

Hilâl. Studi turchi e ottomani 6

e-ISSN 2610-8895
ISSN 2610-9484

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age

Essays on Economic
and Social Connected History

edited by
Anna Valerio



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari



Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age

Hilâl

Studi turchi e ottomani

Collana diretta da
Maria Pia Pedani
Elisabetta Ragagnin

6



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Hilâl

Studi turchi e ottomani

Direttori | General editors

Maria Pia Pedani (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Elisabetta Ragagnin (Freie Universität, Berlin)

Comitato scientifico | Advisory board

Bülent Arı (TBMM Milli Saraylar, Müzecilik ve Tanıtım Başkanı, İstanbul, Türkiye)

Dejanirah Couto (École Pratique des Hautes Études «EPHE», Paris, France)

Zayabaatar Dalai (Institute for Mongol Studies, National University of Mongolia; National Council for Mongol Studies, Mongolia)

Mehmet Yavuz Erler (Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, Samsun, Türkiye)

Fabio Grassi («La Sapienza» Università di Roma, Italia)

Figen Güner Dilek (Gazi Üniversitesi, Ankara, Türkiye)

Stefan Hanß (University of Cambridge, UK)

Baiarma Khabtagaeva (Szegedi Tudományegyetem, Magyarország)

Nicola Melis (Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Italia)

Melek Özyetgin (Yıldız Üniversitesi, İstanbul, Türkiye)

Cristina Tonghini (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Direzione e redazione

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia

Dipartimento di Studi sull'Asia sull'Africa mediterranea

Sezione Asia Orientale e Antropologia

Palazzo Vendramin dei Carmini

Dorsoduro 3462

30123 Venezia

e-ISSN 2610-9484

ISSN 2610-8917

URL <http://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/it/edizioni/collane/hilal/>



Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age

Essays on Economic
and Social Connected History

edited by Anna Valerio

Venezia

Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing

2018

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age. Essays on Economic and Social Connected History
edited by Anna Valerio

© 2018 Anna Valerio for the text

© 2018 Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing for the present edition



Qualunque parte di questa pubblicazione può essere riprodotta, memorizzata in un sistema di recupero dati o trasmessa in qualsiasi forma o con qualsiasi mezzo, elettronico o meccanico, senza autorizzazione, a condizione che se ne citi la fonte.

Any part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means without permission provided that the source is fully credited.

Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia

Dorsoduro 3246, 30123 Venezia

<http://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/>

ecf@unive.it

1a edizione settembre 2018

ISBN 978-88-6969-255-0 [ebook]

ISBN 978-88-6969-261-1 [print]



Certificazione scientifica delle Opere pubblicate da Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing: tutti i saggi pubblicati hanno ottenuto il parere favorevole da parte di valutatori esperti della materia, attraverso un processo di revisione anonima sotto la responsabilità del Comitato scientifico della collana. La valutazione è stata condotta in aderenza ai criteri scientifici ed editoriali di Edizioni Ca' Foscari.

Scientific certification of the works published by Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing: all essays published in this volume have received a favourable opinion by subject-matter experts, through an anonymous peer review process under the responsibility of the Scientific Committee of the series. The evaluations were conducted in adherence to the scientific and editorial criteria established by Edizioni Ca' Foscari.

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age / Edited by Anna Valerio — 1. ed. — Venezia:
Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing, 2018. — 122 pp.; 23 cm. — (Hilal; 6). — ISBN 978-88-6969-261-1.

URL <http://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/it/edizioni/libri/978-88-6969-261-1>

DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-260-4

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age

Essays on Economic and Social Connected History

edited by Anna Valerio

Abstract

In the time that goes from the 15th to the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire went through a series of transformations and a period of continuous territorial expansion that affected both the social and the economic life of the state itself, its historical trading partner Venice, as well as the once Venetian territories of Cyprus and Crete that passed into Ottoman hands respectively in the 16th and 17th centuries. The coexistence of these two great entities, Venice and the Ottoman Empire, in the Mediterranean has been emphasized several times under different perspectives. In particular, as a result of an accurate study of original and unique sources, the eight contributions of this miscellaneous volume attain the aim of giving a detailed account of the social and economic relationship between these two great empires in those years. In the first section of the volume, essays that focus on Ottoman economy and trade, based on some Venetian sources from the 15th and 16th century, along with a focus on social and political aspects within the Ottoman state, are included; the papers of the second part are, however, mainly about the newly conquered territories of Crete and Cyprus and the changes they went through in terms of their social and economic status. In other words, the present volume by means of the detailed presentations of some of the historical events pertaining to the Ottomans and Venetians show that the dynamics of their mutual relations influenced the way these two great powers learned how to live together in the neighbouring areas, trying to preserve and strengthen their own economic and social development.

Keywords Venice. Ottoman. Crete. Cyprus. Trade. Property.

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age

Essays on Economic and Social Connected History

edited by Anna Valerio

Sommario

Introduction	9
1 VENETIAN SOURCES ABOUT OTTOMAN ECONOMY AND TRADE (END OF THE 15TH-MID 16TH CENTURY)	
The Earliest Records of Income and Expenses of the Sultan Snezhana Rakova	13
A Culture of Trust Ottoman Merchants and Venetian Notaries in the Early Modern Period Maria Pia Pedani	31
The last Venetian-Byzantine Trade Agreement and Mehmed II's First Peace Agreement with Venice Iassen Vanev	49
Festivities of Curfew Centralization and Mechanisms of Opposition in Ottoman Politics, 1582-1583 Levent Kaya Ocakaçan	57
2 CRETE AND CYPRUS FROM VENETIAN TO OTTOMAN RULE	
An Ottoman Register of Venetian Candia Elias Kolovos	75
Osmanlı Egemenliği'nin İlk Yıllarında Resmo Bağları The Vineyards of Rethymno in the First Years of Ottoman Rule Ayşe Nükhet Adıyeke	85
Fatih Paşalar'ın Kendilerine Armağanı Osmanlı Girit'inde Temlik/Mülk Köyler Nuri Adıyeke	97

**Venedik Konsolosu Bernardo Caprara'nın Larnaka'da Deniz Ticari
Tařımacılıđına Dair Bazı Gzlemleri (1774-1775)**
Some Observations by Venetian Consul Bernardo Caprara
on Maritime Transportation in Larnaca (1774-1775)

zgr Oral

111

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age

Essays on Economic and Social Connected History

edited by Anna Valerio

Introduction

The present volume is a collection of some of the papers presented at the 14th International Congress of Ottoman Social and Economic History (ICOSEH) held in Sofia, 24-28 July 2017. The decision of compiling such a book is mainly due to the wish of bringing together those papers that deal with the topic of Venice and the former Venetian colonies, in particular Crete and Cyprus, which passed to the Ottoman Empire during the Early Modern Age. The book is divided into two parts. In the first one, there are the papers about Ottoman economy and trade as reported by some Venetian sources from XV and XVI century, whereas the second part presents the articles that deal with Crete and Cyprus after their conquest by the Ottoman Empire. The book aims at showing the intertwined relationships between the Venetians and the Ottomans regarding, in particular, their economic and social contacts from a wide range of events and facts which result from the extensive and accurate work of scholars carrying out their research in institutions around or near the Mediterranean regions. Essays are written in both English and Turkish language.

In the first essay, Snezhana Rakova presents some of the earliest Venetian sources containing important information about the income and expenses of the Ottoman state during the XV century, resulting in emphasizing the undeniable dominant role of Venice in Christian Europe. In the second article, Maria Pia Pedani aims at refuting ancient historiographical theories according to which Muslims excluded themselves from the international trade preferring to have Jews and Christians handle it, by providing extensive documentation that proves the presence of Ottoman merchants in Venice during the Early Modern Age. Another aspect of trade between the Ottoman state and Venice is represented by Iassen Vanev and his analysis and comparison of two inter-state commercial charters. In the last article of this first section, Levent Kaya Ocakaçan builds his argument around the strong tie between economic and social life in the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period, when the Ottoman Empire was a dynastic state with its own peculiar system and succession strategies. The narrative around the celebration of the *şehzade* and his posting describes in detail the function of dynastic strategies in determining the continuity and the 'centralization' of rule and governance by the Sultan.

Moving on to the second part of the book, the reader is introduced to the four remaining articles each covering a different aspect of the economic

and social continuity and change of Crete and Cyprus after their conquest by the Ottomans. Elias Kolovos presents the transformation of Venetian Candia into the new Ottoman Kandiye, occurred in the XVII century, by investigating the register where information about the spatial arrangement of the city under the new rule is contained. This is, however, only a preliminary study of a wider project which aims at digitalizing all the information available in the register in order to study the spatial evolution of the city. Crete and its strategic role in the trade of goods like wine, soap and olive oil across the Mediterranean make up the background of Ayşe Adıyeke's article where the author focuses in particular on the investigation of wine production and trade on the newly conquered island. Nuri Adıyeke's article is a detailed study of the registration of some villages on the island of Crete in three Ottoman surveys run respectively in 1650, 1670 and 1704. The author aims at making a comparison between these data and the ones regarding other villages in the same sources in terms of their demographic and economic structures. In conclusion, Cyprus and its commercial activities during the XVIII century is what is presented in Özgür Oral's article. In particular, it is underlined the role of the port of Larnaca in the Eastern Mediterranean for the Western world, Venice included.

This book offers the possibility to retrace the relationship between Venetians and Ottomans in terms of their economic and social history from the end of the XV until the XVIII century showing the permeability of the ruling forces of these two great empires within a continuous and changing stream.

Anna Valerio

1 Venetian Sources About Ottoman Economy and Trade (End of the 15th-Mid 16th Century)

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age

Essays on Economic and Social Connected History

edited by Anna Valerio

The Earliest Records of Income and Expenses of the Sultan

Snezhana Rakova

(South-West University “Neofit Rilski”, Bulgaria)

Abstract This paper presents in a chronological order some Venetian sources (primarily, but not only) containing data about the Ottoman state, governance, income and army. This information is analyzed and presented in the form of tables, which give us different types of revenues and expenses. It is unique for the 15th century and can be compared partially only with the contemporary ottoman written documentation. Presented here is the data from the works of Laonicos Chalkokondyles, and manuscripts of Iacopo Promontorio de Campis, a Venetian anonymous author from 1490, the Venetian *Relazione* by Alvise Sagondino from 1496 and other diplomatic reports from the first decades of the 16th century. The report of Felix Petantius from 1502 to the Hungarian king has been added to other Venetian texts, because it was edited in a different manuscript version and presented to Venice.

Keywords Laonicos Chalkokondyles. Iacopo Promontorio de Campis. Anonymous author from 1490. Venetian diplomats. Felix Petantius. Income and expenses of the Ottoman Empire.



The contribution of Venice to the knowledge of the budget of the Ottoman state is very precious, particularly for the early periods of the Ottoman history. Chronologically, this study will cover the time of the first mentions of the Sultan’s revenue in Venetian (and also in Western) sources from the middle of the 15th century to the time of the appearance of the first Ottoman sources (c. 1530).

Firstly, we have to pay tribute to the work of the great Ottomanists of the 20th century. It is to them that we owe everything we know until now about the finances of the Ottoman Empire from the 15th century. Among the most distinguished are the names of Franz Babinger, to whom we are indebted for the publishing and comments of the manuscript of Iacopo Promontorio de Campis (Babinger 1956), and to the great researcher of the Venetian Archive Nicolae Iorga for discovering many of the Venetian texts. But as far as the study of Ottoman history is concerned, first we have to note the remarkable contributions of Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Halil İnalcik to the study of the problems of economic history, and especially for illuminating the financial organization of the early Ottoman Empire. Perhaps, it is possible now to add some more details to the analysis of

Hilâl 6 e-ISSN 2610-8895 | ISSN 2610-9484

DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-260-4/002 | Submitted: 2018-01-19 | Accepted: 2018-03-10

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-260-4 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-261-1

© 2018 |   Creative Commons 4.0 Attribution alone

already well-known sources, or even to discover some new evidence and new manuscripts that have remained unknown until now.

It is not the place here to discuss the research on the Ottoman financial documentation itself, although this has been the problem of investigation of numerous scholars until recently. The research publications of Linda Darling (1996, 1997, 2008) can be mentioned as an example. On the basis of this and other studies, the important conclusions about the state of the Sultan's income are as follows: the Ottoman revenue surveys appear in the first half of the 14th century, but they only apply to some regions, usually newly conquered ones, as for example the register of the *Arvanid sandjak* from 1431, or individual cities as Thessaloniki, Istanbul etc. in the 15th century; there is no preserved general survey of the entire Empire that dates back to the 15th century (Darling 1997; Barkan [1970] 1978; Boykov 2016).

It is important therefore to turn to other sources. In his studies, Halil İnalçık has shown the importance of Western, primarily Venetian information about the income of the Empire. We could start from a general view of the Sultan's revenue, which İnalçık included in his *Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*. Until 1527 (i.e. the time of appearance of first general Ottoman surveys), we have ten reports concerning the Sultan's profit, written mostly by Western authors. The first notice on the revenue belongs to Bertrandon de la Broquière, a Bourgoundian diplomat who visited Adrianople in 1433 and reported about 2,500,000 ducats (as quoted in Babinger 1978, 26). About thirty years later the famous historian Laonicos Chalkokondyles gives us a detailed description of the revenue sources for the treasury of the Sultan, which will be discussed below. Then, Alvise Sagondino (1496), Andrea Gritti (1503), Teodoro Spandugino Cantacuscino (c. 1510), Tommaso Mocenigo (c. 1520), Marco Minio (1522), Pietro Zenò (1524) and Pietro Bragadin (1527) follow.

The well-known Genoese merchant Jacopo Promontorio de Campis can be added to the authors, included in İnalçık's list. He writes about the Ottoman state in its treaty dated 1475 and should therefore be placed among the first Western informers (see Babinger 1956). Seven of the ten authors, pointed out by İnalçık, are Venetians. If we exclude the earliest author, the above mentioned Bertrandon de la Broquiere, who shows us that the Turkish governors themselves gladly shared internal information on the revenues of the Sultan, it should be noted that the information on the Sultan's budget is present in the diplomatic reports, kept in the Venetian archive and Marciana library. The first of these diplomatic reports appeared at the very end of the 15th century. We might contemplate a bit more on the connections of two of the other informers with Venice. The famous historian Laonicos Chalkokondyles (c. 1430-1470) follows suit and we know that his cousin or brother, according to some scholars, Demetrios Chalkokondyles was a professor of Greek at the *Studio di Padova* (the university of Venice) and that Laonicos himself has had close contacts with

Italian men of letters such as Ciriaco d'Ancona. The next one is Theodore Spandounes or Spandugino, who lived for some time in Venice, and then was forced to leave for France where he died probably in 1538.

Returning to Laonicos Chalkokondyles, at first it must be noted that although he has been known to the historians for a long time, only recently we have become more aware of the quantity of information he possessed and his worldly connection with the Ottoman grandees, as well as with the Italian humanists. Now we can refer to the new edition of the Chalkokondyles's *Histories*, produced by Anthony Kaldellis three years ago with some interesting accompanying studies (Kaldellis 2012, 2014; Preiser-Kapeller 2013). Nevertheless, we owe Franz Babinger and Nicolae Iorga the illumination of the circle of Byzantine intellectuals formed around the new Sultan - Mehmed the Conqueror in Constantinople (Babinger 1978, 246-7; Iorga [1935] 1982, 55). While explaining from whom he learned about the Sultan's accounts, Chalkokondyles himself pointed out one of the padishah's secretaries, the one who was responsible for the calculations (Kaldellis 2014, 264). We are talking about one of the sons of Georgios Amiroutzes (1400-1470), a Greek nobleman from Trebizond, who became the Sultan's calligrapher.

Here are the items of the budget, pointed out in book 8 from *The Histories*: the *kharaj* (poll tax) from Europe (i.e. Rumelia), the taxes on cattle, trade, mines, rice and salt, and finally the tributes from foreign rulers, which are about 100,000 ducats (see Appendix 1). Thus, the income of the Sultan, according to Laonicos, including both what accrues to him through the Porte and to the so-called *hazine* (treasury) of the sultan, is about 4,000,000 gold pieces. Together with the revenues from the *timars* (land revenues), it reaches the incredible number of 9,000,000. As Chalkokondyles points out, the expenses of the Sultan are mainly for the salaries of the army. Speros Vryonis (1976), in his well-grounded article on this issue, published 40 years ago, calculates only the stated revenues which reach 2,300,000. It has to be noted that we have the revenue from the *kharaj* from Rumelia, 900,000 ducats, and the numbers of other revenues are pointed out for Rumelia and Anatolia together (Vryonis 1976, 425-6). Vryonis compares further the data from Chalkokondyles with the numbers reported later by Iacopo Promontorio de Campis, and also with the numbers about the amount of the *kharaj* from the Ottoman survey from 1488-89 which is stated as being 29,929,538 akces (i.e. 610,806 ducats. Exchange rate 49 akce to 1 ducat) (Vryonis 1976, 428-30).

The information from the Genoese Jacopo Promontorio de Campis from 1475 is well known from the first edition and commentary of his manuscript, written by Franz Babinger (1956) (see Appendix 2). To this famous author we owe quite detailed information about the Sultan's income and expenditure, although its accuracy can be questioned. The Genoese merchant obviously has direct information, and for the first time we have the

complete budget per items from Rumelia and Anatolia, including revenues from Constantinople, Gallipoli, Thessaloniki, Enos, etc., as well as taxes on salt production and mines. The total number of revenues is 1,831,000 ducats, and the reported expenses about the Sultan's stables, payment, *cucina* (nutrition for the court), harem, gifts and dowries, and for the fleet amounted to 1,375,000. Even if Jacopo Promontorio de Campis' manuscript is preserved in Bologna, we can hardly assume that his report ever reached Venice. It was not probably known in Venice, but 15 years later a detailed register of the Sultan's revenues and expenses was drawn up there. A two-page manuscript by an anonymous author is kept in a codex from Marino Sanudo's possessions, which is preserved in the Marciana Library. The manuscript was studied for the first time 110 years ago by Nicolae Iorga and excerpts from it are included in the second volume of his *History of the Ottoman Empire*, published in 1909, but incomplete and with many errors and missing parts (Iorga [1909] 2015, 215-18). Here we provide a full text with a new reading, both in terms of the text and the numbers of ducats derived from different sources of income (see Appendix 3 according to the original version in Italian).

The title of the text is: *Intrade del Signor Turcho de la Grexia, 1490* (Revenues of the sultan from Greece, 1490; see Appendix 3). According to the anonymous author, the revenues from Rumelia in 1490 are about two million from *kharaj*, *commerchio* (the tax on trade) including taxes from the different cities (Sofia, Thessaloniki, Philippopolis, Adrianople and Constantinople), revenues from salt, alum, inherited goods and naturally from tributes from Bosnia, Wallachia, Trebizond, Ragusa, islands etc.: in total 1,125,000 ducats (number, which differs from the author's accounting!). The revenue from Anatolia is much less, and it is derived mainly from Bursa, from the production of alum and from the copper from Kastamoni. According to our reading, it amounts to approximately 180,000. As far as the expenditures given by this author are concerned, the cost is mostly for the army: 350,000 ducats, for the palace and its janissaries, slaves, stables, and also great expenses are noted for clothing.

There are doubts about the authorship of the document containing this information. It could be ascribed to Giovanni Maria Angioiello (Vicenza 1451-c. 1525) citizen of Venice, who returned to Italy exactly in that year after many travels in the Ottoman Empire, and who had previously been the *defterdar* (treasurer) of the Sultan. According to his biography, written by Babinger, he was in Vicenza until his death (Babinger 1961; Danova 2010).

The next series of records, mentioned already at the beginning, belongs to the Venetian diplomats. Some of them knew Turkish, as is the case with the first among them: Alvise Sagondino (1496). Upon his return from the mission, Sagondino gives to the Venetian authorities quite a detailed report about the revenues of the Sultan (Bayezid II), his army and his expenses (the text of the *relazione* is in Sanuto 1879, 397-400). The

reported revenue of Bayezid is 2,400,000 ducats per year, distributed in the following way:

From kharaj	900,000
From a third of the kharaj	300,000
From all his ports [<i>scalosie</i>]	500,000
From tax on the livestock, oxen [<i>castroni</i>]	400,000
From certain donations	300,000

The Sultan spent all this revenue and had so far withdrawn 3,000,000 from his father's deposit, which had been 6,000,000, according to the hearsay.

The Venetian envoys after Sagondino were also obliged to mention the revenues to the Sultan's treasury and the army expenses, the number of the different kinds of soldiers and the number of ships. As İnalçık stated, the reports of Venetian ambassadors provided information about the Sultan's income through the years: Andrea Gritti (1503) reported 5,000,000 ducats, Tommaso Mocenigo (c. 1520) 3,130,000, Marco Minio (1522) 3,000,000, Pietro Zeno (1524) 4,500,000, Pietro Bragadin (1527) 4,500,000 only for central treasury.

We shall not deal with this in detail, but it would be necessary to point out that we owe Maria Pia Pedani the discovery and publishing of some *relazioni* (ambassadors' reports), which have been unknown so far (Pedani-Fabris 1996). The ones of Tommaso Contarini from 1522 and Tommaso Mocenigo from 1530 are especially important, because they directly report the Sultan's budget. They provide detailed and very precise information on the specific types of revenue from Rumelia and Anatolia (Contarini 1996, 39; Mocenigo 1996, 43-4) (cf. Appendix 5). Extremely valuable in this case is the fact that their information can be compared to the first Ottoman general surveys. The report of Tommaso Contarini from 1522, for example, points out the total of 6,202,500 ducats of revenues. In his turn Tommaso Mocenigo reported a revenue of 6,240,000 ducats, gathered from salt mines, mines and livestock pastures in *Gretia* (i.e. Rumelia) and from trade taxes, possessions, property fees, fishponds – a total of half a million ducats from Europe; from the same sources in Anatolia the amount of revenue is half as low (750,000 ducats); only from the kharaj the income amounts to 2,300,000 and the expenses, primarily for the army, are about five million (Mocenigo 1996, 43-4).

On the other hand, as İnalçık points out, in 1528 the state revenue is 9,650,000 in Venetian ducats (İnalçık 1973, 116 without source quotation).

Finally, we would like to conclude with a text from 1502 which brings to our knowledge the sultan's revenues. It was not written by a Venetian, but by a Hungarian diplomat. Nevertheless its appearance is related to Venice. The manuscript has not been published yet, as far as we know. This is an

autograph of Felix Petantius (known as Felix Raguzinus and Felix Petančić, 1455-1522) written in Latin. In 1501-1502 Petančić was carrying out an important mission as an envoy of the Hungarian king. He passed through the Turkish lands, visited Rhodes and Venice in his travel back, and in the end presented to his king two valuable manuscripts. One of them has been known to the historians for a long time – it was studied and published by Agostino Pertusi – *Quibus itineribus Turci sint aggrigendi* (The Roads on which it is possible to go towards the Turks), but the second one is almost unknown. Petančić can be trusted, because he was among the few diplomats of his time who knew Turkish and probably had access to the right information (Pertusi 1970, 490; Rakova 2014).

The manuscript presented here is named *Genealogy of the Turkish Sultans*, and it is preserved in Budapest ¹(see Appendix 4). As it was conceived, it aimed to present the succession order of the Ottoman sultans, the principal governors even with their images, the structure of the Ottoman government and the composition of the army, and also arrange the collected data in clear order. It is also obvious that this manuscript was meant to be looked through, not published. We will mention here only the part with the statistics.

The revenues are given separately for Rumelia and Anatolia: 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 ducats respectively. The author also gives the number of the households in the two parts of the Empire: 80,000 Christian and 50,000 Turkish for Rumelia, and, a total of 1,600,000 Christian and Turkish for Anatolia (this numbers can be contested, cf. Boykov 2016). The sultan's treasury revenue is said to come from taxes, inheritance, taxation on cattle, trade with salt, copper and other metals, taxation on agricultural produce, custom taxes, etc. The expenditures of the Empire are chiefly for payment of daily rations and money for the army, but the author does not indicate the sums. In fact, we are able to identify the possible source of the part of the information that relates to the revenue of the Ottoman Empire: *La Relazione* by Alvise Sagondino.

The Venetian connection is expressed in the presence of a special manuscript by Petančić, left in the Venetian archive, now in Correr Library.² It also has not been published yet, but it presents a version of the previous one already commented here, although it does not give specific numbers for the revenues, but only lists them by items. The total sum given is 4,000,000. Its title and incipit are *Felicis Petantii Ragusei. Commentarium de Rebus Turcharu[m] ad Wladislaum Regem / Felix Petantius Raguseus ad Ser[enissimu]m Wladislau[m] hungarie et Boemie Regem.*

1 Budapest, National Library, cod. lat. 378. URL <http://www.corvina.oszk.hu/corvina/html/hublcodlat378.htm> (2018-02-22).

2 Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Correr 894, 7 folios' *recto/verso*).

There are some opportunities for further research that could arise from what has been mentioned so far. The individual items of the sultan's revenues, reported by the various authors could be compared. They can be systematized according to the three extant in all the authors sections: Rumelia's revenue, Anatolia's income, and the revenues from vassal tributary states. It can also be summed up both on the increase in revenue by individual items and on the general trend of revenue growth for the sultan's treasury. The Venetian reports could be juxtaposed and verified with the help of the present Ottoman sources – for the period until 1502, as well as for the next one, after the full registers of the revenues of the Ottoman Empire got revealed.

Three of the sources presented and commented here for the first time are preserved as manuscripts in the Marciana Library, Library of Correr Museum, and in Budapest. Without any doubt they contain valuable and reliable information. They are the earliest evidence of revenues and expenditures in the Ottoman Empire – hence the role of Venice as an information hub for Christian Europe is once again unconditionally confirmed.

