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THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OTTOMAN RELIGIOUS POLICIES IN CRETE
1645-1735: MEN OF FAITH AS ACTORS IN THE *KADI* COURT

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ABSTRACT

The Implementation of Ottoman Religious Policies in Crete 1645-1735: Men of Faith as Actors in the *Kadı* Court

The arrival of the Ottomans in the first half of the seventeenth century was marked by a twofold religious policy on the island: The reestablishment of the Orthodox hierarchy and the establishment of Islam. The reestablishment of the Orthodox hierarchy was in contrast with the religious policy of the previous Catholic Venetian rule. The relationship of the Ottomans with the Patriarchate in Istanbul, as affected by the Protestant and Catholic missionaries from Europe, was a determinant in what was happening in Crete at this period. The establishment of Islam on the other hand was mainly a result of conversions. The Ottomans endorsed the mystical religious orders on the island in this period. After an examination of these processes, this thesis investigates the involvement of the Christian and Muslim men of faith into the new system.

Keywords: Crete, *kadı* court, conversion, Orthodoxy, Islam.

ÖZET

1645-1735 yılları arasında Girit'te Uygulanan Osmanlı Din Politikaları:

Kadı Mahkemesinde Din Adamları

Bu çalışmanın konusu on yedinci yüzyılda Girit'in Osmanlı topraklarına katılmasından hemen sonra adada uygulanan Osmanlı din politikasıdır. Bu politika Venedik yönetimi zamanında adanın yoksun olduğu Ortodoks hiyerarşisinin Osmanlılar tarafından yeniden kurulması ve İslamiyet'in yayılmasını içerir. Ortodoks Kilisesi'nin tekrar kurulması aşamasında adada yaşananlar, Avrupa'dan gelen Katolik ve Protestan misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin Osmanlılar'ın İstanbul'daki Ortodoks Patrikhanesi'yle ilişkilerini etkilemesiyle doğrudan etkileşim içindedir. Adadaki Müslüman nüfusun artması ise başlıca Hıristiyan halkın ihtidasının bir sonucudur. Bu dönemde Girit'te tekkeler ve dervişler Osmanlılar tarafından desteklenmiştir. Bu tezde sözkonusu iki yönlü din politikasının incelenmesinin ardından adadaki din adamlarının yeni sistemle bütünleşmeleri ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Girit, *kadı* mahkemesi, ihtida, Ortodoksluk, İslam.

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INTRODUCTION

The Ottoman conquest of Crete proved to be a long and complicated process for the Ottomans. For twenty five odd years the conflict between the Ottomans and the Venetians for the control of the island and subsequently of Eastern Mediterranean resulted in rather complex societal structures. Both sides endeavored to gain the support of the local primarily Orthodox population during the prolonged years. The methods and the mechanisms employed by the Ottomans in their effort to gain the hearts of the Orthodox is the main core of this thesis' research. I have also looked at the establishment of Islam and the issue of conversion to Islam. My prime research question though is the acts of Muslim and Christian men of faith and their integration into the Ottoman system.

During the Venetian period, the island was devoid of an Orthodox Church hierarchy. The local Orthodox priests were subjected to the authority of Catholic bishops. Since the policies of the Ottomans and Latins were traditionally different, the Ottoman rule brought about a radical difference; that of the establishment of Orthodox hierarchy on the island. Neophytos was appointed as the first metropolitan of Ottoman Crete in 1651. The Ottomans had to make a choice between different parties. The Orthodox metropolitan they had appointed for the first time was involved in a bitter struggle for power with the Sinaid monks, representatives of the Venetian religious policies. The Ottomans gave a church building to the Sinaids, and the metropolitans of Crete were devoid of a cathedral to

do their masses until 1735. The dichotomy of the two parties - Patriarch-Metropolitan and the Sinaids - and the struggle between them concerning authority over the congregation was the main issue in the period under consideration. Although this issue has been investigated before in all works so far, the Ottoman dimension as the factor has been overlooked. They are described as a minor player in the conflict although a decisive one. Therefore, after giving a brief introduction to the background of the subject - that is, the conquest of Crete, the transformation of the seventeenth century and the relationship of the Ottomans to the Orthodox Patriarchate - my second chapter will be an attempt to explain the reasons behind the Ottomans' conscious choice for the Sinaids and the change of policy towards the metropolitan in 1735. A connection between the situation on Crete and the Catholic and Protestant missionaries as a threat for the Ottomans, the political events of the period and the development of the Patriarchate as an institution that the Ottomans needed to rely on, is explored in the second chapter.

The other dimension of the religious policy of the Ottomans concerns the establishment of Islam on the island. The third chapter is an attempt to give the aspects of the establishment of Islam in Crete. Traditionally, the Islamic culture was established on a newly conquered area through the Islamic institutions, and the people who accepted to pay *cizye* were treated under the *zimmi* status. Crete was not an exception. The study aims to examine first briefly the establishment of Islam, conversion of Christian worship places into Muslim ones and then social repercussions. What is unique about Crete is the equation between colonization and the high rate of conversions to Islam. Conversion is a widely studied issue in Ottoman history, and a general picture of conversion in the Empire and in Crete is presented. The function of these new-Muslims in the *kadi* court and the utilization

of opportunities is explored through entries in the *sicils*. In this area Crete is again a unique case. The limited colonization and the extensive Islamization of the island resulted in a rather hybrid of Muslim in faith but Cretan in terms of customs and language population. In order to fully comprehend the “hatred” of the Orthodox population towards the Turcocretans and the longing of these Turcocretans for their land after they were forced to evacuate the island in the 20th century, one would have to examine the formative years, soon after the conquest of the island.

Another aspect of the Ottoman policy of the establishment of Islam was the endorsement of the mystical orders, particularly the Kadiris and the Bektashis. This chapter attempts to give the brief history of these orders’ establishment and the grants of estates and lands by the administration. During this period mystical orders and their *tekkes* were the targets of the conservatives -namely the Kadızadelis- in Istanbul, who was blaming them for the “corruption” of the Ottoman society. The household of the Sultan and the Köprülüs were in a kind of close relationship with them. However, the Porte had traditionally been in good terms with the mystical orders especially for the purpose of the establishment of Islam in the newly conquered areas of the Empire. The study is not attempting to equate the Kadızadelis and state-relations to the activities of religious orders in the island since that would be the subject of another thesis.

In the final chapter the involvement of religious authorities in the Ottoman court in Crete is examined. There are many studies discussing the presence of Christians in the *kadı* court. However, we see in the case of Crete Orthodox religious authorities utilizing the court not only in cases involving Muslims or property or penal law, but also family law, an area the Ottomans had allowed non-Muslims to apply their own law. A reflection of fiscal and administrative changes

and experiments employed by the Ottomans in the seventeenth century is also apparent in court cases. Bishops and metropolitans are not just the religious leaders of their communities but tax-collectors for the Treasury. Conflicts arising between the local population and these *iltizam* owners are abundant in court.

Sources:

The bulk of documents used in this thesis are court records from Rethymnon (Resmo) and Herakleion (Kandiye). Apart from the authenticity stemming from the nature of court records, what makes Cretan records fascinating is that they reflect a period of transition from the just-after-war situation to the complete settlement of the new rule. The court records of Crete which date back to the very early years of Ottoman rule on the island reveal the remnants of the Venetian period and the war aside from the process of the establishment of the new system. The records tell us the story of Cretan local Christians in their dealing with law. They demonstrate how a new social layer is integrating, and how the old system finds a way for itself to continue under the new cover. Christians seem to be very competently using the *kadı* court. The records also offer a sight into a multi-religious society using the same legal system.

There were three *kadıships* in Crete; in Chania, Rethymnon and Candia. Just after the conquests of the cities *kadı*s were appointed.¹ The story of the court records is quite interesting. Some of the records remained in Herakleion (Candia), which are now kept in the archive of the Vikelaia Municipality Library. The archive contains the court records of Crete from 1656 to 1909, most of them belonging to the Candia court. Apart from court records, the archive contains 195 *vakf defters*

¹ Ayşe Nükhet Adıyeke and Nuri Adıyeke, "Newly Discovered in Turkish Archives: *Kadı* Registers and Other Documents on Crete", *Turcica*, 32, 2000, pp. 447-448.

from 1829-1898 and 40 *defters* concerning the population exchanges. They were catalogued by Nikolaos Stavriniades and Vassilis Demetriades.² The records of Chania were presumably destroyed during a fire in 1897.³

A part of the records in Candia were translated and published in five volumes as a result of a life-term work by Nikolaos Stavriniades. In 1899, translation offices were opened in the cities of Crete.⁴ In 1909 Georgios Oikonomides was appointed as the director to the one in Herakleion (Candia) and managed to transfer the Ottoman records from the Administration of the *Vakfs* of Crete to the translation office short time after the population exchange of 1924.⁵ Stavriniades started his work in 1931 as a translator in the translation office. They worked with Oikonomides for a short time. From 1933 to 1937, the office was closed as a result of the efforts of people who show themselves harmed by the evidence provided in property cases. The office was reopened in 1937, and the director was Stavriniades, who started to catalog the documents. His work was interrupted by World War II in 1941. When he came back after the mess, he was terrified to see that Ottoman records were scattered in the streets. By the help of his friend Stergios Spanakes, the director of the Vikelaia Library, he moved the documents to the library.⁶ The fact that Ottoman was the native language of Stavriniades makes the translations more

² Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "The Turkish Archive of the Vikelaia Municipality Library of Herakleion (Kandiye)", *Balkanlar ve İtalya'da Şehir ve Manastır Arşivlerindeki Türkçe Belgeler Semineri (16-17 Kasım 2003)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003, p. 25.

³ Adnan Ekşigil, "Girit Kadı Defterleri", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Vol. 8, No: 43, July 1987, p. 10.

⁴ Translation offices were opened in other places as well. See Evangelia Balta, "Ottoman Archives in Greece", *Balkanlar ve İtalya'da Şehir ve Manastır Arşivlerindeki Türkçe Belgeler Semineri (16-17 Kasım 2003)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003, p. 20.

⁵ Ekşigil, "Girit Kadı Defterleri", p. 10.

⁶ Ekşigil, "Girit Kadı Defterleri", p. 11.

than reliable.⁷ The translation work in Herakleion continued under the directorship of Elizabeth Zachariadou.⁸

Until recently, it was unknown that Ottoman documents including *kadı* records from Crete, Salonica, Kavala, Vodina and the islands were brought to Istanbul during the population exchange.⁹ *Kadı* records from Crete were discovered in Istanbul by Nükhet and Nuri Adıyeke.¹⁰ 210 of these documents are *kadı* court records from Chania, Candia and Rethymnon.¹¹

For this study, the earliest *kadı* court records of Rethymnon, numbered 56 (1061-1067), 57 (1064-1065),¹² 98 (1075-1078) and 85 (1084-1091) have been used. These are located in the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive in Istanbul. For the same period up until roughly 1750 the Greek translations of the records in Vikelaia Library by Stavrinides have been examined. The translation of the third code by Karatzikos and Foteinos has also been utilized.

I have also used contemporary poems describing the conquest and settlement of the Ottomans on the island like Bouniales, Kladopoulos and Skliros

⁷ Zachariadou says Stavrinides was a Karamanli in “Vikelaia Municipality Library” p. 26, and Nuri Adıyeke says in “Stavrinidis ve Girit’teki Osmanlı Kadı Sicilleri”, *Kebikeç*, No: 17, 2004, p.17 that he was born in İzmir.

⁸ The project performed by the Program of Turkish Studies of the Institute of Mediterranean Studies, in collaboration with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences of Budapest. The first publication is the translation of the Third code by Karatzikos and Foteinos which has been utilized for this study. Eleni Karantzikou and Pinelopi Foteinou, *Ierodikeio Irakleiou: Tritos Kodikas (1669/73-1750/67)*, [The Court of Candia: The Third Code] ed. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, Herakleion: Vikelaia Municipality Library, 2003.

⁹ Ayşe Nükhet Adıyeke, “Mübadeleye Dair Gizli Kalmış bir Arşiv”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, April 2000, p. 18. See the article for the adventure of the records.

¹⁰ See Nükhet and Nuri Adıyeke’s article: “Newly Discovered in Turkish Archives: *Kadı* Registers and Other Documents on Crete”, *Turcica*, 32, 2000, pp. 447-463.

¹¹ Adıyeke, “Newly Discovered”, p. 454.

¹² The PhD thesis of Mustafa Oğuz is the transcription of two *sicil defters* of Rethymnon no. 56 and 57 which has been used for this study. *Girit (Resmo) Şer’iye Sicil Defterleri (1061-1067)*, Marmara Üniversitesi, Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Türk Tarihi Ana Bilim Dalı, Yeniçağ Tarihi Bilim Dalı, Istanbul, 2002, unpublished PhD Thesis.

found in Nikolaos Tomadakis' *History of the Church of Crete under Turkish Rule*.¹³ These poems are not devout of the personal opinion of the authors. Their partiality though is counterbalanced by the description of the mechanisms used by local pressure groups of mixed Orthodox and Muslim origin in the struggle for religious power on the island. This makes them invaluable. The Patriarchical letters and orders (*sigillion*) are also very important in illuminating dark areas of these struggle and even providing the background to understand imperial orders related to Christian affairs and found in the court records. Only through combining both Greek and Ottoman sources a more accurate picture came into place.

Finally a small note on methodology is in place. This study considers people in the court records whose names are followed by “bin(t) Abdullah” and “bin(t) Abdülmennan” as converts to Islam. Apart from their names, converts to Islam are defined by the words *nevmüslim* and *mühtedi* in the court records. The method of considering names followed by “bin(t) Abdullah” as an evidence of conversion to Islam has been questioned by Nükhet Adıyeke. She does not consider “bin Abdullah”s as converts, but only those defined as *nevmüslim* or *mühtedi*. She also claims that if she had done so, the number of converts would be multiplied by six or seven.¹⁴ Among the historians who accept “bin Abdullah”s as converts are Zachariadou, Zeljaskova, and Jennings.¹⁵

¹³ Tomadakis, Nikolaos B., *Istoria tes Ekklesias Kretes Epi Tourkokratias (1645-1898)*, [*History of the Church of Crete under the Turkish Rule: 1645-1898*] Athens: Typografeion Iordanou Myrtidi, 1974.

¹⁴ Ayşe Nükhet Adıyeke, “XVII. Yüzyıl Girit (Resmo) Şeriye Sicillerine Göre İhtida Hareketleri ve Girit'te Etnik Dönüşüm”, presented in XIV. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 9-13 September 2002, unpublished, p. 6.

¹⁵ Zachariadou, “Vikelaia Municipality Library”, p. 27.

Ronald C. Jennings, “Zimmis (Non-Muslims) in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri”, *Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1999, p. 363, p. 376.

Antonina L. Zeljaskova, “Ottoman-Turkic Colonization in Albania and Some Aspects of the Ensuing Demographic Changes” *Études Balkaniques* (Sofia), No: 2, 1984, p. 80. Zeljaskova not only takes bin Abdullah, but also the second generation converts not indicated as “bin Abdullah”s”.

I have not endeavored to calculate the Muslim population of Crete, such a task is rather troublesome since the *tahrir defters* of Crete have been written in a different manner. The new system of paying by *maktu* ' is probably responsible for a registration not on the basis of *hanes* but villages. Only the Christians were recorded for the purpose of determining the amount of *cizye* to be paid.¹⁶ However, I have utilized the conclusions reached by Ersin Gülsoy who has studied the *tahrir defters*.¹⁷

¹⁶ See Molly Greene, "An Islamic Experiment? Ottoman Land Policy on Crete" *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 11 no. 1, pp. 60-78.

¹⁷ Ersin Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi ve Osmanlı İdaresinin Kurulması (1645-1670)*, İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2004. See also his "Osmanlı Tahrir Geleneğinde Bir Değişim Örneği: Girit Eyaleti'nin 1650 ve 1670 Tarihli Sayımları", *Pax Ottomana: Studies in Memoriam, Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, Haarlem: Sota; Ankara :Yeni Türkiye, 2001. pp. 183-204.

CHAPTER I: THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE CONQUEST OF CRETE

i. The Conquest of Crete

After the conquest of Cyprus in 1571, the Ottoman-Venetian relations were characterized by a peace period of nearly seventy years.¹⁸ In the last years of Murad IV's (1623-1640) reign, the relations became tense.¹⁹ When some Algerian and Tunisian pirates attacked Crete and took refuge in Avlona, the Venetians attacked not only the pirates, but also ruined the minaret and some parts of the castle in Avlona. This offended the Ottomans, but the ongoing Safavid war was keeping the Ottomans busy and the risk faced by the Venetians to lose Crete prevented a new Ottoman-Venetian war.²⁰ The Ottomans however had reasons to capture Crete at a convenient time. The importance of the incorporation of Crete into the Ottoman territory lay in the strategic position of the island in the Mediterranean Sea, on the way to Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Tripoli. The security of the sea way to these provinces was crucial since it was a pilgrimage route and the route for food supplies to Istanbul.²¹ Also, the island was potentially a suitable base for the Ottoman

¹⁸ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, p. 23.

¹⁹ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. III, Part I, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973, p. 216.

²⁰ Cemal Tukin, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Girit İsyanları: 1821 Yılına kadar Girit", *Belleten*, Vol: IX, No: 34, April 1945, p. 189.

²¹ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, p. 24.

navy.²² For the Venetians, on the other hand, after the loss of Cyprus, keeping Crete gained much more importance as it was a safe port for their trading galleys.²³

The empirical reason of the expedition towards Crete was the Maltese pirate attack in 1054/1644 on the galley carrying Sünbül Ağa, the *Dar-üs-sade Ağası* exiled to Egypt, Bursalı Mehmed Efendi, the newly appointed *kadı* of Mecca, and other people intending to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. Many people were killed including Sünbül Ağa, and the *kadı* of Mecca and sixty more people were captured. The loot was delivered by the Maltese pirates to the Venetian governor in Crete. The so called “Sünbül Ağa Event” became the long-expected pretext for the Ottomans to prepare the fleet against Crete.²⁴ The report of the *provveditore generale* (general inspector) of Crete Isepo Civran to the Senate of the Venetian Republic in 1639 reveals that the Venetians were expecting the Maltese and Florentine pirates’ attacks to trigger an Ottoman expedition.²⁵

As a first step, Yusuf Paşa was appointed as the *serdar* of Crete, and the navy was prepared for the expedition. In 1645, the Ottoman navy landed on Chania on the west of Crete and the fortress surrendered after a siege of 54 days. A few months later, Deli Hüseyin Paşa was appointed as the new *serdar* to the island. In the mean time, the Venetians were struggling to prevent the Ottoman forces to go out of the Dardanelles. Hüseyin Paşa managed to capture Apokoron, Rethymnon, Kisamos and Milopotamos in 1646 and transferred his headquarters to Rethymnon. The next and last target was Candia. For a few years, Hüseyin Paşa struggled to capture the fortress of Candia as a competent commander but the help from Istanbul to Crete was scarce due to the Venetian efforts and the strength of the fortress

²² Tükin, “Girit İsyancıları”, p. 186.

²³ Tükin, “Girit İsyancıları”, pp. 183-184.

²⁴ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 217.

²⁵ Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 13, quoting from Stergios Spanakes.

resulted in failure to capture the stronghold of the island.²⁶ In the meantime, the Ottoman failure encouraged the Venetians to capture Bozcaada (Tenedos) in July 1656 and Limni in August 1656.²⁷ The islands were recaptured by the Ottomans the following year.²⁸ For more than twenty years, Candia was in the hands of the Venetians and the rest of the island was under the control of the Ottomans. It took almost twenty five years of struggle to finally take Candia from the Venetians. The prolonged siege and failure to capture the last castle caused a distress in the capital and added to economic problems. Finally, the grand *vezir* Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa was appointed as *serdar* for Crete in February 1666, and arrived in Crete in October 1666. The efforts of the Venetian ambassadors to prevent the capture of the fortress of Candia in return for money were fruitless.²⁹ The siege lasted for two and a half years, until the end of August 1669. Finally, after a siege of 28 months, the Venetian commander Francesco Morosini decided to surrender. In September 1669 as a result of the negotiations, the peace treaty of Palaiokastro was signed.³⁰ The fortress of Candia would be given to the Ottomans, and the three islands of Souda, Spinalonga and Grambousi would remain in Venetian hands. These three islands were taken by the Ottomans during the expedition of Morea in 1715.³¹ In the long war with the Ottomans, the Venetians were helped by France, the Papacy, Malta and Florence, prolonging thus the war.³²

²⁶ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, pp. 216-222.

²⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 298.

²⁸ Robert Mantran, "İkiritish" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. III, Leiden: Brill, p.1086 and Cemal Tukin, "Girit", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. IV, M.E.B., p. 794. See Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, pp. 112-125 for details.

²⁹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, pp. 416-418.

³⁰ Panagiotis Nikousios was with Köprülü as the *divan* translator. Skordili and Anandi were the delegates of the Venetian side during the negotiations. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, pp. 418-419.

³¹ Tukin "Girit" p. 794.

³² Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 420.

For the conquest of Crete by the Ottomans, see Ersin Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, pp. 217-222, 296-298, 326-342, 414-421. Tukin, *Girit İsyamları*, pp. 189-194. Tukin, "Girit", pp. 791-804. Mantran "İkiritish", pp. 1086-1087.

According to the first *tahrir* completed in 1650, the island was organized into four *sancaks*; Hanya (Chania), Resmo (Rethymnon), Kandiye (Candia) and İstiye (Sitia) and twenty *nahiyes*, dependent on the *beylerbeyilik* of Chania. After Candia was taken, it became the new center of the *eyalet* of Crete, and Angebut Ahmet Paşa was appointed the *beylerbeyi* of Crete.³³

ii. An Overview of Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Empire

Quataert's observation that in the seventeenth century, "the sultans reigned, but did not rule" characterizes the period when the Crete adventure started and war concluded for the Ottomans.³⁴ The prolonged conquest of Crete started during the reign of Sultan İbrahim I (1640-1648) and finally was settled in 1669 at the period of Mehmed IV (1648-1687). İbrahim I was known for his mental distresses due to the fear of being executed by his brother Murad IV, whereas Mehmed IV was a child when he came to throne. The state control was presumed to be in the hands of the mothers and wives of the sultan, particularly İbrahim's mother Kösem Valide Sultan and later on Mehmed's mother Turhan Valide Sultan. The same historian thinks that Sultan Mehmed IV "served as a symbol of a system that functioned in his name".³⁵ In such a system the Köprülü family played an essential role in government. In 1656, Köprülü Mehmed Paşa was given the executive powers by Mehmed IV. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Köprülü family directed the state as grand *vezirs*.³⁶ Indeed the commander who managed to finally take the fortress of Candia was Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa.

³³ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, pp. 225-226. See pp. 226-227 for the administrative organization of Crete according to the tax-registers of 1650 and 1670.

³⁴ Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire: 1700-1922*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 33.

³⁵ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 33.

³⁶ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, pp. 367-433 and Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 43.

The post-classical age of the Ottoman Empire witnessed a radical transformation period in fiscal, military and administrative terms which were not independent from each other. The end of the sixteenth century was marked by economic problems. The devaluation of 1585-86 brought about the irretrievable downfall of *akçe* in the market, and its replacement by European coinage until the invention of a new unit of currency at the end of the seventeenth century. Among the factors of the economic decline were the expenses of the sixteenth century wars with the Habsburgs (1593-1606) and the Safavids (1578-1590), and the unrest in Anatolia. The arrival of Europeans in the New World caused a shift of balance in the East-West trade and the flow of silver from America influenced the function of Ottoman mines in the Balkans. The transfer of the trade route to the East after the discovery of the route of southern Africa was another cause for the decline of Ottoman economy.³⁷ The devaluation of *akçe* (*tashih-i sikke*) was a repeated phenomenon reoccurring in the years 1600, 1618, 1624 and 1640.³⁸

The military failures on the battlefield in Europe were a sign of the necessity for the Ottomans to adapt to the technology of Europe.³⁹ The *timarlı sipahis*, the backbone of the Ottoman army during the classical age and the basis of the fiscal system of the Empire, were proving to be ineffective in the wars and for the security of the villages.⁴⁰ The first measure taken by the Ottomans was to increase the number of Janissaries. The second was to organize mercenaries in Anatolia, namely the *sekban* and *sarıca*, and to recruit peasants.⁴¹ “The profound

³⁷ See Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, pp. 143-161.

³⁸ Pamuk, *Paranın Tarihi*, p. 153.

³⁹ The situation was apparent in the reports from the battlefield. See Halil İncalcık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700”, *Archivum Ottomanicum*, Vol. VI, 1980, p. 288.

⁴⁰ İncalcık, “Military and Fiscal”, p. 285.

⁴¹ İncalcık, “Military and Fiscal”, pp. 288-297.

changes in the size and composition of Janissaries ultimately created social, political and economical problems, as the state was unable to satisfy their expectations, such as regular payments of salaries. From the late 16th to early 19th century, several military revolts occurred in Istanbul and other cities.”⁴²

Connected to these military developments, the fiscal system of the Empire underwent radical changes. As a result of the growing need of cash, the taxes assigned to the *sipahis* -who were not functional anymore- as a return of their military services would now be collected by another method and spent directly for the military expenses. The solution was to increase the application of the *iltizam* system. *İltizam* was not a kind of revenue, but a system of tax-collection, which was already in use during the classical age parallel to the *timar* system. It was functional for the conversion of taxes in kind into cash. Therefore, the need for cash increased the expansion of this system.⁴³

The measures taken in order to finance the mercenaries were the introduction of new taxes - *imdatiyye* - and conversion of irregular taxes of *avarız* and *nüzul* into regular ones, instead of increasing regular taxes, an act which could have resulted in social upheavals. Also, the *maktu*’ system was more used.⁴⁴ *Maktu*’ system was another method of tax-collection. It was “a lump sum amount a community had to pay in collective taxes to the state, and was usually arrived at by direct agreement between the taxpayers and the government”.⁴⁵ “The collection of *maktu*’ was made the duty of the *imams* and the *kethüdas* of the villages and the city districts. Thus, large-scale application of the *maktu*’ system was bound to bring

⁴² Kafadar, Cemal, The Question of Ottoman Decline, *Harvard Middle East and Islamic Review*, 1999, p. 55.

⁴³ Mehmet Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*. İstanbul: Ötüken, 2000, pp. 100-102.

⁴⁴ İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal”, p. 313.

⁴⁵ İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal”, p. 333.

about some major social and administrative changes”.⁴⁶ Another major change resulting from the need to increase revenues was that the *cizye* tax that was collected on the basis of households, started to be collected from the individuals from 1691 on.⁴⁷

The *iltizam* (tax-farming) system was a short-term solution for providing cash for the Treasury. In the beginning, the *iltizams* were assigned for three-year periods. However in time, the system produced its own problems. Thus, the state shifted from short-term to long-term farming in 1695, at the height of the Habsburg war.⁴⁸ In the new *malikâne* system, the taxes were being farmed for life-time periods. A lump sum (*muaccele*) to be paid for the *mukataas* to be sold as *malikâne*, apart from the *müeccele* to be paid yearly, constituted the intended revenue for the treasury.⁴⁹ The purpose was to increase revenues and to overcome the defects of three-year farming, namely the over-taxation of the *reaya*. The problem was not limited to the abuses of the *mültezims*. The peasants had to borrow in order to pay for the taxes paid in cash.⁵⁰ One of the major social effects of the changes in the fiscal system was the rise of local notables and subsequent decentralization.⁵¹

⁴⁶ İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal”, p. 334. See chapter IV about the situation in Crete and tax collectors.

⁴⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Crisis and Change”, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, eds. Halil İnalçık, Donald Quataert, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 532.

See Halil İnalçık, “Djizya” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. II, Leiden: Brill. pp. 562-566.

⁴⁸ Ahmet Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme Dönemine Girerken Osmanlı Maliyesi*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1985, pp.122-128.

See also Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi*, Alan Yayıncılık, 1986, pp. 27-73.

⁴⁹ Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, p. 106, Tabakoğlu, p. 129.

⁵⁰ Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, p. 104-105. See his chapter on “Malikâne Sistemi” in *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, pp. 99-147.

⁵¹ See İnalçık’s, “Military and Fiscal Transformation”.

See also Halil İnalçık, “Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration”, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, eds. Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, London: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977.

Canay Şahin, *The Rise and Fall of an Ayân Family in Eighteenth Century Anatolia: The Caniklîzâdes (1737-1808)*, Bilkent University, Ankara, 2003. [Unpublished PhD Thesis].

Historians have argued extensively and vigorously whether the changes in the 17th century were a sign of decline or transformation. “Should we see these as signs of corruption and decline?” Kafadar asks in his article on the question of Ottoman decline.⁵² The changes described so far were regarded as signs of corruption by the contemporaries of the period. Their judgment was that “the *reaya* had invaded the military institution reserved for the *kuls*”⁵³ which was contrary to the circle of justice. Their concern was to preserve the old regulations and institutions. Such an interpretation within the framework of the traditional notions of oriental statecraft often reached misleading conclusions and predictions according to İnalcık.⁵⁴ Not only the contemporaries, but historians who had the opportunity to read about the final downfall of the Empire in the twentieth century teleologically interpreted the changes as signs of decline as well. However, historiography after 1970s initiated a new approach, away from the fatalism of the decline model.⁵⁵ They discussed the Ottomans’ flexibly adapting the necessities of the period. According to Kafadar, “modification of the classical system, given the changing conditions of warfare and the state’s increasing need for cash, was inevitable. Thus, the corruptions could be seen as pragmatic adjustments to new times.”⁵⁶ Linda Darling in a similar fashion assesses the economic transformation as

⁵² Kafadar, “The Question of Ottoman Decline”, p. 53.

⁵³ İnalcık, “Military and Fiscal”, p. 283.

⁵⁴ İnalcık, “Military and Fiscal”, pp. 283-284.

⁵⁵ For an overview of the historiography of the Ottoman Decline see:

Mehmet Öz, “*Onyedinci Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti: Buhran, Yeni Şartlar ve Islahat Çabaları Hakkında Genel Bir Değerlendirme*”, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, No: 58, December 1999, pp. 48-53.

Cemal Kafadar, *The Question of Ottoman Decline*, *Harvard Middle East and Islamic Review*, 1999, pp. pp. 32-75.

Rhoads Murphey, “Continuity and Discontinuity in Ottoman Administrative Theory and Practice during Late-Seventeenth Century”, *Poetics Today*, Vol. 14, No: 2, Cultural Processes in Muslim and Arab Societies: Medieval and Early Modern Periods (Summer 1993), pp. 419-443.

Linda Darling, “Ottoman Fiscal Administration: Decline or Adaptation?” *The Journal of European Economic History*, Vol. 26, No: 1, Spring 1997, pp. 157-179.

⁵⁶ Kafadar, “The Question of Ottoman Decline”, p. 53.

a response to the social, political and economic challenges of the period.⁵⁷ Murphey considers the events of the seventeenth century as a successful response towards the challenges of the post-1650 European world order. “At the end of the seventeenth century, the sense of crisis generated primarily with the military defeat at Vienna legitimized the pursuit of all avenues that could help to revitalize the Muslim economy and society”.⁵⁸ Perhaps what we call Cretan peculiarities in terms of the land system and taxation registration and collection applied on Crete by the Ottomans is a reflection of the ongoing military, fiscal and social transformation the Empire was going through.

iii. The Ottoman Policy towards the Orthodox Patriarchate in the 17th Century

The Ottoman policies towards the Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul during the 17th century are interrelated to political events, religious developments in Europe after the spread of Protestantism and complex alliances between the Patriarchs, lay dignitaries of the Patriarchate and foreign missions to the Porte.

