1768, with variations).

³¹⁹ Hülya Taş, “Osmanlı Arşiv Belgeleri ve Özellikleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme” in *Erken Modern Osmanlı ve Japonya'da Devlet, Toplum ve Belgeler*, Part II, Tokyo: 2009, pp. 11-30.

³²⁰ See Taş, “Osmanlı Arşiv Belgeleri” for relevant examples.

or anyone else should interfere.³²¹ Similarly, it is recorded in the documents from 1725 onwards that powerful people should not interfere in marriages, forcing priests to perform illegal marriages or changing the priests of churches.³²² The right of the patriarch over the property of deceased monks and priests was recorded in earlier *berâts*.³²³ Now, it is also recorded that *beytü'l-mâl* and *kassâm emînleri*, *mütevellîs*, *voyvodas*, *subaşıs*, and others should not interfere with the patriarchs or metropolitans claiming the property of deceased clergymen for the *mîrî*, proposing that it is their share according to the *defter-i hâkânî*.³²⁴

The patriarch's right to excommunication was apparent as early as 1483.³²⁵ Now, it is recorded that the excommunication of *zimmîs* for the purpose of punishment and discipline may not be prevented.³²⁶ Furthermore, the right of local priests to exclude from the community those marrying contrary to canon law was secured by reducing the ability of local notables to interfere on behalf of "sinners". Similarly, in case of the death of "sinners", priests were not to be forced by the notables or *kadıs* to perform their funeral.³²⁷

³²¹ "*akd-i nikâh ve fesh-i nikâh ve münâza'un fihâ olan iki zimmî mâbeynlerinde rızâlarıyla patrik-i merkûma veyâhûd tarafından berât ile ta'yîn olunan metropolitlerin ve vekîllerinin ma'rifeti ve izni yoğiken taht-ı iltizâmunda olan papaslar nikâh câ'iz olmayan zimmîye nikâh eylemeyüb*" (1725)
"*akd-i nikâh ve fesh-i nikâh ve münâza'un fihâ olan iki zimmî mâbeynlerinde rızâlarıyla patrik-i merkûm veyâhûd tarafından berevât-ı şerîfimle/berât ile ta'yîn olunan metropolitler ve piskoposlar ıslâh ve iktizâ idüb âyin-i âtilaları üzere kiliselerinde yemîn ve aforos ta'bir olunur te'dîb eylediklerinde hilâf-ı mu'tâd-ı kadîm tecrîm ve tağrîm eylemeyüb/olunmayub*" (1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, 1757b)

³²² "*ba'zı zî-kudret kimesneler şu avratı şu zimmîye nikâh eyle deyu âyinlerine muhâlif papaslara cebr eylemeyüb ve şu papası azl ve kilisesin şu papasa vir deyu rencide itdirilmeyüb*"

³²³ See Chapter 2.1.1.

³²⁴ "*müird olan (fevt iden 1761, 1763, 1768) metropolit (ve arhipiskoposların 1761, 1763, 1768) ve piskopos ve papas ve keşiş ve kalogeryelerin gerek nükûd ve gerek eşyâ ve bârgîr ve sâ'ir her nesi/şeyleri var ise ise patrik ve metropolitler tarafından mîrî için ahz (u kabz) olunub/olundukda beytü'l-mâl ve kassâm ve mütevellîler ve voyvodalar ve subaşılar ve âdemleri ve sâ'irleri beytü'l-mâl-ı âmme ve hâssa ve defter-i hâkânîde bize hâsıl yazılmışdır deyu müddâhale eylemeyüb*"

³²⁵ See Chapter II, fn. 37.

³²⁶ "*zimmî tâ'ifesi/bir zimmîyi te'dîb ve terbiye için âyinleri muktezâsınca gönderdikleri aforos ta'bir olunur te'dîb kâğıdlarına müddâhale olunmayub/eylemeyeler*"

³²⁷ "*âyinlerine muhâlif nikâh iden mesfûrlar kiliselerine girmek âyinlerine mugâyir olub olvechile müird olanlar kuzat ve nevvab ve sair zâbitler ve zî-kudret kimesneler papaslara siz kaldırın deyu te'addî itdirilmeyüb*" (from 1725 to 1761)

The expression “*ba‘zı zî-kudret kimesneler [...] şu papası azl ve kilisesin şu papasa vir deyu rencîde itdirilmeyüb*” probably reflects the struggle between private churches and local authorities.³²⁸ Private churches were churches founded by individuals, particularly on the islands. They were supposed to be free from the interference of local bishops.³²⁹ In this sense, court cases concerning private churches depict local authority struggles. The *sicils* of Ottoman Crete contain many cases of struggle by owners of private churches and monasteries to retain their rights against the metropolitan.³³⁰

These stipulations aimed at preventing the clash of authorities. Similar expressions preventing the influence of local notables exist in the *berât* documents of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem as well.³³¹

3.3.1.8. The struggle for authority

It is evident from the *berâts* and petitions that, in the context of the eighteenth century, the patriarch endeavored to increase his authority in the provinces *vis-à-vis* local powers in various arenas. The local powers were in some cases the *ehl-i örf*, the *kadı*, and even Catholic missionaries. On the other hand, the patriarch was also struggling against the unlawful practices of local Orthodox priests. As the sultan attempted to control the socially mobile subjects of the Ottoman

³²⁸ From 1725 to 1761.

³²⁹ For private churches, see John Philip Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*, Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987; E. Herman, ‘The secular church’, in J.M. Hussey *et al* (eds.), *The Cambridge Medieval History* Vol.4, Part II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, p.117.

³³⁰ For cases in Crete concerning private churches, see Bayraktar, *Implementation*, pp. 41-43.

³³¹ KK.d. 2540, p. 63, p. 77.

Empire in the new financial and administrative context, so did the patriarch try to control his Christian “subjects”.

Before 1725, there was a stipulation concerning itinerant monks which ordered the patriarch to send them their monasteries. This stipulation continued to exist in later documents of the eighteenth century.³³² From 1725 on, there is an addition that the patriarch would ask for the punishment of priests who did not stay in their homelands, but rather traveled from place to place [*mahalle mahalle gezüb*] and practiced various kinds of misbehavior [*dürlü dürlü fesâd*] in contravention to their religion.³³³ Most likely, these itinerant priests and monks performed such religious services as baptism and marriage. The Orthodox would pay less to the itinerant monks than they did to the local priest, who was responsible for paying dues on ecclesiastical liturgies to the local metropolitan and the patriarch. In this sense, both *nizâm* and finances were at stake, and so it was the vested interest of the patriarch to prevent such practices.³³⁴ Metropolitans, however, were allowed to practice religious rites in the houses of the *re'âyâ*.³³⁵

³³² “*patrikliğine müte'allik ba'zı târik-i dünyâ olan keşişler âyinlerine muhâlif istedikleri yerde gezmeyüb girü kadîmî sâkin oldukları manastırlarına gönderile*” (This existed in the *berât* of 1662 as well. See Chapter 2.1.1, fn. 48, and the same section for a discussion of that.)

³³³ “*keşiş tâ'ifesinden ba'zıları kilise ve manastırları yoğiken mahalle mahalle gezüb fesâda bâ'is olanları patrik veyâhûd metropolidler âyinleri üzere te'dîb ve men' eyleyüb*” This exists in other *berâts* as well: in the *berâts* of Gerasimos, the metropolitan of Crete (KK.d. 2540, p. 60), the Patriarch of Alexandria (KK.d. 2540, p. 62), and the Patriarch of Jerusalem (KK.d. 2540, p. 77).

³³⁴ For example, an imperial order was given upon a petition of Kyrillos V complaining of priests (*İstanbul ve etrâfında ba'zı karyelerde fitne ve fücûr papaslar*), based on this patriarchal right (“*berâtları şürûtunda ba'zı papas ve keşiş tâ'ifelerinden mahalle mahalle gezüb fesâda bâ'is olan râhibleri kadîmen sâkin oldukları manastırlarına göndermek üzere musarrâh olmağla*”). The Patriarch wanted an order to send these priests back to their monasteries (“*bu makûle hilâf-ı şürût-ı berât-ı âlişân harekâta ve fesâda bâ'is olan keşiş ve papaslar bulundukları mahallerden ahz ve kadîmî manastırlarına gönderilmek için emr-i şerîfim ricâ eylediği ecilden*”). KK.d. 2540, p. 18, 17 *Receb* 1167 / 10 May 1754. The case of the priest Kyrillos is in KK.d. 2540 p. 24 and p. 31, other examples of priests wandering through Istanbul, KK.d. 2540, p. 58 and p. 122.

³³⁵ In 1754, an order was sent to the *kadıs* of Konya and the surrounding area upon a petition of Patriarch Kyrillos requesting that the metropolitan of Konya, Dionysios, not be disturbed when performing rites in the houses of the *re'âyâ*: “*metropolid-i mesfûr re'âyânın talebi ve rızâlarıyla âyinleri icrâsı için hânelerine varub ve kâh kendileri anların hânelerine gelüb âyinleri icrâ eyledikde mûmâna'at olunmayub*” KK.d. 2540, pp. 29-30, 20 *Zi'l-hicce* 1167 / 8 October 1754. Petitions of the patriarch for Dionysios are also in D.PSK 20/25 and D.PSK 20/26, 20-21 *Zi'l-hicce* 1167.

One way for the patriarch to consolidate his authority in the eighteenth century was to control the judicial affairs of metropolitans, bishops, and their representatives. The *berâts* included instructions as to where cases of the metropolitans could be heard. In cases where Christian clergy and laypeople willed part of their property to the poor of churches, their cases were to be handled in local courts in the presence of Rum witnesses.³³⁶ Cases related to the misconduct of marriage (as a part of Christian family law) by metropolitans, bishops, or their representatives, were to be heard in the *dîvân-ı hümayûn* according to the eighteenth-century *berât* documents.³³⁷ In the documents of 1741, 1743, and 1744, it is stated that, in cases of metropolitans and bishops being falsely accused of liability for debts, they would be judged in the *dîvân-ı hümayûn*.³³⁸ In the documents of 1761 and 1763, it is recorded that accusations against the clergy (without specification on the misconduct of marriage) were to be handled in the *dîvân-ı hümayûn*.³³⁹ In this way, the patriarch would be able to control the cases and intervene in the matter either directly or through intermediaries. As early as 1701, when Kallinikos, the metropolitan of Crete, was taken to Istanbul for trial, having been accused of

³³⁶ This is expressed in the *berât* documents as “*mürd olan râhibler ve piskopos ve papas ve keşiş ve kalogeryeler ve sâ’ir zimmî tâ’îfesi kendü âyinleri muktezâsınca kiliseleri fukarâsına her ne vasiyet iderler ise makbûl olub kendü âyin kâ’idelerince Rum şâhidler ile şer’le istimâ’ ve amel oluna*” in all of the patriarchal *berâts* we have examined, with variations in terminology. Apart from the patriarchal *berâts* of the eighteenth century, this expression also occurs in metropolitan *berâts* and in the *berât* of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. See KK.d. 2540, p. 52 (*berât* of Bartholomeos, metropolitan of Silistre), p. 58 (*berât* of Serafeim of Filibe), p.59 (*berât* of Gerasimos of Crete), p. 77 (*berât* of the Patriarch of Jerusalem).

³³⁷ Misconduct of marriage is specified in the *berâts* as “*patrik-i merkûmun/mesfûrun ma’rifeti yoğiken âyinlerine muhâlîf nikâh iden papasların veyâhûd vekîllerinin ma’rifet-i şer’le haklarında lâzım gelen icrâ ve şer’a müte’allik lâzım gelen da’vâları Dîvân-ı Hümayûnumda istimâ’ olunub (ve ref’ olunub) yerine nasb olunan papasa hâricden bir ferd/kimesne mâni’ olmaya*”.

³³⁸ *Berâts* of 1741 and 1743: “*kimesneye deynleri ve kefâletleri yoğiken telbîsât ve tezvîrât ile şirret da’vâ sadedinde olunur ise da’vâları mukaddem ve mu’ahhar târîh ile fermânımız vardır deyu hilâf-ı şürût mahallinde istimâ’ olunmayub Dîvân-ı Hümayûnumda görülmek üzere*”

³³⁹ [“*patrik-i merkûmun ve metropolitlerin ve arhipiskoposların ve piskoposların ve şer’-i şerîfe müte’allik her ne gûne da’vâları zuhûr ider ise Dîvân-ı Hümayûnumdan gayrı bir yerde istimâ’ olunmaya*”] *Berâts* of 1763 and 1768. Also in the *berât* of Serafeim the metropolitan of Filibe in KK 2540, p. 56; “*metropolit ve vekîlleri ve âdemlerinin ve piskoposlarının şer’-i şerîfe müte’allik her ne gûne da’vâları zuhûr ider ise bir yerde istimâ’ olunmayub Dîvân-ı Hümayûnumda vüzerâ-i izâm ve kadaskerlerim huzûrlarında görülmek üzere havâle oluna ve Âsitânedede Dîvân-ı Hümayûnumda görülmek üzere iken mahallinde ihzârdan men’ olunub*”

collecting more dues than he was entitled to, it was the patriarch who defended him in the court.³⁴⁰

The effort of the Patriarchs of Istanbul to control local affairs in the eighteenth century is evident in the case of the Church of Crete. By 1735, the metropolitans of the Church of Crete finally had a church in which to perform mass, something that they had failed to attain since the early years of the conquest of Crete. It is not a coincidence that the Church of Crete won its struggle against local powers, *viz.* the monks of the Sinaite monastery of St. Catherine, as well as local notables on the island in the eighteenth century.³⁴¹

3.3.1.9. Expansion of the rule of the patriarch as an intermediate

In the eighteenth century, a *mültezim* was not just a tax-collector, but also assumed responsibility for the preservation of order in society. In accordance with the fiscal and administrative transformation of the Ottoman Empire that occurred at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Patriarch of Istanbul and the local metropolitans, bishops, and clergy assumed new administrative responsibilities.³⁴² Apart from matters of family law, the civil cases of Christians had become the province of the patriarchs by the eighteenth century.³⁴³ This was an outcome of the transformation in the empire, beginning in the seventeenth century with the expansion of the tax-farming system, the participation of religious dignitaries in the

³⁴⁰ Stavrinidis, *Metafrasis III*, p. 261 (doc.1578, 1113/1701).

³⁴¹ Bayraktar, "The Orthodox Church of Crete".

³⁴² See Chapter 3.1.1.

³⁴³ See Eugenia Kermeli, "The Right to Choice: Ottoman Justice vis-à-vis Ecclesiastical and Communal Justice in the Balkans, Seventeenth-Nineteenth Centuries", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 23, 2007, pp. 165-210.

system, and the strengthening of local communities as a result of collective responsibility.

It seems that the Patriarchs used their authority on law and order more extensively as an intermediary in the eighteenth century. The additional authority of the patriarch in this period was due to his position as a *mültezim* and a religious leader. In this way, the patriarch assumed the responsibilities of the *ehl-i örf* in matters relating to the preservation of order in society.³⁴⁴ In addition to having the role of a *subaşı* preserving order in society, the patriarch was also the religious leader of the Orthodox community. The patriarch's *örfi* authority was given him through his patriarchal *berât*. Only on the basis of the patriarch's *berât* would a *kadı* recognize him as an *ehl-i örf*.

In the *şikâyet* and *ahkâm defters*, copies of orders exist in which the patriarch acts as an intermediate between the Porte and Christian subjects.³⁴⁵ According to our cases, in the case of an *ehl-i fesâd* in a local area, the patriarch is one of the means through which Christians could make a complaint.³⁴⁶ Upon such a complaint, the patriarch would write a petition to the Porte claiming that a Christian *zimmî* had been involved in unlawful behavior, and would request an order from the Porte concerning the manner of punishment, such as exile or imprisonment in a castle or dungeon. Upon the petition of the patriarch, orders in accordance with the petition would be given to the *kadis*, *nâ'ibs*, *voyvodas*, *serdârs* of villages, and *dizdârs* of castles. It was not only Christian *ehl-i fesâd* metropolitans, bishops, and priests who were cast out of society in this way, but also lay Christians, as will be

³⁴⁴ For the role of the *mültezim* as preserver of order, see Chapter 3.1.1.

³⁴⁵ Recall that, as İnalçık notes, one of the differences of the *şikâyet* registers from the *mühimme* registers is that the entries in the *şikâyet* registers are copies of orders that have already been issued [ending as "için yazılmışdır"]. İnalçık, "Şikâyet Hakkı", p. 41.

³⁴⁶ The examples below are from *şikâyet defteri* no. 174. However, we should note that the examples presented here are petitions of two rival patriarchs of the eighteenth century, Paisios and Kyrillos. For this reason, such cases were not a trademark of any particular patriarch.

seen in detail below. The patriarch would mention the exact method of punishment in a variety of ways: imprisonment in a castle [*kalebend*], in a monastery [*manasturbend*], in a dungeon [*zindanbend*], or punishment on the galleys [*kürek*]. The variety of terminology for punishment is noteworthy. In many cases, the patriarch would also specify the place of punishment and request imprisonment in a certain castle or exile to a monastery in a certain area. As the religious leader of the Orthodox community, in addition to his role as *ehl-i örf* (stemming from his position as *mültezim*), the patriarch was the main intermediary authority in the eyes of the empire's Christians in the eighteenth century, as the following cases will testify.

First, some examples of the punishment of clergy will be presented. According to their *berâts*, the patriarchs were responsible for the discipline [*te'dib*] and the imprisonment [*alıkoymak*] of Christian clergy, which was not a new development.³⁴⁷ Just as *örf* was enforced by the *subaşı* for the *re'âyâ*, it was the *zâbit* that enforced it for the *askeri*. The *zâbit* of priests was the patriarch. In October 1750, Papa Likourgos from Kili was sent as a *kalebend* to the castle of İsakça upon the patriarch's petition.³⁴⁸ In 1754, Stefan, a monk from the Monastery of Agiason(?), was exiled to a castle [*kalebend*] upon the petition of the patriarch.³⁴⁹ In 1755, Patriarch Kyrillos expressed his wish, through a petition to the Porte, to exile Papa Ioannis Konomi to the castle of Tulca.³⁵⁰ Many orders were given to punish Christian metropolitans, priests, or monks upon patriarchal petition, as well as orders to release such people from their imprisonment.³⁵¹

³⁴⁷ From 1725 to 1757: “*papas ve keşişler ve kalogeryelerden biri izn-i şer'le alıkoymak lâzım geldikde patrik ve metropolitler ve piskoposlar alıkoymak*”. From 1761 to 1768: “*metropolitlerden ve râhiblerden biri izn-i şer'le alıkoymak lâzım geldikde patrik-i mûmâ ileyh/merkûmun (ve metropolitânın 1768) ma'rifetiyle alıkoymak* (1761, 1763, 1768)”.

³⁴⁸ ŞK 174/ 83/ 6, 1163, *Evâil-i Zi'l-ka'de* / 2-11 October 1750)

³⁴⁹ KK.d. 2540, p. 28, 22 *Zi'l-ka'de* 1167 / 10 September 1754, and D.PSK 20/ 20.

³⁵⁰ KK.d. 2540, p. 49, 18 *Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1168 / 1 February 1755, also in D.PSK 20 /62.

³⁵¹ Theodosios, a priest from Morea, was imprisoned as a *zindanbend* in Benefşe Castle, in the dungeon of Farunye(?) (ŞK 174/ 17/ 6, *Evâil-i Cemâziye'l-evvel* 1163, / 8-17 April 1750), with the

Other examples concern the intermediary role of the patriarch in the *te'dib* of Christian laymen, which is more interesting for us insofar as this was a development of the eighteenth century related to the patriarch's role. In February 1750, Patriarch Kyrillos asked an order from the Porte to exile Dimitri from Filibe to the castle of Tulca. The decree, addressing the *kadı* of Filibe and the *dizdâr* of the Castle of Tulca, ordered Dimitri to be exiled and imprisoned in the castle.³⁵² In September 1754, the patriarch asked a *zimmî* from Kartal to be put on the galleys until he reformed himself [*İslâh-ı nefis edinceye değin*], as he was *telbîs* [a deceiver] and *şerîr* [evil].³⁵³ In March 1750, upon the petition of Patriarch Kyrillos, the *kadı* of Kayseri and a *çavuş* of the *dîvân-ı hümayûn* were ordered to act to secure the exile of Thomas, his wife, and his brother Anastasios to their homeland of Kayseri, as they

order being repeated when he escaped (ŞK 174/ 98/ 2 1163, *Evâhir-i Zi'l-ka'de* / 22-31 October 1750); Papa Likourgos was sent to the castle of İshakça as a *kalebend* (ŞK 174/ 83/ 6, *Evâil-i Zi'l-ka'de* 1163/ 2-11 October 1750); a priest named Metrofani was exiled and imprisoned in the castle of İnöz (ŞK 174/ 89/ 3 *Evâil-i Zi'l-ka'de* 1163 / 2-11 October 1750); Papa Nikola was imprisoned in the castle of Tulca (ŞK 174/ 90/ 2, 1163, *Evâsıt-ı Zi'l-ka'de* / 12-21 October 1750); Symeon, the metropolitan of Gaston, was imprisoned as a *manasturbend* in the Monastery of Lavra in Agion Oros (ŞK 174/ 90/ 3, *Evâsıt-ı Zi'l-ka'de* 1163 / 12-21 October 1750) and released eight months later (ŞK 174/ 159/5, *Evâil-i Receb* 1164 / 26 May- 4 June 1751); the *kadı* of Jerusalem and a *serdâr* were ordered to hold Christoforos, a monk from a monastery in Filibe, in the Monastery of Agiason(?) in Jerusalem as a *manasturbend* (ŞK 174/ 114/ 3, *Evâsıt-ı Muharrem* 1164 / 10-19 December 1750), and he was released upon the petition of the other monks, submitted to the succeeding patriarch, Paisios II (ŞK 174/ 235/ 3, *Evâhir-i Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1165, / 8-16 March 1752); the *kadı* of Yenişehir Fener was ordered to put the metropolitan of Kefe, Bregon(?), in a certain monastery in the area as a *manasturbend*, and to prevent him from escaping (ŞK 174/ 115/ 5 *Evâhir-i Muharrem* 1164 / 20-29 December 1750), and he was released in February 1752 (ŞK 174/ 227/4, *Evâhir-i Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1165 / 7-16 February 1752); three priests from Morea, Ieremias, Meletios and Papa Stamathis, were imprisoned as *kalebends* in the castle of Benefşe (ŞK 174/ 155/ 3, *Evâsıt-ı Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1164 / 7-16 May 1751) and released three months later (ŞK 174/ 191/ 2, *Evâhir-i Şevvâl* 1164 / 12-20 September 1751); and a monk from Afşar was punished with imprisonment (ŞK 174/ 249/ 4, *Evâsıt-ı Receb* 1165/ 25 May- 3 June 1752). All of these examples of orders for the punishment of clergy were given upon the petition of the patriarchs. Examples of the release of clergy from imprisonment (*Afv ve ıtlak*): Serafeim, the metropolitan of Filibe, was released from Limni castle (ŞK 174/ 12/ 2, *Evâil-i Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1163 / 10-19 March 1750); Parthenios, a monk from Margarit Monastery, was released from *manasturbend* imprisonment (ŞK 174/ 27/ 5, *Evâil-i Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1163 / 8-16 May 1750); Papa Nikola was released from Tulca Castle (ŞK 174/ 119/ 6, *Evâsıt-ı Safer* 1164 / 9-18 January 1751); a priest from Midilli was released from galley punishment in 1752 (ŞK 174/ 243/ 2, *Evâil-i Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1165 / 16-25 April 1752); all of these were upon the petitions of patriarchs. Theodosios, *zindanbend* in Farunye, was released upon his own petition in (ŞK 174/ 232/ 4, *Evâsıt-ı Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1165 / 27 February - 7 March 1752).

³⁵² ŞK 174/ 7/ 3, *Evâhir-i Safer* 1163 (30 January- 7 February 1750).

³⁵³ Ahkâm 003, p. 210, no. 1140, *Evâsıt-ı Zi'l-ka'de* 1167 (30 August- 8 September 1754).

had been accused of disturbing people in Istanbul.³⁵⁴ In August 1750, Spyros and Stamathis of Istanbul were exiled as *kalebends* to the castle of Limni upon the petition of Patriarch Kyrillos.³⁵⁵ Another person from Niğde was ordered to be imprisoned as a *kalebend* in the castle of Niğde in 1750, through the intervention of the patriarch.³⁵⁶ In December 1750, the patriarch informed the Porte of the disturbing practices of Dimitri from the island of Meis in the jurisdiction of Rhodes and of the need to punish him, and requested an order of exile to Cyprus. The decree from the Porte ordered the *kadı*, *nâ'ibs*, and the *mütesellim* of Rhodes to put Dimitri on trial, and, should he be found guilty of the crimes mentioned by the patriarch, to exile him to Cyprus.³⁵⁷ The *kadı* and the *voyvoda* of Limni and the *dizdâr* of the castle of Benefşe were ordered to exile Dimitri from Limni to the castle of Benefşe upon the petition of the patriarch in February 1751. It is recorded that the *re'âyâ* of the island informed the patriarch of the illegal acts of Dimitri.³⁵⁸ Again, the case of Ioannis from Patnos demonstrates how the punishment procedure was carried out. Ioannis was disturbing the *re'âyâ* of Patnos and then Filibe. The *re'âyâ* informed the patriarch of Ioannis's misconduct, the patriarch wrote a petition to the Porte requesting his exile to Limni, and the Porte ordered the *kadı* of Filibe and the *dizdâr* of Limni to act in accordance with the patriarch's petition.³⁵⁹ Manolis from Filibe was taken from Filibe and exiled to the castle of Tulca upon the petition of Patriarch Kyrillos in March/April 1751.³⁶⁰ In November 1751, with the patriarch now Paisios II and Kyrillos V in exile, Paisios requested the exile of Georgaki Matto and Dimitri, residents of Morea, to the castle of Benefşe. The *muhasıl* of Morea and the *dizdâr* of

³⁵⁴ ŞK 174/ 13/ 6, *Evâsıt-ı Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1163 (20-29 March 1750).

³⁵⁵ ŞK 174/ 69/ 4, *Evâil-i Ramazan* 1163, (4-13 August 1750).

³⁵⁶ ŞK 174/ 93/ 5: *Evâhir-i Zi'l-ka'de* 1163, (22-31 October 1750)

³⁵⁷ ŞK 174/ 106/ 4, *Evâil-i Muharrem* 1164, (30 November- 9 December 1750).

³⁵⁸ ŞK 174/ 132/ 4, *Evâhir-i Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1164 (17-26 February 1751).

³⁵⁹ ŞK 174/ 140/ 4, *Evâsıt-ı Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1164, (March 9-18, 1751).

³⁶⁰ ŞK 174/ 150/ 5, *Evâil-i Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1164, (27 March- 6 April 1751).

the castle were ordered to enforce the punishment.³⁶¹ The patriarch complained of the conduct of Panagiotis, a resident of a village in Dimetoka, and in December 1751 requested that he be sent to the castle of İnöz.³⁶² Stratis and Foti, from two different villages in Uzuncaabad Hasköy, disturbed the *re'âyâ* there, who made a complaint with Patriarch Paisios. He wrote a petition to the Porte requesting their imprisonment in the castle of Kavala [*kalebend*] in March 1752.³⁶³ Mihalaki of İskeçe, accused of disturbing Bartholomeos, the metropolitan of Silistre, was imprisoned in the castle of Tulca upon the request of Patriarch Paisios in June 1752.³⁶⁴ Three months later, he was released upon the petition of the *kadı* of İskeçe, Elhac Hüseyin, who informed the Porte that the *re'âyâ* of his hometown testified in court that Mihalaki was not guilty of the crimes of which he had been convicted.³⁶⁵ In another case, the *kadı* of Ürgüp, the *zâbit* of Nevşehir, and the *dizdâr* of Niğde Castle were ordered to imprison Petros in Niğde Castle upon the petition of Patriarch Kyrillos, who was on the throne for the second time.³⁶⁶

In many cases, the *afv* and *utlak* [pardon and release] of *zimmî re'âyâ* were also effected upon the petitions of patriarchs. According to a decree addressing the *dizdâr* of the castle of İnöz, Theodosios, son of Kostas of Dimetoka, was released from the castle upon the petition of the patriarch.³⁶⁷ Takyeci Nikola was released from Tulca in June 1750,³⁶⁸ Bolos and Yanaki of Paleopatra [Balyebadra] were released from the castle of Paleopatra,³⁶⁹ Theodoros of Ürgüp was released from the

³⁶¹ ŞK 174/ 203/ 3; *Evâhir-i Zi'l-hicce* 1164, (10-19 November 1751).

³⁶² ŞK 174/ 210/ 1, *Evâhir-i Muharrem* 1165, (10-19 December 1751).

³⁶³ ŞK 174/ 237/ 4, *Evâil-i Cemâziye'l-evvel* 1165, (17-26 March 1752).

³⁶⁴ ŞK 174/ 252/ 1, *Evâil-i Şa'bân* 1165, (14-23 June 1752). See p. 162 and fn. 407 below, for another petition for Bartholomeos.

³⁶⁵ ŞK 174/ 278/ 2, *Evâil-i Zi'l-ka'de* 1165, (10-19 September 1752).

³⁶⁶ ŞK 174/ 301/ 1, *Evâil-i Muharrem* 1166 (8-17 November 1752).

³⁶⁷ ŞK 174/ 12/ 3, *Evâil-i Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1163 (10-19 March 1750).

³⁶⁸ ŞK 174/ 44/ 5, *Evâsıt-ı Receb* 1163, (16-25 June 1750).

³⁶⁹ ŞK 174/ 48/ 4, *Evâhir-i Receb* 1163, (26 June-5 July 1750).

castle of Niğde,³⁷⁰ Ioannis of Filibe was released from the castle of Limni,³⁷¹ and Panagioti of Dimetoka was released from the castle of İnöz,³⁷² all upon the petitions of the patriarchs. The former *kocabaş* Dimitri of Limni had been exiled to Benefşe Castle during the reign of Patriarch Kyrillos on the basis that he was *sâî bi'l-fesâd*. As the *kocabaş* of the area since 1150 (1737 / 1738), he also owed money to the *re'âyâ*.³⁷³ He was pardoned and released [*afv ve utlak*] by Patriarch Paisios in 1751.³⁷⁴ The boat that carried this order of release sank at sea, and so the Porte had to repeat the order in 1752.³⁷⁵

When a new patriarch was appointed, he was presented with cases for reconsideration. This is quite strikingly similar to newly appointed *kadı*s, who, upon arrival, reconsidered previous cases. When Patriarch Kyrillos was in exile from 1751 to 1752, he was replaced by Paisios II for about sixteen months. People punished to confinement by one patriarch would be released when a new one came to the throne.³⁷⁶ In the case of Stamathis and Spyros, Spyros was released upon the petition of the patriarch³⁷⁷, with Stamathis being released upon his own petition.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁰ ŞK 174/ 236/ 4, *Evâhir-i Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1165 (8-16 March 1752).

³⁷¹ ŞK 174/ 239/ 3, *Evâsıt-ı Cemâziye'l-evvel* 1165 (27 March-5 April 1752).

³⁷² ŞK 174/ 243/ 5, *Evâsıt-ı Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1165 (26 April-5 May 1752).

³⁷³ ŞK 174/ 132/ 4, *Evâhir-i Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1164 (17-26 February 1751).

³⁷⁴ ŞK 174/ 213/ 3, *Evâil-i Safer* 1165 (20-29 December 1751)

³⁷⁵ ŞK 174/ 240/ 5, *Evâhir-i Cemâziye'l-evvel* 1165 (6-15 April 1752)

³⁷⁶ Stamathis and another *zimmî* from Istanbul were exiled to Limni as *kalebend* by Kyrillos 174/69/4, *Evâil-i Ramazan* 1163, (4-13 August 1750). They were released by Paisios in 1751. ŞK 174/ 186/ 4, 1164, *Evâsıt-ı Şevvâl* / 2-11 September 1751. Ieremias, Meletios, and Papa Stamathis were made *kalebend* in Benefşe. ŞK 174/ 155/3, *Evâsıt-ı Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1164 (7-16 May 1751) They were released by Paisios. ŞK 174/ 191/ 2, *Evâhir-i Şevvâl* 1164 (12-20 September 1751) See also ŞK 174/ 115/ 5 and ŞK 174/ 227/ 4 for the case of the metropolitan Bregon(?) for his exile in a monastery in Yenişehir Fener and his release. See ŞK 174/ 98/ 2 and ŞK 174/ 232/ 4 for the case of the priest Theodosios's exile as a *zindanbend* in Benefşe by Kyrillos in 1750 and his release by Paisios in 1752. Another example is in ŞK 174/ 114/ 3 and ŞK 174/ 235/ 3, concerning the *manasturbend* punishment of a monk from a monastery in Filibe to Jerusalem in 1750 by Kyrillos, and his return through the petitions of the monks of his monastery in Filibe to Paisios in 1752. Another example is the case of Theodoros of Nevşehir, his exile as a *kalebend* in 1750 (ŞK 174/ 108/ 2), and his release due to the difficult situation of his family in 1752 (in ŞK 174/ 236/ 4). ŞK 174/ 140/ 4 and ŞK 174/ 239/ 3 concern the case of Ioannis of Patmos, who came to Filibe and disturbed the people there. His punishment was to be put into the castle of Limni by Kyrillos in 1751, and he was released by Paisios in 1752 "*evlad ve tyaline merhameten*".

³⁷⁷ ŞK 174/ 186/ 4, *Evâsıt-ı Şevvâl* 1164 (2-11 September 1751).