Appendixes

Appendix 1 The revenues of the sultan by Chalkokondyles, c. 1465

Source: Kaldellis 2014, Book 8, 256-71, here presented as quotations from the text; cf. Vryonis 1976, 425-6

1	Tribute (= kharaj) from Europe (= Rumelia)	~ 900,000 ducats
2	one tenth upon income from the Turks and from the others	?
3	The tax called <i>bastina</i> (patrimony)	?
4	The tax on sheep pasturage	?
5	Beyond the tribute, there are many special fees that are assigned to the sultan throughout Europe and Asia, generated by horses, camels, mules, and oxen	~ 300,000 gold pieces
6	In addition, the sultan generates substantial income from his tenants	250,000
7	The sultan's herds of horses, camels, and mules, which are from pastures throughout his realm, generate	~ 50,000
8	Other revenues	200,000
9	From trade, ferries, metals, rice, copper, alum, and one-fifth tax on slaves	~ 200,000
10	From metals	~ 100,000
11	From rice, in sultan's farms, and the sultan's other regular revenues	~ 200,000
12	Tributes	~ 100,000
In total: ~ 4,000,000 ducats		

Appendix 2 The revenues of the sultan by Jacopo Promontorio de Campis, 1475 (in Italian)
Source: Babinger 1956; Zattoni 2006

Revenues from Rumelia		Revenues from Anatolia	
Focatico Europa	850,000 from fuochi 550,000	Dazio Saruchan, Ajdyn, Mentesi	32,000
Gabella (shiavi di prede)	50,000	Dazio Alanya	12,000
Dazio Costantinopoli	70,000	Focea vecchia (allume + focatico)	20,000
Dazio Gallipoli	9,000	Dazio Brussa	50,000
Saline Europa	92,000	Dazio Kastamonu	150,000
Doni, doti ecc.	200,000	Dazio Trebisonda	10,000
Zecca	123,000	Dazio e saline Caffa	10,000
Miniere Europa	120,000	Totale Karaman	35,000
Dazio Enos	11,000	Saline Asia	12,000
Dazio Salonicco	2,500		
Dazio Negroponte	12,500		
Dazio Morea	31,500		
DazioValona	1,500		
Tassa sui grani Europa	20,000		
Dazio Sofia	1,000		
Dazio Adrianopoli	12,000		
Zingari Europa	9,000		
Balnei Europa	8,000		
Gabella riso	15,000		
Dazio bestiame	10,000		
Tributo Valacchia, Venezia, Chio	Each one 10,000 30,000		
Tributo Ragusa	20,000		
Totale Europa	1,469,000	Totale Asia	331,000

Expenditures

Spese	Ducati
Stalle	100,000
Salari	550,000
Cucina	125,000
Harem	100,000
Doni, doti ecc.	200,000
Flotta	300,000
Totale spese	1,375,000

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age, 13-30

Appendix 3 Venetian Anonymous, 1490 (in Italian)

Source: Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. it. cl. VI, c. 277 (=5806), f. 169v-170r (transliteration and explanations of terms by Maria Pia Pedani)

+ Intrade del Signor Turcho de la Grexia, 1490. In primis	
Cargi di cristiani, iudei, chaxe 29 mila de casali 600. Li altri non pagano per frenchixie per diversi modi. Non messe lor summe. Pagano l'uno per l'altro mezo a l'anno	duc. 500 mila
Saline uno ano per l'altro	duc. 96 mila
La Servia con li chargi infertuti in tutto val	duc. 76 mila
Schali de Chonstantinopoli Galipoli	duc. 42 mila
Argentture sue in diversi logi	duc. 56 mila
Chanpi grexi	duc. 130 mila
Chomerchi de Sofia, Servia, Salonichi, Filipopoli, Antrinopoli et Chonstantinopoli et altri passi in diverssi logi, val	duc. 96 mila
Chomerchi in diversi logi de chastroni	duc. 16 mila
Comercio de li homeni morti senza eredi vano al Signor	duc. 20 mila
Caragi de Bosgne che dal quondam Stefano era ducati 8 mila, in summa	duc. 18 mila
Caragi de la Valachia altha	duc. 17 mila
Caragi de la Valachia bassa	duc. 6 mila
Trabesonde ducati 3 mila, Chafe ducati 3 mila, in summa	duc. 6 mila
Samastro [Amastris], Sinopi, in tutto	duc. 16 mila
Afonia [Avlonya, Valona] con chasteli do in Albania	duc. 3 mila
L'ixola de Mettelin	duc. 6 mila
Negroponte con più logi	duc. 25 mila
Sio de tributo	duc. 12 mila
Rhaguxi de tributo	duc. 14 mila

Intrade de Turchia	
Burssa, passo prexo giuso de montagne	duc. 16 mila
Comerchi presi in Altlogi [Altoluogo / Aydin] in summa	duc. 29 mila
Comerchi de chastrioni con altre intrade de insule	duc. 10 mila
Saline de Turchia	duc. 12 mila
Argentture de Turchia	duc. 10 mila
Alume uno anno per l'altro	duc. 50 mila
Rhami de Chastamoni	duc. 50 mila
summa	ducati 1 196 mila
	810 mila
resto val	ducati 386 mila

Le spese del Signor Turcho per uno anno

Soldatti pagadi de de fora del Seragio, da pagare 25 mila axpri a chalvalo	duc. 300 mila
Scudieri, zasci [çavuş (envoy)], metegi [<i>mehter</i> (members of a musical band)]	duc. 48 mila
bostanci [<i>bostancı</i> (member of imperial guard)], garzoni, aufalci [ulufeci (paid soldier)], sufai [<i>sipahi</i> (cavalry soldier)]	
Dentro del Seraio che son putti 200 con sui monechi [<i>eunuchi</i> (eunuchs)]	duc. 17 mila
El Seraio de le done con li monechi [<i>eunuchi</i>]	duc. 68 mila
Schiavi adentro del Seraio spexe	duc. 20 mila
La gente del Segnor dento che sia per esser giovan	duc. 50 mila
Ale sue stale de chavali, muli, gambeli	duc. 80 mila
L'ordinario de le spexe de pavioni et toleri et cetera	duc. 10 mila
Del vestir de ganiseri de sargi tezute [<i>stoffe tessute</i> (woven fabrics)]	duc. 28 mila
Del vestir de la chorte del Signor de pani de lana de lin	duc. 24 mila
Del vestir de la chorte de pani de seta et cetera	duc. 50 mila
Del vestir de pelo de la chorte	duc. 20 mila
Pani de seta de Burssa et de altri paexi in Persse et cetera	duc. 60 mila
Diversse chosse de cetero chel chaso tole	duc. 10 mila
Prexenti de el Signor, un ano per l'altro	duc. 25 mila

summa	duc. 810 mila
--------------	----------------------

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age, 13-30

Appendix 4a. Felix Petančić, 1502 (in Latin)

Source: Budapest, National Library, cod. lat. 378

Genealogia Turcor[um] imperator[um] lex imperii Domo militiaeque habita dedicata Ser[enissimo Principi Voladislauo Hungarie Bohemie & C[roatie]. Regi gloriosissimo.

[f. 4] PROVENTUS EVROPE.

De.cccccc.M [80,000] domor[um] que sunt in europa x[risti]anor[um]/ a duc[atibus] duob[us] usq[ue] a duc[atibus].x. soluentiu[m] tributu[m] habe[n]t /	.i[d est] M.[ili]on VC M[il]a [1,500,000]
De domib[us].cccc. ^M Turcor[um]	CC M[ila] L M[ila] [250,000]
De Sale quod consumitur	CC. M[ila] [200,000]
De decimis & sicla argenti	CC. M[ila]. x x [220,000]
De pasculis grossor[um] animaliu[m] & minoru[m]	CC. M[ila] [200,000]
De piscib[us] salitis Maris et fluuior[um]	CC. M[ila] [200,000]
De omnibus fructibus terre	CCCC. M[ila] [50,000]
De censu moree epyrri moldouiae Scij & Rhag[usi].	LXX [70,000]
De hereditatib[us] mortuor[um]	LXXX. [80,000]
De omnibus scalogijs [?] i [d est] datijs	CCCC. M[ila] [500,000]
De passu gallipolitano	CL. M[ila] [150,000]

PROVENTVS ASIE.

De uno Miol ^{on} [milion].cccc. ^M Domor[um] x[risti]anor[um] & Turcor[um] i[n] Asia/ existentium habet	.II. Milion. [2,000,000]
De decimis Animalium grossor[um] & minor[um]	.CCCCC. M[ila] [600,000]
De datijs mercantiar[um]	CXX. M[ila] [120,000]
De allumine Rocce	C M[ila] [100,000]
De Bombice & Risio	CCCC M[ila] [400,000]
De Cupro Castamonie	CC M[ila] [200,000]
De serico Burscie	C. M[ila] [100,000]
De censu q[uod] habet a Charamam sinope sinisso anguri finica/ Candeloro Chapha & de alijs satrapis maioribus et mi- noribus	CL M[ila] [150,000]

EXITVS IMPER[ATORIS].

Stipendia Spahiolan[is ?] soluphtar Capici Solaki etc.
quottidiana sunt ista vzt[videlicet] ab uno floreno ad mediu[m]
uiritim data. J[us]ta[?] Janiciarior[um] stipendia viritim
data sunt ista vzt[videlicet] maiora.XXV. asprar[um] uel circa
minora vero quatuor asprar[um]. Que vniuersa acce-
dunt ad summa[m] annuam ducatorum.

Appendix 4b. Felix Petančić, 1502 Second version (in Latin)

Source: Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Correr 894

[f. 4r/v]... Ex universa itaque summa domus in Jmperio suo existente tam Christianorum quam turcharum, et aliarum nationu[m] que viritim pendunt tributum singulis annis Jtem ex fodinis auri et argenti ferri plumbi / et aliorum metalloru[m] ac ex Sÿcla monetarum tam in Romania quam in Anatolia: Jtem ex [ceteris] fodinis in Chestemoni, et ex fodinis aluminis in Anatolia: Jtem ex bombice oriza. et ex vectigalibus Serici in bursia. Item ex piscibus salitis tam Maritimis quam fluvialibus: Jtem ex redditibus salium [salinam?] tam in Romania quam in Anatolia. Jtem ex decimis et pascuis cunctorum aigalium: Jtem ex omnibus fructibus et ceteris terre nascentijs: Jtem ex portiorijs in Anatolia, et ex scalogijs in Romania.i.[in] doanis siue uectigalibus: Jtem ex tractu Gallipolitano, et aliorum locorum Jtem ex hereditatibus mortuorum qn[?] ex deffectu propinquorum deuolunt[ur?] bona ad Jmpereatoris: Jtem ex tributo variarum urbium que sunt in Romania.i.[in] Morea, Epyro, Moldouia, scio Calogero[?], et Rhagusio: similiter ex urbibus et provincijs que sunt in Anatolia.i.[in] a Charaman, Sÿnope, Symisso. anguri finica, Caneloro, Capha, et alijs satrapis maioribus vel minoribus habet circiter quadrigessies centena milia numerorum aurorum [4,000,000]...

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age, 13-30

Appendix 5. Tommaso Contarini, 1522 (in Italian)

Source: Contarini 1996, 39 [194v]: *Intrade del Signor Turcho*

Carazo ducati	1,500,000
Bestiame	1,000,000
Menere	900,000
Comerchi	700,000
Sali	500,000
Cassi	-
Legno	100,000
Beitumazi	100,000
Passi	500,000
Peschiere	500,000
Cecha	300,000
censi Bogdan ducati	60,000
Ulacco	12,000
Ragusi	12,000
Syo	10,000
Cypro	8,000
Zante	500

Which results in total (not summed by the author): 6,202,500 ducats

Bibliography

- Babinger, Franz (1956). "Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio - de Campis über den Osmanenstaat". *Sitzungsberichte / Bayerische Akademie der Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, Heft 8, 29-95. URL <http://publikationen.badw.de/008523748.pdf> (2018-02-22)
- Babinger, Franz (1961). s.v. "Angiolello, Giovanni Maria". *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 3. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 275-278. URL [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-maria-angiolello_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-maria-angiolello_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (2018-02-22)
- Babinger, Franz (1978). *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*. Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press.
- Barkan, Omer Lütfi [1970] (1978). "Research of the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys". Michael Allan Cook (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 163-71.
- Beldiceanu, Nicoara (1960). *Les Actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la bibliothèque Nationale à Paris I. Actes de Mehmet II et de la Bayezid II du MS. Fonds turc ancien 39*. Paris: Mouton.
- Bertrandon de la Broquière (1848). "The travels of Bertrandon de la Broquière". Wright, T. (ed.), *Early travels in Palestine*. London: Henry G. Bohn, 283-382.
- Boykov, Grigor (2016). "The Human Cost of Warfare: Population Loss during the Ottoman Conquest and the Demographic History of Bulgaria in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Era". Schmitt, Oliver Jens (ed.), *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Interpretations and Research Debates*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 103-66. *Sitzungsberichte / Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 872.
- Contarini, Tommaso (1996). "Sommario della relazione". Pedani-Fabris 1996, 35-9.
- Danova, Penka (2010). "Giovan-Marija Angiolello i negovoto opisane na Konstantinopol (sl. 1147 g.)" Джован-Мария Анджолело и неговото описание на Константинопол (сл. 1477 г.) (Giovanni Maria Angiolello and his description of Constantinople [after the year 1447]). *Istorichesko budeshte* Историческо бъдеще (Historical future), 1-2, 211-36.
- Darling, Linda T. (1996). *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*. The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage. Politics, Society and Economy 6. Leiden: Brill.
- Darling, Linda T. (1997). "Ottoman Fiscal Administration: Decline or Adaptation?" *Journal of European Economic History*, 26(1), 157-79.
- Darling, Linda T. (2008). "The Development of Ottoman Governmental Institutions in the Fourteenth Century: A Reconstruction". Costantini,

- Vera; Koller, Markus (eds.), *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community: Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi*. Leiden: Brill, 17-34.
- Dimitrov, Stefan (2015). "Transformation of the Byzantine Adrianople into the Ottoman Edirne". *Études balkaniques*, 51(4), 111-50.
- İnalçık, Halil (1973). *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age. 1300-1600*. London: Phoenix.
- İnalçık, Halil (1994). "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600". İnalçık, Halil; Quataert, Donald (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 9-409.
- İnalçık, Halil (2007). "The Ottoman Survey of 1455". *The Conquest and Istanbul in 550th Anniversary*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1-10.
- İnalçık, Halil. (2012). *The Survey of Istanbul 1455: The Text, English Translation, Analysis of the Text, Documents*. Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.
- Iorga, Nicolae [1935] (1982). *Byzance après Byzance. Continuation de l'histoire de la vie byzantine*. Bucarest; Paris: Institut d'études byzantines; Édition Balland.
- Iorga, Nicolae [1909] (2015). *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, Zweiter Band Bis 1538*. Paderborn: Europaisches Geschichtsverlag.
- Kaldellis, Anthony (2012). "The Greek Sources of Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Histories". *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 52, 738-65. URL <http://grbs.library.duke.edu/article/download/14641/3791> (2018-08-31).
- Kaldellis, Anthony (2014). *The Histories. Laonikos Chalkokondyles*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Mocenigo, Tommaso (1996). "Tommaso Mocenigo, ambasciator. Sommario della relazione". Pedani-Fabris 1996, 435-45.
- Pedani Fabris, Maria Pia (1996). *Relazioni inedite. Costantinopoli (1508-1789)*. Vol. 14 di *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato*. Padova: Aldo Ausilio editore - Bottega d'Erasmus.
- Pertusi, Agostino (1970). "I primi studi in Occidente sull'origine e la potenza dei turchi". *Studi veneziani*, 12, 465-552.
- Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes (2013). "Laonicus Chalcocondyles". Thomas, David; Mallett, Alexander (eds.), *1350-1500*. Vol. 5 of *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*. Leiden: Brill, 481-9.
- Rakova, Snezhana (2014). "Felix Petančić, Buda i Venezija: interesat kam Osmanskata imperija v nacaloto na XVI vek" Феликс Петанчич, Буда и Венеция: интересът към Османската империя в началото на XVI век (Felix Petancic, Buda and Venice: the interest in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 16th century). "Balkanite i svetat" Балканите и светът (The Balkans and the World: modus concurrandi). Monogr. no., *Studia balcanica*, 30, 241-50.

- Rakova, Snezhana (2015-16). "Between the Sultan and the Doge: Diplomats and Spies in the Time of Suleyman the Magnificent". *CAS Working Paper Series (Centre for Advanced Study Sofia)*, 8, 3-35.
- Sanuto, Marino (1879). *I diarii*, vol. 1. Venezia: A spese degli editori.
- Vryonis, Speros (1976). "Laonikos Chalkokondyles and the Ottoman Budget". *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 7, 423-32.
- Zattoni, Piero (2006). "Le forze militari ottomane secondo Jacopo da Promontorio". *Bizantinistica. Rivista di studi slavi e bizantini*, 2a serie, 8, 305-30.

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age

Essays on Economic and Social Connected History

edited by Anna Valerio

A Culture of Trust

Ottoman Merchants and Venetian Notaries in the Early Modern Period

Maria Pia Pedani

(Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Abstract The aim of this paper is to study the presence of Ottoman merchants in Venice in the Early Modern Age. The Ottoman shipping partnership as well as the Venetian *commenda* were based on the *mudarebe* (classical Islamic shipping partnership) and several examples of this kind of partnerships may be found even between Christians and Muslims. Notarial deeds were above all proxies and often give information on merchants, their number and even their private life. Some of them were agents but there were also family companies and Ottoman grandees who were involved in international trade. Communities of merchants both in Istanbul and in Venice were also sometimes created. Last but not least, these sources contain also some examples of insurance made by Muslims to protect their goods. In general in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Ottoman merchants who traded in Venice were not alone, but they could refer to a real commercial network. Ancient historiographical theories say that in the Early Modern Age Ottoman Muslims were not interested in international trade and that they left it completely in Christian and Jewish hands, however documents tell us a completely different story, a story of contacts, exchanges, and even confidence and friendship.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Peace Agreements and Ottoman Merchants in Venice. – 3 Commercial Partnerships. – 4 Ottoman Merchants. – 5 A Community of Merchants. – 6 Insurances. – 7 Life and Death in Venice. – 8 Conclusion.

Keywords Ottoman merchants. Venetian notaries. Ottoman Economic History. Commercial partnerships history. Insurances history.



1 Introduction

After Paolo Preto's book (1975) and Giorgio Vercellin's (1979, 1980) and Cemal Kafadar's (1986) papers, many scholars (cf. for instance Köse 2010) dealt with the presence of Muslim merchants in Venice, their number, the places where they lived, the goods they used to sell and buy, the interpreters and the brokers who helped them. Even the petitions they made to the government to solve the problems they had to face in a foreign land were studied. Few scholars, however, were interested in the commercial networks they belonged to, in the private deeds they made, in the devices

Hilâl 6 e-ISSN 2610-8895 | ISSN 2610-9484

DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-260-4/003 | Submitted: 2018-01-19 | Accepted: 2018-03-10

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-260-4 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-261-1

© 2018 |   Creative Commons 4.0 Attribution alone

they used to live and trade in a land where no *kadı* was available. This paper aims to be a first approach to a study of this kind, made obviously on scattered news, found in the most different archival sources discovered in about forty years of study. By drawing upon such a far unknown rich archival documentation, it examines the economic practices that generated, established, shaped, and maintained a culture of trust, which formed the very foundation of the Veneto-Ottoman commerce.

2 Peace Agreements and Ottoman Merchants in Venice

Since 1416 the *ahidnames* (peace agreement) established reciprocal rights for Ottoman and Venetian merchants who traded between the two countries. These documents were not unilateral grants (*berat*), derived from the idea of safe-conduct (*aman*), as those issued by the sultan for Dutch, French and English merchants in the following centuries. They were real bilateral agreements, derived from a truce (*hudna*), and the two rulers swore two documents alike (Theunissen 1998; Pedani 1996, 2017; van den Boogert 2005).

The 1453 agreement clearly stated that Ottoman merchants had to pay the same custom duties as the Venetians did, but in the 15th century the sultan's subjects who reached Venice were very few. Their number began to increase in the 16th century when they discovered the potentiality of the Rialto market. In July 1504, for instance, a certain Davud arrived with three boxes full of goods. He said that they belonged to the sultan and asked to avoid duties on them. The Ottoman ambassador Ali bey, who was in Venice in those days, did not know anything about him. Venetians, however, decided to believe Davud's words and exempted him from any taxation.¹

Other scattered news about Muslim merchants in Venice can be found. In 1507 three Venetian prostitutes were punished because they had had intercourse with Turks, despite the law that prohibited these practices. This fact shows that Muslims were present in that period and could freely wander around the city (Preto 1975, 127-8; Sanuto 1879-1903, vol. 7, 115; Molmenti 1927, 468). In 1518 a merchant, the tanner Ayas, wanted to reach Venice with 8 packs (*soma*) of leathers and 4 packs of sheepskins but he was made slave in Traù (Trogir) and set free only after the payment of 250 ducats. During that time the merchant Hasan Hüseyin left Venice by a Venetian ship but near Dulcigno (Ulcinj) it was attacked and the fabrics he had with him were brought to San Nicolò di Bari. Other Ottoman merchants from Negroponte (Eğriboz/Eubèa) too were robbed while they were travelling on Venetian ships. Besides Muslims, even the sultan's Christian

1 Venezia, Archivio di Stato (ASVe), *Senato, Deliberazioni, Segrete*, reg. 40, c. 44v.

subjects were involved in international trade. For instance Giacomo Ralli from Constantinople looked for a passage on a Venetian ship at Cattaro (Kotor) but he was robbed by the captain of 25,000 *akçes* (500 ducats), some precious stones and other goods.²

In this period the foreign merchants who wanted to trade in Venice had to use brokers. They often did not know the Italian language and could be easily swindled by tricksters. Thus, in 1534 the Venetian authorities established that all the transactions with Turks had to be made in the presence of the interpreter Girolamo Civran, who had been Muslim, had studied in a *medrese*, and was an official of the ducal chancellery. From this moment onwards Ottoman merchants had to pay the same duties of the Venetians but also a special tax of 3 % due to the interpreter (Pedani, forthcoming).³

Venetian notarial deeds show also other peculiar practices used by Ottoman merchants. In Venice they had no possibility to make a deed in front of a *kadı*, but they could ask to a Venetian notary to make a deed *alla usanza turchesca* (according to the Turkish custom). On 2 January 1561 two Ottoman subjects, the Christian Greek Jacob Alexopoulos from Trebisonda (Trabzon) and the Turk from Istanbul Veli *reis*, went to the notary Rocco de' Benedetti. They wanted to make a commercial partnership. Alexopoulos risked his money and goods in the affaire while Veli *reis* risked his *karamusal* (Ottoman boat). The deed was made *segondo il costume che si tiene in Turchia fra turchi et sudditi del Turco* (according to the custom of Turkey and of the sultan's subjects).⁴

3 Commercial Partnerships

The most widespread Islamic and Ottoman partnership was the *mudarebe*, on which the European *commenda* was based. A rich merchant entrusted his money or merchandise to an agent (*mudarib*) who traded for him and gave him back a previously agreed-upon share of the profits. As a reward the agent received the remaining share. Any loss that could result from a dangerous journey or an unsuccessful business was shouldered by the investor while the other could lose only his time or efforts. This was the most important kind of business partnership practiced in the Ottoman Empire (Çizakça 1996, 4-6).

It is probable that between the 16th and the 18th century in Venice too, several merchants were agents who traded in the name and with the money of investors who remained in Istanbul or other places of the empire.

2 ASVe, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Secrete*, reg. 47, cc. 153v-159.

3 ASVe, *Collegio Notatorio*, reg. 22, vv. 153v-154.

4 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, b. 429, cc. 4v-5. Thanks to Mauro Bondioli for this reference.

Some notarial deeds hint to this fact. For instance, in 1542 the *divan-i hümayun tercumanı* Yunus bey had a share in the goods stored in a shop (*volta*) in Rialto after the death of Hoca Süleyman Cevheri, a dealer in jewels as his name explains,⁵ while in 1588 Hüseyin (*Issaim*) from Bosnasaray (Sarajevo) was Hacı Sinan's agent and the whole merchandise he had with him belonged to the investor.⁶ In 1589 the sultan asked the doge to give to Hacı Yusuf, who spoke in the name of Mehmed and Heva, sons and heirs of the merchant Kara Hacı from Uskup (Skopje), the goods and money left by his two agents Ahmed and Hürrem bin Abdullah, both having died in Venice (Pedani Fabris 1994, no. 988).⁷ These kinds of affairs often came to light if either the agent or the investor died and several deeds were required to deliver money and goods to the heirs. For instance, in 1625 Hacı Resul died in Istanbul and the *defterdar* Mehmed wrote a letter to the doge for this reason (Mumcu 2013, no. 438).⁸ According to Eric Dursteler a large scale merchant, called Resul *ağa* or *sipahi*, was active in the first twenty years of the 17th century. His own account book testifies that he used to send annually between Venice and Istanbul 550 bolts of camlets, 40 bales of silk, 200 bales of wax, other goods, and 20,000 ducats in cash (Dursteler 2002, 114). We do not know if Resul *ağa* of the house of the *müfti* of Cyprus Saat *efendi*, quoted in two Venetian documents (Pedani 2010b, nos. 608, 612), the *ağa/sipahi* and Hacı Resul were the same person even if it was very probable.

The Ottoman shipping partnership too was based on the classical *mu-darebe*. The captain's services could be rewarded by paying a fee but sometimes he too was one of the members of the society. The crew was also either paid or had a share in profits and losses. This kind of partnership usually consisted of three or four partners and their shares were divided into 40 parts (Çizakça 1996, 88-91, 128). Some Venetian notarial deeds make reference to societies of this kind, in particular three affairs that deal with the sale of ships. In 1636 Bayram *reis* (captain) from Istanbul, Osman *beşe* from Terranova in Albania, a small village on the Drin river (probably a janissary according to his title) and Karim (*Chierin*) Çelebi from the Tophane in Istanbul, sold the vessel called *Le tre lune* to Lorenzo Tetta but some days later they cancelled the sale and sold it again to Pietro Bevilacqua and Hasan Çelebi from Modone (Moton). They acted *in solidum* and each of them had a share of one third. They also promised to give to the buyers the *hüccet* (*kadı's* deed) that testified it had been sold to them

5 ASVe, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Secrete*, reg. 62, cc. 14r-v.

6 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, reg. 3359, cc. 281v-282.

7 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 8, No. 988.

8 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 251, reg. 335, cc. 25 a-b.

by Sarı Yusuf in Algiers. Part of the money had been already given to them to pay the mariners who had clearly no share in the partnership. The partners were called *patroni et parcenevoli* in the text, that is to say captains (*reis* in Ottoman) and owners of the ship (Pedani 2008, 3-21).⁹ Another deed dates back to 30 October 1641. This time Murad *reis* Umorovich and Süleyman Hacı Mehmedovich from Castelnuovo (Hersek Nova) *in solidum* sold the vessel called *La Madonna di Sabioncello* that they had bought in Ragusa (Dubrovnik) to Pietro Bevilacqua and Gabriele Martinelli.¹⁰ Both sales were made by means of a Venetian notary and it is interesting to note that no broker was present in both even though, in the first affair, it is clearly written that the sellers must pay the tax for the brokers. The third deed was made in 1567. Three Muslim and Christian sailors, Teodorino Presoleni from Corfu, Ahmed from Crete and Draco from Chania (Canea) contested a contract made with the captain Cafer *reis* from Genoa: they said that they deserved more than the 15 gold *scudi* given to each other member of the crew. The crew was made of 57 mariners and each of them was paid with a share of the profits.¹¹

Other partnerships existed in the Ottoman world. There was the *mu-fawada* where the two partners were equal, and they could deal with the whole capital even if the invested amounts and the subsequent profits could be different. Then, there was the *inan* (*muşaraka*) where each partner could invest different amounts and the profits could also be distributed in different shares according not only to the investments but also to the reputation of each partner. On the contrary, the losses were assigned according to each party's investment. Lastly the *vüch* was established when the partners had no money and had to find capital even if they had a good reputation as traders (Çizakça 1996, 6-9).

It is difficult to understand which kind of partnership Ottoman merchants who traded in Venice preferred since their societies were established before they left. We can, however, discover family partnerships where two members of the same family shared the work and the capital. This was the case of Pir Kaya bin Binyad from Harput in Anatolia and his brother, Hacı Kara, who died in Venice; in 1615 he went to Istanbul where he received a *hüccet* by the vice-*kadı* Mehmed bin Hacı İlias that stated that he and his nephews Mustafa and Fatime were Hacı Kara's heirs (Mumcu 2013, no. 190).¹² In 1628 Mehmed Çelebi Basdaro from Terranova sold 19 sacks of wool that his father Hüseyin bey Basdaro embarked in Durazzo.

9 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, reg. 11,000, cc. 255-256, 264v-265, 271v, 275v-278, 306-309, 327v-328.

10 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, b. 2940, cc. 182-183.

11 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, b. 3280, cc. 580r-580v, 586v-587v, 588v-591v. Thanks to Mauro Bondioli for this reference.