The Ottomans attempted to play down the influence of Venice and the Pope in the empire by forming alliances with small states like Milano and Ferrara, already in the 14th century. In the 16th century the Ottomans were major players in European politics, acting either as threat towards the Habsburgs or as allies to the French. They were also instrumental in the formation of national states like Holland and the establishment of France and England.⁵⁹

Galati-Fischer and Kortepeter discuss the ways Protestants made use of the conflict between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs. Kortepeter in his study gives an

⁵⁷ See Linda Darling “Ottoman Fiscal Administration: Decline or Adaptation?”

⁵⁸ Murphey, “Continuity and Discontinuity”, p. 426, p. 427.

⁵⁹ Halil İnalçık, “Osmanlı'nın Avrupa ile Barışıklığı: Kapitülasyonlar ve Ticaret”, *Doğu Batı: Makaleler I*, Istanbul: Doğu Batı, 2005, pp. 261-262.

account of how Ottoman Hungary became Protestant. The anti-Reformation zeal of the Papacy and the Habsburgs was an important tool in the Ottoman success in the region. Lutheranism was tolerated in Transylvania. The Ottomans also capitalized on the Papacy's mistake to reimpose Catholicism by way of Habsburg armies. Thus, the Ottoman control in the area remained until 1669.⁶⁰

On the other hand, the beginning of the 17th century was a period when both Catholics and Protestants attempted to infiltrate into the Ottoman Empire by developing their connections to Patriarchs or using missionaries. Jesuits and Franciscans were active especially after 1622 under the strong patronage of France. Western ambassadors also became active in the Patriarchal elections.⁶¹ Even financial support was given to candidates to the throne to ensure their election.⁶² The Ottomans were not, however, unaware of these activities and the role of the Patriarchate played as the head of the *millet*. It is not, thus, surprising to see four Patriarchs, Kyrillos I, Parthenios II, Parthenios III and Gabriel II being executed as an indirect result of western interventions.⁶³ The operation of Jesuit schools soon after 1540s had its influence on Orthodox Patriarchs.⁶⁴ Metrophanes who was a Patriarch from 1565 to 1572 was excommunicated by the Holy Synod in 1572 because of his Roman affiliations.⁶⁵ In the 17th century Raphael II and Neophytos II had unionist with Rome tendencies due to their connection to Jesuit fathers. The subsequent Patriarch Timotheos II was equally friendly towards Rome. The list of

⁶⁰ See Stephen Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism: 1521-1555*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Carl Max Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus*. New York: New York University Press, 1972.

⁶¹ Timothy Ware, *Eustratios Argenti: A Study of the Greek Church under Turkish Rule*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, p. 16.

⁶² Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968, p. 203.

⁶³ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 201.

⁶⁴ For the relation of the Orthodox Church to Rome, see Runciman, *The Great Church*, pp. 230-237, Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, pp. 16-42.

⁶⁵ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 230.

sympathizers to the unionist case also includes the Patriarchs Gregory IV, Kyrillos II Kontares and Athanasios III Patelaros, a relative of the later metropolitan of Crete Neophytos Patelaros. Ioannikos II who was taken to Crete by the Venetians in order to influence the Orthodox kept correspondence with Rome during his Patriarchical term, but cautiously avoided any submission.⁶⁶ Among the last Patriarchs suspected of Roman tendencies were Athanasios V and “one or two of his successors”.⁶⁷ Runciman explains the decline of Roman influence upon the Patriarchs on “the growing influence of Russia [who] made the Orthodox less eager to seek for friends in the West”.⁶⁸

The relationship of the Orthodox and the Lutherans is another point of interest.⁶⁹ The first approach dates in 1542 due to the efforts of Philip Melanchton, a professor of Greek at Wittenberg. He was friendly to the Prince of Moldavia, James Basilicus Marchetti who was claiming to be the cousin of the Patriarch Ioasaph II. Marchetti’s efforts to reform the Orthodox Moldavian Church along Lutheran doctrines eventually failed due to scandals. However, “abundant evidence shows

⁶⁶ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 232, referring to Goffman.

⁶⁷ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 233, quoting from S. Vailhé.

⁶⁸ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 234. Roman inclinations were observable in the provinces and on Mount Athos as well. In 1628, an abbot from Mount Athos, Ignatios visited Rome and asked for a priest to be sent from Rome to Mount Athos in order to establish a school for the monks. In 1635, a former student of the College of St. Athanasios Nicholas Rossi from Rome opened a school at Karyes on Mount Athos. In 1641, the Ottomans, unpleased to see Roman influence on Mount Athos, ordered the school to be moved to Thessalonica. Rossi died a year later, and the school died away. In 1643, Holy Synod of Mount Athos asked for a church in Rome for the visiting Athonite monks, in return for a *skete* or a *kellion* for monks from Rome. (Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 233, quoting from G. Hoffmann. Also in Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 22 quoting from the same place and from Grigoriou.) Submission to Rome was announced by some provincial prelates in the seventeenth century including three metropolitans of Ochrid, one metropolitan of Rome and one of Lacedaemon. (Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 233, quoting from Hoffman. Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, pp. 27-28) The Metropolitan of Aegina, Damaskinos wrote to the Pope in 1680 to send two qualified Jesuit priests to the island (Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, pp. 22-23.)

⁶⁹ See Runciman, *The Great Church*, pp. 238-258.

Anhegger, Robert. “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Hıristiyanlar ve İç Tartışmaları I”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, Vol. 9, no: 46, October 1987, pp. 54-56 / 246-248.

Anhegger, Robert. “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Hıristiyanlar ve İç Tartışmaları II”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, Vol. 9, no: 47, November 1987, pp.17-19 / 27-275.

that the Patriarchate was worried by missionary work in the Principalities”.⁷⁰ This is a period when the interest of the Orthodox Patriarchate and the Porte seemed to be in conflict. Successive Patriarchate looked up to the West for allies to improve their position, whereas the Porte supported Protestantism in Europe to use as political tool. Needless to say that Lutherans had little sympathy towards the Ottomans.

The advance of the Turks in Europe helped Protestantism flourish, but this does not entail the Lutheran intellectuals’ sympathy to the Ottomans. As Setton shows in his article, “the Lutherans derived much benefit from the activities of the Turks without having any kind of alliance with them”.⁷¹ According to Lutherans the Antichrist was the Turks in flesh and the Pope in spirit.⁷² Luther, in a famous thirty fourth article of the forty one tenets -condemned by the Pope in 1520- had proposed that “to fight against the Turks is to oppose the judgment God visits upon our iniquities through them”.⁷³ This was because Luther thought that the Turks were the punishment of God against the Christians’ sins, and it was the business of the princes to fight rather than the Pope’s. Luther considered Turks and Islam as dangerous as the Pope against Germany and Christianity. Behind the Lutherans’ approach towards Eastern Christianity, there was the “dark shadow of the Turk”.⁷⁴

An excellent example of a pro-Protestant Patriarch and the involvement of foreign missions and the Porte during his terms is Kyrillos Loukaris. His Patriarchal term from 1620 to 1638 was interrupted five times by his Pro-Catholic enemies. His story demonstrates very well the intervention of Catholic and Protestant Embassies to the Patriarchal throne. Loukaris’ proximity towards the Calvinists has been linked to his anti-Catholicism (by Hering) and to his personal

⁷⁰ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 245.

⁷¹ Kenneth M. Setton, “Lutheranism and the Turkish Peril”, *Balkan Studies*, Vol. III, 1962, p.164

⁷² Setton, “Lutheranism”, p. 151.

⁷³ Setton, “Lutheranism”, p.142

⁷⁴ Setton, “Lutheranism”, p.165

relationships with the Dutch (by Runciman). Although his hostility to Rome was not consistent,⁷⁵ his intention was to prevent the Jesuit missionaries in the Ottoman lands. He had quite good relations with Venice, and in many cases he was the intermediary between the Porte and the Venetians. For example, at a time of scarcity of wheat in Constantinople, Loukaris asked the Porte to export wheat to the Venetians, something that the Porte would refuse, if the *bailo* had asked personally.⁷⁶ In return, a lot of money was given to Loukaris by Venice to pay for his *peşkeş*, so as to keep him at his place. So there was a mutual relationship of interest between Venice and Loukaris.⁷⁷

Loukaris was of Cretan origin, and was educated in Padua, Italy.⁷⁸ The Patriarch of Alexandria Meletios Pegas was his cousin, and Loukaris succeeded him in his throne after his death in 1601. During his Patriarchate in Alexandria, his friendship with a Dutchman, Cornelius van Haag, increased his interest in Western religious opinions that he had acquired at Padua and through his Protestant connections in Poland.⁷⁹ When Van Haag became an ambassador to the Sublime Porte in 1602, Loukaris found a very powerful ally.⁸⁰ He made other Dutch friends in the following years, including David Le Leu de Wilhelm. In their correspondences, Wilhelm put forward the Greek need for replacing superstitions with “evangelical simplicity”.⁸¹ Loukaris agreed with Reformers on doctrinal matters. One of his rivals, Patriarch Timothy died just after a dinner with the Dutch ambassador van Haag, friend of Loukaris, in 1620. The Jesuits spread the rumor

⁷⁵ Runciman talks about a letter he had sent to Pope, *The Great Church*, p. 268.

⁷⁶ Gunner Hering, *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio kai Europaiki Politiki 1620-1638*, [Ecumenical Patriarch and European Politics], trans. Dimosthenes Kourtovik, Athens: Morfotiko Idryma Ethnikes Trapezes, 1992, p. 173.

⁷⁷ Hering *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio*, p. 176.

⁷⁸ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 261.

⁷⁹ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 266.

⁸⁰ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 267.

⁸¹ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 267, quoting from Aymon.

that van Haag poisoned Timothy to open the Patriarchal throne for Loukaris.⁸² Irregardless of the truth of the claim, Kyrillos Loukaris did become the new Patriarch of Constantinople. During his Patriarchal period, the Orthodox stance towards the union and Protestantism was for the first time made clear.⁸³ While Loukaris was strongly protected by his foreign Calvinist friends, the Jesuits on the other hand were working hard in connection with the French, including the ambassador Comte de Césy. As a result Loukaris' reign was interrupted by the intrigues of the Jesuits who replaced him with their own candidates several times. An example of intrigues in action was his efforts to establish a printing-house in Istanbul in 1627 where he printed mostly anti-Roman texts. When the French ambassador demonstrated to the Vizier a copy of one of these texts obtained by the Jesuits the Ottomans ordered the destruction of the press.⁸⁴ This decision was reversed only when the Grand Müfti, declared that the press was harmless, and the Christians could state their beliefs. The English Ambassador as well intervened and took the responsibility of opening the press himself. The Vizier then changed his mind and arrested this time the Jesuit intriguers.⁸⁵ Loukaris' friendship with the English and Dutch ambassadors continued even after their replacements. An example of his excellent relation to the Dutch ambassador Van Haag was the dedication of Loukaris' work "Confession of Faith" in Latin to the ambassador. The most controversial theological issues in this work were about images and his insistence on "justification by faith alone" which irritated the traditional Orthodox Greeks.⁸⁶ The Catholics did their best to spread the contents of "Confession" in Constantinople hoping to create as much problem as possible to Loukaris. Loukaris'

⁸² Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 269.

⁸³ Hering *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio*, p. 176.

⁸⁴ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 273.

⁸⁵ Runciman, *The Great Church*, pp. 273-274.

⁸⁶ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 281.

enemies demanded him to leave his heretical ideas and accept union with Rome.⁸⁷ They strived to replace him with their own candidates, and they appealed to Catholic Embassies in order to confront him. Athanasios Patelaros, the metropolitan of Thessalonica and Kyrillos Kontaris were among the Patriarchs supported and paid by the Catholics as an alternative to Kyrillos Loukaris. The efforts of his enemies and his depositions slowly reduced the influence of Loukaris by 1635. Moreover, he was known for his proximity to Protestantism.⁸⁸ Finally in 1638, Kyrillos Kontaris' circle bribed the imperial ambassador Schmid-Schwarzenhorn to accuse Loukaris of treason to the Porte. Loukaris was executed in 1638, and Kontaris was the next Patriarch. Loukaris' efforts had not been able to stop Catholic missionaries. Jesuits were present and active in Crete in 1670.⁸⁹

Around 1700, the good relations between the Ottoman Orthodox and the Roman Church began to diminish. Ware lists a number of reasons; firstly “the Turks for political reasons did not want to see a close rapprochement between Greeks and Latins”; secondly the Protestant embassies in Constantinople as well as individual Protestants visiting the Near East, were glad to drive a wedge between Orthodoxy and Rome.⁹⁰ Particular reasons according to Ware for the increasing of hostility was that the Venetian rule in the Peloponnesos 1685-1718 did all they could to promote the Roman cause, without actively persecuting the Orthodox. The Greek position was thus systematically undermined. In Chios also in 1694-5, Venetian occupation had an unsuccessful effect on the Orthodox-Catholic relations of the island.⁹¹ A further reason was the unexpected success of Catholic propaganda. The amount of

⁸⁷ Hering, *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio*, p. 376.

⁸⁸ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 285.

⁸⁹ Hering *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio*, p. 381.

⁹⁰ Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 23.

⁹¹ Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, pp. 23-24.

converts had alarmed the Orthodox authorities.⁹² Converts were advised by the Catholics to outwardly seem to be Orthodox, which means the existence of Crypto-Catholics within the boundaries of the Orthodox Church. This strategy of secret conversion alarmed the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The same policy was seen in Ukraine at the end of the 16th century.⁹³ Although the relations were not cut off suddenly and completely, acts of submission to Rome decreased after 1700, and such acts became exceptional and untolerated by the Patriarchate in 1750. After 1700, common worships became less frequent. The Patriarchate considered the Catholic missionaries as enemies rather than as fellow-workers.⁹⁴

What was going on in the Patriarchate did concern the Ottomans for two reasons. They wanted to get their taxes paid, and to control the Orthodox population from one center. Therefore it was always important for them to have trust on the Patriarchate. The power of the Patriarchate was increasing as the Phanariots gained control in the eighteenth century. Although the clergy was not content with this much dependence to lay powers, this development was parallel to the policy that the Ottomans wanted to impose upon. In 1766 and 1767 respectively, the autocephalous situation of the archbishoprics of Pec and Ochrid were abolished and they were brought under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This was related to the impact of the Phanariots and to the general policy of the Ottoman state. Among the reasons for this abolishment, historians have put forward reasons that were rooted at the end of the seventeenth century. Hypsilantis connects the abolishment to economical factors and the petitions of the authorities of those seats. Makraios

⁹² Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 24.

⁹³ Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 25.

⁹⁴ Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, pp. 32-33.

agrees with Hypsilantis and insists on economic difficulties.⁹⁵ Runciman stresses the demand of the Phanariot Patriarch of the period, Samuel Hantserlis to have a tighter control over the area.⁹⁶ In the case of Pec, the archbishops were escaping with the Serbian population to the territory of the Habsburgs in 1690.⁹⁷ When the same thing happened in 1736-1739, Ottomans lost their trust in the Serbian religious leaders and replaced them with reliable ones around the Ecumenical Patriarchate.⁹⁸ This was a period of the increase of Phanariot power. From the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards, the archbishoprics would be directed by the archbishops of Greek origin.⁹⁹ Konortas summarizes the reasons of bringing Pec and Ochrid into the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate as, the increase of the Phanariot influence, the financial benefits of the circle of the Patriarchate, and in particular the political choice of the Ottomans.¹⁰⁰ In this way, the geographical jurisdiction of the Patriarchate had increased importantly.¹⁰¹ Strengthening the position of the Patriarchate was thus a policy of the Ottoman State.

Another argument explaining the rise of favour towards the Patriarchate is provided by Baer. In his article analyzing the Ottoman reconstruction policies

⁹⁵ Paraskeuas Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis gia to Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio: 17os- arches 20ou Aiona*. [Ottoman Perception of the Ecumenical Patriarchs: 17th-20th Centuries], Athens: Ekdoseis Alexandria, 1998, p. 217.

Theodore H. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1990, pp. 89-90.

⁹⁶ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 380.

⁹⁷ A similar thing was occurring nearly a century before: "The imperial entity that had been able to establish and maintain a Pax Ottomana in south eastern Europe for more than two centuries was losing its ability to provide protection after the 1683 siege of Vienna, when European forces weakened havoc in various parts of the Balkans, storming as far south as Skopje. The grand *vezir* was taking measures ca. 1690 to repatriate Christian subjects who had moved to non-Ottoman parts of the Balkans." Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline", p. 62.

⁹⁸ Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis*, p. 219.

⁹⁹ Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis*, p. 219, quoting from Hadrovics, *Église*.

¹⁰⁰ Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis*, p. 219.

¹⁰¹ Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis*, p. 220. For the annexations of the archbishoprics, the Ottoman interference was required. Both Hypsilantis and Makraios talk about a sultanic decree which was necessary to secure the Patriarchate from the chance of the reestablishment of the autocephaly of Pec and Ochrid (p. 220).

following the fire of 24 July 1660, Marc Baer demonstrates the exceptional Ottoman policy towards Christian and Jewish houses of worship.¹⁰² Valide Sultan Hatice Turhan built the mosque in her name in Eminönü in order to consolidate her political power and to promote Islam at a time of failure to capture Candia in 1665. The effort to Islamize the district of Eminönü was linked to the impact of the Kadızadeli movement on the figures of the Palace such as Hatice Turhan, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa and Vani Mehmed Efendi. The Jews were deprived of their previous rights about worship places after the fire unequally with the Christians. At this period, the Jews and the Orthodox were competing for the desirable positions of the Palace. At the beginning of the 1660s, Ottoman authorities began to prefer Orthodox Christians to serve to positions previously held by the elite Jews.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Marc David Baer, “The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 36, 2004, pp. 159–181.

¹⁰³ Baer, “The Great Fire”, p. 162.

CHAPTER II: REESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN CRETE

i. Venetian Period

One of the areas of tension emanating from the establishment of the Latins from 1204 onwards in the Eastern Mediterranean was that of religion. In most of the Greek lands under Latin rule, the Orthodox congregations were obliged to admit the authority of the Roman hierarchy, and in others they were free to perform their rituals and customs without interference. According to Runciman, trouble occurred in the larger islands,¹⁰⁴ probably due to the difficulty to exercise full authority. Venetian rule in Cyprus after 1489 created problems between the Orthodox clergy and the rulers. Runciman links the heavy fiscal burden on Orthodox clergy and the confiscation of their properties to the perception the Venetian authorities had about them as potential generators of resistance. Genoese Chios and Peloponnesos experienced a similar kind of tension between the Orthodox and Latin clergy. It is interesting that Venetian rule on Ionian Islands was much more moderate in religious means at the end of the fifteenth century; Orthodox people had a relative freedom of worship.¹⁰⁵ The inconsistency of the Venetian rule was due to the

¹⁰⁴ Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 227.

¹⁰⁵ Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 18, Runciman, *The Great Church*, p. 227.

absence of a conscious policy of sympathy towards the Orthodox similar to the Ottoman one.¹⁰⁶

When the Ottomans arrived in Crete, the Orthodox population of the island was devoid of an established Orthodox Church. The Venetian rule (1204-1669) did not permit the existence of an Orthodox hierarchy in Crete. The Archdiocese of Crete was established according to the Latin models. Traditionally, Latin domination over Orthodox rule rejected the existence of two bishops, one Latin and one Greek from the earliest times of Christianity. For that reason, Greek bishops were replaced by Latins, and the lower Greek clergy was subordinated to the jurisdiction of Latin prelates.¹⁰⁷

In Crete as well, in the place of Orthodox bishops, Latins were installed.¹⁰⁸ Many Latin monks founded monasteries on the island. The Latin archbishop was attached to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople.¹⁰⁹ As the head of the Orthodox churches *protopapas* and *protopsaltes* were appointed. They were civil servants drawing a salary from the Venetian State.¹¹⁰ They were obliged to do mass with Catholics and to commemorate the Pope and the Latin archbishop, and they were

¹⁰⁶ In some places out of Venetian rule, relations between Orthodox-Catholics were quite friendly, as it has been examined in Chapter 1. This is a proof against the argument that these friendly relations were a result of the Venetian rule. Venetians had no such policy. Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 18, fn. 2.

¹⁰⁷ N.P. Zacour and H. W. Hazard, "Social Classes in the Crusader States: The Minorities", *A history of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth Meyer Setton, Vol. V, p. 73.

¹⁰⁸ Religious policy of Venice in Crete was not the same throughout time. In the first decades, still there were Cretan high religious leaders such as Vasilios Varouhas who had the bishopric seat of Milopotamos. After the revolt of Kalergis in the beginning of the 14th century, the bishopric seat of Kalergiopolis was kept by a certain Alexandros, but for a short time. They did not have spiritual jurisdiction for the whole Crete. (Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 201.)

¹⁰⁹ Despite that, great noble families' children would become archbishops, even under-aged ones, who never came to Crete. Theocharis Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes* (History of Crete), Crete: 1990, p. 198.

¹¹⁰ Chryssa A. Maltezou, *E Krete Ste Diarkeia tes Periodou tes Venetokratias 1211-1669*, (Crete During the Venetian Period), Crete: 1990, p. 51, and Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 198. Their relations with the Catholics constituted a serious problem, which had political connotations rather than being a simple ecclesiastical issue. (Maltezou, *Krete ste Diarkeia*, p. 51.)

Unites ordained according to Orthodox creed.¹¹¹ Apart from the abolishment of bishopric seats, the Venetians also forbade the ordination of priests on the island and confiscated the Orthodox church property.¹¹² The Orthodox Cretans who wanted to be ordained had first to take the confirmation of Venetians, pay them money, and then to go to Peloponnesos, Corinth, Ionian islands, or Asia Minor. Then they had to find a bishop to ordain them and acquire a document of ordination. Upon their arrival, the Venetian authorities would investigate the document to be sure of its validity. To become a priest in a church, city, village or a monastery, first the decision of a committee was required, which would then be approved by the feudal lord of the area.¹¹³

The Patriarchate in Constantinople was not disinterested in the situation of Crete. The Orthodox Church of Crete was titled as “displaced” by the Patriarchate as it was outside the physical borders of its jurisdiction.¹¹⁴ The Patriarchate was constantly trying to strengthen the faith of Cretan population under Venetians either through advice or through sending clergymen to the island. Venice was determined to isolate Crete from the Patriarchate because its influence was dangerous for its political integrity.¹¹⁵ The Patriarchate chose metropolitans located outside Crete or gave the title “President of the Church of Crete” to prelates who were generally Cretans. The prelates Nikiforos Moschopoulos around 1285-1332 and Anthimos in the second half of the fourteenth century are two of the “Presidents” (*proedros*) of the Church of Crete.¹¹⁶ Emperor John V Palaiologos and Patriarch Neilos had

¹¹¹ Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes*, p.198. Detorakis dubbed these priests whose seats were in the towns of Crete and the major villages in the countryside as “men of the regime” in his article titled “Brief Historical Review of the Holy Archdiocese of Crete”, www.orthodoxresearchinstitute.org.

¹¹² Maltezou, *Krete ste Diarkeia*, p. 51.

¹¹³ Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 200.

¹¹⁴ Detorakis, “Brief Historical Review”.

¹¹⁵ Maltezou, *Krete ste Diarkeia*, p. 51.

¹¹⁶ Detorakis, “Brief Historical Review”.

convinced the archbishop of Athens Anthimos to resign and go to Crete as *proedros*. Anthimos was in Crete around 1365-1367; he was arrested and died in jail. Ten years later, Vryennios -the Theologian- was sent by the Patriarch, and stayed on the island for twenty years, from 1381 to 1401.¹¹⁷ The mission of Vryennios is considered by Detorakis as the most important interference of the Patriarchate on the island during the Venetian times.¹¹⁸

The reaction of the local Christians towards the harsh religious policy of Venice and the propaganda of the Catholics was not mild either.¹¹⁹ According to Maltezou, the idea of Empire was equal to the idea of Orthodoxy especially during the first periods of the Venetian rule. Religious identity was high because of the incoming foreign heterodox elements. Many revolts broke in Crete during the 13th-16th centuries. She thinks that to understand the revolts; religious, ethnic, and ideological reasons alongside social and political ones should be considered. In the early revolts, peasants wanted to retain traditional forms. But in the 16th century, they wanted practical things like land, freedom and abolition or reduction of the *angarya*. The land lords (archons) on the other hand basically struggled against the Venetians to sustain their lands. Maltezou explains the break of revolts on the island soon after the fall of Constantinople on the basis of the Cretan consciousness of identity, considering themselves as part of the Byzantine Empire.¹²⁰ Since they had the same religion and language with the rest of the population of Byzantium, they felt that if they accepted Catholicism, they would become assimilated. This is the point where religion is on the same line with national identity according to

¹¹⁷ Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 201.

¹¹⁸ Detorakis, "Brief Historical Review".

¹¹⁹ Maltezou, *Krete ste Diarkeia*, p. 51.

¹²⁰ Maltezou, *Krete ste Diarkeia*, pp. 47-48.

Maltezou.¹²¹ Another important aspect was the efforts to disseminate the religious reformation ideas in Candia in the 16th century. Local authorities immediately reacted and destroyed small groups. In 1578, the Latin bishop of Sitia, Viviani conducted extensive interrogation. The three people found guilty were given high punishments from the inquisition on the island.¹²²

The policy of religious interference was not imposed upon the lower clergy and the monasteries, if they recognized the supremacy of the Latin prelates.¹²³ During the Venetian centuries, Orthodox monasteries and priests in the villages survived without an Orthodox organization on Crete, under the Catholic domination for more than four centuries. Local historians stress the role played by monasteries and local priests in the preservation of Orthodox faith in the island. It is difficult to establish beyond doubt this argument based solely on the inherent conservatism of agrarian populations, whose ritual needs are “primitive” enough to be able to do without bishops. Furthermore, this argumentation is connected to the distrust shown by these historians to city dwellers, presented as “internationally-minded” and prime actors in the “accursed mixed marriages”, a theme we are to witness during the Ottoman period too. Thus, according to Tomadakis, since the Venetians did not allow an Orthodox synod or Greek Orthodox religious leader or even the ordination of Greek Orthodox priests, the agrarian population of Crete blindly followed the dogma of the Ecumenical throne and saved the Orthodox situation during the Venetian times. The population of the cities on the other hand, had become international.¹²⁴ Detorakis in a similar fashion proposes that for many reasons, the monks were strong guardians of Orthodoxy whereas the Orthodox clergymen in

¹²¹ Maltezou, *Krete ste Diarkeia*, p. 51.

¹²² Detorakis: *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 205, quoting from Prof. Panaiotakis’s study.

¹²³ The Crusaders’ policy was the same towards Eastern Christians under their rule. Zacour and Hazard, “Social Classes”, p. 74.

¹²⁴ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 22.

cities were under a lot of pressure and their religious identities were “shaken”.¹²⁵ Accordingly, the last years of Venetian rule witnessed a very strong revival of monasticism in Crete. New monasteries were founded and old ones were reopened. The greatest ones were the Sinaid *metochi*, the Monastery of Agarathou, Monastery of Vrondisiou, Monastery of Akrotiriani (Toplou), Monastery of Arkadiou, and the Monastery of Agios Triados Tsagaroula. They are considered as centers of education with schools and places for copying manuscripts.¹²⁶

The ecclesiastical history of Crete during the early Ottoman period is characterized by the struggle between the Sinaid monks and the metropolitans appointed from Constantinople, as we will see in detail below. The position of the Sinaids monks during the Venetian period is quite interesting. As we learn from Gasparis, the *metochi* of Sina was protected by Venetian authorities and the Catholic Church. In the 13th century they not only retained their possessions, but expanded them. Their property was around Candia and the monastery used it indirectly by giving it to third persons to work on it, like the feudal lords did.¹²⁷ They were also given other privileges. For example they could export certain products without tax, their land and cultivations were let free from any *angarya*, and they were also free from the 1/10 tax to be paid to the Catholic Church. The second privileged monastery was that of St. John Theologian Monastery in Patmos,

¹²⁵ Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 202. Detorakis goes on to give an account of the morally corrupt situation of the clergymen on the island. Accordingly, Iosif Vryennios for example, was always against the sinful lives of married clergymen and monks who loved money and drinking. He struggled especially against the old tradition of *synasakton* in which women were taken by the priests for spiritual reasons who started to live with them for definitely non-spiritual reasons. In 1401, the Ecumenical Patriarch Mathaios I sent a Patriarchal *sigillion* on this issue, forbidding *synasakton*. Latin clergymen were not better. High clergymen kept their seats only for money. Most of them were illiterate. (Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 204.)

¹²⁶ Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 203.

¹²⁷ However, in the beginning of the 14th century, monks complained about poverty, probably due to problems in collecting money. Charalambos Gasparis, *E ge kai oi agrotas ste Mesaionike Krete: 13os-14ai*. [Land and Peasants in Medieval Greece: 13th-14th centuries], Athens: 1997, p. 27.

whose *metochi* was in Apokoron, Chania. These monasteries were independent from the Patriarch in Constantinople.¹²⁸

From the beginning of the 16th century, the Venetian religious policy in Crete became milder. The Ottoman threat urged Venetians to take action in order to win the support of the Orthodox population. After the battle of Lepanto, Venice decided to put an Orthodox hierarchy and four or five bishops in order to guarantee the support of Cretans. This decision was cancelled by the *Provveditore* Foscarini (1575-1577). His idea was that the Orthodox priests would remain instigators of local revolts. He also suggested that the number of Orthodox priests should be reduced. Ordination was forbidden because Foscarini thought that the already existing priests were too numerous for the island.¹²⁹ Another Venetian step taken in order to win the Orthodox population in the war was to bring an ex-Patriarch to the island. Marinos Tzanes Bouniales, a contemporary witness to the conquest gives the story of the former Patriarch, Ioannikos II¹³⁰ who was taken by Venetians from Siphnos island, first to Messinia and then to Crete for the purpose of boosting the morale of the Orthodox people during the siege of Candia by the Ottomans. The Venetian plan was to guarantee the support of the Orthodox in the war through the leadership of the former Patriarch. Many people came to see Ioannikos who was believed to relieve them from their sins and who ordered them to fight against the Ottomans according to the account of Bouniales. After a long stay in Candia, the former Patriarch moved to the countryside to carry on his task with the rural Orthodox communities.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Gasparis, *E ge kai oi agrotas*, pp. 26-27.

¹²⁹ Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 202.

¹³⁰ He was there to escape the Ottomans, and was four times the Patriarch from 1646 to 1656.

¹³¹ Bouniales in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, pp. 66-67. This story is also narrated by Athanasios Skliros, another contemporary, in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, pp. 67-68.

The situation on the countryside towards the end of Venetian rule was not bright. Peasants were highly taxed by feudal lords and nobles. According to the reports of the *provveditores*, death rate was very high due to eating vegetables for eight months of a year.¹³²

ii. Neophytos the New Metropolitan

Apart from political issues, Latin hostility towards eastern Christianity was partly rooted in theological issues; Greek Christians were schismatic in the eyes of Western Christians.¹³³ It is thus not surprising that aside the military conflict, a war of “religious promises” was also waged. When the Venetians were parading a former Patriarch, the Ottomans promoted the traditional Ottoman policy towards *ehl-i kitab* much more tolerant to Orthodoxy. Non-Muslims who accepted Ottoman supremacy and to consented to paying *cizye* were protected by the Ottomans under the status of *zimmi*.¹³⁴

Reestablishment of the Orthodox Church on the island was one side of the religious policy of the Ottomans in Crete, the other being the promotion of Islam. Officially the appointment of a new metropolitan as the head of the Orthodox community, Neophytos Patelaros initiated the promised changes in religion in the island.