The other means of complaint for Christians was the *kadı*. In June 1751, the *re'âyâ* informed Ali, the *nâ'ib* of their island [illegible], that Georgaki was in the habit of perpetually misbehaving. Upon the petition of the *nâ'ib*, Georgaki was exiled. The order addresses the *nâ'ib* of the island, and the place of exile is not specified.³⁷⁹ Again, in Gemlik, people complained of some of their co-religionists to the *kadı*, who wrote a petition to the Porte and received the order to exile them to the castle of Bozcaada.³⁸⁰ In 1752, the *kadı* of Crete, Mehmed, wrote a petition to release the metropolitan, Chrysanthos, from imprisonment in the castle of Golos; he had been exiled there after the complaint of *müfsid* people.³⁸¹ The *kadı* of an area in the Peloponnesos, Mevlana İbrahim, wrote a petition upon the arrival of Christians and Muslims in the *kadı* court who complained of a priest, a former *kocabaş*.³⁸² On another occasion, the parents of a *kalebend* priest from Silivri applied to the *kadı* to release their son from imprisonment.³⁸³ However, the patriarch was more frequently the intermediary in this period than was the *kadı*.

In September 1752, the misconduct of a *zimmî* in Karaferye [Veroia] was reported by both the *kadı* and the patriarch, and he was put into the castle of Blatomina. The *kadı* issued a decision, and the patriarch was informed by a letter in Greek [*rûmi hatla*]. This is an interesting example for the administration of justice in the eighteenth century, with the patriarch and the *kadı* appearing as two parallel offices of justice simultaneously.³⁸⁴

³⁷⁸ ŞK 174/ 168/ 3, *Evâil-i Şa'bân* 1164 (25 June- 4 July 1751).

³⁷⁹ ŞK 174/ 164/5, *Evâhir-i Receb* 1164 (15-24 June 1751).

³⁸⁰ ŞK 174/ 206/ 2, *Evâil-i Muharrem* 1165, (20-29 November 1751).

³⁸¹ There is no Hrisanti among the metropolitans of Crete. He may have been a bishop. ŞK 174/ 222/6, *Evâhir-i Safer* 1165, (9-17 January 1752).

³⁸² ŞK 174/ 300/ 4, *Evâil-i Muharrem* 1166 (8-17 November 1752).

³⁸³ ŞK 174/ 135/ 4, *Evâil-i Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1164 (27 February-8 March 1751).

³⁸⁴ ŞK 174/ 279/ 3, *Evâil-i Zi'l-ka'de* 1165 (10-19 September 1752), “*husûs-u mezbûrun keyfiyeti ve zimmî-i mesfûrun nefyini kadılar i'lâm ve rûmi hatla patrik-i mesfûr tarafına dahi tahrîr olunduğunu bildirüb*”.

The patriarch also served as intermediary in requests for the punishment of *ehl-i örf*. According to an order in the *ahkâm defteri* addressing the *nâ'ib* of Midye and dated 1162 / 1749, Zosima, one of the representatives of the metropolitan of Midye, was collecting taxes, as was his duty [*kendi halinde mâl-ı mîrî cem*], two years previously, in 1160. The *subaşı* came and forced the priest to serve as a false witness for a murder. Zosima did not accept, and the *subaşı* put him into prison, as well as taking more than 90 *akçes* from the *mâl-ı mîrî*. The order of “*icrâ-i hak olunmak bâbında*” was written upon the petition of the patriarch.³⁸⁵

One of the earliest records in the *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers suggests that the situation had been different in the seventeenth century. According to the petition, signed by Mustafa, the *kadı* of Zile, the *re'âyâ* of Zile were disturbed by their monk in 1672. Upon this being informed to the patriarch, the monk was dismissed [*ihrâc*]; this was his ecclesiastical punishment. Now, Mustafa was writing the Porte to produce a further *fermân* for the monk's exclusion [*men' ve def' olunması bâbında*].³⁸⁶ The patriarch went no further than ecclesiastical punishment at this stage. In the eighteenth century, however, the patriarch would have intervened more directly and written a petition against the monk, perhaps also asking for exile to a certain monastery.

The cases presented above suggest the increasing role of the patriarch as an intermediary between the Christians and the Porte in the eighteenth century. As we have mentioned, this was due to the patriarch's role as a religious leader, in addition to his position as the preserver of order in society, stemming from his duty as a *mültezim*. A study by Karen Leal also demonstrates that the patriarch intervened

³⁸⁵ *Ahkâm* 003, p. 14, no. 56, *Evâil-i Zi'l-hicce* 1162 (12-21 November 1749).

³⁸⁶ D.PSK 1/15, 16 *Şevvâl* 1082 / 5 February 1672.

more directly in the affairs of the Christian community, and that, by the eighteenth century, people were going to the *dīvân* less frequently:

Despite the dual trends generated by Ottoman administrative practice, the evidence of the *mühimme* and *şikayet* registers indicates that at the turn of the century the number of petitions of an intracommunal nature declined even as the number of intercommunal complaints continued. This, it was suggested, may indicate that by the early 1700s the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul had begun to turn in on itself, seeking justice from internal courts rather than at the Ottoman Divan. The decisions of the Divan may then be an overlooked factor in effecting this heightened sense of group awareness which may have ultimately resulted in this “turning inward” among members of the Greek Orthodox community.³⁸⁷

3.3.1.10. Countering interference in the patriarch’s right to collect dues

The patriarch’s right to collect dues from the Christian *re‘âyâ* as well as from the high clergy was secured in the *berâts*. The annual taxes to be collected from the metropolitans, bishops, priests, and monks under his jurisdiction are listed in detail from 1725 on as *mîrî*,³⁸⁸ *zarâr-ı kassâbiye*,³⁸⁹ *zitiye*,³⁹⁰ *tasadduk*,³⁹¹ *agiasmos*,

³⁸⁷ Leal, “The Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul”, p. 557.

³⁸⁸ The amount paid in turn to the Imperial Treasury. Here, the “*mîrî*” denotes the amount the priests collect for the Patriarchate, which is used in turn to pay for taxes to the state, the *mîrî*. İncalcık notes that “From a legal standpoint, the Ottoman government considered all of the taxes collected by the clergy as belonging to the state (*mîrî*) and the clergy as tax-farmers. [...] In the last analysis, it was the village or neighborhood priest who actually levied taxes or fees from the faithful” (İncalcık, “Status”, p. 211)

³⁸⁹ See Chapter 2.1.2.3., for a remark on *zarâr-ı kassâbiye*.

³⁹⁰ Konortas proposes that ecclesiastical sources mention the term *ziteia* beginning from Symeon’s third term (1474-75). In the first phase, it was a voluntary contribution of Christians, synonymous with alms. The “*patriarchikoi ziteia*” was mentioned for the first time in an act issued by Patriarch Ieremias II in September 1576, but it was not yet a formal ecclesiastical tax. The first time patriarchal *ziteia* was mentioned as a proper ecclesiastical tax was during the 1590-95 term of Patriarch Ieremias II, paid by the metropolitans at the Patriarchate. Through the 17th century this situation was the same. Parallel to this, a “local *ziteia*” is mentioned in 1605, for the metropolitans and archbishops. Finally, the *ziteia* is mentioned by Ottoman documents, though not before the end of the seventeenth century, as among the ecclesiastical revenues of metropolitans and patriarchs (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 équilibrées et Intercommunications XIIIe-XIXe siècles*, Vol III, Athens: 1986, pp. 220-222). See

panayır, and first, second, and third marriage taxes.³⁹² Annually, each *zimmî* household would pay 12 *akçes* and each priest 1 *altun* for the patriarch, and, again annually, each *zimmî* household would pay 12 *akçes* and each priest 1 *altun* to the metropolitan or bishop.³⁹³ Another amount collected by the (representatives of)³⁹⁴ metropolitans is *banka* (*kiliselerine / karyelerine göre bankaları*).³⁹⁵

The metropolitans and bishops were given deeds [*temessükât*] by the patriarch (and from 1763 onwards by the Synod³⁹⁶) for the collection of *mîrî kesim* or *mîrî maktû*.³⁹⁷ Metropolitans, bishops, priests, and monks who refused to pay the *mîrî* tax would be punished by shaving off their hair, exiling them, and replacing with other priests, a practice with which none could interfere.

Chapter 3.2., for examples on using the patriarchal *ziteia* for the payment of taxes and debts. Vaporis notes that this was first instituted sometime between 1514 and 1566 for the payment of the debts of the Patriarchate, and abolished in 1641. Later, it was reinstated, and not abolished again until 1741. Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22* pp. 52-53.

³⁹¹ The *tasadduk akçesi* is normally the money all Christians donate to church after Sunday mass, and it is collected in a chest for the monks of the monasteries and the needs of church: “*kilise ve manastırlarda sakin ruhbân fukarâsının nafakaları için kadîmden olunageldiği üzere rızâlarıyla*”. In a petition requesting an order for the peaceful collection of the *tasadduk akçesi*, the patriarch expresses the borders of his authority as follows: “*mâ-tekaddemden ve feth-i hâkânîden berü kiliselerinin deyni ve fukarâlarının nafakaları için ehl-i zimmî Rum re’âyâsından rızâlarıyla verenlerden tasadduk cem’i için patrik-i mesfûrun tarafından ta’yîn olunan vekîllerine mûmâna’at ve te’addî olunmamak üzere berât şûrûtunda musarrah olmağla*” (KK.d. 2540, p. 27) The *fukarâ* pertains to the monks of the monasteries: “*kilise ve manastırlarda sakin ruhbân fukarâsı*”. According to Ebussuud, the church *vakfs*, like the family *vakfs*, were legal insofar as the beneficiaries were the poor. The beneficiaries of the church *vakfs*, the monks, were the *fukarâ*. (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, pp. 141-156)

³⁹² “*memâlik-i mahrûsemde sâkin iltizâmına dâhil kazâlarda vâki’ metropolid ve piskoposlar ve papaslar ve keşişler ve sâ’ir zimmîlerin senevî mîrî rûsûm [ve] zarâr-ı kassâbiye ve zitiye ve tasadduk akçeleri ve ayazma ve panayırları ve evvelki ve ikinci ve üçüncü nikâhlarında kadîmî viregeldikleri rûsûmları alıvırilüb*”. Other taxes included the *paresiye*, *filotima*, *embatikia*, and *cheirotoniai*. See İnalçık, “Status, 211-212”, Kabrda, *Le Système Fiscal*, pp. 89-100.

³⁹³ “*senevî her zimmî evinden onikişer akçe ve her papasdan birer altun patriklik ve yine senevî her zimmî evinden onikişer akçe ve her papasdan birer altun mitrepolidlik veyâhûd piskoposluk rûsûmu alıvırilüb*”

³⁹⁴ In the *berât* document of 1752.

³⁹⁵ “*kiliselerine (ve karyelerine 1761, 1763, 1768) göre bankaları ve sâ’ir cüz’i ve küllî rûsûmât ve mahsûlât mecmû’ metropolidler (veyâhûd taraflarından vekîlleri, not in 1752) kadîmden olageldikleri üzere mîrî için ahz u kabz eyledikde müdâhale olunmayub*” (1725, 1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, 1757b, 1761, 1763, 1768)

³⁹⁶ See Chapter 5.5.

³⁹⁷ “*taraftan mîrî kesim/maktû’ için metropolid ve piskopos olanların yedlerine virdüğü ma’ mûlün bih temessükâtına amel olunub hilâf-ı mu’tâd-ı kadîm dahl [ü] ta’arruz/rencîde olunmayub*”

Many of the stipulations in the *berâts* concern the secure collection of money by patriarchs' representatives. Some of these are meant to counter interference by the local *ehl-i örf*, while others are stipulations against notables or against the *re'âyâ* and clergy who resisted paying. Yet, in all cases, the right of the patriarch to collect the money, and therefore the revenues of the treasury [*mâl-ı mîrî*], is secured.³⁹⁸

A number of stipulations were directed against Christian *re'âyâ* who resisted paying, or who engaged in dishonesty so as to be able to pay less. For example, it is stipulated that, during tax-collection, Christians and their wives and children should not gather in one house and claim that “in your *berâts*, it is recorded that the *mîrî* tax is to be collected per household; we all live in the same house”, thus preventing the collection of *mîrî*.³⁹⁹ In the provinces under the jurisdiction of the patriarch, certain powerful people and notables were not to prevent the collection of *mîrî* by claiming that Christians were their *kethüdâs* or servants (and thus exempt from certain taxes).⁴⁰⁰

The representatives of churches and monasteries in charge of production would have their accounts cleared by the patriarch, a practice with which none were to interfere.⁴⁰¹ The *ehl-i örf* is also prevented from interfering in churches and monasteries as “inspectors”.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁸ See Chapter 3.3.1.3.

³⁹⁹ “*ba'zı zimmîler mâl-ı mîrî cem' (tahsîli 1761, 1763, 1768) zamânında ehl ü tyâl ve evlâdlarıyla bir evde cem' olub berâtınızda (rüsûmât-ı mîrî 1761, 1763) ev başına virile deyu tahrîr olunmağla şimdi biz cümlemiz bir evde oluruz deyu ta'allüll (ve mûmâna'at 1761, 1763) ve mâl-ı mîrîye gadr olunmayub*” (1725, 1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, 1757b, 1761, 1763, 1768).

⁴⁰⁰ “*patrik-i mûmâ ileyhin/merkûmun berât(lar)ına dâhil (kazâ ve 1761, 1763, 1768) kasabât ve kurâda sâkin ba'zı zî-kudret kimesneler ve zu'emâ ve erbâb-ı tumar (ve sâ'ir a'yân) çiftliklerinde ve kışlaklarında ve karyelerinde olan zimmîlere bunlar bizim kethüdâlarımız ve ... oğlanlarımız ve hıdmetkârlarımızdır deyu müdâhale ve mîrî rüsûma gadr itdirilmeyüb*”

⁴⁰¹ “*kilise ve manastırlarına vekil olub ve düşen mahsûlâtı ekl ü bel' idenlerin muhâsebelerin gördükde âherden müdâhale olunmayub*” (1725, 1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, 1757b)

The procedure as regards bishops who resisted paying their *mîrî* dues was described in detail, from 1725 onwards, as the shaving off of their hair, removal from office, and appointment of a new bishop.⁴⁰³

The property of deceased Christian clergy was to be taken possession of by the patriarch and metropolitans for the *mîrî*. The *ehl-i örf* was prevented from interfering in this, claiming that it was their share.⁴⁰⁴ It was the patriarch who took possession of the property of deceased clergy and gave it to the treasury; this stipulation was meant to prevent the interference of the *ehl-i örf*.⁴⁰⁵

In cases of abuse by metropolitans during tax-collection, the *re 'âyâ* would write a petition. For example, in 1714, the *re 'âyâ* of Salonica complained that their metropolitan Ignatios was asking for more than he should.⁴⁰⁶

Based on the stipulations in the *berâts*, patriarchs presented petitions to the Porte in case of problems in practice, such as the interference of an *ehl-i örf* in the collection of taxes. According to an order addressing the *kadıs* of the area and dated 1754, the patriarch had complained to the Porte that Bartholomeos, the metropolitan of Silistre, was disturbed by the *ehl-i örf*, who interfered in the annual collection of *ayazma* and *tasadduk* by the metropolitan [*ayazma ve tasadduk akçeleri tahsiline*

“kilise ve manastırlarında biri vekil olub/vekilleri düşen mahsûlâtı ekl ü bel' idenlerin muhâsbesi patrik-i mûmâ ileyh/merkûm (ve metropolidler, in 1761 and 1768, not in 1763) tarafından görüleb muktezâ-yı hâl icrâ olundukda âherden müdâhale olunmaya” (1761, 1763, 1768).

⁴⁰² “metropolidlerin zabıtlarında olan kilise ve manastırların bilâ-emr-i şerîf ehl-i örf tâ'îfesi taraflarından buyuruldu ile teftiş ideriz deyu te'addî ve rencide itdirilmeyüb” *Berât* of 1725, 1755 and 1757. Also in KK.d. 2540, p. 56, the *berât* of the metropolitan Serafeim of Filibe: “bilâ-emr-i şerîf ehl-i örf tâ'îfesi taraflarından buyuruldu ile mücerred kilise ve manastırları teftiş ider deyu te'addî ve tecrîm itdirilmeye”

⁴⁰³ “mîrî rüsûm virmekde inâd üzere olan ve piskopos ve keşiş ve papaslara âyinleri üzere te'dîb ve saçları traş ve kendüleri azl ve yerlerini âhere virdükde müdâhale olunmayub”

⁴⁰⁴ “mürd olan (fevt iden 1761, 1763, 1768) metropolid (ve arhipiskoposların 1761, 1763, 1768) ve piskopos ve papas ve keşiş ve kalogeryelerin gerek nükûd ve gerek eşyâ ve bârgîr ve sâ'ir her nesilşeyleri var ise patrik ve metropolidler tarafından mîrî için ahz (u kabz) olunub/olundukda beytü'l-mâl ve kassâm ve mütevelliler ve voyvodalar ve subaşilar ve âdemleri ve sâ'irleri beytü'l-mâl-ı âmme ve hâssa ve defter-i hâkânîde bize hâsıl yazılmışdır, deyu müdâhale eylemeyüb” (1725, 1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, 1757b, 1761, 1763, 1768) Here, the parallel between Sultan-kul, and the Patriarch-Orthodox is striking.

⁴⁰⁵ See fn. 268 of this Chapter.

⁴⁰⁶ D.PSK 4/162.

müimâna 'at]. It was ordered that none should interfere with the metropolitan or his representatives, on the basis of the clearly expressed [*musarrah*] stipulations of their *berâts*.⁴⁰⁷

The patriarchal *berâts* should be considered as documents that not only secured the rights of the patriarchs *vis-à-vis* the Ottoman state or Ottoman officers, but also as documents securing the patriarchs' income and their rights *vis-à-vis* their tax-paying Christian subjects, the *re'âyâ* and the clergy. The Patriarchate, as well as the Ottoman state, aimed primarily at the secure collection of money from provinces. The two parties cooperated mutually for the collection of taxes. The safety of "*mâl-ı mîrî*" was an important discourse in the petitions presented by the patriarchs to the Porte, and "*mâl-ı mîrîye külli gadr*" was a thing to be strictly avoided, as is expressed in imperial orders. It seems that the view of the Patriarchate and the Ottoman state as two rival, struggling parties is a projection of the *millet* system theory. Perhaps the conflict was the one between tax-paying *re'âyâ* and the Ottoman state, including the Patriarchate, the metropolitans, and their representatives.

3.4. THE FINANCES OF THE PATRIARCHATE IN THE 18th CENTURY

3.4.1. Payments

As has been mentioned before, the payments of the patriarchs to the Porte were subject to negotiations. The increasing fiscal demands of the Porte towards the

⁴⁰⁷ KK.d. 2540, p. 15, 3 *Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1167 / 8 January 1754.

Patriarchate in the eighteenth century were due to the rising demand for cash caused by the ongoing wars, as well as to the empire's fiscal transformation.⁴⁰⁸ Our documents of the eighteenth century demonstrate the course of negotiations and conflicts between the patriarchs and the Porte from the last quarter of the seventeenth century onwards. The cases also testify to how problems were solved in the period under consideration, as well as to the multiplicity of practices.

Before 1686, the patriarchs paid a *peşkeş* of 10 *yük akçes*⁴⁰⁹ upon their accession to throne, and an annual amount of the equivalent of 105 *vukıyye* [*okka*, equal to 1.282 kg]⁴¹⁰ of meat per day to the *bostâniyân-ı hâssa ocağı*. In 1686 (1097), an amendment was made: instead of the 10 *yük akçes* as *peşkeş* [*peşkeş-i kadîmeleri ref*], the patriarchs would pay for the equivalent of 100 *vukıyye* of meat daily (rather than 10 *yük akçes*), in addition to the previous [*kadîmî*] amount of 105 *vukıyye* of meat daily to the *hâssa bostâncılar ocağı* as *ocaklık*. The equivalent of 100 *vukıyye* of meat was 33,333 *akçes* monthly, which made 399,996 *akçes* annually, rounded to 400,000 *akçes*. The *peşkeş* of 10 *yük* (1,000,000 *akçes*) was replaced with 400,000 *akçes*, in addition to the previous 105 *vukıyyes* per day, which was 420,000 *akçes*. This amendment is referred to in later records in the *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁸ See Chapter 3.1.1.

⁴⁰⁹ 1 *yük* amounted to 100,000 *akçes*, and 1 *guruş* amounted to 120 *akçes*. 1 *kese* was equal to 500 *kuruş*. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Vol. III, p. 639.

⁴¹⁰ Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Vol. II, p. 723.

⁴¹¹ D.PSK 1/32 (21 *Receb* 1097 / 13 June 1686) (in the *telhîs* to the patriarch's petition: "*İstanbul Rum patriki olanlar mîrîye virecekleri on yük akçe ref ve mukâbelesinde hâssa bostancılar ocağına beher yevm yüz vukıyye lahm virilmek üzere fermân olunmuşdı*"; D.PSK 1/148 "*İstanbul ve tevâbi'i Rumiyân patrikliği senede Hazîne-i Âmireye ber vech-i maktû' on yük akçe olub mâl-ı maktû'dan hâssa bostancılar ocağına lahm ta'yînleri bahâsı olmak üzere ayda yirmibeşbin akçeden üç ayda bir yetmişbeşbin akçe virüb beher sene muhâsebelerin görülegeldiği mastûr ve görülen muhâsibeleri mahfûzdur bindoksanyedi senesinde zikr olunan on yük akçe ref ve ancak bostancılar ocağına beher yevm yüzbeş vukıyye lahm virilüb ziyâde taleb olunmaya deyu emr-i şerîf virilüb ba'dehu yüzbeş vukıyye lahm kifâyet eylemedüğünden yüz vukıyye lahm dahi zamm olunub beher mâh lahm bahâsı için ocağı mezbûra otuzüçbinüçyüzotuzüç akçe virilmek üzere bindoksanyedi senesinde fermân olunub"; KK 2542-01, p. 2, KK 2540, pp. 64-65. Kotzageorgis examines this amendment from a MAD record in his article, "About the Fiscal Status". In KK 2542-01, p.2: 1120, 12 *Safer* 1120 / 3*

It seems that the amendment of 1097 (1686) was misunderstood or remained unapplied for a reason, as a document of 1105 (1694) demonstrates. In a petition presented in 1686 by Patriarch Dionysios IV (Muselimes), he claims that the tax of 10 *yük akçes* had been abolished and replaced with 100 *vukıyye* of meat to be given daily to the *bostâncıs*, which was the equivalent of 33,333 *akçes* given monthly to the *bostâncıs*, and they would buy the meat [of 100 *vukıyye* each] themselves. The patriarch wanted a document to ensure that he would not be asked for any more money or meat, other than a monthly payment of 33,333 *akçes*, and the *telhıs* was given accordingly.⁴¹² However, it seems that there was some confusion, and the previous [*kadîmî*] 105 *vukıyye* daily remained unpaid for eight years, according to a document of 1694 (1105).⁴¹³ An annual amount of 10 *yük* was required, but the Patriarchate had paid for 33,333 *akçes* monthly.⁴¹⁴ The Imperial Treasury had lost

May 1708, an order to the *hâssa bostancıbaşı*: “*Hâssa bostancıları fukarânın ta'yînâtları kifâyet eylemedüğünde bundan akdem İstanbul patriki olanlardan ocaklık üzere beher yevm yüzbeş vukıyye lahmdan mâ'adâ hatt-ı hümayûn-ı sa'âdet-makrûn ile mîrî peşkeşleri mukâbelesinde patrik olanlardan yüzer vukıyye lahm dahi beher yevm ta'yîn olunub [...]* İstanbul patriki tarafından ancak beher yevm yüzbeş vukıyye lahm virilüb bir vechile kifâyet itmekle patrik-i mesfûr üç senede bir tebdil veyâhûd mukarrer oldukca taraf-ı mîrîye onar yük akçe virmek mu'tâd-ı kadîm olmağla meblağ-ı mezbûr ref' olunub beher yevm patrik-i mesfûr tarafından bostancılar ocağına evvel viregeldikleri yüzbeş vukıyye lahmdan mâ'adâ beher yevm yüz vukıyye lahm dahi virüb [...] piskopos mukâta'ası defterlerine nazar olundukda bundan akdem bindoksanyedi Cemaâziye'l-ülânın yirmi üçüncü gününde [17 April 1686] İstanbul patrikliği tevcih oldukda mu'tâd-ı kadîm üzere cânib-i mîrîye virilügelidiğiden on yük akçe mîrî peşkeşi sâdır olan hatt-ı hümayûn-ı şevket-makrûn ve fermân-ı âlişânım ile ref' olunub meblağ-ı mezbûr mukâbelesinde hâssa bostancılar ocağının kadîmden ocaklık üzere yüzbeş vukıyye lahmdan mâ'adâ beher yevm yüz vukıyye dahi lahm ta'yîn olunub zikr olunan lahmın bahâsı için beher mah bostancıbaşlarına veyâhûd bostancılarımın orta eskilerine(?) otuzüçer bin üçer yüz otuzüç akçe patrik-i mesfûr tarafından virilüb yüzer vukıyye eti kendüleri alub meblağ-ı mezbûrdan ziyâde taleb olunmayub [...]”

⁴¹² D.PSK 1/32 (21 Receb 1097 / 13 June 1686). From the petition of Patriarch Dionysios: “*İstanbul Rum patrikliği tevcih olundukda mîrîye virilügelen onyük akçe sâdır olan hatt-ı hümayûn-ı sa'âdet-makrûn ve fermân-ı âlişân ile ref' olunub meblağ-ı mezbûr mukâbelesinde hâssa bostancılar ocağına beher yevm yüzer vukıyye lahm virilmek üzere patriklik-i mezkûr bu kullarına tevcih ve minvâl-i meşrûh üzere berât-ı âlişân virilmeğın zikr olunan lahmın bahâsı için beher mâh bostancıbaşlarına veyâhûd bostancıların orta eskilerine(?) otuzüçbinüçyüzotuzüç akçe virilüb yüzer vukıyye eti kendüleri alub mezbûr meblağdan ziyâde taleb olunmayub ve lahm teklîf ile bu kulları rencide ve remide eylememek bâbında”*

⁴¹³ 33,333 x 12 = 399,996 *akçes*; that is, 400,000 *akçes* = 4 *yük*, paid annually. However, 10 *yük* were required, so there were 6 *yük* annually missing.

⁴¹⁴ The 10,000 *yük* had been abolished, but, in addition to the previous [*kadîmî*] 105 *vukıyye*, there were 100 *vukıyye* more, making 205 *vukıyye* daily. They did not pay for the daily 105 *okkas* from 1097 to 1105 (actually making 420,000 *akçes*, and 4.2 *yük*). (Instead of 4.2, the Imperial Treasury asked for 6 *yük* annually.)

[*izâat*] an amount of 6 *yük akçes* per year, and the patriarchs since 1097 (1686) were summoned to Edirne in order to pay for the loss.⁴¹⁵ This must have been a great burden for the Patriarchate. It is important to note that, in 1694, the patriarchs were personally held liable for the debt.

Clearly, the new amount of the amendment of 1097 (1686) is less than the previous amount.⁴¹⁶ It seems that the loss [*mâl-ı mîrîye gadr*] was compensated for by the additional extraordinary taxes called *kapuhakki* and *avâ'id*. One document refers to the collection of “*kapuhakki ve avâ'id*” to compensate for the loss after the amendment of 1097, and mentions that this was annulled in 1126 (1714/15).⁴¹⁷ After the annulment in 1714/15, in the *berâts* from 1714 and 1725 onwards, the patriarchal *berâts* contain the expression “*kapu harcı ve avâ'id nâmıyla rencîde olunmayub*” (though not the *berâts* of 1716 and 1720).

By 1126, the annual amount had become 12 *yük akçes*, apart from the 105 *vukıyye* per day.⁴¹⁸ Later, the amount of the additional 100 *vukıyye* of 1097 was cancelled (we do not yet know the date of the first cancellation), and the decision was repeated in 1144 (1731/1732) and 1168 (1755).⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁵ D.PSK 1/148 (28 *Cemâziye'l-evvel* 1105 / 25 January 1694) “[...] *bindoksanyedi senesinden berü patrik olanlar zimmetlerinde kalan bostancı ocağı lahm bahâsından mâ'adâ altışar yük akçe kangı patrik zimmetlerinde kalmış ise teslim-i hazîne itdirilüb muhâsebelerin görülmek üzere Edirne'ye ihzâr itdirilmek için [...]*”

⁴¹⁶ Kotzageorgis notes that it is surprising that the amount was less in the amendment of 1686 (1097), “About the Fiscal Status”, p. 72.

⁴¹⁷ KK.d. 2540, pp. 64-65, 10 *Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1168 / 24 March 1755. Referred to in this record as: “[...] *peşkeş-i kadîmleri ref' ve bu cihetle mîrîye gadr olmakla patrik ancak kapu hakkı ve avâ'id nâmıyla ol mikdâr akçe ve dahi ziyâde beher sene sarf eyledikleri nümâyân olmağla [...]* kapu harcı ve avâ'idâtı nâmıyla bir akçe virilmeyüb ancak mu'ayyen olan aklâm-ı avâ'idlerini edâ eylemek üzere yüz yirmi altı senesi Muharreminde (1714) serbestiyet şürûtuyla [...]”

⁴¹⁸ In one record (that mentioned above), it is written that this occurred in 1097, with an additional 2 *yük* being added to the amount of 10 *yük*. (KK.d. 2540, pp. 64-65 “*onar yük akçe peşkeş nâmıyla teslim-i hazîne olunur iken doksanyedi senesinde sa'y-ı hazîne olunmak üzere patrik peşkeşine iki yük akçe dahi zamm*”) However, other documents referring to the amendment of 1686 do not refer to this change.

⁴¹⁹ KK.d. 2540, pp. 64-65: 10 *Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1168 / 24 March 1755.

In the patriarchal *berât* of 1126 (1714) granted to Kosmas III⁴²⁰, the annual amount to be paid was noted as 12 *yük akçes*, and the patriarch was granted a lifelong patriarchal term [*ber vech-i te'bîden ve töhmeti zâhir olmadıkca ref' olmamak üzere*].⁴²¹ In 1125, the annual *ocaklık* to the *bostâniyan-ı hâssa* from the Patriarch of Istanbul was noted as 339,996 *akçes* (almost 4 *yüks*).⁴²² The amount was still 12 *yük akçes* in 1127 (1715).⁴²³ According to the registers of 1128 (1716), the annual amount was increased to 24 *yük akçes*, to be paid in four installments.⁴²⁴ The patriarchal *berât* of 1716 granted to Ieremias notes the yearly payment as 24 *yüks*, which is equal to 20,000 *guruş*,⁴²⁵ apart from the 105 *vukiyyes* per day given to the *bostâniyan* as *ocaklık*. The amount remained the same in the eighteenth-century patriarchal *berâts* (until at least 1769). From the *berât* of 1716 onwards (including the patriarchal *berât* of 1769), the annual amount the patriarch was supposed to pay to the Porte [*canib-i mîrî*] was defined as 24 *yük akçes* (20,000 *guruş* in some documents) as *mâl-ı maktû'*, plus the *kalemiyye* [office fees] to be paid in four installments (with the first to be paid at the beginning of March), and a daily amount of 105 *vukiyye lahm* as *ocaklık* to the *bostâniyân-ı hâssa ocağı* [*iltizâm-ı sâbık üzere*].⁴²⁶

⁴²⁰ It seems that, in February 1714, first Kyrillos was appointed (D.PSK 4/ 155, 3 *Safer* 1126 / 18 February 1714), and then, a month later, Kosmas.

⁴²¹ See Chapter III. In later documents, the decision of 1126 is referred to as follows: *patrik-i mesfûr azlini mücib töhmeti zâhir olmadıkca ber vech-i te'bîd mutasarrıf olmak ve beher sene mîrî ve kalemiyyesini virdikce ref' olunmamak üzere binyüzyirmialtı senesinde telhîs ve fermân-ı âlî berât virildiği*”, in the document of 1744, the *berât* of Paisios II, KK.d. 2542-09-30 (p. 31), 10 *Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1157 / 23 April 1744.

⁴²² D.PSK 4/152, 1125. According to the document, the Patriarch of Istanbul paid 399,996 *akçes*, the Patriarch of Ipek paid 70,000, the Patriarch of Ohri paid 60,000 *akçes*, and the monasteries of Mount Athos paid 120,000 *akçes*, making a total of 649,996 *akçes*. Mentioned in Chapter 2.1., p. 39.

⁴²³ KK.d. 2542-(0)-47 (p. 50), also in D.PSK 5/47, (27 *Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1127 / 2 April 1715)

⁴²⁴ KK.d. 2542-(0)-49 (p. 52), 10 *Rebî'ü'l-âhîr* 1128 / 3 April 1716.

⁴²⁵ In the eighteenth century, 1 *kuruş* (*guruş*) was equal to 120 *akçes* and 40 *paras*. (Şevket Pamuk, “Kuruş”, *DIA*, Vol. 26, p. 459.) Thus, 20,000 *guruş* makes 2,400,000 *akçes*, which is 24 *yük akçes*.

⁴²⁶ “*senevî yirmidört yük akçe mâl-ı maktû'u Mart ibtidâsında senede dört taksîd ile beher sene Hazîne-i Âmireme edâ ve mu'tâd üzere lâzım gelen kalemiyelerini mahalline virüb mîrî ile hesâbın görüb yedine kaleminden sûret-i muhâsebesi olmak şartıyla ve kadîmî üzere bostâniyân-ı hâssa*

3.4.2. Debts

The patriarchs were supposed to pay their taxes to the Imperial Treasury and clear their accounts annually [“(…) *cânib-i mîrîye edâ idüb sene-be-sene lâzım gelen muhâsebesi görüb yedine mûmzâ ve mahtûm suret-i muhâsebe alub kusûru olmaya (...)*”]. The accounts were recorded in the *piskopos mukâta‘ası* registers in the eighteenth century. A *telhîs* to a patriarch’s petition checked the accounts and determined that the patriarch did not have a debt at the beginning of the eighteenth century, which is expressed as “*taraf-ı mîrîye deynleri olmamağla*”.⁴²⁷ On the other hand, Eremya Çelebi Kômürcüyan⁴²⁸ wrote at the end of the seventeenth century that the Rums were under a debt of 600-700 *kîse*.⁴²⁹ In the middle of the eighteenth century, the debt of the Patriarchate to creditors was 440,000 *guruş*.⁴³⁰

The patriarchs were personally held responsible for debts at the beginning of the eighteenth century, according to the record of 1108/1694, mentioned above.⁴³¹

The eighteenth-century Armenian chronicle of İnciciyan informs us that the Armenian Patriarch had to pay 100,000 *akçes* to the *hazîne-i hâssa* and 140,000 *akçes* to the *Defterdârlık*. Including “*bahşiş*” to other people, this made an amount of 1,244 *kuruş*. The patriarch also had to pay the newly appointed grand vizier 500 *kuruş*, excepting gifts, 250 *kuruş* to the *sadaret kethüdası*, 200 *kuruş* to the *çavuşbaşı*, and 40 *kuruş* to the *muhtelif eşhâs*, as well as cloth as a gift. The patriarch

ocağına beher yevm yüz beş vukıyye lahm bahâsı virmek üzere”. Kyrillos’s 1752 *berât* document (second term), KK.d. 2542-06-29, 30 (pp. 28, 29).