12 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 250, reg. 331, cc. 11 a-b.

Sometimes, the money used by merchants involved in Venetian trade had been borrowed from pious foundations and fund administrated by guardians on behalf of their orphan wards. These foundations clearly were cash *vakf* whose endowed capital was only “transferred” to borrowers; after a certain period, usually a year, it was returned to the *vakf* plus a certain extra-amount, which was then spent for all sorts of pious or social purposes. In this way it was possible to remain within the law and avoid the charge of usury. It has been also proved that the bulk of their credits went to small-scale consumers rather than to capital pooling entrepreneurs, at least for the Bursa zone (Çizakça 1996, 131-4). On the contrary, a research based on Venetian documents shows that the Bosnian cash *vakf* could finance with major trade capital and lend almost all their capital to a few merchants who could borrow from many institutions at the same time. In the ordinary *mudaraba* partnership losses of capital, due to acts of God or third parties, was the responsibility of the investor alone while the agent could lose only his labour and time but when the money of a cash *vakf* was involved it had to be refunded by the borrower, no matter what had happened on the journey (Faroqhi 2014, 84-5; 2004, 225-39; 2016, 41-2). This explains why the merchants involved in such a situation did everything in their power to recover the losses. They made petitions (*arz*) to the sultan as the merchants from Bosnia who left Venice and were attacked by Uskoks pirates in 1588 (Stefini 2015, 153-76; Ortega 2014, 74-5).

Other examples of money borrowed from cash *vakf* can be found in Venetian documents, besides the Bosnian merchants attacked by Uskoks in 1588. For instance in 1591 the Senate gave back to Hacı Yusuf 2,600 ducats belonging to orphans left by two Ottoman merchants who had died in Venice.¹³ In 1617 other merchants from Bosnia were attacked by the Spanish fleet in the Adriatic and they asked the sultan to send a *çavuş*, Mustafa, to Venice to try to recover their properties most of which had been borrowed from pious institutions and fund administrated by guardians (Pedani Fabris 1994, no. 1214).¹⁴

4 Ottoman Merchants

Notarial deeds usually specify if the Ottoman merchants knew Italian or not because in this case an interpreter was required. Thus, there were persons who spoke Italian, such as Murad *reis* Umorovich and Süleyman Hacı Mehmedovich from Castelnuovo (Hersek Nova) (1641)¹⁵ and the 39

13 ASVe, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Costantinopoli*, reg. 8, c. 31v.

14 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 11, no. 1214.

15 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, b. 2940, cc. 182-183.

Turks and 6 Greeks who signed together a deed in 1628¹⁶ (*ad annum*, with the merchants' seals). On the contrary, others did not speak Italian and the interpreters could be brokers, inhabitants of Venice, captains of ships or even other Ottoman subjects.¹⁷ Most deeds were proxies and the attorney too could be a broker, the captain of a ship, another Christian or Muslim Ottoman subject or even a Venetian. Religion was of no importance in this case and the proxies were based above all on how much the chosen person was reliable and trustful.

The partnerships were usually made among Ottoman Muslims but some of them could involve also Christian Greeks, Jews or even Persians. For instance, in 1583 Hacı Ahmed arrived in Venice with a Persian partner, Ali, who, at a certain point, decided to convert to Christianity. Thus, the whole capital, that reached the sum of 5,500 piastre plus some goods, was seized by the Venetian officials. Only after many petitions and appeals did Hacı Ahmed succeed in getting all the money back (Pedani Fabris 1994, nos. 927, 929).¹⁸

To find Ottoman-Venetian commercial society is more difficult. In 1492 and 1601 two laws forbade partnerships with Muslims. On 29 November 1248, to prevent partnerships with foreigners, the Great Council of Venice decided that the goods both of Venetians and of people from abroad were exempted from a 2.5 % tax which had to be paid on the goods of international companies. Another law concerning the same subject was issued in 1272, when it was decided that Venetians could not bring home the goods of foreigners (Cessi 1931, 120; Ashtor 1983, 398).¹⁹ Yet these prohibitions also signal that in real life these practices did occur. For instance, the partners who sold the famous golden crown-like helmet to Süleyman the Magnificent in 1532 was formed by Vincenzo Livrieri, jeweller and the brothers Caorlini, goldsmiths (12 parts/*carati* of the capital), Pietro Morosini (4 *carati*), Giacomo Corner, Pietro Zen and Marcantonio Sanudo (4 *carati*), and the *defterdar* Iskender Çelebi (4 *carati*). That is to say it was a Venetian *commenda* divided into 24 *carati* and not an Ottoman ship partnership which was usually divided into 40 parts (Sanuto 1879-1903, vol. 56, 358-9). In 1567 a Christian and a Muslim, Elia son of Marco from Cania and Hasan reis (*Cussam Reys*) sold their ship to two Venetians. The payment had to be made half in Venice and half in Istanbul, but, in advance, they had to give to the new owners the *hüccet*, certifying that the

16 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, b. reg. 10890, cc. 665-667; b. 10928.

17 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, reg. 27, cc. 27v, 114-114v, 154v, 177v-178; b. 3357, cc. 60v-61, b. 3358, cc. 153v-154, reg. 10890, cc. 640v-641v.

18 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 7, nos. 927,929.

19 ASVe, *Maggior Consiglio*, Comune II, cc. 115-115v. ASVe, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Costantinopoli*, reg. 9, cc. 160-160v. ASVe, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar*, reg. 13, cc. 91v-93.

ship belongs to them, and to pay the arrears they had with some Jews.²⁰ As we have already seen in 1636 Pietro Bevilacqua and Hasan Çelebi bought together the vessel *Le Tre Lune*. It may be noted that the 1601 law was issued after a dispute arose because of a partnership of this kind agreed in Istanbul between the Venetian Agazzi family and an influential Ottoman official, Ali *ağa*, the chief of the janissaries, brother-in-law of the powerful *kapıağası* Gazanfer and husband of his sister, Beatrice Michiel (Dursteler 2006, 51-2; Pedani 2000, 9-32; Pedani 2010a, 225).

Sometimes Ottoman grandees were also involved in trade in Venice that they exercised by agents. A galliot belonging to a vizier was taken by the Spanish fleet in the Adriatic about 1617 and Venetians refunded him with 48,000 ducats while 70,000 piastre were given to the merchants involved (Pedani Fabris 1994, no. 1344).²¹ A letter with no date, written by the *sancakbeyi* of Bosnia, deals probably with the same episode. It says that the *çavuş* and *müteferrika* Mumin *ağa* lost 30,000 thalers in goods bought in Venice for himself and for the imperial palace (Pedani Fabris 1994, no. 1990).²² Other grandees were Cafer *paşa*, involved in trade in the last years of the 16th century and the grand vizier Gümülcili Nasuh (1611-1614), were both quoted by Dursteler (Dursteler 2002, 118-21). These important persons often asked for special exemptions and protection for their goods and agents (Ortega 2014, 71).

The Ottoman envoys too did not usually pay duties. In 1523 Hasan bey arrived with three ships charged with silk clothes to sell, with a value of 1,500 ducats belonging to the merchant from Castelnuovo (Hersek Nova) that travelled with him. In 1525 another envoy, a Moor, left Venice with a galley and two ships full of goods; in 1529 Yunus asked to be refunded for the 25 ducats he had paid in his previous voyage in 1526 as duties on pairs of spectacles, a clock and several pieces of Murano glass; in 1533 he arrived with golden and silk clothes worth 12,000 ducats but, this time, Venetian authorities pretended that at least the merchants who travelled with him paid the duties (Pedani 1994, 49, 85).

The story of another important merchant Seyyid Abdi *çavuş* has been described by Suraiya Faroqhi (Faroqhi 2014, 79-82). Venetians called him the *emir dagli zambelotti*, because of his involvement in the trade of camlets from Ankara. About 1586 a shipment he had made was taken by the Uskoks in the Adriatic; two of his servants were killed and another, Piyale, spent time in Senj as a prisoner. To have his man and his goods returned, Seyyid Abdi wrote petitions to the doge and to the sultan; in 1588 an offi-

20 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, b. 3280, cc. 511v-512v, 555v-556r, 562v, 564v-565v, 588v-591v, 612r-612r, 615r-616v, 631r-631v. Thanks to Mauro Bondioli for this reference.

21 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 12, No. 1344.

22 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 19, no. 1990.

cial envoy was sent from the court to settle the affair; in 1591 the merchant himself sent the Venetian interpreter Mateca Salvago as his agent and in 1594 his man Hüsrev to settle his affaires which were finally solved by a broker, Filippo Emmanuel (Pedani 1994, 177).

5 A Community of Merchants

The *mudarabas* were usually made by three or four partners but this does not mean that Ottomans could not create larger societies. For instance the *kapan tuccaları* were merchants organized in special guild-like structures who were granted a special status and privileges. These merchants usually were the only ones who could purchase special merchandise (usually food) in a certain region but had the duty to bring and sell it only in Istanbul. Furthermore their ships were granted priority in loading and unloading (Çizakça 1996, 117-22). We do not know if those who used to trade in Venice had a special imperial title of privilege (*berat*) to supply Istanbul with special goods but we know that they were sometimes considered a group and could also act as a group, at least at the beginning of the 17th century. Looking in the archives it is possible to find, for instance, a petition that the 17 most important Istanbul merchants interested in Venetian trade was made to the Senate of the Republic in November 1616. Each of them had different agents and were members of different partnerships but they all had realized that their agents in Venice deceived them by selling and buying their goods at higher and lower prices than those they asserted. In this way they could take the difference. For the Istanbul merchants it was difficult to end their partnerships abruptly, thus they asked the Venetian authorities to re-establish the ancient custom and that Venetian brokers carefully signed all the bargains they made in an official register.²³

There are other examples of Ottoman merchants acting as a group or a guild-like structure. This happened, for instance, when the persons temporarily in the Venetian *fondaco* created an agent to take care of their interests either in loading and unloading their goods or in front of the Venetian authorities. In Venice Ottoman subjects had no consul but in some Venetian places, for instance the islands of Corfu and Zante, they used to choose their own consuls. This practice began at the end of the 16th century; it developed in the following one, when these representatives were officially recognised by the Republic, and then went on in the 18th century, when the sultan began to issue *berats* to confirm them (Pedani 2005, 213-19).

In Venice there was not a real consul but the functions were the same. He was called *fattore* in the documents, such as those that Venetians

23 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 82, cc. 72r-72v, 1616, 2 nov./1°.

had in some foreign places where no consul was available. For instance, in 1626, just seven years after the institution of the *fondaco*, the Turkish and Greek Ottoman merchants from Terranova, Scutari (İskenderiye), Elbasan, Antivari and Croia (Kroya/Akçahisar) and all those who came from the ports of Durazzo (Dıraç/Durrës), Scutari and Antivari, called a notary and created an attorney to deal with their merchandise. They were both private and merchants of the imperial *casnà* (*hassa*) and with this deed they cancelled all the proxies that some of them had already made for other persons. With another deed they all chose Cristoforo Damiani son of Ludovico as their agent for this job.²⁴ About one hundred and fifty years later, in 1795, the forty merchants present in the *fondaco* behaved in the same way and created a new agent to take care of their goods: the Venetian Agostino Marchiori.²⁵

There were also other moments in which the merchants acted as a community. In 1670, for instance, after the end of the Cretan war (1645-1669), a group of them asked new rules for their trade to the *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, the Venetian officials, who dealt with trade. In 1672 they all went to the same office with a lawyer to protest against unjust taxes but after two years the Ottoman subjects present in Venice refused to pay him and to fulfil what had been decided by their predecessors (Pedani 2007, 39-54).²⁶ In 1654, during the Cretan war, the whole Ottoman community of the merchants of leather, made of Christian, Jewish and Muslim subjects, made petitions against the Venetian guild of the tanners that had created a trust to keep the price low. This time, the Ottomans began to boycott the Rialto market and threaten the authorities to choose another place to trade. In the end they succeeded in getting a ruling against the Venetian guild (ST, filza 609; Pedani 2008, 13; Pedani 2010a, 230; Ortega 2014, 68-69).

At the same time Venetian authorities began to consider the sultan's subject of the *fondaco* as a community with their chief representatives. For instance, in 1586 five Muslims, Hacı Ali ibn Ahmed from Ankara, Ahmed ibn Hüseyin, Nasrullâh çelebi ibn Mehmed, Mehmed ibn Mehmed and a certain Ahmed, certified that a girl Gülşen/Dorotea from Budua, daughter of Ahmed *çavuş*, had sworn in their presence that she wanted to follow her mother's faith and be a Christian (Pedani 2007, 10; Ortega 2014, 83-4). In the 18th century many Venetian documents made reference to some merchants who had lived in Venice for a long period, the so-called *vecchiardi del fontego*, as the persons with whom to deal if the entire Muslim community in Venice was involved. In this case some Muslims had prob-

24 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, reg. 10890, cc. 665-667.

25 ASVe, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, 2a serie, b. 996, fasc. Fedi di sanseri, 24 Aug. 1795.

26 ASVe, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, 2a serie, b. 186, fasc. no. 113/1, 18 Nov. 1670; fasc. no. 113/2, 5 Sep. 1701.

ably decided to remain in Venice for ever, while the bulk of the community came to and fro according to seasons.

6 Insurances

In his book about business partnership Murat Çizakça states:

In the Ottoman case, it can be presumed that an effective maritime insurance did not exist. Certainly, not a single document has been found to indicate the contrary. (Çizakça 1996, 128-9)

Venetian documents can help us in this research too. The oldest witness of an insurance made by an Ottoman Muslim dates back to 17 October 1559. It is in a letter written by the *bailo* Marino Cavalli to the Senate. He stated that his son Sigismondo acted as the *kapudan-i derya*'s agent to get the premium of an insurance made by another agent, Pompeo Boro, by means of a third person, Girolamo Fella. It made reference to a ship the great admiral had rented (that probably underwent an accident). The money for making the insurance had been paid in Ancona but it was made with Venetian insurers. Now Girolamo Fella did not want to give back the 2,450 ducats of the premium, even if he had already cashed 500 ducats from the insurers.²⁷ In that year the chief of the Ottoman navy was Piyale pasha (1554-1567), a Croatian renegade, who took part in the siege of Malta and the conquest of Cyprus and was the first great admiral to become also vizier. Clearly if insurances did not yet exist in the Ottoman Empire, the sultan's subjects could appeal to other states, even of the Christian Europe, to insure their goods.

Other documents dating back to the following century show that to insure a ship or a load it was possible to go to a *kadı*. For instance, in 1602 a Venetian, Tranquillo Coletti, stated that he had paid 1,000 *akçes* for the *hüccets* necessary to insure the merchandise he had sent to Venice by an Ottoman *caramussale* (*karamusal*). This time he asked the *bailo* to ensure the other owners of the goods take part in paying the insurance.²⁸

It was easier, however, to apply to Venetian insurers. Three years later a certain Mehmed wrote a petition (*arz*) to the sultan asking that the Venetians were obliged to pay the premium of an insurance he had made in Cairo with the Venetian consul Giovanni da Mosto (1599-1602). He presented to the *divan* not only the Christian deeds but also some *hüccets* testifying that the consul had agreed to refund the damages that he and

27 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, b. 2B, 17 Oct. 1559.

28 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 272, reg. 387, 27 Jul. 1602.

his partners could suffer during their sea journey from Cairo to Venice (Mumcu 2013, No. 107).²⁹ In 1592 another Muslim, Mustafa, agent of Ali bey made a proxy: he charged the draper Giovanni from Corsica to take care of his master's wool that is or will be sent to Venice from Albania by a Venetian ship and also to spend 300 ducats to insure it.³⁰ Again on 12 July 1611 Mehmed Çelebi from Croia, agent of a group of investors (*reises*, *hocas* and janissaries) from Scutari in Albania, made an insurance with the Venetian insurer Giovanni Trombino on the wool and skins arriving in Venice on the *marciliana* of the captain Giorgio son of Nicolò.³¹

Sometimes the distinction between a real insurance and only a promise is not clear. For instance another petition was made in 1620: some merchants attacked by the Spanish fleet in the Adriatic said that they had made an insurance before leaving Venice against the damage that could occur during the sea journey with the Venetian authorities and that the *bailo* had to refund them (Mumcu 2013, No. 305).³² After many petitions, letters and other documents, in the end, the Venetian government decided to pay in order to avoid problems caused also by the presence of a vizier among the 72 owners. The *kadı* of Gelibolu Abdullah made a *hüccet* to certify that 70,000 tolar were paid as a premium for goods worth 186,000 tolar. The payment was made by three Venetians, Francesco Negroni, Antonio Ferri and Giovanni Pietro Rigoni, who procured the goods that could be recovered. This is what it is written in the Italian translation, even if in the *hüccet* it is written that if the Venetians could recover the merchandise they had to give it back to the merchants. In another document in Italian these three persons state that they acted in the name of the Venetian government as dummies (Mumcu 2013, No. 308; Pedani-Fabris 1994, nos. 1271, 1272, 1275).³³

The *bailo* in Constantinople was involved in affairs of this kind when consuls or other official representatives of the Republic, acting as private persons, agreed to make insurances or even only verbally reassure Ottoman merchants. The distinction between a private and a public role was clear for the Venetian authorities but very ambiguous for the Ottoman ones. This is clearly stated in a *name-i hümayun* issued by Osman II in 1618. The sultan says that the Republic must recognize the promises made by the count and other officials of Spalato (Split) to his merchants.

29 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 250, reg. 331. c. 32.

30 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, reg. 11913, cc. 269-269v.

31 ASVe, *Notarile Atti*, reg. 11933, cc. 547-548.

32 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 251, reg. 334, cc. 1-3.

33 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 251, reg. 334, cc. 8-10; b. 251, reg. 334, cc. 1-3. ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 12, nos. 1271, 1272, 1275.

They were officials of the Republic and could not act as private persons. Trusting their promises the Ottoman subjects began their voyage, now that they had been placed under the protection of some Venetian armed galleys, even if they were then overcome by the Spanish fleet (Pedani Fabris 1994, nos. 1127, 1231).³⁴

Promises or real insurances were made not only by Venetian officials but also by consuls of other nations. About 1723 the French consul in Crete, Lamer, assured some Ottoman merchants that had decided to rent a ship with the Venetian flag. During the voyage they were attacked by a corsair from Malta and, this time, both the Venetian *bailo* and the French ambassador in Istanbul were involved in the matter.³⁵ The same thing happened ten years later, in 1735, when 43 Muslim merchants from Morea (Mora) rented a Venetian vessel and asked the French consul to check the captain's *patente* (licence). He answered that the document assured them against the risks of corsairs and during the journey their ship was sacked by a Spanish privateer.³⁶ After two years of quarrels, in 1739, the sultan issued an order: no Muslim or *haracguzar* (Christian or Jewish) merchant could embark on a Venetian ship without an insurance signed by a Venetian consul's or ambassador's own hand.³⁷

7 Life and Death in Venice

Most of the deeds made by Ottoman merchants in Venice were proxies. This is a clear hint that the Ottoman community in Venice was made by persons who did not remain for a long period. They usually stood for the time necessary to sell and buy their goods. If we must take into account the journeys of the Venetian *mude* (convoy of ships), Ottoman merchants probably either arrived in spring and left in autumn or arrived in autumn and left in spring. Other foreigners settled in the city for longer periods: many Germans arrived with their families; as happened for men from Lucca, Florence, and even for Armenians, Greeks or Jews. Some Muslims, however, stopped for longer periods and they probably became the reference for the others. Otherwise no explanation is possible for the fact that the Venetian registers of the dead certify the presence in the city of very old merchants who died at the age of eighty or ninety (Lucchetta 1997, 133-46).

The numbers of the Ottoman merchants increased in the 16th and in the

34 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 9, nos. 1127, 1231.

35 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 255, reg. 351, cc. 237-241.

36 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 257, reg. 356, cc. 132-135.

37 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 257, reg. 357, cc. 46-59; b. 258, reg. 359, cc. 289-298.

first half of the 17th century but three wars (1645-69, 1684-99, 1714-18) ruined their trade. Since the number of brokers in Venice was always 200 from 1504 to 1799, the number of those who worked with Turks may hint to the trend of Muslim mercantile activity: the brokers for Turks were 15-20 in 1587, 33 in 1631, 25 in 1674-5, 11 in 1751 and 5 in 1768 (Vercellin 1980, 60-4). Most commercial agreements were made in the presence of brokers who had to sign them in their official register but sometimes even the Ottomans went to a notary to sign a deed, for instance when they had to sell a ship. In this case they promised, however, to pay the taxes due to the brokers.

Once, Venice was a violent city and many Muslims were killed, although some died of disease. On feeling the impending fatal moment some of them asked for a notary. They did not make a will but only a declaration to settle their affairs. If they could not do this, their heirs had to make petitions in Istanbul or also Venice to get back the money that usually was taken by the state in order to deliver it to the right persons. The story of Hüseyin Çelebi bin Hacı Hidr bin İlyas, a *suf* (wool) merchant from Ayaş (1575), described by Cemal Kafadar was not extraordinary. We may recall here that it ended not with his funeral but in spring 1577, when the Republic sent to his father in Istanbul the 2,950 ducats, 19 *grossi* and 6 *piccoli* (that is to say 833 sequins) that had been kept in the Venetian Mint (*Zecca*) under his name. It took so much time because there was the plague and also the secretary of that office had died and had left all his papers in the greatest confusion.³⁸ Other Muslims died in Venice: Hasan bin İnyetullah (1579) (Pedani Fabris 1994, no. 888),³⁹ the ninety-year-old Hoca Derviş from Beypazarı (1588), slipping on the wet pavement of the street (Pedani 2010b, no. 420; Lucchetta 1997, 140),⁴⁰ Ahmed and Hürrem bin Abdullah who died at Rialto (1589) (Pedani Fabris 1994, no. 988),⁴¹ Hacı Hüseyin bin Abdullah (1591),⁴² Hacı Kara (1615) (Mumcu 2013, no. 190),⁴³ Hüseyin bin Hasan who was killed by Mustafa bin Abdullah (Pedani Fabris 1994, no. 2001),⁴⁴ and Ibrahim from Valona (Avlonya/Vlorë) who was killed by some Venetians (1720) after having taken part to a brawl during which another Turk from Gianina (Yanya/Ioannina) died.⁴⁵

Records of Ottoman subjects' commercial activity abound in the Vene-

38 ASVe, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Costantinopoli*, reg. 5 cc. 37, 39, 40-41, 51-52v.

39 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 7, no. 888.

40 ASVe, *Lettere e Scritture Turchesche*, filza 4, cc. 112-113.

41 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 8, no. 988.

42 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 252, reg. 343, c. 89; Mumcu 2013, no. 940.

43 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 250, reg. 331, c. 11.

44 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 20, No. 2001.

45 ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, b. 254, reg. 350, cc. 112-116, 325-329.

tian Archives, but it is much more difficult to find information about their private life. For instance, there is the draft of a merchant's letter and another letter written by a Persian (or by an Ottoman spy) to the doge and in both, Venice is described as a very expensive city. There is also a letter in Arabic by Hacı Ahmed Lütfi to a friend in Trieste in 1802 and a report in the same language by a Christian Ottoman subject, Rad from Aleppo, who arrived in Venice to trade in 1644-1656: he wandered in the city to see the churches and holy relics that surely were of no interest to a Muslim (Pedani Fabris 1994, nos. 1995, 2000, 2012; Pedani 1995, 227-36; Faroqhi 2014, 82-3; Pedani, Issa 2016, 375-400).⁴⁶

8 Conclusion

In general Venetian documents show that in the 16th and 17th centuries the Ottoman merchants who traded in Venice were not alone but could make reference to a real commercial network that, starting from Istanbul, had its bases not only in Ragusa, Spalato, Durazzo but also in the Western coast of the Adriatic (Pedani Fabris 1994, nos. 130, 245).⁴⁷ Thus, exchange letters issued in Venice could be paid in Ancona and vice-versa. If in some moments the Venetian market appeared reluctant to welcome Muslims, they could threaten Venetian authorities to leave the Rialto and move to Ragusa or Ancona (Pedani Fabris 1994, nos. 249, 1368).⁴⁸ The severe Venetian laws tried to force all the ships crossing the Adriatic to reach first Venice and then other ports in order to get the duties on their loads, but many Ottoman merchants preferred to follow other routes and to arrive in Venice only at the end of a long journey. Moreover, the sources show the existence of strict links between Ottoman subjects and Christian merchants. Venetian merchants could loan money and then be reimbursed by means of the credits a Muslim merchant had in Venice. Notarial deeds show that Christians could act in the name of a Muslim or help him in his trade or even share the same business.

Ancient historiographical theories say that in the Early Modern Age Ottoman Muslims were not interested in international trade and that they left it completely in Christian and Jewish hands, but documents tell us a completely different story, a story of contacts, exchanges, and even confidence and friendship.

46 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 19, no. 1995; b. 20, nos. 2000, 2012.

47 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 1 no. 130; b. 2, no. 245.

48 ASVe, *Documenti Turchi*, b. 2, no. 249; b. 13, no. 1368.

Bibliography

- Ashtor, Eliyahu (1983), *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Cessi, Roberto (a cura di) (1931), *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, vol. 2. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli.
- Çizakça, Murat (1996). *A Comparative Evolution of Business Partnership. The Islamic World and Europe, with Specific Reference to the Ottoman Archives*. Leiden: Brill.
- Dursteler, Eric (2002). "Commerce and Coexistence: Veneto-Ottoman Trade in the Early Modern Era". *Turcica*, 34, 105-33.
- Dursteler, Eric (2006). *Venetians in Constantinople. Nation, Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya (2004). "Bosnian Merchants in the Adriatic". Koller, Markus; Karpas, Kemal H., "Bosnia: A History in Peril". Monogr. no., *The International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10(1-2), 225-39.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya (2014) *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era*. London: Tauris.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya (2016). *Financing the Development of Old Waqf Properties: Classical Principles and Innovative Practices around the World*. Macmillan Palgrave.
- Kafadar, Cemal (1986). "A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima". *Raiyyet Rûsûmu, Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10, 191-217.
- Köse, Metin Ziya (2010). *1600-1630 Osmanlı Devleti ve Venedik. Akdeniz'de Rekabet ve Ticaret*. İstanbul: Giza Yayınları.
- Lucchetta, Giuliano (1997). "Note intorno a un elenco di turchi morti a Venezia". "Veneziani in Levante. Musulmani a Venezia", *Suppl., Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 15, 133-46.
- Molmenti, Pompeo (1927). *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, vol. 2. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'arti Grafiche editore.
- Mumcu, Serap (haz. /a cura di) (2013). *Venedik Baylosu'nun Defterleri (1589-1684) / The Venetian Baylo's Registers (1589-1684)*. Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari.
- Ortega, Stephan (2014). *Negotiating Transcultural Relations in the Early Mediterranean. Ottoman-Venetian Encounters*. Farnham (Surrey, UK); Burlington (USA): Ashgate.
- Pedani, Maria Pia (1994). *In nome del Gran Signore. Inviati ottomani a Venezia dalla caduta di Costantinopoli alla guerra di Candia*. Venezia: Deputazione editrice.
- Pedani, Maria Pia (1995). "A Seventeenth Century Muslim Traveller in Paris". *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 13, 227-36.