The information we have about the activities of Neophytos is scanty for the period up to 1669. The earliest Ottoman document we have about the restoration of the Orthodox Church in Crete is the *berat* of Neophytos Patelaros, the first

¹³² Maltezou, *Krete ste Diarkeia*, p. 55.

¹³³ Non-Greek Orthodox such as Monophysites were considered as heretics by the Latins. Zacour and Hazard, “Social Classes”, pp. 76-77.

¹³⁴ For the issue of the *zimmi*, see Cahen, “Dhimma” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. II, pp. 227-231.

Clifford Edmund Bosworth, “The Concept of Dhimma in Early Islam”, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982.

metropolitan of Crete under Ottoman rule.¹³⁵ Neophytos Patelaros was a Cretan monk from the Arkadi Monastery and a relative of one of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Athanasios III Patelaros.¹³⁶ In the *berat*, it is stated that “Neofito Patelaro, from the inhabitants of Chania will become the metropolitan of the infidels of his island, and serve according to their void religion. He will collect the traditional *papas hakkı ve düğün akçesi* of twelve *akçes* from every household, and he is supposed to pay 250 gold coins (*sikke-i hasene*) to the imperial treasury”.¹³⁷

The Venetian senator Andrea Valiero’s history of the war of Crete gives an account of how Neophytos Patelaros went to Hüseyin Paşa in order to organize the establishment of the archbishopric of Crete.¹³⁸ According to the story, Neophytos

¹³⁵ RŞS 56/971, 2 *Rebiülahir* 1061 / 25 March 1651.

¹³⁶ Detorakis, “Brief Historical Review”. There were big families in Crete, and Patelaros one of them. A relative of Neophytos was Athanasios III Patelaros, the metropolitan of Thessalonica who was the Patriarch of Constantinople for a short time. See Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, p. 26.

¹³⁷ The *berat* as recorded in 56/971 is as follows: “*Nişan-ı şerif-i ali-şan-ı sami-mekan-ı sultani ve tuğra-yı [garra-yı cihan-sitan-ı hakani hükmi oldur ki]: Çün hazret-i hudavend-i müyessirü’l-amal ve cenab-ı müfeyyizu’l-hayr ve’n-neval sahab ve te’ala ani’ş-şebih ve’l-misal amme ihsanühu mine’n-nakzı ve’z-zeval. İnayet-i gayet-i ezeliyye ve hidayet-i men ileyhi seyyidan hürmetine ümur-ı cumhur-ı âlemi kevn-i gevher-i müfvevze ve müyesser ve a’inne-i makasid-ı meram-ı beni âdemi hadid-i iktidaruma müselleme ve müsahhar eyleyüp asitan-ı bülemd-makam-ı şahani merci’-i meram-ı enam ve atebe-i ulya-yı mülukanemi feyz-bahş-ı muradat-ı hass u âm eyleyüp ve din-i İslamı sa’ir edyandan ali ve inkiyad ve şeri’at-ı mutahhara ile ahkamını beni Âdem’e hâkim ve vali eyledi. Hamden alâ meliki’n-ni’am cenab-ı izzetün avn u inayeti ve Resul-i Ekrem’in tevehhüb-i mu’cizat ve fâ’izü’l-berekati ve evliya-i izamı hemişe ve düstur-ı mükerrem ve müşir-i muhafham nizamü’l-âlem Girid ceziresinde serdarum olan vezirüm Hüseyin Paşa edamellahü te’ala iclalehu [nun] niyyet ve sa’y u dikkati ile memalik-i mahrusama munzam ve mülhak olan cezire-i mezburede kabul-i cizye etmekle himayeye müstahak ve sıyanete evla ve elyak olan keferenün ayin-i dirin-i nuhuset-karin ve resm-i kadim-i dalalet-rehberi üzere metropolid olmak lazım ve mühim olmağla Hanya sakinlerinden olup zu’m-ı kabihleriyle müsta’id olan darende-i tevki’-i refi’-i ferhunde-fal-ı tacdari ve nakil-i yarlığ-ı belîğ-i kişver-sitani Neofito Patelaro nam zimmi-i Rumi ordu-yı hümayunumdan gelüp ceziresinde bi’l-cümle kefereye kadimden olgeldüğü [üzere] metropolid olup kendünün ayin-i batılları ve erkan-ı atılı üzere hudmeti eda eyleye [ve] kadimden alınagelen papas hakkı ve düğün [akçası] her ev[den] olan oniki akça ahz u kabz eyleye ve her sene canib-i miriye dahi ikiyüzelli sikke-i hasene virmek şartıyla kabul ve der’uhde etmeğün vech-i meşruh beher sene ikiyüzelli altun virmek şartıyla cezire-i mezburede olan kefereye metropolid nasb ve ta’yin idüp bu berat-ı meserret-ayat ve gayatı virdüm ve buyurdum ki mezbur Neofito Patelaro olageldüğü üzere metropolid olup ayin-i batıl ve erkan-ı atılları üzere her evden oniki akça papas ve düğün akçası ahz u kabz eyleyüp ve hudmetin eda eyleye ol babda hiç ahad bi-vechi mine’l-vücuha mani’ ve dafi’ olmaya ve dahl ve ta’arruz kılmaya ve her sene zimmetinde lazım gelen ikiyüzelli sikke-i haseneyi bi’t-tamam teslim eyleye şöyle bileler alamet-i şerife i’timad kılarlar. Tahriren fi’l-yevmi’s-sani min şehri Rebi’ilahur min şühuri sene ihda ve sitine ve elf. Beyurd-ı Kal’a-i cedid. Vasale ileyna fi 5 min şehri Rebi’ilahur li-seneti ihda ve sitine ve elf.”*

¹³⁸ Valiero, *Historia della Guerra di Candia di Andrea Valiero* (Venice, 1679), pp. 311-312, quoted by Tomadakis, *Istoria*, pp. 71-72.

went to see Hüseyin Paşa and said “the way to win the hearts of the population is through religion, for religion is the strongest bond among people. For that, you should act different than the previous rulers. They prohibited the existence of Orthodox bishop because it is easier to control the herd without a shepherd. The religious freedom will provide you the obedience you want.” Hüseyin Paşa liked this idea and wrote to a letter to Constantinople. As a result, the Patriarch was commanded to set up an archbishop seat in Candia. Seven more bishops would be ordained under him, and Neophytos would hold the first office. The date Valiero has given for Neophytos’ visit to Hüseyin Paşa is 1653, which should be wrong, because the *berat* of Neophytos is dated 2 *Rebiülahir* 1061 / 24 March 1651. Four days later, on the sixth day of *Rebiülahir* 1061, an order is sent from the center to the *kadı* of Rethymnon, which commands that Neophytos should not be prevented from collecting the *metropolid akçesi* of twelve *akçe* from each *kapu*, which is also to be collected from the priests according to their ancient religion and the *düğün akçesi*. It is added that he should be helped in the collection of this income.¹³⁹ Another undated record addressing to the *kadı* of Rethymnon orders again to help Neophytos to collect his taxes.¹⁴⁰ The repetition of the order is perhaps an indication of Neophytos’ difficulties to collect his dues.

Even before Candia was taken in 1080/1669, the Ottomans appointed a metropolitan to collect the taxes and to deal with the Orthodox population on the rest of the island. Neophytos, the new metropolitan was residing in Rethymnon and according to the information from *sicil* collections, he was trying to establish himself. He bought a house from *Yeniçeri* Yusuf Çelebi in Yalı Mahallesi in

¹³⁹ RŞS, 56/939, 6 *Rebiülahir* 1061 / 29 March 1651.

¹⁴⁰ RŞS, 56/1039, undated.

Rethymnon for 140 *guruş* in 1064/1654.¹⁴¹ In two cases of property, Neophytos appears as one of the witnesses.¹⁴²

iii. After the Conquest of Candia

Surprisingly, the period after the capture of Candia by the Ottomans in 1669 was harder for Neophytos. The conflict between the Patriarchical appointee, Neophytos and the previously established during the Venetian period monks of the St. Catherine Monastery in Sina, proved to be bitter and sometimes fatal for Neophytos and his successors. When Candia was taken, the Ottomans dedicated a church to the Sinaids rather than the metropolitan, and until 1735 the metropolitans of Crete struggled against the Sinaid monks to set up a church, to perform the rituals and to collect the taxes of the Orthodox community, as will be examined in detail below. The metropolitans of Crete were devoid of a church to perform the rituals as the leader of the Orthodox community for sixty six years. Neophytos had the *berat*, but the real scope of his power was questionable. The Sinaid monks who were independent from the Patriarchate were unhindered in performing the rituals and being paid for them. Finally, the Church of Agios Minas was established as the metropolitan seat in 1735 by Gerasimos II.

The narrative of Paulos Kladopoulos is a contemporary source concerning the efforts to establish Agios Minas as the metropolitan Church.¹⁴³ Kladopoulos starts his story from the earliest years of Ottoman rule in Candia and brings it to 1736 where his poem ends. According to the story of Kladopoulos, “the then *vezir*”

¹⁴¹ RŞS, 57/12, evahir-i *Şaban* 1064 / 7-15 July 1654

¹⁴² RŞS, 57/33, evahir-i *Ramazân* 1064 / 5-14 August 1654, RŞS 56/574, evasit-ı *Safer* 1067 / first week of December, 1656.

¹⁴³ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, pp. 77-96. Kladopoulos was from the village of Kadarhanes, born in 1682 and became a priest when he was twenty seven. He was made the bishop of Knossos.

Köprülü was dragging Panagiotis Nikousios as an interpreter with him.¹⁴⁴ On their arrival at Candia, they saw that the Romans had left Crete and gone to other islands. When Köprülü asked Panagiotis the reason and what should be done to bring them back, Panagiotis explained that the Christians had gone away because they had no church. Then, Köprülü ordered to find a small church that was not useful for them. He also commanded to find a priest to do the mass and ordered Panagiotis to attend personally everyday and set up an example for the people to follow him. The church found was St. Mathaios. It was a small church that belonged to Markos Feouteos, which became the property of Nikousios. Nikousios bought this church in Candia with all area surrounding it and also the church of Agioi Apostoli in Rizokastro in Kasteli, in the bishopric seat of Arkadia.¹⁴⁵ The bishop that was sent “from the city” was Neophytos Patelaros. According to Kladopoulos, Neophytos was a very wise and competent man. However, “he went into scandals with Panagiotis [Nikousios] and the two made harm to the metropolitan seat together”. Unfortunately, Kladopoulos is too ashamed to write them in this paper. Then, Panagiotis asked the Sinoids to come because “the travelers around the world” -as he describes the Sinai monks- were situated there already. Panagiotis dedicated St. Mathaios to the Sinoids, and Neophytos was left like a dead man.¹⁴⁶ A Patriarchal *sigillion* of 1777 further enlightens the story. Nikousios got from the Patriarch Dionysios a *sigillion* (order) that the monastery was *stavropigiaki*.¹⁴⁷ “No metropolitan of Crete would

¹⁴⁴ Panagiotakis Nikousios / Panayot Efendi was the translator for the Porte (*divan-ı humayun tercümanı*). He was the one who met the Venetians for the peace treaty in 1669.

See Aikaterina Stathi, *Contemporary Representations of The Cretan War (1645-1669) and the Role of the First Greek ‘Great Interpreter’ of the Ottoman Court*, Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham, September 2004. [Unpublished MPhil Thesis].

¹⁴⁵ See the *sigillion* of 1777 as well, Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 311.

¹⁴⁶ Kladopoulos, in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁷ “The notion of *stavropegion* is one of the commonest in Greek monasteriology. A monastery is *stavropegiaki*, when it depends not on the local ecclesiastical authorities but directly on the Patriarchate, such a status having been ceremoniously accorded to it. A *stavropegion* may be a newly founded monastery, or an existing one promoted to that status. The status of a *stavropegion*

ever interfere to ask for money” from the monastery. On the contrary, traditional incomes of the metropolitan from funerals, marriages, baptisms, etc, were given to the Sinoids, who were not supposed to pay anything else apart from an annual amount of fifty *okkas* of oil to the Patriarchate in Constantinople.¹⁴⁸ Kladopoulos goes on to explain the terrible situation of Neophytos, the archbishop of Crete being left without a Church. Having lost his power to the Sinoids, he even had to ask their permission to put on his *petraheli* (religious clothing for rituals) if he wanted to perform a mass. Constantly swearing and complaining, Neophytos was completely powerless, and he even had very little to eat. According to Kladopoulos, he was “only called the metropolitan of Crete” without the title carrying any substance.¹⁴⁹

This grave position is verified in a petition Neophytos wrote. Just after the fall of Candia, in 16 December 1670, he is addressing the *Paşa* of Candia as “my sultan”, asking him to prevent the *voyvoda* of villages in Crete from disturbing his men. The order as a reply to this petition is that the people appointed by the metropolitan -the clergymen- should not be disturbed from doing their established practices.¹⁵⁰

As a metropolitan without a church to perform the rituals and earn a living, Neophytos had to employ his ingenuity. He was involved in the wood-selling business, selling the wood cut down by people to the port warden (*liman reisi*) according to a court record of 1082/1671.¹⁵¹ Panagiotis son of Georgios opens a case against the port warden Hasan Beşe son of Mustafa, claiming that when the

is necessarily a privileged one, and its foundation is the object of a special ritual ordinance. It is from the ritual foundation that the name is derived, i.e. from the formality of driving a wooden cross into the ground masonry of the church of that monastery, behind the altar (*stavron pegnymi*.)” Papadopoulos, *Studies*, p. 373.

¹⁴⁸ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 312.

¹⁴⁹ Kladopoulos in Tomadakis *Istoria*, p. 79.

¹⁵⁰ Stavrinides, Doc. 401, Vol. 1, pp. 317-318, 3:249, 3 *Şaban* 1081 / 16 December 1670.

¹⁵¹ Stavrinides, Doc. 439, Vol. 1, pp. 351-352, 3:16, 22 *Rebiülahir* 1082 / 29 July 1671.

metropolitan of Crete infidel Neophytos sold to Hasan Beşe wood that “our people” had cut down, the buyer arbitrarily took over the quantity that belonged to him as well. Hasan Beşe admitted that he bought it from Neophytos but refused that he took the one belonging to the litigant. The litigant could not prove his case, Hasan Beşe took an oath and as a result, Panagiotis was forbidden from interfering. In another court record, Neophytos is buying a *hamam* in Candia for 25.500 *akçes* in May 1672,¹⁵² to be sold soon after in December 1672 for 255 *aslan gurus*.¹⁵³ This case has been considered as the effort of the metropolitan to turn it into a church by Stavrinides and Greene. Stavrinides connects his failure to the intrigues of Sinoids, but Greene is not sure.¹⁵⁴ There is no evidence to substantiate both arguments. Given the commercial activities of Neophytos, it could simply be an act of property trading to earn a living. The court records give the impression that Neophytos was considered by the local population as a man appointed by the Porte to collect taxes rather than a man of divine character. In 1672, he was taken to court by a new-Muslim woman Fatma, daughter of the deceased Nikolas through her representative and her husband Mehmed Beşe son of Abdullah, a new-Muslim as well. Neophytos was represented by an *oikonomos* in the court. The accusation was that Neophytos was occupying a vineyard illegally. It was proven that the woman inherited them before she became a Muslim, through Christian and new-Muslim witnesses. The court decided to prevent the metropolitan from doing that.¹⁵⁵

Neophytos also interferes with private churches attempting to establish authority and increase his income. In Orthodox Christianity, there was a distinction

¹⁵² *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 475, pp. 236-237, Stavrinides, Doc. 587, Vol. 2, pp. 41-42, 3:178, 12 *Muharrem* 1083 / 10 May 1672.

¹⁵³ Stavrinides, Doc. 729, Vol. 2, p. 163, 5:67, 22 *Ramazan* 1084 / 31 December 1673. In *Ierodikeio*, 25.500 *akçes* is converted to be 25 *aslan gurus*, which makes a good profit.

¹⁵⁴ Stavrinides, Vol. 2, p. 163, comment to Doc. 729, 5:67. Greene, *A Shared World*, p. 182.

¹⁵⁵ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 445, p. 221, 28 *Zilhicce* 1082 / 26 April 1672.

between two kinds of churches dating throughout the Byzantine period; *catholic* churches immediately dependent to the bishop (*katholikai ekklesiai*) and the “chapels” (*eukterioi oikoi*) which belonged to monasteries and charitable institutions, but could also be owned by private persons.¹⁵⁶ The bishop nominated the priests and other members of the clergy for the *catholic* churches. For the private ones, the founders could appoint the priests, although the bishop had to sanction the appointment.¹⁵⁷ The tradition of private religious foundations including churches, monasteries and philanthropic institutions was dating back to the Late Roman Empire. They were founded by private individuals, usually laymen, and retained for personal administration, independent from the public authorities’ control.¹⁵⁸ The rights, privileges and limitations of the founders were defined and altered in legislations during the Byzantine centuries. Justinian law intended to subordinate these churches to the local bishops, and the founders had the right to nominate the candidates the local bishops were supposed to elect.¹⁵⁹ Preceding centuries challenged Justinian legislation. The 7th century brought about exemption from local episcopal control.¹⁶⁰ The most important remaining right of the founder in the Paleologan era was the appointment of officiating clerics in private churches and of monks in private monasteries.¹⁶¹ In the fourteenth century an important curtailment was that the founder could no longer sell his church or monastery to another party as his ancestors could.¹⁶² The founders shouldered the responsibility

¹⁵⁶ Herman, E. “The Secular Church”, *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. J.M. Hussey et al, Vol. IV, Part II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, p. 117.

¹⁵⁷ Herman, “The Secular Church”, p. 118.

¹⁵⁸ John Philip Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987, p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, p. 53.

¹⁶⁰ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, p. 112.

¹⁶¹ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, p. 254. Honorary rights such as commemoration of the founder’s memory and the right to be buried in the church or monastery almost always remained intact, since they did not interest the Emperors.

¹⁶² Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, p. 256.

for supporting all the liturgical functions, liturgies and commemorations, for the lighting of churches, and for the payment of clerics and monks.¹⁶³

Private church tradition continued up to the Ottoman period. In the islands especially, people owned their churches and appointed priests. However, Neophytos wanted to extend his authority over private churches as well. The *sicils* of Ottoman Crete depict the struggle of owners of private church owners and monasteries to retain their rights over an ever-greedy metropolitan. In one case, Neophytos, represented by Papa Mandelos Konomos, was taken to court in October 1671 by Georgis son of Franca, the custodian of the underaged children of the deceased Papa Nikolas son of Papa Konstantinos; Georgis, Konstantinos, Ioannis and Mihelis. When Papa Mihelis died, he had in his hand the possession of the Monastery of Agios Georgios in Siva of Maleviziou, and also monasteries [churches] in the village of Daphne, in the province of Temenos. In order to keep these churches, they had given 35 *guruş* to the metropolitan two years before. The children wanted the metropolitan's endorsement because they were under-aged. Neophytos accepted and confirmed their right. It was decided that nobody would interfere in the children's right of possession of the monasteries.¹⁶⁴ According to another record dated 18 October 1671 again in Maleviziou, Papa Mantelos Konomos, the representative of the metropolitan Neophytos again, accepted in the court that four days ago Neophytos gave the rights of the Church of Panagias to five Christians, inhabitants of Siva for 7.5 *guruş*. The people's right over the church income and their right to appoint priests was confirmed, and it was ordered that nobody should

¹⁶³ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, p. 257.

¹⁶⁴ Stavrinides, Doc. 488, Vol. 1, p. 391, 3:72, *Cumaziyulahir* 1082 / October 1671.

interfere.¹⁶⁵ The cases depict owners of private churches paying Neophytos in order to get their confirmation. However, traditionally the private churches were out of the authority of the metropolitan.

Things were slightly different if the rights over a monastery or church were confirmed by a *berat*. It is interesting that Fazıl Ahmet Paşa gave a *berat* to a Papa Titos, prior of the Santrivanli Monastery in the province of Kainourgio in Candia upon his petition, recognizing his authority over the monastery and its appendices. In the *berat* of Ahmed Paşa, the prior is allowed to appoint his priests. This *berat* became the basis in all his legal struggles against outside interference in his monastic property. In April 1672, Papa Titos was the litigant in the case against Papa Nikol Mihelis over the rights of the church of Agios Antonios, a dependency of the Santrivanli Monastery. He won the case on the basis of the *berat*. “According to the prescriptions of their useless religion, he should appoint anybody as priest and nobody should interfere”.¹⁶⁶ A month later, Papa Titos reappears this time against Neophytos, who finally accepted the right of Papa Titos to appoint priests to the Church of Agios Antonis in the village of Vreli, another dependency to the monastery, again on the basis of the same *berat* given by Fazıl Ahmet Paşa.¹⁶⁷ In the last case, Neophytos had to accept the authority of the priest confirmed by the *berat*, this time unable to derive any gain.¹⁶⁸ It is interesting that in the struggle for authority, the Ottomans had the last word.

¹⁶⁵ Stavrinides, Doc. 491, Vol. 1, pp. 389-390, 3:71, 11 *Cumaziyulahir* 1082 / 15 October 1671, *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 169, pp. 87-88.

¹⁶⁶ Stavrinides, Doc. 525, Vol. 1, p. 425-427, 3:156, 13 *Zilhicce* 1082 / 11 April 1672, *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 405, pp. 202-203.

¹⁶⁷ Stavrinides, Doc. 577, Vol. 2, pp. 33-34, 1 *Safer* 1083 / 28 May 1672, *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 203, pp. 105-106.

¹⁶⁸ The story of the Church of Panagias in Tsoukalaria of Kidonia (Chania) presented by Tomadakis from Gerasimos of Kidonia gives further information on private churches. See Tomadakis, pp. 412-413.

The *berat* was a document that guaranteed certain rights and privileges of the individual Christians. On the case of an accession of a new metropolitan or a Patriarch, a *berat* was given to secure his rights. A copy of the document was issued in the *sicil*. The copies of documents issued from the center of the state were also recorded in the *sicil*. Among them are *fermans* that were ordering the local commanders or the *kadis* to help the metropolitan or the representative of the Patriarch to collect taxes. We have already seen the one issued for Neophytos. The following metropolitan after Neophytos was Nikiforos Skotakis. A decree dated March 8, 1680 orders to help him collect his traditional taxes.¹⁶⁹ Another *ferman* sent in 1678 issued upon the petition of Dionysios IV -the Patriarch of the period- orders to help a certain Georgaki, the representative of the Patriarch, to collect the taxes of the monasteries dependent to the Patriarch and other taxes the infidels of the island were supposed to pay.¹⁷⁰

The struggles of the metropolitan of Crete and the efforts to obtain a church to perform the rituals continued after the period of Neophytos.¹⁷¹ The verse of Kladopoulos depicts these struggles. According to his story, a new metropolitan Athanasios Kallipolitis came in 1099/1688.¹⁷² As a metropolitan without a church,

¹⁶⁹ "...cezire-i mezburede vaki keşişlerin ve papazların ve kalogerosların ve sair zimmilerin üzerlerine edası lazım gelen senevi miri rüsum ve zarar-ı kasabiye ve ... akçeleri ve nikahları ve panayrları ve ...ları ve ayazmaları resmi ve her zimmi evinden onikişer akçe ve her papasdan bir altun patrik için ve yine her zimmi evinden onikişer akçe ve her papasdan bir altun metropolitlik mahsubu alageldiği adet ve kanun ve ...leri üzerine cem ve tahsil itdürülmek babında ... emr-i şerif olduğu bildirüb..." 7 Safer 1091, RŞS, no: 85, p. 73.

¹⁷⁰ RŞS, no: 85, p. 72.

¹⁷¹ After Neophytos, the following metropolitans of the period under consideration were Nikiphoros II Skotakis, Kallinikos I, Arsenios I, Athanasios Kallipolitis, Kallinikos II, Arsenios II, Ioasaf I, Constantinos Halkiopoulos, Gerasimos I, Constantinos Halkiopoulos, Daniel, and Gerasimos II Letitzis. (See Appendix C)

¹⁷² His *berat* is given by Stavrinides, Doc. 953, Vol. 2, 5:252, p. 312, written in 28 *Rebiülevvel* 1099 / 31 January 1688, received 12 *Cumaziyulahir* 1099 / 14 April 1688. Other documents ordering help to Athanasios in collecting taxes are; a *buyruldu* to the *kadis* of Chania, Rethymnon, and Candia to protect Athanasios in collecting taxes, Stavrinides, Doc. 959, Vol. 2, 2:415, pp. 317-318, 15 *Cumaziyulevvel* 1100 / 6 March 1689, another *buyruldu* for Athanasios to be protected while collecting taxes, addressing the *kadis* of Candia, Chania and Rethymnon in Stavrinides, Doc. 1101, Vol. 2, p. 420, 7:28, 2 *Cumaziyulevvel* 1103 / 20 January 1692.

Athanasios could see the indifference of the Christians in Candia. All the weddings, baptisms, deaths, blessings, holy days were performed by the Sinaids. Athanasios wanted to restrict this. He put into his mind to open a new church. He found the old church of Taxiarchis, took residence there and refurbished the cell. Kladopoulos mentions his correspondence with the Porte: “He was writing to the city, *fermans* and *fetvas* were coming to him. He asked from the Paşa all things that he needed.” After the preparations and beautifying the church, he thought for a while that he achieved what he wanted. Kladopoulos, -swearing at the Sinaids- goes on to explain how an *oikonomos* called Daniel prevented him from attaining his end. Accordingly, he consulted and bribed a man from the *ulema* [called] “Timici”, and sent him to Ioannis Skordilis¹⁷³ in Constantinople to do his act. He wrote to Skordili to spend all the money to destroy the church that was made, and to be instrumental in the writing of a *ferman* to destroy the church. Timici achieved to meet Skordili in Constantinople and get the *fetva* and *fermans*. Taxiarchis was finished by this time, prepared to open on a Sunday. But Friday morning Timici came with the *fetva* and the *ferman*. The church was destroyed from the grounds and Athanasios was left with beaten lips. He died “of sorrow” in 1697, and *oikonomos* Daniel got afraid and migrated.¹⁷⁴

The *ferman* to the *muhafiz* of Candia Mehmed Paşa and to the *kadı*, issued from Constantinople at the end of 1103 gives an idea of the efforts of Athanasios.¹⁷⁵ The *mütevelli* Mahmut of Holy Mosque in Candia reported that a priest in Candia of a church, -no names of priest and church- managed to buy a house bordering the same mosque that was previously a camp for the *kapıkulu* -inhabited by Muslims-.

¹⁷³ Skordilis was a secretary to the Porte (*divan yazıcısı*) from a prominent family in Crete. Another member of the Skordilis family took part in the peace negotiations.

¹⁷⁴ Kladopoulos, in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 82.

¹⁷⁵ Stavrinides, Doc. 1109, Vol. 2, p. 424-425, 7:134, 28 *Zilhicce* 1103 / 16 September 1692, received: 20 *Muharrem* 1104 / 1 October 1692.

He continues mentioning the priest's and attempts to include this house to the said church, asks an order to forbid this act. It was ordered that if it was found out that the place was not included among the places for the churches, and it was once inhabited by Muslims, it should be sold to Muslims for its current value. In the footnote to the case, Stavrinides mentions the assistance of the *şeyh* of the *tekke* of Candia to the efforts of the secretary Ioannis Skordilis to demolish the church of Taxiarchis.¹⁷⁶

During the period of Athanasios, the prior of the Sinaid monastery was Nikiforos Glykos, who managed to get an imperial decree and *hüccets* against the efforts of Athanasios, assuring the rights of their possessions in Candia, and the metropolitan had to agree. All the Christians went against the efforts of the metropolitan.¹⁷⁷ The Sinaid monks took Athanasios to court over the rights of the Orthodox people on the island.¹⁷⁸ Claiming that Nikousios had dedicated St. Mathaios which he had bought for 700 *guruş* from the treasury, to the monks of Sina with a *vakifname*, they were requesting the court to question Athanasios and prevent him from interfering in the monks' business and from creating trouble. In his answer, Athanasios accepted the rights of the monks over St. Mathaios, but being the metropolitan with an imperial *berat*, he claimed that he was the one responsible for all the Christian religious affairs. The court decided after examining the *berat* that apart from the taxes he could collect for the Patriarch and for himself, and the income from marriages, the metropolitan did not have a right to claim more from the dues paid to the Sinaid monks. The monks could choose any clergyman and priest to perform their "filthy religion" and attend the ill, bury deceased infidels,

¹⁷⁶ Stavrinides, Vol. 2, p. 425.

¹⁷⁷ From the Patriarchal *sigillion* of 1777, Tomadakis, *Istoria*, pp. 312-313.

¹⁷⁸ Stavrinides, Doc. 1299, Vol. 3, pp. 92-94, 8:54, p. 92, 5 *Zilkade* 1106 / 16 June 1695.

read the Bible and baptize children. They were not obliged to give any rights to the metropolitan. The justification of the Ottoman court siding with the Sinoids rather than the metropolitan was explained on the basis of the *ahdname* that Prophet Muhammed had given to the monks of Mount Sina.¹⁷⁹ “As our leader the most highest of prophets, one selected by God, Muhammed gave into the hands of the monk Sina an *ahdname* that nobody should interfere in the dedication areas of Mount Sina [Monastery] and nobody should interfere while they are doing their duty, according to holy law, it is forbidden to the metropolitan of Crete who come on behalf of Constantinople [to interfere]. No priests should interfere in the monks of Mount Sina, whose administrator is the monk Nikiforos. Christians in Candia can go to this priest of Sina for their religious affairs. Nobody should interfere”.¹⁸⁰

After the death of Athanasios, Anthimos, the bishop of Heronisos, was appointed in 1108/1697, before the new metropolitan Kallinikos arrived.¹⁸¹ Metropolitan Kallinikos was taken away from the throne because he was not chosen

¹⁷⁹ The monks in this case probably presented a fabricated document of the *ahdname* that Prophet Muhammed granted to the monks of Sina. The original document securing the rights and privileges granted to Christians by Prophet Muhammed, called “the Prophet’s edict to all Christians” was said to be preserved by two Christian sources, the anonymous Nestorian Chronicle of Si‘irt and the Jacobite Barhabraeus’s Ecclesiastical Chronicle. Various monasteries and other institutions of eastern Christianity later claimed to possess genuine copies of this document. Zacour and Hazard, “Social Classes”, p. 43.

“In the *nişan* given to the monks of the Monastery of Sina in 1517 by Selim I, reference is made to the *ahdname* of the Prophet”. Halil İnalçık, “The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch Under the Ottomans” *Essays in Ottoman History*, Istanbul: Eren, 1998, p. 201.

¹⁸⁰ Athanasios strived to find sources of income during his period as it is apparent in the court records. He claims right on the property of a deceased monk in one case, but he can not get, in Stavrinides, Doc. 1079, Vol. 2, p. 407, 7:74, 15 *Cumaziyulahir* 1103 / 4 March 1692. In another case he claims money from scribe’s children; eventually a compromise is found: Stavrinides, Doc. 1048, Vol. 2, 7:57, pp. 383-384, 3 *Zilkade* 1102 / 28 July 1691. He also achieves to receive back the money the former commander Mehmed Paşa had forcefully taken from him: Stavrinides, Doc. 1244, Vol. 3, 8:74, pp. 47-48, 4 *Muharrem* 1106 / 27 August 1694. Other cases exist against Mehmed Paşa for the same reason, an investigation against him from Constantinople. Athanasios is taken to court because of his debts several times. Athanasios is debted to someone and accepts his loan, in Stavrinides, Doc. 1084, Vol. 2, 7:77, p. 410, 20 *Rebiülahir* 1103 / 17 January 1692. He owes money again in: Stavrinides, Doc. 1134, Vol. 2, 7:159, p. 439, *Muharrem* 1105 / September 1693.