⁴²⁷ D.PSK 4/155, 3 *Safer* 1126 / 18 February 1714.

⁴²⁸ Andreasyan Hrand D. (ed. and trans.), *Eremya Çelebi Kômürcüyan, İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, İstanbul: Kutulmuş Basımevi, 1952. (This translation is from the edition of Dr. V. Torkomian.) Written from 1661-64, 1673, 1681, and finished in 1684, according to Akinian 1699. (p. xxx). Kômürcüyan was born in İstanbul in 1637 (p. x), and died in 1695 (p. xv).

⁴²⁹ Andreasyan, *Eremya Çelebi Kômürcüyan*, p. 20. The debt mentioned here could perhaps be sometime from 1669 to 1695, as Dositheos II, mentioned as the Patriarch of Jerusalem, was on the throne from 1669 to 1707.

⁴³⁰ KK.d. 2540, p. 86, 1755.

⁴³¹ We still need more documents though, in order to determine the situation through time.

would take an annual tax from every *murahhaslık* [sic; *marhasalık*]; 600 *kuruş* from İzmit, and 200 from Ankara, Tokat, Diyarbekir, Urfa, Sivas, Trabzon, and Gümüşhane. İzmir, Arapkir, and certain other places were dependent on Eçmiadzin, and were thus free from payment. No other *murahhaslık* apart from Rumeli, Edirne, and Tekirdağ, and so one of the *vardapets* (Armenian priests) as *mukâta'acı*, could take the patriarch's letter to Rumeli and visit the places inhabited by Armenians. He would go to Wallachia and Moldovia, and sometimes as far as Suçova, and collect the regular taxes, then bringing them to the patriarch. Wealthy Armenians would pay the *kürekçi akçesi* to the *tersane*, a condition imposed by Sultan Mehmed IV's grand vizier Sofu Mehmed Paşa, during the expedition to Crete. Finally, İnciciyan notes that the Rum Patriarch had to pay the same amount to the *hazîne-i hâssa* and the grand vizier.⁴³²

⁴³² Andreasyan, Hrand D. (ed. and trans.), *P. Ğ. İnciciyan, XVIII. asırda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İstanbul Fethi Derneği, 1956. p. 16.

CHAPTER IV

PORTRAIT OF AN 18th-CENTURY PATRIARCH: KYRILLOS V KARAKALLOS

Kyrillos: A saint or a fraud?

Kyrillos Karakallos was the Orthodox Patriarch of Istanbul from 1748 to 1751 and from 1752 to 1757. One of the distinct traits of his ecclesiastical policy was his irritation at the infusion of Catholic elements into the Orthodox religion. For this reason, he was a fervent supporter of the doctrine of anabaptism, *i.e.* the view that Latin and Armenian converts to Orthodoxy should be rebaptized, which implied rejection of Latin and Armenian baptisms. This issue was more than a mere theological debate on the practice of baptism. Kyrillos was involved in a controversy with a group of people who accepted the validity of Latin baptism, *viz.* the metropolitans of the Synod and some of the city's *archons*. The means Kyrillos V chose in order to achieve his policy was populism. The patriarch was supported by the lower clergy and the Orthodox population of the city, including the *esnaf* and the Chiotas [natives of Chios / Sakız Island]. While Kyrillos was in exile from 1751 to

1752 in Chalki [Heybeliada], with Paisios in charge of the patriarchate, a monk in the village of Katırlı (near Nikomedia / İzmit) named Auxentios was preaching in favor of anabaptism and the return of Kyrillos to the throne. As a result of Auxentios's teaching, thousands of people rioted in September 1752, demanding the return of Kyrillos to the patriarchal throne. They were successful. Kyrillos was summoned from Chalki, and Paisios, in turn, was exiled. The second term of Kyrillos is marked by the struggle between two groups in Istanbul in the mid-eighteenth century: those who supported the patriarch, and the archbishops who accused him of being against the canons of the Church for the sake of populism. In this chapter, the story of Kyrillos Karakallos will be narrated as a case study of the eighteenth-century transformation of the Patriarchate of Istanbul.

Kyrillos's representation in the Greek chronicles reflects the authors' strong sentiments on the issues raised by him. The literature follows two major tendencies, presenting him as either a fraud or a saint, depending on the ideological inclination of the author towards Latin influence in the Orthodox Church. If not a contemporary, the author is then influenced by the sources he used. The heated tone of even the sources written long after Kyrillos's patriarchate demonstrates the lasting impact of the events of this period.¹

Sergios Makraios is one of the major contemporary sources for the period of Kyrillos Karakallos.² Although Makraios is not well disposed towards the Western Church, he is moderate in his criticism, and, compared to other contemporaries, is

¹ For a discussion of the historiography on Kyrillos, see Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 216-247 and Evangelios Io. Sabrami, "I Proti Kathairesis tou Oikoumenikou Patriarchou Kyrillou E' tou Karakalou", *Epetiris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 10, 1933, p. 165.

² Sergios Makraios, "Ypommimata Ekklisiastikis Istorias (1750-1800)" in *Mesaioniki Bibliothiki*, Konstantinos Sathas (ed.), Vol. III, Venice: Typois tou Chronou, 1872, pp. 201-409.

more objective.³ Although he presents Kyrillos as a zealous Orthodox believer, he blames Auxentios for the events of the period.⁴ However, not all authors are moderate in their criticism of Kyrillos and Auxentios. The anonymous author of the verses of *Planosparaktis* is particularly merciless, with the work being full of curses directed at Kyrillos and his followers in unrestrained language.⁵ *Planosparaktis* is, however, a valuable contemporary source, as it provides us with information on the social classes involved in the Patriarchate's affairs in the middle of the eighteenth century. One of the actors in this controversy, Kallinikos of Proilavos – Kyrillos's successor on the patriarchal throne and his opponent – produced his own written work after the end of his term. Historians whose works are based on Kallinikos's account, such as Ventotis and Kouma, follow his negative view of Kyrillos and Auxentios.⁶ Hypsilantis, a contemporary of the events, also had a disdainful view of the supporters of Kyrillos and Auxentios, as he was a member of an important family in eighteenth-century Istanbul. Although Papadopoulos does not consider Hypsilantis's work as anything more than a mere record, it is in fact a very valuable

³ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 247. Papadopoulos's comments on Makraios are on pp. 244-247.

⁴ See Makraios, "Ypomnimata", pp. 208-209.

⁵ *Planosparaktis* is an anonymous manuscript found and published by Papadopoulos in his book *Studies and Documents*, pp. 275-364. *Planosparaktis* is an eighteenth-century verse libel Papadopoulos found in the British Library Museum, written in eighteenth-century Greek. The poem was written by an obviously anti-Kyrillos author who personally witnessed the fierce struggle between Kyrillos and his opponents around the issue of anabaptism.

⁶ See Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, 218-221, and 240. Ventotis edited the *Ecclesiastical History* of Meletios, the metropolitan of Athens. He added to the content of Meletios's ecclesiastical history, and thus it was Ventotis who wrote the part on Kyrillos V. His negative point of view on Kyrillos V may be related to Ventotis's career: he was an intellectual from Zante, educated in Venice, and he printed the first Greek newspaper in 1784 in Vienna. George Kanarakis, "The Press of the Greeks in Australia: With Reference to Other Presses of the Hellenic Diaspora", *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 18/2, 1992, pp. 111-127, depending on George Laios, "George Vendotis, O Diaphotistis Syngraphephs kai Typographos kai o Pateras tis Ellinikis Dimosiographias", *Eptanisiaka Phylla* III/ 6, 1958, pp. 162-184 (not seen by me). For Ventotis on Kyrillos, see Papadopoulos *Studies and Documents*, pp. 176-183.

source in deciphering the personal networks existing between the Patriarchate and the Porte.⁷

4.1. THE FIRST TERM OF KYRILLOS V (1748-1751)

4.1.1. Avenue to the patriarchate

According to the sources, Kyrillos was born into the Karakallos family at the end of the seventeenth century in the Peloponnesos [Mora],⁸ where he stayed until he was captured during the Ottoman siege of the peninsula in 1715.⁹ He escaped first to Mount Athos [*Agion Oros / Aynoroz*], and then to Patmos.¹⁰ He was educated in the Patmiada Scholi [School of Patmos] and was made a monk. After leaving Patmos, he went to his brother, a merchant of the *Kızlar Ağası* Beşir Ağa, in Constantinople.¹¹ Kyrillos was the metropolitan of Melenikos [Demirhisar] from 1737 to 1745.¹² He became the metropolitan of Nikomedia [İzmit] on 21 January

⁷ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, 221-229.

⁸ Gritsopoulos and Sabrami say he was born in Dimitsana (Tasos Ath Gritsopoulos, “O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos Kyrillos E’ o Karakallos”, *EEBS* 29, 1959, p. 367; Sabrami, “I Proti Kathairesis”, p. 161). According to Gedeon, he was born in Nauplion and went to school at Dimitsana (Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes*, p. 535).

⁹ Gritsopoulos, “O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos”, p. 367. Sabrami, “I Proti Kathairesis”, p. 162. The Karakallos family appears in the *tahrir* registers of Dimitsana as early as 1461. See Levent Kayapınar, “Osmanlı Arşiv Kaynaklarına göre Dimitsana’nın Demografik Yapısı”, <http://conference.arcadians.gr/media/L.Kayapinar-Dimitsana.pdf>

¹⁰ Sabrami, “I Proti Kathairesis”, p. 162.

¹¹ Gritsopoulos, “O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos”, p. 367.

¹² Gritsopoulos, “O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos”, p. 367; Kyrillos’s name appears in a number of patriarchal documents during the period of Patriarch Paisios II; namely, the *sigillion* of the monastery of Agios Georgios Foneos in Corinth in September 1740, the *sigillion* of the Monastery of Mega Spilaïou in March 1741, a synodical decision accepting the will of the *archon* Pantazi in 1742, another letter concerning the same case in March 1744, and a *sigillion* concerning the debt of Mount Athos to *kürkçü esnafı* May 1744. (Gritsopoulos, “O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos”, p. 368). See Chapter 3.2.1., for the financial network.

1745, and remained in that post until 1748, replacing the former metropolitan, Gabriel of Serres.¹³

The legality of Kyrillos's first accession to the patriarchal throne in September 1748 is a debated subject. Most likely, the historiography on Kyrillos has been affected by his later policies, and the legality of all his acts have thus come into question, including his accession to the throne. According to the story, while Kyrillos was at Nikomedia as metropolitan, Gabriel – who had escaped from exile in Lavra, Mount Athos – demanded the return of his seat, thereby disturbing Kyrillos. In his struggle to regain his seat, Gabriel was supported by two medical doctors: the personal doctor of the sultan, named Hayatizâde, and Loukis, a doctor from Chios. Kyrillos, however, was hardly without hope in this struggle. It is important to remember that *Kızlar Ağası* Beşir Ağa was his brother's friend.¹⁴ In an effort to make Gabriel the metropolitan of Nikomedia again, Loukis allowed him to hide in his home in Stavrodromi [Taksim], and persuaded Kyrillos of Nikomedia to accept the patriarchate, thus emptying the metropolitan seat. Paisios, the patriarch at the time, knew that Gabriel was hiding in Loukis's house, but could not punish him because "Loukis was working for the *epitropos* [grand vizier]".¹⁵ He summoned all the bishops, including Kyrillos of Nikomedia, to the Great Church, and had them all take an oath on the Holy Bible that they would be united in supporting him on throne. All kept their oath except Kyrillos, because "it was already decided by the *epitropos* [grand vizier] to make him the Patriarch".¹⁶ According to Hypsilantis, the doctor paid a great amount to the vizier to change the patriarch, and Kyrillos thus came to the

¹³ Sabrami, "I Proti Kathairesis", p. 162. Gritsopoulos says on 22 January 1748, "O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos", p. 368.

¹⁴ Gritsopoulos, "O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos", p. 368, Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, pp. 353. See Chapter V, fn. 9 for Hayatizade.

¹⁵ *Epitropos* means "the grand vizier" in Greek chronicles. See Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 165, fn. 2.

¹⁶ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 362.

throne unlawfully, “without the wish, election, or even the knowledge of the Synod”.¹⁷ Escorted by a number of *çavuş*, Kyrillos landed before the Patriarchate and had Patriarch Paisios removed from the throne. In the meantime, Gabriel had left Loukis’s house, where he had been hiding, and gone to Fener to await the arrival of the new patriarch, Kyrillos. They entered the church together. Kyrillos released him and reappointed him as the bishop of Nikomedia.¹⁸ In the end, then, Patriarch Paisios was left in the most precarious of positions. Hypsilantis, while narrating these events, points out that having friends at the Porte was a factor that effected this change of seats.

There is, however, evidence against Hypsilantis’s claim that Kyrillos became the patriarch unlawfully. According to a synodical document of September 1748, Kyrillos was elected canonically upon the resignation of Paisios, as one among three candidates.¹⁹ Gedeon claims that, after the abdication of Paisios, Kyrillos was elected patriarch on 30 September 1748.²⁰ Another testimony in support of this view is a letter written by Kyrillos to the Patriarch of Antioch, Silvestros, on 25 October 1748, one month after his “election”. According to the letter, referred to by Arambatzoglou,

¹⁷ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 362.

¹⁸ Gabriel, the metropolitan of Nikomedia, died in 1759, and the former metropolitan of Marmara, Nikiforos, replaced him with a *peşkeş* of 5,600 *akçes*. D.PSK 22/105, 21 *Şa’bân* 1172 / 19 April 1759. Makraios, “Ypomnimata”, p. 228, Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 379.

¹⁹ M. Chamoudopoulo, “Patriarchikai Pinakides”, *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia* 2, 1881-1882, pp. 230-231. Chamoudopoulou quoted by Sabrami, “I Proti Kathairesis” p. 164 and Gritsopoulos, “O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos” pp. 368-369. The synodical document signed by twelve metropolitans is as follows: “...after the demand of all clergymen of the *basilevousa* [capital], both ecclesiastics and *archons* [laymen], all the clergymen of the Great Church and alongside the *archon* and dragoman Kiritzes Ioannis and others, with all the Christian flock, we place our canonical votes to elect a worthy man suitable to the ecumenical seat and its protection, worthy of the throne, and with consent. As we have lawfully come together in the patriarchal Church of Agios Georgios, we choose, first, the metropolitan of Nikomedia and exarch of Bithynia Kyrillos; second, Anthimos of Trnovo; and third, Parthenios of Cesaria, and we register this in the holy codex of the Great Church.”

²⁰ Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes*, pp. 534-535. 29 September 1748, according to the codex of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Gritsopoulos, “O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos”, p. 368-369, fn 7, depending on Mazaraki, and Germanos of Sardeon

Kyrillos claimed that he was summoned to become patriarch after the resignation of Paisios.²¹

At the end of September 1748, Kyrillos became the Patriarch of Istanbul. The *berât* that he was supposed to receive did not arrive on time, so he wrote a petition to the Porte to request his *berât*. On 11 October, his petition was processed, and three days later it was ordered to grant him his *berât*.²² According to the *berât* of Kyrillos V, issued on 14 October 1748, Kyrillos would pay an annual *mâl-ı maktû'* of 20,000 *guruş* in four installments, and a daily payment of the equivalent of 105 *vukiyye* meat to the *bostâniyân-ı hâssa*.²³ On 17 October, the seal and signature of Kyrillos were placed in the *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers.²⁴

4.1.2. First term and its end

From September 1748 to May 1751, Kyrillos sat on the patriarchal throne for his first term.²⁵ Kyrillos's anti-Latin inclinations were apparent during the initial years of his first term. In 1749, Kyrillos reprimanded the Orthodox people of Sifnos and Mykonos, who, as a result of Latin propaganda, supported the idea that there was no difference between the Latin and Orthodox Churches.²⁶ In 1750, some clergymen

²¹ Arambatzoglou, *Fotieios Bibliothiki*, Vol. 2, p. 56, letter of Kyrillos to Silvestros of Antioch. Referred to by Gritsopoulos, "O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos", p. 368, fn.6. The argument of Arambatzoglou is that Kyrillos was still acting in accordance with canon law. He cites the letter of *Protopsaltes* Ioanakis. It was in the last two or three years of his second term that he disregarded the people of the Synod and the canon.

²² D.PSK 17/79, 21 *Şevvâl* 1161 / 14 October 1748.

²³ KK.d. 2542-05-36 (p. 33), 21 *Şevvâl* 1161 / 14 October 1748.

²⁴ D.PSK 17/80, 24 *Şevvâl* 1161 / 17 October 1748.

²⁵ Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes*, pp. 534-537.

²⁶ Theodosios Kyriakidis, "I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon stin Orthodoxi Ekklisia mesa apo tin Paradosi tou Oikoumenikou Patriarcheiou", MA Thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2003, p. 34, Chrisostomos Papadopoullos, "Peri tou Baptismatos ton Eterodoxon", *Ekklisiastikos Faros* 14, 1915, p. 480, Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, pp. 70-71.

in Galata asked the opinion of Kyrillos Karakallos on how to receive Latin converts into Orthodoxy. On this occasion, Kyrillos called a synod with the participation of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. This synod decided to baptize the Latins who converted to Orthodoxy.²⁷ The decision, as expected, created discontent among Western residents of Constantinople.²⁸

In June 1751, Kyrillos was removed from the throne, and Paisios II regained his patriarchal seat.²⁹ The Western residents' discontent with Kyrillos's decision to rebaptize Latins in Galata in 1750 has been considered a primary reason for the patriarch's first downfall.³⁰

Kyrillos's first fall from power has also been linked to the contemporary unrest in Istanbul caused by Cypriots.³¹ According to Hypsilantis, the Cypriots, suffering under their *müsellem*, went to Istanbul to complain about their financial burden, thus causing a disturbance. Kyrillos and the dragoman Ioannis Kalimakis were accused as the instigators of this unrest. As a result, according to the author, Kyrillos lost his seat, and the patriarch and the dragoman were exiled. Hypsilantis further asserts that the unrest in Cyprus was caused by the supporters of the succeeding dragoman, Mathaios, who orchestrated the takeover from Kalimakis.³²

²⁷ Makraios, "Ypomnimata" p. 203; Kyriakidis, "I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon", p. 34; George Dragas, "The Manner of Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church with Special reference to the Decisions of the Synods of 1484 (Constantinople), 1755 (Constantinople), and 1667 (Moscow)", paper prepared for and read at the Orthodox/Roman Catholic Dialogue (USA), 1998, http://www.myriobiblos.gr/texts/english/Dragas_RomanCatholic.html, p. 10; Ioannis Karmiris, "Pos Dei Dechesthai tous Prosiostas Ti Orthodoxia Eterodoxous", *Theologia* 25, 1954, p. 229; Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 71.

²⁸ Dragas, "The Manner of Reception", p. 10.

²⁹ KK.d. 2542-06-10 (p. 10), Paisios is asking for his *berât*.

³⁰ Dragas, "The Manner of Reception", p. 10; Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 71 "after the usual bribery and intrigue".

³¹ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 367. According to Gritsopoulos, the loss of throne for the first time was due to unrest caused by the teachings of Auxentios, not because of the "financial burden on the church, as he was accused of" (Gritsopoulos, "O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos", pp. 369-370). However, it seems that the events of Auxentios followed the exile of Kyrillos.

³² Hypsilantis notes that, after Kalimakis, Mathaios became the new dragoman. He was the second son of Ghikas, the ruler in Bucharest and also the son-in-law of Georgios Hatmanos, son of *Bassa* Mihali, who was the *kapikchaya* of Ghikas. Hatmanos gave a large amount of money to Süleyman and the

Hammer records that, when the Cypriots were in Istanbul one year prior to the unrest to complain of the grand vizier's collecting more tax than he was lawfully allowed to, they pointed at Kalimakis and the patriarch as witnesses. The grand vizier Emin Mehmed Paşa in turn arrested them; at first, he wanted to execute them both, but then changed his mind and sent them into exile.³³

A register in the *Şikâyet Defteri* seems to verify the account of Hypsilantis that Kyrillos's downfall was related to an issue in Cyprus. According to the entry, a short time before the exile of Kyrillos and Kalimakis, seven Cypriot Christians, four of them priests, were accused of causing unrest in Istanbul and were put in prison. They were ordered to be put on a ship and deported back to their homeland Cyprus.³⁴ Shortly afterwards, Kyrillos was exiled to Mount Athos³⁵ and the dragoman Yanaki [Ioannis Kalimakis] was exiled to Tenedos [Bozcaada].³⁶ The reason cited for this in the document is "*su'i hâline binâen*" [on the basis of his misconduct]. A few months after their exile, Yanaki's imprisonment in a castle [*kalebend*] was changed to imprisonment on the island [*cezîrebend*].³⁷ Soon afterwards, he was pardoned and sent back home.³⁸ During the same period, Kyrillos was taken from Mount Athos to Chalki.³⁹ Either the Ottomans wanted to keep him close to Istanbul, or Kyrillos

Armenian Agop, who instigated the uprising from Cyprus that eventually dethroned Kyrillos. Mathaios was an object of mockery, "an example of what happens when you give money to the *epitropos* Mustafa Paşa and *Reis Efendi*." When his father died, Mathaios replaced him as the ruler of Bucharest, and Ioannis Kallimachus became the dragoman once more. Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 367.

³³ Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 8, Book 69, p. 2238. The tax revenue of Cyprus was given to the grand vizier. Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 8, Book 69, p. 2220.

³⁴ "*ihtilâl-i nizâm-ı memlekete bâis olan mesfûrun yedi nefer re'âyâ Kıbrıs'a giden sefîneye vaz' ve vilâyetlerine iâde olunmaları fermânım olmagın*", ŞK 174/ 161/ 2, *Evâil-i Receb* 1164 / 26 May- 4 June 1751.

³⁵ ŞK 174/ 165/ 1, *Evâhir-i Receb* 1164 / 15-24 June 1751 "*İstanbul Rum patriği olan () nâm zimmînin vâki' olan sû'-i hareketine binâen nefy ve tâzir ile te'dibi muktezî olmak hasebiyle mesfûrun Aynoroz cezâresine nefy ve iclâsî fermân olunmagın*"

³⁶ ŞK 174/ 165/ 1, *Evâhir-i Receb* 1164 / 15-24 June 1751.

³⁷ ŞK 174/ 178/ 2, *Evâsıt-ı Ramazan* 1164 / 3-12 August 1751.

³⁸ ŞK 174/ 181/ 5, 164, *Evâil-i Şevvâl* 1164 / 23 August - 1 September 1751.

³⁹ ŞK 174/ 181/ 6, 164, *Evâil-i Şevvâl* 1164 / 23 August- 1 September 1751. Hypsilantis does not mention the first exile to Mount Athos.

wanted to be nearer the city. As we will see, being thus close to the center would facilitate his return to the patriarchal throne a year later. It has also been proposed that, during his exile in Chalki, Kyrillos was quite well off.⁴⁰

After the exile of the patriarch, the Synod was given the right to choose whomever they wanted, and Paisios was returned from exile in Chalki.⁴¹ During his second term, which lasted approximately fifteen months, Paisios wrote petitions to the Porte in order to have returned those people who had been sent into exile by Kyrillos before 1751.⁴²

4.1.3. The history of anabaptism as a theological discussion

Before we proceed to Kyrillos's return, it is necessary to look at the problem of anabaptism, which was at the center of the struggle between the supporters and opponents of Kyrillos. This controversy is in fact more than a mere theological problem, having social and political implications as well. The Ottoman reaction to the events of this period can serve as an epitome of the Ottoman policy towards the Patriarchate in the eighteenth century.

Briefly, anabaptism, or rebaptism, is a view that Christian converts to Orthodoxy should be rebaptized. It is based on the belief that the original baptism of the convert is invalid insofar as it was not done according to Orthodox canon law. Historically, the validity of the baptism of not only Catholics, but also of Armenians, Protestants, and Nestorians, has been questioned by the Orthodox high clergy.

⁴⁰ Makraios, "Ypomnimata" p. 207, Gritsopoulos, "O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos" p. 370.

⁴¹ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 367.

⁴² Some examples are ŞK 174/ 186/ 4, ŞK 174/ 191/ 2, ŞK 174/ 213/ 3, ŞK 174/ 227/ 4, ŞK 174/ 232/ 4, ŞK 174/ 235/ 3, ŞK 174/ 236/ 4. See Chapter 3.3.1.9.

Kyrillos Karakallos, however, specifically targeted Catholics. The events that led to the problem of rebaptism in mid-eighteenth-century Istanbul were triggered by Kyrillos's decision to rebaptize some Catholic converts to Orthodoxy in Galata without notifying the Synod. In a sense, the problem was canonical as well. Was conversion to Orthodoxy from Roman Catholicism a widespread phenomenon in eighteenth-century Istanbul? Apart from the case in Galata in 1750, we know that, in Milos, Paros, and the Andros islands some Latins converted to Orthodoxy.⁴³ In any case, since conversion from Orthodoxy to Catholicism was a problem for the Orthodox Church of Istanbul beginning in the seventeenth century, the rebaptism of those returning to Orthodoxy or converting for the first time was a matter to be handled delicately.

The baptism of “heretics” – *i.e.* how to baptize those coming to Christianity – had been a question since the earliest centuries of Christianity. A multiplicity of practices emerged in different places and at different times.⁴⁴ The problem of the rebaptism of Orthodox converts from Catholicism dates back to the eleventh century, to the time of the first schism between the Churches of Constantinople and Rome in 1054. The matter also arose in later centuries several times more.⁴⁵

⁴³ Ben J. Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus: Les Cyclades entre Colonisation Latine et Occupation Ottomane c. 1500-1718*, Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1982, p. 109.

⁴⁴ For the discussion of *akriveia* [strict adherence to the law] and *oikonomia* [a relaxation of the norm for the good of the church] on the issue of baptism, see Bishop Peter, “The Reception of Roman Catholics into Orthodoxy: Historical Variations and Norms”, *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 24/2, 1980, p. 80, Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 78 et seq., Blasios Feidas, “To Kyros tou Baptismatos ton Airetikon kai to Zitima tou Anabaptismou”, *Orthodoxia*, (May-June 2004), pp. 425-434, Ieron. I. Kotsones, “Airetikon, Baptisma” in *Threskeutiki kai Ethiki Egkyklopaideia*, Vol 1, Athens: 1962, pp. 1092-1095.

⁴⁵ For a historical review of the issue from earlier periods, see Kyriakidis, “I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon”, pp. 1-26, Dimitris Georgiadis, “To Baptisma ton Airetikon”, *Nea Sion* 19, 1924, pp. 73-181. For the issue of anabaptism and Patriarch Kallinikos (1757), see Emmanouil Ioan. Linaritakis, “O Oikoumenikos Patriarchis Kallinikos G' (D') kai to Thema tou Anabaptismou”, PhD Dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1996; Germanos of Aionos, “Peri tou kyrous tou baptismos ton hairetikon”, *Orthodoxy* 27, 1952, pp. 295-326; Georgiadis Metallinos, *Omologa en Baptisma*:

As the reception of the heterodox into the Orthodox Church is essentially a theological problem for the clergy, the point of reference adopted was the canons of the Ecumenical Synods.⁴⁶ The problem for the Orthodox fathers is whether or not the baptism of Catholics is valid.⁴⁷ According to the canons, the three ways of accepting the heterodox into the Orthodox Church are: (re)baptism; chrismation [anointment with holy oil, the *myrion*] together with signing a libel; and signing a libel alone. A convert is rebaptized if the practice of his previous belief is considered deficient or invalid. If the previous baptism is attested with some degree of validity, chrismation is applied in order to complement what was lacking in the previous baptism.⁴⁸ The controversy stems from the fact that Catholic baptism had variations, while only the apostolic baptism – *i.e.* immersion three times – was accepted as valid by some. The kinds of baptism which have been accepted as invalid are single immersion, affusion, and sprinkling.⁴⁹

The official view point of the Patriarchate was determined in Ecumenical Synods, and was influenced by historical circumstances and by relations with the Western Church. In 1482, Patriarch Maximos III summoned a synod in the Patriarchate Church of Pammakaristos. Patriarch Symeon held the second session in 1484.⁵⁰ In the first session, the Council of Ferrara-Florence was denounced. In the second session, a service [*akolouthia*] for the acceptance of Latins into the Orthodox

Erminea kai Efarmogi tou Z' Kanonos tis B' Oikoumenikis Synodou apo tous Kollybades kai ton Kon/no Oikonomo, Athens: Tinos, 1996, pp. 86-110.

⁴⁶ The ancient canons on the subject that have formed a part of the Canon Law of the Orthodox Church are: Apostolic Canons 46, 47 and 50; Canons 8 and 19 of the First Ecumenical Synod; Canon 7 of the Second Ecumenical Synod (381); Canon 95 of the Fifth-Sixth Ecumenical Synod (691); Canon 66 of the local synod of Carthage; and Canons 1, 5, and 47 of St. Basil. Dragas, “The Manner of Reception”, p. 1.

⁴⁷ The validity of Orthodox baptism was also an issue for Catholics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Papadopoulos, “Peri tou Baptismatos ton Eterodoxon”, p. 479.

⁴⁸ Dragas, “The Manner of Reception”, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁹ See Dragas, “The Manner of Reception”, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁰ For references, see Chapter 2.2., fn. 126.

Church was published.⁵¹ It was decided to receive Latin converts into Orthodoxy through chrismation alone, along with the signing of a libel of faith.⁵² In 1600, the decisions of the Synod of 1484 were repeated in a local synod in Constantinople.⁵³ However, the decision on baptism of the 1484 Synod was by no means a novelty. Previously, in the fifteenth century, the chrismation of Latins was practiced.⁵⁴ In 1572, Patriarch Ieremias II contested the single immersion baptism of Latins, but he did not announce it as void.⁵⁵ From the sixteenth century until the beginning of the eighteenth, the *diamartyromenoi* [Protestants] were also accepted into Orthodoxy. Lutherans and Calvinists, however, received less of a warm welcome than Catholics.⁵⁶

Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the practice of previous centuries was considered valid; that is, converts were received without rebaptism. In 1708, Patriarch Kyprianos I considered the baptism of Latins and Protestants to be valid.⁵⁷ In 1718, Peter the Great of Russia wrote a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Ieremias III, to ask about the baptism of converts to Orthodoxy. In his answer, Ieremias III said that both Lutherans and Calvinists were accepted into the Orthodox Church by means of sacred oil, while the Catholics were accepted without sacred oil.⁵⁸ However, it seems that, on the local level, the practice was stricter. Tournefort, a traveler to the Aegean islands around 1700, notes that the

⁵¹ Dragas, "The Manner of Reception", pp. 5-9. The text of the *Akolouthia* is in G. A. Ralli and M. Potli (eds), *Syntagma ton Theion kai Ieron Kanonon ton te Agion kai Paneufimon Apostolon, kai ton Ieron Oikoumenikon kai Topikon Synodon kai kata Meros Agion Pateron*, Vol. V, Athens: G. Chartofylakos, 1855, pp. 143-147.

⁵² Karmiris, "Pos Dei Dechesthai", p. 228.

⁵³ Kyriakidis, "I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon", p. 29.

⁵⁴ Bishop Peter, "The Reception of Roman Catholics", p. 78.

⁵⁵ Kyriakidis, "I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon", p. 29.

⁵⁶ Kyriakidis, "I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon", p. 29.

⁵⁷ Kyriakidis, "I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon", p. 30.

⁵⁸ Kyriakidis, "I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon", p. 30, Dragas, "The Manner of Reception", p. 9.

Orthodox rebaptized Latins coming into Eastern Christianity because they believed that the Latin baptism was not sufficient.⁵⁹

From the second quarter of the eighteenth century onwards, the attitude of the high clergy began to change. In a synod which gathered in 1722 in Constantinople with the participation of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, the errors of the Church of Rome were interdicted.⁶⁰ The Synod of 1722 was a result of tension in Antioch and its provinces between Jesuit missionaries and Orthodox believers. Although Latins are mentioned a good deal, nothing is mentioned concerning the need to rebaptize them.⁶¹

Apart from the difference of practices between the two traditions, the course of historical events was another factor affecting the practice of rebaptism. Hostility towards Latins after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, as well as the efforts of Latins to convert the Orthodox, created considerable hostility towards them. In the thirteenth century, the rebaptism of converts to Orthodoxy was more intensely applied. As Dragas mentions, the reason for this strict application was the hostility between the Eastern and Western Churches at the time, as well as attempts to convert Orthodox believers to Catholicism.⁶² In Russia, rebaptism was made obligatory in a council of 1620 and 1621 in Moscow, presided over by Patriarch Filaret Nikititch.⁶³ This was a time when Russia had just emerged from its “time of troubles”, during which Russian Orthodoxy had been threatened by Polish Catholicism.⁶⁴ At the end of the sixteenth century, Lutherans and Calvinists

⁵⁹ Yerasimos (ed.), *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, p. 110.

⁶⁰ Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes*, p. 516.

⁶¹ Kyriakidis, “I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon”, p. 31. Dragas, on the contrary, asserts that the Synod decided for the rebaptism of Latins. Dragas, “The Manner of Reception”, p. 9.

⁶² Dragas, “The Manner of Reception”, pp. 3-4, Germanos of Aionos, “Peri tou kyrou tou baptisimos ton hairetikon”, *Orthodoxy* 27, 1952, p. 303.