- Pedani, Maria Pia (1996). *La dimora della pace. Considerazioni sulle capitazioni tra i paesi islamici e l'Europa*. Venezia: Cafoscarina.
- Pedani, Maria Pia (2000). "Safiye's Household and Venetian Diplomacy". *Turcica*, 32, 9-32.
- Pedani, Maria Pia (2005). "Venetian consuls for Ottoman Subjects". *IXth International Congress of Economic and Social History of Turkey*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 213-19.
- Pedani, Maria Pia (2007). "Turchi in Canal Grande, in Oriente e Occidente sul Canal Grande". Mamoli Zorzi Rosella (a cura di), *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, 46(2), 9-54.
- Pedani, Maria Pia (2008). "Between Diplomacy and Trade: Ottoman Merchants in Venice". Faroqhi, Suraiya; Veinstein, Gilles (eds.), *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*. Paris; Louvain; Dudley (MA): Peeters, 3-21.
- Pedani, Maria Pia (2010a). *Venezia. Porta d'Oriente*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Pedani, Maria Pia (ed.) (2010b). *Inventory of the "Lettere e Scritture Turchesche" in the Venetian State Archives, based on the materials compiled by Alessio Bombaci*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Pedani, Maria Pia (2017). *The Ottoman-Venetian Border (15th-18th centuries)*. Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari.
- Pedani, Maria Pia (forthcoming). «The interpreter Michele Membré's life in Venice». *Workshop of Venetian Rule in the Eastern Mediterranean 1400-1700* (Venice, 10-11 July 2015).
- Pedani, Maria Pia; Issa, Paola (2016). "Il viaggio dell'arabo Ra'd di Aleppo a Venezia (1654-1656)". *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche*, 37(agosto), 375-400.
- Pedani Fabris, Maria Pia (a cura di) (1994). *I "Documenti Turchi" dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico-Zecca dello Stato.
- Preto, Paolo (1975). *Venezia e i turchi*. Firenze: G.C. Sansoni.
- Sanuto, Marino (1879-1903). *I diarii*. 58 voll. Venezia: a spese degli editori.
- Stefini, Tommaso (2015). "Ottoman Merchants in Dispute with the Republic of Venice at the End of the 16th Century". *Turcica*, 46, 153-76;
- Theunissen, Hans (1998). "Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: the 'Ahdnames. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents". Monogr. no., *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, 1(2).
- van den Boogert, Maurits H. (2005). *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System. Qadis, Consuls and Beraths in the 18th Century*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Vercellin, Giorgio (1979). "Mercanti turchi a Venezia alla fine del '500". *Il Veltro*, 2-4 mar.-ago, 243-76.
- Vercellin, Giorgio (1980). "Mercanti turchi e sensali a Venezia". *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., 4, 45-78.

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age

Essays on Economic and Social Connected History

edited by Anna Valerio

The last Venetian-Byzantine Trade Agreement and Mehmed II's First Peace Agreement with Venice

Iassen Vanev

(South-West University "Neofit Rilski", Bulgaria)

Abstract The goal of this article is to compare two inter-state commercial charters as the title suggests, a chrysobull by the Byzantine emperor John VIII and a document signed by Mehmed the Conqueror. The Ottoman Empire at that time was expanding at the expense of the Venetian thalassocracy, and particularly Byzantium. Venice, in its turn, was deriving more trade privileges from the dying Byzantine Empire. The emphasis in the article will be put on the similarities between the documents proving the continuity in the various spheres of international politics in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.

Keywords Venice. Byzantium. Ottoman empire. John VIII Paleologus. Sultan Mehmed II. Trade privileges. Ahd-nāme. Chrysobull.


The present work will deal with two commercial charters from the middle of the 15th century settling the relations between Venice and Byzantium and the Ottoman Empire. The first one was signed in 1446 between Venice and Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (1444-1446, 1451-1481) and the other one, from 1448, is between *La Serenissima* and one of the last Byzantine Emperors – John VIII Paleologus (1425-1448), confirming the Venetian commercial privileges in Constantinople. The original of both texts is in Greek, and they are kept in the Venetian archive, together with their copies translated into Italian. In fact, all the peace treaties of the Ottoman Sultans with European states were written in Greek until the end of the 15th century.

First, however, a brief introduction of the historical context surrounding the issuance of the two documents is needed. As it is clear from the chronological period, there are contrasting circumstances surrounding the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman state. While the former was already a small entity taking its last breaths of air, the latter was undertaking a swift expansion, replacing the Eastern Roman Empire from its previous place. The Turkish rulers were imposing their authority on an ever larger territory, and finally including on the highly coveted Constantinople. In the past, Byzantium had controlled many of the trade routes in the Orient and the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as the commercial activities in

Hilâl 6 e-ISSN 2610-8895 | ISSN 2610-9484

DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-260-4/004 | Submitted: 2018-01-19 | Accepted: 2018-03-10

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-260-4 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-261-1

© 2018 |  Creative Commons 4.0 Attribution alone

the Black Sea region. Now, this role is taken over by the Ottoman Empire. In addition to the drastic weakening of the Byzantine power, the eroding effect, exercised on it by another great force, this time maritime – Venice – can be observed. The latter placed Constantinople under strong economic dependence and financial indebtedness. Nevertheless, the Greek emperors tried to limit, to a certain extent, the Venetian trade privileges on the territory of the Byzantine Empire.

The treaty between Mehmed II and Venice followed directly an important watershed event – the famous Crusade of Varna in 1444, led by King Władisław III of Poland, John Huniadi – Voivode of Transylvania and Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy. It resulted in a disastrous defeat for the Christian forces and Franz Babinger (1992, 40) refers to this episode as being

one of the most decisive events not only of the Ottoman, but of all Western history.

and that the neighboring countries of the Ottomam Empire, along with others, were “paralyzed with fear”.

Under these circumstances, part of the Christian powers were seeking cooperation with the Sultan, and Venice seemed to have adopted the most realistic stance by undertaking measures to come to suitable terms with Mehmed II (Babinger 1992, 42). The Venetians were one of the first to regulate Venice trade privileges with the Ottomans, and the 1446 charter is perhaps the only one left to the present day from Mehmed the Conqueror’s first ruling period (Babinger 1992, 44). Moreover, this treaty, the oldest preserved Ottoman document written in Greek (Theunissen 1998, 196) is found in the Venetian State Archives¹ published by Babinger and Dölger (1956, 270-7). Scholars like Maria Pia Pedani Fabris have also contributed to a great degree in publishing documents of this kind, such as the latest Ottoman imperial treaty, also written in Greek (Pedani Fabris 1994).

The official name of this type of documents is *ahd-nāme* and it represents an interstate treaty, agreement, convention (Stoyanov 1991, 145). According to Hans Theunissen (1998), the most accurate translation of chrysobull (John VIII’s document, here analyzed, which is also a chrysobull), is namely *ahd-nāme*. The author rejects another possible translation as *ferman*, as this would be interpreted as order, decree, command, whereas the chrysobull or *ahd-nāme* does not represent a vertical relationship, but is rather a treaty between two parties that are considered equivalent (Theunissen 1998, 62).

According to Stoyanov (1991), the form of the opening part of the documents of the *nāme* type consists of the following well-known elements:

1 Venezia, Archivio di Stato (ASVe), *Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati*, b. 38, no. 1110.

the invocation – which includes the calling of God’s name –, the prophet, and the first four righteous caliphs. It proceeds with a list of the titles and possessions of the Sultan or his genealogy, in other words with the intitulation (Theunissen 1998, 143). There is also a brief appeal to the addressee called inscription, which is sometimes accompanied by a greeting (salutation), after which comes the actual text. In the narrative part of the document the following elements – exposition, disposition and sanction – are identified. The so called eschatocol or the final part of the document is followed by the date (Theunissen 1998, 263), and these characteristics largely coincide with the form of the Byzantine chrysobull. First, however, it is necessary to briefly examine the content of the two documents – the charters of Emperor John VIII and Sultan Mehmed II.

Mehmed’s *ahd-nāme* deals with issues such as the conditions for the exchange of slaves between the two empires, the rights and freedoms of merchants, the penalties that both countries have to bear for damages, thefts, etc., and it is clear that the measures must be reciprocal for both sides (Thomas, Predelli [1880-89] 2012, 366).² Thus, for example, the charter states that if a Venetian slave, for whatever reason, should find himself in a place which is a part of my dominion (i.e. the Ottoman state) and has become a Muslim, then 1,000 aspers in cash must be paid to my lordship for every slave, and if he is a Christian, he must be returned without any excuse (Rakova 2017, 310).³

The same applies to the Venetians with respect towards Mehmed’s empire (Rakova 2017, 310). And if the slave is a Christian, he has to go back without any justification. Similarly, as far as the merchants are concerned, the document states that all Venetian traders, and those who consider themselves Venetians, in whatever place of *My Lordship* they might be, go, come and trade with each other as Venetians, so that any of them should infringe or commit any other wrongdoing, must not be detained or punished one for the other. Likewise, the same must apply to my merchants that are located in the places of the Venetians (Rakova 2017, 310). The treaty from 1446 itself is almost a literal repetition of another such agreement between the Ottomans and Venice from 1430 (Rakova 2017, 128).

Actually, the cooperation with Mehmed did not come without a prize for Venice. In fact, the Ottomans collaborated more with Venice’s main maritime rival, Genoa. The latter was given a trade capitulation by the Ottomans as early as 1352 and with it the monopoly over the alum pro-

² Here we can find the original Greek text of the treaty, whereas the Italian translation is in Thomas, Predelli 1880-89, 366-72. Clauses of the document in Greek could also be found in Babinger 1950, 267-71.

³ The Bulgarian translation of a later document between Venice and the Ottoman Empire from 1454 in Rakova 2017, 306-16 is used here, because the author found out that parts of the treaty from 1446 are identical with it.

duction in Manisa (İnalçık 1973, 134). In return, the Genoese helped the Ottomans in critical moments, for example, by ferrying soldiers across the Dardanelles in 1444 during the above mentioned crusade of Varna and observing neutrality during the decisive siege of Constantinople. The Turks also implemented economic tactics against Venice. Thus by renewing the trade privileges of the Venetians and allowing them to trade wheat, the Sultan convinced them to subside their efforts in case of war like the two pointed out in this paragraph (İnalçık 1973, 134). Nonetheless, Venice and the Ottomans could be considered to have been fairly equal partners in these capitulations. Nothing like this can be said about the mutual relations between the Serenissima and Byzantium, arranged through documents like John VIII's chrysobull.

This charter is also a repetition and confirmation of other treaties signed previously. In this case, there are eight of them, issued in 1406, 1412, 1418, 1423, 1431, 1436, 1442 and 1448. As Donald Nicol (2001, 497) writes, reading the text of the last treaty, signed in 1448 is reading something that even then had passed History. It explicitly reiterates that Byzantium owes Venice 30,000 gold ducats with the interest, for which a part of the imperial treasury was pawned 105 years ago, so the loan was from 1343 (Nicol 2001, 497). This gives the idea of the great indebtedness of the Byzantine *basileus* to Venice, as already mentioned above.

The charter also settles other issues such as the reduction of the number of Venetian pubs in Constantinople to 15, the conditions under which the Venetians were permitted to sell wheat in the territory of the Byzantine Empire (Miklosich, Müller 1865, 217-19). They could not trade grain produced on Greek soil and were forbidden to present themselves as Romans. In Mehmed's *ahd-nâme*, on the other hand, it is simply said that the Venetians can trade freely within the Ottoman Empire. The chrysobull also concisely refers to the island of Tenedos in the Aegean Sea, where the Emperor (as well as Venice and Genoa, which had led a long and exhausting war for it) has a special interest because of its strategic location at the mouth of the Dardanelles. It is literally said, however, that this question remains "hanging in the air" (Miklosich, Müller 1865, 222).

Notwithstanding the different circumstances under which these contracts were drawn up, and hence the reason for their production, it is possible to discern many resemblances between them. It is difficult not to mention the fact that the diplomatic and business language is similar, the beautiful, frilly style of expression is observed in both documents. For example, the Venetian Doge Francesco Foscari (1423-1457) is described in John's Chrysobull as prominent, remarkable and magnificent (Miklosich, Müller 1865, 216). Such flattering words are also used in the Ottoman-Venetian document with respect to the same figure. Besides, the Byzantine Emperor swears on the life-giving cross and the Gospels, while Mehmed takes the oath to the 124,000 prophets from Adam to Mohammed

(Babinger, Dölger 1956, 270). The titularity of the ruler, as well as the lavishly embellished with epithets introductory part also contribute to the similarity of the papers.

A more detailed look at Mehmed's *ahd-nāme* and John's chrysobull reveals even more identical structural features such as the *invocatio* or the administration of an oath in the name of God. In Mehmed's charter, it is represented by the phrase "In the name of the great Lord, amen", while the chrysobull contains a stylized cross at the very beginning of the text, or the so-called symbolic *invocatio*. In the next element – the combined 'titularity-oath', the sultan swears on the above-mentioned prophets, as well as on his life and the life and soul of his father. The Byzantine basis is considerably more laconic in this part, and after mentioning his

XLV. 6955—1447. mense julio ind. X.

Imperator Ioannes Palaeologus prorogat pactiones anteriores cum Venetis factas in annos quinque.

† Ἰωάννης, ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστός βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Παλαιόλογος καὶ ἀεὶ αὔγουστος. ἐπὶ ὁ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ μεγαλοκρητὴς κῆρ Φραντζέσκος Φώσκης, Θεοῦ χάριτι δουξ Βενετίας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, τράμμασι προσέταξε τῷ ἐξηρημένῳ, εὐγενεὶ καὶ φρονίμῳ ἀνδρὶ, κορῷ Νιάρβιφ Μόρφ, ἐντίμῳ καὶ περιφανεὶ μπατοῦλφ ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς Ῥωμανίας, ἔχοντι ἐνεκτῆ ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἀδειαν καὶ ὀρισμὸν τρακταῖσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι καὶ βεβαιῶσαι καὶ πληρῶσαι τρέβας καὶ συνθήκας τὰς κατωτέρω γραφησομένας μεταξὺ ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ προσηρημένου κοροῦ δουκὸς καὶ τοῦ κομοουίνου Βενετίας, καθὼς δηλοῦται διὰ τινος τράμματος δουκινοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ μεγαλοκρητοῦς κοροῦ δουκὸς καὶ τοῦ κομοουίνου Βενετίας καταχωρωμένου βόλλη μολιβδίνῃ μετὰ σχοινοῦ καναβίου δοθέντος ἐν τῷ δουκιῷ παλατίῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κομοουίνου ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκώσεως χιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ ἕκτῳ, Ἰνδικτιῶνος θ', ἡμέρᾳ κζ' τοῦ μηνὸς Ἰουλίου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς Βενετίας, δευθέντος καὶ δοθέντος τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, ἡμεῖς Ἰωάννης, ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστός βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Παλαιόλογος, εἰ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, ἔται τε τῶν κληρονόμων καὶ διαδόχων ἡμῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ εἰρημίνος μπατοῦλος δικαίῳ καὶ ὀνόματι τοῦ προσηρημένου ἐπιφανοῦς κοροῦ δουκὸς καὶ τοῦ κομοουίνου Βενετίας ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ ἀγάπης ἐκατέρωθεν ὀφειλομένης τηρηθῆναι καὶ φυλάξαι ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον αὐξηθησομένης, ἐπικαλοσάμενοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συνέβημεν ἐπὶ τούτοις, δηλονότι, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς παρουσίας ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν μέχρι πάντε ἐτῶν τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀκολουθησόντων μεταξὺ ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου λαοῦ, ἔτι τε τῶν κληρονόμων καὶ διαδόχων ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανοῦς κοροῦ δουκὸς καὶ τοῦ κομοουίνου Βενετίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ὀποτεταγμένων αὐτοῖς διαμένουσιν ἐν ἰσχύει καὶ ἀκμῇ εὐλοκρεῖν καὶ ὀμονοίᾳ τρέβαι ὀφειλοῦσαι διαρκεῖν, στηρίζοντες καὶ βεβαιῶντες μέ-

Fig. 1. First page of the transcription of John VIII's chrysobull (1448)
Source: Miklosich, Müller 1902, 216

name he presents himself as the autocrator of the Romans in the name of Christ (cf. Figs. 1-2).

Proceeding into the narrative part of the documents, or as Theunissen (1998, 197) calls it *expositio-naratio section* of both treaties the Venetian bailo in Constantinople and the Venetian doge are mentioned, and it is underlined that the peace agreement is valid between the two countries, the two peoples and all those who are subordinate to the doge on the one hand, and to the Emperor or the Sultan, on the other. The *dispositio* element (Theunissen 1998, 197) is the part where the clauses of the treaty are listed, as most of them have been reciprocal in the 1446 *ahd-nāme*. The provisions in John’s chrysobull are not mutual for both sides, probably due to the political and economic weakness of the Byzantine Empire. The contracts also include the *sanctio*. Here Mehmed II swears to keep the peace, as long as the Venetians do the same, and mentions that he will punish anyone of his subjects who has done any damage to the *Comune Veneciarum* and the latter was obliged to respond with the same. As for the

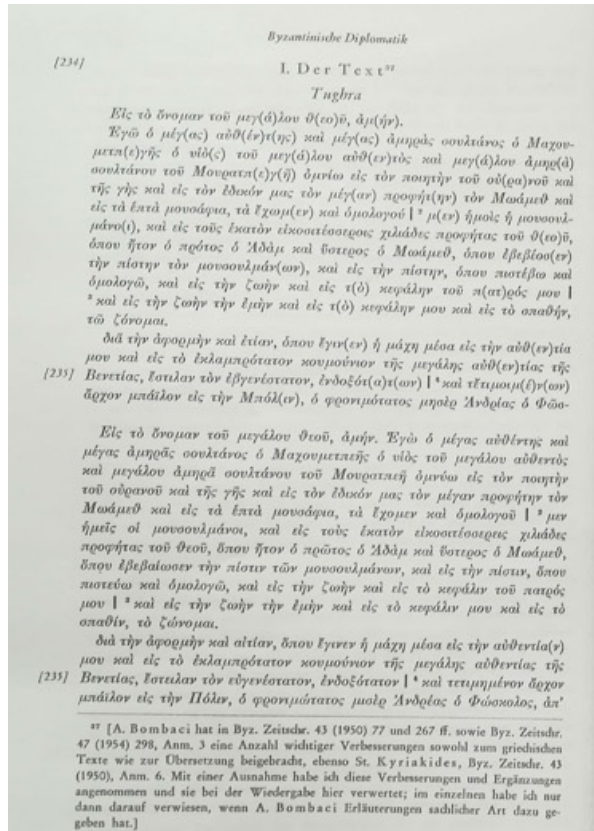


Fig 2. First page of transcription of Mehmed II’s *ahd-nāme* (1446)
Source: Babinger, Dölger 1956, 210

⁴⁷ [A. Bombaci hat in Byz. Zeitschr. 43 (1950) 77 und 267 ff. sowie Byz. Zeitschr. 47 (1954) 298, Anm. 3 eine Anzahl wichtiger Verbesserungen sowohl zum griechischen Texte wie zur Übersetzung beigebracht, ebenso St. Kyriakides, Byz. Zeitschr. 43 (1950), Anm. 6. Mit einer Ausnahme habe ich diese Verbesserungen und Ergänzungen angenommen und sie bei der Wiedergabe hier verwerret; im einzelnen habe ich nur dann darauf verwiesen, wenn A. Bombaci Erläuterungen sachlicher Art dazu gegeben hat.]

treaty signed by John, it is possible to observe there the already mentioned swearing on the life-giving cross and the Gospels.

In fact, the chrysobull was the traditional form for drafting treaties between Venice and Byzantium since as early as 992 (Theunissen 1998, 58). The Venetians used to write these documents in red ink and stamp them with a gold seal; this practice, similar to the Byzantine chrysobulls, dates back to the Seljuks. The Sultan's signature – *eius superscriptum* (the tughra) – was placed at the top of the document, as was the case with the Byzantine emperors (Theunissen 1998, 62). These facts allow Theunissen to assert that the Seljuk Sultans and the Venetian *Podestas* (the Primate of the Venetian colonies) have deliberately adopted these Byzantine customs.

Even without listing all these deliberations, so far the resemblance between the last Byzantine trade charter with Venice and the first such contract between the city of the lagoon and the Sultan who conquered Constantinople should not surprise us. It can be viewed as an embodiment and symbol of the fact that the processes characterizing the relations between Byzantium and the Venetian thalassocracy preserved their general configuration with respect to the Ottoman rulers. The main reason for this is that the contractual relationship between Byzantium and Venice created a sustainable framework for many of the cultural and economic interactions in the Eastern Mediterranean not only during the late Middle Ages. We observe continuity in the Early Modern Period, where the Sublime Gate was becoming an increasingly important factor in international politics. These arguments attach enough broad scope and significance to the subject in question.

The Byzantine heritage, however, is not confined only to the economic and commercial activities and the diplomatic formulas in the aforementioned chronological and geographical space. The whole Ottoman state apparatus and functioning of society was not much more than a continuation of the Byzantine model. In other words, the Islamic culture of the Ottomans followed directly the "Byzantine style of theocracy and adoption of the Byzantine formal institutions" (Vryonis 1969-70, 307). A bracket should be opened here however, because other authors challenge these statements thus forming a scholarly debate on the genesis of the Ottoman state machinery. Mehmet Köprülü (1953) is one of them. He argues that Western impacts were not that strong in the Ottoman case. However, if Vryonis's opinion is accepted as reliable, then it is necessary to take into account that the Ottoman culture, although being Muslim in the high echelons of the state, remained largely Byzantine in the folk culture, hence amidst the vast portion of the populace. This confirms again that the Byzantine world continued its existence, even physically, long after the demise of the empire and the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II the Conqueror.

Bibliography

- Babinger, Franz (1950). "Due clausole del trattato in Greco fra Maometto II e Venezia del 1446". *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 43, 267-71.
- Babinger, Franz (1992). *Mehmed the Conquerer and His Time*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Babinger, Franz; Dölger, Franz (1956). "Mehmed's Frühester Staatsvertrag (1446)". Dölger, Franz (hrsg.), *Byzantinische Diplomatie*. Ettal: Buch-Kunstverl, 262-91.
- İnalçık, Halil (1973). *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Köprülü, Mehmet Fuad (1953). *Alcune osservazioni intorno all'influenza delle istituzioni Bizantine sulle istituzioni Ottomane*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Miklosich, Franciscus; Müller, Josephus (1865). *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi. Sacra et Profana*, vol. 3. Vindobonae: G. Gerold, 216-24.
- Nicol, Donald (2001). *Venezia e Bisanzio. Due città millenarie protagoniste della storia*. Milano: Bompiani.
- Pedani Fabris, Maria Pia (a cura di) (1994). *I "Documenti Turchi" dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico; Zecca dello Stato.
- Rakova, Snezhana (2017). *Venezija, Osmanskata Imperija i Balkanite (XV-XVI v.) Венеция, Османската Империя и Балканите (XV-XVI в.)* (Venice, the Ottoman Empire and Balkans, XV-XVI century). Sofia: Sofia University Press.
- Stoyanov, Valery (1991). *Diplomatika na srednovekovnite izvori. Vladetelski dokumenti* *Дипломатика на средновековните извори. Владетелски документи* (Diplomatics of the Medieval sources. Documents of rulers). Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Publishing House.
- Theunissen, Hans (1998). "Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: the Ahdnames". *International Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 1(2), 1-698.
- Thomas, Georg Martin; Predelli, Riccardo [1880-99] (2012). *Diplomatium Veneto-Levantinum*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 366-72.
- Vryonis, Speros (1969-70). "The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, (23-24), 251-308.

Festivities of Curfew Centralization and Mechanisms of Opposition in Ottoman Politics, 1582-1583

Levent Kaya Ocakaçan
(Bahçeşehir University, Turkey)

Abstract The Ottoman Empire was a dynastic state, as were its counterparts in Europe and Asia in the early modern period. In order to explain the characteristics of this dynastic governance model, it is essential to focus on how the Ottoman ‘state’ mechanism functioned. One of the prominent aspects of the dynastic state was the integration of politics in household units. Direct or indirect connection of people to these households was the main condition of legitimacy. Thus, the redistribution and succession strategies had a centralized importance in dynastic states. Since being a member of the dynasty was a given category, the state could be reduced to the house of the dynasty at the micro levels. This house transcended those living in it, and in order to sustain the continuity of the house, there was a need to create a ritual showing ‘the loyalty to the dynastic household’. This loyalty was the dominant factor in ensuring the continuity of the house, in other words, the ‘state’, and therefore, the succession strategies in dynastic states had a key importance.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582, or Sultan Murad III’s Absolution Show. – 3 Şehzade Mehmed’s Provincial Posting Ceremony. – 4 Conclusion.

Keywords Murad III. Mehmed III. Şehzade Mehmed. 16th century centralization. Ottoman household system. Ottoman Empire.

1 Introduction

Mehmed II, who represents the ‘centralization’ of the Ottoman Empire, legalized fratricide in order to sustain this continuity. He attempted to rearrange the redistribution, reproduction and succession strategies in order to create a centralized household system (Peirce 1993, 15-56). The main characteristic of this model was the loyalty of his servants’ households to the house of the sultan. Besides fratricide, the Ottomans also created a multinational ruling elite in order to secure the continuity of their households. Since the early days of the Ottoman principality, non-Muslim subjects of the bey served him; however, after Murad II, Ottomans legalized levying Christian subjects of the sultan from his own territory, and after

the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II institutionalized this system as the *devşirme* (non-Muslim recruits) system (Özcan 1994, 254; Uzunçarşılı 1988, 5-34; Kunt 1983, 7-12).

The main aspect of this system was to create a central army and ruling elite that belonged only to the Ottoman dynasty (cf. Wittek 1971; Köprülü 1994; Gibbons 1916; Lowry 2003; Kafadar 1995; İnalçık 1980a).

Since all kind of property belonged to the Ottoman dynasty, and because of the patrimonial character of the Ottoman government, the *şehzade* (imperial prince) participated in dynastic rule as their birthright (Kunt 2007, 65). The *şehzade* could be appointed as district governor in order to gain ruling experience as the candidate for the throne. Furthermore, this method prevented the princes from creating alliances in the capital to overthrow their fathers. Moreover, it was prohibited for them to stay in the capital, as the protectors of the throne, while their fathers were on campaigns. The retired high-ranking administrators were chosen as the deputies of the sultan while he was on a campaign. They were responsible for protecting the throne and sustaining the continuity of the house. Since the sultan's house represented the 'state', the location of his house represented the 'state authority'. Protecting the house of the sultan, which was located in Constantinople, was more transcendent than protecting the sultan himself; thus, protecting the house of the sultan meant protecting all cultural, economic and symbolic capital forms (Bourdieu 1986). During the transformation and crisis times, the sultan was questioned as the representative of all these accumulated forms.

Since the festivities were one of the most important public affairs in Ottoman history, they can show the political struggles, the rivalries and the query of the imperial order of the time. They also allow examining the mechanisms of opposition since all the groups within the empire represent themselves in this kind of events. In Ottoman history there were two types of celebrations. One of them was held for the important occasions for the royal family, such as circumcisions and weddings and the other was held for political occasions such as celebration of victories. These two occasions, and especially the ones held for the royal family, were important to show the loyalty of the other households to the sultan's one. The festivity of 1582 was the most influential one in terms of its scale; the events that occurred during the festivity show the fragility of the imperial administration during crises while the provincial posting ceremony of Şehzade Mehmed clearly demonstrates the political struggles in the late 16th century Ottoman Empire.