¹⁸¹ Stavrinides, Doc. 1468, Vol. 3, p. 206, 11:114, 11 *Şaban* 1108 / 4 March 1697, is a *buyruldu* about “metropolitan Anthimos”. Stavrinides’ comment: “There is no such metropolitan, it should be a replacement”.

according to the religious order.¹⁸² During the period of Kallinikos, there was an upheaval on the island due to the conflict between the *kethüdas* and local population, as we will examine in the third chapter. There were complaints about the metropolitan Kallinikos as well. He was taken to Constantinople for trial with the accusation that he collected more than he should, and he was protected by the Patriarch of Constantinople.¹⁸³ After Kallinikos, the former bishop of Chania Arsenios II took over.¹⁸⁴ Finally, the metropolitan seat was subsequently given to by Ioasaf.¹⁸⁵ Ioasaf escaped from the island leaving huge debts to the local population. According a court record,¹⁸⁶ one of the victims of Ioasaf, Hüseyin Ağa went to Constantinople to seek for the guarantor of the former metropolitan. In Constantinople, he met the new metropolitan Constantio Chalkiopoulos¹⁸⁷ who - according to the statement of Hüseyin Ağa- promised him to pay the debt of the former metropolitan upon arrival to the island. Then Constantio arrived at the island as the new metropolitan of Crete.¹⁸⁸ In the court, Constantio refused to pay despite his promise. It was decided in the court that a promise is not a guarantee, so he did not have to pay. From the many court records of Candia, it is apparent that

¹⁸² *Berat* of Kallinikos is in Stavrinides, Doc. 1356, Vol. 3, pp. 139-141, 10:33, 5 *Şaban* 1108 / 26 February 1697.

¹⁸³ *Ferman* to the *kadı* of Candia and rest of the *kadis* of Crete: “The Patriarch of Constantinople himself went to defend Kallinikos in the Porte. Although he is collecting the dues, some people gave petitions that Kallinikos collects more than what he should. They managed to get into their hands a holy order against the religious rules. You should make sure that he gets only what he should. You should not allow anyone to interfere from outside” Stavrinides, Doc. 1578, Vol. 3, p. 261, 12:239, 5 *Cumaziyulahir* 1113 / 7 November 1701.

¹⁸⁴ *Berat* of Arsenios II is in Stavrinides, Vol. 3, 12:84, pp. 283-284, 12 *Cumaziyulahir* 1114 / 3 November 1702.

¹⁸⁵ *Berat* of Ioasaf is in Stavrinides, Vol. 3, Doc. 1682, 2:355, pp. 313-315, 4 *Cumaziyulevvel* 1116 / 4 September 1704.

¹⁸⁶ Stavrinides, Doc. 1808, Vol. 3, pp. 374-375, 2:305, 21 *Şevval* 1124 / 22 November 1712.

¹⁸⁷ “Kostanyoz” in the sicils as Stavrinides writes in Vol. 3, p. 371. Stavrinides spells it as Constantio. So does Konortas in *Othomanikes Theoriseis* p. 64 and p. 223, and Tomadakis in p. 83 of *Istoria*. In www.iak.gr, the official site of the archbishopric of Crete, his name is spelled “Constantinos Chalkiopoulos”.

¹⁸⁸ *Berat* of Constantio is corrupt. See Stavrinides, Doc. 1804/8, Vol. 3, p. 371, 15/2:94, 21 *Şevval* 1123 / 1 December 1711.

Constantio was in the habit of forgetting when it comes to paying back money.¹⁸⁹ The Patriarch Kosmas was defending the metropolitan Constantio in Constantinople. He even petitioned for an imperial decree that no complaints about the metropolitan from people of dubious characters will be accepted before the Patriarch approves them.¹⁹⁰

In 1715, Church of Crete became autocephalous, independent of the Patriarch in Constantinople until 1718. According to the order given on the petition of the *başdefterdar* of Crete Elhac Mehmed, the metropolitan Constantio was arrested and was removed from his duties, and with an imperial decree it was ordered that “From now on, nobody will be appointed from outside, but a Cretan metropolitan will be elected by the *reaya* and *kocabaşıs*, and the Patriarch of Constantinople will not interfere. According to the petition of the *reaya*, the duties of the metropolitan will be given to the most able of clergymen. From this point onwards, Metropolitan Constantio is removed. His entry of *berat* will be erased. The annual metropolitan *mukataa* is 66.000 *akçes*. Because there is the need of the metropolitan to collect taxes and to do the sermons, mentioned in the aforementioned petition, an open *berat* -“*açıktan berat-ı tahrir*”- will be given to a sensible, able clergyman from the one the that *reaya* and *kocabaşı* will choose. In front of the *Paşa* of Crete they may put his name into this spare *berat*, and send it

¹⁸⁹ A *ferman* calling the metropolitan to Constantinople to be trialed, to be taken by Hasan Çavuş, is in Stavrinides, Doc. 1827, Vol. 3, p. 390, 2:250, 30 *Ramazan* 1126 / October 8, 1714. Osman Çelebi, trader in Candia, can not take his money back from Constantio according to an undated record, in Stavrinides, Doc.1830, Vol. 3, p. 391, 2:260. Constantio’s guarantors, the bishops of Kisamos and Maleviziou refuse to pay İbrahim *bölükbaşı*, Stavrinides, Doc. 1834, Vol. 3, p. 393, 2:269, 23 *Rebiülevvel* 1127 / 29 March 1715.

¹⁹⁰ Stavrinides, Doc. 1826, Vol. 3, 2:248, pp. 389-390, 14 *Şaban* 1126 / 24 August 1714.

and let us know in Istanbul so that his name will be registered in the appropriate office in Istanbul”.¹⁹¹

The *berat* came as a result of “the interference of strong Cretans in the Porte”.¹⁹² These strong Cretans were the secretaries of the Porte. We have seen in the verse of Kladopoulos how Skordilis prevented the efforts of the metropolitan Athanasios to open a church. Moshakis and Bonakis were likewise the secretaries to the Porte who interfered in the church business. Molly Greene sets up a connection between them, the Venetians and the Sinuids, who had common interests in setting up a church independent of the Patriarchate on the island.¹⁹³ In a footnote to a *ferman* ordering investigation against the abuses of the Patriarchs, Stavrinides defines the period as a troublesome one. The island was divided into two parties; for and against the metropolitan and the Patriarch. Sinuids and their followers were fighting against all metropolitans appointed from the Patriarchate. Since 1672 there were times when the Cretans refused to pay taxes and revolted. The local population was instigated by the leaders of the anti-metropolitans like the Porte secretaries who managed to get *fermans* against the abuses of the metropolitans.¹⁹⁴

Definitely, the period of three years of independence from the Patriarchate of Constantinople was related to the power struggle of Constantio with Moshakis and Bonakis. Kladopoulos verifies this struggle: “During his metropolitan period, Constantio had to fight with two archons; Moshakis and Bonakis who sent him to exile. Moshakis brought Gerasimos I instead, and during his period, Moshakis was in charge instead of Constantinople. In a few years, Moshakis was killed. Then the

¹⁹¹ The *berat* for that is in Stavrinides, Doc. 1853, Vol. 3, 2:253, pp. 404-406, 18 *Rebiülahir* 1127 / 22 April 1715.

¹⁹² Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis*, p. 222.

¹⁹³ Greene, *A Shared World*, p. 200. See pp. 194-201.

¹⁹⁴ Stavrinides, Vol. 3, p. 403.

ecumenical throne sent bishops and priors.”¹⁹⁵ Constantio was brought back in December 1718 with another *berat* written upon the petition of Patriarch Ieremias.¹⁹⁶ Although it is not stated explicitly, the *berat* put an end to the autocephalous period of three years.

The following metropolitan Daniel¹⁹⁷ (1722 - 1725) had still the autocephalous status deep in heart and wanted the separation from the Patriarchate in Constantinople.¹⁹⁸ He sent letters to his friends in Constantinople to attend to his goals. However, the letters fell into the hands of the Patriarch; they were read open, and Daniel was deposed. At that time, Gerasimos of Monemvasia happened to be in Constantinople for his own business. He was a priest of Cretan origin, and had been in the Patriarchate for a long time as *archimandritis*,¹⁹⁹ *exarchos* and archbishop. He was then sent as an archbishop to Monemvasia to set up the archbishopric seat. The archpriests and archons in Constantinople decided to transfer him to Crete, urged him to do whatever they wanted, and assured him that the Ecumenical throne was behind him. Gerasimos accepted, and became the metropolitan of Crete in 1725.²⁰⁰

Gerasimos (1725-1755) was a competent metropolitan who finally managed to set up a Church for the metropolitan seat. Although he was a good metropolitan loved by the people, he had many enemies. According to Kladopoulos, one day he went to the new *Paşa* of Chania, and asked for his permission to have mass in his small cell, as he was a metropolitan only by name, without a church. The *Paşa*

¹⁹⁵ Kladopoulos in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 83.

¹⁹⁶ Stavrinides, Doc. 1949, Vol. 4, pp. 32-36, 6:303, 13 *Muharrrem* 1131 / 6 December 1718.

¹⁹⁷ His *berat* is in Stavrinides, Doc. 2076, Vol. 4, p. 124, 16:94, 20 *Muharrrem* 1135 / 31 October 1722.

¹⁹⁸ Kladopoulos in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 84.

¹⁹⁹ *Archimandritis*: Monastic superior (From John Philip Thomas's glossary of technical terms in *Private Religious Foundations*). It may also mean an unmarried priest on the head of a church, and not be a monk necessarily.

²⁰⁰ Kladopoulos in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 85.

answered that it was fine for him, if the metropolitan could take a *ferman* from Constantinople to convince the *ulema*. Gerasimos was glad to hear that because he already had the *ferman* and the *fetva* he needed. When the metropolitan presented them to the *Paşa*, he immediately ordered without hesitation to build the church and perform the mass.²⁰¹ However, many unfortunate things happened, the *yeniçeris* revolted and even intended to kill the metropolitan according to the narration. It seems that either Kladopoulos overrates the metropolitan's status, or the *yeniçeris* were in business with the Orthodox status quo. In the mean time, another Ali Paşa came. Fortunately, this was the man who had issued the *ferman* Gerasimos needed. He immediately went to see the new *Paşa* and bowed in front of him. He told him of his unfortunate story and of how he could not manage to open the church of Agios Minas where he lived because of the attacks of his enemies. The *ferman* was read again in front of the *ulema*, *ayans* and *ağas*. It was decided that on the basis of the *ferman* that it would be a sin to go against the decisions of the Sultan and the *Şeyhülislam* who had already given permission to build the church. The metropolitan was given a second *ferman* together with a *fetva* of the *müfti* and the *ilam* of the *kadı*, giving him the permission he required to open the church and perform the mass inside. On the 10th of November 1735, the Church of Agios Minas was opened in the presence of monks, priests and bishops. "Until then, the metropolitan seat was under slavery in the hands of the Sinaids. They were taking all the income for the rituals of marriages, deaths and baptisms. The metropolitan was poor, left with a lot of expanses and seeing that his sheep would go to another dairy".²⁰² There were many attempts to kill Gerasimos afterwards, and "everybody

²⁰¹ Kladopoulos in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 88.

²⁰² Kladopoulos in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 92.

blamed the Sinoids for that”.²⁰³ After another attempt in January 1736, the *Paşa* summoned the *kadı*, *ağas* and *ulema* and ordered never to let such a thing happen again. According to Kladopoulos there was another petition to destroy the church claiming that it was near a mosque. The church was examined and it was decided that it was built in the past and only refurnished by Gerasimos. Finally it was decided that the Church should function. Kladopoulos’s poem finishes on the 3rd of February 1736.

Among the achievements of Gerasimos is the change of the *stauropigiaki* status of the Church of St. Mathaios. A Patriarchal *sigillion* of 1777 -that has been referred to before- asked to be produced by a descendant of Nikousios, an archon and a translator Constantine Mourouzis, unravels the story of the sharing of the ecclesiastical property between the Sinoids and the metropolitan. Although Gerasimos promised to keep the *stauropigiaki* status of the *metochi* of the Sinoids, he attempted to take income from them after he built Agios Minas, which caused many disturbances. At the end, they reached an agreement and split into two the ecclesiastical incomes of Agios Mathaios and Agios Minas. In the period of the Patriarch Theodosius, the metropolitan of Crete Zacharias and the Sinoid archbishop Kyrillos renewed the agreement.²⁰⁴ Mourouzis was very keen to take over the protection of his family foundations. Finally, the monastery of Sinoids and its fathers would follow ecclesiastical rules, would guarantee that they were taking care of the *metochio*, do the yearly commemoration for the deceased founder of the monastery, and pray for the well-being of Mourouzis. They had the right to ordain

²⁰³ Kladopoulos in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 93.

²⁰⁴ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, pp. 313-314.

anybody they wanted, and give the local archpriest either a gift or a golden flouri willingly. On the other hand, nobody would ask them to pay more than that.²⁰⁵

During hardships of the metropolitans, the Patriarchs in Constantinople were in a constant struggle to get control over the island. How the Patriarchs were personally defending the metropolitans in the court of Constantinople against the accusations of their rivals has been presented. The Patriarchal reaction against the autocephalous Sinaids, taking all income for all the religious services they offered to the Christians of the island rather than the metropolitan, was to give the monasteries of the island the status of *stauropigiaki*, so that they would be directly under Patriarchal protection and control. This is how monastic life strengthened according to Tomadakis.²⁰⁶ A *sigillion* of Patriarch Kalinikos II, dated 13 March 1690 secures the *stauropigiaki* status of the Monastery of Kyria Odigitria in Kastelia of Kisamo which had become *stauropigiaki* during the time of the Patriarch Dionysios. The monastery, with all its appendices, monasteries and *metochia*, is only to give to the Great Church 50 *okkas* of oil annually. Anybody interfering will be apherized.²⁰⁷ Another example is the *sigillion* of Patriarch Iakovos, in June 1681 concerning the Monastery of Chrysopeges.²⁰⁸ Accordingly, the Monastery of Agios Eleutherios in the village of Mournies was kept by a monk, Euphtimios, who has been fighting for the survival of this monastery before and after the fall, to make it a *stauropigiaki* monastery. The metropolitan of Crete Nikiforos gives permission to join up with the *stauropigiaki* monastery of Zoodochou Peges with all its *metochia* and become the independent monastery of Hartofilakes. Only 60 *okkas* of oil would be given to the Great Church as a sign of

²⁰⁵ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 317.

²⁰⁶ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 40.

²⁰⁷ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, pp. 280-282, quoting from Anthimos Leledakis.

²⁰⁸ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, pp. 288-291, quoting from St. A. Xanthoudides.

submission. They would be free to ordain any prior they wanted. Nobody would interfere from outside.

Until here, the story of how the Ottomans gave the church of St. Mathaios to the Sinaids rather than the metropolitan Neophytos and his successors has been presented. The struggle of the metropolitans to set up their authority finally came to an end in 1735. The question is why the Ottomans did it this way. To answer this question, we need to link this question to the bigger picture of the Ottoman Empire at this period.

In conclusion, what was happening in Crete was related to the general situation of the Ottoman Empire in this period in regard to religious conflicts in Europe. The Ottomans' endorsement of the autocephalous Sinaids was not due merely to personal conflicts between Nikousios and Neophytos.²⁰⁹ The Ottoman intent to bestow authority to a religious leader as the head of the Orthodox community in Crete is apparent in the *berat* given in 1651 to the first metropolitan of Ottoman Crete, Neophytos Patelaros. In the early years of Ottoman rule, when Crete was still under Venetian threat, what was important for the Ottomans was that people felt a change in their religious freedom. The change of heart and support to the Sinaids is a reflection of growing mistrust towards the Patriarchate due to the very close relationship of the Patriarch to the Protestant and Catholic embassies in Istanbul.²¹⁰ The efforts of Protestant and Catholic powers to infiltrate into the Empire; the struggle between the pro-Roman and pro-Protestant Patriarchs and the involvement of European ambassadors into their conflicts were not unnoticed by the

²⁰⁹ "Probably Nikousios bestowed St. Matthew on the monks as the only institutional alternative to the metropolitan" (Greene, *A Shared World*, p. 182). This comment overvalues personal struggles and underestimates the Ottoman part.

²¹⁰ It has been proposed that Catholics missionaries were not a factor in the events of Candia because French missionaries were absent in Crete. (Greene, *A Shared World*, p. 194). However, the fact that they were absent in Crete does not mean that missionary activities did not effect the situation in Crete.

Ottomans. A divided Patriarchate could not serve the role the Porte had envisaged for the head of the Orthodox *millet*. Thus, the metropolitans of Crete, representatives of the Patriarch were not dealt with favor. However, when in the beginning of the 18th century the Patriarchs under the guidance of the Phanariots distanced themselves from outside influences, the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate in Istanbul was expanded. This is when finally the metropolitan of Crete won his battle against the Sinoids and established his authority on the island. The power of local pressure groups and their Christian and Muslim representatives in Porte should not be underestimated. However, it would be a mistake to consider the ruling Ottoman elite devoid of personal opinion.

CHAPTER III: ESTABLISHMENT OF ISLAM IN CRETE

One side of the religious policy of the Ottomans was the reestablishment of the Orthodox Church, and the other side was the establishment of Islam in the newly conquered island of Crete. The religious structure of Venetian Crete was characterized by the domination of Latin Christians over local Orthodox Christians. It also included a small amount of Jews and Armenians. The new Ottoman rule added the Muslims and new-Muslims to this structure.

The appointment of an Ottoman *kadı* to the island as the judge and the civil administrator of the society was an initial step in the establishment of the Ottoman rule.²¹¹ Immediately after the conquest of Chania, the former *müderris* of İçil, Fahri Mehmed Efendi, the *ordu kadısı* during the campaign, was appointed as the *kadı* of Chania.²¹² Gülsoy says *tahrir defterleri* do not contain information on how many *kadılıks* there were (1645-1670) in the *sancaks* of Girit Eyaleti.²¹³ On the basis of her study on the court records, Adıyeke says there were three *kadılıks* on the island; Chania, Rethymnon and Candia. Chania was hierarchically superior to the others.²¹⁴

²¹¹ The situation was the same in Cyprus, see İnalcık's article, "Ottoman Policy and Administration in Cyprus after the Conquest", *Milletlerarası Birinci Kıbrıs Tetkikleri Kongresi (14-19 Nisan 1969) Türk Heyeti Tebliğleri*, pp. 59-77.

²¹² 14 *Receb* 1055 / 5 Eylül 1645. Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, p. 45, fn. 65.

²¹³ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, p. 268.

²¹⁴ Adıyeke, "Newly Discovered", pp. 447-448.

i. Muslim Worship Places

The building of religious complexes and the conversion of existing Christian places of worship into Muslim ones was an expression of the establishment of Islam in Crete as it was in other conquered places of the Empire. The institutions operated through the *vakf* system.²¹⁵ These complexes included not only places of worship, but also educational institutions as *mektebs*, *medreses* and other social facilities built for the wellbeing of the society as *aşhanes*, fountains, etc. To ensure income for these buildings and their employees, shops, *bedestens* and *kervansaray*s were built. The greatest *vakfs* in the Empire are founded by the sultans, members of his household or important statesmen. In this way, *vakfs* are founded by the state, but they are administratively and economically independent institutions that provide service to people.²¹⁶

The *vakf* institution was an essential element for the wellbeing of the Ottoman society the origins of which were rooted in early Islamic legal tradition. Three traits of *vakfs* according to Deguilhem are that they are of a vertical and horizontal use throughout all socio-economic strata of the society, their capacity to adapt to individual, group and state needs within Islamic as well as Jewish and Christian communities, and finally their longevity among other traits.²¹⁷ The fact that *vakfs* served social and economic needs was the main reason for their immediate spread.²¹⁸ Apart from the historical conditions for the spread of *vakfs*, “demand for

²¹⁵ See Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, “Vakıf”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, M.E.B., Vol. XIII, pp. 153-171.

²¹⁶ Ömer Lütfi. Barkan "Şehirlerin Teşekkül ve İnkişaf Tarihi Bakımından Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Araştırmalar." *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 23, no. 1-2, 1962-1963, p. 240.

²¹⁷ Randi Deguilhem, “Wakf, In the Ottoman Empire”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam 2nd ed.*, Vol. XI, p. 88.

²¹⁸ Peters, R., “Wakf, In Classical Islamic Law”, in *Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd ed.*, Vol. XI, p. 60.

the creation of non-market institutions” has been proposed as an economic reason for the spread of these philanthropic institutions.²¹⁹

The *vakf* buildings include mosques, *mescids*, *medreses*, *mektebs* and other institutions built for social benefit. Apart from these *vakfs* consisting of the utility itself, there are the *vakfs* generating the income for the maintenance of the first group of utilities, and they include *hamams*, *bedestens*, *kervansarays* and shops.²²⁰

According to Minkov, “On the economic sphere, the *vakf* institution played the greatest role in the Islamization of Anatolia. The *vakf* served the purpose of “channeling wealth -away from the Christian establishments- to the institutions that provided the network of Islamic society”. The strength of this network facilitated the integration of non-Muslims into it. They developed as a response to the needs of Muslims rather than the state’s policy of conversion to Islam.²²¹ They facilitated conversion to Islam “only as a consequence of operating in a mixed religious environment and being the manifestation of a vital society”. Minkov argues that “the very existence of Islamic state is also a consequence of the proper functioning of the other Islamic social and economic institutions and not vice versa”.²²²

The introduction of Muslim place of worships was not only functional for addressing Muslims needs for worship places. It was also the outward symbolic expression of the annexation of Crete to the rest of the Ottoman world as Biermann writes. Both in Rethymnon and in Candia, the Sultan’s *cami*, located in the most prominent topographic sites, with their minaret as the most visible structure, “marked the city as Muslim, and signaled a ruling system in which hegemony rested

²¹⁹ Murat Cizakca, *A history of philanthropic foundations*, Boğaziçi University Press, Istanbul: 2000, p. 8.

²²⁰ Peters, “Wakf”, p. 60.

²²¹ Anton Minkov. *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahası Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, p. 26, fn. 73.

²²² Minkov, *Conversion to Islam*, pp. 25-26.

with the Sultan and his entourage”.²²³ This was a longstanding practice, apparent in Bursa and Istanbul as well.²²⁴

Mosques and *mescids* were either converted from churches or monasteries, or they were newly built. Conversion was unsurprisingly an indelible mark on the collective memories of local Christians as well. The contemporary witnesses Anthimos Diakrousis and Marinos Canes Bouniales describe the moments of the conquest of the island and conversion of churches and monasteries into mosques and *mescids* vividly in their verses.²²⁵ One of the Ottoman versions of the popular verses concerning the conquest of Crete on the other hand, is Aşık’s poem. He mentions as well how the Ottomans fought against “infidels” mentioning also the demolition of churches, maybe metaphorically as referring to their defeat if not literally.²²⁶

²²³ Bierman, under the effect of the article of Abou-El-Haj, Rifa’at Ali. “The Ottoman Vezir and Pasha Households 1683-1703: A Preliminary Report”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 94, No: 4, October-December 1974, pp. 438-447, claims that in this century the Sultan’s power was being confined, and the pasha households increased, this was felt in Crete in which Ottomanization was taking place. Despite major shifts in power structure, the Sultan’s *cami* with its minaret was still a landmark externally. (Irene A Bierman, “The Ottomanization of Crete”, *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, eds. Irene A. Bierman, Rifa’at A. Abou-El-Haj, Donald Preziosi. New Rochelle, N.Y.: Aristide D. Caratzas , 1991, p. 59)

²²⁴ Bierman, “The Ottomanization of Crete”, pp. 59-60. Another article linking the symbolic expression of imperial power to architecture at the same period is Marc David Baer’s “The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish space in Istanbul”, in which he considers the building of Valide Sultan Cami in Eminönü as an effort of the sultan’s mother to consolidate her power.

²²⁵ Anthimos Diakrousis was an important local man. Diakrousis’s verse describing the conquest of Chania in 1645 is given by Tomadakis in *Istoria*, pp. 53-55: The people told the Pasha: “The castle is yours. The people are under your authority. We will give *harac* to the king.” The Pasha said: “*Vallaha* I am not going to do harm to you, neither to the rich nor to the poor. They can go wherever they like. Those who give in should be certain that they can have their own houses and properties”. People were leaving their places. When all the monasteries and churches were left abandoned, the Pasha ordered to take all holy things out of monasteries. They put their own flags, put down icons and started turning monasteries and churches into *mescidi*. *Hocas* were put inside to swear at the holy icons. Bones were thrown away. People were crying...” Marinos Tzanes Bouniales describes the situation, given by Tomadakis in *Istoria*, pp. 59-62. The verse reflects the bad impression in the memory of Orthodox people: “In the Churches of Christ and Agia Marina, nuns were stripped. Monasteries were destroyed and violated. People were forced to swear against their faith...” (Tomadakis *Istoria*, p. 60).

²²⁶ Nihad Sami Banarlı, “Halk Şairlerinde Girit Savaşı ve Şair Aşık Hakkında Notlar”, *Ülkü Halkevleri Dergisi*, Vol. X, No: 56, pp.137-146: One of the poems by Aşık on the conquest of Candia is as follows: “*Sadriazam hazretleri bahadır / Girit ceziresin aldı ceng ile / Lutf ü ihsan*

The Latin and Orthodox churches were converted into mosques and new mosques and *mescids* were built through the Ottoman centuries. The *kible* in Crete is southeast and Latin-Christian churches are oriented east-west, which made conversion to mosque easier with only small alterations. The three main additions were the addition of the minaret -placed on the right of the façade, where the bell tower of Latin churches usually is-, a chronogram plaque *-kitabe-* and a graveyard. The façade of the structure could remain the same as the façade of the Ottoman mosque.²²⁷

The income to support converted churches to mosques was also provided by the *vakf* system. For instance, in Chania, the Church of Saint Nicholas was converted into Hünkar (Sultan İbrahim) Mosque. Afterwards, thirty-four stores, two bakeries (*fırın*), two depositories (*mahzen*) in the city of Chania, and the village of Galata were dedicated as *vakf* for this mosque. The rent from them generated an income of 111.252 *akçes* annually. 60.840 *akçes* were used for the salaries of the employees of the mosque, and 50.412 *akçes* for the expenses of restoration and maintenance.²²⁸ This mosque is mentioned by Evliya Çelebi as the mosque in which the first Friday prayer was performed.²²⁹ In Chania, Saint Francis was converted into Yusuf Paşa Mosque, Saint Maria was made Musa Paşa Mosque.²³⁰ In Rethymnon, Saint Nicolas, the greatest church of the city was made into the Sultan İbrahim Mosque, to which five villages were dedicated as *vakf*.²³¹ In Candia, Saint Francis Monastery was converted into Sultan Mehmed IV Mosque. Evliya Çelebi

edüp melikül kadir / Kal'asını yaktı top tüfenk ile / Başlayınca kal'enin savaşına / Ağu kattı kafirlerin aşına / Kiliselerin yıkdılar başına..." (p. 142).

²²⁷ Bierman, "The Ottomanization of Crete", p. 68.

²²⁸ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, p. 253, from the *tahrir defteri* No. 820.

²²⁹ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, prepared by Tevfik Temelkuran and Necati Aktaş, Vol. 2, Istanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1986, p. 507.

²³⁰ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, pp. 254-256 for the records in the tax registers.

²³¹ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, p. 256, RŞS 56/1025 and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri*, Vol IV, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2000, p. 234.

says it was converted into mosque by the Fatimids.²³² The Metropolitan Church of Saint Tito²³³ was made into Fazıl Ahmet Paşa Mosque (Vezir Camisi).²³⁴

The lawsuits from Candia give a vivid picture of the conversion process. In a record from Candia dated 1082/1671 Ahmed Ağa son of Abdullah appears in court to ask for an investigation of the repairs he made to the Sultan İbrahim mosque, -previously St. Peter- for which he spent 50.000 *akçes*. Mevlana Abdülcelil Efendi goes with an architect and other Muslims to investigate. The alterations include the building of a minaret, demolishing the bell-tower, addition of five new doors, painting and beautifying the building. It is calculated that the repairs cost 52.450 *akçes*. Probably Ahmed Ağa was in the court to ask for his 2450 *akçes*.²³⁵ In the next record drawn the same day, Mehmed Ağa son of Abdullah wants the court to investigate the changes he made to the Church of Agios Georgios Venetikos turned into the mosque of İbrahim Paşa. Mevlana Mehmed is leading the investigation. A minaret, an *alem* and a *mihrab* were added, and water pipes were built. The record gives detailed information on how much money was spent to build each part.²³⁶ In another record, we read the initial stage of the story of how the Church of Agios Ioannis Chrysostomos became Ahmet Ağa Mosque. According to the record dated 1081/1671, the representative of the Defterdar Ebubekir Efendi, Murad Ağa sold the church to Turnacıbaşı Ahmet Ağa of Istanbul, represented by

²³² *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, prepared by Mümin Çevik, Vol. 8, Istanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1985, p. 224.

²³³ Bierman, "The Ottomanization of Crete", p. 74, fn. 30.

²³⁴ Other important convert mosques of Candia were: Defterdar Ahmet Paşa Mosque (Converted from St. Mark, Defterdar Mehmed Paşa Mosque (from Kera Panagia Monastery), Valide Turhan Sultan Mosque (from St. Salvador Monastery), Sadaret Kethüdası Mahmud Ağa Mosque (previously Agios Ioannis Monastery, but Evliya Çelebi writes that it was built in 1080/1670 in *Seyahatname*, Vol. 8, p. 227.) Angebut Ahmet Paşa Mosque (previously Santa Maria Kuruzaki Monastery), Reisülküttap Acemzade Hüseyin Efendi Mosque (previously Kera Tokorti Monastery), Zülfikar Ağa Mosque (previously St. Catherine Monastery). See Gülsoy pp. 262-267 for their *vakf* incomes.

²³⁵ Stavrinides, Doc. 467, Vol. 1, pp. 373-375, 3:48, 14 *Cumaziyulevvel* 1082 / 18 September 1671.

²³⁶ Stavrinides, Doc. 468, Vol.1, pp. 375-378, 3:49, 14 *Cumaziyulevvel* 1082 / 18 September 1671.