⁶³ Peter Bishop, “The Reception of Roman Catholics”, p. 78, Karmiris, “Pos Dei Dechesthai” p. 231.

⁶⁴ Peter Bishop, “The Reception of Roman Catholics”, p. 78. For the Russian Church about the issue see Kyriakidis, “I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon”, p. 31, Dragas, “The Manner of Reception” pp. 17-19.

attempted to approach the Orthodox Church of Constantinople. When the Synod of Constantinople in 1722 underlined the errors of the Roman Church, Catholic missionaries were in full force in Syria.⁶⁵ The period of Kyrillos Karakallos was not an exception to this. Neither the proselytizing efforts of Catholics nor their baptism were accepted by the patriarch.

4.1.4. The social and political implication of anabaptism in eighteenth-century Istanbul

Defense of anabaptism entailed the refusal of the Catholic and Armenian baptisms, as well as a certain hostility towards them. The effort of the Catholic Church in Rome to win over the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire was partly successful, especially on the Aegean islands within the empire beginning in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.⁶⁶ The reaction of patriarchs and higher clergy towards Catholic influence presented a wide spectrum. We must, however, be careful about the difference between intellectual inclinations and practical attitudes. The Ottoman reaction to this sort of influence was far from tolerant.⁶⁷ The proposition of rebaptism of converts to Orthodoxy alluded to the refusal of the authenticity of Catholic baptism, no matter what form this baptism might have occurred in. The Orthodox subjects of the empire who refused Catholic influence

However, rebaptism was soon abandoned, in the Synod of 1166/67 in Moscow, as the Russian Church wished to be in line with the Eastern Churches on matters of liturgy, see Bishop Peter, "The Reception of Roman Catholics", p. 79, Metallinos, *Omologa en Baptisma*, p. 92.

⁶⁵ Dragas, "The Manner of Reception", p. 9.

⁶⁶ See Chapter 2.2.2.

⁶⁷ See Chapter 3.2.3.2.

were appreciated by the Ottomans, who wanted the Patriarchate to be a reliable institution and the Orthodox *re'âyâ* to be faithful subjects.

In mid-eighteenth-century Istanbul, it was again the population who favored the rebaptism of converts. Led by Patriarch Kyrillos, anabaptism was favored among certain monks and a great part of the lay Christian population. During the second term of Kyrillos Karakallos (1752-1757), the controversy over the doctrine of anabaptism reached its peak.

Kyrillos was supported by the monk Auxentios, who incited the population through his sermons. Some *archon* families of Istanbul were influenced by the monks who served as teachers to their children.⁶⁸ Another social group that supported Kyrillos and anabaptism was the guilds of Istanbul.⁶⁹ On the other hand, the elite and intellectual social strata did not hesitate to accept Latin baptism as valid. One characteristic of this group was their intellectuality and elitism. Patriarch Paisios II, the metropolitans of the Synod, and other *archons* favored this course of action. The language of the author of *Planosparaktis*, a fervent opponent of Kyrillos V and anabaptism, makes this social distinction very clear. In the text, the author frequently scorns the followers of Kyrillos and accuses the instigators of being fraudulent.

As for the Catholic reaction, the policy of the Western Church to the issue of anabaptism on the theological level was slightly different from the policy of the representatives of the Catholics in Istanbul. In theological discourse, the July 1755 letter of Pope Benedict, *Allatae sunt*, which addresses missionaries in the East, is revealing:

[...] In short, the chief concern of the popes in securing the return of Greeks and Oriental schismatics to the Catholic religion has ever been to pluck completely from their minds the errors of Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscuros, the Monothelites, and others, into which

⁶⁸ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 280.

⁶⁹ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 276 and onwards.

they had wretchedly fallen. But the rites which they observed and professed before the schism and the practice which depends on these ancient liturgies and rituals have always been left unchanged. Indeed the popes have never asked those returning to the Catholic faith to give up their own rite and assume the Latin rite. For this would involve the complete extermination of the eastern church and of the Greek and other Eastern rites, an objective which this Holy See has certainly never planned or striven for [...].⁷⁰

Fraaze says that the Pope, through this letter, cautioned missionaries to avoid unenlightened zeal in the conversion of Orthodox Christians, and not to encourage Eastern Christians to leave their own rite. Fraaze also mentions the Maronite Synod of al-Luwayzah, sponsored by the Pope in an effort to bring the Maronite Church into conformity with Latin practices, and comments that it is surprising that the Pope saw no contradiction between the aforementioned letter and the Synod.⁷¹

Concerning the political implications of anabaptism, the reaction of the West was a matter of concern for the Patriarchate. Makraios claims that Patriarch Paisios, during his term from 1751 to 1752, when Kyrillos was in exile on Chalki, pacified the anger of the Westerners.⁷² The West was one of the actors in this issue, and through the French ambassadors they put pressure on the Patriarchate.

Kyrillos had two choices before him to refute anabaptism: either he could follow the theological discourse and have the Synod side with him, or he could follow the public attitude and thus gain the support of the people. He chose the second path.

⁷⁰ <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Ben14/b14allat.htm>

⁷¹ Fraaze, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 159.

⁷² Makraios, "Ypomnimata", p. 207.

4.1.5. Auxentios

While Kyrillos was in exile on Chalki in 1751 and Paisios II was once again the patriarch, a monk named Auxentios from the village of Katırlı (near Nikomedia) was attracting people's attention with his sermons and "supernatural" healing powers.⁷³ Auxentios was born sometime between 1713 and 1720⁷⁴ and was raised on the island of Andros, where he became a deacon. He went to Istanbul⁷⁵ and worked in the Patriarchate, and a few years later he migrated to Nikomedia, to the village of Katırlı, whose residents were Orthodox.⁷⁶ Auxentios was not a trained theologian, but he was a good preacher. In Katırlı in 1751, he began to give sermons on the issue of anabaptism in the simple Greek language understood by the people.⁷⁷ In his orations, Auxentios preached that Armenians and Latins coming into Eastern Christianity should be rebaptized three times in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.⁷⁸

Auxentios was distinguished by the powerful effect of his speech.⁷⁹ His speeches attracted the attention not only of ordinary people, but also of *archons* and even the patriarchs. The Patriarchs of Istanbul, Kyrillos and Paisios, and the Patriarch of Alexandria Matheos reportedly came to Katırlı to listen to him.⁸⁰ He was not only an Orthodox monk preacher, but had also assumed the role of a saint, healing

⁷³ For Katırlı, see M. Kleonimos and Ch. Papadopoulos, *Bythynika, Epitomos Monografia tis Bithynias kai ton Poleon Autis*, Konstantinoupoli: I. A. Bretos, 1867, pp. 94-96.

⁷⁴ Linaritakis, "O Oikoumenikos Patriarchis Kallinikos", p. 327.

⁷⁵ See Linaritakis, "O Oikoumenikos Patriarchis Kallinikos", p. 327 for details.

⁷⁶ Dapontes, "Istorikos Katalogos", p. 129, Paschalis, "O ek tis Nisou Androu Auxentios Askitis", pp. 306-307.

⁷⁷ Paschalis, "O ek tis Nisou Androu Auxentios Askitis", p. 306.

⁷⁸ Dapontes, "Istorikos Katalogos", p. 130.

⁷⁹ Dapontes was an eyewitness to the monk's effective speeches three times. "Istorikos Katalogos", p. 129.

⁸⁰ Dapontes, *Kathreptis*, p. 180, Paschalis, "O ek tis Nisou Androu Auxentios Askitis", p. 307, referring to Makraios, "Ypomnimata", p. 208 and to Dapontes, "Istorikos Katalogos", p. 129.

incurable diseases through miracles.⁸¹ The size of his audience grew into the thousands and included not only Rum Orthodox, but also Jews, Armenians, and Muslims, among them some very important people.⁸² People came all the way from Istanbul to listen to his eloquent speeches and be cured.⁸³

Auxentios also advocated the necessity of bringing Kyrillos V back to the patriarchal throne and the interdiction of the current patriarch, Paisios II.⁸⁴ In this way, he became part of a political conflict that eventually brought about his downfall. The teachings of Auxentios and his popularity disturbed Patriarch Paisios and the opponents of anabaptism. When Kyrillos was in exile, Patriarch Paisios twice used synodical letters to order Auxentios to stop preaching anabaptism.⁸⁵ Paisios also sent a negotiator to Kyrillos to ask whether he was in contact with Auxentios. Kyrillos took an oath during a sermon in the Theotokos Monastery on Chalki that he had no connection to this issue.⁸⁶ Those who sided with Paisios in this matter included the metropolitans fighting against anabaptism – Gerasimos of Herakleia, Gabriel of Nikomedia, and Samuel of Derkoi – Kallinikos, the former metropolitan of Proilavo, and the deacons Pangratios and Athanasios. The metropolitans attempted to reason with Auxentios and sent as envoy a learned man, Kritias, who took with

⁸¹ Dapontes, *Kathreptis*, p. 183. Some people considered these to be tricks meant to deceive people rather than miracles. Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 359-360, Paschalis, “O ek tis Nisou Androu Auxentios Askitis”, p. 309.

⁸² Dapontes, “Istorikos Katalogos”, p. 129, Dapontes, *Kathreptis*, p. 180.

⁸³ George Larpent was the grandson of the English ambassador James Porter. Based on his grandfather’s account, Larpent mentions a monk at Katereie [*sic*], a village in Asia a few hours from Constantinople by sea, who was visited by eight thousand barren women hoping to be able to bear a child. He also mentions that the monk was “earlier noted for an irregular and profligate life, and had been in the galleys [*sic*] at Constantinople” before he came to the village. George Larpent (ed.), *Turkey: Its History and Progress: from the Journals and Correspondence of Sir James Porter, Fifteen Years Ambassador at Constantinople Continued to the Present Time with A Memoir of Sir James Porter by his Grandson Sir George Larpent, Bart*, II Vols, London: Hurst and Blackett, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 359-360.

⁸⁴ Linaritakis, “O Oikoumenikos Patriarchis Kallinikos”, p. 328; K.M. Koumas, *Istoriai ton Anthropon Praxeon*, Vol. 10, Vienna: 1831, p. 398; Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 365.

⁸⁵ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 367.

⁸⁶ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 164; Makraios, “Ypomnimata”, p. 210.

him a letter from the Synod.⁸⁷ However, Auxentios replied that it was beyond him to keep silent, “seeing the bald head of Apostle Paul before his eyes”.⁸⁸ Given the partisan nature of *Planosparaktis*, it would not be surprising to see references in the text to the civilized manner of Paisios and the Synod members as opposed to the barbarous acts of the supporters of Kyrillos and anabaptism. In the text, it is also mentioned that Paisios summoned Auxentios to Constantinople to expound his ideas, which is most likely another effort by the author to stress the conciliatory attitude of the Patriarchate.⁸⁹

Historiography cannot provide a clear picture of the relation between Kyrillos and Auxentios, and in particular it cannot answer which of them first instigated the other. It has been proposed that it was Kyrillos who encouraged Auxentios to preach in this manner, and that he used the monk as an instrument to ensure his return to the throne.⁹⁰ Hypsilantis notes that, when Kyrillos heard about the preaching of Auxentios, he did not react because he hated the “papists”.⁹¹ According to the author of *Planosparaktis*, the relationship between the two men had begun when Kyrillos was still the metropolitan of Nikomedia.⁹² The two reasons for Kyrillos’s lenient treatment of Auxentios, a monk admired by the people, were “the desire to wipe out his bad fame for his shameful deeds as a metropolitan in Nikomedia”, and his wish to gain the support of Christians to counterbalance the

⁸⁷ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 288; Dapontes, “Istorikos Katalogos”, pp. 129-130; Dapontes, *Kathreptis*, p. 184.

⁸⁸ Dapontes, “Istorikos Katalogos”, p. 130.

⁸⁹ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 164; Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 348 ff. Papadopoulos mentions that this event does not take place in the narrative of Makraios.

⁹⁰ Ventotis, *Meletiou*, p. 87. According to *Planosparaktis*, the rise of the issue of anabaptism was Kyrillos’s and Mihalis’s (one of his supporters) invention, created to counter the criticism targeting Auxentios. They invented this argument, proposing that the church did not rebaptize Latins and Armenians. In this way, they incited the crowd against Patriarch Paisios II when Kyrillos was in exile on Heybeliada.

⁹¹ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 283.

⁹² Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 365.

⁹³ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 278.

extremely heavy financial burden he imposed upon his province.⁹³ Makraios blames Auxentios for the events of the period, claiming that it was his fault for inciting people and harming the theological discourse, rather than the fault of Kyrillos, whom he depicts as a good Orthodox believer.⁹⁴ He writes against the people surrounding Auxentios in a rather scornful manner, but respects Kyrillos and sets him apart.⁹⁵

As Auxentios represented on side of a conflict that began as a theological conflict only to later become political, the opinions of contemporary authors about him, much like their opinions of Kyrillos, vary. Auxentios is depicted either as a saint with supernatural powers or as a fraud deceiving people with his illusions. The secret of Auxentios's supernatural powers has been attributed to his being a "a very pious monk" by some,⁹⁶ whereas others have proposed that Auxentios owed his fame to trickery. Accordingly, village priests would write short notes to Auxentios, revealing the sins that people had confided to them during confession. Auxentios used this information to miraculously appear as if he knew people's sins. In this way, everyone began to think of him as a prophet and began to call him a saint.⁹⁷ Regardless of whether an author had a pro- or anti-Auxentios approach, they all agree on his amazing power to attract and influence people.

People from both the lower and upper strata of society soon joined in a campaign against Patriarch Paisios and the Synod, accused of being heretics and papists. On the other hand, Auxentios's ideas, too, were considered heresy by his

⁹³ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 278. Papadopoulos claims that Kyrillos was always against the Catholic influence, and that it is not right to claim that he was affected by the teaching of Auxentios.

⁹⁴ Makraios, "Ypomnimata", p. 208.

⁹⁵ Makraios, "Ypomnimata", p. 210.

⁹⁶ Koumas, *Istoriai ton Anthropon Praxeon*, p. 389.

⁹⁷ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 365. See fn. 81 above.

opponents, such as the author of *Planosparaktis*. In the end, however, the measures of Paisios and the Synod to prevent him from teaching in Katırlı were fruitless.⁹⁸

Finally, “the monk Aksendyoz from the village of Katırlı” was summoned by the Porte to Istanbul in September 1752 to be exiled to Mount Athos, according to an order addressing the *nâ’ibs* of Gemlik and Sidrekapısı.⁹⁹ According to the author of *Planosparaktis*, the Porte did not look kindly upon the fact that nearly 10,000 people were gathered around Auxentios, and the sultan wanted to put an end to this kind of gathering, and so Auxentios was summoned to Istanbul.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, according to one Ottoman record, a decree was sent to a *nâ’ib* (of an unrecorded place) and the *subaşı* of Katırlı, mentioning that, as a large community of people had gathered around the monk in Katırlı who had been settled there for at last three years, he must be sent to the capital.¹⁰¹

The outcome of this order is not clear. According to Hypsilantis, Auxentios could not be arrested because of the crowd surrounding him, and so the Porte had to use deceit in order to capture him. They sent a *bostâncıbaşı* at night to invite him to meet the sultan, to which Auxentios agreed. People heard about the meeting with the sultan and hoped for a positive result. However, Auxentios was put on a boat on a

⁹⁸ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, pp. 368-369.

⁹⁹ ŞK 174/ 280/ 1, *Evâil-i Zi'l-ka'de* 1165 / 10-19 September 1752. “*Gemlik ve Sidrekapısı nâ’ibine hüküm ki Sen ki Gemlik nâ’ibi mevlânâ-yı mûmâ ileyhysin Katırlı karyesinde ikâmet üzere olan Aksendyoz nâm râhibin Âsitâne-i Sa’âdetime ihzârîcün emr-i şerîfîm isdâr ve irsâl olunub râhib-i mesfûrun Âsitâne-i Sa’âdetime ihzârî sarf ve ta’dil olunub Selanik muzâfâtından Sidrekapısı nâhiyesine tâbi’ Aynoroz cezâresine irsâl ve anda ikâmet itdirilmek fermânım olmağın imdi işbu emr-i şerîfîm vusûlünde râhib-i mesfûru cezâre-i mezbûreye irsâl ve sen ki Sidrekapısı nâ’ibi mevlânâ-yı mûmâ ileyhysin vusûlünde râhib-i mesfûru cezâre-i mezbûrede ikâmet itdirüb bir hatve hâric mahalle harekete ruhsat göstermekden hazer ve mücânebet olunmak bâbında...*”

¹⁰⁰ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 297.

¹⁰¹ *Mühimme* 155, no. 1180: (158): “() *nâ’ibine ve Katırlı subaşısına hüküm ki Katırlı’da üç seneden berü gelüb sâkin olan bir nefer râhibin yanına etraftan fenâ vâfir âdemler gelüb başında cem’iyyet olmağla ahz ve der aliyemden ta’yîn olunan mübâşir ma’rifetiyle Âsitâne-i Aliyyeme ihzâr ve irsâl olunmak muktezî olmağla imdi işbu emr-i şerîfîm ta’yîn olunan mübâşire vesa’itiyle vusûlünde siz ki mûmâ ileyhümâsız râhib-i mesfûru ahz ve derhâl gönderilen mübâşire teslim ile serir-i aliyeme ihzâr ve irsâl eyleyüb [...]*” *Evâil-i Zi'l-ka'de* 1165 / 10-19 September 1752.

Saturday night, killed, and his body was cast into the sea.¹⁰² According to *Planosparaktis*, Auxentios had to pay a great deal of money to the men of the *epitropos* [grand vizier] who brought the order of exile to Mount Athos. However, he was finally taken to Athos, though he stayed there for only three days, and “nobody knows today where he is”.¹⁰³ A book written by the grandson of the then English ambassador James Porter, based on his grandfather’s journals and correspondence, mentions a monk in Katereie [*sic*] who had such supernatural powers as curing the sterility of women. Soon, he was “decamped by the authorities, and he was not heard of again”.¹⁰⁴ It has also been proposed that Auxentios was hanged by the authorities.¹⁰⁵ Dapontes mentions that Auxentios escaped from exile in Athos and came back to Katırlı secretly.¹⁰⁶ Based on his study on the manuscripts of Kallinikos, Linaritakis mentions that Kallinikos refers to the disappearance, and not the death, of Auxentios, and that, if he had been drowned or hanged, Kallinikos would have heard of and mentioned it.¹⁰⁷ Thus, the final end of Auxentios remains a mystery, but the effect of his sermons for the return of Kyrillos to the throne is indisputable.

4.1.6. The riot of September 1752

According to the Greek chronicles and reports of foreign ambassadors, a mob incited by Auxentios caused an uprising meant to restore Kyrillos. In September 1752, thousands of people in Istanbul rioted against Patriarch Paisos and walked to

¹⁰² Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, pp. 365-369.

¹⁰³ Papadopoullos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 314-316.

¹⁰⁴ Larpent (ed.), *A Memoir of Sir James Porter*, Vol. I, pp. 359-360.

¹⁰⁵ Skarlatos D. Byzantios, *I Konstantinoupolis, I perigrifi, topografiki, Archeologiki kai Istoriki tis Perionymou Tautis Megalopoleos*, Athens: Andreas Koromilas, Vol II, 1862, p. 542.

¹⁰⁶ Dapontes, “Istorikos Katalogos”, p. 130. Dapontes suspects that Auxentios died at Katırlı.

¹⁰⁷ Linaritakis, “O Oikoumenikos Patriarchis Kallinikos”, p. 329.

the Porte demanding the return of Kyrillos from his exile on Chalki to the patriarchal throne. Different sources give various details of the event. According to Hypsilantis, after Auxentios disappeared from Katırlı, those around him were worried for his life. On Sunday, people in Istanbul came to the *epitropos*'s [grand vizier] court to hear what had happened to Auxentios, but they were unable to get any information on the matter.¹⁰⁸ Then, around noon, they proceeded to the Patriarchate. Meletios, the archdeacon of the Patriarch, came down and ordered the mob to disperse. When the crowd did not listen, he ordered the *yasakçı* to disperse them. In the meantime, some Christians from Sofia were in the Patriarchate to air their grievances against the local metropolitan;¹⁰⁹ the *yasakçı* was trying to get rid of them as well. They began to shout “*istemeyiz*” (“We do not want [him]”), referring to the metropolitan of Sofia. Those supporting Auxentios were also pulled by the *yasakçı*. They thought that the slogan “*istemeyiz*” was meant for Paisios.¹¹⁰ As a result, a large crowd attacked Patriarch Paisios, physically assaulting him.¹¹¹ The guard of Fener ran to the yard and released the patriarch from their hands. Paisios went to the Porte by sea, and the crowd walked from Fener to the Porte, shouting that they wanted not Paisios, but Kyrillos. The “*kahyabey*” went out and asked the two eldest people from the crowd to step forward. He registered their names and “*mahalles*”, as well as their professions. The two men said they wanted Kyrillos back from Chalki. In the end, Kyrillos was made patriarch once again.¹¹² Paisios was sent into exile to Chalki, to the Monastery of Panagia. However, the two old men from the crowd – Ioannis “the

¹⁰⁸ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, pp. 369-370.

¹⁰⁹ According to a record dated 20 September 1752, the Christian *re'âyâ* of Sofia presented a petition to the Porte requesting an order to stop the disturbance of their metropolitan Antimos. D.PSK 19/33, and KK.d. 2542-06-28 (p. 27). See Chapter 3.1.3.

¹¹⁰ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 370.

¹¹¹ Makraios, “Ypomnimata”, p. 209, Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 165.

¹¹² Makraios, “Ypomnimata”, p. 211. Makraios thinks that it was not the fault of Kyrillos.

fur coat maker” and Pantazis the “*kazançi*” – were punished, being “cut into pieces”.¹¹³ It seems that they were among the *esnaf* supporters of Kyrillos.

Planosparaktis is especially useful in that it describes the opponents and defenders of Kyrillos during the upheaval, as well as his second accession to the throne of the patriarchate. According to the author of *Planosparaktis*, those who gathered in front of the Patriarchate to have Paisios removed consisted of people from the island of Chios island, and from the city’s *esnaf*. They reacted against Paisios’s refusal of Auxentios’s anabaptism sermons. Nearly 10,000 people gathered in Katırlı. The sultan, upon hearing of these protests and the gatherings in Katırlı, ordered the exile of Auxentios to Athos. The monk in Katırlı was arrested and chained. Misail, a man of Kyrillos, blamed Patriarch Paisios for this. He then incited the people, particularly the Chiotese and the people of Katırlı, to dethrone Paisios and restore Kyrillos. Thus provoked by the fate of Auxentios, the Chiotese and the guildsmen of Istanbul rushed to the Patriarchate to drag Paisios from the throne.¹¹⁴

Ventotis notes that many more would have been punished if the Church had not worked as mediator in paying an enormous amount of money.¹¹⁵ Koumas claims that Kyrillos V silenced the rage of the state by paying 500 purses of money with great zeal.¹¹⁶ However, Skarlatos, an author of the history of the Ottoman imperial city written in the nineteenth century, mentions the amount as 250 purses of money, offered to save Kyrillos from the fate of Auxentios.¹¹⁷ According to Hammer, the Rums disturbed the tranquility of the city and threatened to burn the houses of Phanariots who shared responsibility. The grand vizier had to dismiss the patriarch at the demand of the angry mob. After some time, he executed a few men from the mob

¹¹³ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, pp. 369-370.

¹¹⁴ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 307-317.

¹¹⁵ Ventotis, *Meletiou*, p. 88.

¹¹⁶ Koumas, *Istoriai ton Anthropon Praxeon*, p. 398.

¹¹⁷ Skarlatos, *Konstantinoupoli*, Vol. 2, p. 542.

for the sake of public security.¹¹⁸ The French ambassador in Istanbul at the time, Count Desalleux, refers to this upheaval in his report dated 1 October 1752.¹¹⁹ According to the report of James Porter, the British ambassador in Constantinople, a group of four to five thousand people, among them followers of the miracles of Auxentios, wanted Kyrillos restored to the patriarchate. This event “gave the Ministers immediate uneasiness, but it diminished, when they found that the mob, were merely Greeks.”¹²⁰ The number of people who took part in the upheaval against Paisios was reported by Hypsilantis to be “more than 500,000”, by Hammer to be “nearly 4000”,¹²¹ by Desalleux to be 10,000,¹²² and by James Porter to be 4,000 to 5,000.¹²³

The validity of contemporary sources is verified by Ottoman archival sources. The Ottoman registers in the *Şikâyet Defteri* of this period depict the effects of the upheaval in the city. We have already referred to the order of September 1752, which summoned “the monk Aksendyoz from the village of Katırlı” to be exiled to Mount Athos.¹²⁴ At exactly the same time, another entry ordered the priest on Heybeliada [Chalki] to be put on a small boat and taken to Istanbul quickly and urgently so as to take the patriarchal seat.¹²⁵ A further register from the same date

¹¹⁸ Hammer does not note the patriarch’s name, but he can only be referring to the event of the deposition of Paisios and the restoration of Kyrillos V. No exact date is given by Hammer for this event. Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 8, Book 69, p. 2238.

¹¹⁹ Desalleux’s report is found in P.A. Palmieri in *Revue de L’Orient Chrétien*, 1902, p. 129, and has been quoted by Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 214, fn 2; also by Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 73, fn.1.

¹²⁰ National Archives, State Papers 97/35, pp. 205-209, 2 October 1752. I would like to thank Abdürrahim Özer for sharing this information with me.

¹²¹ Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 8, Book 69, p. 2238.

¹²² Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 214, fn. 2.

¹²³ National Archives SP 97/35, p. 208.

¹²⁴ ŞK 174/ 280/ 1, *Evâil-i Zi’l-ka’de* 1165 / 10-19 September 1752.

¹²⁵ ŞK 174/ 280/ 2, *Evâil-i Zi’l-ka’de* 1165 / 10-19 September 1752. “Heybeliadası zâbiti () zîde kadruhuya hüküm ki ada-i mezbûrede ikâmet üzere olan köse papasa patriklik virülüüb aceleten Âsitâne-i Sa’âdetime gönderilmesi mühimm ve muktezî olmağla imdi işbu emr-i şerîfîm ile vusûlünde râhib-i meşfûru bir kayığa vaz’ ve serî’an ve âcilen bu tarafa sevk ve tesyîr olunub tekâsülden hazer ve mücânebet olunmak bâbında.”

ordered the former patriarch Kōmürcüoğlu¹²⁶ [Paisios] to be exiled to Chalki.¹²⁷ In *Planosparaktis*, it is noted that Paisios wished to be sent to Chalki after the upheaval.¹²⁸ In 1755, Kyrillos wrote a petition to change the place of exile of Paisios, and the former patriarch was taken from Chalki to Mount Athos.¹²⁹ Upon his return to the patriarchal throne, Kyrillos was given a *berât* on 24 September 1752.¹³⁰

4.1.7. The context of the event

Research on urban unrest in the Ottoman Empire is underdeveloped, and without sufficient knowledge, it is difficult to make conclusive remarks. Nonetheless, it is possible to draw certain conclusions from the event of 1752.

Makraios mentions that the grand vizier [*epitropos*] accused Kyrillos of being a populist.¹³¹ It is not difficult to imagine that the Ottoman policy would be concerned about the upheaval and the gathering of a large group of people in the capital.

The event was triggered by religious sentiments aimed at changing the patriarch, and it was successful in this, but not without a price. It resulted in the

¹²⁶ Paisios was also called Kōmürcüoğlu [Κιομουρτζόγλους] Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes*, p. 520.

¹²⁷ ŞK 174/ 281/ 1, *Evâil-i Zi'l-ka'de* 1165 / 10-19 September 1752. “Heybeliadası zâbiti () zîde kadruhuya hüküm ki sâbikan Rum patriği olan Kōmürcüoğlu () nâm râhibin Heybeliadası'nda ikâmet itmek üzere nefy ve iclâsı fermânım olmağın () irsâl olunmuşdur imdi vusûlünde râhib-i mesfûru Heybeliadası'nda ikâmet ve emr-i şerîfim sâdır olmadıkca ada-i mezbûrdan hâric mahalle bir hatve tecâvüzüne ruhsat ve cevâzdan ... ihtirâz ve mücânebet eylemek bâbında fermân-ı âlişânım sâdır olmuşdur”

¹²⁸ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 314.

¹²⁹ This is most probably a precaution to ensure that his opponent was not near Istanbul. *Kal'abend* 11, p. 247, *Evâhîr-i Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1168 / 5-14 January 1755. This change is mistakenly recorded in the *derkenâr* of ŞK 174/ 181/ 6, which records the transfer of the former patriarch from Mount Athos to Chalki in *Evâil-i Şevvâl* 1164 / 23 August- 1 September 1751. The former patriarch in this document is actually Kyrillos V, but probably because no name of the former patriarch is mentioned, the transfer of Paisios in 1755 is mistakenly recorded as a *derkenâr* on the record of Kyrillos.

¹³⁰ Kyrillos wrote a petition for his *berât*. 15 *Zi'l-ka'de* 1165 / 24 September 1752. KK.d. 2542-06-29, 30 (pp. 28, 29).

¹³¹ Makraios, “Ypomnimata”, p. 212.

execution of three protestors. The *esnaf* meeting served as a means of gathering people. The elite Ottoman Rums considered the people taking part the event of 1752 to be lower class. *Esnaf* thus seems to be a policy determining social group with economic power; the same applies to traders from Chios who supported Karakallos.

It is interesting that the Ottoman chronicler of the period, İzzi, did not mention this event in his account, as far as I have seen. The smallest number of people reported by contemporary accounts as participating in the riot is 4,000. The event could hardly have gone unnoticed by the Ottoman administration, as the report of Porter mentioned, but it was not necessarily extraordinary, either. The execution of those in charge was essentially a demonstration on the part of the Ottoman administration (represented by the vizier, whose name is not noted in the Greek chronicles) that activities that threatened *nizâm* would not remain unpunished. Sariyannis, working on seventeenth-century social protests, notes that “the perceived danger for social order was not in the existence of individual camps, but in their organization as a politically active ‘mob’”.¹³² It seems that the procession to the Porte was a political behavior, much like presenting a petition.¹³³ This probably explains why it was not recorded by İzzi, although it was described in detail by the Greek chroniclers and in the reports of Western ambassadors.

¹³² Marinos Sariyannis, “‘Mob’, ‘Scamps’ and Rebels in 17th Century Istanbul: Some Remarks on Ottoman Social Vocabulary”, *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 11/1-2, 2005, p. 13.

¹³³ Yi sets up a link between the revolts and petition presentation, as both were political behaviors, claiming that the seeming difference between obedient and rebellious (both) groups did not exist. (Yi, *Guild Dynamics*, pp. 232-233).

4.2. THE SECOND TERM OF KYRILLOS (1752-1757)

4.2.1. Anabaptism during the second term of Kyrillos / The Paper War

The second term of Kyrillos Karakallos (1752-1757) is marked by the controversy over anabaptism, a problem which had begun during his first term in 1750. Ventotis notes that Kyrillos was “hiding the poison of his heresies”, but he “revealed them shamelessly” in the second term.¹³⁴ The controversy generated quite a volume of treatises both for and against anabaptism. By 1755, the fight had reached its peak, and, as we will see, it was related not only to anabaptism, but also to the administration of the finances of the Patriarchate.

By insisting on anabaptism, Kyrillos alienated the metropolitans of the Synod. To respond to them on an intellectual level, Kyrillos needed support. In 1755, an anonymous author wrote a book called *Rantismou Stiliteusis* [The Stigmatization of Baptism by Aspersions] to criticize and refute the Catholic manner of baptism.¹³⁵ In the past, the authorship of the book was mistakenly attributed to Eugenios Argenti,¹³⁶ but it is now accepted that the author was Chrystoforos Aitolos.¹³⁷ The contemporary anonymous source *Planosparaktis* informs us that Chrystoforos¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Ventotis, *Meletiou*, p. 88.

¹³⁵ Papadopoulos identifies the date as 1755, as the book was written a short time before the Synod of 1755. For a thorough discussion of the work, see Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 393-406. Chrysobergis, referring to Skoubaras, gives the date as 1754, “Oi Theologikes Kateuthynseis tou Patriarchi Kallinikou”, p. 93.

¹³⁶ For example, by Andronikos Dimitrakopoulos, *Orthodoxos Ellas, Itoi peri ton Ellinon ton Grapsonton kata Latinon kai peri ton syggramaton Auton*, Leipsia: Metzger and Wittig, pp. 182-183. Sabrami, “I Proti Kathairesis”, p. 169, fn 1.

¹³⁷ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 393-404.

¹³⁸ The anonymous author of the text uses pejorative words for Chrystoforos, such as “idiot” and “Sielos [Saliva]”. Papadopoulos explains that the word *sielos* appears in *Rhantismou Stiliteusis* many times, and it is a word used by Orthodox Greeks to mock Latin baptism. It is another proof that the *Rhantismou* was written by Chrystoforos, not Argenti as according to Papadopoulos, p. 401.

wrote the book in five months in a small house in Constantinople which belonged to the daughter of an *archon*, in return for forty pieces of gold. Upon finishing the book, through the order of the patriarch, he distributed the text to a many people in the city, both “simple” and “noble”, and especially to women. Chrystoforos also gave a copy of the text to the learned Kritias and Pankratios.¹³⁹ However, he was humiliated by Kritias and Pankratias, and was thus disappointed by their reaction.¹⁴⁰

On 28 April 1755, a synod gathered in the house of Ananias. The metropolitan of Kyzikos,¹⁴¹ in the absence of the patriarch, attempted to discuss the doctrine of anabaptism and to reconcile both sides.¹⁴² Samuel of Derkoi [the future patriarch Samuel Hantzeris] proposed the condemnation of Chrystoforos’ book and the dethronement of Kyrillos.¹⁴³ Chrystoforos’ book and the doctrine of anabaptism were condemned. Samuel raised a motion against Kyrillos and asked that he be punished. As it was uncanonical to have a Synod without the patriarch, the metropolitan of Nikomedia invited Kyrillos to condemn the book as well.¹⁴⁴ According to the narrative, as Kyrillos read the text of the condemnation, he “went mad” and said “I am not going to allow them to stay in the city”.¹⁴⁵ A synodal act [*Tomos*] was produced by Kritias, the secretary of the Synod.¹⁴⁶ As a reaction to the

¹³⁹ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 324-327.