In this paper, I would like to focus on the relationship between Sultan Murad III and his son Şehzade Mehmed, since their relationship was an example of the changing dynamics of the Ottoman reproduction strategies (see Bourdieu 2014, 233-48), by addressing in particular the festivity that was held for the circumcision of Şehzade Mehmed and his provincial

posting ceremony for his *sancak* (district). During the study I will try to answer the following questions.

Why did Murad III need to organize a tremendous festivity for the circumcision of his son Şehzade Mehmed? Why did he make new arrangements in the protocol during the festivities? What was the main reason of the struggles between the cavalry soldiers and the janissaries during the festivities? Why did Murad III postpone the provincial posting of Mehmed III? Why did he apply a curfew for janissaries during the provincial posting ceremony of the *şehzade*?

The main sources for this study will be the Venetian sources because they narrate the incidences in detail, while the Turkish sources and the other European sources usually neglect the problems that occurred during the circumcision festivity of 1582 and the provincial posting ceremony of Mehmed III. The Turkish sources such as the *Surname-i Hümayun* (Imperial Festival Book), *Tarih-i Selaniki*, *Cami'ü'l-Buhur Der Mecalis-i Sur* and *İntizami Surnamesi* gave contradictory dates for the starting day of the festivity and other important days of the festival (Öztekin 1996; Baykal 1992, 65; Arslan 2009; İpşirli 1989, 131; Atasoy 1997; Turan 2004, 288). Foreign sources also dated the important events of the festivity differently (Özkan 2003; Stout 1966. Cf. also And 1982, 259-60; Reyhanlı 1983, 55-9).

2 The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582, or Sultan Murad III's Absolution Show.

In the last quarter of the 16th century, the Ottomans had to deal with a variety of problems, including the need to catch up with new military technology and the transformation of the *timar* (land revenue) system and monetization (Tezcan 2001, 2009, 2010; Kafadar 1986; Börekçi 2010; Ocakaçan 2016).

Murad III had to adapt his governance method to these changes. He ascended to the throne on December 22, 1574¹, one week after his father Selim II's death on December 15, 1574² (for the discussions about Selim II's death cf. Emecen 2009, 417). Since the first days of his sultanate, he directly targeted the strengthened household of the Grand Vizier Sokullu Mehmed Pasha and tried to isolate himself from public affairs while transforming the classical administration methods. He consciously targeted the vezirial households and tried to break the power of the *divan-ı hümayun*

1 ASVe (ASVe), *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 7, 22 Dec. 1574, cc. 475-76.

2 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 7, 20 Dec. 1574, c. 469

(central government). The main reason of that struggle between the Ottoman high ranking administrators and Murad III was the rivalry for the control of the tax farming, which became a common practice with the enthronement of Murad III. The *enderun* (inner service) and harem gained huge importance with the distribution of the tax farming while the central government was losing its importance in the administration.

After the assassination of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and the restriction of the authority of the central government, the clients of the high-ranking administrators and the deceased Pasha wanted to use the janissaries as a tool to suppress the authority of Sultan Murad III. In this period, the Ottomans also had been fighting against the Safavids, and they could not achieve any relevant success. In order to show his authority to the public and to foreign states, Murad III decided to celebrate the circumcision of his son Şehzade Mehmed with an enormous festivity. He was planning to use the festival as an instrument to show his authority over his administrators, the janissaries and his son Şehzade Mehmed who was supported by the uneasy factions. It is a common tradition to organize this kind of festivities after military defeats to eradicate their negative effects on people. As Metin And indicated in his ground breaking book *40 days 40 nights*, Mehmed II had married Sitt Hatun with an ostentatious wedding after the defeat of Akçahisar. And after the unsuccessful campaign in Belgrade, he organized a tremendous circumcision festival for his sons Bayezid and Mustafa. Süleyman I had also organized fancy circumcision festivities for four of his sons on June 27, 1530, after the unfruitful siege of Vienna (And 2000, 19). In these cases, the sultans wanted to show their households' power and their generosity to the public even though they had been defeated in military campaigns. Murad III also wanted to show his authority by the help of this circumcision festivity; however, in this case, there was a difference. Murad III had not gained any important success against the Safavids, but the Ottoman army had not been defeated on any border. The main reason for this festivity was to show the absolute authority of the sultan to his own subjects since they were uneasy because of the economic and political transformation of the Ottoman Empire during the last quarter of the 16th century. The problems that emerged during the festivities clearly demonstrate the tension between the sultan's subjects. It would be wrong to say that the sultan was not interested in attracting the attention of the foreign states however, it is plausible to accept that while he was attempting to show his absolute authority to his subjects, he also wanted to ensure peaceful relations with the foreign states especially after the assassination of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who had preferred amicable relations with them.

Murad III scheduled the celebrations for March 1582, the overlap of two festivities: the arrival of *surre-i Hümayun* (Rebi'ülevvel 12; Buzpınar 2009) from Mecca and the arrival of *nevruz* (spring); however, due to the delay of

the arrival of the ships from Egypt bringing materials for the festivity (cf. Oku 2017), everything was postponed until the end of May (Terzioğlu 1995, 84). The invitations had been sent one year earlier to the Holy Roman Empire, Russia, Poland, Georgia, Persia, Morocco, Tunisia and the Ottoman vassals of *Transylvania* (Erdel) and *Ragusa* (Dubrovnik), whereas to Venice the invitation letter had been brought by the *çeşnigir* (Imperial Taster) of the Sultan Hasan Agha.³ High-level Ottoman administrators had also been invited to the celebrations (cf. Öztekin 1996, 98-100 for a copy of the Imperial edict). The sultan also appointed the *Rumeli beylerbeyi* (the general governor of Rumelia) İbrahim Pasha as the *düğünçübaşı* (supervisor of the wedding); the *Anadolu beylerbeyi* (the general governor of Anatolia) Cafer Pasha, who was the son-in-law of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, as the *serbetçi başı* (supervisor of the sherbet and the watchman); the *kapudan-ı derya* (grand admiral) Kılıç Ali Pasha as the *mimar başı* (supervisor of the architects); and the *yeniçeri ağası* (the chief of the *janissaries*) Ferhad Pasha as the *muhafız başı* (supervisor of the guardians) (Uran 1941, 12).

Before the official starting day of the festivity, the *valide sultan* (Queen Mother) Nurbanu organized festivities in the old palace or Bayezid Palace for the sultan and Şehzade Mehmed. After the celebrations in the palace, the sultan returned to the Topkapı Palace on May 26, 1582, with his retinue.⁴ Two days after their arrival at Topkapı Palace, the sultan and Şehzade Mehmed went to Ibrahim Pasha Palace at *At Meydanı* (the Hippodrome),⁵ where the festivities were to be held. There, the sultan oversaw the preparations for the forthcoming festivity.

On May 29, 1582, Şehzade Mehmed went to the old palace once again in order to visit his mother Safiye Sultan, and then he returned to *At Meydanı*, where his father was waiting. During this short journey, it was clear that Sultan Murad III wanted to prove that he was the only authority in the empire. Şehzade Mehmed rode his horse alone on this journey, and the high-ranking administrators were not allowed to accompany him. It was a usual procedure to send the princes to their *sancaks* after their circumcision with their retinue; however, Murad III still had not decided who would accompany the prince in his *sancak*. Also, nobody advised him as usual during his trip. During the ceremonies, it was understood that Murad III would not send his son to his *sancak* after his circumcision. Moreover, the janissaries who were accompanying him were disarmed; this could be understandable in the ordinary conditions since the prince did not have any right to rule before his circumcision; however, the idea arisen during the festival shows that the sultan made this decision consciously because

3 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 16, disp. 20, 28 May 1582, c. 86.

4 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 16, disp. 20, c. 86.

5 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 16, disp. 20, c. 87.

the janissaries were supporting Şehzade Mehmed against him. In addition, the *şehzade* was not allowed to adorn his horse, his dresses and his men.

On the 30th of June, the sultan had planned to go to Edirnekapı in order to sacrifice animals and to watch the race, which would take place from Çatalca to Edirnekapı in honour of his son Şehzade Mehmed, and afterwards, he was planning to return to the Topkapı palace. However, he was warned that the janissaries felt uneasy because they were not allowed to join the festivity. The sultan postponed his trip to Edirnekapı, as he was afraid that the janissaries could attempt a revolt against him; he wanted to find out more about these rumours. One night while the festivity was going on at *At Meydanı*, the janissaries set fire to three different parts of the city. The grand vizier Koca Sinan Pasha and the chief of the janissaries Ferhad Agha immediately left the festivity and went to the neighbourhoods which the janissaries had set fire to. They were hoping to extinguish the fire before it started to spread all over the city. They called the janissaries in order to negotiate with them; however, the soldiers refused the offer, saying that they could call the buffoons and the kind of people who were represented in the festivities and taken into consideration by the sultan. The janissaries knew that being included in a parade during a festivity represented their belonging, as a community, to the sultan's household. However, the sultan did not allow them to represent themselves as a separate entity since he suspected their actions against him, and because he knew they were supporting Şehzade Mehmed. This time, the tumult was suppressed by the help of the people before the fire spread to the other sides of the city; however, the grand vizier and Ferhad Agha knew that this was just the beginning. They wanted to find the responsible ones for the tumult and bribe them; however, they could not manage it.⁶

On July 15th, the 4th vizier Cerrah Mehmed Pasha, who was a surgeon and the barber of the sultan circumcised Şehzade Mehmed in the inner chambers of the Topkapı Palace as the official records had cited. Actually, the prince had been circumcised three years before this festivity. The reason for this postponement of the celebration was the sickness of Sultan Murad during that time. However, as it is made clear later, the real reason of the late celebration was the rivalry of the Sultan Murad and Şehzade Mehmed in the imperial administration (Pedani Fabris 1996, 268-70).

The sultan was planning to end the festivity two days after the circumcision but he was afraid that the janissaries might revolt. Even though the pashas suppressed their earlier attempt, these unruly *kuls* (servants) of the sultan were still restless. In order to satisfy them, the sultan prolonged the festivity for another ten days, thinking to make the chiefs of the janissaries happy during that time. Moreover, he was expecting news

6 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 16, 2 July 1582, c. 112

from Persia since his grandees such as the *beglerbegs* (general governor), *sancakbegs* and others were present in Constantinople for the festivity. In case of bad news from Persia, he was thinking to assign the grandees to the war. Meanwhile, a son of the sultan was born and his birth celebrated with fireworks at *At Meydanı*. Although it was done with the intention of being a good sign, the baby died the next day.

A couple of days after the prolongation of the festivity, a skirmish occurred between the janissaries and the cavalry soldiers. The cavalry tied up *subaşı* (superintendent) Bilmez Ahmed Çavuş and took him to *At Meydanı*, where the Sultan was watching the ceremonies, and after that, the chief of the janissaries Ferhad Agha came to the square with the janissaries. At that point, the soldiers started to fight and in this turmoil, the janissaries killed two cavalymen. The fight continued all night, and Grand Vizier Koca Sinan Pasha held responsible Ferhad Agha for the disorder, therefore the *agha* was dismissed. In his place, the *emiralem* (chief of imperial band and tentsetters) of the sultan was appointed, and the *subaşı* was arrested and immediately sent to prison together with the others who were held responsible for this turmoil.⁷ After this, the sultan wanted to end the festivity, and on July 22 he returned to Topkapı Palace with Şehzade Mehmed.⁸ After a short while, queen mother Nurbanu appointed Ferhad Agha, who was dismissed during the festivity, as the *Rumeli beylerbeyi*, and the previous *Rumeli beylerbeyi*, İbrahim Pasha, was appointed as the fifth vizier.⁹

There had been tension between the cavalry soldiers and the janissaries for a long time since they represented the different groups within the empire. The cavalry had investments in tax farms after the 1560s; moreover, they were supported by the viziers, especially after the death of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in 1579. When Murad III attempted to strengthen the power of the 'palace administration', he diminished the power of the 'central government', and in order to put pressure on Murad III's politics, the viziers started to use the cavalry soldiers. Since tax farming had started to become dominant in the Ottoman economy in the control of the palace administration toward the end of the 16th century, these soldiers became a balance factor between the Ottoman dynasty and the ruling elite (Akdağ 1947, 19; 1999, 89; İnalçık 1980b, 290-1; Turan 1997, 150-2; Ocakaçan 2016, 86-90). The janissaries also started to become tradesman at the end of the century, and due to the unfruitful campaigns, they were putting pressure on the Ottoman government since they could not earn money. As was common in the last quarter of the 16th century, they revolted against the changes in the Ottoman administration. During the reign of Sultan Murad

7 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 16, 21 July 1582, cc. 123-25.

8 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 16, disp. 31, cc. 133-34.

9 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 16, c. 182.

III, he tried to keep them out of the imperial politics in order to protect his household. As will be seen later, the janissaries always supported Şehzade Mehmed against Sultan Murad III hoping to regain their old privileges, and threatened the sultan.

During the festivity, it was observed that many changes were made by the sultan in the administration after his accession to the throne. It was not a coincidence that the janissaries were not involved in the festivity. The sultan consciously wanted to isolate them from the dynastic politics along with the ruling elite and the other important groups of the administration. The historian Mustafa Ali states that the sultan did not eat with the other important figures of the time, such as the *ulema* (the doctors of the holy law), viziers and other administrators of the Ottoman Empire and blames the grand vizier for not warning the sultan to eat with his officials (Öztekin 1996, 239-348). However, Sultan Murad III made all these actions consciously during the festivities. He preferred not to eat with his subjects as his grandfather Süleyman I always did during the festivities (Şahin 2018, 463-92). He wanted to show his subjects that he was the only authority in the administration of the empire by isolating himself from them. He was trying to eliminate those who were sharing his authority. One year after the assassination of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, he tried not to give the imperial seal to the grand viziers; however, he was forced to cancel his decree¹⁰ and after interrupting any direct connection with the grand viziers he put into effect the *telhis* practice. According to that, the results of the meetings of the *divan-ı hümayun* (central government) would be given to the sultan in written form by the palace administrators, mainly by the *kapıağa* (chief white eunuch) (Pal [1994] 2000). These changes in the imperial administration were the result of the centralization attempts of the empire. These changes also can be observed more easily in festivities and important days, as was seen during the circumcision festivities of Şehzade Mehmed.

3 Şehzade Mehmed's Provincial Posting Ceremony

Murad III also changed the imperial tradition of sending the princes to their *sancaks* after their circumcision. Şehzade Mehmed had to wait until his grandmother Nurbanu's death in order to be allowed to go to his district in Manisa. He was the last *şehzade* who went to a district in order to gain government experience, and also, he did not have any rival prince candidates for the throne. In fact, Murad III as well did not have

10 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 14, cc. 109, 139.

any rival while he was a prince in Manisa; however, he was aware of the rivalries between his uncle Bayezid and father Selim; moreover, he knew how the different *loci of power* supported the *şehzades* for the throne. One of the most important problems of the *şehzades* was the integration of their households into their father's household while they were being enthroned (Kunt 2007, 63-71). While Murad III isolated the dynasty from his ruling elite, he knew that a variety of powers would support Şehzade Mehmed against his absolute rule. One of the main reasons for not sending the prince to his district after his circumcision was to establish his own sultanic authority over his subjects; meanwhile, he was showing to his servants that he could change all the traditions without consulting anyone. The ceremony of Şehzade Mehmed before going to his *sancak* was also proof of the fact that Sultan Murad feared him. The janissaries demanded Sultan Murad to lead them in the Persian campaign but he did not want to leave Constantinople. After that, Şehzade Mehmed wanted to be the commander of the army and he asked permission to his father for that. However, the queen mother Nurbanu convinced the sultan not to allow the *şehzade* to lead the army since she was afraid that the *janissaries* might overthrow Sultan Murad in alliance with Şehzade Mehmed (Pedani Fabris 1996, 268-70).

After the circumcision festivity of Şehzade Mehmed, the queen mother Nurbanu fell sick with a stomach infection. On December 6th, 1583, her health worsened, and the next day, after seeing her son Murad III, who came to visit her at Topkapı Palace in the morning, she died.¹¹ Actually in this period, the sultan wanted to get rid of the clients of his mother Nurbanu in the imperial palace. Two days before the death of his mother, Murad III had dismissed 30 important *aghas* from the palace, and one of them was banished to Cairo. As an excuse, he said that these men got extraordinarily rich. After the death of Nurbanu Sultan, Murad III ordered the preparation of the provincial posting ceremony of Şehzade Mehmed. Even though everyone was expecting the death of the *queen mother* to postpone his leaving, the sultan expedited the preparations. He ordered the construction of a pavilion in Üsküdar for his son's leaving, according to the tradition, and wanted him to leave the capital on Friday, December 16, 1583.¹² The Venetian bailo tells that the queen mother had willed for the sultan to send Şehzade Mehmed to his *sancak* immediately after her death. He also added that the sultan was suspicious of his son Mehmed. It is really difficult to understand why Murad III had waited for the death

11 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 18, disp. 25, 13 Dec. 1583, cc. 241-45.

12 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 18, disp. 26, 13 Dec. 1583, cc. 252-64.

of his mother Nurbanu Sultan to send the prince to his *sancak* if it was not a coincidence. Most probably, it was the result of the rivalry between Nurbanu Sultan and the mother of Şehzade Mehmed, Safiye Sultan. Nurbanu Sultan was the first *valide sultan* who used this title in Ottoman history, and she was acting independently since she was responsible for the administration of the imperial harem. She created many alliances in the imperial palace, including the clients of the ex-network of the deceased grand vizier, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, thanks to her daughter Esmahan Sultan's marriage with him. Moreover, as a result of Murad III's attempts to organize the imperial palace as a *locus of power*, the population of the *enderun* and harem tripled (Necipoğlu 1991, 165). In this new period, Nurbanu Sultan was ruling the empire with her son. As stated above, she could appoint or dismiss the high-ranking administrators in the empire. Most probably, Sultan Murad was afraid of her empire-wide clients, since they hated Safiye Sultan, who would be the most powerful woman in the imperial administration after the *valide sultan's* death. It is likely that Murad III did not want to allow his son to establish new networks with the clients of Nurbanu. This hurry to send him to his *sancak* after waiting more than a year after his circumcision could be explained by that fear.

Şehzade Mehmed could not start his voyage for his *sancak* on Friday the 16th as had been determined before. Grand vizier Siyavuş Pasha, after discussing with the *ulema*, warned the sultan that it was not suitable to send his *şehzade* on Friday since this day is sacred and dedicated to God. It would not be decent to prevent people from going to the mosques and listening to the orations of the holy men since the *şehzade's* leaving ceremonies would disturb the daily life of people. Actually, Murad III, who strongly believed in predictions, had decided upon Friday with his astrologers and predictors. After hearing the pasha's advice, he consulted again his predictors for any other day, and the next day, Saturday, was decided upon for the prince to leave the capital. Murad III called his *haseki* (favorite), Safiye Sultan, to join him at Topkapı Palace so that he could spend some time with her and Şehzade Mehmed while the *kaptan-ı derya* was arming ten ships to accompany the *şehzade* first to Üsküdar and then to the Gulf of İzmit. On Saturday, all the high-level administrators, including the grand vizier and the *şeyhülislam* (grand mufti), went to Topkapı Palace to kiss the hand of the sultan and accompany the *şehzade*. The sultan was waiting for his son on his throne, and when the prince approached his father, the sultan noticed that Şehzade Mehmed was crying. Then he stood up and sat on the floor with his son and recommended that he should listen to his advisors, who would be near him in his *sancak*. It is worth noticing that while Sultan Murad advised his son to be obedient to his advisors in his *sancak*, he did not have any reputable and important figure near him.

The sultan left Topkapı Palace after giving precious gifts to his *şehzade* and went to the seaside palace in order to see his son passing by to Üsküdar

with the imperial armada. The Venetian bailo cites that the sultan was crying nonstop, since he would not have any other chance to see his son again. Şehzade Mehmed came out of his room and approached the *divan-ı hümayun*, where all the grandees were waiting for him. He mounted a horse adorned with precious jewels and started to go towards the harbour in Eminönü where the *kapudan-ı derya* was waiting to convey him to Üsküdar. During this short voyage, the grandees, in turn according to their rank, accompanied the prince and gave advice to him, which was actually a common provincial posting ceremony for the Ottomans. However, as Metin Kunt (2007, 64) quotes from both the Ottoman historian Selaniki, who was an eyewitness of the event, and Mustafa Ali, the narratives about the protocol differ. Selaniki tells that the first one who advised the *şehzade* was the grand mufti; however, Mustafa Ali says that grand vizier Siyavuş Pasha was the first one who approached the *şehzade* (Kunt 2007, 64). In this respect, the Venetian bailo's narrative matches with that of Selaniki Efendi. He also told that the prince first called the grand mufti and then the *hoca* (advisor) of Murad III and then the other grandees accordingly. These differences in the Ottoman chronicles are important since they allow one to see the problems of the late 16th century. Most probably, as a strong critic of Murad III, Mustafa Ali changed the places of the grand mufti and the grand vizier in order to show how Murad III had changed the traditional functioning of the state (cf. Fleischer 1986). It is also interesting to observe that Şehzade Mehmed first talked with the grand mufti. If it was not a sign of the sudden islamisation of the Ottoman policy, it shows the dynasty's attempts to isolate itself from its ruling elite by adopting the Islamic law (Tezcan 2010, 19-45).

When the *şehzade* arrived in Eminönü, *kapudan-ı derya* Kılıç Ali Pasha was waiting for him. He did not overdo anything regarding the preparation of the ceremony in order not to make the sultan angry. He knew that a pompous preparation for the prince could damage the absolute authority of the sultan. Actually, the *kapudan-ı derya* was right: the sultan was wary of being overthrown by the janissaries in favor of Prince Mehmed. That day, he prohibited the janissaries to go out; he did not want even one Janissary to accompany the prince because of his fear. He knew that the people loved Prince Mehmed, and there would be a huge crowd on the streets in order to see him, and there would be a problem if the Janissaries targeted Sultan Murad with the support of the public. The prince boarded the ship with the other grandees who were accompanying him, and the ships sailed toward the sea palace of the sultan in order to salute him, then turned back toward the *tersane* (shipyard) and sailed to Üsküdar. The ships did not do any salvo as was done traditionally in the provincial posting ceremonies of the princes. When the ships arrived at Üsküdar, the *şehzade* went directly to the huge pavilion with his retinue that was prepared for him in Üsküdar. The viziers and the other grandees gave precious gifts to the prince, and

then they returned to Constantinople. The same night, Şehzade Mehmed went to the palace located in Üsküdar, where all the sultanas and his mother Safiye, who got sick because of her grief, were waiting for him. All the sultanas gave precious gifts to the *şehzade*, including 120 beautiful women. On Saturday, the prince returned to his pavilion and accepted the gifts presented to him. After the grand vizier Siyavuş Pasha returned to Constantinople, he immediately told the sultan what had happened in Üsküdar and said that Şehzade Mehmed requested him to say to his father that he was not the son of the sultan but was the most insignificant slave of him, and he would be obedient to him forever. Apart from being a ritual, most probably Prince Mehmed said these words to his father since he felt his father's uneasiness toward him. The Venetian bailo says that the hurry to send the *şehzade* to his *sancak* after the death of Nurbanu Sultan, the curfew for the janissaries and the modest preparation of the *kapudan-ı derya* to convey him to Üsküdar made the *şehzade* think that his father was distrustful of him.

The *şehzade* was right about his feelings. While the grand vizier told the *şehzade's* words to the sultan, he added that it would have been better if the sultan had accompanied the *şehzade* until his pavilion in Üsküdar and advised him as Sultan Süleyman did for his *şehzades* during their departure from Üsküdar. However, the sultan responded to the vizier as if he could not hear his words about accompanying his *şehzade* and responded that if the *şehzade* would do what he had said to the vizier, it would be better for him and then ordered that the prince had to depart immediately to his *sancak* without stopping at any point. The grand vizier Siyavuş told the sultan's words to the prince, who said that it would be better to depart immediately since his father was jealous to see him in Üsküdar. On the 19 December 1582, the prince started his voyage to his *sancak* with the *kapudan-ı derya*, who would ferry him with 10 galleys until the Izmit Gulf.¹³

Şehzade Mehmed left Constantinople with a huge group of men. As Mustafa Ali cited, his household included 1,500-2,000 men. As was mentioned before, however, Sultan Murad did not allow important figures of the Ottoman administration to be near Şehzade Mehmed. This was just the beginning of the tension between Sultan Murad III and Şehzade Mehmed. During the reign of the sultan, he was always wary of his prince trying to dethrone him. For instance, he did not allow his viziers to visit the prince in his *sancak* because of his fear. The Venetians' demand to see the *şehzade* in his *sancak* was another example of the tension between the sultan and the *şehzade*. The Venetian bailo had asked the grand vizier to visit the *şehzade* in his *sancak*, saying that it was a tradition. The bailos had visited Princes Selim, Beyazid and Mustafa while they were in their

13 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 18, disp. 29, cc. 281-85.

sancaks, so this time they wished to visit Şehzade Mehmed. However, Murad III rejected their demand, saying that they did not visit him while he was in his *sancak* in Manisa. Even though the Venetian bailo responded to the sultan by saying that they were at war while he was ruling his *sancak* and that it was the only reason they could not visit him; despite the long negotiation, the sultan was not convinced and said that the Venetians could not visit the *şehzade* even though they had tight relations with his mother, Safiye Sultan.¹⁴

4 Conclusion

The worldwide economic and political changes during the last quarter of the 16th century forced the Ottoman dynasty to adapt to the new conditions. The high tension between Şehzade Mehmed and Sultan Murad III was the result of these changing dynamics of the Ottoman ruling methods. In order to cope with the new military technology and monetization in the economy, Murad III attempted to isolate the dynasty by strengthening the imperial palace as a *locus of power* while restricting the authority of the 'central government'. The transition from the classical Ottoman fief system to tax farming also disturbed the balance of the economic forces in the empire. When the palace administrators started to sell the revenue grants, they benefited from this transaction. The viziers and other grandees wanted to regain their authority against the palace administration. To do that, they used the janissaries and six cavalry regiments as a tool to suppress Sultan Murad III's attempts to create a more centralized government. Murad III's isolation from the public and from his own administrators was not a coincidence. He knew that he had to reorganize the administration without sharing his authority with the others. And on any occasion, he wanted to show the public and his administrators and, if there was a possibility, the foreign states that he was the only authority in the empire. Şehzade Mehmed's circumcision festival and his provincial posting ceremony were important occasions for the sultan to show his absolute authority to the public. He wanted to give a clear message to his servants by not eating with them during the festivity, not allowing the janissaries to accompany the prince in his provincial posting ceremony and not advising the prince in Üsküdar while he was waiting for departure to his *sancak*. He was the only ruler of the Ottoman house and Şehzade Mehmed was a servant of him.

14 ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 21, 16 Aug. 1585, cc. 557-59; 22 Aug. 1585, cc. 589-91.