Ahmed Beşe in court, for 25 *aslan guruş* on behalf of the Treasury. The Church became the property of Ahmet Ağa, who converted it into Ahmet Ağa Mosque or Balta Mosque later on as Stavrínides notes.²³⁷

In case of need, the *mescids* were converted into *camis*. An imperial *berat* was needed to for conversion. An *imam* and a *müezzin* were also appointed. According to an imperial order sent to the *kadı* of Candia upon the petition of the *kadı* who complained that “there is no mosque in Sitia”, the *mescid* in Handra village was turned into a mosque with their own expenses. The *berat* allowed “to place a *mimber* according to the Hanefi jurisdiction and to do Friday prayer inside”.²³⁸ The former church of Agios Silos, in Yüksek Tabya of Candia had been made into *mescid*. An imperial decree was sent to the *kadı* of Candia giving permission to convert the *mescid* into a mosque.²³⁹ An *imam* and a *müezzin* were appointed to this mosque.²⁴⁰

Zvi Ankori who has worked on the Jews of Crete found no record available to suggest the parallel Islamization of synagogues.²⁴¹ But he has found court records that contain cases of synagogues repaired.²⁴²

Apart from conversion of churches, new mosques were built in Crete. In Crete, mosques were built as a part of the *vakf* system. In Rethymnon, Valide Turhan Sultan built a mosque and a *muallimhane* (school). The income from the *hamam* built in the village of Pigi and the village of Tsikalaria were dedicated to

²³⁷ Stavrínides, Doc. 339, Vol. 1, pp. 235-236, 2:108, 27 *Şevval* 1081 / 8 March 1671. Turnacıbaşı Ahmet Ağa buys many other properties including houses and shops in Candia probably to dedicate them to his *vakf*. See in Stavrínides, documents 298, 300 and 301 in Vol. 1.

²³⁸ Stavrínides, Doc. 406, Vol. 1, p. 323, 3:245, 1 *Muharrem* 1082 / 10 May 1671, Adrianople.

²³⁹ Stavrínides, Doc. 417, Vol. 1, pp. 332-333, 3:252, 29 *Şevval* 1082 / 28 February 1672.

²⁴⁰ Stavrínides, Doc. 419.

²⁴¹ Ankori, “Zudecha”, p. 78.

²⁴² Ankori, “Zudecha”, p. 90.

this mosque.²⁴³ In Rethymnon Gazi Hüseyin Paşa's *vakfs* played an important role in the Islamization of the district. He built a mosque in Kisamo, a *medrese* and a *hamam* as part of his *vakf*. Eleven villages were dedicated to his *vakf*, and they provided an income of 211.080 *akçes* annually.²⁴⁴ In Candia, the mosque of Sultan İbrahim was built. It was originally built by Sultan İbrahim in Inadiye, and transferred to Candia according to the narration of Evliya Çelebi.²⁴⁵ Apart from mosques and *mescids*, numerous *medreses*, *hans*, fountains, *hamams*, *tekkes*, shops, coffee-houses and *bozahanes* were built in Candia.²⁴⁶

The *sicils* of Rethymnon and Candia include many records of *vakf* activities. The record of an imperial decree issued in 1058/1658 informs us that the village of Horamanastır was dedicated in order to provide for the *vakfs* of Gazi Hüseyin Paşa in Rethymnon and Kisamos.²⁴⁷ Köprülü Ahmet Paşa's participation in the Islamization of Candia is vividly reflected in the *sicil* entries of Candia. For instance, according to a record of 1081/1670, the village of Magarites in Agaliani of Milopotamos was given to the *vakf* of Köprülü by the Defterdar Ebu Bekir Efendi. The borders of the village were determined through the -mainly Christian- *reaya* witnesses from the villages of Langa, Alfa, Orfos, Kasteli, Perama, Dalabelo, Orthie, Agios Mamos, Bistagi and Merona. Witnesses to the case were all Muslims.²⁴⁸ According to the record of the following day, the village of Agios Thomas was dedicated to the *vakf* of Köprülü.²⁴⁹ The village Agia Varvara was given to the same

²⁴³ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, pp. 257-258.

²⁴⁴ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, p. 257.

²⁴⁵ *Seyahatname*, Vol. 8, pp. 226-227.

²⁴⁶ See *Seyahatname*, Vol. 8, pp. 232-235. For a list of the Ottoman buildings in Crete, see Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri*, Vol. IV, pp. 224-235.

²⁴⁷ Stavrinides, Doc. 93, Vol. 1, pp. 67-68, 1:129, 29 *Şevval* 1068 / 29 July 1658.

²⁴⁸ Stavrinides, Doc. 370, Vol. 1, pp. 270-275, 2:127, 16 *Rebiülahir* 1080 / 2 September 1670.

²⁴⁹ Stavrinides, Doc. 371, Vol. 1, pp. 275-284, 2:129, 17 *Rebiülahir* 1080 / 3 September 1670.

vakf according to the next record of 1080/1670.²⁵⁰ Turhan Valide Sultan, Mehmed IV's mother, founded her own *vakf* in Candia. In 1671, the *mütevelli* decided to that it would be beneficial for the *vakf* to build a *kapan* in the Aktabya gate of Candia in order to generate income. The *kadı* went to the spot himself -as it was an important *vakf*- with Muslims, specialists in building to investigate the area. They measured a place of 30 to 23 *pihis* (*ziras*), calculated the materials needed for the building process and estimated that the expenses would be 200.000 *akçes*, as recorded in the *sicil*.²⁵¹ The activities of Köprülü and other statesmen should be assessed as an effort to build up the city after the long war period through the *vakf* system. Another entry dated 1081/1670 informs us that Abdurrahman Ağa, the leader of the *yeniçeris* in Istanbul appointed Mehmed Ağa son of İbrahim as his representative to dedicate his possessions in Candia as *vakf*.²⁵² The enormous amount of dedicated properties includes shops, houses, a church and 1000 *guruş*. The conditions of the *vakifname* are that these properties would be rented and pay for expenses.²⁵³ The dedicator would have the right to oversee it throughout his life, and the right to manage all issues of the *vakf*. After his death, his male heirs were appointed, and after the extinction of male heirs, the *kadı* of Candia would take care of the *vakf*. Evliya Çelebi also mentions the big amount of the *vakfs* of this mosque of Abdurrahman Ağa.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ Stavrinides, Doc. 372, Vol. 1, pp. 284-290, 2:131, 18 *Rebiülahir* 1080 / 4 September 1670.

²⁵¹ Stavrinides, Doc. 454, p. 560, 3:26, 1 *Rebiülahir* 1082 / 7 August 1671.

²⁵² Stavrinides, Doc. 346, pp. 242-251, 2:111, 1 *Rebiülahir* 1081 / 19 July 1670.

²⁵³ From the income, 25 *akçes* per day for the *imam*, 25 *akçes* per day for the *hafiz* of the mosque, 3 *akçes* for the *müezzin*, 8 *akçes* for taking care of the interior of the mosque, 8 *akçes* for the care of the minaret, 4 *akçes* for the candles, 6 *akçes* for cleaning the toilets, 2 *akçes* for the technician of the pipelines, 18 *akçes* for the *mütevelli*, 3 *akçes* for the secretary, and 2 *akçes* for the collector of rents would be paid. From the rest of the income, 1/4 goes to the *mütevelli*. We are not informed of where the 3/4 would be spent.

²⁵⁴ *Seyahatname*, p. 228.

ii. Muslim Religious Orders on the Island

Tekke Islam -or mystical Islam- was a factor that was endorsed by the rulers during the initial centuries of the Ottomans. The effect of the dervishes has been accepted as a factor that facilitated the spread of Islam especially in the Balkans.²⁵⁵ Their disregard of dogmas and rituals, syncretism and inclusiveness attracted the Christians and they became one of the strongest influences in the conversion of Christians to Islam.²⁵⁶

Heterodoxy in religion was a factor that facilitated syncretism. Turkish heterodoxy was formed not as a result of theological discussions, but through the nomad culture's syncretism of the mystical elements of their previous religion with Islamic culture.²⁵⁷ The heterodox Muslim orders in Anatolia and the Balkans attracted the Christian priests who were the heterodox of their own religion and converted to Islam from 13th to 16th centuries.²⁵⁸ It is wrong to assume though that all religious orders were out of the sphere of Orthodoxy. For the purpose of clarification, we should differentiate between *tekke* Islam, *medrese* Islam and popular Islam. *Tekkes* and *zaviyes* were the basic institutions of the *tekke* Islam.

²⁵⁵ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler: İstila Devrinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, II, 1942, pp. 279 - 386.

Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Bazı Menakıbnamelere göre XIII-XV. Yüzyıllardaki İhtidalarda Heterodoks Şeyh ve Dervişlerin Rolü", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, II, 1981, pp. 31-42.

Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971, especially "Chapter V: Conversion to Islam".

Reşat Öngören. "Balkanların İslamlaşmasında Sufilerin Rolü", *Balkanlar'da İslam Medeniyeti Milletlerarası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri* (Sofya: 21-2 Nisan 2000), İstanbul: IRCICA, 2002, pp. 47-73.

²⁵⁶ See Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "XIII.-XV. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu'da Türk-Hıristiyan Dini Etkileşimleri ve Aya Yorgi (Saint Georges) Kültü", *Belleten*, Vol. LV, 43, 1991, pp. 661-673.

Nevra Necipoğlu "The Coexistence of Turks and Greeks in Medieval Anatolia (Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries)" *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, 5, (1999-2000), pp. 58-76.

Speros Vryonis, "Religious Change and Continuity in the Balkans and Anatolia from the Fourteenth through the Sixteenth Centuries", Speros Vryonis ed., *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages*, Wiesbaden: 1975, pp. 127-140.

²⁵⁷ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Türkler, Türkiye ve İslam: Yaklaşım, Yöntem ve Yorum Denemeleri*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999, pp. 43-44.

²⁵⁸ Ocak, "Bazı Menakıbnameler", p. 41.

They were organized in *tarikats* for the mystical interpretation of Islam. Mystical Islam not only includes heterodox orders like the Yesevis, Kalenderis, Haydaris but also orthodox orders like Kübrevis, Nakşibendis, Kadiris and the Rifais.²⁵⁹ The mystical Islam in this sense should be considered not as opposed to Orthodox Islam, but to *medrese* Islam, which was characterized by the domination of *fikh*. Popular Islam on the other hand consists of both heterodox and orthodox elements, and it is affected by superstitions and mystical elements. It is not organized and institutionalized, and differs from *tekke* Islam in this way.²⁶⁰ The orthodox sufi orders like Rifais, Kadiris, Halvetis and Nakshibendis did not participate in the missionary conversion activities as the Bektashis did during the conquests in the 13th and 14th centuries.²⁶¹ The seventeenth century diplomat Paul Rycout considers the dervishes as the best spies of the Eastern world since they travel a lot.²⁶²

The Ottomans endorsed religious orders during the first centuries of spread. The *tekkes* counted on the support of the central administration to a certain extent and on their good relations with the provincial rulers.²⁶³ The seventeenth century witnesses the Kadızadeli movement (1621-1685). The *tekkes* of Istanbul and the dervishes were the target of this movement, the followers of which managed to have

²⁵⁹ Ocak, *Türkler*, pp. 56-59.

²⁶⁰ Ocak, *Türkler*, pp. 52-53.

²⁶¹ Ocak, "Bazı Menakıbnameler", p. 36.

²⁶² Paul Rycout, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London: John Starkey and Henry Brome, 1668. Republished: Farnborough, Hants, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1972, p.140. He devotes a section to the dervishes, "Muslim monks" whom he claims that "they above all religious Turks, journey and travel from one place to another ... under pretence of preaching and propagating their faith... by which they become the best spies and intelligencers of any that are found in the Eastern parts of the world" See pp. 135-151 on his observations of the dervishes through a European eye.

²⁶³ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Agricultural Activities in a Bektashi Center: The Tekke of Kızıl Deli 1750-1830", *Peasants, Dervishes and Traders in The Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, London: Variorum Reprints, 1986, p.78. For the economic activities of tekkes, see also Faroqhi's "The Tekke of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 7, No: 2, April 1976, pp. 183-208.

audience in the mosques of Istanbul.²⁶⁴ They were in good terms with Sultan Murad IV, but the Sultan also had personal ties to sufi orders. His mother Kösem was a supporter of the Halveti order.²⁶⁵ Murad's less successful heirs gave the chance of success to the Kadızadelis.²⁶⁶ According to Ocak, especially after 1640s, the Kadızadelis made use of the weakness of the state and became quite efficient. During the periods of İbrahim I and Mehmed IV, the movement strengthened. They even provided the support of the Vizier Melek Ahmet in 1651. In 1656, Köprülü Mehmed Paşa managed to pacify them. During the vizierate period of Köprülü Ahmet, his affection for Vani Mehmed opened the way of the revival of the movement.²⁶⁷ The sufis of Istanbul lived a period of suppression again around 1665. The defeat at Vienna in 1683 also marked the end of Vani's influence and the Kadızadeli movement.²⁶⁸ The movement was only temporarily successful according to Zilfi, because "Sufi sensibilities were profoundly a part of society to be easily suppressed".²⁶⁹

It was during this time of conflict in Istanbul and hostility towards sufi orders that Crete became the part of the Empire. Although the movement occasionally found supporters in the Porte, the traditional Ottoman policy to endorse the *tekke* Islam was applied in Crete. The *tekkes* and dervishes of both orthodox and heterodox sufi orders were present there. According to Evliya Çelebi

²⁶⁴ See Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Kadızadeli: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul", *Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 45, No: 4, October 1986, pp. 251-269.

Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine bir Bakış: "Kadızadeliiler Hareketi", *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, XVII-XXI/1-2, Ankara, 1979-1983, pp. 208-224.

Halil İnalcık, "Islam in the Ottoman Empire", *Essays in Ottoman History*, Istanbul: Eren, pp. 235-236.

Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. III, Chapter 19, "Sofiyeye Ricali ve Kadızadeliiler", pp. 343-366.

²⁶⁵ Zilfi, "The Kadızadeli", p. 257.

²⁶⁶ Zilfi, "The Kadızadeli", p. 258.

²⁶⁷ Zilfi, "The Kadızadeli", p. 263.

²⁶⁸ Zilfi, "The Kadızadeli", p. 265.

²⁶⁹ Zilfi, "The Kadızadeli", p. 269.

there were sixteen *tekkes* in Candia which belonged to the Bektashis, Kadiris, Bayramis, Uşşakis, Fetayis and Halvetis.²⁷⁰

Ustazade Yunus Efendi, a Cretan Bektashi himself and a disciple of the Horasanlı Dergahı presents an overall history of the arrival of the Bektashis in Crete during the very first stage of the conquest of the island. His various references to court records of Candia suggest that, his knowledge of the order was not limited to what he knew probably by way of oral tradition as a disciple of the order. According to his narration, Horasani Ali Dede was the leader of the Bektashis who joined the campaign of Crete and settled on the island afterwards to sow the seeds of this religious order in the first years of Ottoman rule, which lasted until the latest period of Muslim presence on Crete.²⁷¹ He joined the convent of Hacı Bektaş Veli in the *asitane* of the leader of the Bektashis, Hacı Bektash Veli in Kırşehir known as *Pir Evi*. A group of dervishes from the *Pir Evi* traditionally accompanied the campaigns of the Ottoman army. The campaign of Crete was not an exception. The *postnişin* of the *Pir Evi* Vahdeti Dede put together a group of dervishes to go to Crete, and nominated Horasani Ali Dede as their leader with the rank of *halife* so that he was enabled to have in order to appoint new dervishes. Ustazade says Horasani Ali Dede and his congregation took part in the sieges of Chania and Rethymnon. When the army was settled in Pediada Kasteli, Horasani Dede inaugurated a *tekke* in the village of Voni -also known as Dedeler köyü-, located west of Pediada Kasteli in 27 Safer 1057 [2 April 1647], and started the rituals of the order. In 1060/1650, Gazi Hüseyin Paşa ordered the building of a castle to

²⁷⁰ *Seyahatname*, Vol. 8, p. 234.

²⁷¹ The source used in this part is an the article of Ustazade Yunus Efendi. The article was found among the study notes of Prof. Fuad Köprülü, and compiled by his son Orhan F. Köprülü: "Ustazade Yunus Bey'in Meçhul Kalmış bir Makalesi: Bektaşiliğin Girid'de İntişarı", *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, VIII-IX, 1980, pp. 37-86. For a story of the book which Ustazade's article was a part of see: Ali Ekrem Erkal, "Ustazade Yunus Bey'in Girit Fethi Tarihi", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Vol. 30, No: 175, 1998, pp. 25-32.

provide a point of support for the army which was yet unable to conquer Candia. The castle of Inadiye was completed in six months. Horasani Ali Dede was in good terms with Hüseyin Paşa, who donated Horasani Dede a space for a *tekke* in the northern foot of the hill where the castle stood. At the end of the *Ramazan* of 1060 [September 1650], Horasani Dede started the rituals in the new *tekke*. According to the *vakıfname* dated *evasıt-ı Cumaziyulahir* 1060 / 9-19 June 1650, the village of Voni was given as *vakf* to the *tekke*. Due to this donation, the *tekke* is sometimes called “Hüseyin Paşa Tekkesi”.²⁷² Ustazade considers Horasanlı Dergahı as the first and the most important organization of the Bektashi order on Crete. After the foundation of the *tekke*, the company of dervishes carried on supporting the army.²⁷³

Ustazade examines the history of the Horasanlı Dergahı under three periods: Horasanizade Derviş Ali Dede (1060-1122) [1650-1710], Horasanizade Şeyh Mehmed (1123-1225) [1711-1810] and Horasani Derviş Ali Baba (1226-1342) [1811-1923/4]. According to the historian of the order in Crete, at the end of the first two periods, the *tekke* was found in a destructed position and refounded.²⁷⁴ The population exchange as a result of the Lozan Treaty in 1923 marked the end of the Bektashi orders on the island, as it marked the end of Muslim presence. The third period of the *tekke* witnessed the finest period for the Bektashi order in Crete. Four more *tekkes* were founded on the island at this period. According to the narration, a villager from Iouktas also known as Mağaralıköy (10 km south of Candia),

²⁷² Köprülü “Ustazade Yunus Bey”, p. 45.

²⁷³ Köprülü “Ustazade Yunus Bey”, pp. 46.

²⁷⁴ Ustazade finds the information of the ruined position of the *tekke* in the *sicil* No. 26 of Candia, dated 14 Safer 1122 [13 April 1710]. Accordingly, two women went to the Horasanlı Dergahı. They were surprised and frightened to find the *tekke* empty and ruined. Afterwards four brigands (*şaki*) came and raped the women, for which the case was recorded. Ustazade says it is not known why the *tekke* was deserted (p. 51). For the end of the second period, he has no information either (p. 52).

Proyazade Mustafa Bey, a man from a distinguished family and a frequenter of the Horasani Dergahı, became Dervish Mustafa in the *asitane* of Abdal Musa in Elmalı of Antalya, and founded a *tekke* in Mağaralıköy in 1237 [1821/2]. The same year he went to Chania and Rethymnon to found two more *tekkes* of the Bektashi order. The latest *tekke* founded on the island was that of İbrahim Baba Dergahı, founded in 1337 [1918/9] and survived for three years; at 1,5 km west of Horasanlı Dergahı.²⁷⁵ Ustazade Yunus Efendi's speculation about the number of the disciples of the Bektashi order on the island during the greatest period of this order (1299-1322) [1881/2-1904/5] is rather exaggerated coming to nearly ten thousand disciples, which makes it 12.5% of the Turkish population on the island.²⁷⁶

In a footnote to a court case, Stavrinides also notes that in 1649 the village Voni was given by the Sultan Mehmed IV to the *tekke* of Horasani Ali Dede. According to the record, Horasani Hasan Dede, the then *Şeyh* of the *tekke* and brother of Ali Dede testified in the presence of Georgios son of Ioannis Samaris, inhabitant of Voni in Pediada that he returned the field of 30 *muzurs* back to Georgios who had bought the field in Voni for 33 *guruş* from the former Defterdar of Crete Sofu Mehmed Paşa. The village, including the field of Georgios, was later on given to Ali Dede who thought that the field was the property of *tekke*. Now that the village was added to *sultanic has* (imperial possessions), Hasan Dede returned it to Georgios and sold him another field and a vineyard nearby.²⁷⁷

Bektashis were not the only privileged Muslim order in Ottoman Crete. It was a part of the Ottoman policy to support the Kadiris on the island since the very early years of the Ottoman rule. The Ottoman state granted estates and lands as *vakf*

²⁷⁵ Köprülü, "Ustazade Yunus Bey", pp. 47-64.

²⁷⁶ Köprülü, "Ustazade Yunus Bey", p. 66.

²⁷⁷ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 266, p. 137 / Stavrinides, Vol. 1, p. 402, 3:109, 29 *Şaban* 1082 / 31 December 1671.

to the *tekke* of Şeyh Mustafa Efendi, a disciple of Abdülkadir Geylani on the island as early as 1651. According to a *berat* of 1061/1651, the villages of Marina and the *metochia* of Apriko and Agia Iomri in the province of Agias Vasilis were given as *vakf* to the *tekke* built by Şeyh Mustafa.²⁷⁸ A *buyruldu* sent to the *kadı* of Rethymnon in 1062/1652 orders to determine and record the borders of villages and *metochia* and the estates granted to the *tekke* of Şeyh Mustafa.²⁷⁹ The *vakf* villages of the *tekke* of Abdülkadir Geylani were free from taxes apart from *cizye* as we learn from an undated record of a decree sent to the *kadı*s of Rethymnon and Agias Vasilis, in the earliest court record of Rethymnon.²⁸⁰ The estates dedicated previously belonged to the Christians who refused to pay *cizye* and left the island. According to a court record dated 1068/1658, Papa Nikola, prior of the Monastery of Diskouri, from the province of Agias Vasilis, village of Leukogia, takes to court Hüseyin Ağa, the *mütevelli* of the *vakf* of the *tekke* of Abdülkadir Geylani with the accusation that he is holding illegally the vineyards, gardens, and other property that belongs to him. “Hüseyin Ağa provides through his representative Veli Ağa a *hüccet* of 1060/1650 mentioning that the estates were sold by Defterdar Mehmed Paşa to Hüseyin Paşa for 100 *guruş*. He then dedicated them to the *şeyhs* of Abdülkadir Geylani to build a *cami* and a *tekke*”. The litigant Papa Nikola had apparently taken up the same case to court several times before. He is now threatened with capital punishment, if he takes the case to court once more.²⁸¹ In Rethymnon an area was called Şeyh Mahallesi. Şeyh Mustafa had donated there his three houses to Musa Dede, Yusuf and Mustafa a year before his death. Through her representative, Şeyh Mustafa’s wife Fatma claimed right on these houses, but the

²⁷⁸ RŞS 56/952.

²⁷⁹ RŞS 56/943, 11 *Safer* 1062 / 22 January 1652.

²⁸⁰ RŞS 56/540, undated.

²⁸¹ Stavrinides, Doc. 42, Vol. 1, p. 27, 1:32, 1 *Şaban* 1068 / 3 May 1658.

donations were proven through witnesses in 1655/1065.²⁸² Short time before his death, Şeyh Mustafa sold his private estates in Pasalites, Milopotamos through his representative *müezzin* Mustafa in *evahir-i Safer* 1065/1654-5.²⁸³ In *evasıt-ı Rebiülevvel* 1065 / 18-27 January 1655, he sold the olive grove in Rusospiti again through his representative *müezzin* Mustafa for 60 *riyali guruş* that he had bought from the state for 10 *guruş* two years ago making thus quite a margin of gain.²⁸⁴ According to another *berat* issued in 1061/1651 the state granted two fields that formerly belonged to Christians who escaped from the island, to a certain Derviş Mehmed in Rethymnon with a monthly rent of 10 *akçes*.²⁸⁵

The existence of a community of *şeyhs* and *dervishes* in the early years of Crete is apparent in the court records. During the siege of Candia in 1078/1668, a *sipahi*, inhabitant of Şeyh Abdülcelil Mahallesi in Rethymnon declares in court that in case he dies during the siege of the fortress of Candia, he donates one third of his property to a Şeyh Mehmed Efendi.²⁸⁶ Many Muslims, their names accompanied by the titles Dede, Şeyh and Derviş, appear in the court records as buying and selling property or as witnesses.²⁸⁷ In Candia as well, there is evidence for the existence of *tekkes* and *şeyhs* just after the arrival of Ottomans. It is possible to learn from records where certain *şeyhs* in Candia live. The record of Angebut Ahmet Paşa buying property in Candia informs us that the Karabaş Şeyhi Halveti lives in the Fortress of Inadiye in Candia.²⁸⁸ A similar case concerns the ownership of a church

²⁸² RŞS 57/149, RŞS 57/150, RŞS 57/151, *evasıt-ı Rebiülahir* 1065 / February 1655.

²⁸³ RŞS 57/443, *evahir-ı Safer* 1065 / 29 December 1654 - 7 January 1655.

²⁸⁴ RŞS 57/465 *evasıt-ı Rebiülevvel* 1065 / 19-28 January 1655, RŞS 57/464 *evasıt-ı Receb* 1063 / 7-16 June 1653.

²⁸⁵ RŞS 56/969 15-24 November 1651, the same in RŞS 56/1040, *evasıt-ı Rebiülahir* 1061 / 3-12 April 1651.

²⁸⁶ RŞS 98, p. 83, *Şevval* 1078 / March-April 1668.

²⁸⁷ Some examples are RŞS 57/14, 57/31, 56/697, 56/757, 56/758, 56/768, Stavrinides, Doc. 17, Stavrinides, Doc 213.

²⁸⁸ Stavrinides, Doc. 223, Vol. 1, pp. 157-159, 2:7, 27 *Zilhicce* 1081 / 6 May 1671.

bordering with the house of Şeyh Mehmed Bendevidi.²⁸⁹ Another *şeyh* Hafız Ahmed son of Ebulhayr, inhabitant of the Cami of İbrahim Paşa in Kandiye sells to Yusuf Beşe bin Abdullah a house in the neighbourhood of Balta Ahmed Ağa Mosque for 80 *aslan guruş*.²⁹⁰

The policy of the Ottoman state to endorse Islamic religious orders through grants of land and privileges in the seventeenth century Crete was a factor that facilitated conversion. Even some of the members of the orders may be claimed to be converts themselves, on the basis of the evidence of names in the court records such as Derviş Mehmed bin Abdullah and İbrahim Dede bin Abdullah.²⁹¹ In his period (1226-1259) [1811-1843], Derviş Ali Baba converted three Christians to Islam at various times, and made each of them a Bektashi dervish one year after their conversion.²⁹²

iii. New-Muslims

The national historiographies of the contemporary Balkan states are interested in the subject of conversion to Islam under the Ottoman Empire, a subject popular in Turkey as well. It is not surprising though that the theories produced by the two groups are distantly different. The typical Balkan nationalist historians have produced and defended the theories of forced conversions in the Ottoman Empire.²⁹³ The majority of the Ottomanists in Turkey on the other hand have

²⁸⁹ Stavriniides, Doc. 567 / *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 439, 28 *Zilhicce* 1082 / 26 April 1672. "Bedevi" in this version.

²⁹⁰ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 191: 29 *Muharrem* 1083 / 27 May 1672.

²⁹¹ RŞS 56/1046 *evail-i Cumaziyulevvel* 1062 / 10-19 April 1652, and Stavriniides, Doc. 501. However, we should not forget the probability of their being innate Muslims, especially those of the Dedes.

²⁹² Köprülü "Ustazade Yunus Bey", p. 56.

²⁹³ The Greek historiography disregarded "the awful years of Tourkokratia" for long years. See, Foti Benlisoy, "Elizabeth Zachariadou ile Söyleşi: Yunanistan'da Osmanlı Tarihçiliği", *Toplumsal Tarih*, September 2003, No: 117, pp. 34-37. A typical example is the explanation of conversion in Crete by Psilakis. According to him, "Most fervent Muslims were established in the area. In some

defended the theory that the Ottoman state applied a policy of “toleration” towards the *ehl-i kitab* and that the Orthodox Church would not have survived without the Ottoman state. The process of conversion was unsurprisingly not homogenous for different places and periods of the Empire. Crete was in the periphery of the Empire, and it was conquered at a late stage. In the case of Crete, conversion to Islam was extreme.²⁹⁴ Thus religious conversion of the local Christians in Crete will be investigated in this section.

The Muslim population of Crete reached a total of 300,000 in the second half of the eighteenth century which makes 2/3 of the total population according to Adıyeke.²⁹⁵ The distinctive characteristic of the increase of the Muslim population of Crete is that the traditional Ottoman policy of colonization, that is, the settlement of Muslims of another area to a newly conquered territory was not applied to Crete. Greene says there is no evidence for the colonization of the island by Muslim settlers. Gülsoy says the Ottomans did not apply a conscious policy of settlement of Muslims in Crete. Biermann claims that Egyptians, Albanians and Anatolians were brought to the island, but she gives no reference.²⁹⁶ Colonization is a process that not only increases the Muslim ratio per se, but it is an effect conversion as was the case in the Balkans. The problem is to explain the existence of a Muslim population on the island of Crete where no colonization happened. Gülsoy gives an account of

cases, there are indications that Christian were forced to convert. Most important reason of conversion was money.” In Theocharis. *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 289.

²⁹⁴ Anton Minkov has contemplated on the relation between the notions of Islamization and conversion to Islam in the introduction of his study on conversion to Islam in the Balkans. He has concluded that although Islamization has a larger connotation than conversion to Islam -and it has even been suggested that Islamization in a society may occur without religious conversion necessarily taking place-, since religious conversion, per se, can not lead to anything but conversion to an Islamic way of life, it can also be used in the broader sense of Islamization. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam*, p. 2, fn. 3.

²⁹⁵ Ayşe Nükhet Adıyeke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Girit Bunalımı (1896-1908)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000, p. 79.

²⁹⁶ Greene, *A Shared World*, p. 88. Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, pp. 246-247. Biermann, “Ottomanization of Crete”, p. 66.

the first Muslim settlers on the island on the basis of his studies on *tahrir defterleri*. Accordingly, he mentions people appointed by the state to the island including state officials, the military personnel and the *vakf* employees as the first Muslim population on the island.²⁹⁷ Adıyeke rightly disagrees with him that the source of the Muslim population was mainly these state officials.²⁹⁸ Taking into account the evidence of court records of conversion to Islam which will be investigated below, it seems logical to explain the existence of a Muslim population of Crete primarily through conversion to Islam.

Even just a few years after the Ottoman arrival in Crete, before Candia was taken, religious conversion to Islam started in Rethymnon according to the first court records of the island. Apart from cases of conversion in the court, some cases refer to dates when the litigant or defendant had converted. In Candia as well, religious conversion started just after the arrival of Ottomans. According to Özdemir, it was not necessary to declare conversion explicitly, but the cause of registration in the court was that registration consolidated the convert's belief and involvement in the Muslim community.²⁹⁹ Jennings says on the other hand that converts had to register their change of religion at court "if only to adjust their tax status".³⁰⁰

When a Christian converted to Islam, his/her underage children automatically became Muslim as well. In a case from Rethymnon, Thirty-five year old Franke was taken to court by his convert father Muhammed bin Abdullah -

²⁹⁷ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, pp. 247-252.

²⁹⁸ Adıyeke, "İhtida Hareketleri", p. 4.

²⁹⁹ Bülent Özdemir, "Political Use of Conversion in the Nineteenth Century Context: Cases from Thessalonica", *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, No: 7, Spring 2004, p. 160. Özdemir proposes that political and practical reasons prevailed against the emotional and intellectual ones. (p. 158)

³⁰⁰ Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640*. New York and London: New York University Press, 1993, p. 138.

converted thirty years ago- for not having converted yet. Because Franke was five-years old when his father embraced Islam, it was decided that he should as well be a Muslim. In the court he said “I quit the void religion and assume the right religion” and he was named Mustafa. The same rule worked for his own children; his underaged son was named Mustafa and daughter Fatma.³⁰¹

Given the disparity in the population, compared to local Christians, Latin Christians and Jews converted to Islam in a much smaller scale. An example of the conversion of Latin Christians is the -undated- record of the young Bernardo from the province of Agios Vasilis who converted in the court and became Mehmed.³⁰² Francas Hamilos from the village of Banasos in Kainourgio, -most probably a Catholic as we understand from the name- embraced Islam and became Receb.³⁰³ Zvi Ankori found out only four cases of Jewish conversion in the *kadı* records of Candia.³⁰⁴

Apart from individual conversions of Christians to Islam, another form was mass conversion. An example is the villagers of Katovarsamonero of Rethymnon. A decree was sent to the *kadı* of Rethymnon in 1066/1656 upon the petition of the representatives of the village in order to explain how much tax the population of this village was supposed to pay and to prevent payment more than they should.³⁰⁵ Ten years later, the inhabitants of the same village complained about the disturbances of the *kethüda* of the village in a petition despite the fact that the

³⁰¹ “*Batıl dinden çıktım, hak dinine girdim. La ilahe illallah, Muhammed resulullah*”, RŞS, 85, p. 59. 11 *Zilhicce* 1087 / 13 February 1677.