¹⁴⁰ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 327.

¹⁴¹ Ananias, the metropolitan of Kyzikos, died in October 1755 and was replaced by Gerasimos. KK.d. 2540, p. 101. The date at the end of the text given by Lauriotis is 28 April 1756, but, given the fact that Ananias died in October 1755, this should be April 1755. Alexandros Lauriotis, “Peri ton kata tin IH’ Ekatontaetirida Zitimatou tou Anabaptismou”, *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia* 20, 1900, p. 423.

¹⁴² Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 193; Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 334. A Synod without a Patriarch would be uncanonical. Kyriakidis refers to Chrysobergis, who proposes that Kyrillos did not take part owing to health problems, and was represented by the metropolitan of Kaisareia and Chalcedon and Hatmanos Georgios and Spathari Manoli, Kyriakidis, “I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon”, p. 37, fn 228, Chrysobergis, “Oi Theologikes Kateythynseis tou Patriarchi Kallinikou”, p. 94.

¹⁴³ Chrysobergis, “Oi Theologikes Kateythynseis tou Patriarchi Kallinikou”, p. 94.

¹⁴⁴ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 335-336.

¹⁴⁵ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 337.

¹⁴⁶ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 431, Kyriakidis, “I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon”, p. 37. The text of the decision of the Synod is given by Lauriotis, “Zitimatou tou Anabaptismou”, pp. 420-424, also by Margaritis Konstantinidis, “Eggrafa peri anabaptismou ton dytikon”, *Ekklesiastikos*

Synod, those who accepted the doctrine of anabaptism were anathematized by Patriarch Kyrillos in June 1755.¹⁴⁷ One month later, in July 1755, the rebaptism of Christian converts to Orthodoxy was incorporated into the ecclesiastical legislation by a canonical decree, the *Oros*.¹⁴⁸ The decree was signed by Matheos, Patriarch of Alexandria, as well as by Parthenios of Jerusalem.¹⁴⁹ Through the *Oros*, Kyrillos's position on the issue of anabaptism acquired a canonical character.

Kritias was the theologian of the Synod camp, which was precisely what Kyrillos needed. Matheos, the Patriarch of Alexandria, advised Eustratios of Argenti to Kyrillos.¹⁵⁰ Eustratios Argenti (c. 1687-1757) was an anti-Catholic eighteenth-century theologian from Chios.¹⁵¹ As a Chiot, he had a problem with Catholic intervention. He wrote on the issue of baptism, among other subjects.¹⁵² Ware claims that another theologian who supported Kyrillos was Eugenios Boulgaris.¹⁵³ One particularly interesting fact is that the Orthodox community produced vivid discourse on a theological issue in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁴

Faros 7, 1911, pp. 226-238. Upon the issuing of the *Tomos*, Kyrillos abolished the *meridion* (income) of Kritias, Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 338.

¹⁴⁷ For discussion on the date of the anathema, see Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 192. The text of the anathema, in 1756, is in *Rantismou Stiliteusis*.

¹⁴⁸ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 196. The text of the *Oros* is found in *Rantismou Stiliteusis* 1756 edition; also in Sofoklis K. (ed.), *Ta Sozomena Ekklisiastika Syggramata*, Athens: Karampinis, 1864, pp. 478-479, Ralli and Potli, *Syntagma*, Vol 5, pp. 614-616, Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 444-447. For the English translation, see Dragas, "The Manner of Reception", pp. 11-12. For discussion on the date, see Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 197-198, Kyriakidis, "I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon", p. 38, fn 235, referring to Linaritakis, Stefanidis, and Metallinos. The text has been referred to as the "*Oros* of 1756" (see Karmiris, "Pos Dei Dechesthai", *passim*) because it was published in the book *Rhantismou Stiliteusis* in 1756, Kyriakidis, "I Eisdochi ton Eterodoxon", p. 38, Linaritakis, "O Oikoumenikos Patriarchis Kallinikos", p. 333, fn. 1.

¹⁴⁹ For the absence of Silvestros of Antioch, see Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 198, fn 3.

¹⁵⁰ Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 76.

¹⁵¹ See Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, *et passim*.

¹⁵² Ware notes that he wrote the "Manual Concerning Baptism". Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 76. For a discussion of the works of Eustratios Argenti, see Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 410-418.

¹⁵³ Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 76, fn. 3. Eugenios Boulgaris (1716-1806) was an influential Greek scholar. He was at the Athonite School in Mount Athos, founded by Patriarch Kyrillos Karakallos in 1753. For Boulgaris's political thought, see Paschalis M. Kitromilidis, "I Politiki Skepsi tou Eugeniou Boulgari", *Ta Istorika* 7, 1990, pp. 167-178.

¹⁵⁴ For the literature against the doctrine of rebaptism, see Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, Appendix I, pp. 419-433. After his patriarchate, Kalinikos went to his hometown of Zagora. The

The fight between Kyrillos and the metropolitans over anabaptism and the events of 1755 resulted in an effort by Kyrillos to send the metropolitans away from the capital. At this point, he used his power as a patriarch to obtain imperial decrees from the Porte. Interestingly, the Ottomans had their own motivations for sending the metropolitans away from Istanbul, as we will see below. Before we examine the orders concerning the problem of where the metropolitans should stay – a common concern for both Kyrillos and the Ottomans – we should first look at the financial situation of the Patriarchate and the manner in which Kyrillos dealt with it. This was another point of disagreement between Kyrillos and the metropolitans.

4.2.2. The Finances of the Patriarchate

The debt of the Patriarchate in the eighteenth century was one of the most important concerns of the patriarchs, and the period of Kyrillos V was no exception to this. In order to pay the Imperial Treasury, the Patriarchate had to borrow money not only from the *archons* of the Rum Orthodox community, but also from the Janissaries and the *vakıfs*, as documents testify.¹⁵⁵

According to a patriarchal document, a meeting was held at the Patriarchate and attended by Kyrillos V and the metropolitans as well as the Patriarch of Antioch, Silvestros.¹⁵⁶ At this meeting, Kyrillos discussed the financial crisis of the Patriarchate and the need for payment of the upcoming *basilikou miri* [payment

library at Zagora contains manuscripts on this issue. Skoubaras, Chrysobergis, and Linaritakis have worked on these manuscripts.

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter III, fn. 109.

¹⁵⁶ The document has been entitled “An agreement for peace between the archpriests and the Patriarch” by Arambatzoglou, the editor. Arambatzoglou, *Fotieios Bibliothiki*, Vol I, pp. 149-151. Referred to by Papadopoulos, 160-161, fn.3.

to the treasury]. The problem was how to find a remedy for the accumulating debt to the Porte. Kyrillos wanted to ensure a promise on behalf of the metropolitans that no one would cause trouble by trying to take the ecumenical throne of his own will or by force, and that no one would assist such an attempt, either directly or indirectly, by obtaining deeds or bribes. Anyone who did not fulfill his promise in this regard would be punished as a rebel and a criminal.

Kyrillos's financial policies (since his first term) disturbed the metropolitans because the patriarch wanted his lay representatives to deal with the payment of *mîrî* to the treasury and debts to the creditors, rather than the metropolitans. This was probably one of the reasons for the struggle between Kyrillos and the metropolitans. Kyrillos did not want them to get involved in the financial affairs of the Patriarchate. In his petitions to the Porte, he tried to convince the Ottomans that, in this manner, the Patriarchate would be able to pay for its debts. During the early period, Kyrillos made no attempt to send them back to their dioceses. He did, however, make multiple attempts to discard the metropolitans' involvement in Istanbul, all of which were resisted by the metropolitans in clear defiance of imperial orders. The patriarch requested the collaboration of the Ottomans, and managed to obtain the necessary orders. In 1162 /1749, an inspector from the *kadı* court, Abdürrahim, was sent to Fener in order to inspect the accounts of the Patriarchate. Abdürrahim reported that the Patriarchate owed 440,000 *guruş* to creditors. The *mütevellîs* of the churches of Istanbul, as trustworthy *re'âyâ*, would deal with the finances, and step by step the finances would be settled with no interference. Upon the report of Abdürrahim, an order was given in 1162 / 1749, as recorded in the *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers.¹⁵⁷ In another petition, Kyrillos,

¹⁵⁷ KK.d. 2540, p. 86, 1755. (This process of 1749 was mentioned in the document of 1755)

complaining that previously [in 1162/1749 and 1166/1752] two imperial decrees had ordered that the payment of *mîrî* to the Imperial Treasury and money to the creditors would be dealt with by trustworthy *re'âyâ*, and that the metropolitans would not be involved. However, since the records of the debts and incomes were not shown to the representatives of the *re'âyâ* properly (by the metropolitans), there was no advancement in this regard. Kyrillos requested an imperial decree to examine the financial records of the Patriarchate, to appoint a representative from the *re'âyâ* of the community, and to prevent the involvement of the metropolitans in the process.¹⁵⁸ Finally, in 1168 / July 1755, the patriarch requested a decree from the Porte, ordering the metropolitans to return to their dioceses to deal with their own finances there, while ordering the representatives of the *re'âyâ* [in Istanbul] to pay for the *mîrî* and other debts.¹⁵⁹ A short time after Kyrillos lost his seat for the second time, the order was annulled [*terkîn*], on 28 January 1757.¹⁶⁰

While the ongoing struggle between the patriarch and the members of the Synod continued, debts to the Porte were accumulating. Kyrillos' disagreement with the metropolitans proved an obstacle for the solution of these financial problems.

¹⁵⁸ D.PSK 19/41. The date on the file is recorded as 19 *Muharrem* 1166 / 25 November 1752, but it is one of the dates mentioned in the petition referring to the earlier orders. We do not know the exact date of the petition. "*lâkin mukaddemâ cemâ'atden ta'yîn olunan vekîl kullarına henüz ol vakitde dîyûn ve îrâd defterleri göstermemek ile ol mesfûr dahi vekiller bilâ-mu'âyene karışmazı deyu cevâb virdiklerinde iş şöyle mütevakkıf kaldı*" [...] "*imdi merâhim-i aliyyelerinden mercûdur ki gereği gibi defterlerini mu'âyene idüb îrâd ve mesârîflarını bildirerek emr-i şerîf mücebince ta'yîn olunan vekillere her hâllerini mu'âyene iderek müceddeden cemâ'at kullarından birkaç nefer mu'temedun aleyh kimesneler ta'yîn olunub ve âherden gerek metropolidlerden gerek sâ'irlerden ta'arruz ve müimâna 'at itmemek üzere te'kidli emr-i şerîfleri ricâ olunur*".

¹⁵⁹ KK.d. 2540, p. 86, 25 *Ramazan* 1168 / 5 July 1755. "*metropolidan-ı mesfûrun fermân-ı âlişânımla ... rü'yet için mahallerine gitmeleriyle müceddeden re'âyâ fukarâsından mu'temed kimesneler ta'yîn olunub mâl-ı mîrî için cem' olunacak îrâdı ahz ü kabz ve mâl-ı mîrîyi edâ eyledikten sonra mâ'adâsını ashâb-ı dîyûna virilmek için emr-i şerîfim ihsân olmak için hâlâ İstanbul Rum patriği olan râhib-i mesfûr memhûr arzuhâliyle istid'âsını inâyet eylemekle vech-i meşrûh üzere emr-i şerîfim virilmek bâbında iftihârü'l-ümerâ ve'l-ekâbir bi'l-fi'l Başdefterdârım Mehmed ... dâme ilmuhu telhîs itmeğin imdi telhîs mücebince amel olunmak bâbında fermân-ı âlişânım sâdır olmuştur..*"

¹⁶⁰ The similar policy of the Ottoman administrators, to assign *kethüdâs* instead of themselves visiting their provinces, is noteworthy.

4.2.3. The supporters of Kyrillos: The *esnaf* and the Chiotēs

It has been proposed that Kyrillos was a populist, that he was backed up by the *esnaf* and the Chiotēs, and that he disregarded the Synod and the canons, especially during his second term. This was probably a necessity, as he believed that the Patriarchate was in grave need of the *esnaf*'s financial support.

The *esnaf* was a source of money for the Orthodox Church, thus making them an actor in politics as well. The fact that Kyrillos was in cooperation with the *esnaf* was disliked by authors of an elitist position.¹⁶¹ Papadopoulos notes that, to solve the financial problems, in his second term Kyrillos founded the *Epitropi tou Koinou* [Community Delegation], a council elected by Rum laymen. The Act of the Delegation is dated September 1755.¹⁶² As has already been mentioned, prior to 1755 (in 1749 and 1752), Kyrillos attempted to include laymen in Church finances.¹⁶³ In an ecclesiastical document about this Community Delegation, finances played a central role. The document specified that: “[...] The situation must be handled by the cooperative efforts of the clergy and laymen alike. [...] A committee will be constituted to administer the affairs of the Church. Three metropolitans, three Rums occupying high positions in the state, and members from the guilds of Constantinople will be on the committee. Its function will be to receive the ecclesiastical income, pay the public treasury and creditors, and keep detailed accounts of income and expenditure. Each member will serve for one year.”¹⁶⁴ As in the case of the forceful

¹⁶¹ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 275-364, Chrysobergis, “Oi Theologikes Kateythyneis tou Patriarchi Kallinikou”, pp. 90-91, referring to Hysilantis.

¹⁶² Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 200-202; Hysilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 370; Makraios, “Ypomnimata”, p. 218.

¹⁶³ KK.d. 2540, p. 86.

¹⁶⁴ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 200-201, Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, pp. 633-640.

dislocation of metropolitans that will be seen below, this delegation was abolished after Kyrillos's deposition.¹⁶⁵ The fact that the *Epitropoi tou koinou* consisted of laymen was considered another attack on the Synod. The members of the Synod criticized the Community, arguing that "the administration of the Patriarchate belonged to the Synod, not to laymen".¹⁶⁶ Kyrillos, through this means, was trying to find an alternative solution to the financial problem by including guild members in the responsibility.¹⁶⁷

Among the supporters of Kyrillos were people from Chios, the *Chiotēs*. We have seen how they took part in the riot that restored Kyrillos to the throne in September 1752.¹⁶⁸ One reason for the support of the *Chiotēs* may be the fact that Chios was one of the islands where Roman Catholic influence over the Orthodox Christians was strong.¹⁶⁹ The Orthodox population reacted negatively towards this influence, and so were content with Kyrillos's anti-Catholic policies. Also, in Chios, trade was a widespread profession.¹⁷⁰ Many *Chiotēs* were actively involved in trade in the capital. We know that in Chios, silk textile production increased after 1720, and by 1750 its products were being exported to Istanbul and the Black Sea region.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵ The text is in Arampatzoglou (ed.), *Fotieios Bibliothiki*, Vol I, pp. 25-26.

¹⁶⁶ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 357.

¹⁶⁷ Papadopoulos comments that this was the "[...] first realistic attempt to reform the Synod. The object was to transfer the administrative authority from the Synod (under the domination of Phanariots) to a body formed of lay elements. Metropolitans had to stay in the spiritual field, and this was related to sending them to their dioceses. Later in Serafeim's period, through two acts, the guilds did not lose all rights of participation, but modifications made were more advantageous to higher clergy and Phanariots. (referring to Mansi vol 38, pp. 663-672) Finally *Gerondismos* was founded later on." However, Kyrillos's period was a break in the path to gerondismos. *Epitropi tou Koinou* was an effort which was backed up by the lay elements, and therefore considered uncanonical. *Gerondismos*, the so called "Reform of the Synod" on the other hand, was the gradual improvement of the position of the metropolitans vis-à-vis the Patriarchs, as will be elaborated in Chapter V.

¹⁶⁸ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, p. 307.

¹⁶⁹ For the Catholic presence in Chios, see Philip Argenti, *The Religious Minorities of Chios: Jews and Roman Catholics*, Cambridge University Press, 1970; Alexander Vlastos, *A History of the Island of Chios, A.D.70-1822*, London: 1913, pp. 73-83; Ioannis Andreadis, *Istoria tis en Chio Orthodoxou Ekklesias*, Athens: Pyrsou, 1940; Dilara Dal, "XIII. Yüzyılda Sakız Adası'nın Etnik Yapısı ve Ortodoks-Katolik Reaya Arasındaki İlişkiler", *Tarihin Peşinde* 1, 2004, pp. 51-70.

¹⁷⁰ Vlastos, *Chios*, p. 97.

¹⁷¹ Genç, XVIII. yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş", p. 53-54.

We also know that, in the domestic market, French textiles were competing with Chios textiles.¹⁷² Most likely, the Catholics in Chios were also the rivals of the local Orthodox traders.

4.2.4. Kyrillos versus the metropolitans

Greek sources inform us that, after the discussion on anabaptism between Kyrillos and the metropolitans in 1755, Kyrillos attempted to remove them from the capital by an imperial decree.¹⁷³ As the story goes, the bishops Ananias of Kyzikos and Samuel of Derkoi tried to convince Kyrillos of the fallacies of anabaptism. As a result, Kyrillos grew harsher with them. In 1755, the archbishops united in a coup against Kyrillos and tried to oust him. When Kyrillos was informed by the architect Symeon¹⁷⁴ of the coup, he decided to send them away to their metropolitan seats. In the *dîvân kalemi*, the orders for the bishops' forceful return to their seats describe all the accusations against them and how beneficial it would be for their provinces if they stayed there. In the meantime, the metropolitans responded with a “*magzeri*” [*mahzar*]¹⁷⁵ accusing Kyrillos. However, Kyrillos won. He accused the bishops of being sycophants, and only Samuel, the bishop of Derkoi, was not terrorized by

¹⁷² Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 1999, pp. 61-62.

¹⁷³ Kyrillos was not the first patriarch to have problems with the metropolitans. In 1720, the Patriarch Ieremias III's *berât* was renewed as a result of the defense of the patriarch by 116 *esnaf* members against the complaint of eleven metropolitans. KK.d. 2542-01-47, 48, 49 (pp. 93-97), 4 *Rebi'ü'l-âhir* 1132 / 14 February 1720.

¹⁷⁴ Symeon (Simeon Kalfa) was the architect of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque. Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 8, Book 70, p. 2255. Kevork Pamukciyan, “Nuruosmaniye Camii'nin Mimarı Simeon Kalfa Hakkında”, in *Zamanlar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar*, Pamukciyan and Köker (eds), Istanbul: Aras, 2003, pp. 152-154. Chrysobergis quotes a contemporary verse about Symeon in “Oι Theologikes Kateythynseis tou Patriarchi Kallinikou”, p. 95, fn. 81.

¹⁷⁵ Hypsilantis, using the Ottoman terms, is describing the Ottoman procedure here.

Kyrillos, as he managed to hide.¹⁷⁶ Hammer also mentions that sending the bishops off to their dioceses at this time was due to their clash with the patriarch on the issue of anabaptism.¹⁷⁷

Actually, as we have seen, Kyrillos wanted an imperial order to send them away from the city in 1755, so that the metropolitans would deal with the issues in their own dioceses, and he wanted trustworthy *mütevellîs* to deal with the finances of the Patriarchate.¹⁷⁸ Since his first term, Kyrillos had wanted to remove the metropolitans from dealing with the finances of the Patriarchate and replace them by people of the *re'âyâ*. However, it was not until 1755 that he attempted to send them away from the city. The Porte, on the other hand, issued one order after another, beginning in at least 1751, to send the metropolitans and the *marhasas* away from the city, as we will see below. It seems that, after the culmination of the controversy on anabaptism between himself and the metropolitans, Kyrillos made use of the Ottoman will to send the metropolitans away.

The issue of where the metropolitans stayed – whether in their respective dioceses or in Istanbul – was important for the structure of the Synod, for they were instrumental in the decision-making there. It was stated in the documents relating to *berâts* that the metropolitans' coming and going to the capital was an issue of the patriarchs.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Hyspilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, pp. 371-372. Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 349.

¹⁷⁷ Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 8, Book 70, p. 2251. Concerning the metropolitans in hiding, see Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 347 et seq, Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 77, fn.2; Chrysobergis p. 98. See Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 77, fn. 1 for the suppression of *Synodos Endimousa* by the Byzantine Patriarch Athanasios I (1289-93, 1303-9), sending the bishops to their dioceses.

¹⁷⁸ KK.d. 2540, p. 86.

¹⁷⁹ KK.d. 2540, p. 39. [*mâ-tekaddemden berü metrepolidlerin Âsîtâne-i Sa'âdetime gelüb gitmeleri patrik ma'rifetiyle olagelüb ve metrepolidlerin Âsîtâne-i Sa'âdetime âmed şodlarına mûmâna'at olunmayub*] See Chapter 3.3.1.4., fn. 290.

Beginning in at least 1751 (if not earlier), various decrees from the Porte ordered the metropolitans of Istanbul to return to their dioceses rather than stay in Istanbul. Bishops [*piskopos*], too, were supposed to be in their own dioceses. According to a record in a *şikâyet defteri*, the *piskopos* of Ahtapolu who was staying at Edirne in 1750 was ordered to return to his diocese upon the petition of Kyrillos. The order was repeated in 1753.¹⁸⁰

In the early days of 1751, the Porte ordered that metropolitans and *marhasas* should stay in their dioceses rather than send representatives, and that, if the patriarchs were tolerant of this, they too would be held responsible.¹⁸¹ It was most likely upon this order, as we learn from another document, that Kyrillos asked for permission in a petition that, insofar as it was not possible to collect taxes without the assistance of a few metropolitans, the four metropolitans Parthenios of Kayseri [Kaisareia / Kayseriye], Gerasimos of Ereğli [Herakleia], Ananias of Kapudağı [Kyzikos], and Gabriel of İznikmid [Nikomedia] would need to stay in the city to help the patriarch.¹⁸² As a reply to this petition, the decree addressing Kyrillos ordered that – excepting the metropolitan of Kayseri, Parthenios, who would help Kyrillos to collect taxes – all the other metropolitans must return to their dioceses.¹⁸³ A year later, in January 1752, when Paisios was the patriarch and Kyrillos was in exile, an imperial decree ordered that the metropolitans and *marhasas* in the city would go to their dioceses themselves, and not send representatives. It was also added that, if any petition asking for representation mistakenly arrived at the office,

¹⁸⁰ ŞK 174/ 20/ 2, *Evâhir-i Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1163 / 30 March-7 April 1750.

¹⁸¹ *Evâil-i Safer* 1164 / 30 December-8 January 1751 / (First term of Kyrillos V) Referred to in *Mühimme* 155, no. 1183.

¹⁸² According to *Planosparaktis*, Kyrillos fought with these metropolitans during his second term.

¹⁸³ *Ahkâm* 003, p.83, no.321. Also mentioned in *Ahkâm* 003, no. 689. This was published in Kal'a, *İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri*, p. 338.

an order would not be given.¹⁸⁴ According to an order written to the Rum Patriarch of Istanbul and dated May 1752, the metropolitans and *marhasas* were ordered to return to their dioceses and not to send representatives in their place. The reason for this was that the representatives were collecting more than they were supposed to. The patriarchs had given the metropolitan and *marhasa* seats to incompetents. It was also recorded that this was the repetition of an order dated January 1751 (*Safer* 1164), mentioned above. Four metropolitans chosen by the patriarch could stay with him.¹⁸⁵ Yet another decree repeated the decree of 1751 in September 1752, ordering that, in Rumeli and Anatolia, the metropolitans and *marhasas*, according to their *berâts* and *ahkâms*, were supposed to go to their dioceses, collect taxes, and not disturb the *re'âyâ* with even one *akçe* more. The order is as follows: “The seats have been given to incompetent [*na ehl*] bishops. Rather than returning to their dioceses, however, they send representatives, who dare to collect more than they should, and harm the *re'âyâ*. If an order concerning the representation of the metropolitans and *marhasas* arrives by mistake, do not write the order, and present it to the grand vizier. There is already a previous order extant against representatives, and, if the patriarchs are tolerant of this, they, too, will be held responsible, dated *evâil-i Safer* 1164.” One copy of the order was sent to the Armenian Patriarch.¹⁸⁶

Shortly afterwards, in November 1752, Kyrillos wrote in a petition that “[...] the metropolitans went to their dioceses upon imperial order. However, the Patriarchate owes the *ortas*, *evkâf*, Christians, and Muslims more than a thousand

¹⁸⁴ 18-27 January 1752 / *Evâil-i Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1165 (*Derkenâr of Ahkâm* 003, no. 321).

¹⁸⁵ Ahmed Refik, *Hicri on ikinci* pp. 176-177, Doc. 214. *Evâhir-i Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1165 / 6-14 May 1752 [(...) biraz müddetten berü Rum ili ve Anadolu patrikleri tamamı hamma teabiyet ve celbi menfaat sevdasıyla müstehakki tevcih olan metropolidlik ve marhasalıkları ayinleri üzere müstehakkıyne virmeyüb ayinlerine vukufu olmayan na ehle virdikleri cihetden binnef mahalline varmiyub birer vekil irsalile zabta mübaderet ve anlar dahi kendülere ve hem vekilleri oldukları kimesnelere menfaat tahsil için reaya fukarâsından şürutu berâtdan birkaç kat ziyade akçe mutalebesiyle envai mezalim ve teaddiyata cesaret eyledikleri (...)].

¹⁸⁶ *Mühime* 155, no.1183. *Evâil-i Zi'l-ka'de* 1165 / 10-19 September 1752. Around the date of the return of Kyrillos V for the second time on the Patriarchal throne.

akçes. The presence of metropolitans was necessary for the payment of the installments of the debt on time, for the collection of taxes, and for the performance of religious services.” Upon this petition, it was ordered that four of the metropolitans that the patriarch elected would be able to stay in the capital, while the rest of them would have to return to their dioceses.¹⁸⁷

At the beginning of 1754, Kyrillos wrote another petition, again trying to convince the Porte that the metropolitans were necessary for the “*nizâm* of our *millet*”, as follows: “Yesterday, an imperial decree which was read in the presence of the metropolitans ordered the metropolitans in the city, on the islands, and along the Bosphorus to return to their dioceses. However, since the time of the imperial conquest, the performance of our religious rites [*âyinimizin icrâsı*] and the collection and the payment of taxes has not been possible without the metropolitans. The Patriarchate owes the *evkâf* and *ortas* more than 1,000 *kîse akçes*, and it is only possible to pay this only with the presence of the metropolitans. They [Christian taxpayers] do not trust paying the patriarch alone. Maintenance of the *nizâm* of our *millet* is not possible without the presence of the metropolitans. For these reasons, the patriarchs have always called the necessary metropolitans to the city. The patriarchs absolutely cannot do without the metropolitans. We request imperial permission [*ruhsat-ı kadîmemize müsaade-i aliyye*].” The *telhîs*, dated 3 January 1754 / 8 *Rebî’ü’l-evvel* 1167, reports as follows “According to *kadîmî şürû’t*, the patriarchs are not to be dismissed without the establishment of their guilt [*bilâ-cürm*]. They are permitted in issues related to their religion. The arrival and departure from the city of the metropolitans is dependent on the permission of the patriarchs. Kyrillos has the

¹⁸⁷ *Ahkâm* 003, no. 689, *Evâhîr-i Zi’l-hicce* 1165 / 30 October - 7 November 1752. This is also recorded in the *derkenâr* of a *mühimme* entry specifying that four of the metropolitans of the patriarch’s choosing are permitted to stay with him in Istanbul, but others are ordered to return to their dioceses. *Evâhîr-i Zi’l-hicce* 1165 / 30 October -7 November 1752, *Derkenâr* of *Mühimme* 155, no. 1183.

same rights, as recorded in his *berât*.”¹⁸⁸ Subsequently, a decree to the Patriarch of Istanbul dated *Evâil-i Rebî‘ü’l-evvel* 1167 (27 December 1753- 5 January 1754) recorded the following: “There is a previous decree ordering the metropolitans and *marhasas* of Anatolia and Rumeli to go to their dioceses, and to not send representatives, and to not ask more *akçes* from the *re‘âyâ* than necessary. Contrary to this order, today more than twenty metropolitans are resident in the city, on the islands, and along the Bosphorus. Send them to their dioceses within three to five days. If you tolerate this situation, you, too, will be responsible.” A copy was sent to the Armenian Patriarch for the *marhasas*. However, it seems that, ultimately, Kyrillos managed to obtain an order in accordance with his will. It was finally decided that the metropolitans whom Kyrillos considered necessary would be able to stay in Istanbul. This is also apparent in a registry in the *ahkâm* and *berevât* registers, recorded on exactly the same date [*imdi yedinde olan berât-ı âlişân şürûtu mücebince lüzûmu olan mitropolitlerin Âsitâneye âmed şodlarına mümâna‘at olmamak bâbında fermân-ı âlişânım sâdır olmuştur*].¹⁸⁹

In July 1755, the petition of Kyrillos worked in the opposite direction of his previous policies. According to a registry (examined above), upon the petition of Kyrillos, the metropolitans were ordered to return to and stay in their dioceses and deal with issues relating to their own subjects. The finances of the Patriarchate (payment of *mîrî* and debts to creditors) would be handled by representatives of the *re‘âyâ* and the *mütevelli* of the churches of Istanbul, with the metropolitans not involved.¹⁹⁰ It seems that, when the controversy between Kyrillos and the metropolitans reached its peak in 1755, Kyrillos took up the Ottoman concern about the accumulation of metropolitans in the city and used it as an argument to remove

¹⁸⁸ D.PSK 19/100 (Date on file: 15 *Rebî‘ü’l-evvel* 1167/10 January 1754)

¹⁸⁹ KK.d. 2540, p. 7, 15 *Rebî‘ü’l-evvel* 1167 / 10 January 1754.

¹⁹⁰ KK.d. 2540, p. 86, 25 *Ramazan* 1168, / 5 July 1755. See Chapter 4.2.2.

his adversaries. The order was cancelled [*terkîn*] shortly after Kyrillos' fall, on 28 January 1757/ 7 *Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1170.

After Kyrillos was deposed for the second time in 1757, five previous orders based on his petitions concerning the metropolitan were annulled, according to an order of 1757 given upon the petition of Kallinikos, the succeeding patriarch. In this, Kyrillos was accused of having harmed the *nizâm* of the Patriarchate for two years, having had *fermâns* issued from the Porte to send the metropolitans to their dioceses, and, in the place of the metropolitans, having brought in his own men as the *mütevellî* of the Patriarchate. These orders were to be annulled.¹⁹¹

The Ottoman discourse in the documents above is that the *re'âyâ* were harmed by incompetent metropolitans' and *marhasas*' (local) representatives, who asked for too much money. They were not supposed to ask for even one *akçe* more for the tax [*"rüsûm-ı mu'tâdeden ziyâde fukarâ-yı ra'iyetden bir akçe mutâlebe eylememek"*].¹⁹² For this reason, the metropolitans, according to the records in their *berâts* and *ahkâms*, were ordered to return to and stay in their respective dioceses. Thus, the first reason was probably to prevent abuses in tax collection. In accordance with the fiscal transformations the empire was undergoing, as the priests assumed the

¹⁹¹ Ahmed Refik, Doc. 223, pp. 183-184. *Evâsıt-ı Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1170 / 3-12 March 1757. "... bu nizam ile millet-i Rum asude hal üzre iken patrik-i sabık Kirilos mücerred kendü istiklal sevdasıyle kemali nefsanıyyetinden naşi iki seneden beru millet-i rum beyninde ilka-i fitne iderek kaide-i kadimeleri üzere cari olan nizamlarına halel ve metropolidlik zabt itmeyüb binnefs kendüleri mahallerine gitmek üzere bir takritle bir kıt'a emri alişan ısdar ve hareket ve rezalet ile cümlesini perişan ve bu vechile hali keşişhanelerin cemii umur ve husuları müşevveş ve muhtel ve nizam-ı kadimleri bilküllüye muattal kalub ve hevasına tabi eşhas ve makulesi kimesneler intihab ve kadime muhalif umum keşişhaneyi anlara tefviz ve hilaf-ı mu'tad misli namesbuk bir takrib ısdar itirdiği emr-i ali mucibince meşfurları metropolidan yerine keşişhane mütevellileri nasb eyledüğünden nizamları muhtel ve kadimden cari olan ayinleri muattal ve ırzları payimal olduğuna bianen hallerine merhameten nizam kadimlerin tashih için gerek esnaf vekilleri nasbına ve gerek metropolidan haklarında divan-ı humayundan ısdar ettirdiği evamirin kayıtları mahallerinden ref'ü terkin ve fimabad kayıtları patrik arzı ve sairlerinin arzuhalleri zuhur ider ise derkenar olunmamak üzere mahallerine şerh verilmesi babında istida-i inayet itmenle kaide-i kadimelerine mugayyir bundan akdem selefin vaktinde tahrir olunan beş kıt'a evamirin kayıtları terkin olunmak için sadır olan *ferman-ı ali* mucibince piskopos kaleminde üç kıt'a evamirin kayıtları terkin olunmağla divan-ı humayunundan metropolidler hakkında mukaddema virilen iki kıt'a evamirin dahi kayıtları terkin ve emri tahrir olunmak için piskopos kaleminden ilmühaber kaimesi virilmekle vech-i meşruh üzere amel olunmak için yazılmışdır."

¹⁹² *Derkenâr of Ahkâm* 003, p.83, no. 321. Also, *Mühimme* 155 no. 1183.

role of tax-collectors, complaints against abuses became apparent in the *şikâyet defterleri*. The second reason is probably the Ottoman endeavor to prevent the accumulation of archbishops in Istanbul. The Ottomans may have been uncomfortable with the accumulation of metropolitans in the city, as they were more effective as a group.

Sentiments against Kyrillos arose not only because of the doctrine of anabaptism, but because of the way he dealt with problems. Kyrillos claimed that he was above the Synod, which was contrary to canon law.¹⁹³ In the problem of anabaptism, Kyrillos ignored the opinion of the Synod. As a result, the issue became a problem and many written works were produced by both sides. At a period when the metropolitans were attempting to increase their power *vis-à-vis* the patriarchs, Kyrillos was claiming a greater share in the decision-making. Kyrillos, backed by Ottoman support, thus gave rise to a respite in the gradually increasing power of the metropolitans *vis-à-vis* the patriarch.