Bibliography

- And, Metin (1982). *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*. Sanat Eserleri Dizisi 2. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- And, Metin (2000). *Ottoman Weddings, Festivities, Processions*. İstanbul: Creative Press.
- Akdağ, Mustafa (1947). "Yeniçeri Ocağı Nizamının Bozuluşu". *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 5(3), 291-313.
- Akdağ, Mustafa (1999). *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası: Celali İsyancıları*. Ankara: Barış Yayınevi.
- Arslan, Mehmet (2009). *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri, (İntizami Surnamesi)*, vol. 2. İstanbul: Sarayburnu Kitaplığı.
- Atasoy, Nurhan (1997). *Surname-i Hümayun: Düğün Kitabı*. İstanbul: Koçbank Yayınları.
- Aykut, Şevki Nezihi (haz.) (2004). *Hasan Bey-zade Tarihi*. 3 cilt. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- Baykal, Bekir S. (haz.) (1992). *Peçevi Tarihi*. 2 cilt. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Börekçi, Günhan (2010). *Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmet I and his immediate Predecessors* [PhD dissertation]. Columbus: The Ohio State University.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1986). "The Forms of Capital". Richardson, John G. (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Westport (CT): Greenwood, 241-58.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (2014). *On the State, Lectures at the College de France*. Malden: Polity Press, 233-48.
- Buzpınar, Ş. Tufan (2009). "Surre". *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, cilt 37. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 567-9.
- Emecen, Feridun (2009). "Selim II". *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, cilt 36. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 414-18.
- Fleischer, Cornell H. (1986). *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Ali 1541-1600*. Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press.
- Gibbons, Herbert Adams (1916). *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire: a History of the Osmanlis Up to the Death of Bayezid I (1300-1403)*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Gürkan, Emrah Safa (2015). "Fooling the Sultan: Information, Decision Making and the 'Mediterranean Faction' (1585-1587)". *Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 45, 57-96.
- İnalçık, Halil (1980a). "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State". *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 2, 71-9.
- İnalçık, Halil (1980b) "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700". *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 6, 283-337.

- İpşirli, Mehmet (haz.) (1989). *Tarih-i Selânikî*. 2 cilt. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları.
- Kafadar, Cemal (1986). *When Coins Turned into Drops of Dew and Bankers Became Robbers of Shadows* [PhD dissertation]. Montréal: McGill University.
- Kafadar, Cemal (1995). *Between Two Worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.
- Köprülü, Fuad (1994). *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Kunt, Metin (1974). "Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment". *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 5(3) June, 233-9.
- Kunt, Metin (1975). "Kulların Kulları". *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi*, 3, 27-42.
- Kunt, Metin (1978). *Sancaktan Eyalete: 1550-1650 arasında Osmanlı Ümerası ve İl İdaresi*. İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Temel Bilimler Fakültesi.
- Kunt, Metin (1983). *The Sultans Servants. The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kunt, Metin (1995). "State and Sultan Up to the Age of Süleyman: Frontier Principality to World Empire". Kunt, Metin; Woodhead, Christine (eds.), *Süleyman the Magnificent and his Age: The Ottoman Empire in The Early Modern World*. New York: Longman, 9-19.
- Kunt, Metin (2007). "A Prince Goes Forth (Perchance to Return)". *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 13(1-2), 63-71.
- Kunt, Metin. (2011). "Turks in the Ottoman Imperial Palace". Duindam, Jeroen; Artan, Tülay; Kunt, Metin (eds.), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 289-312.
- Kunt, Metin (2012). "Royal and other households". Woodhead, Christine (ed.), *The Ottoman World*. London; New York: Routledge, 103-15.
- Lowry, Heath W. (2003). *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Necipoğlu, Gülru (1991). *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power. The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Cambridge (MA); London: The MIT Press.
- Ocakacı, Levent Kaya (2016). *Geç 16. Ve Erken 17.yy'da Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki Patronaj İlişkilerinin Gazanfer Ağa Üzerinden Venedik Belgelerine Göre İncelenmesi* [PhD dissertation]. İstanbul: Marmara University
- Oku, Mihoko (2017). "Late Sixteenth Century Procurement of Personnel and Material Necessities for The Sur-ı Hümayun. The 1582 Ottoman Royal Festival in Istanbul". *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 34, 49-61.
- Özcan, Abdülkadir (1994). "Devşirme". *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, cilt 9. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 254-7.

- Özkan, Nevin (2003). "Bir İtalyan Belgesine Göre Şehzade Mehmet'in Sünnet Düğünü (1582)". *U.Ü Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 4, 89-110.
- Öztekin, Ali (haz.) (1996). *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali: Cami'u'l-Buhur Der Meccalis-i Sur*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- Pal, Fodor [1994] (2000). *In the Quest of the Golden Apple: Imperial Ideology, Politics, and Military Administration in the Ottoman Empire*. İstanbul: İsis, 207-27. Or. ed., "Sultan, Imperial Council, Grand Vizier. Changes in The Ottoman Ruling Elite and the Formation of the Grand Vizierial Telhis". *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47(1-2), 67-85.
- Pedani Fabris, Maria Pia (1996). *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato. Relazioni inedite. Costantinopoli (1512-1789)*, vol. 14. Padova: Aldo Ausilio editore - Bottega d'Erasmus.
- Peirce, Leslie (1993). *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reyhanlı, Tülay (1983). *İngiliz Gezginlerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Hayat (1582-1599)*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Stout, Robert E. (1966). *The Sür-i Hümayun of Murad III: A Study of Ottoman Pageantry and Popular Entertainment* [PhD dissertation]. Columbus: The Ohio State University.
- Şahin, Kaya (2018). "Staging an Empire: An Ottoman Circumcision Ceremony as Cultural Performance". *The American Historical Review*, 123(2), 463-92.
- Terzioğlu, Derin (1995). "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation". *Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, 12, 84-100.
- Tezcan, Baki (2001). *Searching for Osman: A reassessment of The Deposition of the Ottoman Sultan Osman II (1618-1622)* [PhD dissertation]. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Tezcan, Baki (2009). "The Ottoman Monetary Crisis of 1585 Revisited". *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 52, 460-504.
- Tezcan, Baki (2010). *The Second Ottoman Empire. Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Turan, Şerafettin N. (1997). *Kanuni Süleyman Dönemi Taht Kavgaları*. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi.
- Uran, Hilmi (1941). *Üçüncü Sultan Mehmed'in Sünnet Düğünü*. İstanbul: Vakıf.
- Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı (1988). *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatından Kapukulu Ocakları*. 2 cilt. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Witteck, Paul (1971). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu*. İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi.

**2 Crete and Cyprus from Venetian
to Ottoman Rule.
Economic and Social Continuity
and Change**

An Ottoman Register of Venetian Candia

Elias Kolovos
(University of Crete, Greece)

Abstract The paper is a preliminary study of the register *Tapu Tahrir* 798 located in the Ottoman Archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi) in Istanbul. In 1669 it surveys the newly conquered town of Candia (Crete) in great detail, from quarter to quarter and from building to building. The register provides rich information for the Venetian Candia, since it includes the public buildings of the town that passed to the Ottomans, as well as the names of the previous owners of the town dwellings, who had evacuated the town after its surrender, and the names of the current owners. Thus, this source provides us with the tools to study the spatial transformation of the town during the transition from the Venetian to the Ottoman rule, the settlement patterns of the religious and social groups, and the social use of space. A full study of the register is under way by the author and a team of experts, within a research program of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, FO.R.T.H. (Mediterranean Cultural Landscapes).

Keywords Venetian Candia. Ottoman Candia. Crete. Spatial history. Ottoman history.

In the autumn of 1669, Venice surrendered Candia, the precious town on the island of Crete, to the Ottomans, who had invaded the island already 24 years before (Greene 2000; Gülsoy 2004). The aim of this paper is to present the Ottoman register that was compiled immediately after the surrender of the Venetian Candia, the evacuation of the town by the vast majority of its inhabitants, who left with the Venetian fleet, and the entrance of the Ottoman besieging army in the town. The register surveys the newly conquered town of Candia from quarter to quarter and from building to building, in great detail.

The register is in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office) in Istanbul and his call number is *Tapu Tahrir* 798. In total it has 256 pages, which the archivists have numbered using Latin numbers. After the first folio, which was left blank, on page 1, the register starts with a list of the 55 recorded quarters of the Venetian Candia, including a reference to the folio number for every quarter, according to the original pagination in Arabic numerals.

There follows, on page 3, the calligraphic incipit of the register, where the author addresses the Grand Vizier Ahmet Paşa, son of the Grand Vizier (*vezir-i âzam ibn-i vezir-i âzam*), i.e., Köprülü Mehmet Paşa. According to this introduction, the Köprülüzade Ahmet Paşa, after his

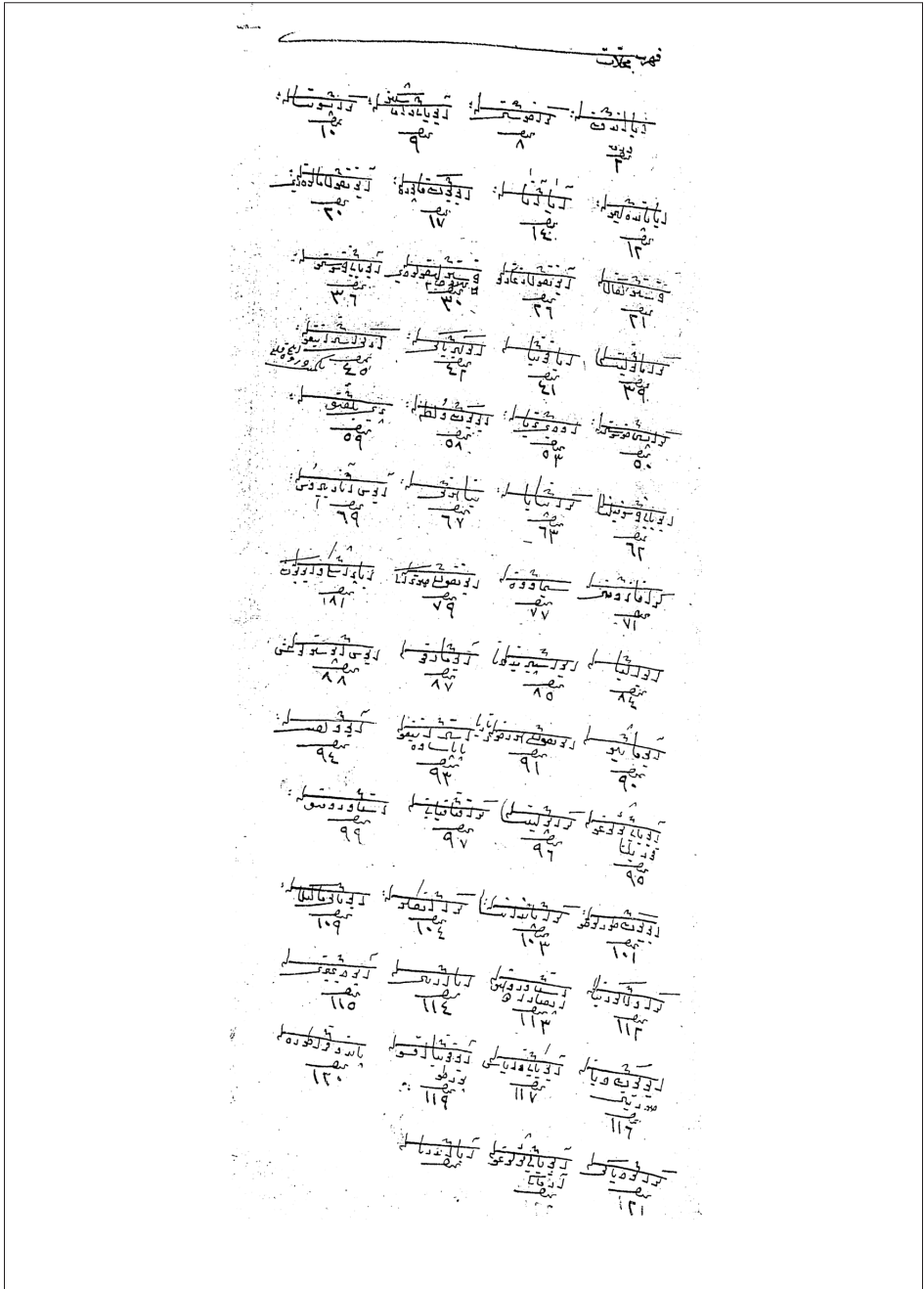


Figure 1. *Tapu Tahrir* 798, page 1. Source: İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi

الحمد لله الملك العزيز القهار والصلوة والسلام على نبينا
 محمد المختار وعلى اله واصحابه المتقين الابرار والمهاجرين الانصار
 والتابعين الاخير رضوان الله تعالى عليهم اجمعين بعد ما
 خافنا اعظم سيد سلاطين العرب والعجم ظل الله في العالم
 خادم الحرمين الشريفين سلطان غازي محمد خان ابن ابراهيم خان
 ايد الله ونصره الله الى اخر الزمان حضر تلمريك نام سلطنت بخت
 نون وارمان سوكت فزونلنده واقع جزيره كريد جهادن وكيل
 مطلقري سردار اكرم مظفر علم واصف نظير ناظم امم وزير اعظم
 ابن وزير اعظم كشور كشاحضرت احمد باشا مد الله ظلال دولته
 الى مايشاحضرت تلمريك قدوم ميمت مجب واقدام وافيه ولزوم
 تدبير مصيب واهتمام كافيه لري عي ايله باغون كرد كار هجرت نبوتيه
 عليه افضل التحية نك بيك نكسان سنه سله مودخ سال فرج پل
 جنادى الاولنده فتح فتحاً ميبنا نارنجي ايله معنون اولان حصن
 قدري نك فتح وفتح فروروزي مقدر وروزى ولوب الحمد لله المعين
 الجبار اقطار ربع مسكونه دي مانند اولان مرزوم استوار انوار سلام
 وانا احكام سيد الانام عليه السلام دن محروم ايكن برعينا
 رباني واشقه الطاف رحمان اول سور عظيمك ظلام شرك وسواد
 كهري ما حى اولوب مقام اصنام معابد اسلام اولماغي ميسر وارزاق
 بيوروب فخذ انم حمد انم حمداً بناء على ذلك قلعه مذكوره اخلند
 اولان ابتديه ومسقفات وحدائق وبساتين وارضى حاله في مجد
 حجر ايد ملك اورزه فرمان اولعين اشبود فر تيق اولمشدر
 خزنيه هلا يونده حفظ اولوب فيما بعد معمول به و دستور العمل اولوق
 بابتد امر و فرمان وكيل سلطنت اصف جان حضر تلمريكند

Figure 2. *Tapu Tahrir* 798, page 3. Source: Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi

auspicious arrival at the Holy War of Crete (*cezire-i Girid cihadı*), during the reign of Gazi Sultan Mehmet Han, was able to conquer the well-built fortress of Candia (*hısn-i hasin-i Kandiye'nin feth ve teshir firuzi mukaddir ve ruzi olub*) and to drive out the infidels; upon the conquest, he ordered that the fortress of Candia should be transformed into a prayer hall in favour of Islam (*mabed-i islam*). For this reason, Ahmet Paşa requested a new survey of the buildings, urban dwellings, gardens and tree-gardens, as well as empty plots in the interior of the walls of Candia during the Hicri year 1080 (1669-70). The register which was compiled following his order was sent for archival keeping in the Sultanic Treasury and that is why it is preserved today in Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi in Istanbul.

We do not know the Ottoman compiler of the register. However, we know that during the survey he availed himself of the help of an interpreter, a certain Nicolaki Castroylaka, one of the few Christians who had remained in Candia after the surrender of the town. His house was registered in one of the quarters of Candia, with the note that "sahibi mevcut hala tercümanlık eder" (its owner was present and functioned as an interpreter). The same Nicolaki Castroylaka was also registered, the first among thirteen heads of Christian households, in the highest category for the payment of the *cizye* (*âla*), in the register *Tapu Tahrir* 980 on page 157 (Kolovos, Sariyannis 2008, 207).

The survey starts on page 4 of the register, under the following heading: *Defter-i enbiye ve müsekkefât ve hadaik ve besatin ve dekâkin ve cevami ve arazi-i haliye der derun-i kal'a-ı Kandiye el-vaki fi sene 1080* (Register of the buildings, urban dwellings, gardens, tree-gardens, shops, mosques and empty plots in the interior of the fortress of Candia). There follows the survey of the Arsenal (*Tersane*), which preceded the survey of the quarters of the town. The Venetian Arsenal was registered with five shipyards (*göz*) with capacity for two galleys (which can be identified with the Venetian *Arsenali Antichi*), and nine shipyards with capacity for one galley (the Venetian *Arsenali Vecchi, Nuovi and Nuovissimi*), thus, a total of fourteen shipyards (for the shipyards of the Venetian Candia, cf. Tzompanaki 1996, 277-83, with drawings and plans and Georgopoulou 2001, 66-7).

Starting from page 5, the register surveys the 55 quarters of the Venetian Candia, named after their churches. It is interesting to note that this first Ottoman register follows the Greek vocabulary for the Candia quarters, which will be renamed in the following years after the Islamic religious buildings which had established in the meantime. On page 18, for example, in the quarter of *Kera Hosti*, the survey registers the Catholic monastery of San Francesco (*manastır-ı San Fransesko*), with the note that it was turned into the Great Mosque of Sultan Mehmet Han (*cami-i kebir-i Sultan Mehemed Han*). In the following years, the quarter of *Kera Hosti* will be renamed as the *mahalle* (quarter) of the Sultanic Mosque of Candia. The Ottoman register includes also the following information for

the monastery of the Franciscan monks of Candia (Georgopoulou 2001, 152-3): apart from the church, which was transformed into a mosque immediately after the surrender of Candia, the former monastic complex included 30 upper-story rooms in good condition, 23 ground-floor rooms also in good condition, four audience halls (*divanhane*), four cisterns, four lofts, four fountains, one kitchen and a rectangular minaret, obviously the bell-tower of the church. The monastery had three tree-gardens including grapevines, pine-trees, almond trees, mandarin trees, pomegranate trees, pear trees, roses etc. In total, the plot of the monastic complex was 164 cubits in length and 80 cubits in width ($124.3 \times 60.64 \text{ m} = \text{ca. } 7,500 \text{ square meters}$), if we estimate the Ottoman architect's cubit (*zera*) to be 758 cm.¹

On page 52, the survey registers the Voltone Gate of the old fortress (*Bab-ı Kala-ı Atık nam-ı diğ̃er Volton*), i.e., the medieval fortification of Candia which was enclosed into the new *trace italienne* fortress during the 16th century. The Gate included seven iron windows, ten vaulted open air shops in good condition and seven roofed shops, for a total of 17 shops, seven upper-story rooms also in good condition, as well as five banks functioning as shops (*dolap dükkân*). It is known that these shops were located in the western part of the Gate during the Venetian centuries (Tzompanaki 1996, 63, including a drawing of the Voltone Gate reproduced here and Georgopoulou 2001, 46). The whole complex of the Voltone Gate measured 643 square meters (40 cubits in length and 28 cubits in width = $30.3 \times 21.2 \text{ m}$). The Gate was adjacent to the wall of the old fortress to the east and to the aforementioned shops called 'of Castrofylaka' to the west. The street was crossing the Gate from south to north. According to the Ottoman register, during the quartering of the imperial army in the town, the Voltone Gate was occupied by Recep Ağa, from the 22nd regiment (*bölük*) of the Imperial Janissaries. On the 1st Şaban 1080 (25 December 1669), Recep Ağa, being the *mütevelli* (administrator) of the *evkaf* (pious foundation) of the Grand Vizier Ahmet Paşa, bought the Gate from the fisc, against a payment of 1,888 ½ *esedi kuruş* (Dutch lion thalers).

On page 89 of the register, you find the Palazzo Ducale of Candia (*hane-i Duka*; Georgopoulou 2001, 94-100), with one council hall (*divan*), 22 ground-floor rooms, two audience halls in the upper story (*divanhane*), nine upper-story rooms and a kitchen, a big stable, a big depot, four courtyards, three cisterns, and even sixteen shops in good condition, two shops in ruins, and a separate big shop. In total, the plot was equal to 2,000 square meters (80 cubits in length and 45 in width = $60.6 \times 34.1 \text{ m}$). The Palazzo was standing in the vicinity of the market (*çarşı*) of Candia. Ac-

1 This is the identification of the *zera/arşın-ı benna* by İnalçık 1983, 339. Hinz 1955, 59 estimates the *zirâ al-mimâri* as equal to 0.798 m and for the 19th century to 0.789 m. According to Mehmet Erkal (1991), the Ottoman architect's cubit was equal to 0, 5775 m.

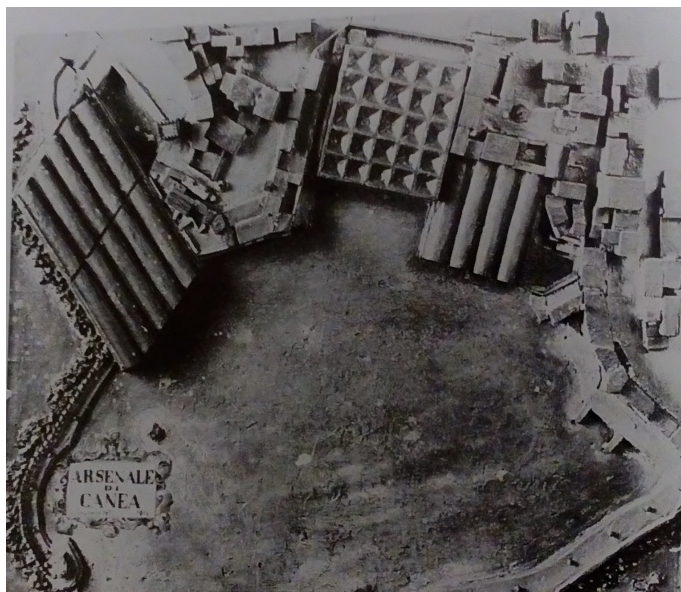


Figure 3. The Venetian Arsenal of Candia
Source: Venice, Museo Storico Navale.
Published in Tzompanaki 1996, 308



Figure 4. The Voltone Gate of the old fortress
Source: Tzompanaki 1996, 63

ording to the information contained in the register, after the surrender of Candia, the Palazzo was occupied by Ibrahim Paşa. The note above the entry informs us that the upper part of the Palazzo was auctioned on the 13th Recep 1080 (7 December 1669), and was sold to Hasan Ağa, against a payment of 2,400 *esedi kuruş*. Hasan Ağa was the Administrator of the *evkaf* of *defterdar* (treasurer) Ahmet Paşa, and he had also bought the remaining building and plot on the 4th Zilhicce 1081 (15 March 1671), against a payment of 500 *esedi kuruş*.

Moving now to the quarters of the Venetian Candia listed in the Ottoman register from 1669, an example of the quarter of Kera Pisoteichiotissa (*Mahalle-i Kera Pisotisa*), surveyed between page 20 and 24 follows. The church of Kera Pisoteichiotissa was included in the survey, with its borders, the house of Papa Da Rodo and the street. Moreover, the register notes that this church was located just opposite the mosque of the Sultan, i.e., the former monastery of San Francesco. We can corroborate the topography of the Ottoman register with the help of the almost contemporary drawing of the town of Candia by General Wertmüller, the Savoyard Swiss officer in command of the Venetian artillery. Moreover, every entry in the Ottoman register includes, as it has already been noted, the exact dimensions of the plots and the buildings in Ottoman cubits. As a result, it is also possible to use these measurements in order to improve the mapping of the Venetian and Ottoman town of Candia: in our example, the church of Kera Pisoteichiotissa measured 110, 24 square meters (19×14 cubits = 14.4×10.6 m) and its tree garden 36 square meters (9×7 cubits = 6.8×5.3 m).

The Ottoman register surveys also the urban dwellings in every quarter of Candia. Let us examine, for example, the entry for the house of Papa Da Rodo, the neighbour of the church of Kera Pisoteichiotissa. His house was adjacent to the house of Papa Androuli, to the house of Marko Moudatso, and to the street. The house included nine ground-floor and three upper-story rooms, all in good condition. The house complex included two cisterns, two wells, two gates, two courtyards with grapevines and three iron windows. We can estimate the surface of the plot to be 273 square meters (20×24 cubits = 15.1×18.1 m). According to the note above the entry for the house of Papa Da Rodo, after the entrance of the Ottoman army in Candia, his house was occupied by the 43rd *cemaat* (regiment) of the Imperial Janissaries. Another note, dated 17 Şaban 1080 (10 January 1670) informs that, presumably after the leave of the 43rd *cemaat*, the former house of Papa Da Rodo was auctioned and sold against 100 *esedi kuruş* to Mehmet Çelebi, head müezzın of "the sacred mosque of His Excellency the Sultan (*Hüdavendigâr*)", i.e., of the former monastery of San Francesco.

The last page of the register, page 248, includes a Sultanic order addressed to the Governor (*vali*) of Crete, the *kadı* of Candia and the *defterdar* of Crete, dated 26 Şaban 1083 (17 December 1672). From this text we are informed that the dwellings, shops, depots, gardens and tree-gardens



Figure 5: Venetian Candia, Drawing of the town by General Wertmüller
Source: Tzompanaki 1996, 289

which were surveyed immediately after the conquest of Candia, were auctioned and sold to those who wished for them during the quartering of the Sultan's Army in Candia. After the departure of the Army, *defterdar* Bekir continued to sell the properties on behalf of the fisc. Later, another Sultan's decree was sent to Candia, ordering the auction of all the remaining properties, and the registration of all transactions in the *ruzmançe* (register of the Treasury of Crete). Thus, it seems that the register, before its departure for Istanbul, continued to be used for the registrations of the transactions of the surveyed properties to the Muslim buyers who had chosen to remain in Candia.

A full study and publication of the Ottoman register of Venetian Candia is under way by the author and a team of students (including Evita Dandali, Dimitris Giagtoglou, and Efthymios Machairas), in the course of a research program within the Institutes for Mediterranean Studies and for Computer Science, FO.R.T.H. (*Mediterranean Cultural Landscapes*). The aim is to digitalize the spatial information from this register. We have already geo-referenced the map of General Wertmüller and started to enter the information from the register on an ArcGIS map. We plan also to use a 3D model of the Venetian Candia in order to present digitally the transformation of Venetian Candia into the new Ottoman Kandiye. Through the use of the digital tools, we will be able to study the spatial transformation of the town, the settlement patterns of the religious and social groups and the social use of space.

Bibliography

- Anastasopoulos, Antonis (ed.) (2009). "The Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman Rule. Crete 1645-1840". *Halcyon Days in Crete VI. = A Symposium* (Rethymno, 13-15 January 2006). Rethymno: Crete University Press.
- Georgopoulou, Maria (2001). *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies. Architecture and Urbanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gerola, Giuseppe (1905-1932). *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta. Ricerche e descrizione fatte dal dottor Giuseppe Gerola per incarico del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*. 4 vols. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano D'arti Grafiche.
- Greene, Molly (2000). *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press.
- Gülsoy, Ersin (2004). *Girit'in Fethi ve Osmanlı İdaresinin Kurulması (1645-1670)*. İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı.
- Hinz, Walther (1955). *Islamische Masse und Gewichte umgerechnet ins metrische System*. Leiden: Brill.

- İnalçık, Halil (1983). "An Introduction to Ottoman Metrology". *Turcica*, 15, 311-48.
- Kolovos, Elias (2008). "A Town for the Besiegers: Social Life and Marriage in the Ottoman Candia outside Candia (1650-1669)". Anastasopoulos, Antonis (ed.), *The Eastern Mediterranean Under Ottoman Rule: Crete, 1645-1840 = Halcyon Days in Crete VI Symposium* (Rethymnon, 13-15 January 2006). Rethymno: Crete University Press, 103-75.
- Kolovos, Elias; Sariyannis, Marinos (2008). "Othomanikes piges gia ton Kritiko Polemo" (Ottoman Sources on the Cretan War). Kaklamanis, Stefanos (ed.), *O Kritikos Polemos: Apo ti Hartografia sti Logotehnia* (The Cretan War: From Mapmaking to Literature). Herakleio: Society for Cretan Historical Studies, 183-214.
- Erkal, Mehmet (1991). *Arşın. Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, cilt 3. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı. 411-13.
- Tzompanaki, Chryssoula (1996). *Handakas: I poli kai ta toixi* (Candia: The Town and its Walls). Herakleio: Society for Cretan Historical Studies.