³⁰² RŞS 57/343, undated.

³⁰³ Stavrinides, Doc. 714, Vol. 2, p. 153-154, 4:288-289, 1083 / 1672.

³⁰⁴ Ankori gives the *sicil* numbers 7:74, 8:62,64, 11:120,121, 9:119, 20:170. Ankori, Zvi. “From Zudecha to Yahudi Mahallesi: The Jewish Quarter of Candia in the Seventeenth Century”, Salo Wittmayer Barron Jubilee Volume, *American Academy for Jewish Research*, 1975, p. 105.

³⁰⁵ “*Kato Varsamonero ahalisi bi-ecma’ihim şeref-i İslam ile müşerref olub...*” RŞS 56/531, 24 *Zilkade* 1066 / 13 September 1656.

villagers accepted Islam in mass.³⁰⁶ In Cyprus records, Jennings did not find any example of mass conversion.³⁰⁷

One of the strongest reasons of mass conversion to Islam in the Ottoman Empire is considered to be the tax burden on non-Muslims in the form of *cizye*, Islamic capitation tax and dues imposed by the Orthodox Church.³⁰⁸ The rate of *cizye* was one gold ducat generally throughout the Ottoman Empire, but it was considerably increased from the end of the sixteenth century.³⁰⁹ An example of tax “discounts” is the undated decree which orders that the villagers of Maroula and the inhabitants of the *metochi* of Amigdalos who embraced Islam -“*şeref-i İslam ile müşerref olanlardan*”- were supposed to pay only half of the *voyvodalık akçesi*.³¹⁰ Decrees from the center that regulated the new-Muslims’ exemptions of *cizye*, *harac* and *ispence* were recorded in the *sicils* of Rethymnon.³¹¹ The people of the village of Katovarsamonero complained in a petition that although the inhabitants of the village converted in mass, they were still being asked for “*ispence* and *kapu hakkı*”.³¹² However, the Ottomans did not offer any inducements in the land tax to Cretan converts as they did in the earlier centuries.³¹³ The land system was different at the end of the seventeenth century, therefore many feudal taxes were abolished due to the changes in military and fiscal terms, and new taxes were brought to

³⁰⁶ “Cümlemiz müslüman olduk, karye sipahisi ... ve angarya istiyor, rencide ediyor”. *Evahir-i Cumaziyulevvel*, 1077. RŞS 98, p. 53, *evahir-i Cumaziyulevvel*, 1077 / 13-27 November 1666.

³⁰⁷ Jennings, *Cyprus*, p.138.

³⁰⁸ İnalçık, “İslam”, p. 238. See his article “Djizya” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. II.

³⁰⁹ İnalçık, “İslam”, p. 238.

³¹⁰ RŞS 57/133, undated.

³¹¹ “Şeref-i İslam ile müşerref olmalarıyla hilaf-ı şer’ *cizye* ve *ispence* almayub ma’ada mahsulatları kanun ve defter mucebince alınub ziyade almayasuz”, RŞS 98, p. 69 undated.

³¹² “Arz-ı hal sebebi budur ki, Resmo nahiyesinde Katovarsamonero nam karye sakinlerinden cümlemiz müslüman olub karyemiz sipahisi bizden gavurlar gibi *ispence* ve *kapu hakkı* ve gayrı ... beraber olur ve angarya ... var ise bu fukaraya zulm ve gadr ider [...]” RŞS 98, p. 53, *evahir -i Cumaziyulevvel* 1077 / 17-27 November 1666.

³¹³ Greene, *A Shared World*, p. 40.

eliminate the affects of economic crisis.³¹⁴ Furthermore, what the peasants paid was determined by the economic status of the period. According to a *sicil* entry from Rethymnon dated 1068/1658, Musli the *timariot* complained in court that the inhabitants of Katovarsamonero refused to pay the *çift*, *bennak* and the *aşar* (1/7 though) although they were registered in the *defter*, on the condition that they embraced Islam. He wanted an order to settle the situation which was contrary to holy law. It was ordered that those who had a full *çift* would pay 80 *akçes*, half *çift* 40 *akçes* and *bennak* 20 *akçes*. *Aşar* (of 1/7) would be collected for cereals. Anyone who created a mass would be punished. The case shows that the financial situation of the period determined what the peasants would pay rather than their religion.³¹⁵

Minkov asserts that in the Balkans, although escaping from poll tax could alone be a reason of conversion, there were other factors, mostly social, that were effective in conversion, like consideration of the social status. Minkov discusses the theory of Dennett's work "Conversion and the poll tax in early Islam" which showed the inconsistency of the belief that the desire to escape the poll tax was the primary reason for early conversion. Without denying that poll-tax could alone be a reason of conversion, Dennett proposed that during the first century of Islam, there were other taxes that converts had to pay, and more effective reasons for conversion.³¹⁶ Minkov thinks this holds true for the Balkans.³¹⁷ The noblemen were among converts so as to maintain their social status.³¹⁸ Similarly to the Balkans, great and wealthy landowners on Crete embraced Islam after the conquest, both Venetians and Orthodox Cretans. Kourmouledes family from Mesara was the most

³¹⁴ See İnalcık "Military and Fiscal Transformation" and the points mentioned in Chapter 1.

³¹⁵ Stavrinides, Doc. 35, Vol. 1, pp. 23-24, 1:28, *Cumazyulevvel* 1068/ 1658.

³¹⁶ Minkov, *Conversion to Islam*, pp. 10-13.

³¹⁷ Minkov, *Conversion to Islam*, p. 97.

³¹⁸ Özdemir, "Political Uses of Conversion", p. 162. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam*, p. 12 quoting from Dennett, and Minkov, *Conversion to Islam*, p. 98.

famous family, who were claimed to be Crypto-Christians³¹⁹, secretly retaining their faith.³²⁰ After 1821, they declared themselves Orthodox and served the revolution.³²¹

Conversion was a means to change status for the Jews of Candia as well; conversion to Islam could provide the status-seeking *reaya* with the key to the demanded neighborhoods of the city.³²² During the Venetian period, the Jews lived in Zudecha; Jewish Quarter as the Venetians called it. The physical boundaries of Zudecha were defined by the Venetian government, prohibiting by law the Jewish residence and business in other parts of the city.³²³ The Ottomans' arrival marked the expansion of the hitherto ghettoized Zudecha into the broader and more open Yahudi Mahallesi, a process that lasted for the first century of Ottoman rule.³²⁴ Ottoman Jewish neighborhood in Crete was the Sultan İbrahim Mahallesi. Nevertheless, "a still predominantly Jewish subsection existed around the Old Venetian Synagogue, while it was no longer a ghetto in the technical sense".³²⁵ The Ottoman rulers could sometimes blame the absence of ghettos for *zimmis* as a source of immoral acts. In an order sent by Kamil Ahmed Paşa of Candia in 1176/1763 to the *kadı*, the *mufti*, *ulema*, *imams*, *müezzin* of Candia, the *defterdar*, the *turnacıbaşı*, the *ağas* of the *yerli yeniçeri*, the *yeniçeri* of the Porte and the inhabitants of the *vilayet*, he complained that there were no separate neighborhoods

³¹⁹ Skendi says when the Crypto-Christians asked for the opinion of the Patriarch of Constantinople around 1670s, he answered in the words of Gospel: "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-Christianism and forgave. Stavro Skendi, "Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans", *Slavic Review*, Vol. 26, No: 2, June 1967, p. 232. Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 290.

³²⁰ Skendi, "Crypto-Christianity", p. 231.

³²¹ Detorakis, *Istoria tes Kretes*, p. 290.

³²² Ankori, "Zudecha", p. 105.

³²³ Ankori, "Zudecha", p. 82.

³²⁴ Ankori, "Zudecha", p. 125.

³²⁵ Ankori, "Zudecha", p. 92

for Muslims. For that reason he thought, Muslim men lived together with *zimmi* women under the name *kapatma* and *besleme*.³²⁶

Conversion also opened the way of social advance. According to Minkov, “*reaya*-born found the path of upward mobility open or closed according to the short-term needs of the state to the *askeri* class” through conversion.³²⁷ He mentions that non-Muslims entered the Janissary corps on a voluntary basis and converted to Islam for that purpose in the Balkans during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, until 1720s.³²⁸ Similarly, the native Cretans converted in order to join the Janissary corps, and became the “*Yerli Yeniçeris*” of Crete.³²⁹ These converts are also active in the life of the island bidding for *mukataa* revenues and acting as money lenders. The scholars’ opinion differ on whether the institution of *yerli yeniçeri* as the result of conversion or another means of conversion.³³⁰ However, nobody questions the rapidity in expansion and the extent of this new institution.

Molly Greene mentions the long war period of twenty five years as another factor. Long warfare contributed to the weakening of religious Orthodox institutions, and thus facilitated conversion on Crete. She substantiates her argument by comparing conversion in Crete to the low rate of conversion in Cyprus that was conquered in a year.³³¹ Compared to Crete, voluntary conversion to Islam in Cyprus took place very infrequently in the same period. From 1110 to 1139 (1698-1726) only thirteen cases of conversion were reported in the court records including

³²⁶ Eugenia Kermeli, “Sin and the Sinner”, *Eurasian Studies*, Vol.1, No: 1, 2002, p. 95.

³²⁷ Minkov, *Conversion to Islam*, p. 101.

³²⁸ Minkov, *Conversion to Islam*, pp. 75-76.

³²⁹ The court records of are full of numerous soldiers such as “Yusuf Beşe bin Abdullah, of the 12th corpse” (in Doc. 23, p. 15 in Stavrinides), “İbrahim Beşe bin Abdullah, of the 47th corpse” (Doc. 37, p. 25 in Stavrinides), to cite two examples.

³³⁰ Molly Greene insists on the institution of *yerli yeniçeri* as a cause of conversion (*A Shared World*, pp. 41-42), whereas Adıyeke claims that it is not a cause, but a means of conversion Adıyeke, “İhtida Hareketleri”, p. 5.

³³¹ Greene, *A Shared World*, p. 41.

several cases concerning earlier converts. Kemal Çiçek quotes from Bedevi that there were only 114 cases of conversion from Christianity to Islam on Cyprus from 1786 to 1834 (1201-1250) and that during the three centuries of Ottoman rule in Cyprus, there were about 400 converts.³³² One would have to bear in mind though the peculiarity of Crete in the Ottoman system. Crete became a member of the Ottoman polity in the 17th century and it has a semi-autonomous status with a strong local treasury and a large body of *yerli yeniçeri* to induce conversion. This explains why the Christians of Rethymnon converted to Islam soon after the capture of the city being unaware of the prolonged nature of fighting to occur.

For example, a Christian would convert when being a Muslim would be more advantageous in terms of their legal rights. Georgios son of Konstantin from Milopotamos accused İbrahim son of Abdullah for killing his wife Ergina. It was proven through witnesses that the new-Muslim İbrahim killed Ergina just before he became Muslim.³³³ One wonders whether it would be more advantageous to pay *diyet* rather than *kıyas*. In another case, Receb bin Abdullah from Katovarsamonero demands his share in the inheritance of his deceased cousins Mehmed bin Abdullah and Ali bin Abdullah. He is in the court against their wives Sofia, Ergina and Zambeta.³³⁴ The sons of the women Ali, Mustafa, Osman and Hüseyin have passed away as well. The court decides to give Receb's share since his cousins have no male heirs. After a while, Ayşe this time, Ergina and Zambeta come to the court to demand their *mehr-i müeccels* of their husbands from Receb bin Abdullah, and they get. Moreover, Ayşe also takes from Receb a house as her share from her husband's

³³² Kemal Çiçek. *Zimmis (Non-Muslims) of Cyprus in the Sharia Court: 1110/39 A.H. / 1698-1726 A.D.* Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, The University of Birmingham, October 1992 [Unpublished PhD Thesis] p. 99, quotes from Bedevi's "A survey of the Cyprus Sher'i Court Registers".

³³³ Stavrinos, Doc. 500, p. 401, 3:106, 29 Receb 1082 / 1 December 1671. Also in *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 260.

³³⁴ RŞS 98, p. 37. ? *Rebiülahir* 1076 / ? 1665.

heritage.³³⁵ Sofia benefited from becoming Ayşe in this case. In this case the deceased Muslim's Christian wife (Ergina and Zanbeta) is only given her *mehr*. Ayşe on the other hand achieves to get a share from her husband's inheritance. Presumption operates in favor of the woman because the present condition is decisive. "Singularly formal is the principle of regarding the present condition as decisive".³³⁶

In the court records of Candia, we have many examples of manumission, - recommended by religion- in which slaves are converts. In Islamic Law, "The slave becomes free by law if he becomes the property of a person who is his *mahram*, i.e. related to him within the forbidden degrees".³³⁷ Turnacıbaşı İbrahim Ağa, serving in the fortress of Candia, released his Russian origin convert slave Ivaz bin Abdullah in court.³³⁸ From Atsipopoulo, Siyavuş Bey bin Abdullah released his slave Yusuf bin Abdülmennan in 1086/1675.³³⁹ Slaves did not always prefer Islam; once a slave refused to become Muslim in the court. Sinan Beşe bin İbrahim, inhabitant of Candia, sold his Christian slave Annika who refused to become Muslim, to a Jew called Menahem son of Musa for 56 *aslan gurus*.³⁴⁰

Interestingly, among the converts from Christianity to Islam were priests and monks as well. In the village Skalani of the province of Pediada in Candia, the priest of the Church of Agios Ioannis Frangias converted to Islam.³⁴¹ In another case, Mehmed a new-Muslim, a former monk of Mount Sina for a period of twenty

³³⁵ RŞS 98, p. 38. ? *Cumaziyulevvel* 1076 / ? 1665.

³³⁶ Schacht, Joseph. *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, 1998, p. 192.

³³⁷ Schacht, *Islamic Law*, p. 129.

³³⁸ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 303, p. 155-156, 3:123, 22 *Ramazan* 1082 / 22 January 1672.

³³⁹ RŞS 85, p. 48. 28 *Rebiülevvel* 1086 / 21 June 1675.

³⁴⁰ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 198, p. 102 and also in Stavrinides, Doc. 573, Vol. 2, p. 30-31, 3:83, 18 *Muharrem* 1083 / 16 May 1672,

³⁴¹ Stavrinides, Doc. 429, Vol. 1, pp. 343-343, 3:7, 5 *Rebiülevvel* 1082 / 12 July 1671. Frangias had been appointed by his father Manuel. The owner of the church appointed a new priest, and took to court Manuel who was still interfering in the business of appointment. Manuel accepted in the court that the church belongs to the litigant, and was ordered not to interfere. The same case is also in the *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 12, p. 10.

years, took the court the prior of the monastery Nikiforos demanding two bulls and three cows Mehmed's father had given to the monastery twenty years ago, and money. They compromised for 30 *guruş*.³⁴² An earlier record from Rethymnon concerns the guardianship of the daughter of the deceased Papasoğlu Hüseyin Beşe from Katavarsamonero, obviously another relative to a priest.³⁴³ According to another case, the new-Muslim Ahmed Beşe, son and only heir of Papa Nikolaos from Agios Minos of Maleviziou, who became Muslim after his father's death appeared as litigant. He took to court Papa Ioasaf son of Stamatios, a priest in a monastery (illegible), for possessing his vineyard illegally. New-Muslim witnesses, inhabitants of the same village, verified the statement of the defendant who claimed that the vineyard was property of the monastery.³⁴⁴ In Rethymnon, the young priest Manol -“*Manol Papaz nam emred*”- from the village of Kumos embraced Islam and on the second day of Bayram, 1064 /1654, and he was given the name Hüseyin.³⁴⁵

The professional carriers of converts is of extreme interest. Among the many people identified as “bin Abdullah” or “bin Abdulmennan” in the *sicils*, many become *imams*, *müezzins*, *hacıs*, and *mütevellis* of *vakfs*. In Candia, there was an İmam Mustafa Efendi bin Abdullah who sold his house to Mehmed Bey bin Ali in 1081/1671.³⁴⁶ In 1083/1672, the *imam* of the Mehmed Ağa Mosque in Candia Ali Efendi bin Abdullah was in court as defendant in a money dispute.³⁴⁷ *Müezzin* Mehmed Beşe bin Abdullah was among witnesses of a case of a woman giving away property to her husband, living near the *mescid* of Balta Ahmet Ağa in Candia.

³⁴² Stavrinides, Docs. 1358-1359, Vol. 3, pp. 142-143, 10:14, 22 *Rebiülahir* 1109 / 7 November 1697.

³⁴³ RŞS 56/789, *evahir-i Ramazan* 1067 / 3-12 July 1657.

³⁴⁴ Stavrinides, Doc. 338, Vol. 1, pp. 233- 235, 2:107, 25 *Şevval* 1081 / 6 March 1671.

³⁴⁵ RŞS 57/71, undated.

³⁴⁶ Stavrinides, Doc. 303, Vol. 1, p. 207. 2:90, 26 *Şaban* 1081 / 5 January 1671.

³⁴⁷ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 213, p. 111, 3:89, 1 *Safer* 1083 / 29 May 1672.

The witness to her representative was the *imam* of the same *mescid*.³⁴⁸ Hasan Ağa bin Abdulmennan was the *mütevelli* of the *vakf* of Sultan İbrahim in Rethymnon. He appeared in court in cases related to buying and selling of properties on behalf of the *vakf*; “*tevliyetim hasebiyle*”.³⁴⁹ Ahmed Ağa son of Abdullah was the *mütevelli* of the *vakf* of Turhan Valide in Candia, involved in the case -referred before- concerning the building of a *kapan*, the income of which will be used for the mosque.³⁵⁰ Among the converts, some of them became *hacı*. One of them, Elhac Yusuf bin Abdullah was the representative of the bride Ayşe bin Abdullah in her marriage contract recorded in the *sicil* of Rethymnon. Among the seven people in the record, four of them are bin(t) Abdullah, the bride, her representative, and two witnesses, the other three are Muslims.³⁵¹ Again in Rethymnon, Elhac Hüseyin Bey bin Abdullah takes to court Papa Ioannis son of Papa Vasilis, who holds his own property in Atsipopoulo. The new-Muslim Elhac Hüseyin claims that he inherited the property from his mother Eleni before he became Muslim, and his mother Eleni had inherited it from her father Nikolo Kalogero, the priest. They compromise for 6000 *akçes* at the end.³⁵²

Following the prescriptions of Islamic law, new-Muslims had to renew their marriages after conversion. In Rethymnon, Receb Beşe bin Abdullah renewed his marriage with Kali in 1068/1658 after he embraced Islam.³⁵³ Another example is İbrahim Beşe son of Abdullah who remarried Ergina in the *kadı* court of Candia in 1082/1671.³⁵⁴

³⁴⁸ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 210, p. 109, 3:87-88, 6 *Safer* 1083 / 3 June 1672.

³⁴⁹ RŞS 98, p. 8, *Ramazan* 1075 / March 1665 and RŞS 98, p.15, 7 *Zilkade* 1075 / 21 May 1665.

³⁵⁰ Stavrinos, Doc. 454. See footnote 251.

³⁵¹ RŞS 98, p. 81, 6 *Muharrem* 1079 / 15 June 1668.

³⁵² Stavrinos, Doc. 435, pp. 348-349, 3:13, 15 *Rebiülevvel* 1082 / 22 July 1671, *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 26, p. 17.

³⁵³ Stavrinos, Doc. 58, Vol. 1, p. 39, 1:39, 15 *Şevval* 1068 / 15 July 1658.

³⁵⁴ Stavrinos, Doc. 499, Vol. 1, pp. 400-401, 3:106, 29 *Receb* 1082 / 1 December 1671.

The new-Muslims of Crete continued their former customs under the new rule using the *kadı* court. In some court records, Christian women donated properties to their new-Muslim husbands. Ergina daughter of Ioannis from the village of Mournidi of Perkoftsa in Candia donated to her new-Muslim husband Mustafa Beşe son of Abdullah some property and 25 *aslan gurus*.³⁵⁵ In Rethymnon, Fatma bint Abdullah gave a house and ten thousand *akçes* to her husband Ömer Beşe, and in return her husband gave her as present one red and one yellow silk velvet dress plus a golden ring.³⁵⁶ Probably, Christian or new-Muslim women continued the tradition of dowry under the Islamic law in the form of *hibe* in these cases. From the village of Prine, Kali daughter of Ioanni donated her husband Androuli son of Petro house in the same village, a field of 9 *muzurs* with olive trees in it, a garden, and all her other properties.³⁵⁷

Conversion broke the ties between the new-Muslim and his/her relatives, and prevented them from the right of inheritance. A new-Muslim adult child could not partake in the inheritance of his parents, if he converted before their death. A new-Muslim father or mother could not inherit to their [adult]³⁵⁸ children if they remained Christians. The solution was to sell the property which they could not inherit to children or to give them as present in the *sharia* court. Eleni from the village of Bağçelik in Rethymnon declared in the court that she sold all her property, land, house, flock, field, and everything else to her new-Muslim daughter Ayşe bint Abdullah “*üzerimde olan libasımdan ma'da cüz'i her neyim var ise*” for six

³⁵⁵ Stavrinides, Doc. 205, p. 145, 2:31, 5 *Zilhicce* 1081 / 14 April 1671.

³⁵⁶ “*hibe-i sahiha-i şer'iyye ile hibe ve temlik idüb*” RŞS 98, p. 16, 1075/ 1665. *Temlik* is an important term here. If there is not possession, then it can be revoked. If the donation is given on conditions of counter value then it becomes a sale. (Schacht, *Islamic Law*, p. 158) In this case it has counter value, it's irrevocable.

³⁵⁷ “[...] *bilcümle mal utlak olunur eşyayı hibe-i sahiha-, şer'iyye ile hibe ve temlik ve teslim eyledim.*” RŞS 85, p. 48. 21 *Rebiülevvel* 1086 / 14 June 1675.

³⁵⁸ Under-aged children of new-Muslims automatically converted.

thousand *akçes*.³⁵⁹ Manolis son of Georgis from the village of Skalani of the province of Pediada gave his new-Muslim son Mehmed Beşe a house in the same village, a field, a vineyard, and a dower as present.³⁶⁰ Similarly, a new-Muslim father Receb Beşe bin Abdullah from the village of Katalagari of Pediada gave his Christian adult daughter Marina, through her husband and representative Miheli Diako, a house, a vineyard and a field as present. Otherwise, she would have no claim in her father's heritage.³⁶¹

The attitude of new-Muslims towards their former religion and community could sometimes be harsh. The village of Iannitsi of the province of Ierapetra was a mixed village of Muslims, new-Muslims and Christians. In 1082/1672, twenty-two Muslim inhabitants of the village, twelve of them being son of Abdullah, went to the court and complained that in their village in which only fifteen *zimmis* were living, the church Agios Georgios next to their houses was disturbing them. The *naib* of Ierapetra went and found out after an examination on the spot that around the church were twenty-five Muslim houses. It was also seen that near the *zimmis'* houses, there were two more churches in a good condition. The Muslims also had a *ferman* given on their petition forbidding ritual practices in the Church of Agios Georgios. It was ordered in court to stop worship in the church.³⁶²

The phenomenon of conversion happening in such a big scale naturally brought about some peculiarities and resulted in the formation of a peculiar Muslim community in Crete. For example, some new-Muslim men avoided circumcision, as the *Sünnetçi* Şeyh Rüstem Efendi notified the capital. A decree was issued addressing the *kadıs* of Crete, and ordered the new-Muslims to be circumcised;

³⁵⁹ RŞS 98, p. 33, 29 *Rebiülevvel*, 1076 / 8 October 1665.

³⁶⁰ Stavrinides, Doc. 425, p. 340 / *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 5, p. 6, 3:4, 25 Safer 1082 / 3 July 1671.

³⁶¹ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 648 p. 317, 3:238, 19 *Şaban* 1082 / 21 December 1671.

³⁶² Stavrinides, Doc. 516, Vol. 1, pp. 419-420 / *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 370, p.186-187, 3:145, 15 *Zilkade* 1082, 14 March 1672.

“*Nevmüslimlerin sünnet olunmaları için buyruldu-i şeriftir*”.³⁶³ In the nineteenth century, the British traveler Robert Peshley observed that Muslims of the island were drinking wine and tied this to their being the descendants of converts.³⁶⁴ Moreover, Muslims acting as the Godfathers of Christians were far from unusual before the Greek Revolution.³⁶⁵ Skendi claims that among Cretan converts, many of them were Crypto-Christians; Muslims on the surface but retaining their original beliefs. They retained many of their old customs, as for example praying to Panagia (Madonna) in times of trouble.³⁶⁶ Crete was among the four principal regions in the Ottoman Empire apart from Albania, Bosnia, Rhodope region where converted Muslims who spoke their native tongues formed the majority or a substantial part of the population by the first decades of the nineteenth century.³⁶⁷ The absence of Ottoman-Turkic colonists in Albania explains the fact that Islamized Albanians preserved their language and their Albanian self-determination.³⁶⁸

In the case of Crete, the increase of the Muslim population on the island was mainly the result of conversion. The contrast of the Ottoman religious policy from that of the Venetian one was among the factors of conversion, whereas the reasons and motivations of conversion was particular for each case. It was a way of integration into the new rule. The new-Muslims just a few years after the conquest knew the system and the affairs in the court.

³⁶³ Stavrinides, Doc. 90, Vol. 1, p. 65, 1:133, 26 *Cumaziyulevvel* 1068 / 30 March 1658.

³⁶⁴ Robert Pashley, *Travels in Crete (London 1837)*, 2 Volumes, John Murray Albemarle Street London: 1958, Vol 1, p. 4.

³⁶⁵ Pashley, *Travels*, p. 9.

³⁶⁶ Skendi, “Crypto-Christianity”, pp. 231-233.

³⁶⁷ İnalçık, “Islam”, p. 238.

³⁶⁸ Zeljazkova, “Ottoman-Turkic Colonization in Albania”, p. 84.

CHAPTER IV: CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM MEN OF FAITH IN THE *KADI* COURT

After the Ottoman conquest of Crete, the religious structure of the island composed of Christians, Muslims, new-Muslims, Armenians and Jews. In the previous chapters, the formation of this social structure through the Ottoman religious policies has been examined. This chapter will examine some aspects of social life under the new rule at the local level with special focus on the Christian and Muslim religious men in the new system.

i. Involvement of the Orthodox Religious Men into the System

The Orthodox priests in the villages and towns of Crete witnessed the change of rule on the island. Their reaction towards the war and the replacement of Catholic rulers with Muslim ones constitutes the first part of the story, before their involvement into the new system.

Greek authors contemporary to the events and modern ones emphasize the valor and determination of these religious men resisting the Ottoman advance. The stance taken by some of the local Orthodox priests was to struggle against Muslim soldiers fighting to end up Venetian rule on Crete. Tomadakis cites a verse by Marinos Tzanes Bouniales which describes the priests and monks that left the masses and went against Turks with swords in hands during the siege of Chania in

1645.³⁶⁹ In Rethymnon, the prior of the Arsani Monastery Iosif attempted to poison Hüseyin Paşa with the help of two friends. According to the plan, they would present the poisoned bread as a gift from the Monastery, and start a rebellion upon the death of the *Paşa*. However, a piece of the bread was eaten by a poor dog, and as soon as the plan was understood, Ioasif and his collaborators were decapitated.³⁷⁰ The prolonged siege of Candia too was resisted by the local Orthodox clergy. Bouniales describes the resistance of Athanasios, the prior of the Monastery of Agarathos, located twenty kilometers away from Candia, against the Ottoman soldiers. Athanasios was from the family of Christoforos, a prior and a captain at the same time. He summoned the other priests of the monastery, took arms and fought against the Turks. After the bloody fight, he demonstrated the heads of Turks he cut to the Venetian generals with pride. The Venetians were happy to see the local priest having fought for them, praised Athanasios and said that they would report this to Venice.³⁷¹ Later on, Athanasios took refuge in Italy. He was welcomed by the Venetians, and lived there until he died.³⁷² Similarly, Bouniales describes how a Sinaiid monk from the Monastery of Agia Katerina in Candia fought against Ottomans. He fiercely fought against the Janissaries and killed many of them. According to the verse, he put the heads into two sacks and exhibited them.³⁷³

Just after the initial stage of the conquest, people on the island could not have known the fate of Ottoman rule on the island and its duration, so did the priests. The ones who were on the Venetian side during the war still had hope until 1715, when all the islands -Souda, Spinalonga, Grambousi- were lost and the final

³⁶⁹ Bouniales in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 51.

³⁷⁰ Athanasios Skliros in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, pp. 63-64.

³⁷¹ Bouniales in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, pp. 63-64.

³⁷² “The Holy Monastery of Agarathos”, quoted from Psilakis, N. Byzantine memories of Crete, Herakleion, (1994). [Website: www.iak.gr/English/IMAqkar.html]

³⁷³ Bouniales in Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 70.

conquest was established. These priests were outwardly submitted to the Ottomans but secretly instigating people according to Tomadakis. What they were doing was to “try to save Orthodoxy through serving the Ottomans”.³⁷⁴ The Venetians used the local bishops who were friendly to the West, and the clergy could easily find way to Ionian Islands if not tolerated by the Ottomans.³⁷⁵

Many priests decided to leave the island after the Ottoman arrival. The Ottomans confiscated the lands and estates left by the former Christian owners, and sold them to Muslims and non-Muslims. The early court records of Rethymnon involve the *hüccets* of these auctions. Typically, such a record includes the name of the previous owners who are defined as “*ba‘de‘l-feth kabul-i cizye eylemeyüp daru‘l-harbe firar eden harbiler*”. Their lands and estates were given to *Evkaf-ı Humayun*, and sold by the *Defterdar*.³⁷⁶ Among the Christians who refused to pay *cizye* and went to the Venetian side were many priests according to the court records.³⁷⁷

Not all the priests left the island; many of them stayed put and assumed their roles in the new system. Privileges were given to churches, and the legal existence and financial power of priests were guaranteed through tax exemptions.³⁷⁸ In the Ottoman Empire, “men of religion - whether Muslim, Christian or Jew- who were not engaged in profit-making activities, were exempt from taxation including

³⁷⁴ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 26.

³⁷⁵ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 44.

³⁷⁶ There are many records in the *sicils* No. 56 and 57. The *temessük* was followed by the *hüccet* given to the new owner. For example, RŞS 57/9, 57/10, 57/14, 57/50, 57/51, 57/72, 57/73 and many others.

³⁷⁷ Examples: RŞS 57/186, Papa Kalimnopoulos’s house and land sold, *evahir-i Cumaziyulevvel* 1065 / 29 March-7 April 1655.

RŞS 57/308, 309: Papa Bolani and his brother’s house and field sold, *evail-i Zilkade* 1064 / 13-22 September 1654.