One of the metropolitans who had a problem with Patriarch Kyrillos was Benjamin of Amasya. On 24 July 1755, the metropolitan seat of Amasya and Sinop was taken from Benjamin, who was holding it for 6,400 *akçes* of annual *peşkeş*, and the seat was given to Gabriel with a *berât* upon the petition of the Patriarch Kyrillos. According to the patriarch's petition, Benjamin had resigned himself [*metropolitlik kâ'idesinden hâric ve âyinlerinin hilâfına sülûk ve icrâ-i hakk lâzım geldiği âşikâr olmağla*].¹⁹⁴ The author of *Planosparaktis*, on the other hand, claims that Benjamin was one of the victims of Kyrillos, who had forced the metropolitan to resign, obtained a decree from the Porte, and exiled him to Mount Athos. As the story goes,

¹⁹³ Chrisostomos Papadopoulos comments that Kyrillos, leaving out the Synod for the sake of anabaptism, harmed the Synod's prestige. Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, "I peri ton Patriarchin K/Poleos synodos kai i eklogi autou kata tous meta tin alosin chronous", *Nea Sion* 25, 1930, p. 728.

¹⁹⁴ KK.d. 2540, p. 96, 14 *Şevvâl* 1168 / 24 July 1755.

Benjamin managed to escape and hide in the house of Nektarios in Stavrodromoi [Taksim]. Kyrillos, discovering this fact, imprisoned and enchained Nektarios, who had to become Muslim to save himself.¹⁹⁵ Indeed, an order as a reply to the petition of Kyrillos and dated 26 November 1755 informs us that Benjamin had escaped from exile on Mount Athos and threatened the Christians of Sinop to complain of the patriarch, and that Kyrillos requested an order to handle the case in the *dīvân-ı hümayûn*.¹⁹⁶ And yet, in another order in December 1755, it is mentioned that Benjamin, who had now escaped from exile, wanted to retrieve his personal items from Sinop either in person or through a representative. Kyrillos requested that an order be recorded in the *sicillat* of the courts of Sinop to the effect that, until the case was settled, he would not be given his personal items.¹⁹⁷ The orders of November and December of 1755 mention that the Christian *re'âyâ* of the area expressed through a petition written in Greek to the Patriarch that they did not want Benjamin as their metropolitan and that he had quite a large amount of debt to the *re'âyâ*. The order of November 1755 was cancelled [*terkîn*] on 7 *Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1170/ 27 February 1757, shortly after the deposition of Kyrillos.

Kyrillos used the Ottoman administration's language and method of argument to convince the Porte and manipulate events. Thus, in effect, he used the will of the Porte to remove bishops from the capital and put forward his plan of lay involvement in the finances of the Patriarchate. The key word in all of the relevant documents is *nizâm*. This was the same word that had been used by Kyrillos's opponents to successfully remove him from the throne. For the Ottomans, *nizâm* and taxes were of the utmost importance. Thus, when he was no longer serving these, all of his decisions were annulled.

¹⁹⁵ Papadopoulos (ed.), *Planosparaktis*, pp. 356-357.

¹⁹⁶ KK.d. 2540, p. 112.

¹⁹⁷ KK.d. 2540, p. 114.

The conflict between the metropolitans and Kyrillos V was noticed by the sultan, Osman III, who desired to learn exactly what was going on. He subsequently decided on the subject in few words, as follows:

In disputes concerning the Ottoman religion, the *müfti* decides according to the teachings of the Qur'an. The Christians have the Patriarchate, so let the patriarch decide according to the teachings of the Bible. Accordingly, the rest of the metropolitans should submit to the patriarch even if they are unwilling to do so. If they refuse to do so, they should leave their seats and stop troubling the city with their conflicts.¹⁹⁸

Shortly after coming to the patriarchal throne, Serafeim II (1757-1761) had to deal with the issue of the metropolitans' permission to stay in Istanbul. According to the petition of Serafeim, Nathaniel of Magnisa arrived in Istanbul without the invitation of the patriarch. This was against the stipulations and against the order, and the metropolitan was thus against the order of things [*bais-i ihtilâl*]. The new patriarch asked the Porte to keep Nathaniel in the city and not to arrest him, but to return him to his diocese at once. The report, written on 28 *Muharrem* 1171 / 12 October 1757, repeated the stipulation that the patriarchs were responsible for the coming and going of the metropolitans to Istanbul.¹⁹⁹ It seems that Serafeim took his responsibility concerning the metropolitans' staying out of the city seriously, this issue having caused a good deal of turbulence before his own term.

¹⁹⁸ Ventotis, *Meletiou*, p. 88. Koumas also mentions the order that Sultan Osman III issued: that the archpriests should obey all that the patriarch ordered related to baptism, just as the Muslims followed the *şeyhülislam* in all things related to faith. Koumas *Istoriai ton Anthropon Praxeon*, p. 398.

¹⁹⁹ D.PSK 21/50. The document was mistakenly dated as 1 *Safer* 1170 in the archive file. The date should be 28 *Muharrem* 1171 / 12 October 1757, as is recorded in the document.

4.2.5. Kyrillos against the *Frenks*

Kyrillos was disturbed by the Catholic influence over the Christian *re'âyâ*. We have seen that his ecclesiastical and financial policies were driven in part by his own sentiments. Apart from the practice of rebaptism, Kyrillos showed his sentiments against the Catholic influence over the *re'âyâ* in the petitions he presented to the Porte. The petitions were sometimes a result of the complaints of local Christians. From September to November 1755, the *kocabaşıs* and representatives of the Rum *tâ'ifesi* made a number of complaints. They both made a claim in the *kadı* court and wrote a petition to the patriarch complaining that the *Frenks* of the island were converting the *re'âyâ* of the island [*Frenk idüb*] and sending their children to *Frengistan*, and that their children were leaving the Orthodox rite and following the Catholic religion [*evlâdları dahi Rum âyinlerini terk ile Frenk âyinlerine tâbi' oldukları*].²⁰⁰

In December 1755, Kyrillos petitioned for a decree to prevent the Catholics on the island of İstanköy [Kos] from performing the Catholic mass in the Orthodox Church of Panagia [*Meryem Ana Kilisesi*]. They did this despite the fact that they had their own Church, and thus disturbed the Orthodox population of the island.²⁰¹ In January 1756, he wrote another petition requesting an order to prevent the *Frenk tâ'ifesi* on the island of Rhodes from doing the same.²⁰² Again in January 1756, the patriarch requested another order, claiming that the Orthodox women on the island of Rhodes were marrying Armenian and Catholic [*Frenk*] men. The Ottoman answer was based on the rights of the patriarchs and metropolitans as recorded in their

²⁰⁰ KK.d. 2540, p. 103, 21 *Zi'l-hicce* 1168 / 28 September 1755, KK.d. 2540, p. 125, 7 *Muharrem* 1169 / 13 October 1755.

²⁰¹ KK.d. 2540, p. 115, 10 *Rebi'ü'l-evvel* 1169 / 14 December 1755.

²⁰² KK.d. 2540, p. 120, 12 *Rebi'ü'l-evvel* 1169 / 15 January 1756.

berâts. According to these, priests performing marriage ceremonies contrary to the permission of the patriarchs and metropolitans were to be punished.²⁰³

The relationship between the Orthodox and Catholics in the empire on the local level in the eighteenth century is a complex issue. Vlastos notes that common religious services and intermarriages between Catholics and the Orthodox do not in any way imply that the Orthodox had sympathy towards Catholics on the local level.²⁰⁴ Services offered by missionaries, such as education and health services, were attended by the Orthodox. However, this does not mean that they were in all cases tolerant.²⁰⁵ The situation was complicated on the higher level as well. The intellectual inclination of the higher clergy towards the Western Church did not entail tolerance to conversion on the practical level. Athanasios V (1709-1711) is listed among the patriarchs intellectually inclined towards the Western Church.²⁰⁶ However, as we have seen, he wanted to exile an Orthodox monk inclined towards Catholicism.²⁰⁷ Kyrillos Karakallos's attitude was, however, quite explicit.

²⁰³ KK.d. 2540, p. 123, 2 *Cemâziye 'l-evvel* 1169 / 3 February 1756.

²⁰⁴ Vlastos, *Chios*, p. 77. Vlastos refers to an anecdote of Allatios, the famous Latin-educated Greek, noting that he does not believe the story according to which, around 1600, when Patriarch Meletios of Alexandria came to Chios and scoffed at the Latins, and, following this, people grew averse to his behavior and ordered him to leave the island. Vlastos, *Chios*, p. 77.

²⁰⁵ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 157: "The Jesuits were welcome visitors at the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. The Patriarch and Jesuits exchanged thoughts in the boundaries of respect. Greek parents were eager to send their children to Jesuit schools, even two sons of the *bey* of Wallachia, but conversion was low." The relation between the patriarch and Jesuit notables represent the case on the formal level, however.

²⁰⁶ Runciman, *Great Church*, p. 355.

²⁰⁷ *Evâil-i Zi'l-ka'de* 1121 / 1-10 February 1710, in Ahmed Refik, *Hicri Onikinci*, p. 44. See Chapter III, fn. 197.

4.2.6. The final downfall of Kyrillos: The limits of Ottoman policy

Kyrillos's second term lasted for more than four years. It was the riot of the Orthodox population which had brought him to the throne in September 1752. The people revolted once more in January 1757 upon seeing Kyrillos replaced by Kallinikos. Makraios writes that, when the people saw the new patriarch on the day of St. Anthony [17 January], they revolted and started a fight. The advocates of Kyrillos were shouting outside the Patriarchate Church against Kallinikos, accusing him of being a "*Frenk*". As had happened with Paisios II in September 1752, the crowd took the new patriarch out of the church and tore off his clothes. In the end, however, Kallinikos was rescued. Makraios comments that all of this happened because people believed that the patriarch was of the same opinion as the Latins. According to Makraios, this was a false rumor that had started because Kallinikos lived in Galata. The rumor, however, persisted throughout his patriarchate, which lasted for six months and eight days. People were happy to see Serafeim as the patriarch, as he was a "zealot" of the Orthodox rite and "brave in his beliefs".²⁰⁸

Despite Makraios's belief that Kallinikos's inclination towards the Catholics was a rumor, Baron de Tott's *Memoirs* on the events leading to Kyrillos's dethronement suggest that Westerners were involved.²⁰⁹ His account represents the point of view of a Westerner against the anti-Catholic views of Kyrillos. Not surprisingly, Tott claims that Kyrillos acted tyrannically towards the bishops, who did not share his views concerning the necessity of baptism by immersion.

²⁰⁸ Makraios, "Ypomnimata", pp. 223-225.

²⁰⁹ Baron de Tott, *Memoirs of Baron de Tott*, Vol. 1, Dublin: 1785, pp. 108-112. Baron de Tott does not record the date as 1757; he simply notes his date of arrival in Istanbul in 1755. We know from other sources that the end of Kyrillos V's second term was 1757.

Accordingly, one of those bishops was Kallinikos.²¹⁰ He fled to the French quarter, and requested that Madame de Tott's brother talk to Hanım Sultan, who was influential in imperial decisions.²¹¹ Tott explicitly writes that the desire to expel "Kirlo" led them to make his victim (Kallinikos) his competitor. While de Tott's brother-in-law was negotiating in the Porte, Tott allowed Kallinikos to hide in the attic of their house.²¹² The brother-in-law negotiated, promising a large sum of money, and secured the position of Kallinikos as the next patriarch. Kyrillos V was deposed by a *hatt-ı şerif*, and "to justify this sudden degradation, the order was conceived in very strong terms, and imputed to the Patriarch a turbulent spirit, disposed to a revolt", and restricted to Mount Sinai.²¹³ Measures were taken in the Greek quarter by Janisseries, and "Kirlo" was taken "without any resistance", and put on a coal-boat while "his country men were so far from thinking of rescuing him from the grand Signior's orders".²¹⁴ Tott neglects the confusion that followed Kyrillos's dethronement, and which is mentioned by Makraios and Hypsilantis.²¹⁵ After Kyrillos V's deposition, Kallinikos disappointed the French. Being "more accustomed to fear than hope", Kallinikos was hardly convinced that he was elevated to the patriarchal throne.²¹⁶ On the day he was put on the throne, he asked Tott to provide for a place in which to hide, as he thought he would soon be in need of such

²¹⁰ Tott notes that Kallinikos was the archbishop of Amasya and he had been exiled to Mount Sinai by Kyrillos V. These claims are not verified by other sources. Tott, *Memoirs*, p. 109.

²¹¹ Hypsilantis notes that Hanım Sultan was the wife of Gül Ahmed Paşazade, and that her house was frequented by Sultan Osman III (Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 373). Hammer notes that Hanım Sultan was the niece of Mustafa III, the successor of Osman III. He adored her as well, and in this way she proved effective in certain decisions, especially those concerning official appointments during his sultanate (October 1757-January 1774). Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 8, Book 71, p. 2294.

²¹² Tott, *Memoirs*, p. 9. The details of Hypsilantis's account are slightly different. According to Hypsilantis, Kallinikos hid in the house of Kalitsa Frangissa. Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 373.

²¹³ Tott, *Memoirs*, p. 110. According to Kallinikos's *berât*, Kyrillos was exiled to Cyprus, castle of Magosa. KK.d. 2542-15-21, 22 (pp. 22, 23), 12 *Cemâziye'l-evvel* 1170 / 2 February 1757.

²¹⁴ Tott, *Memoirs*, p. 111.

²¹⁵ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 373, Makraios, "Ypommimata", p. 223.

²¹⁶ Tott, *Memoirs*, p. 112.

a hiding place. At just that moment, notes Tott, he understood that they had made the wrong choice.²¹⁷

Hypsilantis notes instead that it was Kalitsa Frangissa in Stavrodromoi [Taksim] who was close to Hanım Sultan and was the intermediary in this affair. Kallinikos demanded that Kalitsa and her son Carlo make him the patriarch, promising them 200 *pugia* [*kese*] of *akçes* each. In 1757, Hanım Sultan managed to persuade Sultan Osman III to exile Kyrillos and put Kallinikos on the patriarchal throne. The following Sunday, after mass, Kallinikos was beaten up by the crowd. Once again, it fell to the Fener guard to save the patriarch from the hands of the supporters of Kyrillos. Upon arriving in the city, Ragıp Paşa, the “*epitropos*” and the patron of Hypsilantis, was angry to see that Patriarch Kyrillos had been deposed.²¹⁸ He did not want to meet with Patriarch Kallinikos, but the *kahya* convinced him to do so.²¹⁹

The *berât* of Kallinikos, the successor of Kyrillos Karakallos, was issued on 2 February 1757.²²⁰ The document verifies Tott’s account that Kyrillos was deposed because of his misconduct and treason to the state [*sû’-i hâl ve hıyânet*]. However, it specifies that he was exiled to Cyprus, to the castle of Magosa.

The final downfall of Kyrillos and Kallinikos’s replacement has been explained in various ways. For some authors, it was the amount of money paid to intermediaries that initiated the change in throne.²²¹ We have seen that Kyrillos V

²¹⁷ Tott, *Memoirs*, p. 112.

²¹⁸ Hypsilantis was the doctor of Ragıp Paşa. Hammer notes that the English ambassador Porter was inciting the Porte against Austria and France. In this, he made use of Hypsilantis, the Greek *hekimbaşı* of Ragıp Paşa. Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 8, Book 71, p. 2291.

²¹⁹ Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, pp. 373-374.

²²⁰ KK.d. 2542-15-21, 22 (pp. 22, 23). 12 *Cemâziye’l-evvel* 1170 / 2 February 1757. The last petition presented to the Ottomans by Kyrillos V is dated 3 *Cemâziye’l-evvel* 1170 / 24 January 1757, and the first one of his predecessor Kallinikos is dated 15 *Cemâziye’l-evvel* 1170 / 5 February 1757. KK.d. 2542-15-19 (p. 20).

²²¹ Manuel Gedeon, (ed.). “Kyrillou Lauriotou Patriarchikon Chronikon”, reprint from *Athinaion* 6, Athens: Ermou, 1877, p. 46.

was distinguished by his anti-Catholic sentiments and the popular support that he had. Why did the Ottomans stop supporting the anti-Catholic Patriarch Kyrillos at a certain point?

One reason might be the Ottoman policy of balancing the relationships between France, as the representatives of Catholics, and the Patriarchate. *Nizâm* also meant balance for the Porte. We have seen the furious petitions of Kyrillos V against Catholic influence, especially on the Aegean islands. On the other hand, there were French ambassadors who acted on behalf of Catholic bishops in their relations with the Porte.²²² Just as the patriarchs were the spokesmen of the Orthodox clergy, so was the French ambassador the spokesman for the Catholic bishops. The Porte needed to keep a balanced relationship among these parties. As Tott's memoirs demonstrate, the French in Istanbul were able to raise their own candidate to the patriarchal throne.

Another reason might be the Ottoman belief that Kyrillos was going too far with his populism. This was a period when Ottoman society was undergoing a process of transformation. Different pressure groups were coming into existence, and this presupposed a more balanced act of the Porte. This is also clear in the decision of Osman III cited above, ordering the metropolitans "to stop troubling the city with their conflicts".²²³

As recorded in the patriarchal *berâts*, the Ottomans were supposed to support a patriarch in his deeds concerning the rites of the Orthodox community. The moment a patriarch was not seen as suitable for patriarchate or worthy of official support, he was replaced by a more worthy successor. In 1757, Kyrillos was no longer useful for the Porte, and was in fact a liability.

²²² Simultaneously, the French ambassadors were petitioning for the bishops on the Aegean islands. See Chapter II fn. 123.

²²³ See p. 215 above.

CHAPTER V

GERONDISMOS

THE PATRIARCHATE AS A CORPORATE BODY

Kyrillos Karakallos was competent enough to struggle simultaneously with several different problems. His primary struggle was against the metropolitans concerning not only a theological issue, but also the control of the finances of the Patriarchate. On the other hand, there was the *esnaf*, who wanted to know how their money was spent and demanded participation. Another base is the Ottoman Porte, which expected the patriarchs to maintain the *nizâm*, something that they expected from all officials. Finally, there were foreigners, who not only influenced his flock, but also had the capacity to remove him from the throne.

Kyrillos's struggle among these power bases was not a personal one, but a professional one. He used the proper discourse in his correspondence with the Porte, underlying the danger threatening the *nizâm* and *mâl-ı mîrî*. He was competent enough to present his case so as to satisfy these two expectations. The Porte and Karakallos had common feelings against the Catholic influence on Orthodox subjects. Another common point was the issue of representatives: the collection of

taxes by representatives (of the metropolitans or of the *kethiidâs*) was not favorable to either.

Kyrillos's struggle with the metropolitans occurred as an episode in the history of the Patriarchate relating to the "Reform of the Synod". As we will see in this chapter, the Synod of the Patriarchate went through a gradual transformation from the 1740s to the 1760s. By the end of this transformation, the Synod's metropolitans acquired considerable power *vis-à-vis* the patriarchs. The term of Kyrillos was a time of respite in the course of the increasing power of the metropolitans.

5.1. The Synod

"Synod" literally means "meeting for deliberation", and "an ecclesiastical gathering".¹ In order to make decisions on ecclesiastical affairs, the Synod gathered under the presidency of the patriarch. If the Patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria attended, it was called an Ecumenical Synod. The metropolitans were the most important members of a Synod. The number of metropolitans resident in Istanbul changed over time. Papadopoulos notes that, during the period of Samuel (1763-1768, 1773-1774), "eight instead of five" metropolitans governed the election of the patriarch. This did not mean that other metropolitans could not take part in the synodical sessions, but participation became subject to the authorization of the permanent members of the Synod, the residents of Istanbul. This situation was

¹ Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1720, E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 1051.

confirmed by a *ferman* of 1775.² According to an undated document in the Topkapı Palace Archive, the patriarch and the Synod asked for a petition to increase the amount of metropolitans staying in the capital from eight to ten on the basis that eight metropolitans was not sufficient for the performance of religious services.³ In Dallaway's account, written at the end of the eighteenth century, it is stated that twelve bishops stayed in the capital.⁴ The petition of Gabriel IV (1780-85) requested to allow ten metropolitans to stay in Istanbul, as it was not possible to hold the Synod with only eight.⁵ Apart from the metropolitans, laypeople attended the synodical meetings as well.

On matters of doctrine, patriarchs canonically were required to act in accordance with the Synod.⁶ This is why Kyrillos's acts had been considered uncanonical, as we saw in the previous chapter. The relation between the patriarchs and the metropolitans varied according to circumstances.⁷

Before 1741, the *synodos endimousa* [Synod consisting of the metropolitans who happened to be in Istanbul] gathered irregularly, and no member was permanent.⁸ However, the metropolitans who were geographically close to Istanbul – those of Herakleia [Ereğli], Nikomedia [İzmit], Nikaea [İzmit], Kyzikos [Kıyıdağı], and Chalcedon [Kadıköy], along with others such as Derkoi [Terkos] –

² Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p.57, referring to Vailhe.

³ Topkapı E 1519/3

⁴ Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 379. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 57.

⁵ İnalçık, "Status", p. 218; notes that they were in Istanbul to escape oppression – caused by Albanian outlaws under Ali Bey of Depedelen – in their sees, and the sultan gave an order to send them back to their dioceses.

⁶ An account of 1672 demonstrates that the Patriarch (in this case, Dionysios IV Muselimes) applied to the Synod for the approval of certain matters. The envoy of the French ambassador Galland meets the Patriarch and asks him to approve a text wherein the maxims of the Orthodox religion are recorded, as well as a *tezker*e written by the ambassador. The patriarch replies that he would take the document to the Synod for approval, and refuses to approve the text individually (Schefer (ed.), *Antoine Galland*, Vol. I, p. 81, 19 March 1672). The patriarch may have been avoiding responsibility, but in any case, the metropolitans' approval was necessary.

⁷ For example, in 1720, Ieremias was complained of in the *kadı* court by the metropolitans, but he was defended by the *esnaf*. KK.d. 2542-01-47, 48, 49 (pp. 93-97).

⁸ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 45.

could attend the meetings more easily, and therefore over time they became the most important members of the Synod. By 1763, the synodical meetings were summoned by the metropolitans residing in the capital, *i.e.* the *gerontes* [elders]. In this chapter, we will reexamine the so-called “Reform of the Synod”, *i.e.* the transition from *synodos endimousa* to the *gerondismos*, in the light of Ottoman documents and in the Ottoman context.

5.2. The first step towards the *gerondismos* in 1741

Hypsilantis mentions how, in 1741, the metropolitan of Herakleia cooperated with Hayatizade⁹ to obtain a *hatt-ı şerif* from the Porte, for which he paid 17,350 *куруş*. The stipulations of the order were that the Patriarch would be elected by the five metropolitans of Herakleia, Kyzikos, Nikomedia, Nikaia, and Chalcedon, and that a good testimony for the life of the patriarch had to be provided for his election.¹⁰

Ottoman documents for 1741 reveal that twenty-three metropolitans petitioned the Porte concerning the stipulations of the patriarchate. The 1741 document relating to the renewal of Paisios II’s *berât* records the amendments made upon the petition of the metropolitans of the Patriarchate.¹¹ According to this, twenty-three metropolitans wrote a petition to the Porte complaining that, for the last few years, certain “stranger” priests [*ecânibden ba’zı ruhbân tâ’ifesi*] had been

⁹ Hayatizade was the name of the members of a family of physicians and *ulema*. Prominent members included Mustafa Feyzi (a convert from Judaism) who was the *hekimbaşı* at the end of the seventeenth century. His son was Mehmed Emin, also a physician, and the *şeyhülislam* for seven months in 1159/1746. (“Hayatizade”, *EI* 2, Vol. III, p. 303.) Gritsopoulos notes that he was the physician of the sultan. Gritsopoulos, “O Patriarchis Konstantinoupoleos”, p. 368.

¹⁰ Hypsilantis, *Ta Meta tin Alosin*, p. 350.

¹¹ D.PSK 12/103, 10 *Ramazan* 1154 / 9 November 1741.

submitting complaints against the patriarchs in an effort to replace them, and that some of them even managed to ascend the patriarchal throne. They owed the Janissaries and *evkâf* more than 800 *kîses* of *akçes*, and thus financially damaged the Patriarchate and created turbulence in the community. The metropolitans stated in their petition that they were pleased [*hoşnûd*] with their current patriarch, Paisios, and that they wished him to stay on the throne for the duration of his life. Moreover, they asked for a regulation that, upon the patriarch's death, the metropolitans of Ereğli, İznikmid, İznik, Kapıdağı, and Kadıköy – who were permanent residents of the city [*dâ'imâ Âsitânede ikâmet idegelmeleriyle*] – would elect the new patriarch and act as guarantors to the patriarch's deeds. Upon delivery of the petition, the situation was examined, and it was decided that, without the guarantee of the five metropolitans, the patriarch would not be removed from his seat. The five metropolitans would inform the Porte of any corrupt behavior by the patriarchs. If they did not do so, they would share the responsibility. Without the will of the five metropolitans, the complaint of the metropolitans and of one other person would not be taken into account. Finally, the *berât* of Paisios II was modified in accordance with the order upon the petition, allowing Paisios II to hold his office for life, on 19 November 1741.¹²

¹² KK.d. 2542-09-02, 03, 04 (pp. 3-5). Also in D.PSK 12/103. The draft of this record is in D.PSK 12/104. The modified version of the *berât* of Paisios is in D.PSK 12/132. The modification was recorded once more on 22 November 1741 in D.PSK 12/135. The related part in the document is as follows: "...saltanat-ı aliyemde olan Ereğli ve Kapıdağı ve İznikmid ve İznik ve Kadıköy metropolitleri olanlar dâ'imâ Âsitânede ikâmet idegelmeleriyle anlar beylerinde intihâb ve kendülerinin kefâletleri ve cümlesinin dahi re'yi ile bir metropolid patrik olmak üzere intihâb ve her umûruna mesfûrdan beş nefer metropolidler tekeffül ve mürd oluncaya değin patrik olmak üzere arz ve mahzar eylediklerinde patriklik ihsân olunub ba'dehu patriklerin gerek re'âyâya zulmü ve gerek âyinlerinin hilâfi ve devlet-i aliyeme hyâneti zuhûr olur ise beş nefer metropolidler ve sâ'irleri sù'-i hâlini mahzarla i'lâm eylediklerinde patriklikden azl ve yerine muhtârları ve tekeffül eyledikleri bir âher patrik nasb olunub ve tekeffül iden mesfûrdan sù'-i hâlini haber virmedikleri hâlde anlar dahi mu'âheze ve te'dîb olunub zikr olunan beş nefer metropolid cümlesinin ma'rifeti olmadıkca gerek beylerinde olan metropolidlerden ve gerek sâ'ir eşirradan bir ferd teşekkî ve arzuhâllerine amel olunmayub keyfiyeti tafahhus ve cümleden su'âl ve keyfiyet devlet-i aliyemin ma'lûmu oldukda ba'dehu icrâ ve [mâ]tekaddemden berü nizâmları bu minvâl üzere cârî ve müsâ'ade olunagelmeğle yine kadîmî nizâmlarına müsâ'ade ve ahvâllerine nizâm virilüb hâlâ patrik olan Paisios râhib mürd

The five resident metropolitans would be liable for the election of the next patriarch and be responsible for his conduct as *kefîl-i bi'n-nefs*.¹³ In this way, a part of the patriarch's responsibility was transferred to the metropolitans, thus increasing their power *vis-à-vis* the patriarch. The key word in the discourse of the metropolitans' *mahzar* was to maintain *nizâm*. They aimed to ensure the lifelong reign of Paisios and to prevent frequent changes.¹⁴ They also complained about the financial situation of the patriarch, caused by debts, a typical discourse of ecclesiastical petitions.¹⁵ Although the stipulation that Paisios would stay for life was not fulfilled, the decision was one of the reference points for future patriarchs requesting lifelong appointment [*te'bîden*] in their petitions to renew their *berâts*.¹⁶ As we have seen in Chapter III, the decision for the life term of patriarchate had been issued for other patriarchs before.

5.3. The path to the *gerondismos* and the discourse of petitions, 1741 to 1763

After the first step in 1741, the metropolitans had to struggle for the consolidation of their power for almost two decades. The lifelong appointment [*te'bîden*] to the patriarchate as a stipulation was not recorded in all *berât* documents

oluncaya deġin patriklikden azl olunmamak üzere mufassal ve meşrûh berât şürûtu [verilüb] ve hâlâ matlûbları olan işbu şürût dahi patrik berâtına zamm ve ilhâk ve ba'de'l-yevm vech-i meşrûh üzere amel olunub hilâfına hareket olunmayub..."

¹³ For *kafala bi'l-mal* and *kafala bin-nefs* see Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1964, 1998, pp. 158-159.

¹⁴ The patriarchal changes of the period were as follows: Paisios II: 1726-1733, Ieremias III: January 1733- July 1733, Serafeim I: 1733-1734, Neofytos VI: 1734-1740, Paisios II (second time) 1740-1743, Neofytos VI (second time) 1743-1744, Paisios II (third time) 1744-1748, Kyrillos V (1748-1751), Paisios II (fourth time) 1751-1752, Kyrillos V (second time) 1752-1757 (Gedeon, *Patriarchiki Pinakes*, pp. 775).

¹⁵ It was Neofytos VI who Paisios II replaced for the second time in 1740. Thus, it was most likely the circle of Neofytos VI that the metropolitans were condemning in their petition.

¹⁶ *Berât* of Kyrillos in 1755, D.PSK 20/45, and KK.d. 2540, p. 39. The other reference point is the order of 1126 / 1714 given to Patriarch Kosmas, securing his lifelong appointment to the Patriarchate. See Chapter 3.3.1.2.

from 1741 to 1763, as noted in Chapter III. Similarly, the stipulation concerning the *kefâlet* of the metropolitans to the acts of the patriarch is lacking in the *berât* documents of the period between 1744 and 1757.¹⁷ This is probably due to the problems encountered between Kyrillos and the metropolitans, examined above, which in a way supports the idea that the term of Kyrillos Karakallos (1748-1757) was a time of respite on the way towards the consolidation of the *gerondismos* in 1763.¹⁸ After that, the metropolitans' effort to improve their power accelerated.

The clash of the metropolitans with the patriarch in this transition period is apparent in the ecclesiastical petitions presented to the Porte. We have seen that financial problems and Catholic influence were two threatening factors for both the Porte and the Patriarchate in this period. It seems that the metropolitans and patriarchs competently used this as a discourse in presenting their cases to the Porte. After all, they were threats to the *mâl-ı mîrî* and the *nizâm*.

On 23 *Zi'l-hicce* 1171 / 28 August 1758, Patriarch Serafeim and twelve metropolitans asked for the annulment of the *berât* of Parthenios, the metropolitan of Paleopatra [Balyebadra], who had acceded to the throne illegally. Parthenios had been removed from office by the former patriarch Kallinikos in 1757 on the petition of the *re'âyâ* for his *sû'-i hâl*, and Gerasimos had replaced him. At that time, Parthenios obtained a *kadı arzı* contrary to the stipulations of the *berât* of the patriarchate [*patriklik berâtı şürûtunun mugâyiri*], and the Porte gave him a *berât*, "making himself the metropolitan again" [*kendüyi yine metropolid itdürüb*] in *Şa'bân* 1171 [10 April-8 May 1758; Serafeim was the Patriarch]. He had been accused of performing the Catholic rite, and the patriarch had excused him. However, the patriarch's decision alone was not sufficient for remission without the

¹⁷ See Chapter 3.3.1.2.

¹⁸ See Chapter IV.

consent and agreement of the metropolitans and the Patriarchate [*afv kâğıdı ise yalnız patrik olanlar mührüyle virilegelmeyüb muktezâ-yı âyinleri üzere metropolidan ve keşişhânenin ittifâk ve re'yleri ve cümlesinin mühürleriyle virilegelmekle*]. Although the petition to annul the *berât* of the metropolitan Parthenios was presented collectively by the patriarch and the metropolitans, it was expressed that the earlier remission of the patriarch alone was not sufficient.¹⁹

In 1759, during the time of Serafeim (1757-1761), the patriarch petitioned the Porte requesting that every new patriarch pay for the expenses of his appointment himself, a development also mentioned in Greek chronicles.²⁰ In 1759, Serafeim asked via petition to record into the *piskopos mukâta'ası* a certain *fermân* addressed to him.²¹ According to the petition, certain Rums, relying upon their relationship to the *Efrenc tâ'ifesi*,²² interfered in the elections of the patriarchs, contrary to their religion and custom and motivated by material gains, and elected *müfsid* people as patriarchs who did not know how to perform rites.²³ What is more, the *re'âyâ* was damaged by the financial weight of this.²⁴ The expenses of elections were demanded from the metropolitans, and the Patriarchate was pressured by a large financial

¹⁹ D.PSK 22/44, D.PSK 22/46.

²⁰ See Makraios, "Ypomnimata", 228-229, Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 379. Papadopoulos: "[...] An assembly of laymen and clergy in the Patriarchate decided to introduce a demand to the Porte, asking an order that no Patriarch should be elected except on the consideration of a report of Metropolitans, and every future Patriarch pay from his own funds for his election. Patriarch Serafeim hastened, [and the] demand was accepted. A *hattı humayun* was issued." Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 55, referring to Makraios and Hypsilantis. Papadopoulos claims that this was "the first *hattı humayun* promulgating the affairs of the church", which is incorrect.

²¹ The *ferman* was recorded on top of the petition, and it was a reply to a former petition of the metropolitans in Istanbul.

²² "Rum tâ'ifesinden ba'zıları Efrenc tâ'ifesiyle kesb-i ihtilât eylemelerinden nâşî emvâl ve cerr-i menfa'at sevâsıyla Efrenc tâ'ifesine istinâden hilâf-ı mu'tâd ve âyinlerine mugâyir patrik azl ve nasbına müdâhale itmeğle"

²³ "âyin eylemelerinden bî-haber müfsid kimesneleri birer tarikle patrik nasb itdürdüb patrik mesârifini metropolidlerden taleb ve keşişhâneye tahmîl eylemeleriyle keşişhâneleri medyün" This is probably the case of the election of the previous Patriarch Kallinikos in 1757 through the intervention of the French, as we saw in Chapter 4.2.6.