Osmanlı Egemenliđi'nin İlk Yıllarında Resmo Bađları The Vineyards of Rethymno in the First Years of Ottoman Rule

Ayşę Nükhet Adıyeke
(Mersin University, Turkey)

Abstract Being an important stop of the Levant trade of the Serenissima, Crete was a strategic place for the trade of wine across the Mediterranean. While the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries were the golden age of Cretan viniculture, when Crete passed from the Venetian to the Ottoman rule, the agricultural economy and the export potential of the island witnessed a significant transformation and the production of wine began to decline. According to previous studies wine was replaced by olive oil and soap. However, recent research has shown that this was a change which had begun already under the Venetian rule. During the Ottoman rule, the vineyards of Crete and wine production continued, although somehow limited. In this article the Ottoman legislation concerning viniculture in Crete after the Ottoman conquest will be presented.

Summary 1 Dođu Akdeniz'de Güç Dengelerinin Deđişimi. – 2 Üzümün Düşüşü. – 3 Üzümden Zeytine Vardiya Deđişimi. – 4 Osmanlı Döneminde Üzüm / Şarap.

Keywords Venetian. Ottoman. Crete. Rethymno. Vineyards.

1 Dođu Akdeniz'de Güç Dengelerinin Deđişimi

Osmanlı Devleti'nin İstanbul'u fethiyle birlikte Dođu Roma İmparatorluğu tarihe karıştı. Bu fetih Dođu Akdeniz'deki hem siyasi hem de ticari dengeleri alt üst etti. Levant ticaretinin en önemli iki aktörü olan Ceneviz ve Venedik bu ticaret faaliyetleri sırasında, daha önceleri Bizans, Memluk ve Selçuklularla ilişki içinde iken artık Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile muhatap olmak durumunda kaldılar.

Osmanlıların Levant ticaretine ilk müdahalesi, yapılan anlaşmalarla Venedik Cumhuriyeti'ni Ceneviz'in bir adım önüne geçirmek oldu. Venediklilere İstanbul'da daimi elçi bulundurma hakkı verildiđi gibi bu elçinin Osmanlı nezdindeki itibarı diđer ülkelerin elçilerinden daha yukarıda tutuldu. Bu çerçevede Venedik Cumhuriyeti'nin daha sonraki dönemlerde; Halep, Kahire, İzmir gibi birçok ticari merkezde konsolosluklar açtığını görüyoruz.

Akdeniz’de ticaret, yenedünyanın okyanus ticaretinde olduğu gibi, haf-talarca süren yorucu deniz yolculukları ile yapılmıyordu. Gemiler, Akdeniz kıyı ve ada limanlarında duraklayarak üç beş günlük yolculuklarla seyir gerçekleştiriyorlardı. Dolayısıyla Akdeniz deniz ticareti kıyı ve ada liman koloni duraklarından oluşan bir organizasyonla sağlanıyordu (Braudel 1993, 125, 182; Heyd 1975, 197, 307). Bu kıyı-menzil denizciliği sayesinde gemiler yük alıp indirecekleri limana doğrudan gitmezler, gerek iaşe ve gerekse güvenlik için aradaki birçok limana daha uğrarlardı. Nitekim Venedik Cumhuriyeti’nin siyasi organizasyonu da buna uygun bir şekilde idi; Cumhuriyetin merkezi Venedik şehri, taşrası ise çok sayıdaki koloni liman/ada birleşmesinden oluşuyordu (Brown 1895, 298).

Venedik Cumhuriyeti’ne ait liman koloni dizilimi batıdan doğuya doğru; Balkan yarımadasının Adriyatik/Dalmaçya kıyıları, Kefalonya, Korfu adaları, Mora, Girit, Ege Adaları ve son nokta Kıbrıs adası idi. Bu koloni liman diziliminin aynı zamanda Osmanlı’nın yayılma alanları ile birebir örtüştüğüne dikkat çekmek gerekir. Sağladığı avantajlarla Doğu Akdeniz ticaretinde Venedik Cumhuriyetini ön plana çıkaran Osmanlı, yayılma stratejisi açısından onun hayat alanını hedef almıştı. Venedik’in sonunu getirecek olan süreç de Osmanlı’nın bu yayılma stratejisinde yatıyordu. İstanbul’un fethinden hemen sonra başlayan Ege Adaları’nın (Archipelago) fethi, ardından Mora ve Balkanların Dalmaçya kıyılarının fethi, Kefalonya, Zante, Aya Mavra ve Korfu Adaları, Rodos, Kıbrıs ve nihayet son nokta Girit’in fethi, Venedik için Akdeniz’de sonun başlangıcı demektir.

Tam bu noktada Girit Adası’nın Venedik’in Levant ticaretinde olduğu kadar 15. ve 16. yüzyılda Akdeniz’de üzümün yolculuğunda da önemli bir menzil olduğunu düşünmek için geçerli sebeplerimiz bulunmaktadır. Bu dönem Girit’in tarımsal tarihi içinde şarabın zirve yaptığı bir dönemdi. Şarabın en kalitelisini arayan ve buna övgüler düzen İngiltere’ye bile Girit Adası’nın tatlı şarapları ulaşıyordu (Greene 2000, 110). Venedik’in tüm baskılama çabalarına, adada tahıl üretimini arttırmak için yaptıkları müdahalelere rağmen şaraptan sağlanan kazanç oldukça karlıydı. Bu yüzden adada soylu toprak sahipleri kendilerini bağıcılığa adadı ve tüm yaşantılarını buna göre şekillendirdi.

Ayrıca Avrupa, başta ‘malmsey’ adı verilen tatlı şarabın yanı sıra adanın peynir balmumu vb. gibi diğer bazı lüks tüketim mallarıyla çok yakından ilgiliydi. Üzüm adanın güneyinde Mesara Ovası’nda yetişiyordu ve adanın üç büyük şehri bu ovanın bitişiğinde, deniz kıyısında konumlanmıştı.

2 Üzümün Düşüşü

Girit 16. yüzyıldan 17. yüzyıla, Venedik hakimiyetinden Osmanlı hakimiyetine geçtiği gibi, aynı çağda adanın tarımsal ekonomisi ve ihracat potansiyeli de önemli bir dönüşüm geçirdi. Bu dönüşüm tarihçiler arasında tartışılmakta ve temelde iklimsel, çevresel ve pazar talepleri doğrultusunda şekillenen dış ticaret şartlarıyla açıklanmaktadır.

Molly Greene Venedik'in Girit'teki karlı üzüm üretimi ve zevkli tatlı şarabın ihracatıyla çok ilgili olmadığını söylüyor. Onlar daha çok adanın doğu ticareti yapan gemileri için bir durak ve dağıtım merkezi olmasıyla ve Akdeniz'de devriye gezen donanması için güvenli bir liman olmasıyla ilgiliydiler (Greene 2000, 111).

Özellikle 1569-1573 Osmanlı Venedik savaşları sırasında donanmanın iasesi ve peksimet ihtiyacının karşılanması ön plana çıkmıştı. Bu nedenle Venedik merkezi yönetimi için Ada'nın üzümü ve şarabından önce tahıl arzı hayati öneme sahip oldu. Diğer yandan Osmanlıların savaş sırasında tahıl ticaretini yasaklamaları tahıl krizinin artmasına yol açtı. Tüm bu şartlar altında 17. yüzyıl başlarında Venedikliler adada buğday ekimi yapılması için bağları zorla sökmeye başladılar (Greene 2000, 114).

Üzüm üretimindeki düşüşe bir başka gerekçe olarak Avrupa'da üretimin artması da gösterilmektedir. Bu dönemde İspanya'da geniş araziler üzerinde üzüm yetiştirilmeye ve Girit'inkine benzer tatlı şaraplar üretilmeye başlanmıştı. Buna ek olarak cam şişe ve mantarın icadıyla kuru şarap fermente olmadan yolculuk yapabilmekte ve uzun yıllar saklanabilmekteydi (Stallsmith 2007, 159). Önceden küplerin içinde taşınan ve ağzı balmumu ile kapatılan şarap uzun yolculuklara fazla dayanamıyordu. Ayrıca yine 17. Yüzyılın ilk yarısında Avrupa'da ortaya çıkan ekonomik kriz de Girit'in lüks mallarına karşı talebi azaltmıştı.

Girit'te bu dönemde üretimde yaşanan düşüşün bir başka nedeninin de iklim ile ilişkili olduğu ileri sürülmektedir. 1500-1700 yılları küçük buzul çağı olarak tanımlanmış ve sıcaklık düşüş ve yükselişlerinde anormallikler, aşırı yağışlar yaşanmıştır. Bu yağışlar nedeniyle erozyon ve su baskınları hububat üretimine büyük zarar vermiş ve tahıl ihtiyacını, dolayısıyla da ordunun peksimet ihtiyacını katlamıştı. Venedik Senatosu 1577 ve 1602 yıllarında Girit'te bağların sökülerek hububat ekimi yapılması için önlemler geliştirdi (Stallsmith 2007, 158). Ancak tüm bu çabaların da adada üzüm üretimini tamamen bitirdiğini söylemek mümkün değildir.

3 Üzümünden Zeytine Vardiya Değişimi

Girit üzerine yapılan çalışmalarda genellikle Adanın Osmanlı egemenliği altında bir vardiya değişimi olduğu, üzümün yerini zeytinin; şarabın yerini zeytinyağının ve sabunun aldığı dillendirilmektedir. Ancak son yıllarda

ortaya çıkan arařtırmalar bu vardiya deęişiminin Venedik döneminde başladığına işaret etmektedir.

Ada'da baęcılığın düşüşü gibi zeytinciliğin yükselişinin de bir dizi nedene baęlı olarak bir seyir izlediği yine bazı tarihçiler tarafından tartışılmış ve gerekçelendirilmiştir.

Venedik hükümeti şarap ticaretindeki düşüş ve tahıl üretimindeki açığa kaynaklanan ekonomik gerilemeyi durdurmak için 17. yüzyılda zeytinyağı ticaretini teşvik etmeye, zeytin sıkma atölyelerini geliştirmeye çalıştı (Stallsmith 2007, 159). Diğer yandan bu dönemde Venedik Akdeniz'deki ticaret tekelini kaybetmiş, Fransız tüccarlar daha büyük rol oynamaya başlamışlardı. Onların da ilgisi Marsilya'daki sabun fabrikalarının ihtiyacının karşılanması doğrultusunda Girit zeytinyağına yöneldi (Stallsmith 2007, 164; Brumfield 2004, 56).

Sonuç olarak kısmen deęişen uluslararası piyasalar, kısmen de Venedik ve Osmanlı hükümetlerinin tarım politikalarının sonuçları nedeniyle Girit'in el deęiřtirmesine adanın tarımında da önemli deęişiklikler eşlik etti.

Christos Hadziiossif tarihçiler tarafından öne sürülen tarımsal dönüşümündeki bu gerekçelerin tarımsal ekonominin üretim sürecindeki emek ve mülkiyet gibi iki çok önemli başlığını ihmal ettiğini ortaya koymuştur. İlk olarak Hadziiossif'unda belirttiği üzere, her ikisi de farklı üretim süreci ve emeği gerektirdiğinden dönüřtürülebilir plantasyonlar deęildir (Hadziiossif 2016, 122).

İkincisi, baęcılık usta tarım işçilerine ihtiyaç duyan çok emek harcanan bir faaliyettir. Brumfield Girit savaşı sonrası usta tarım işçilerinin adayı terk ettiğini ifade eder (Brumfield 2004, 56). Oysa zeytin sadece hasat zamanı emek gerektiriyordu. Bu da geleneksel olarak kadın ve çocuklar tarafından yapılırdı. Üstelik zeytin, iklim deęişikliklerine karşı oldukça dirençli bir üründü. Buna ek olarak Osmanlı'nın fethinden sonra adada yoğun emek gerektiren baęcılık faaliyetinde çalıştırılacak insan gücü bulmak iki nedenle zorlaşmıştı. İlk 17.yy.ın sonunda nüfustaki genel azalma, ikincisi soylu toprak sahiplerinin adayı terk etmesiyle köylü üzerindeki ticari ürün baskısının sona ermesiydi (Hadziiossif 2016, 122).

Venedik yönetimi Cumhuriyet'in temel ihtiyaçları ve ekonomik beklentileri doğrultusunda adanın tarımsal faaliyetlerini kontrol altında tutmak için merkantilist yaklaşımla merkezi kontrol oluşturmuştu. Osmanlıların bu konuda köylüyü, tarımsal üretimdeki bireysel tercihlerinde daha özgür bıraktıkları gözlenmektedir. Bu da Hadziiossif'e göre köylüyü fazla emek gerektirmeyen, üstelik de dönemin pazar talepleri doğrultusunda giderek raębet gören zeytine yönlendirmiştir. Ben de bu konuda yazar ile hemfikirim; çünkü, Hadziiossif'in de belirttiği gibi üzüm ve zeytin üretimi birbirinin yerine ikame edilebilecek plantasyonlar deęildi. Hem ekildikleri alanlar itibarıyla hem de üretim sürecindeki insan gücü katkısı nedeniyle bu iki ürünün birbirinin yerini alması olanaklı görünmüyordu (Hadziiossif 2016, 122). Tahrir defterleri üzerinde yaptığımız inceleme de bu tespiti

doğruladı. Zeytincilikteki artışı bağcılıktaki azalma aynı oranda izlemiyordu. Bunu ne köy köy elde ettiğimiz sonuçlarda ne de Resmo livasının bütününde ortaya çıkan görüntüde izah etmek mümkün değildi. Her iki ürünün de artış ve azalış grafiği ancak kendi içinde bir anlam ifade edebiliyordu. Yani özetle her iki ürünün üretim potansiyelindeki değişimi basitçe aynı döneme denk gelmişti.

Tarımsal faaliyet olarak, 'yerine geçme' söz konusu olmadığı net olarak görülmektedir. Ancak tekrar etmekte yarar vardır ki bu verilerle tarımsal üretimin ekonomik katkısı bağlamında söylemek demümkün değildir.

4 Osmanlı Döneminde Üzüm / Şarap

Elde ettiğimiz bulgulara göre Girit'te bağcılık ve şarap üretimi Osmanlı egemenliğinde de devam etti. Ancak adanın ekonomik verilerine ve ticaret hacmine girmeyecek kadar yerel ve bölgesel kaldı (Brumfield 2004, 55). Stallsmith, adanın Osmanlı egemenliğine girmesiyle adayı terk eden Venedik toprak sahiplerinin geride bıraktıkları bağlarını Manastırların satın aldığını ve yerel ihtiyaçlar için şarap üretimine devam ettiklerini belirtmektedir (Stallsmith 2007, 159).

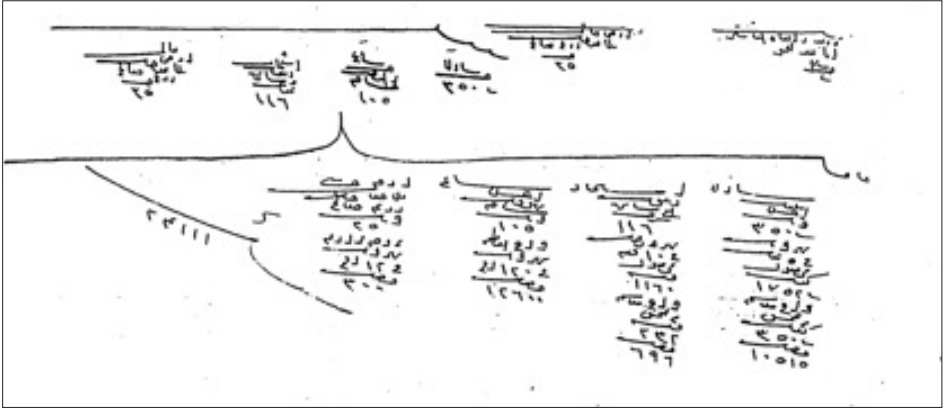
Adada Osmanlı egemenliğinin kurulması sırasında bağcılık ve şarap faaliyetlerinin yerel ve bölgesel de olsa devam ettiğinin en açık göstergesi, yapılan düzenlemelerde bağ ve şarap vergilerinin yer almasıdır. Buna dair ilk bulgu 1650 tarihli Tapu tahrir defterinde yer alan Girit kanunnamesinin bağ maddesidir. Bu maddede yer alan ifadesi üzerinde durulması gereken bir noktadır. "Müslümanlar yeniden bağ dikse bedel-i öşr her dönüme yirmişer akçe vereler. Ve eğer kafirden bağ alınmış olur ise ke'l-evvel öşr alınır".¹ Öşür ürün üzerinden değil dönüm üzerinden hesaplanmaktadır. Öte yandan Kanunnamedeki bu cümle yeni bağların Müslümanlar tarafından dikildiğini arka planda duyurmaktadır. Daha ileri giderek şunu da söyleyebiliriz: Osmanlı, yeni bağ dikilmesi konusunda herhangi bir sınırlama getirmemiş hatta bunun önünü açacak bir düzenleme yapmıştır.

Yine aynı kanunnamede yer alan "ve meyhanelerden hamr satılma kelinderin ve kananesin getirip mühür bastıra ve mühür akçesi iki akçe alına"² hükmünden anlaşıldığı kadarıyla meyhanelerde satılan şarap için kullanılan ölçü araçları mühürlenecek ve bu minval üzere şarap satışı vergilendirilecektir.

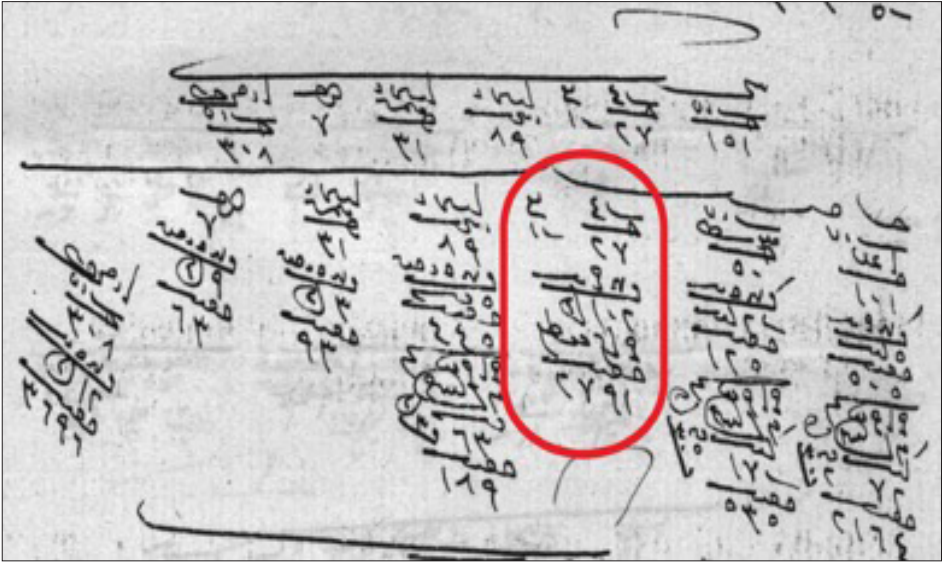
1669'da adanın fethi tamamlandıktan bir yıl sonra 1670'te tahrir işlemi tekrarlanmış ve bu kez bağ maddesi "Kısm-ı sani ki bağları ve eşcar-ı müsmire-yi muttasılayı müştamil bağçeleri mesaha olunub ketb-i şer'iyede

1 BOA, *Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, no. 820.

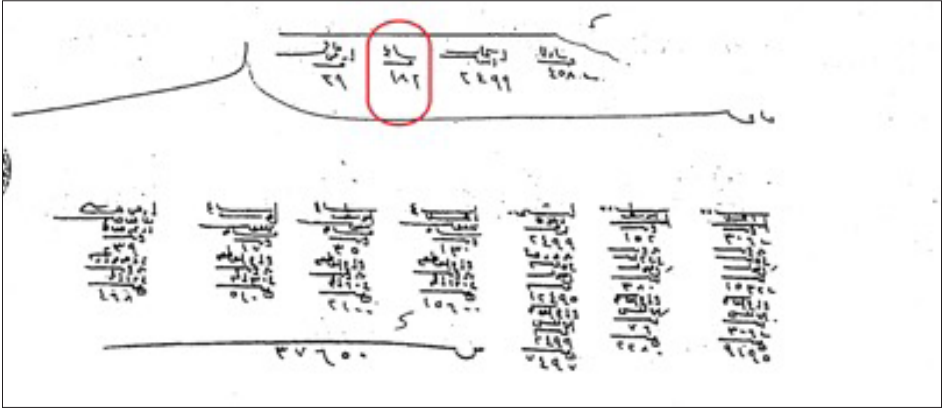
2 BOA, *Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, no. 820.



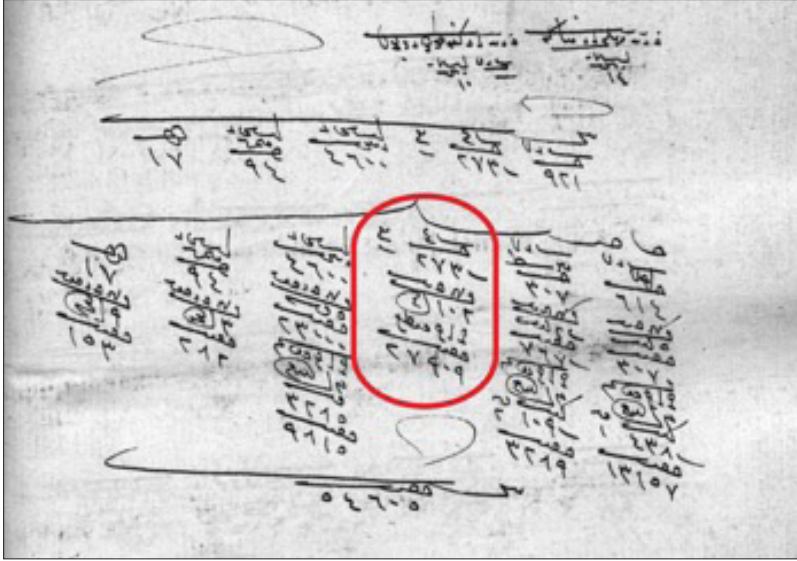
Ek. 1. Azalan Bağ Milopotamu Ayo Monos Köyü, 1670 bağ cerîb (dönüm) 105
Kaynak: BOA, *Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, no. 822



Ek. 2. Azalan Bağ Milopotamu Ayo Monos Köyü, 1704 bağ cerîb (dönüm) 27,5
Kaynak: TKA, *Kandiye Mufasssal Defteri* eski no. 489, yeni no. 1



Ek. 3. Artan Bağ Resmo Açıpopula Koyü, 1670 bağ cerib (dönüm) 182
Kaynak: BOA, *Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, no. 822



Ek. 4. Artan Bağ Resmo Açıpopula Köyü, 1704 bağ cerib (dönüm) 273,5
Kaynak: TKA, *Kandiye Mufassal Defteri* eski no. 489, yeni no. 1

tayin buyurulan haraç-ı mukataa olmak üzere her bir cerib bağ veyahut bağçeden on dirhem-i şer'i vaz olunub ziyade ve noksan talep olunmaz" şeklinde kaleme alınmıştır.³

Ada'da Osmanlı döneminde şarap üretimi ve satışının devam ettiğini gösteren en ilginç madde ise 1669 yılında ilan edilen Girit Gümrük Kanunnamesindeki "hamr (şarap) ve 'arak (rakı) kâfirlere rızık olmağla hamr ve 'arak alub gitseler ve götürseler bahâsı hisâb olunub takdîr olundukdan sonra yüzde dört akçe gümrük alına". (Karancikou 2003, 129-30) hükmüdür. Zira burada kefere tüccarın şarap ve rakı alıp götürebileceği açıkça belirtilmiştir. Şarap ve rakı ticaretinin serbest bırakılmasının gerekçesi de 'keferenin rızığı' yani geçim kaynağı olmasına bağlanmaktadır.

Tahrirlerde öşür ve harac birlikte hesaplanarak maktu vergi adı altında gösterilmiştir. 1670 sayımında bağlar ala, evsat ve edna olarak üç statüye ayrılmış ve üçünün de maktu vergileri, ala bir cerib (dönüm) 120 akçe, evsat bir cerib 60 akçe, edna bir cerib 30 akçe şeklinde ayrı ayrı belirlenmişti. 1704 sayımında bağlar için böyle bir ayırım yapılmadı, her cerib 102 akçeden hesaplandı.

Diğer yandan ihtiyaç hasıl olduğunda bağların tecdiden tahrir edildiğine dair Resmo şeriye sicillerinde bazı kayıtlara rastladık. Bu tahrirlerde önemli miktarda Müslümanın da bağ sahibi olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Örneğin 1108 (M. 1696-1697) yılında yapılan bir tahrirde Resmo Kasteloz köyünde 75 bağ sahibinden on birinin Müslüman olduğu görülmektedir.⁴ Yine 1113 (M.1701-1702) tarihinde yapılan yazımda Resmo'ya bağlı Karoti köyünde 61 bağ sahibinden 10'unun Müslüman olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu noktada bir cümleyle belirtmekte yarar vardır ki adada Müslüman nüfusun büyük bir kısmı ihtida neticesinde oluşmuştur.

Girit'te bu tarımsal dönüşümü belirli bir zaman dilimi ve belirli bir coğrafi kesitte resimleyebilmek amacıyla Osmanlı döneminde yapılan iki farklı gelir sayımını (tapu tahrir) esas aldık. Örneklemimiz Osmanlı egemenliğinin ilk 35 yılı (1670-1704) ve adanın Resmo kentidir.

Girit'te Osmanlı döneminde üç adet sayım yapılmıştır. Bunlardan ilki 1650 de Hanya Resmo alındıktan sonra gerçekleştirilmiştir. İkincisi ise 1670 Kandiye alındıktan ve adanın fethi tamamlandıktan sonra yapılmıştır. Son tahrir ise 1704 tarihinde yani 35 yıl sonra gerçekleşti. Aslında bu Osmanlı tahrir geleneğinin neredeyse sona erdiği bir dönemde yapılmıştır ve hemen hemen Osmanlı'nın son yaptığı tahrirlerdendir.

Ömer Lütfi Barkan, tahrirleri Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda idari ve mali düzenin zorunlu bir aracı olarak kabul eder (Barkan, Meriçli 1988, 4). 'İhtiyaç hasıl oldukça' yapılan tahrirler defter edilir ve tımara ve maliyeye ait işlemler bu defterler üzerinden işlem görürlerdi. Mufassal (detaylı) ve icmal

3 BOA, *Tapu Tahrir Defteri*, no. 825.

4 VGMA, *Resmo Şeriye Sicilleri*, no. 3110, s. 45.

(özet) defterlerde, yazılan yerin idari birimleri, haneler, tasarruf ettikleri arazi ve vergi matrahları net olarak yazılıyordu. Dolayısıyla bu defterler ekonomik açıdan oldukça önemli bilgiler içermektedir. Ada'da Osmanlı egemenliğinin kurulma sürecinde tarımsal faaliyetlerin ve üretim ilişkilerinin incelenmesinde de tahrirler son derece ilginç veriler sunmaktadır.