³⁷⁸ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 33.

cizye.³⁷⁹ Their exemptions were secured by the state as it is reflected in the earliest *sicils* of Rethymnon. For example, Kosma, a priest in the *metochi* of Galo, from Atsipopoulo was exempted from the payment of *cizye* on the grounds that he was a monk (*ruhban*).³⁸⁰ Similarly, the monks of the Monastery of Arsani were exempted from *raiyyet rüsumu*. When the monks were asked to pay taxes by the *zuema* and *erbab-ı tumar*, they wrote a petition and obtained a *fetva* securing their exemption on the grounds that they were not involved in profit making activities.³⁸¹ In an interesting case from the village of Germiadou in Lasithis, nine Christian inhabitants of the village testify in the court that they are ready to pay for the taxes of Papa Markos so that he does not go to another village provided that he does not raise any new demands. The priest accepted the conditions in the court.³⁸²

The hierarchy of the Orthodox Church, which consisted of bishops and their congregations constitute the Orthodox Church was headed by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Then were the metropolitans, whose sees were in the provinces. Under the metropolitan, there were his suffragan bishops, each with his own diocese. The autocephalous archbishops³⁸³ had a different status, directly dependent to the Patriarch and without any suffragans. This was different from the autonomous archbishops³⁸⁴ like the one of Cyprus who had suffragans and was and independent from the Patriarch of Constantinople.³⁸⁵ The metropolitans were elected in the

³⁷⁹ İnalçık, *Status*, p. 208. “However, with time, non-Muslim clergy were required to pay various kinds of gifts and taxes to the Ottoman treasury, the earliest being *peshkesh*”.

³⁸⁰ RŞS 56/513. 24 *Şevval* 1066 / 20 August 1656. Although Kosma was not included in the *reaya defteri*, he was asked to pay *cizye*. It was ordered not to ask *cizye* from him, after checking the *defter*.

³⁸¹ “*terk-i kar u kesb idüb*”. RŞS 56/978, 15 *Cumaziyulahir* 1061 / 5 June 1651.

³⁸² Stavrinides, Vol. 1, Doc. 290, p.198-199, 2:82, 2 *Şaban* 1081 / 15 December 1670.

³⁸³ E in Appendix A.

³⁸⁴ C in Appendix A.

³⁸⁵ Hussey, J.M. *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986, p. 325.

synod of Constantinople, not in his province.³⁸⁶ The clergy consisted of major (bishops, priests and deacons) and minor (subdeacons, readers, exorcists, cantors and doorkeepers) orders.³⁸⁷ As mentioned in Chapter 2, the priests of *catholic* -as opposed to private- churches were appointed by the bishop.³⁸⁸ The *berat* of the metropolitans gave them the authority to collect the taxes to be given to the Treasury and the canonical taxes from their sees. These taxes were the source of the metropolitans' personal and ecclesiastical expenses. Hierarchically, the revenue of the Patriarchs came from the payments of the metropolitans. The metropolitans collected the taxes from the Orthodox people and the priests through their representatives. "From a legal standpoint, the Ottoman government considered all of the taxes collected by the clergy as belonging to the state (*miri*) 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".³⁸⁹

The system was in action on Crete; the priests assumed the role of tax-collection. According to an undated record from Rethymnon, the collection of the sheep tax (*koyun öşrü*) of Rethymnon, Milopotamo, Amari, and Agia Vasil was given to Papa Tito (*maktu'an*) by the state (*miri*). Accordingly, he would take five *akçes* from the sheep of Muslims and one *akçe* of *yazıcı akçesi*.³⁹⁰ In another record, a decree by the *voivoda* warns Papa Ioanni that one sheep is to be taken from ten sheep, and orders him to give back the excess amount he had taken from Nikola, inhabitant of the village of Atsipades in Agia Vasil.³⁹¹

³⁸⁶ Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, p. 326.

³⁸⁷ Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, p. 329.

³⁸⁸ Herman, *Orthodox Church*, p. 118.

³⁸⁹ İnalçık, *Status*, p. 211.

³⁹⁰ RŞS 56/1009, undated. Also in RŞS 56/1042, undated.

³⁹¹ RŞS 56/1047, undated.

The appearance of priests as representatives of the inhabitants of their villages in court cases suggests their leading position in the society. The list of representatives of villagers mostly included a *papa*, his name generally written first. Probably the absence of the name of a priest among the representatives of villagers denoted the lack of a priest in the village. In case of a crime, the villagers were kept responsible. For this reason the *sicils* include many records in which the villagers apply the *kadı* court informing of a crime - cases of death, injury or other- and asking for an authority to come and examine the area. Most of the time a priest either informs the authorities about the incident or appears at the top of the list of representatives.³⁹²

A *kethüda* was the representative of a village vis-à-vis the government, charged with the administrative duties of the village.³⁹³ The clergymen appeared as the *kethüdas* of their villages in the new system.³⁹⁴ This is related to the seventeenth century transformation of the fiscal system in the Ottoman Empire mentioned before; mainly the large-scale application of the *maktu'* system. The duty of the collection of the *maktu'* was given to the *imams* and *kethüdas* of the villages and the city districts.³⁹⁵ For example, the representatives of the village of Panagia in Pediada were Papa Dimitrios, Papa Konstantin and Emmanuel Vardan in a case of conflict between Hasan Bey, representative of Mehmed Ağa in charge of the building of a mosque in Chania and the villagers. The conflict concerns three

³⁹² For instance, in a case of murder in the village of Prases, from the people of the village Papa Nikola and other Christians ask for investigation from the court "*keşf olunsun*", RŞS 56/537, 8 *Zilhicce* 1066 / 27 September 1656. In another case, in Amnata "*bervechi maktu karye-i mezbure zabıtı olan*" Papa Konstantin and Georgi Karaki in a case of death, ask for investigation, "*keşf olunsun*". RŞS 56/572, undated.

³⁹³ Cengiz Orhonlu, "Ketkhuda" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. IV, pp. 893-894.

³⁹⁴ Jewish *kethüdas* -*shtadlanim*- were very often not rabbis. (Shmuelevitz, Aryeh. *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Fifteenth and Late Sixteenth Centuries: Administrative, Economic, Legal and Social Relations as Reflected in the Responsa*, Leiden: Brill, 1984, p. 25) Apparently, they were not very reliable either.

³⁹⁵ İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal", p. 334.

donkeys used to transfer building material to the mosque.³⁹⁶ In another case, the *kethüdas* of the village of Apostoli in Pediada are Papa Georgis, Teacher Konstantin and Teacher Ioannis. They raised a case against the *subaşı* Habib Beşe bin Bektaş claiming that he took an excess amount of money from them. The defendant refused the accusation, and since they could not bring witness, they lost the case.³⁹⁷

The involvement of the clergy into the system as *kethüdas* was not without problems. Occasionally, the clergymen and the metropolitan formed a party against the local people. In the very beginning of 1700s, there was a period of conflict between the people and the *kethüdas* of Crete as we understand from numerous court records. The local people complained about the *kethüdas*, and their collaborators the Secretaries of the Porte accusing them that they were collecting more than they should. A *ferman* sent from Adrianople ordered the *kadıs* of Crete to examine whether the metropolitan Kallinikos was collecting the right amount of money, as there were petitions sent by people accusing the metropolitan of asking for more than he was supposed to. The Patriarch was defending the metropolitan in the Porte against the accusations. The decree ordered the *kadıs* to make sure that he gets only what he should, and not to allow anyone from interfering outside.³⁹⁸ Meletius the bishop of Sitia and Anthimos, the bishop of Pediada were the *kethüdas* of their provinces. Meletius had taken the taxes of Sitia as *iltizam*, and he was taken to court by the Muslim inhabitants accusing him of transferring the wheat and barley to foreigner ships (probably Venetians) despite the order that wheat and barley should not be taken outside the island. Meletius refused the accusations claiming that people hated him because he asked them to pay for taxes. Although

³⁹⁶ Stavrinides Doc. 266, Vol. 1, p.185, 2:62, 19 *Cumaziyulahir* 1081 / 3 November 1670.

³⁹⁷ Stavrinides Doc. 241, Vol. 1, pp. 168-169, 2:49, 5 *Cumaziyulahir* 1081 / 20 October 1670.

³⁹⁸ Stavrinides, Doc. 1578, Vol. 3, pp. 261-262, 12:239, 5 *Cumaziyulahir* 1113 / 7 November 1701.

the litigants could not prove their case, the bishop was ordered not to suppress them, an interesting case when the *kadı* exercised his discretion.³⁹⁹ An imperial *ferman* sent in *Muharrem* of 1114 ordered to examine the situation of Meletius and Anthimos -bishop and *kethüda* of Pediada. Christians as the representatives of the *reyas* of the villages of Palipetsi, Zirou and Skalios were present in the court against the bishops, investigating where they spent the taxes they collected the previous year.⁴⁰⁰ The *kethüdas* of Ierapetra, Rethymnon and Amaria were sued by the community with the accusation of collecting more than they should.⁴⁰¹ Another *ferman* [date illegible] asked again to inspect the famous “bishop-*kethüdas*” Meletios and Anthimos, apart from the three *kethüdas* of Milopotamos, Monofatsio and Merambelo.⁴⁰² The *kethüdas* of Agios Vasileios, Milopotamos, Kenourgio, Ierapetra, Rethymnon, Monofatsio and Maleviziou were inspected. The ones who were proven to have taken more were ordered to return the money, while the ones who could prove their expenditure and were let free.⁴⁰³

It is clear from these documents that as the clergymen get into the tax system as *kethüdas*, conflicts occur more frequently between them and the Christian and Muslim villagers. This phenomenon should be considered in the light of the seventeenth century realities. The economic problems that started in the late sixteenth century forced the government to change the fiscal system which resulted in the large-scale application of the *iltizam* system at the end of the seventeenth century. However, this new system did not come without its own problems.

³⁹⁹ Stavrinides, Doc. 1552, Vol. 3, p. 246, 12:128, 1113/1701. Stavrinides, Doc. 1553, Vol. 3, pp. 246-247, 12:129, 15 *Şevval* 1113 / 14 March 1702.

⁴⁰⁰ Stavrinides, Doc. 1561, Vol. 3, pp. 251-252, 12:162, 1 *Rebiülahir* 1114/ 25 August 1702.

⁴⁰¹ Stavrinides, Doc. 1565, 1566, 1567, Vol. 3, pp. 253-255, 1114/1702. The translation is not complete due to corruption. Names of the *kethüdas* are missing.

⁴⁰² Stavrinides, Doc. 1576, Vol. 3, p. 260, 12:215. Corrupt document, date not read.

⁴⁰³ Stavrinides, Doc. 1560, Vol. 3, pp. 250-251, 12:159, 15 *Şaban* 1114 / 1 January 1703.

ii. Muslim Religious Men and Institutions

In the case of Crete *vakfs* were functional in the establishment of the traditional Ottoman social mechanisms. The religious institutions were founded and administered through the *vakf* system,⁴⁰⁴ and the salaries of the religious men - *müezzins*, *imams*, *hatibs*, *kayyums*- working in these religious institutions were paid by the *vakf* administrations, particularly by the *mütevellis*.⁴⁰⁵ The number of religious men in a mosque varied according to the size of the mosque and the congregation. In Crete, generally one *imam* and one *hatib* existed in each mosque whereas the number of *müezzins* and *kayyums* in a mosque could be more than one.⁴⁰⁶

The *kadı sicils* of Crete involve the records of the appointment of *imams*, *hatibs*, *müezzins* and *mütevellis*. The building of a mosque and the appointment of an imam was among the first acts of Ottomans in a newly conquered place, whatever the military hardships were. A record dated in the very early stage of Ottoman presence in the island demonstrates the situation of the Ottomans in Rethymnon. The *berat* issued in 1059/1649 appoints Yusuf as the first *imam* and the *hatib* of the Cami-i Kebir that Hüseyin Paşa restored and made into a mosque in İçkale.⁴⁰⁷ He is given a daily salary of 40 *akçes*, and a house for him and for the subsequent *imams* to stay. The war situation is reflected in the record in the part describing the house as being situated close to the Venetian navy commanders.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁴ See Chapter 3, and Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, pp. 252-267 for the religious foundations and their *vakfs* in Crete.

⁴⁰⁵ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, p. 252 and p. 248.

⁴⁰⁶ Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, pp. 248-249, fn. 94.

⁴⁰⁷ RŞS 56/1025, *evail-i Zilkade* 1059 / 6-15 November 1649. "Hüseyin Paşa tarafından ihya ve tamir ve vaz'-ı member olup ikamet-i salat-ı Cum'a ve iydeyn ve evkat-ı hamse edası için salih ve mütedeyyin [bir] kimesne imam ve hatib olmak lazım olmağın [...]". The mosque in İçkale was Sultan İbrahim Mosque, as Ayverdi writes in *Avrupa'da Osmanlı* p. 234.

⁴⁰⁸ "cami-i mezbur kurbunda vaki' harbi Frenk kapudanları zabt eylediği, cevanib-i erba'sı tarik-i am [...]".

The records of the orders of appointment give an idea of who works in a mosque and how much they are paid. A series of records in the third code of the *sicils* of Candia gives the members of the Cami of Vezir Kaplan Mustafa Paşa appointed with *berats* and their payments. All the documents are dated 2 *Ramazan* 1081 / 13 January 1671. The first document is the *berat* of the *müezzin* of the Cami of Vezir Kapudan Mustafa Paşa, Mehmed, with a daily payment of 7 *akçes*.⁴⁰⁹ The next record appoints Ebu Bekir as the *mütevelli* of the same mosque, with a salary of 5 *akçes* a day.⁴¹⁰ The next record the *berat* of Mehmed, the first *müezzin* of the mosque with a payment of 8 *akçes* per day and 1 *akçe* more for the reading of Kur'an. Probably he is a different person than the *müezzin* Mehmed appointed before, with additional duties.⁴¹¹ Ali, the first *kayyim* of the same mosque is appointed with a *berat* and given a daily salary of 6 *akçes*.⁴¹² The second *kayyim*, Hasan is appointed with a *berat* the same day with 5 *akçes* a day.⁴¹³ The next record is the *berat* of Hasan, the *hatib* of the same mosque with 10 *akçes* a day.⁴¹⁴ Mehmed, the *imam* of the mosque takes 20 *akçes* a day and 5 *akçes* for reading, according to his *berat*.⁴¹⁵ The *devrhan* of the mosque, Mehmed, gets 2 *akçes* a day and 3 *akçes* for reading.⁴¹⁶ A last record at the end demonstrates how much should be paid; 5 *akçes* to the *kadı* of Candia for overseeing, 5 *akçes* to the *mütevelli*, 10 *akçes* to the *katib*, 20 for the *imam*, 5 *akçes* for the reading of Kur'an, 8 *akçes* to the first *müezzin*, 1 *akçe* for the first reader, 7 *akçes* to the second *müezzin*, 1 *akçe* to the second reader, 6 *akçes* to the *kayyim*, 5 *akçes* to the second *kayyim*, 5 *akçes* to the

⁴⁰⁹ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 659, p. 321.

⁴¹⁰ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 660. p. 322. Other *tevlıyet berats* of the *vakfs* of Crete are in RŞS 98, p. 56, p. 84, p. 114.

⁴¹¹ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 661. p. 322.

⁴¹² *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 662. p. 323.

⁴¹³ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 663. p. 323.

⁴¹⁴ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 664. p. 323.

⁴¹⁵ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 665. p. 324.

⁴¹⁶ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 666. p. 324.

imam and the reader of Kur'an, 2 *akçes* for bringing water, 18 *akçes* for olive oil, candles, repairs, and other expenses, which makes a total of daily 97 *akçes*.⁴¹⁷

iii. Monasteries

The monasteries is claimed to have served as the basis of the preservation of Orthodox faith during the Venetian period when the Orthodox bishops were sent away from the island and local priests were under the Latin bishops.⁴¹⁸ One of the effects of the Turkish rule on the island according to Tomadakis was that it helped the development of small but strong monasteries.⁴¹⁹ In time, monastic properties grew through the dedication of people and through the works of monks who were cultivating the monastic lands. Tomadakis notes that out of many possessions -olive groves, gardens, mills, olive presses- there was a wealth that could feed monks, relatives, demanding *ağas*, the poor, schools to educate through scholarships and the import of very educated teachers.⁴²⁰ The monasteries were rented to the monks by *maktu*. This added to the wealth of the monks according to Tomadakis.⁴²¹ The process of renting the monasteries to monks is apparent in numerous *kadı* court records. One example is the document that the *metochia* of the Çanlı Manastır (Arkadi Monastery) Panagia Perpino, Astroemno, Agios Iliakis and Agios Andonis Masovenis were given to the monks of as *maktu*.⁴²² The monasteries were units of production and a source of revenue for the state, and a crucial part of the new

⁴¹⁷ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 667. p. 325.

⁴¹⁸ See Chapter 2.

⁴¹⁹ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 23.

⁴²⁰ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 42.

⁴²¹ Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 32.

⁴²² RŞS 56/987, *evası-ı Zilhicce* 1060 / 5-14 December 1650.

RŞS 56/936: Temessük. *Evail-i Muharrem* 1061 / 25 December 1650-13 January 1651. The Monasteries of Agios Georgios Arsani, Ayo Andoni, Astekli, Panaisto Iermano, the metochia of Muda Corozi, and İsnok Fahrula, Ayo Sava Istarko in Rethymnon and Milopotamos and the fields, olive groves and vineyards in the borders of the monasteries are given to the monks “*ber vech-i maktu*” on the condition that they pay the annual *öşür* and *rüşum* of 40 *guruş*.

system in this sense. The seventeenth century traveler Randolph notes during his visit to Sitia that a monastery dedicated to St. Isidore has lands in Rhodes, “where they have a *Metoiki* [appendix] and several *Calojeres* [nuns], to gather in the crops of corne, oyl and wine; the Turks allowing them to enjoy it, calling it *Vacofa*, or possessions for God use, yet they will receive their tenths from it.”⁴²³ The monasteries were operating within the framework of Islamic Law.

It is interesting that the dedications to monasteries were done in the *kadi* court in the Muslim way, to -perhaps- decrease any danger of future claims. In the early years of Ottoman rule, some Christians donated their properties to monasteries according to the Islamic regulations of *vakfs*. In a *kadi* record from Rethymnon, a Christian woman from the village Ligaria in Horamastr asks for the return of a field from a Christian man. Since it is proven that it was dedicated to the Monastery of Christ, it is decided that it is in the category of *vakf*, thus irrevocable.⁴²⁴ In Candia as well, the system was in effect shortly after the Ottomans’ arrival. In 1670, a Christian woman, Kali daughter of Emmanuel, from the village of Fodele in the province of Milopotamos in Candia, dedicated her property to the Monastery of Agios Panteleimonos.⁴²⁵ The procedure was done according the rules of Islamic law. Kali bestowed a house, a vineyard, a field, a share of a mill and two cows to the monastery on the condition that Kali would handle them while she was alive, and after her death they would be rented. The rent and other income would be given to the poor of the monastery. She appointed Papa Maximos as the *mütevelli*, and after his death, another priest of the Monastery would become the new *mütevelli*. Papa Maximos accepted the bestowment, and the procedure was completed according to

⁴²³ Randolph, Bernard. *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago* (1687) Athens: Bibliopoleio Dionysiou Note Karavia, 1983, p. 74.

⁴²⁴ Stavriniades, Doc. 105, Vol. 1, p. 77, 1:54, 15 *Muharrem* 1069 / 13 October 1658.

⁴²⁵ Stavriniades, Doc. 310, Vol. 1, pp. 211-212, 2:93, 1 *Şaban* 1081 / 14 December 1670.

the format of a Muslim *vakıfname*. The witnesses were Christians, Muslims and new-Muslims. Again, a Christian from Galipe in Pediada, Konstantin son of Nikolaos dedicated his vineyard to the Monastery of Panagias⁴²⁶ irrevocably on the condition that the *mütevelli* Papa Mihali would spend the income from the rent for the poor.⁴²⁷ After the death of Papa Mihali, the new *mütevelli* would be a good man from the same village. Again the procedure was completed according to the Islamic law. This time the witnesses were all Muslims. From the former example we know that the witnesses do not need to be all Muslims, but it is possible that the dedicator might have thought that if all witnesses are Muslim, the *vakıfname* would have more validity. The treatment of monasteries under the category of *vakf* and the execution of the procedures according to Islamic law denotes the settlement of the Ottoman system.

The repair to a monastery had to be done through permission. In 1085/1674, Papa Pani from the Monastery of Galoz in Rethymnon comes to court and asks from the court to come and investigate the case of the Monastery which is in a physically bad condition due to old age, and asks for permission to repair. After the investigation, it is decided in the court in front of Muslim witnesses that the Monastery can be repaired on the condition that it is not higher than before.⁴²⁸ In 1671, Papa Ananias, Papa Sophronios, Papa Timotheos and the rest of the priests of the church [monastery] in Yüksek Tabya in Candia go to court and ask for an investigation of the monastery. They claim that a wall cracked in the middle of the building, some stones fell down and that the building will collapse, if it is not repaired. Molla Mehmed goes with Sefer, an architect of the Treasury and with

⁴²⁶ Stavrinides notes that it is the Monastery of Agarathos which was known as the Monastery of Panagias, Vol. 1, p. 298.

⁴²⁷ Stavrinides, Doc. 384, Vol. 1, pp. 297-298, 7 *Cumaziyulevvel* 1081 / 22 September 1670.

⁴²⁸ RŞS 85, p. 16, *evasıt-ı Cumaziilevvel*, 1085 / 11-21 August 1674.

other Muslims. They go on and verify the priests' statement. As a result, permission is given to repair provided that it will not be made higher.⁴²⁹ It was forbidden to ring the bell and do renovations without permission. A decree sent to İbrahim Paşa and to the *kadı* of Rethymnon received in 1058/1658 was ordering to investigate the Çanlı Manastır which was said to have been repaired without permission, and to demolish the later repairs and get the bells down, if this is the case, because it was against the holy law. The *kadı* goes with İbrahim Paşa, and as a result of the investigation, they find out that the bell-rooms stayed, but there was no bell. When asked, the monks answered that they did not ring bells anymore, and that the walls were built before the Ottomans. The rooms were redone but without extending the previous size. It was decided that nothing was against the holy law.⁴³⁰

Due to their structures and geography, some monasteries were built like fortresses. Monasteries were not however always peaceful and cooperative with the Ottoman authorities. This provided a good asylum for trouble makers. In 1134 *vezir* İbrahim Paşa issued an order to the commanders, the *kadı*, the head of *yeniçeris*, and the head of other troops in Chania and Rethymnon. He was informed that the monasteries of Crete were used as asylums by disturbance makers harassing the travelers, which was against “the holy law and sultanic orders”. In the decree that was “issued for the safety of the *reayas*”, he ordered as follows: “You should go inside the monasteries and arrest these people. Summon priors and tell them not to give hostage to such elements. If they are proven to do so, arrest them and send them to my *divan*”.⁴³¹

⁴²⁹ Stavrinides, Doc. 329, Vol. 1, pp. 228-229, 2:103, 14 *Şevval* 1081 / 23 February 1671.

⁴³⁰ Stavrinides, Doc. 59 and 60 in Vol. 1, pp. 39-4, 2:119 and 2:39, 24-29 *Şevval* 1068 / 24-29 July 1658.

⁴³¹ 1134 / 1722 (It was wrongly converted as 1719). Tomadakis, *Istoria*, p. 234, from P. Kriari, *Istoria tis Kritis*, Vol. 2, 1934, pp. 49-50.

iv. In the *Kadı* Court

Legal conflicts involving Muslims in the Ottoman Empire were supposed to be resolved in the *kadı* court according to the rules of Islamic law, *sharia*.⁴³² On the island of Limnos when there was not an Ottoman *kadı* in the fifteenth century, it was the metropolitan who resolved cases between Christians.⁴³³ Non-Muslims had the limited judicial authority to settle the disputes of private law -marriage, divorce, adoption, wills- in their own community courts.⁴³⁴ Despite this right, *kadı* court records involve cases of non-Muslims that fall not only into the sphere of community matters but also that of private law. The *kadı* court functioned not only as a judge solve cases of private law and criminal cases, but more importantly and frequently, also as a notary to provide the *hüccet*, the document of proof that would secure the rights of the subjects. The visit of non-Muslims to *kadı* courts was necessary to obtain the proof of their personal rights. What is interesting is their appearance in the *kadı* court in cases of private law.

There is no reference to alternative community courts in the *kadı* court records examined by historians so far. This absence caused some historians to doubt about the existence of community courts. Relying on his studies of the court records of Cyprus and Kayseri, Jennings has put forward the probability of the absence of

⁴³² See Schacht, *Islamic Law*, pp. 130-133 for the legal positions of non-Muslims. Heyd, Uriel. *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, ed. V.L. Ménage, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973, p. 222: “The Ottoman courts of law tried all subjects of the Sultan including the non-Muslims, and Christian and Jewish religious dignitaries had only very limited jurisdiction in penal matters involving members of their communities”.

⁴³³ Heath W. Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos*, Istanbul: Eren, 2002, p. 40.

⁴³⁴ Originally the judicial jurisdiction of the Church was recognized only in the matters of religion between the Christian subjects, however the Patriarch tried to extend his jurisdiction to the whole areas of Private Law basing on his power as the *Ethnarch*, and especially at the end of the eighteenth century “the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts had gradually crystallized”. (Pantazopoulos, N. J. *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula During the Ottoman Rule*, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1984, p. 43, p. 44). The Church, however, was trying to extend its jurisdiction on the civil cases as well, by “presumption of competency”. As a result, in this particular effort they made, they came in opposition and conflict with the Turkish and popular courts. (Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law*, p. 53.)

functional community courts as the cause of frequent usage of *kadı* courts by non-Muslims.⁴³⁵ Çiçek proposes on the other hand that the absence of reference to other courts does not entail the very absence of community courts, but lead to an ignorance of the relations between alternative courts and reactions toward each other. This information gap is up to a point filled by the Jewish *responsas*.⁴³⁶ Çiçek has no doubts of their existence.⁴³⁷ Adıyeke on the other hand argues that the absence of reference to other courts can also be interpreted as an absence of the relation of sub-chief courts between Muslim and non-Muslim courts, and proposes a kind of temporal absence and dysfunctionality of community courts. She puts forward the idea that in the case of Crete, it might have taken time to form their own organizations under Ottoman rule after the period of Venetian rule including the mechanisms of their interior law; and maybe that is why non-Muslims made use of the Ottoman *kadı* in this transition period.⁴³⁸

What Ottoman historians define as lack of local ecclesiastical councils could prove to be an unawareness of literature written in Greek, still a forbidding language for most scholars. The Patriarchical *sicils* are full of records or references

⁴³⁵ “If *zimmis* took their domestic problems to the *sharia* court of Kayseri, judgment was made in terms of the *sharia* rather than of any Christian law. The customary law of marriage and divorce law of the Christians of Kayseri is not revealed in the *sicils*. Neither is it revealed whether the *zimmis* used their own communal law in disputes which they did not direct specifically to the *sharia* court.” (Emphasis mine) Jennings, *Zimmis*, p. 393.

“2800 cases in *sicils* between 1580-1637: more than 1/3: *zimmis* involved. 15%: only *zimmis*. No references to *zimmi* communal courts were found. 19%: intercommunal. Highest participation in 1580: 43%. (earliest investigated)” Jennings, *Ottoman Cyprus*, p. 133.

⁴³⁶ Shmuelevitz: “Co-operation between the Muslim and Jewish courts is mentioned in the *responsa*, especially on cases between Jews-Jews. (p. 47) When *halakhic* problems arose, it was mentioned in the *responsa*. There is no evidence in the *sicils* about this co-operation. (Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 47-48) Most frequent contacts were for the purpose of taking an oath, *kadis* were consulting Jewish religious scholars (like *müftis*), and validation was asked (forced, and caused tension).” (Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 48-50.)

⁴³⁷ Kemal Çiçek, “Cemaat Mahkemesinden Kadı Mahkemesine Zımmilerin Yargı Tercih” *Pax Ottomana: Studies in Memoriam, Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, Haarlem: Sota; Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2001, pp. 35-36.

⁴³⁸ Ayşe Nükhet Adıyeke, “XVII. Yüzyıl Girit (Resmo) Kadı Sicillerinde Zımmi Davaları”, *Pax Ottomana: Studies in Memoriam, Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, Haarlem: Sota; Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2001, p. 79.

of cases sent for reconsideration or revision to the Patriarchate by the local metropolitans.⁴³⁹ In the case of Crete, in particular, we have seen so far the struggle of the Patriarchal appointee, the local metropolitan to establish himself against the ever-increasing power of the Sinaid monks. This struggle came to an end in around 1730s. This is also the time when the local council led by *kethüdas* came to full operation. In the archive of Crete in Herakleion, the full accounts of the *demogerontia* start in 1858 to roughly 1900. From 1858 we have documents describing the operation of *demogerontia*. The members of this institution were responsible for the resolution of matters of family and inheritance law. Before 1858 the system was in place but the codification of decisions has not survived. We do, though, get a glimpse of the operation of this system in the numerous entries in the *sicils* of out-of-court settlement achieved through the activities of third parties. Needless to say that clergymen at all levels were the most active and celebrated members of these councils. We also have indications of ecclesiastical involvement in dispute solving in the cases sent to the Patriarchate. At the end of the 17th century a dispute over the membership rights of a church is taken up by its owner a certain Maroula, to the Patriarchate seat. She asks for the issue of an aphorism against the priest of her church who refuses to pay her share from the income. The recommendation for the action is given by the local metropolitan.⁴⁴⁰ In 1811 also, a Muslim Haseki Ağa asks for an aphorism from the Patriarch against those Christians who although know something about his lost property of 14,000 *guruş*,

⁴³⁹ See Demetrios Gkines, *Perigramma Istorias tou Metabyzantinou Dikaiou. (A Historical Outline of post-Byzantine Law)* Athens: Grapheion Dimosieumatou tis Akadimias: 1996, passim.

⁴⁴⁰ Panagiotes D. Michaelares, *Aphorismos [Aphorism]*, Athens: Kentro Neoellenikon Ereunon, 1997, p. 105 and p. 313.

they remain silent.⁴⁴¹ In order to fully comprehend the system of alternative justice giving though, we would have to discuss its general framework.

The Orthodox Church applied the patriarchal-ecumenical law during the Ottoman rule through the Episcopal Courts to the whole of the Balkan peninsula.⁴⁴² Instruments to enforce the Law of the Church were; “at the first level the Metropolitan and the Episcopal Courts in the provinces and the Patriarchal Court in Constantinople, and at the appeal level the Holy Synod presided by the Patriarch”.⁴⁴³ The Orthodox clergy used as guide books to enforce the Christian law, basically the *Hexabiblos*, prepared by the general judge of Thessalonica Constantine Harmenopoulos in 1345, and the *Nomocanon* written by Manuel Malaxos in Thebae in 1561.⁴⁴⁴ With the Jews, each congregation established its own law court *-bet din-* consisting of at least one, but generally three judges, who was usually the local rabbi, and enforced the Jewish law *halakhah*.⁴⁴⁵

The usage by most historians of the term “preference” of the *kadi* courts by *zimmis* implicitly presupposes either the existence of an alternative court or the absence of constraint. In some cases the appearance of non-Muslims in front of the *kadi* was compulsory. For example, the *zimmis* were obligated to respond to claims made by Muslims. They had the right to reply, and to defend themselves, presenting their own version of the story, even if they could not prove it.⁴⁴⁶ To prevent another member of the community to take a case to the *kadi* court was forbidden to the non-

⁴⁴¹ Michaelaris, *Aphorism*, p. 428.