²⁴ "düyûnun zarâr ve hasâreti fukarâya â'id ve râcî olmağla"

burden.²⁵ The metropolitans were deprived of the money that they collected for *tasadduk akçesi* and *mîrî*, and they had to borrow money to pay for their *mîrî*. The Patriarchate's debt was one thousand and fifty *kîses* [*keşişhâneleri el-yevm bin yüz elli kîse deyne giriftâr*]. After a description of the financially corrupt situation of the Patriarchate [*keşişhane*] caused by people in relation with the *Efrenç* community, the metropolitans asked for an imperial order to regulate the election of the patriarchs in such a way that the patriarchal candidates would pay for their election expenses themselves, not asking even one *akçe* from the metropolitans or from the Patriarchate. The metropolitans were attempting to ensure that, in case a patriarch elected in this way [*hilâf-ı şürût ve mugâyir-i âyin bu gûne*] disturbed the metropolitans and made a petition to the Porte, his petition would not be accredited without the sealed petition of the metropolitans present in the Patriarchate. There was also a request to ensure that, without the seals of certain [*birkaç*] metropolitans, the *temessük* of metropolitans would not be executed.²⁶ The *fermân* granted the requests of the metropolitans as presented in their petition. This *fermân* was recorded in the *piskopos mukâta'ası* upon the petition of Patriarch Serafeim on 11 December 1759.²⁷ It is clear that Serafeim was trying to prevent attempts from opposing groups, and presenting threats in a competent manner to the Porte.

It seems that the patriarchs worked hard in this period to actually put their finances in order. When Ioanikos III (1761-1763) came to the patriarchal throne, he

²⁵ “*fimâ ba'd vâki' olan patriklik masrafiçün keşişhânededen bir akçe virilmeyüb ve metropolidlerden dahi patriklik akçesi deyu bir akçe taleb olunmayub patriklik masrafını bi'n-nefs patrik olanlar mu'ayyen ve ... kendü mâllarından virüb*”

²⁶ “*ve hilâf-ı şürût ve mugâyir-i âyin bu gûne nasb olunan patrik-i bi-gâne mitropolidleri beyhûde teklîfât ile cebr ve tazyik ve der aliyeye arz ider ise patrikhânedede mevcûd metropolidlerin memhûr mahzarı olmadıkça arzına i'tibâr olunmayub ve metropolidlerden ba'zıları mühürledikleri temessükde keşişhânenin kâ'idesi üzere birkaç nefer metropolidân mühürleri bulunmadıkca ibrâz olunan temessük ma'mûlun bih olmamak üzere*”

²⁷ D.PSK 23/20 *Evâhir-i Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1173 / 11-21 December 1759.

began to arrange the finances of the Church.²⁸ One way to do this was to collect taxes properly. In May 1761, he sent his representative to Gaston [Gastouni] in the Peloponnesos in order to collect the taxes of the *re'âyâ*, who had not paid for three years.²⁹ Patriarch Ioanikos also cleared financial issues dating back to previous patriarchs. Again, in May 1761, he asked permission for the safeguarding of his representative Daniel, who was travelling to Sofia to bring the money collected and held illegally by Ananias, the representative of the previous Patriarch Serafeim.³⁰

At the end of December 1761, a *fermân*, initiated after the petitions of the metropolitans, was sent to the guard and *nâ'ib* of Agion Oros, ordering to hold the former patriarch Serafeim in the Vatopedi Monastery and not allow him to leave [*manastirbend*] until he paid his debt of 66,200 *guruş* belonging to the Patriarchate.³¹ Nine months later, in October 1762, the metropolitans, the *mütevellîs* of the Patriarchate, and other Christians repeated their petition, asking for another *fermân* ordering the collection of the debt of the former patriarch Serafeim, which was still unpaid to the Patriarchate.³²

In March 1762, sixteen metropolitans and ten representatives of the *keşişhane* went to the *kadı* court of Istanbul and declared, in the presence of Ananias, the representative of the patriarch, that certain people, complaining of the patriarch, wished to inspect the financial records of the Patriarchate. As a result of the

²⁸ Ioannikos was the brother of Skarlatos Karatzas. He was in Peć from 1739 to 1746. See Konortas, *Othomanikes Theorises*, p. 219. On the patriarchal seal of Ioannikos III, the name of the capital is İslambol. D.PSK 23/13 and D.PSK 23/14. Concerning the name of the city as İslambol instead of Kostantiniyye, see Ahmed Refik, *Hicri onikinci*, p. 185.

²⁹ In the petition, the patriarch requests permission for the representative he is sending not to be disturbed and to be allowed to travel safely. D.PSK 23/81, 26 *Şevvâl* 1174 / 31 May 1761.

³⁰ D.PSK 23/82, 27 *Şevvâl* 1174 / 1 June 1761. Above the petition, the copy of the order sent to the *kadı* and *mütesellim* of Sofia informs us that, on 3 *Şa'bân* 1173 / 21 March 1760, upon the petition of Patriarch Kyrillos [*sic*, probably Serafeim], his representative Ananias would travel safely to Sofia to collect dues. The patriarch's name is written as "Serafeim" in the second instance in the document.

³¹ *Evâhir-i Cemâziye'l-evvel* 1175 / 18-27 December 1761, the copy of the order was recorded over the petition in D.PSK 24/23.

³² D.PSK 24/23, 15 *Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1176 / 4 October 1762.

inspection, not even one [illegal] *akçe* was found in the personal account [*zımmetinde*] of the patriarch. The sixteen metropolitans and the ten representatives requested the court to record their declaration [*hüccet-i şer'iyeye ile tasdik ve hakikat-i hâl i'lâm olunmasını istirhâm ideriz*] that they were content with the present patriarch [Ioannikos III], and further requested that complaints concerning the deeds of the patriarch not be taken into consideration.³³

Towards the end of his term, Ioannikos III was still seeking money unpaid to the Patriarchate. In January 1763, he requested permission that his representative, Daniel, who was assigned to collect dues owed by Makarios, the metropolitan of Menlik, not be disturbed.³⁴

It is clear that both Serafeim and Ioannikos had to deal with not only financial problems, but with antagonists as well. Although the Ottoman documents are not in every case clear as to who these antagonists were, it is not difficult to imagine that the Rums close to the Catholics in the city and the supporters of those who wished to ascend to the patriarchal throne were playing the leading roles.

5.4. Consolidation of the power of the metropolitans in 1763

Samuel Hantzeris, the metropolitan of Derkoi [Terkos], became Patriarch of Istanbul in 1763.³⁵ The earliest surviving Ottoman document of his term concerns the election of Dionysios, the former metropolitan of Kuşadası, to the seat of the metropolitan of Derkoi.³⁶ It is interesting that in this early document of his

³³ D.PSK 23/127, 13 *Şa'bân* 1175 / 9 March 1762.

³⁴ D.PSK 24/34, 12 *Receb* 1176 / 27 January 1763.

³⁵ The *berât* of Samuel, KK.d. 2542-16-43, 44 (pp. 43, 44), 19 *Zi'l-ka'de* 1176 / 1 June 1763.

³⁶ D.PSK 24/53, 23 *Zi'l-ka'de* 1176 / 5 June 1763.

patriarchate, the petition was presented by the metropolitans of Kadıköy, İznikmid, Kapudağı, Kayseriye, and the Patriarch of Constantinople [İslambol]. The seal used by Samuel is the seal that he used as the metropolitan of Derkoi.

The petitions presented to the Porte subsequently were signed, “the Patriarch of Constantinople and the metropolitans resident in the city” [*bendegân-ı hâlâ Patrik-i İslambol Rum ve Âsitânedede mukîm cemâ‘at-i metropolitân*, 1175], and the documents presented to the Porte were sealed as such.³⁷ Thus, Ioannikos III was the last patriarch with a seal of his own name. The last remaining petition presented to the Porte by the patriarch’s seal alone in the *piskopos mukâta‘ası* registers was dated April 1763.³⁸ Beginning with Samuel of Hanzteris in June 1763, the Patriarchate was no longer represented by the patriarch alone, but by the patriarch and the metropolitans of the Synod resident in the capital. Petitions presented the following year had the same expression, and were dated 1176.³⁹

After 1763, the seal of the Patriarchate was divided into four, thus distributing the power of the patriarch to the Synod and the patriarch. According to Hysilantis, this was one of the first things that Samuel did when he became patriarch in May 1763. The patriarch would keep one part, while the three other parts would be held by three metropolitans.⁴⁰ A document from 1767 reveals the financial discourse behind the handing over of the seal of the Patriarchate to the metropolitans, and thus the financial discourse lying behind the *gerondismos*. According to the text, in order to cope with the debts of the Patriarchate, the seal was consigned [*tefvîz*] to the Synod. It was stated that the patriarch’s opinion and consent were not sufficient

³⁷ It was dated to 1176, but there is no date on the document. D.PSK 24/58. (In this document, the issue concerning Ohrid and Peć begins. This will be referred to below in Chapter VI.)

³⁸ D.PSK 24/51, 12 *Şevvâl* 1176 / 26 April 1763. Ioannikos’s petition concerning the metropolitan of Yenişehir Fener, Meletios.

³⁹ Examples in D.PSK 24/87 and D.PSK 24/90.

⁴⁰ Hysilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin*, p. 397, Konortas, “Exelixi”, p. 276.

either for the administration of the *re'âyâ* or for the expenses and debts of the Patriarchate. It is for this reason that the seal of the Patriarchate was shared. This pertains to the distribution of the power of the patriarch to the Synod, led by the elders and the patriarch.⁴¹ In the *berât* document of Meletios dated 1768, the consignment [*tefvîz* and *i'timâd*] of the patriarchal seal to the Synod was mentioned as a solution to the financial problems of the Patriarchate as well.⁴² Finance is mentioned in this document not as a means of persuasion, but as the reason for a past event.

5.5. Change in the patriarchal *berâts* after 1763

By 1763, with the Patriarchate to be represented by not only the patriarchs but in cooperation with the Synod, as symbolized by the division of the patriarchal seal, the power of the metropolitans was officially consolidated.

The fixing of the metropolitans' power in 1763 is evident from the documents relating to patriarchal *berâts* from 1763 onwards. The Synod's right to bring the patriarch to the patriarchal throne is evident in Samuel's case, recorded in his *berât* document as: "*Samuil merkûm patriklik-i mezkûru ber minvâl-i muharrer*

⁴¹ D.PSK 25/93, 12 Muharrem 1181 / 10 June 1767 "*memâlik-i mahrûsemde vâki' re'âyâ fukarâsının bi'l-cümle umûr ve husûslarının rü'yet-i tahsîni ve keşîshânelerinin îrâd ve mesârifât ve sâ'ir husûsâtı kâ'ide-i âyinleri muktezâsınca yalnız patrikü'l-vakt olanların re'y ve inzîmâmına münhasır olmayub cemâ'at-i metropolidâna tefvîz olunagelmeğle cemâ'at-i metropolidân dahi düyûn ve kefaâlete hâmi oldukları hasebiyle istidâne olunan mebâliğ-i ilmleri lâhik olmak için ez kadîm mühürleri metropolidlerin yedleriyle i'mâl ve ba'de'l-yevm gadr ve zulmden masûn olmalarıçün memâlik-i mahrûsemde olan cümle manastırların mührü bu vechile müfvevze olub*" "*bu vech üzere dergâh-ı mu'allâm yeniçerileri ortaları ve evkâf ve eytâma olan düyûn-ı kesîrelerinin uhdesinden gelmeğe karîn-i iktidâr olmaları için*" Half of this huge document is corrupt, and apart from this, many issues concerning the Patriarchate are mentioned.

⁴² KK.d. 2542-17-70, 71 (pp. 138-140). 12 Receb 1182 / 22 November 1768 "*bu vech üzere dergâh-ı mu'allâm yeniçerileri ortaları ve evkâf ve eytâma olan düyûn-ı kesîrelerinin uhdesinden gelmeğe karîn-i iktidâr olmaları*".

cemâ'at-i metropolidânın re'y ve ma'rifetleriyle te'bîden serbestiyet üzere zabt ve tasarruf idüb". Before Samuel, in 1761 in the *berât* of Ioanikios, this was expressed as: "Yanikios mûmâ ileyh patriklik-i mezkûru ber minvâl-i muharrer te'bîden serbestiyet üzere zabt ve tasarruf idüb".⁴³ In documents prior to 1763, the expression, which acknowledges the right of the patriarch to hold the Patriarchate, was: "the patriarch will hold the Patriarchate in the manner in which the previous Patriarchs of Istanbul have done" [*bundan evvel İstanbul ve tevâbi'i Rumiyan patriki olanlar ne vechile zabt ve tasarruf idegelmişler ise merkûm / mesfûr / mûmâ ileyh [...] patrik / râhib dahi ol minvâl üzere (te'bîden 1741) zabt ve tasarruf idüb*]. In 1763, the metropolitans were included in the formula, thus: "the patriarch will hold the Patriarchate in the manner in which the previous Patriarchs of Istanbul have done, and he will handle the affairs and rites of the Patriarchate in cooperation with the stated metropolitans" [*ve bundan evvel İstanbul ve tevâbi'i Rumiyan patriki olanlar ne vechile zabt ve tasarruf idegelmişler ise merkûm Samuil patrik dahi ol minvâl üzere patrikliğini zabt ve umûr ve husûsunu ve âyinlerini metropolidân-ı mezkûrûn ile rü'yet idüb*].

Accordingly, the patriarch's right to control the metropolitans' appointments and dismissals became the right of the patriarch and the Synod.⁴⁴ When a metropolitan passed away, the patriarch was supposed to write a petition to appoint a new metropolitan. After 1763, petitions would be sealed not with the patriarch's own seal, but with that of the Patriarchate [*keşişhâne mührü ile memhûr*],⁴⁵ or with

⁴³ KK.d. 2542-16-17 (p. 17), 28 Şa'bân 1174 / 4 April 1761.

⁴⁴ Therefore, the expression "*patrik-i mezbûrun/mesfûrun/patrik olanların memhûr/mühürlü arzı olmadıkca bir ferde metropolidlik ve piskoposluk zabt ve tasarruf itdirilmeye*" becomes "*patrik-i merkûm ile cemâ'at-i metropolidânın mührüyle memhûr arzı olmadıkca metropolidlik ve arhipiskoposluk ve piskoposluk virilmeyüb*" in the *berâts* of 1763 and onwards.

⁴⁵ KK.d. 2542-16-43, 44 (pp. 43, 44), 19 Zi'l-ka'de 1176 / 1 June 1763.

the seal of the Synod [*cemâ'at-i metropolidlerin mührü ile memhûr*]⁴⁶. This is in fact true for all petitions presented to the Porte by the Patriarchate; as recorded in the document of 1763 [*“patrik-i merkûm ve cemâ'at-i metropolidân mühriyle memhûr”*], as well as in that of 1768 [*“patrik-i merkûm ve cemâ'at-i metropolidân mühriyle memhûr”*], petitions related to their religion are to be accepted.⁴⁷

The *temessükât* [receipts] given to the metropolitans and bishops for the collection of *mîrî maktû'* by the patriarch would be given by the patriarch and the Synod from 1763 onwards.⁴⁸ Similarly, when other patriarchs arrived in Istanbul to see to their affairs, from 1763 onwards it was not only the patriarch, but the patriarch and the Synod who would conduct their affairs.⁴⁹ Also from 1763 onwards, the validity of the accusations against the metropolitans and bishops would be confirmed not only by the patriarch, but by the patriarch and the Synod.⁵⁰ The punishment of metropolitans and priests was also dependent on the will of the patriarch and the Synod, and not the will of the patriarch alone.⁵¹ The same was true for the imprisonment [*alikoymak*] of priests and monks through *izn-i şer'*.⁵²

⁴⁶ KK.d. 2542-17-70, 71 (pp. 138-140). 12 *Receb* 1182 / 22 November 1768

⁴⁷ For the aftermath of the *gerondismos*, see Chr. Papadopoulos, “I peri ton Patriarchin K/Poleos Synodos” p. 730-734, and for a nineteenth-century criticism of the *gerondismos*, see the speech of Apostolos Makrakis, “O Gerontismos ta praktika kai i foni tou kyriou imon iisou Christou pros apan to pliroma tis Orthodoxou ekklisias”, Athens: 1862.

⁴⁸ Therefore, “*tarafından mîrî kesim (1716, 1720) / maktû'u (1725 onwards) için metropolid ve piskopos olanların piskoposların yedlerine virdiği ma'mûlün bih temessüklerine amel olunub*” becomes “*patrik ve cemâ'at-i metropolidân tarafından mîrî maktû'u için metropolid ve arhipiskopos ve piskopos olanların yedlerine virdikleri ma'mûlün bih temessüklerine amel olunub*” from 1763 onwards.

⁴⁹ “*âher mahallerin patrikleri ba'zı mesalihlerini rü'yet için Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetime gelmek murâd eylediklerinde patrik-i mûmâ ileyh ma'rifetiyle gelüb umûrlarını rü'yet ideler*” in the document of 1761, and “*âher mahallerin patrikleri ba'zı mesâlihlerini rü'yet için Âsitâne-i Sa'âdetime gelmek murâd eylediklerinde patrik-i merkûmun ve cemâ'at-i metropolidânın ma'rifetiyle gelüb umûrlarını rü'yet ideler*” in the document of 1763.

⁵⁰ “*patrikliği iltizâmında olan vilâyetlerinin metropolidleri ve arhipiskoposları ve piskoposları azl ve nefy ve sû'-i hâlini müş'ir paşalardan ve kadılardan ve nâ'iblerden bir kimesne arz alub ve gelüb teşekkî itdikde sıhhati patrik-i mûmâ ileyh ile cemâ'at-i metropolidândan i'lâm olunmadıkca isgâ olunmaya ve patrikin ve cemâ'at-i metropolidân-ı mezkûrun mührü ile memhûr arzı olmaksızın bir tarik ile mukaddem ve mu'ahhar târih ile fermân-ı âlişân dahi sâdır olur ise i'tibâr olunmaya*” is the expression in the document of 1763.

⁵¹ “*mîrî rûsûm virmeğe inâd üzere olan metropolid (ve arhipiskopos 1761, 1763) ve piskopos ve keşiş ve papaslar (/ ve sâ'ir râhibler) âyinleri üzere (patrik-i merkûm ve metropolidânın ma'rifetiyle 1763,*

In short, from 1763 onwards, the rights of the patriarch according to *berâts* were transferred to the Patriarchate, consisting of the patriarch and the metropolitans resident in the capital and symbolized by the change of the patriarchal seal and its consignment to the Synod.

The episode concerning the interference of the metropolitan of Herakleia in the procedure of patriarchal election in 1741, told by Hypsilantis, has been considered by historians as the beginning of the system of the *gerondismos*.⁵³ This has been considered as a system that put an end to the absolutism of one person, the patriarch, and that protected the patriarchal elections from lay influence.⁵⁴ This prevalent view is based on the work of Papadopoulos regarding the “Reform of the Synod”.⁵⁵

According to Papadopoulos, the power of the Phanariots resulted in the system of the *gerondismos*. Concerning the composition of the Synod during Ottoman rule, Papadopoulos writes that there is no indication that lay members were

1768) *te'dib ve saçları traş ve kendüleri azl (ve hıdmet-i me'muriyetlerinden azl 1761, 1763, 1768) ve yerlerini âhere virdükde (âherden) müdâhale olmayub*” (1725, 1733, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1752, 1755, 1757a, 1757b, 1761, 1763, 1768).

⁵² “*metropolitlerden ve râhiblerden biri izn-i şer'le alıkoyulmak lâzım geldikde **patrik-i mûmâ ileyh/merkûmun** ma'rifetiyle alıkoyula*” becomes “*metropolitlerden ve râhiblerden biri izn-i şer'le alıkoyulmak lâzım geldikde **patrik-i mûmâ ileyh/merkûmun ve metropolitânun** ma'rifetiyle alıkoyula*”

⁵³ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 50: “In 1741, Gerasimos, the metropolitan of Herakleia and one of the ‘resident members of the Synod’ applied for the issue of a *hattı şerif* subordinating the election of the Patriarch to the recommendation of five metropolitans, those of Herakleia, Kyzikos, Nikomedia, Nikaea and Chalcedon; he paid, for having his demand introduced and taken into consideration, thirty-five purses to the chief physician of the sultan. He did not succeed, however, [in obtaining] a *hattı şerif*, but he secured a *firman* regulating the election of the Patriarch in the manner suggested in his demand. [reference to Hypsilantis, p. 350] It is not clear, from the testimonies we possess, whether the *firman* in question was enforced immediately; but we know that it initiated the Synodal Reform which led to the system under which the Church was governed down to the second half of the 19th century, the so called system of the elders (*gerondismos*). Under this system, the above mentioned five Metropolitans became the chief actors in the election of the Patriarch: at the same time they assumed the most important part in the administration of the Church.” Also in Chr. Papadopoulos “I peri ton Patriarchin K/Poleos Synodos”, p. 726; Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis*, p. 133; Pinelopi Stathi, “Provincial Bishops of the Orthodox Church as Members of the Ottoman Elite (Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries)”, in *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire*, Halcyon Days in Crete V: A Symposium held in Rethymno, 10-12 January 2003, Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.), Rethymno: Crete University Press: 2005, p. 78.

⁵⁴ Stathi, “Provincial Bishops”, p. 78.

⁵⁵ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 48-53.

present during the first years of Ottoman rule, while “the Byzantine tradition was still projecting itself”.⁵⁶ Gradually, laypeople attended the meetings, especially those regarding important matters such as the election of the Patriarch. This was owing to the administrative duties the Patriarchate assumed under the Ottoman rule. Papadopoulos mentions how, since the early years of Ottoman rule, there had been opposition between the lay and the clerical members of the Patriarchate, which he does to support his main argument that the antagonism between the two classes was a reason for the change in the composition of the Synod. The metropolitans wanted to eliminate the power of laypeople and of the Phanariots, and, according to his theory, until 1741 the prominent metropolitans of the five areas gradually increased their power, until finally, in 1763, the system of the *gerondismos* [the rule of the elders, *i.e.* the prominent metropolitans] was established.⁵⁷

Papadopoulos also establishes a correlation between Kyrillos’s policy and the tendency to emancipate the Church from Phanariot influence. He proposes that the metropolitans Kyrillos was attempting to get rid of were narrowly related to the Phanariot aristocracy.⁵⁸ This explanation, however, seems contradictory.⁵⁹

The fact that Samuel Hantzeris was from a Phanariot family may have induced Papadopoulos to claim that the *gerondismos* – consolidated by Hantzeris’s accession to the throne – was the result of increasing lay influence. Moreover, Ioannikos, who came to the throne in 1761, was from a Phanariot family as well, as

⁵⁶ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 44.

⁵⁷ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 39-60.

⁵⁸ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 52-53.

⁵⁹ “Viewed in the light of the social conditions, Cyril’s policy is easy to identify, as to its motives, with that followed by the Metropolitans in 1741, though these policies differ between them radically as to their method and outlook” (Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 53). The contradiction is not resolved here. Papadopoulos admits that the motives were radically different. He is attempting to establish a connection between Cyril and the metropolitans in 1741 as to their opposition to the Phanariots. However, as we have seen, the motivation of the metropolitans of 1741 was not a decrease in the power of lay influence.

is apparent in his name, “*Yanikos Karaca Iskarletzade*”, recorded in his *berât*.⁶⁰ Laypeople, who interfered in the affairs of the Patriarchate, were not only the Phanariot elite, but also the lower class of the *esnaf*, as we have seen in the case of Kyrillos.

It seems that the developments which brought about the increase of the metropolitans’ power by 1763 was not merely the result of the metropolitans’ struggle against the Phanariots and lay elements, as Papadopoulos proposes. The struggle was not between the Phanariots as laypeople and the metropolitans, but rather was over the sharing of authority between the Synod and the Patriarch. Taking into consideration solely the influence of lay elements is to neglect Ottoman realities of the eighteenth century, which in turn resulted in a struggle over the control of the Patriarchate’s finances.

⁶⁰ KK.d. 2542-16-17 (p. 17).

CHAPTER VI

THE ANNEXATIONS OF PEĆ AND OHRID

6.1. Previous Literature

The literature on the annexation of the Patriarchates of Ohrid [Ohri] and Peć [Īpek / Pejës] contains various theories. Jelavich cites the two prevailing views concerning the abolishment of the Patriarchate of Peć. According to the first view, the Patriarch of Peć, Kallinikos II, who was of Greek origin, collaborated with the Phanariot patriarch Samuel and urged the sultan to abolish the Patriarchate of Peć. The second view is that of Papadopoulos, who refers to contemporary Greek sources like Makraios and Hypsilantis, claiming that it was the authorities of Peć who demanded annexation to Istanbul, primarily due to economic problems.¹

The idea that Ohrid and Peć were annexed to Constantinople on the demand of the Phanariots for the purpose of “Hellenizing” the Patriarchate is most explicit in Runciman’s words. He proposes that the Phanariots, who could control

¹ Charles Jelavich, “Some Aspects of Serbian Religious Development in the Eighteenth Century”, *Church History* 23/2, 1954, pp. 151-152, fn.10. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 89-90.

Wallachia and Moldavia, demanded tighter control over Ohrid and Peć as well. In Runciman's view, the Phanariots did not like the fact that the Bulgarian and Serbian Churches retained their Slavonic liturgy as well as their native clergy. He considers the events concerning Ohrid and Peć to have been the work of the Patriarch Samuel Hantcherli, as a member of a Phanariot family.² The terminology used by Runciman – *i.e.* the Bulgarian and Serbian Churches, as well as his consideration of Phanariot motivations – reflects the conception of the *millet* theory. Jelavich, too, considers the Patriarchate of Peć within the limits of this theory, *i.e.* as the institution which held the Serbs together against the Ottomans and Islamization.³

Papadopoulos, referring to a contemporary statement of Makraios, mentions that Patriarch Samuel was reluctant in the case of Peć, and only under the pressure of local authorities did he decide to acquiesce to their demand. He notes that contemporary Greek accounts imply that the ecclesiastical authorities of Ohrid and Peć demanded voluntarily to be annexed to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.⁴ As with other issues related to the Church of Istanbul, Papadopoulos relates the abolishment of the Patriarchates of Ohrid and Peć to the idea that, during the Turkish period, the Patriarchate assumed civil duties in addition to ecclesiastical ones. In his view, the decline of material resources caused by the decline in the Orthodox population, as well as general economic decay, allowed the Patriarchate of Istanbul to consolidate its power.⁵

Konortas writes that the abolishment of the “autocephaly” of the archbishoprics of Ohrid was a process that had already started by the end of the seventeenth century. In October 1676, the archbishop of Ohrid was chosen by the

² Runciman, *Great Church*, pp. 379-380.

³ Jelavich, “Serbian Religious Development”, pp. 144-152.

⁴ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 89-90, referring to Makraios, Hypsilantis, and Gregorios. Papadopoulos and Konortas define Peć and Ohrid as archbishoprics, not as Patriarchates.

⁵ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 90-91.

Synod of Ohrid, but in Constantinople. On the other hand, due to its geographical position, Peć lay in the middle of the ongoing Habsburg-Ottoman wars of the end of the seventeenth century. In 1690, Patriarch Arsenios III and 90,000 Serbs migrated to Habsburg territories. The same thing also occurred during the time of Arsenios IV in 1736-1739. These were determinant events in the fate of Peć. Owing to such events, the sultan thought that the Serbian hierarchs should be replaced with more reliable ones from the environment of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This process coincided with the rise of the Phanariots. Konortas mentions that, from the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards, the higher clergy at Peć was of Greek origin. Ioannikos Karatza, the brother of Skarlatos Karatzas, who was the Patriarch of Istanbul from 1761 to 1763, went to Peć in 1739, during the Habsburg-Ottoman War, and stayed there until 1746. During this period, people from Istanbul were transferred to Peć. Finally, Konortas proposes that the annexations of Ohrid and Peć were the result of the rise of the Phanariots, of the economic benefits of the governors of the Patriarchate, and of Ottoman political will.⁶

6.2. Evidence of Ottoman documents

The Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid were brought under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul on 11 September 1766 and 1 February 1767, respectively.⁷ Following the annexation of Peć in 1766, the Patriarchate of Istanbul

⁶ Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis*, pp. 218-219.

⁷ D.PSK 25/73 (This is the rough copy of an official document) The document records that after the annexation of the Patriarchate of İpek in 6 *Rebi'ü'l-âhir* 1180 (11 September 1766) Ohrid was also annexed to the Patriarchate of İstanbul in 2 *Ramazan* 1180 [(...) *kaydı ref' ve terkîn ve İstanbul Rum patrikliğine ilhâk* (...)] (1 February 1767). Also other documents in D.PSK 25 cited below in this Chapter. Hypsilantis notes that Ohrid was annexed on the 15th of January (Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin*

had to deal with problems concerning the financial duties of places formerly under the jurisdiction of Peć. According to the petition of the patriarch and the metropolitans of Istanbul, dated November 1766 and concerned with the ten metropolitan areas previously under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć, some people requested that the current metropolitans, who had no debt themselves, pay off the debts of former metropolitans. A *fetva* of the *şeyhülislam* was mentioned in this document, according to which it was unlawful to ask for payment of the debts of former, dismissed, or deceased metropolitans by new metropolitans. The petition requested that an order be sent to the *kadis* of the ten regions to forbid the request that old debts be paid off by the current metropolitans.⁸ According to another petition of the patriarch and the metropolitans of Istanbul, written on the same date, Daniel, the representative of the Patriarchate, was appointed in order to deal with the issues of the Christian *re'âyâ* in the areas annexed to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul. Apparently, they were being harassed by the *a'yân* and *ehl-i örf* of the area, asking for payment of the debts of the former patriarch of Peć. Even if they had a bill of debt [*temessükât*] given by the former patriarch, it was unlawful according to the *fetva* of the *şeyhülislam* to request the payment of that debt from the representative.⁹ The *fetvas* rule on the basis that personal debt burdens the heirs and *kefils* of the deceased. If a metropolitan died without leaving a *kefil*, the new metropolitan would not technically be the deceased's heir or *kefil*. As such, no claims could be made upon him. However, on the basis of previous documents, we have seen that the

Alosin, p. 410). Konortas notes that Makraios refers to the Synodical decisions as 11 September 1766 for Peć and 16 January 1767 for Ohrid (Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis*, pp. 217-218). Runciman writes that Peć in 1766 and Ohrid in 1767 was suppressed, *Great Church*, p. 380. Kenanoğlu depends on erroneous sources concerning the date of the abolishment of the Patriarchates, Ahmet Cevdet as 1762, and Gerasimos Augustinos, as 1776.

⁸ D.PSK 25/40, 7 *Receb* 1180 / 9 December 1766, (date on the document: 23 *Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1180 / 26 November 1766) For the same issue see Kenanoğlu, p. 103.

⁹ D.PSK 25/41, 7 *Receb* 1180 / 9 December 1766, (date on the document: 23 *Cemâziye'l-âhir* 1180 / 26 November 1766)

Synod promoted the idea that patriarchs were personally responsible for debts, even after their removal from the throne. Having a *fetva* issued testifies to the Patriarchate's ability to use the legal system efficiently: they knew to whom to address the question, as they already knew the answer. Those who claimed their debt from the metropolitans recognized the office as a corporate identity.¹⁰ However, in Islamic law, there is no corporate identity. The Patriarchate, in order not to assume the responsibility of prior debts, know that the *fetva*, according to Islamic principles, would not recognize the debts of the metropolitans or the patriarch as debts of the office, but rather of the previous people, who had no heirs or *kefils*. The Ottoman Porte, on the other hand, was concerned with proper payment to the treasury, not to individuals.

According to a document of 1 February 1767, having heard that Peć had been annexed to Istanbul and that order had thereby been established there, six metropolitans from the Patriarchate of Ohrid – Euthimios of Kastoria, Germanos of Vodina [Edessa], Gregory of Grebena, Nikiforos of Sisania, Ananias of Ustrumca [Strumica], and Gennadios of Görice [Gorice] – requested Ohrid's annexation to the Patriarchate of Istanbul.¹¹ In a subsequent document, a petition by the patriarch and the metropolitans of Istanbul, the annexation of Ohrid was requested by the *re'âyâ*, Patriarch Arsenios, and the petitions of six metropolitans [*re'âyânın re'yi, Arsenios'un istirhâmı, ve altı metropolidin arzuhâlleri ile*].¹² From this document, it is evident that Istanbul took over the administrative duties of the annexed Patriarchates. The Patriarchate wrote a petition to ask for the *berât* of Likourgos –

¹⁰ The case of the metropolitan of İstefe, Anthimos is on KK.d. 2540 pp. 4-5, 21 *Muharrem* 1167 / 18 November 1753.

¹¹ D.PSK 25/74, 2 *Ramazan* 1180 / 1 February 1767. “İpek metropolidlerinin bu vech üzere giriftâr oldukları zulm ve te'addîye sıyâneten bu def'a İstanbul patrikliğine ilhâk ile nizâm-ı müstahseneye ifrâğ ve ihyâ olunduğu mesmû'ları olub anlar dahi İstanbul patrikliğine ilhâk olunmak ricâsı için metropolidân ale'l-ittifâk mahsûsen Âsitâne-i aliyeye geldiklerinde”

¹² D.PSK 25/75, 12 *Ramazan* 1180 / 11 February 1767. Ohrid and Peć also in KK.d. 2542-11-52 (p. 157) onwards.

the metropolitan of the areas of Draç, Elbasan, Kavaye [Kavajë], Ohrid, and their surrounding areas – and Likourgos once more came to the metropolitan throne. This is also recorded in the ecclesiastical documents published by Delikani. According to document no. 1574, which was signed by the six metropolitans mentioned in the Ottoman document, it is stated that the frequent change of archbishops greatly damaged them, and that, in order to protect themselves, the metropolitans had decided to achieve peace and therefore agreed to be united with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Samuel, and the Holy Synod. Anyone who disagreed with this decision would lose his position.¹³

A few months later, in May 1767, the metropolitans of the annexed areas informed the Porte that, although the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid had been annexed to the Patriarchate of Istanbul and order [*nizâm*] had been established, certain seditious elements from the retinues of the former patriarchs were attempting to use bribery to obtain *ilam* from the *kadıs* of the region. Upon the reception of this petition, the Porte ordered that no petition or *ilam* requesting separation [*ifrâz*] from the Patriarchate [of Istanbul] was to be considered.¹⁴

The new status of Peć and Ohrid was included in the 1768 *berât* of the next patriarch, Meletios II, upon the petition of the twenty-three metropolitans of the two regions.¹⁵ In this *berât*, the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul was expanded so as to include the jurisdictions of Ohrid and Peć. The document warns against attempts to take away from Istanbul any of the places previously in the jurisdiction of

¹³ Delikani, *Patriarchikon Eggrafon*, Vol. III, pp. 894-898, documents 1574 and 1575.

¹⁴ Petition written on 3 *Zi'l-hicce* 1180, and the *ferman* recorded on 14 *Zi'l-hicce* 1180. This is mentioned in the document D.PSK 25/93, 12 *Muharrem* 1181 / 10 June 1767. The document corrupt. [(...)İpek ve Ohri patrikliklerinin kaydları ref' ve terkîn ve İstanbul Rum patrikliğine ilhâk ile nizâm-ı kavîyyeye rabt olunmuşiken patrik-i sâbıkların ma'iyetlerinden ba'zı müfsidler bu esnâda İpek ve Ohri havâlîleri kadılarından kuvvet-i irtişâ ile arz ve i'lâm tedâriki sevdâsında olub bundan böyle tahrikden hâlî olmayacakları bedihî olmağla rahmetü'l-fukarâ ve def'-i mezâlîm için fimâ ba'd patriklik-i mezbûrları nizâm bulmuş keşişhânenen ifrâz ve bir kimesneye tevcih için arz ve i'lâm zuhûr ider ise kat'a istimâ' ve i'tibâr olunmayub nizâm-ı mezkûr düstûrü'l-amel dutulmak üzere (...)]

¹⁵ D.PSK 25/150, 8 *Receb* 1182 / 18 November 1768.

Ohrid or Peć. The phrasing also suggests that, after the annexation, order was reestablished [*nizâm bulmuş*].¹⁶

Before the annexations, the status of the two Patriarchates was expressed as: “*İstanbul ve Ohri ve İpek patrikleri her biri başka başka patriklikler olub Ohri patrikliği İstanbul patriki iltizâmına dâhil olmamağla*”.¹⁷ In 1176 / 1762-3, in a petition signed by the metropolitans and the Patriarch of Istanbul – which is actually the first available petition signed by them collectively – it is stated that the Patriarchate received a document from the Porte concerning the Patriarch of Ohrid, despite the fact that Ohrid was outside their jurisdiction. This was probably an issue for which the Patriarchate did not want to assume responsibility.¹⁸

There has been much discussion concerning the major actors in the annexation of Ohrid and Peć to the Patriarchate of Istanbul. From Ottoman documents, as well as from the ecclesiastical documents published by Delikani, the local metropolitans appear to have been the major actors instrumental in the change of status of the two Patriarchates. Furthermore, the petition of the local metropolitans to include Ohrid and Peć in the *berât* of the Patriarch of Istanbul proves their role *i.e.* the local metropolitans’ role, in the annexation.¹⁹ However, given the nature of Ottoman documents, it is difficult to determine whether or not the local metropolitans acted in a voluntary manner or were influenced by Phanariots.

Considering the Phanariots in the light of nineteenth-century events, *i.e.* the Greek Revolution and the foundation of the modern Greek state, and attributing to them the role of “the preserver of Hellenism” has led to an erroneous view of the

¹⁶ [(...) *zıkr olunan İpek ve Ohri patrikliklerini ve metropolitlerinden birini nizâm bulmuş keşişhânededen ifrâz ve bir kimesne tevcîh için arz ve i’lân zuhûr ider ise kat’a i’tibâr olunmayub (...)*]

¹⁷ D.PSK 12/6, 8 Şevvâl 1153 / 27 December 1740.

¹⁸ D.PSK 24/58 1176, The first document with the common stamp. “*Ohri patrikliği uhde-i kullarında olmayub başka patriklik olub iltizâmına dâhil olmamağla umûr ve husûslarında dahi kat’a alâka ve medhalimiz yokdur*”.

¹⁹ D.PSK 25/150, 8 Receb 1182 / 18 November 1768. (Mentioned above, fn.15)

pre-nineteenth-century history of the Patriarchate. Historiography viewed the Phanariots, in terms of patriarchal history, as notables who gradually gained control of the Patriarchate through their wealth and power. According to this analysis, the Phanariots placed their children into the most important offices of the Patriarchate, and it was by this means that they had gradually taken control of the Patriarchate by the eighteenth century.²⁰ Due to their interest in trade, the Phanariots are claimed to have gained wealth and to have interfered in the “increasing debt and oppression” over the Church.²¹ Papadopoulos explains the transformation of the internal structure of the Patriarchate in the mid-eighteenth century as a precaution against the increasing influence of the Phanariots. This point of view has been criticized in Chapter V. Runciman proposes that the Phanariots attempted “to turn the Orthodox Church into an exclusively Greek Church”. The fact that the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid were annexed to the Patriarchate of Istanbul during the period of Samuel Hantzeris, who was from a Phanariot family, leads Runciman to claim that the Patriarch of Istanbul was the most important factor behind the annexations in 1766 and 1767, as has already been mentioned.²² This is in accordance with the view that the Phanariots wished to make the Church a “Greek” Church, for the Church was owed to the Patriarchate in return for its financial aid. The idea that the Phanariots would prefer a “Greek” Church in the Balkans presupposes that the Phanariots consistently held a policy of “Hellenization”. In accordance with this idea, the Phanariots have been considered from the point of view of “service to [the] Hellenic

²⁰ Examples of this are Vakalopoulos, *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous*, Vol. XI, p. 117; Runciman, *The Great Church*, pp. 360-384.

²¹ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 360. Runciman claims that Muslims were not interested in trade. Recent historiography proves that this was not the case. See for example Cemal Kafadar, “A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in Serenissima”, *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, 1986, pp. 191-218, also in Cemal Kafadar, “Venedik’te bir Ölüm (1575): Serenissima’da Ticaret Yapan Anadolu Müslüman Tüccarlar”, in *Kim Var imiş Biz Burada Yoğ iken: Dört Osmanlı: Yeniçeri, Tüccar, Derviş ve Hatun*, pp. 73-122.

²² Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 380.

Enlightenment”.²³ As in the role attributed to the patriarchs, the Phanariots have been considered in terms of “service to Hellenism” by historians who were looking backwards in time from the Greek Revolution. As is typical of his line of thought, Runciman claims that the ultimate goal of the Phanariots was to rebuild the Byzantine Empire through cooperation with the Ottomans, and to increase their economic and political power.²⁴ Amantos comments that Phanariot power in the Ottoman administration was a double-edged sword in terms of “Hellenism”, being sometimes good and sometimes bad.²⁵ Zachariadou proposes that the *archons* were effective in the preservation of Hellenism.²⁶ In these instances, the nature of the position of the Orthodox elite in the Ottoman administration and in their relation to the Patriarchate has been neglected so that, instead, the roots of the period of the Greek Revolution may be sought. In this view, the notable Orthodox families are considered to have been distinct elements of society who were destined to separate from the Ottoman Empire eventually.

Recent historiography on the Phanariots is aware of the paradoxical position of the Phanariots in the Greek, Romanian, and Turkish nationalist historiographies.²⁷ Phillou successfully considers the Phanariots as part of the larger Ottoman society. The relationship between the Phanariots and the Patriarchate was mutual: as the Phanariots were influential in Church finances, the Patriarchate was a medium for the Phanariots to acquire important positions. As Phillou notes, “[r]ecruitment into Phanariot networks occurred through Church affiliations, in

²³ For example, Panayotis Alexandrou Papachristou, “The Three Faces of the Phanariots: An Inquiry into the Role and Motivations of the Greek Nobility under Ottoman Rule, 1683-1821”, MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1992.

²⁴ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 364.

²⁵ Amantos, “Alexandros Maurokordatos o ex aporrion (1641-1709)”, p. 349.

²⁶ Zachariadou, “Les Notables Laïques”.

²⁷ Phillou, “Worlds, Old and New”, pp. 9-10.

addition to family relations and more formal schooling opportunities in the Principalities and elsewhere.”²⁸

Historiography on the “Synodical Reform” has a similar point of view on the role of the Phanariots. We have seen in Chapter V that, in order to explain the “Synodical Reform”, Papadopoulos – the basic English source on the structure of the Patriarchate during the Ottoman period – has overstressed the Patriarchate’s reaction to the influence of the Phanariots as a factor. Although the financial role of the Phanariots is evident in patriarchal affairs, the reaction of the metropolitans was not the only factor in the “Reform of the Synod” in the middle of the eighteenth century. The financial role of the Phanariots, as well as the role played by the guilds, was necessary under the financial conditions of the eighteenth century. The increasing role of notables who could pay in cash in the eighteenth century was also a factor in this process. The Patriarchate owed money not only to the Phanariots, but also to the *esnaf*, to *vakfs*, and even to Janissaries, according to the patriarchal petitions we have examined. This is because the Patriarchate interacted with the society around it.

By 1763, with the elders taking control *vis-à-vis* the patriarch and increasing their power, the prestige of the Patriarchate had been consolidated. By coming into the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid may have wanted release from financial problems. As we have seen, having heard of the annexation of Peć, the metropolitans of Ohrid petitioned for annexation as well. Networks of communication may well have worked for the increased prestige of the Patriarchate of Istanbul, and the news of financial amelioration could well have reached Peć and Ohrid. Upon hearing of this, first Peć

²⁸ Phillou, “Communities on the Verge”, p. 168.

and then Ohrid may have petitioned for annexation and delegated their financial and administrative responsibilities to Istanbul. Studying the internal problems of the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid will shed light on the motives behind their petitions for annexation.²⁹

²⁹ A rough look at the documents of D.PSK concerning Peć and Ohrid before 1766 suggests that among the problems of the two regions were Catholic influence and financial problems. A detailed study of these documents is necessary in order to understand the internal situation of these regions.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

At that time there were some very noble young men within the seraglio; they were from the City and from Trebizond. One of them was the son of Amoiroutzes, Mehmed Beg, who had been educated in Greek and Arabic literature; by order of the ruler he had translated our books into Arabic in the most accurate manner. For the sovereign [Mehmed II] always asked them about the doctrines of our faith. Among other matters, he also learned about excommunication, that the hierarchs of the Christians can excommunicate people who have been found guilty; such persons do not decompose after death in the earth but their bodies remain swollen and black for as long as one thousand years. He marvelled at this information and asked: "Is it possible to grant a pardon and invalidate an excommunication?" They said that they had the power to do so. So without delay he sent a messenger to the patriarch [Maximos III] and directed him to locate a man who had been excommunicated in the past. The patriarch and the clergy were at a loss; for where could such an individual be found? They requested a period of a few days in order to investigate and identify such a person. They recalled that, some time ago, there was an older woman outside the gates of the [Monastery of] Pammakaristos. She was a loose woman, who, on account of her beauty, had had many lovers. When the patriarch had attempted to check her, she charged him with a slander, claiming that he had slept with her; she made this charge in public. Then this rumor spread and some people believed it while others put no trust in it. There was nothing else for him to do; in one of the more important festivals he excommunicated his slanderer with heavy words. Now they were reminded of her; she had died some time ago. They opened her grave and found her intact: the hair on her head had not fallen; she was swollen like a drum; and she was all black, in a pitiable condition. So he sent a message to the envoys who reported this event to the sovereign. So he ordered some of their men to go and view her. They came, they saw, and they marvelled. They went back and announced that they had seen her. He sent other lords who, with

his consent, placed her in one of the chapels which was then sealed. The patriarch appointed the day on which he would celebrate the Liturgy, wrote a letter of forgiveness, and sent them word to bring her out. When the sovereign's men came and took her out and the Liturgy was celebrated, the patriarch rose and read, with tears, the letter of forgiveness. What a miracle! Immediately, as soon as the patriarch began reading the letter, the joints of her hands and feet started dissolving, those who were standing near her remains could hear the loosening of the joints emitting sounds. After the end of the divine sacrament they took the corpse and placed it in the chapel, sealing it securely. After the passage of three days, they came, broke the seals, and found her totally dissolved and separated. They marvelled at the sight. They went and reported to the sovereign what they had seen. He listened, marvelled, and was amazed; he believed that the faith of the Christians was true.¹

This story, found in sixteenth-century chronicles in Greek, became the standard version of Orthodox historiographical discourse. Written about a hundred years after the event it purports to describe, the tale presents the anonymous author's view of the patriarch as a religious dignitary capable of performing a miracle, and the sultan as a figure convinced of the truth of Christian faith. Stories like this one perpetuated and explained the positive image of Mehmed II in the eyes of his Christian subjects, an image to be perpetuated as a model for all subsequent rulers and used by the Orthodox in times of conflict with the Porte. Throughout the Ottoman era, the relationship of the patriarchs and the Porte did not always follow a smooth path, but had moments of tension as well. Population expansion and the need for space created tension among Muslims and non-Muslims in sixteenth-century Istanbul.² Due to the increasing Muslim population, the need to convert Orthodox churches into mosques arose. Subsequently, the relation of the Porte with its patriarch went through difficulties that had to be overcome through the invaluable network of Muslim and non-Muslim actors. Contemporary Greek historiography depicts similar ventures of the Patriarchate throughout the Ottoman era. Whether we

¹ Philippides (ed.), *Emperors and Patriarchs*, pp. 87-89. The story takes place also in Bekker (ed.), *Historia Politica et Patriarchica*, pp. 117-124.

² Hasan Çolak, "Co-Existence and Conflict Between Muslims and Non-Muslims in the 16th Century Ottoman İstanbul", MA Thesis, Bilkent University, 2008.

take these stories at face value or not, undeniably they testify to the advanced degree of the Patriarchate's integration into Ottoman society.

Many actors played a role in events related to the Patriarchate. The most hazardous of these was the Orthodox clergy's relationship to the Catholics, Protestants, and northern Orthodox outside the Ottoman realm, *i.e.* the Cossacks and the Russians. In the first half of the seventeenth century, these contacts were interpreted as treason by the Ottomans, and this had fatal results for the patriarchs. Following the turbulent events of the first half of the seventeenth century, the patriarchs were for some time deprived of the right to present themselves to the sultan in person. However, the patriarchs' unfortunate fate in this period was not directly related to the fact that they were Christians. The occasional relations of seventeenth-century patriarchs with such enemies of the empire as the Russians and the Cossacks, as well as their positive disposition towards Protestants or Catholics, was viewed by the Porte as problematic. The Ottoman expectation from patriarchs over the centuries was the maintenance of *nizâm* [order] and proper tax-collection. Regardless of religion, those who went against the principle of the preservation of *nizâm* would not be tolerated.

By the eighteenth century, however, the patriarchs gained considerable importance and dignity in the Porte. In historiography, this has so far been linked primarily with the rise of the Phanariots. Although their increased influence and role is undeniable, authors who advance this view attribute an unalterable and autonomous character to the Patriarchate. This stems from a failure to see the method of discourse between the Porte and the Patriarchate and analyze their respective relations through this prism. The improvement of the patriarchs' position *vis-à-vis* the Porte was the product of eighteenth-century Ottoman realities, and many actors

were involved in these events. Changes in the fiscal system transformed the role of the patriarch and the high clergy under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate. The rise of bureaucracy and the replacement of warfare by diplomacy in this period increased the role of the Phanariots in Ottoman bureaucracy as well. The increasing importance of cash in tax-collection, on the other hand, made the role of cash-providers in the financial network more important. The role of the Phanariots in the finances and administration of the Patriarchate did not arise from a vacuum. Thus, the contextualization of their role in Ottoman realities is important in this sense. The role of an ecclesiastical position, that of the logothete in the Ottoman tax-farming system operating as *exarch*, is a striking example testifying to my thesis that the Orthodox hierarchy of the Patriarchate was part of the Ottoman system. The Patriarchate was part of a network of financial and personal relationships between *archons*, the *esnaf*, clergymen and laypeople. Muslims were also involved in this network.

The transformation of the Patriarchate in the eighteenth century is most evident in the changing stipulations of patriarchal *berâts*. The terminology used for Christians, clergy, and the patriarchs changed in the course of the eighteenth century. This was also related to the development of the Ottoman bureaucratic language in this period.

In the context of eighteenth-century conditions in Ottoman society, the intermediary role of the patriarch between the Christian *re'âyâ* and the Porte expanded. Parallel to that of the *kadı*, the patriarch was an agency of complaint within society (though by no means exclusive). His increasing role in the eighteenth century is evident from the *şikâyet* registers.

The patriarch was responsible for the preservation of order in society, a fact which arose from his role as a *mültezim*. This role was officially granted to him

by the Ottoman administration as a result of the transformation in eighteenth-century society. However, the patriarch was more than just a *mültezim*. His difference from an *ehl-i örf* as the preserver of *nizâm* was his empire-wide position as the religious leader of the Orthodox Christians. This is another point that those advocating the position of the patriarch as a mere *mültezim* fail to notice. The extensive authority eighteenth-century patriarchs enjoyed was not simply related to the official recognition granted by the sultans, but was also a result of the Ottoman Orthodox subjects' acceptance of this role.

Apart from the Phanariot rise, other factors played a role in the rise of the patriarchs to prominence. By the eighteenth century, the attitude of the Orthodox patriarchs towards Catholic missionaries' influence changed, gradually becoming parallel to the attitude of the Porte, which considered this influence a threat against the established order of society. The ecclesiastical petitions to the Porte reflect the concord between the Porte and the patriarchs on these important issues. The patriarchs' change of heart towards the Catholics by the eighteenth century did not go unnoticed by the Ottomans. This was an influential factor in the making of the Porte's policies towards the Patriarchate. The Ottoman Porte was following a policy of balance and trying to sustain good relations with the French in the diplomatic arena. The Porte supported and endorsed the policies of patriarchs within their community so long as the latter maintained *nizâm*.

The case of Kyrillos Karakallos in the middle of the eighteenth century shows how a patriarch – supported by the Ottomans – dealt with his opponents. Kyrillos V was on the patriarchal throne from 1748 to 1751 and from 1752 to 1757. The interval from May 1751 to September 1752 was ended by a popular revolt in Istanbul. This revolt was triggered by the sermons of a monk, Auxentios, in a village

close to Nikaea. According to Greek accounts, the monk was supporting Kyrillos, in exile at the time, in his views against Catholics and the validity of their baptism. An examination of the period reveals that this was more than just a theological debate over baptism and conversion. It was, in fact, more of a struggle between Kyrillos and the metropolitans of the Synod over the control of the finances of the Patriarchate. Among the actors involved in the controversy were the Orthodox guilds of Istanbul. Kyrillos was supported by the guild members of the city, who had a say in the control of the finances of the Patriarchate. Finally, Kyrillos was restored to his seat as a result of a popular revolt in September 1752. However, his struggle with the metropolitans did not end. In his second patriarchal term, he successfully made use of the Ottoman policy to send the metropolitans in Istanbul back to their dioceses. In this way, he aimed to transfer the financial control of the Patriarchate from the metropolitans to the guild members. The struggle of Kyrillos was not a personal struggle, but a professional one. The Porte's policy of supporting Kyrillos, however, reached its limit in 1757. This was most likely due to two reasons: the effort by the Porte to balance the grievances of the French against the ultra-Orthodox patriarch, and also possibly an attempt to curb popular support for Kyrillos, which was dangerous for *nizâm*.

The period of Kyrillos was a time of respite in the course of the increasing power of the metropolitans *vis-à-vis* the patriarch. The official attempts of the metropolitans of the Synod to increase their power had begun by the 1740s. After the end of Kyrillos's patriarchal term, the struggle of the metropolitans accelerated. Finally, by 1763, the metropolitans had consolidated their power *vis-à-vis* the patriarchs, and the system of the *gerondismos* was established. From this point onwards, then, the Patriarchate would be represented by the patriarch and the

resident metropolitans of the Synod. In this way, the personal liability of the patriarch *vis-à-vis* the Porte ended, and the collective representation before the Porte of the patriarch and the metropolitans of the Synod began. As a result, the Patriarchate attained a corporate identity. In the system of the *gerondismos*, the metropolitans of the Synod were the *kefils* of the patriarchs. Corporate identity provided for the representation of the Patriarchate as a group before the Porte, rather than as a person. Again, the argumentation to support change, as reflected in the petitions of the metropolitans and patriarchs, entailed promises for efficient taxation and maintenance of *nizâm* in society.

The patriarchs and the high clergy used all available legal means effectively. An example of their familiarity with Ottoman law relates to the financial burden surrounding the annexations of Peć and Ohrid. The Patriarchate, armed with *fetvas* from the *şeyhülislam* presented in their petitions, managed to clear themselves from the financial claims of debtors or heirs against the metropolitans of the two annexed areas. As opposed to the local Christians, who considered the office of a metropolitan as a corporate body, Islamic law did not recognize a corporate body. For this reason, in many cases local Christians demanded payment of the debts of former metropolitans from their successors. In such cases, the metropolitans would obtain a *fetva* proposing that it was against Islamic law to demand the debts of a former metropolitan from his successor.

The Patriarchate, as an Ottoman institution, was an administrative and religious entity operating sometimes in harmony with and sometimes in opposition to the Porte's decisions. The Ottomans expected the ecclesiastical mechanism to work towards efficient tax collection and the maintenance of law and order. The Patriarch, on the other hand, strived to fulfill this role by using Ottoman state coercion to build

up an unquestionable role as the exclusive intermediary between the Ottoman Orthodox and the state. The view of the Patriarchate and the Ottoman state as two rival, struggling parties is a projection of previous Balkan nationalistic historiography. It seems that the conflict was mainly between the tax-paying *re'âyâ* and the Ottoman state, including the Patriarchate. The premises of the *millet* theory concerning the rift between Muslims and non-Muslims as the major distinction in Ottoman society before the nineteenth century need to be avoided, particularly when considering the position of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul in Ottoman society.

Under variable conditions in the relationship between the patriarchs and the Porte, the Patriarchate adapted to Ottoman conditions in accordance with the diplomatic and economic *status quo*. Rather than being a static entity, the Patriarchate appears to have been an active subject in the urban setting of the imperial city, engaged in a relationship with the financial and social networks of society.

These remarks have arisen from our study through a contextualization of the history of the Patriarchate in terms of eighteenth-century Ottoman realities. The study raises as many questions as it answers. What were the earlier stages of these eighteenth-century developments, especially those occurring in the seventeenth century? What was the earlier role of the patriarch in the administration of justice? What was the motivation behind the annexations of Ohrid and Peć? What was the nature of the liability of the patriarchs in case of debts in time: personal, or corporate? It is hoped that future studies will enable historians to answer these questions.

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Mühimme 88
Mühimme 92
Mühimme 93
Mühimme 155

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APPENDIX A

List of Patriarchs in the 18th-century and documents related to their *Berats*ⁱ

Kallinikos II (3 rd)	1694 - 8 Aug. 1702	1700 ⁱⁱ
Gabriel III	30 Sep. 1702 - Nov. 1707	
Neofytos V	End of Nov. 1707	
Kyprianos I (1 st)	Beg. of 1708 - May 1709	
Athanasios V	May 1709 - 4 Dec. 1711	
Kyrillos IV	4 Dec. 1711- End of Oct. 1713	
Kyprianos I (2 nd)	7 Nov. 1713- 28 Feb. 1714	
Kosmas III	7 Mar. 1714 ⁱⁱⁱ - 23 Mar. 1716	
Ieremias III (1 st)	23 Mar. 1716 ^{iv} - 19 Nov. 1726	1720 ^v , 1725 ^{vi}
(Kallinikos III)	19 Nov. 1726	
Paisios II (1 st)	20 Nov. 1726 - 1733	
Ieremias III (2 nd)	Jan. 1733 - July 1733	
Serafeim I	1733 ^{vii} - 1734	
Neofytos VI (1 st)	Mid-1734 - Sep.? 1740	
Paisios II (2 nd)	8 Aug. 1740 ^{viii} - May 1743	1741 ^{ix}
Neofytos VI (2 nd)	Mid-May 1743 ^x - Mar. 1744	
Paisios II (3 rd)	1744 ^{xi} - 30 Sep. 1748	
Kyrillos V (1 st)	Sep. 1748 ^{xii} - May 1751	
Paisios II (4 th)	May 1751 ^{xiii} - 7 Sep. 1752	
Kyrillos V (2 nd)	7 Sep. 1752 ^{xiv} - 16 Jan. 1757	1754 (<i>cülûs</i>) ^{xv}
Kallinikos III / IV	6 January 1757 ^{xvi} - 27 July 1757	
Serafeim II	27 July 1757 ^{xvii} - 25 Mar. 1761	1757 (<i>cülûs</i>) ^{xviii}
Ioannikos III	26 Mar. 1761 ^{xix} - 21 May 1763	
Samuel Hantzeris (1 st)	24 May 1763 ^{xx} - 5 Nov. 1768	
Meletios II	5 Nov. 1768 ^{xxi} - 11 April 1769	
Theodosios II	16 April 1769 ^{xxii} - 16 Nov. 1773	

Samuel Hantzeris (2nd) 17 Nov. 1773 - 24 Dec. 1774

ⁱ Gedeon, *Patriarchiki Pinakes*, pp. 775-776.

ⁱⁱ KK.d. 2542-10-31 (p. 83/B), (*Gurre-i Cemâziye'l-evvel* 1112 / 14 October 1700). A document of renewal.

ⁱⁱⁱ KK.d. 2542-(0)-44, 45 (pp. 46, 47), (23 *Safer* 1126 / 10 March 1714).

^{iv} KK.d. 2542-01-03 (pp. 7, 8), (10 *Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1128 / 3 April 1716).

^v KK.d. 2542-01-47, 48, 49 (pp. 93-97), (4 *Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1132 / 14 February 1720).

^{vi} KK.d. 2542-08-18, 19 (pp. 17-18), (18 *Safer* 1138 / 26 October 1725).

^{vii} KK.d. 2542-13-01, 02 (pp. 1, 2). (First part is missing). No date but the Patriarch becomes Serafeim, and the previous Patriarch was Ieremias. So it should be 1733. (1145/1146).

^{viii} D.PSK. 11/167 (10 *Receb* 1153 / 30 September 1740) and KK.d. 2542-03-47, 48 (pp. 107-108). The second part of the document is in KK.d. 2542-03-94, 95 (p.200-202).

^{ix} KK.d. 2542-09-02, 03, 04 (pp. 3-5). Renewed *berat*. (3 *Ramazan* 1154 / 12 November 1741).

Related documents: D.PSK 12/ 104,104, 132, 135.

^x KK.d. 2542-09-08, 09 (pp. 9-10) (10 *Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1156 / 3 June 1743).

^{xi} KK.d. 2542-09-30 (p. 31), (10 *Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1157 / 23 April 1744).

^{xii} KK.d. 2542-05- 36, 37 (pp. 33, 34), (21 *Şevvâl* 1161 / 14 October 1748).

^{xiii} KK.d. 2542-06-10 (p. 10), (13 *Şa'bân* 1164 / 7 July 1751).

^{xiv} KK.d. 2542-06-29, 30 (pp. 28, 29), (15 *Zi'l-ka'de* 1165 / 24 September 1752).

^{xv} KK.d. 2540, pp. 39-42 (Date of cülus: 28 *Safer* 1168 / 14 December 1754, Kyrillos's record of *berat*: 22 *Rebî'ü'l-evvel* 1168 / 6 January 1755).

^{xvi} KK.d. 2542-15-21, 22 (pp. 22, 23), (12 *Cemâziye'l-evvel* 1170 / 2 February 1757)

^{xvii} KK.d. 2542-15-33, 34 (pp. 34-35), (28 *Zi'l-ka'de* 1170 / 14 August 1757)

^{xviii} Chidiroglou, *Soultanika Beratia*, pp. 179-189 (16 *Safer* 1171 / 30 October 1757).

^{xix} KK.d. 2542-16-17 (p. 17), (28 *Şaban* 1174 / 4 April 1761)

^{xx} KK.d. 2542-16-43, 44 (pp. 43, 44), (19 *Zi'l-ka'de* 1176 / 1 June 1763).

^{xxi} KK.d. 2542-17-70, 71 (pp. 138-140), (12 *Receb* 1182 / 22 November 1768).

^{xxii} KK.d. 2542-17-81 (p. 160), (14 *Safer* 1183 / 18 June 1769).

APPENDIX B



The Seal of Kyrillos V Karakallos

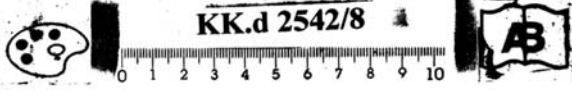


Kyrillos V Karakallos

APPENDIX C

The berat document of Jeremias III, 1725 (KK 2542-08-18, 19)

Handwritten text in a historical document, likely a berat (a type of Ottoman tax receipt or official document). The text is written in a cursive script, possibly Ottoman Turkish or a related language. It is arranged in two columns on a page with a central binding. The document is identified as KK.d 2542/8 and is numbered 284.



Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a legal or administrative document. The text is dense and covers the left half of the page.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a legal or administrative document. The text is dense and covers the right half of the page. At the top right, there are several diagrams or tables with numbers and lines, possibly representing a scale or measurement system.

KK.d 2542/5



Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a religious or legal document, covering the left page of the spread.

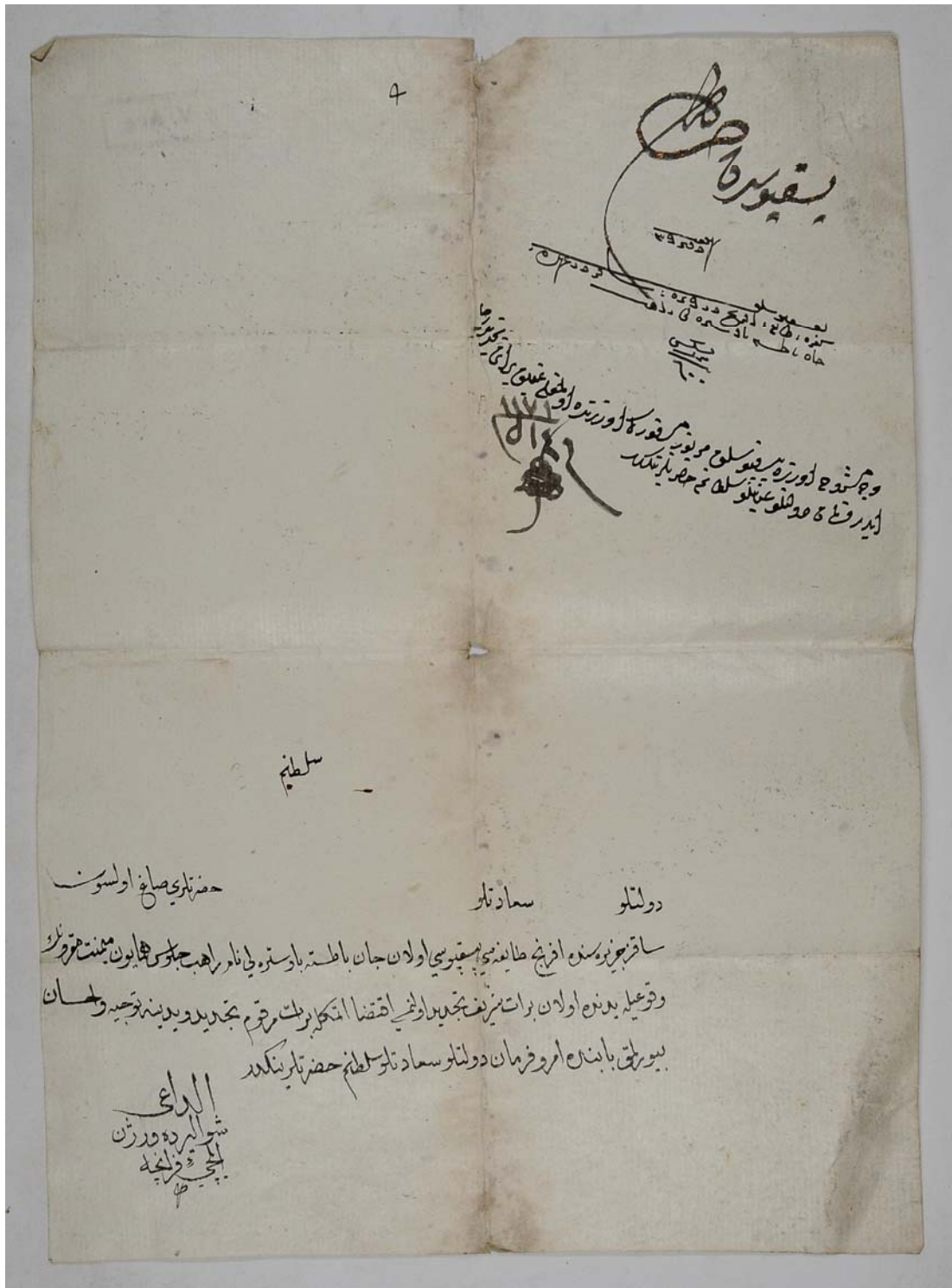
Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a religious or legal document, covering the right page of the spread.

Table with three columns and several rows of handwritten entries, possibly a ledger or record book.



KK.d 2542/17

The petition of the French ambassador for the renewal of the *berat* of the Catholic bishop of Chios, 1758 (D.PSK.22 /33)



A petition of Patriarch Kyrillos, concerning the metropolitan of Dionysios 1754 (D.PSK 20 /25)



The register in the *şikayet defteri* no. 174 concerning Auxentios