⁴⁴² Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law*, p. 47.

⁴⁴³ Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law*, p. 53.

⁴⁴⁴ Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law*, p. 45.

⁴⁴⁵ Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 41.

⁴⁴⁶ Jennings, “Zimmis”, p. 371.

Muslims.⁴⁴⁷ However, except for taxation and criminal cases, *zimmis* had no legal obligation to use the *kadı* court”.⁴⁴⁸

Historians have put forward various reasons of the appearance of non-Muslims in the Muslim law courts rather than community courts. The lower amount of the fee that *zimmis* paid -half of what Muslims paid- has been proposed as a reason of the preference. Especially marriage in *kadı* court was considered to be much cheaper.⁴⁴⁹ When a non-Muslim subject had to choose between alternative courts, he would naturally appeal the one that was more advantageous and favorable.⁴⁵⁰ This was frequently the case, especially on matters of inheritance. For example Jewish daughters did not inherit according to Jewish law, so they went to *kadı* court where they could get a share.⁴⁵¹ Christians as well went to the *kadı* and claimed their rights on the basis of Islamic Law in case their interests were harmed.⁴⁵² The following case from Crete is a good example. The property of Papa Andonis, son of Georgis from the village of Male in Ierapetra was divided in the *kadı* court so that not only the children, but other relatives could get their share, against Christian law.⁴⁵³ The basic reason of non-Muslims’ frequent visit to the Muslim Law court, in the case of Crete, according to Adıyeke is that private ownership was accepted on the island and approved in the *kadı* court by the Ottoman authorities. Apart from this, she believes that every kind of case has its particular reason.⁴⁵⁴ Non-Muslims’ trust in the justice of *kadı* courts “which was the

⁴⁴⁷ Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 43.

⁴⁴⁸ Jennings, “Zımmis”, p. 390.

⁴⁴⁹ Nuri Adıyeke, “Girit Nikah Defterleri ve Girit’teki Evlilikler”, *Kebikeç*, No: 13, 2002, p. 47, making reference to Evangelia Balta.

⁴⁵⁰ “In an instance when *sharia* would be more favorable than communal law to a litigant, he had only to approach the *kadı*. . . Zımmis who felt an injustice done to them by communal mediators could appeal to the *kadı*.” Jennings, *Cyprus*, p. 401.

⁴⁵¹ Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 66.

⁴⁵² Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law*, pp. 106-107.

⁴⁵³ Stavrinides, Doc. 231, Vol. 1, p. 162, 2:44, date unread.

⁴⁵⁴ Adıyeke, “Zımmi Davaları”, pp. 81-82.

ideal of Abu Hanifa and Abu Yusuf⁴⁵⁵ has been proposed as the main reason by other historians. “Their deliberate use seems to express their confidence in the court, that it will be helpful, that it can serve their needs, and that it will be just.”⁴⁵⁶ İnalçık’s explanation is that “the *kadı*’s court provided greater assurance, or the means to escape the more rigid stipulations of their own religious law in such matters as marriage, divorce and parenthood rights, which were supposed to be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Christian or Jewish authorities.”⁴⁵⁷

The Church secured the application of patriarchal law by applying excommunication and aphorism, which was worse than death for a Christian.⁴⁵⁸ This was a right that the Muslims occasionally applied to the Patriarchate in order to enforce it against the Christian subjects in cases of disputes.⁴⁵⁹ *Fermans* as replies to petitions of non-Muslim religious men were sent from the center to confirm the jurisdiction of the Church in cases of private law.

The case was slightly different for the Jews. The *halakhic* rule of *dina de-malkhuta dina* - “the law of the kingdom is the law” (and is binding) - was adopted, and in certain cases took precedence over Jewish law.⁴⁶⁰ This principle influenced Jewish law courts to certify the documents of the Muslim law courts.⁴⁶¹ The *halakhah*, custom and the rule “the law of the kingdom is the law” were the foundations of the Jewish attitude to Ottoman law and the judicial system. However, the *shariah* as well as the *kanun* (the secular Ottoman law) and *adet* (custom) served as the basis for the Ottoman attitude to Jewish laws and the judicial

⁴⁵⁵ Jennings, *Cyprus*, p. 407.

⁴⁵⁶ Jennings, *Cyprus*, p. 370.

⁴⁵⁷ İnalçık, Halil. “Ottoman Archival Materials on Millets” *From Empire to Republic*, Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History, Istanbul: Isis Press, 1995, p. 91.

⁴⁵⁸ Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law*, p. 54.

⁴⁵⁹ Michaelares, P.D., 1997. *Aphorismos [Aphorism]*, Athens: Kentro Neellenikon Ereunon, 1997, passim.

⁴⁶⁰ Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 42.

⁴⁶¹ Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 60.

system.⁴⁶² Indeed, Ankori states that the appearance of Jews in the Cretan *kadı* court was considered to be just a replacement of the previous Venetian courts with those of the Ottomans. Documents from the archives of the Dukes of Candia and of Candiote notaries stored in Venice, investigated by Ankori prove the appearance of Jews in the state courts during the Venetian period in Crete.⁴⁶³ It should be mentioned that the reaction of the rabbis towards the *kadı* court varied according to the type of case. For matrimonial cases, they struggled against going to a Muslim court, because “Judaism held matrimonial cases to be holy, and various laws and regulations were formulated to secure the sanctity and purity of Jewish family law”.⁴⁶⁴ The Jewish authorities took some measures intending to encourage the Jewish subjects to use the community court as well as not to come into conflict with their own law, *halakhah*.⁴⁶⁵ On the other hand, rabbis encouraged the Jewish subjects to record the transactions in the *sicil*, and take the *hüccet* proof.⁴⁶⁶

The disputes between Christians and Jews were also resolved in the Muslim court. Shmuelevitz connects the absence of Jews in the Christian court records or that of Christians in the Jewish courts to the deep animosity and suspicion between the two communities.⁴⁶⁷ On the other hand, he believes that Muslims brought cases against Jews before the Jewish courts mainly to ensure that their business dealings with Jews would continue.⁴⁶⁸

In the case of Crete, the priests were usual frequenters of the *kadı* court. Interestingly, they appear not only in cases of communal law or for the purposes of

⁴⁶² Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 43.

⁴⁶³ Ankori, “Zudecha”, p. 98.

⁴⁶⁴ Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 67. In the first half of the 16th century matrimonial cases were frequently referred to Muslim law courts. Communal meetings of rabbis in Istanbul and Salonica intended to prevent this. (same page).

⁴⁶⁵ See Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 68-73.

⁴⁶⁶ Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 51.

⁴⁶⁷ Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 46.

⁴⁶⁸ Shmuelevitz, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 46.

taking *hüccet* as proof documents, but also in cases of private law, and as representatives and witnesses. Records from Crete are full of village priests who do not appear directly, but are mentioned either as neighbors in cases of estate purchases, fathers or relatives of litigants or defendants. As mentioned earlier, the priests were the leading figures of their villages, and acted as representatives most of the time. Like any other non-Muslim subject of the Empire, priests were supposed to resort to the *kadı* court in communal cases involving Muslims. In cases of purchasing properties, the *kadı's* court was again the place to go and take a *hüccet* as proof. To cite a few among numerous examples, Papa Alexandros from the village of Psikopi in Rethymnon, sells a field, a vineyard and an olive grove through his representative Papa Georgila to Papa Georgis for 60 *riyali guruh*.⁴⁶⁹ Ursa from Agios Markos sells a field to Papa Peroni son of Papa Ioanni, inhabitant of the village of Değirmenlik through her representative Manoli son of Dimitri.⁴⁷⁰ From the village of (...) in Rethymnon, a Christian woman (...) daughter of Konstantin sells a field with olive trees in it to Georgi Aliodaki for 2600 *akçes*. Papa Mihali and Papa Manoli are witnesses to the case apart from Muslim witnesses.⁴⁷¹

What is more interesting is that immediately in the early years of the new rule, priests of Crete appear in the Muslim law court for cases of private law as litigants, defendants, witnesses or representatives *-vekil-*. They even function as witnesses and representatives in marriage records in the *sicils*. For instance, Papa Isdari was among the witnesses *-şuhud-ul hal-* in the marriage record of two

⁴⁶⁹ RŞS 57/77, Last day of *Ramazan* 1064 / 14 August 1654.

⁴⁷⁰ RŞS, 85, p. 92. 2 *Safer* 1085 / 7 May 1674.

⁴⁷¹ RŞS 85, p. 34, 12 *Şevval* 1085 / 8 January 1675. Some other cases of selling and buying property that involve priests are RŞS 57/74, 57/77, 57/174, 56/862.

Christians Nikolo and Kornerola.⁴⁷² In another marriage of two Christians Nikodimos and Ergina from the village of Kissos of Agia Vasil, the representative of the bridegroom was Papa Iakoumis.⁴⁷³

Divorce and related issues of private law were among the cases taken to the *kadi* court by the Christians of Crete. According to a record from Candia dated 1671/1082, Katerina from the village of Malia in Pediada testified through her representative that she received her claim of 2000 *akçes* from her ex-husband Konstantine. They were divorced and had no claims from each other. Three of the witnesses were the priests Papa Georgis son of Papa Ioannis, Papa Manios son of Papa Georgis, and Papa Andonis son of Nikolas, among other Muslim and new-Muslim witnesses.⁴⁷⁴ In cases of inheritance between Christians, priests were frequently witnesses. Papa Georgi was among the *şuhud-ul hal* in a case of inheritance from Rethymnon, in which Ioanni claimed a house and a vineyard from Eleni and Zambeta. The women proved through the witnessing of two Christians that they inherited them from their mother Maria, and took the estates.⁴⁷⁵ Again in Rethymnon, Papa Andreias was a witness for the inheritance case of Kali from the village of Maroula.⁴⁷⁶

The priests appeared in criminal cases like other non-Muslim subjects. Papa Nikolos from Kiriana testified in court against two Christians that they stole and ate the ox that had been donated to him four months ago. The defendants confessed the crime, and agreed to pay the price.⁴⁷⁷ The priests were not always litigants or

⁴⁷² RŞS 56/855, 3 *Cumaziyulahir* 1064 / 20 April 1654.

⁴⁷³ Stavrinides Vol. 1, pp. 81-82, Doc. 116, 1:60, 1 *Rebiülevvel* 1069 / 27 November 1658.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 51, p. 29, 3:21, 5 *Rebiülahir* 1082 / 11 August 1671.

⁴⁷⁵ RŞS 57/219, *evasıt-ı Receb* 1065 / 17-26 May 1655.

⁴⁷⁶ Kali claimed her share from her father's inheritance. Her brother Andreias accepted it in the court, but when it was understood that Kali took more than her share, her case was refused. RŞS 57/227, *evasıt-ı Receb* 1065 / 17-26 May 1655.

⁴⁷⁷ RŞS 98, p. 36 1076 / 1666.

representatives of villagers, but sometimes came to court as accused. For example, a certain Papa Athanasios (Tanaş) from the village of Prine was a defendant in the court of Rethymnon in a case of rape of a Christian woman Dimitria. She proves her case through witnesses, Mehmed son of Abdullah and Cani son of Papa Georgis.⁴⁷⁸ The priest Athanasios from Prine appears twice more in the court, once borrowing money from the inheritance of an orphan,⁴⁷⁹ and once more borrowing olive oil from Bekir Beşe.⁴⁸⁰

The witnesses *-şuhud-ul hal-* in a *kadı* court were supposed to be religious and morally upright men. The Muslim religious men *-imams, hatibs, kayyıms, müezzins-* very frequently functioned as expert witnesses. For example, *Müezzin* Mustafa of Valide Sultan Cami and Hatib Yusuf Efendi were the two figures among others who appeared as witnesses in many cases in the *sicils* of Rethymnon between the years 1075-1076.⁴⁸¹ *Mütevellis* and *kayyıms* also took part very frequently in the case records as witnesses.

Usually, the order of the witnesses written at the end of the records reflect their social standing. The people of higher social prestige were probably recorded first. *İmams* and *müezzins* were written before other Muslims, then new-Muslim and

⁴⁷⁸ RŞS 98, p. 31, 15 *Rebiülevvel* 1076 / 24 September 1665.

⁴⁷⁹ From Prine Papa Tanaş and Mihali Papa Georgi borrowing from the property of the underaged İbrahim, the son of the deceased Halil Efendi, through the guardian Süleyman Bey. RŞS 98, p. 21, *gurre-i Şevval* 1075 / 16 April 1665.

⁴⁸⁰ Papa Tanaş from Prine debted to Bekir in terms of olive oil. RŞS 98, p. 62, undated.

⁴⁸¹ *Müezzin* Mustafa as witness in RŞS 98 p. 16 in a case of selling property, RŞS 98 p. 20 in a case of inheritance, RŞS 98 p. 24 a case of crime, RŞS 98 p. 28 in a case of selling properties from between new Muslims in Marula, RŞS 98 p. 29 in selling property, RŞS 98 p. 30 in a case of property in Horamanastır, RŞS 98 p. 33 in a case of Christian woman selling all her property to her new Muslim daughter, RŞS 98 p. 35 in a case of a priest buying property, RŞS 98 p. 40, p. 41 in the cases of selling property.

Also, in RŞS 98 p. 41: *Müezzin* Mustafa's new-Muslim wife Ayşe bint Mustafa takes to court Mehmed Beşe claiming that he unlawfully holds her field of 8 *muzurs* with olive trees in it in the village of Maroula. Mehmed Beşe refuses the accusation and proves through two new-Muslim witnesses (two other Mehmed bin Abdullah) that he had bought the field three years ago for 15 *riyali kebir guruş*, and gave 14 *guruş* to her, and 1 *guruş* to her husband *Müezzin* Mustafa Çelebi. *Müezzin* Mustafa admitted that took 14 *guruş*. His wife, the litigant Ayşe was forbidden from raising a case. He acts as witness again in this case.

finally Christians. The priests would come even after new-Muslims, but before other Christians.⁴⁸²

The state policy of granting lands and tax-exemptions as recorded in the court records gives an idea of the prominent figures in the Cretan society during the Ottoman rule. Just after the conquest, those who were functional in the assistance of the Ottoman conquest were given privileges. For example, Lorenzo Patelaro was exempt from paying *cizye* due to his assistance in transferring the cannons to the fortress of Candia.⁴⁸³ Cani Nikola was another figure in Rethymnon who was exempted from certain taxes due to his aids in carrying *mühimmat* during the siege of Candia.⁴⁸⁴ The *archondas* (lords) were exempted from paying their taxes as well.⁴⁸⁵ The state was probably intending to maintain good relations with the prominent figures of the society by allowing them to retain the status they had under the Venetian rule provided that they were not negatively disposed against the Ottoman rule.

The *sicils* of Crete involve cases of lending and borrowing in terms olive oil frequently. Muslims men are often lenders to Christian villagers and even priests.⁴⁸⁶ As mentioned before, priests were the leaders and representatives of the community in cases of borrowing money. This gives an idea of the economical situation of the

⁴⁸² *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 179, p. 92, 3:75-76, RŞS 57/32.

⁴⁸³ RŞS 56/1024 *evail-i Muharrem* 1061 / 25 December 1651 - 3 January 1652.

⁴⁸⁴ RŞS 98 p. 84 2 *Muharrem* 1081 / 21 May 1670. “*Kandiye muhasarası sırasında mühimmat nakliyesi ve sair hizmette bulunan...*”

⁴⁸⁵ RŞS 56/1058 4 *Ramazan* 1062 / 9 August 1651.

⁴⁸⁶ Examples of cases of Muslims giving debt to Christians in RŞS 98 p. 118, RŞS 56/823, RŞS 56/634, RŞS 56/678, RŞS 56/744, RŞS 57/229.

Stavrínides, Doc. 465, Vol. 1: Case of an entire village borrowing money from Sipahi Ilias Ağa, Anoya of Kainourgio, 12 *Cumaziyulevvel* 1082/ 16 September 1671.

Stavrínides, Doc. 514, Vol. 1: Papa Nikolos son of Georgios in Kastello Pediada as representative of inhabitants. The village had borrowed money from Muharrem Beşe. 15 *Şevval* 1082 / 14 February 1672.

members of the society.⁴⁸⁷ *Imams*,⁴⁸⁸ *kadis*,⁴⁸⁹ *şeyhs*,⁴⁹⁰ and *seyyids*⁴⁹¹ were the other distinguished members of the society granted lands, estates and other privileges by the state in Ottoman Crete. Compared to the Muslim religious men the financial position of the priests of Crete seems to be precarious.⁴⁹² In terms of education, though, priests and their children were in a more advantageous position than the rest of the population. One of the representatives in a case of money lending of the defterdar Süleyman Çelebi, was *Yazıcı -grammatikos-* Dimitris son of Papa Georgis.⁴⁹³

Finally, a case that depicts clearly the fluidity of social relations and the rather complex nature of the early Ottoman Cretan society is the case of a Christian, Marousa living in the suburb of Rethymnon. When her daughter died, she was buried to the Christian cemetery. After a while, it was found out that she was a new-Muslim, and she was transferred to the Muslim cemetery. A decree was sent to the commander İbrahim Paşa ordering not to disturb anymore Marousa or the other Christians involved in the Christian burial. This is a good example of the awareness

⁴⁸⁷ Other economically better figures are the remnants of Frankish rule such as Frank Milioti who appears very often in the earliest records of Rethymnon as tax collector RŞS 56/976, money-lender RŞS 57/104, as buying estates or as the reliable witness in the *kadı* court, ignorant of his descent.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 703, the second *imam* of Valide Sultan mosque was given a house on petition. 29 *Zilkade* 1082 / 28 March 1672.

⁴⁸⁹ In Stavrinides Doc. 202, Vol. 1, lands given to the *kadı* of Sitia as *mülk*. 22 *Zilhicce* 1081 / 1 May 1671.

⁴⁹⁰ See Chapter 3.

⁴⁹¹ RŞS 56/1041, a house given to Seyyid Mustafa Efendi in the suburb of Retymnnon, close to the Hüseyin Paşa Mosque. There is more evidence for the existence of *seyyids* on the island after the conquest. See *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 358, *Ierodikeio*, Doc 312, Stavrinides Doc. 507 in Vol. 1, RŞS 57/443 and RŞS 56/1052. Stavrinides Doc. 412 in Vol. 1 is also a very important document about *seyyids*.

⁴⁹² In Cyprus as well, the priests were more borrowers than lenders. Jennings thinks that “this reflects certain precariousness in their economic status.” Jennings, *Cyprus*, p. 151.

“Muslim and Christian religious men played very similar roles in the socio-economic system. They shared the same tax-exempt status. Like the *ulema*, clergy owned land, rented it, they engaged in trade and commerce, they lent and borrowed money. Christian clergy seem to have had no more aversion to dealing with Muslims than other *zımmis* did”. Jennings, *Cyprus*, p.150.

⁴⁹³ *Ierodikeio*, Doc. 529, p. 261, 3:198, 20 *Receb* 1082 / 22 November 1671.

of societal changes and consequent complications arising in a rapidly changing society.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ “Resmo muhafazasında olan izzetli İbrahim Paşa. Nefs-i Resmo varoşu sakinelereinden Marusa nam zimmiyenin bir kızı fevt oldukda kefere arasına defn eyledüklerinden sonra Müslüman olduđu bahir olmuş iken tekrar Müslüman mezarlarına defn olunmuş. Haliya mezbur zimmiyeyi senin kızum Müslüman iken niçün kefere arasına defn eylediün deyu zimmiye ve getirenleri rencide eylemeyesin, mucib-i buyruldı ile amil olasız.” Undated, 56/879.

CONCLUSION

The Ottoman arrival in Crete in 1645 marked the beginning of a new era for the Christian population of the island especially in religious terms. Having been ruled by the Catholic Venetians devoid of an Orthodox hierarchy, the Orthodox population achieved to remain Orthodox. The Ottoman rule created a heterogeneous society with particular traits, in which the men of faith of both religions actively participated.

The struggle of the Ottomans with Venetians for the island lasted nearly for twenty-five years. During this struggle period, among the first achievements of the Ottomans was the reestablishment of the Orthodox hierarchy in Crete. Long before Candia's conquest in 1669, Neophytos Patelaros was appointed in 1651 as the first metropolitan of the island under Ottoman rule. Neophytos was a Cretan monk from a renowned family of Crete. However, as seen in the *sicil* entries, Patelaros deprived of Ottoman support, created conflict between himself and the local population. In his effort to survive, he entered into financial affairs unbecoming of a religious leader. He also extended the jurisdiction dictated by the Porte in his *berat* by interfering even into private churches. His appointment document found for the first time in the *sicils* of Rethymnon is a very valuable document, as it reflects his jurisdiction and the limitations on his authority set up by the Ottomans. The metropolitan, although the head of church on the island, was left with the collection of a few ecclesiastical dues and without a metropolitan church. The lack of a church of his own was not only a serious handicap, compromising his authority, but also a

financial loss. His rivals the Sinaid monks, operating for many centuries in Crete were promoted and allowed to perform most of religious acts like baptism, funerals, marriages. Sinaid monks were protected by the Venetian authorities and the Catholic Church during the Venetian rule. They had not only retained, but also had expanded their rights. While Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa and the translator of the *divan* Nikousios were settling the situation in 1669, they made their choice in favor of the Sinaid monks. Sinaids were the obvious solution, because they knew the system. In this way Ottomans were acknowledging the established tradition. The Church of St. Mathaios was dedicated to the Sinaids with *stauropigiaki* status. No metropolitan could interfere in their business or demand any kind of tax. Neophytos and the subsequent metropolitans of the island were devoid of a Church to perform a mass. The struggle for power between the two parties continued up to 1735, until finally the metropolitan Gerasimos achieved to take a *berat* to set up a metropolitan church.

When we consider the events of the period, the Ottoman choice of the Sinaids as the rival of the appointee of the Patriarch in Crete becomes more comprehensive. The Patriarch was a person that the Porte had to rely upon. The Catholic and Protestant missionaries and the relations of the Orthodox Patriarchs to the European embassies in Istanbul was not something that the Ottomans were unaware of. Successive Patriarchs of the 17th century were in contact with the Papacy, and some of them had even explicitly demonstrated their Roman tendencies. On the other hand, Patriarchs like Kyrillos Loukaris who were advocating for the Protestant cause, as seen in Loukaris' Polish ventures, although instrumental in the anti-Habsburg and pro-Protestant Ottoman policy towards Europe, was met by suspicion by the Porte and eventually caused his death. Many historians have

depicted the events leading to his downfall as a result of the pro-Catholic party in Istanbul led by the French ambassador. In this approach the Ottomans' decisions are presented as if they are circumstantial and bound to different pressure groups in action. These scholars fail to detect the formation of an independent opinion of the Ottoman ruling elite towards the Patriarchate. However, when we examine their decisions about the ecclesiastical affairs in Crete one can not fail to see the mistrust towards the Patriarchate in Istanbul and his appointees in Crete, a result of the contacts of the Patriarchate to foreign powers. Thus, although Loukaris' pro-Protestant stand is beneficial to political choices of the Ottomans, his strong alliances with the Venetians weighs more in their final decisions, especially in a period of raising tension between the Ottoman Empire and Venice. These reasons lay behind the change of heart about the Patriarchal appointee, Neophytos Patelaros in Crete. When the Ottomans became aware of the change of heart in the Patriarch at the beginning of the 18th century, their policy in Crete changed accordingly. With the rise of the Phanariots in the Patriarchal throne, a shift in Patriarchal policies is observed. Catholic and Protestant missionary activities in the Empire alarmed the Patriarchal throne and eventually lead them to a more independent stance. The Ottomans rewarded the Patriarchate by closing down the Patriarchates of Ochrid and Pec and expanded the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul to include all Orthodox of the Empire. It must be more than a coincidence that around the same time the metropolitan of Crete became upgraded and finally won his long-bitter struggle against the Sinoids.

The other side of the policy was the establishment of Islam. As in other parts of the Empire, the Ottomans marked their existence on the island by establishing Muslim institutions and appointing their employees through the *vakf* system. A part

of their policy was the conversion of Christian worship places into mosques and *mescids*. Islamization always brought about conversion of people from Christianity to Islam in the Ottoman Empire. In Crete however, the rate of conversion is considered to be relatively high. What is more, the traditional policy of the colonization of a conquered place by Muslim settlers was not applied to Crete. Therefore, the increase in the rate of Muslims to Christians was mainly the result of conversion in Crete. The *kadı* court records both of Rethymnon and Candia are fascinatingly full of the names of converts, within a very short period after the change of rule on the island. The converts include priests and relatives of priests. We have seen examples of converts becoming dervishes and *müezzins*. Another element of the Ottoman policy is the presence of Muslim mystical orders on the island and their endorsement through grants of properties. Kadiri and Bektashi *tekkes* and dervishes were protected by the Ottoman rulers. The court records are illuminating also in this respect. As in the earlier centuries of Ottoman expansion, the *tekke* Islam was an element of Islamization. In the case of Crete both heterodox and orthodox orders were active.

The early *kadı* records of Rethymnon and Candia also shed light in the position of men of faith, Orthodox and Muslim in the society of Ottoman Crete. Apart from issues of taxation, property and penal law, the Orthodox of Crete take up their family law cases to the *kadı* court. There is disagreement among scholars as to whether ecclesiastical courts were an alternative to the *kadı* court. The many cases of family law where priests and monks are involved could suggest that administration of family law by ecclesiastical authorities in Crete was the last in the priorities of metropolitans struggling to establish authority and survive financially. Priests are found to be witnesses even in cases of marriage between Christians in

the *kadı* court. Bishops and metropolitans were active members of their communities and were representing them in various group-cases in court. The *sicils* are also abundant with complaints against bishops acting as *kethüdas* and tax-collectors for the Treasury. In many occasions the Ottomans took measures against injustice performed by bishops upon their own flock. The role of Muslim men of faith, on the other hand, does not differentiate from other parts of the Empire. They are present in court to defend or claim property, ask for specialized committees to overview expenses on renovated mosques and for *vakf* affairs.

The integration of Crete into the Ottoman system was not without inborn difficulties. The complex society arising from the mixture of Orthodox local traditions, new converts to Islam and other small minorities like the Armenians and Jews is worth examining. Unique hybrids were action in Crete. For example, newly converted Muslim women continued to provide dowries to their also newly converted husbands through the *hibe* system. Local traditions proved to be more resistant than acknowledged. However, it is certain that further research is going to improve our insight in heterogeneous societies like the one in Crete.

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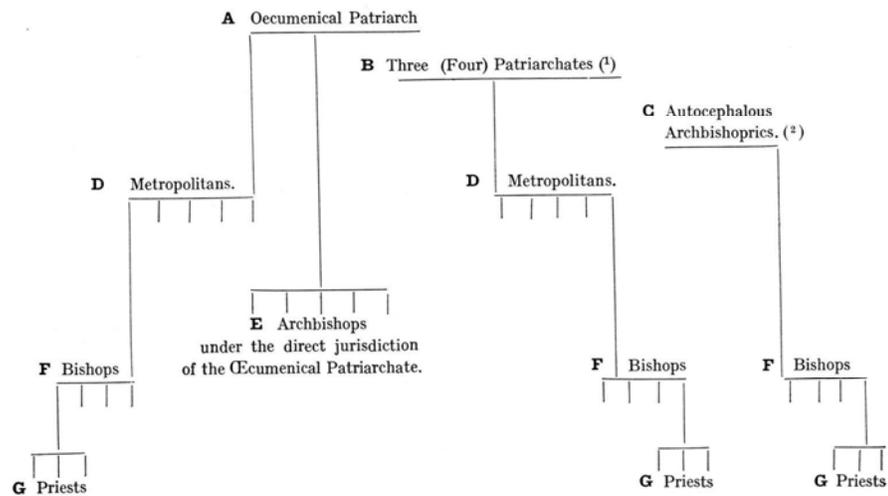
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APPENDIX A: The Hierarchy of the Orthodox Church

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE GENERAL HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

The letters **A, B, C, D, E, F, G**, denote the hierarchical order.



(1) Hierarchical precedence of B: a. Alexandria, b. Antioch, c. Jerusalem (d. Moscow).

(2) Cyprus, Ipek, Ochrida. (The two latter prior to their subjection to the Oecumenical Patriarchate, after which they were reduced to the class D).

From Theodore H. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination*, p. 94.

APPENDIX B: The Patriarchs of Constantinople

Pachomius I	1503-1504, 1504-1513
Theoleptus I	1513-1522
Jeremias I	1522-1545
Joannicus I	1546
Dionysius II	1546-1555
Joasaph II	1555-1565
Metrophanes III	1565-1572, 1579-1580
Jeremias II Tranos	1572-1579, 1580-1584, 1587-1595
Pachomius II	1584-1585
Theoleptus II	585-1586
Matthew II	1596, 1598-1602, 1603
Gabriel I	1596
Theophanes I Karykes	1597
Neophytus II	1602-1603, 1607-1612
Raphael II	1603-1607
Timotheus	1612-1620
Cyril I Lucaris	1612, 1620-1623, 1623-1630, 1630-1633, 1633-1634, 1634-1635, 1637-1638
Greg IV	1623
Anthimus	1623
Cyril II Kontares	1633, 1635-1636, 1638-1639
Athanasius III Patelaros	1634
Neophytus III	1636-1637
Parthenius I	1639-1644
Parthenius II	1644-1646, 1648-1651
Joannicius II	1646-1648, 1651-1652, 1653-1654, 1655-1656
Cyril III	1652, 1654

Paisius I	1652-1653, 1654-1655
Parthenius III	1656-1657
Gabriel II	1657
Parthenius IV	1657-1662, 1665-1667, 1671, 1675-1676, 1684 1685
Dionysius III	1662-1665
Clement	1667
Methodius III	1668-1671
Dionysus IV Muselimes	1671-1673, 1676-1679, 1682-1684, 1686 1687, 1693-1694
Gerasimus II	1673-1674
Athanasius IV	1679
James	1679-1682, 1685-1686, 1687-1688
Callinicus II	1688, 1689-1693, 1694-1702
Neophytus IV	1688
Gabriel III	1702-1707
Neophytus V	1707
Cyprianus I	1707-1709, 1713-1714
Athanasius V	1709-1711
Cyril IV	1711-1713
Cosmas III	1714-1716
Jeremias III	1716-1726, 1732-1733
Paisius II	1733-1734
Neophytus VI	1734-1740, 1743-1744
Cyril V	1748-1751, 1752-1757
Callinicus III	1757
Serapheim II	1757-1761
Joannicius III	1761-1763
Samuel I Chatzeres	1763-1768, 1773-1774

From the web page of the Patriarchate, www.ec-patr.gr/en/list/

APPENDIX C: The Metropolitans of Crete (1651-1755)

Neophytos Patelaros	(1651 - 1679)
Nikiphoros II Skotakis	(1679 - 1683)
Kallinikos I	(1683 - 1685)
Arsenios I	(1687 - 1688)
Athanasios Kallipolitis	(1688 - 1697)
Kallinikos II	(1697 - 1699)
Arsenios II	(1699 - 1701)
Ioasaf I	(1702-1710)
Constantios Chalkiopoulos	(1711-1716)
Ierassimos I of Kissamos	(1716 - 1719)
Constantios Chalkiopoulos (2 nd time)	(1719-1722)
Daniel of Rethymnon	(1722 - 1725)
Ierassimos II Letitzis	(1725 - 1755)