Adada üzüm üretiminin durumunu görmek için Osmanlı egemenliği altında kayda alınan 1670 ve 1704 tarihli iki adet tapu tahrir defterini incelemeye aldık. Bu çalışmada tahrir kayıtlarının sunduğu veriler bizi sınırladı. İlk Osmanlı egemenliğinde adada üzüm üretimini rekolte ve ihracat açısından karşılaştırılabilecek veriler ne yazık ki bu defterlerde mevcut değildi. Bu nedenle üretimi veya hasılatı karşılaştırma şansımız olmadı.

İkincisi vergi gelirlerini karşılaştırma şansımız da olmadı. Çünkü 1670 sayımında bağlar ala evsat ve edna olarak üç statüye ayrılmış ve üçünün de vergi oranları, ala bir cerib (dönüm) 120 akçe, evsat bir cerib 60 akçe, edna bir cerib 30 akçe şeklinde ayrı ayrı belirlenmişti. Oysa 1704 sayımında bağlar için böyle bir ayırım yapılmadı, her cerib 102 akçeden hesaplandı. Bu nedenle vergi hasılatını da üretimin azalması ya da artması anlamında karşılaştırma şansımız olmadı.

Tüm bu saydığımız nedenlerle her iki tahriri yan yana getirdiğimizde üzümü üretim/rekolte ve ihracat açısından karşılaştırma şansımız olmadı. Geriye elimizde üretimin adada gelişimini izlemek için tek ölçüt kaldı. Bu da vergiye konu olan bağ ölçüm (alan/mesaha) miktarıdır. Bağ miktarını karşılayan ölçüt, alan ölçüsü birimi olan ceribtir. Cerib ölçü birimi olarak bu yüzyılda yaklaşık bir dönüme karşılık gelmektedir.

Bu çalışmadaki amacımız Girit'te Osmanlı egemenliğinin kurulması sırasında bağların durumunu resmetmektir. Bu amaçla çalışmamızda Resmo livasına bağlı köylerdeki 1670 ve 1704 sayımlarında, bağların alan miktarını yan yana getirdik.

Karşımıza çıkan tabloda ilk tespit bağ miktarının da bazı köylerde azalırken bazılarında artmış olduğudur. Örneğin Milopotamu Nahiyesine bağlı Ayo Monos köyünde bu otuz beş yıl içinde bağ miktarı %23 oranında azalırken Resmo merkeze bağlı Açıpopula köyünde %51 oranında artmıştır (Bakınız Ek).

Bu artış veya azalış hiçbir köyde aynı oranda değildir. Aşağıdaki tablolarda görüldüğü üzere nahiyeye bazında da toplam artış ve azalış farklılık göstermektedir. Üstelik yine aşağıdaki tabloda görüldüğü üzere Resmo livası genelinde 1670'den 1704'e otuz beş yıl içinde toplam artış ve azalış görüntüsü oldukça farklıdır. Bu süre içinde bağ miktarı %9 oranında azalmıştır.

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age, 85-96

NAHİYE-Yİ RESMO

Bağ cerib			
1650	1704	Fark	Yüzde
5395.5	5259.75	-135.75	-%2.5

NAHİYE-Yİ MİLOPOTAMU

Bağ cerib			
1650	1704	Fark	Yüzde
3855	3225.25	-629.75	-%16.3

NAHİYE-Yİ AYVASİL

Bağ cerib			
1650	1705	Fark	Yüzde
1290.5	933.5	-357	-%27.7

NAHİYE-Yİ AMARİ

Bağ cerib			
1650	1705	Fark	Yüzde
1409.5	1458	+48.5	+%3.4

RESMO LİVASI GENEL TOPLAM

Bağ cerib			
1650	1705	Fark	Yüzde
11,950.5	10,876.5	-1,074	-%9

Osmanlı egemenliği altında bağların durumu sıkça kontrol edilmiş, harap halde bulunan bağların tespiti ve bundan dolayı reyanın vergi talebiyle rahatsız edilmemesi amacıyla uyarılar yapılmıştır. 1670 ile 1705 tahrirleri arasında zaman zaman sipahiler ya da reaya tarafından gerçekleşen talepler doğrultusunda bağların yerel ve bölgesel olarak yeniden tahrir edildiği görülmüştür. Aynı dönemi kapsayan Resmo şerhiye sicilleri üzerinde yaptığımız çalışmada zaman zaman köy sipahilerinin veya reyanın talebi ve Kandiye Paşası'nın emriyle bağlarda yeniden ölçüm yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır.

Ölçümün “atik ve cedid mahsuldar olan bağların memhur miri resen (halat) ile ve marifet-i şer’le” sıhhat ve hakikat üzere yapılması ve bu bahane ile reayanın taciz edilmemesi de ayrıca belirtilmiştir.⁵

Sonuç olarak adada Osmanlı egemenliği altında bağcılık faaliyetlerinin devam ettiği kayıtlardan anlaşılmaktadır. Üstelik 1704 tarihli tapu tahrir defterinde yer alan kanunnamede de bu bağların mülkiyet konusu olduğu ve miras paylaşımında gündeme getirileceği açıkça ifade edilmiştir. “...cezire-i mesfurenin arazisi arazi-i haraciyeden olmağile ahalisinin yedlerinde ibka olunan bağ ve bağçe ve bostan ve sair arazi mülkleri olub emlak-ı saire gibi tasarruf iderler mesela fevt olsalar vereseleri beyninde ale’l-vechü’l-şer’ taksim olunur...”⁶ Buna uygun olarak kadı kayıtlarında bağlar satış hükümlerinde ve tereke paylaşımalarında yer almakla birlikte adada üzüm üretimi, bağcılık düzenlemeleri, rekoltesi ve ihracatı gibi bilgiler yer bulamamıştır. Kanunname hükümlerinden de anlaşıldığı kadarıyla adada üzüm ve şarap üretimi ve ticareti yapılmasına rağmen, tüm bunların adanın ekonomik ve ticari verilerini etkileyecek boyutta olmadığı anlaşılmaktadır.

Kaynaklar

BOA = İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi:

Tapu Tahrir Defteri, no. 820.

Tapu Tahrir Defteri, no. 822.

Tapu Tahrir Defteri, no. 825.

TKA = Ankara, Tapu Kadastro Arşivi:

Kandiye Mufassal Defteri, eski no. 488, yeni no. 4.

Kandiye Mufassal Defteri, eski no. 489, yeni no. 1.

VGMA = Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, *Resmo Şeriye Sicilleri*, no. 3110.

Bibliyografya

Barkan, Ömer Lütfi; Meriçli, Enver (1988). *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri I*. Ankara: TTK. Yayını.

Braudel, Fernand (1993). *II. Felipe Döneminde Akdeniz ve Akdeniz Dünyası* cilt 1. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

Brown, Horatio F. (1895). *Venice: An Historical Sketch of the Republic*. London: Rivington, Percival & Co.

5 VGMA, *Resmo Şeriye Sicilleri*, no. 3110, s. 45.

6 TKA, *Kandiye Mufassal Defteri*, eski no. 488; yeni no. 4, s.2a.

- Brumfield, Allaire (2004). "Osmanlı Girit'inde Tarım ve Kırsal Yerleşme. 1669-1898". Baram, Uzi; Carroll, Lynda (eds.), *Osmanlı Arkeolojisi*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 49-89.
- Greene, Molly (2000). *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hadziiosif, Christos (2016). "Zeytin ve Zeytinyağının Tarihselliği". Kaya, Alp Yücel (ed.), *Zeytinin Akdeniz'deki Yolculuğu Konferans Bildirileri*. İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Akdeniz Akademisi Yayınevi, 117-28.
- Heyd, William (1975). *Yakın-Doğu Ticaret Tarihi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Karantzikou, Eleni; Poteinou, Penelope (haz.) (2003). *Ierodikeio Irakleiou. Tritos kodikas 1669/73 - 1750/6* [Kadi sicil of Herakleion, Third Codex: 1669/73 - 1750/67]. Herakleion: Vikelaia Library.
- Stallsmith, Allaire B. (2007). "One Colony, Two Mother Cities: Cretan Agriculture under Venetian and Ottoman Rule". Davies, Siriol; Davis, Jack L. (eds.), "Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece". Monogr. no., *Hesperia Supplements*, 40, 151-71.

Fatih Paşalar'ın Kendilerine Armağanı Osmanlı Girit'inde Temlik/Mülk Köyler

Nuri Adıyeke
(Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey)

Abstract Since the beginning of the Ottoman state, Ottoman sultans used to award state (miri) lands to certain individuals in full property (mülk). Full property landowners had the right to exploit their lands as they liked. Immediately after the conquest of Crete, in 1645, some of the villages on the island were awarded as full properties to the Ottoman generals leading the expedition on the island. The Ottoman surveys register a total of 19 villages held in full property across Ottoman Crete: Two villages in the district of Chania were granted in full property to Murad Paşa and one in the district of Rethymno to the Grand Vizier Fazıl Ahmed Paşa. The latter had also secured for himself a total of 16 villages held in full property in the district of Candia. This article has followed in detail the registration of these villages in the Ottoman surveys of 1650, 1670 and 1704, comparing their demographic and economic structures to the data concerning other villages in the same sources, belonging to the state or to pious foundations.

Keywords Ottoman. Crete. Property. Tapu registers. Mülk villages.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda genel çerçevede toprak devletin mülküdür. Sultanın kendisi ile simgeleşen devlet için mülk sahibinin de sultan olması kaçınılmaz bir sonuçtur. Teorik tartışmaların ötesinde sultan, kendisine ait olan bu toprakları istediği gibi tasarruf ederdi. Bu çerçevede devlete ait toprakların bir kısmı, hizmet akdi için tımarlara bırakılır, bir kısmı İslam hukukundaki yegane tüzel kişilik olarak tanınmış vakıflara tahsis edilir, bir kısmı da sultanın yüksek iradesi ile bazı kişilere mülk olarak bahşedilirdi. Şüphesiz ki, bu üç tür toprak tasarrufu arasında belli çerçeve ve yönlerde geçişler söz konusu idi.

Devletin mülkü olan toprak, temlik olarak bazı askeri ve mülki ümeraya hizmetlerine karşılık, özellikle de fütuhata iştirak ve hizmet etmiş olmanın temin ettiği bir hak ve mükafat olarak meccanen veriliyordu. (Barkan 1980a, 234; Barkan 1980b, 253). Bu kişiler de çoğunlukla "aristokrat ve seçkin yöneticiler" idi. (İnalçık 2000, 166) Barkan'ın belirttiğine göre bu temlikler iki grupta olabiliyordu. Birinci grup: *Mutlak mülkler*, ki onları sahih bir mülk olarak düşünebiliriz, malik mülkünü ne isterse yapabiliirdi. İkinci grup: *Mülk-i mahz / hakk-ı sırf*, bunlar da tahsis ve irsat kabilinden olan mülklerdir. Burada devredilen şey toprak değil sadece vergi gelirle-

ridir. (Barkan 1980a, 235; Barkan 1980b, 253) İkinci grup içinde verilen temlikleri bir mülkiyet kaydından ziyade vergi toplama sistematizasyonu içinde düşünmek gerekir.

Sultan tarafından açık bir şekilde temlik edilmiş toprakların malikleri toprağın gerçek sahibi gibi davranma hakkına sahip oluyordu. Malik bu toprakları satabilir, hibe edebilir, miras bırakabilirdi. Keza rehin, şufa, vasiyet ve vakıf ahitleri de bu topraklar için geçerli idi. (Barkan 1980a, 231)¹ Nitekim kayıtlardan bu temlik topraklarda hukuksal olarak en çok karşılaşılan işlemlerin intikal ve vakfa dönüştürme olduğu görülmektedir. Bu temlikler başlarda şahıslara bir gelir gibi düşünülse de esasında bir vakıf maksadının olduğu söylenebilir. (Barkan 1980b, 261; İnalçık 2000, 164 vd.)

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu için yukarıda sözü edilen genel bilgilerin Girit'teki Osmanlı toprak mülkiyeti için de geçerli olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Ada, XVII. yüzyılın ortalarında Venediklilerden alınmış ve burada Osmanlı yönetimi tesis edilmiş, tımar sistemi kurgulanmış ve devlete ait toprakların büyük bir kısmında bu sistem uygulanmıştır. Bu çerçevede bazı topraklar da yönetici elitlere mülk olarak tahsis edilmiştir. Burada bir sınırlamanın altını çizmemiz gerekir. 1705 tarihli kanunnamede yazılı olan “cezire-i mesfurenin arazisi arazi-i haraciyeden olmağ ile ahalisinin yedlerinde ibka olunan bağ ve bağçe ve bostan ve sair arazi mülkleri olub emlak-ı saire gibi tasarruf iderler mesela fevt olsalar vereseleri beyninde ale'l-vechü'l-şer' taksim olunur” kaydı (TKA, 1705 tarihli *Kandiye Mufassal Defteri*, eski no. 488; yeni no. 4, s. 2a) bizim kastettiğimiz mülkiyet organizasyonu değildir. Burada tek tek emlakın mülkiyeti söz konusudur ve bunun meşruiyeti de kadimden malik olma geleneğidir. Burada malik bir tarlanın, bir bağın yani belirli ve küçük bir toprağın sahibidir. Aslında Girit'te özel mülkiyet adanın fethinden itibaren şekillenmiştir. Hububat üretiminin yapıldığı tarlalar, Girit'teki tüm Osmanlı egemenliği süresince, Osmanlı'nın başka memleketlerinde olmadığı biçimde özel mülkiyete açık olmuştur (Bkz. Veinstein, Triantafyliou Balandé 1980; Adıyeke 2001). Bizim inceleyeceğimiz mülkiyet hakkı tımar sisteminin tamamlayıcısı olan, idarenin yeni fatih paşalara mülk olarak tevcih ettikleri büyük topraklardır. Belirtilmesi gereken bir başka nokta da şudur, yukarıda bahsi geçen tevcihatların sultanın iradesi ile gerçekleşmiş olması gerekirken, sultan bu keyfiyeti adadaki yöneticilere bırakmıştır. Şüphesiz ki sultanın Girit adasındaki tımar dağılımlarının detayı ile ilgilenme şansı yoktu. Adanın fatih paşaları bu sistemi kendileri belirliyorlardı. İncelediğimiz belgeler suskun kalmakla birlikte İnalçık, temliklerin sultandan doğrudan veya üst düzey yöneticiler kanalıyla talep edilerek elde edildiğini söylemektedir (İnalçık 2000, 164).

Orta dönemlerin yaygın bir kurumu olan tımar sistemini Girit'te, adaya

1 Keza Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in temlik köylerini evlatlarına, zevcelerine ve kullarına taksim etmiştir (Barkan 1980b, 258).

XIII. yüzyılın başından itibaren hakim olan Venedikliler de uygulamışlardır. Farklı dönemlerde farklı uygulamalar olmakla birlikte, Venedik döneminde de bazı tımar sahipleri tımarını istediği kişiye devretme, miras bırakma, satma, hibe etme hakkına sahipti. (Zinkeisen 2011, 422 vd- 456 vd). Dolayısıyla Girit'in Osmanlı yönetimine geçmesinden sonra hem kendi hukukunda hem de yerel gelenekte var olan bu temlik sistemi yaygın bir şekilde olmasa da uygulama alanına girmiştir. Kayıtlarda Girit'te temlik topraklara sahip üç Osmanlı yöneticisi aileye rastlanmıştır. Bunların ilki Kandiye fatihi vezir-i azam Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, diğeri vezir-i azam Hüseyin Paşa ve onun oğullarından Ahmed Bey ve torunu Hüseyin, sonuncusu da vezir Murad Paşa'dır.

Sayısal olarak en çok temlik köy, vezir Hüseyin Paşa'nın oğlu Ahmed Bey'e verilmiştir. 1650 tahririnde Hüseyin Paşa'dan söz ederken; "vezir Hüseyin Paşa fatih-i cezire-yi Girid" denilmektedir. Aynı tarihli icmal defterinde Hüseyin Paşa'nın aşağıda detaylandıracağımız karyeleri kendisi için değil, "kendi oğlu Ahmed Bey için temlik ettirdiği" açıkça yazmaktadır.² Defterlerde, Ahmed Bey'den alışılmadık bir şekilde "Ahmed Bey veledi Hüseyin Paşa" veya "Hüseyin Paşa'nın veledi" diye söz etmektedir. 1705 tahririnde ise temlik sahibi "Ahmed bin Hüseyin Paşazade" olarak geçmektedir, yani Ahmet Bey'in oğlu Hüseyin Bey'dir. Sayısal açıdan, ikinci olarak "veziri-i azam ve serdar-ı ekrem Fazıl Ahmed Paşa"nın temlikleri son olarak da vezir Murad Paşa'nın temlikleri kayıtlıdır.

Kayıtlarda bu kişilere temlik haklarının yukarıda belirtildiği gibi gösterdikleri yararlılıklardan dolayı verildiği belirtilmiştir. Fazıl Ahmed Paşa'ya "uğur-u din ü mübin ve umur-u hümayun-şevket karinde avn-i rabbani ve inayet-samdani birle hidemat-ı mebrure ve fütuhât-ı meşkurede vücud[a] getirdikleri bezli-i kud[r]jet ve sarf-ı himmetleri mukabelesinde" (TKA, eski no. 488; yeni no. 4, s. 215), Murad Paşa'ya da bundan önce olan seferlerde ve Hanya Kalesi'nin fethinde küffar ile yapılan muharebede "yüz aklıkları göstermiş olduğundan"³ bazı topraklar ve köyler temlik olarak verilmişti. Şüphesiz Hüseyin Paşa'nın da temliklere mazhar olmasının bunun gibi sebeplere dayalı olduğunu düşünebiliriz. Nitekim Kopasi "o misillü [temlik] kuranın kısm-ı azamı Girid'in tarih-i fethinde bir mevki-i mümtaz ahz ile şöhet kazanmış olan serdar-ı Girid Hüseyin Paşa'nın uhdesinde temlik edilmiş idi" demektedir.⁴

Tapu tahrir defterlerinde temliklerin, mutlaka sultanın hatt-ı hümayunu veya temlikname-i hümayunu ile mülk olarak ihsan edildiği yazılıdır. Hatt-ı

2 BOA, TT. d. no. 785, s. 108, 110.

3 BOA, TT. d. no. 820, s. 132.

4 Andrey Kopasi ([1315] 1897-98, 1159), Hüseyin Paşa'nın kendi el yazısı ile yazılmış, 5 Ocak 1659 tarihli bir vasiyetnamede, "bu temlikat-ı mezkureye ne surette nail olduğunu anlattığını" söylemektedir.

hümayunlarda toprakların maliklerinin bu toprakları dilerse satabilecekleri dilerse hibe edecekleri ve dilerlerse vakf edebilecekleri açık ve net olarak yazıyordu.⁵ Bu arazilerin mülkiyetinin temlik sahibine bırakıldığı gibi, buradaki tüm vergiler de “hukuk-u şeriye ve rüsum-u örfiyye” temlik sahibine bırakılıyordu. Bu arazilerin mülkiyetinin temlik sahibine bırakıldığı gibi, buradaki tüm vergiler de “*hukuk-u şeriye ve rüsum-u örfiyye*” temlik sahibine bırakılıyordu.⁶

Girit'teki temlik arazilerini iki grupta incelemek mümkün görünmektedir. Birinci grupta bir köy tamamen bir kişiye temlik olarak bırakılmaktadır. İkinci grup ise şehirde veya köyde arazinin bir kısmının temlik bırakıldığı topraklardır. Anlaşıldığı kadarıyla, köyün tamamı bir kişiye temlik verilmiş ise herhangi bir haritalamaya, sınırlamaya gerek yoktu. Fakat temlikler kentte veya tımar köylerinin arazisi içinde ise sınırlamalar düzenlendiği görülmüştür. Zira kamu arazisi ile mülk arazinin kesin olarak ayrılması ve tartışma yaratmayacak şekilde temlik arazinin haritalanması gerekmektedir. Barkan, bunun kadılar ve mahallin ileri gelenleri tarafından teşkil edilen komisyonlar tarafından yapılan incelemeler ve işaret koymalar şeklinde sınırların tespit edilip sınırlamalar düzenlendiğini belirtir (1980b, 265-6). Gerçekten de 1670⁷ ve 1705 (TKA., eski no. 488; yeni no. 4, s. 215b) (Bkz. Ek) tarihli tahrir defterlerinde bazı sınırlamalar kayıtlıdır. Sınırlamalarda mülk olarak kayıtlı arazinin sınır komşuları tüm yönleriyle tek tek anılmakta temlik arazinin haritası çıkarılmaktadır. Bu işin, Barkan'ın belirttiği gibi kadı ve ileri gelenlerden oluşan bir komisyon marifetiyle gerçekleştirildiğini belirtmek gerekir.

Girit savaşlarının devam edip Hanya ve Resmo'nun Osmanlı yönetimine yeni girdiği dönemde yapılan 1650 tahririnde⁸ özellikle Hüseyin Paşa'nın oğlu Ahmed Bey üzerine temlik edilmiş çok sayıda köy bulunmaktadır. Adanın doğu kısmının henüz Osmanlı yönetimine girmediği bu dönemde bu kişinin üzerinde mülk olarak kayıtlı 13 köy vardır. Kenuryo'da⁹ 8, Granbusa'da 3, Pedye ve Hanya'da da birer adet olmak üzere toplam 13

5 BOA, TT. d. no. 785, s. 109; TT. d. no. 820, s. 116-118.

6 Cf. BOA, TT. d. no. 820 s. 116-117. Temlikler ile ilgili tüm bilgiler Tapu tahrir defterlerinde kayıtlıdır. Bunan dışında ayrı bir defter yoktur. Halil İnalçık British Library'de I. Süleyman dönemine ait bir temlikname koleksiyonu bulunduğunu söylemektedir (2000, 166, dipnot 1).

7 BOA, TT. d. no. 825, s. 822.

8 BOA, Girit Mufassal Defteri, TT. d. no. 820; Girit İcmal Defteri, TT. d. no. 785.

9 Rumca yerleşim isimlerinin okunması önemli bir problemdir. Yazım katiplerinin her ne kadar yerli insanlardan yardım alsalar da bu isimleri Türk fonetiğine göre farklılaştırdıkları anlaşılmaktadır. Bir başka sorun da Rumca bu isimleri Arap harfleriyle yazmaktan kaynaklanmıştır. Bazen katip kendine göre isimleri değiştirmiştir. Örneğin; Mournyes veya Murnies köyünü katip çok açık bir şekilde Murniye şeklinde yazmıştır. Genel olarak katibin yazım şekline uygun yazımları kabul ettik ve parantez içinde köyün Yunanca ismini yazdık. Köy isimlerinin okunuşunda yararlandığımız en önemli kaynak ise University of

adet köy Hüseyin Paşaoğlu Ahmed Bey'in temlikidir. Bu 13 köyün toplam geliri 252,780 akçedir. Burada ilginç bir konu da şudur, Pedye nahiyesi Piskopi (Episkopi) karyesinin geliri 48,780 akçe olarak yazılmış, fakat diğer karyelerin hepsinde gelirler 10,000 veya 20,000 akçe gibi yuvarlanarak yazılmıştır. Bu yazımda köylerin toprak miktarları hiçbir şekilde belirtilmemiş, sadece elde edilen ürün miktarı ve çeşidi kaydedilmiştir. Ahmet Bey'in temlik köyleri Tablo 1'dedir.

No	Köy İsmi	Nahiyesi	Hane sayısı	Hasılatı (akçe)
1	Piskopi	Pedye	146	48,780
2	Peri	Kenuryo	46	10,000
3	Alikyanu (Alithini)	Kenuryo	70	10,000
4	Bobyu (Pobyu)	Kenuryo	172	20,000
5	Plorya (Plora)	Kenuryo	95	20,000
6	Hristolagi(Hirolagi)	Kenuryo	16	14,000
7	Platano (Platanos)	Kenuryo	14	10,000
8	Monohoro ve metohu	Kenuryo	121	20,000
9	Monohoro Çigalyaş (Galias)	Kenuryo	25	20,000
10	Spaluşe(Sympallousa)	Piryotiçe	51	20,000
11	Tibaki	Piryotiçe	53	20,000
12	Aya Tiryada	Piryotiçe	82	20,000
13	Alikanu	Hanya	63	20,000

Tablo 1. 1650 Yılı Hüseyin Paşaoğlu Ahmed Bey Temlikleri
Kaynak: BOA, 77. d. no. 820, ss. 125-131

Crete, Institute for Mediterranean Studies tarafından hazırlanan Digital Crete oldu (<http://digitalcrete.ims.forth.gr/index.php?l=1>) Ayrıca bu konudaki yardımları için Elias Kolovos'a teşekkür ederim.

1650 tahririnde Murad Paşa'nın Hanya Nahiyesi'ne bağlı bir temlik köyü (Furniya Kasteli) vardır ki bunun geliri de 18,000 akçedir. Ayrıca Hüseyin Paşaoğlu Ahmet Bey'in Hanya'ya bağlı 14 farklı has ve zeamet köylerinde parçalı temlik arazileri de vardı.

1650 tahririnden önce Hüseyin Paşa'nın başka karyeleri de temlik olarak aldığını söyleyebiliriz. Zira bu tahrirde, Hüseyin Paşaoğlu Ahmed Bey'in Kisamu nahiyesinde 5 adet (Asiliya?, Piskopi, Lukya?, Drapanya); Hanya (Vrisesve Drakiyana), Apokoron (ArmenusveNea Horyo) ve Resmo (Prases ve Hromanastırı [Hora Manastır]) nahiyelerinde de ikişer adet olmak üzere toplam 11 adet mülk köyünü vakfa çevirttiği belirtilmiştir. Detayları hakkında ileride üzerinde duracağımız temlik köylerin vakfa dönüştürülmesi uygulaması çerçevesinde yapılan bu işlemlerde bu köylerin gelirleri yazılmamıştır.¹⁰

1670 yılında adanın tamamen fethini müteakiben yapılan tahrirler¹¹ ise Girit'in bütünü hakkında daha önemli bilgiler sunmaktadır (1650 ve 1670 yıllarında yapılan iki tahririn genel anlamda değerlendirilmesi ve karşılaştırılması için bkn. Gülsoy 2001). İdari bölümlenmenin farklılaştığını da göz önünde tutarak bu tarihteki temlikleri özetlersek en çok temlik karyenin Hüseyin Paşaoğlu Ahmed Bey'e kayıtlı olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Bu kişinin Kenuryo nahiyesinde çok sayıda köy ve metoh (çiftlik), temlikleri bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca, Monofaça, Piryotiçe ve Pedye nahiyesinde de temlik köyleri bulunmaktadır. Bu köylerin toplam geliri ise 476,223 akçeyi bulmaktadır. Bu karyelerin dökümü Tablo II'dedir.

No	Köy İsmi	Nahiyesi	Hane sayısı	Hasılatı (akçe)
1	Piskopi (Episkopi)	Pedye	261	87,488
2	Kuşe (Kouses)	Kenuryo	24	16,495
3	Metohoryo Aliya ?	Kenuryo	30	8,538
4	Popya (Pobyia)	Kenuryo	94	62,616
5	Peri	Kenuryo	42	25,965
6	Alisini	Kenuryo	39	15,841
7	Monohoro Yalya (Monochoro Galya)	Kenuryo	21	13,832
8	Metoh-u Listaroz (Metohoryaki)	Kenuryo	6	5,088
9	Karye-i Metoh-u Elya?	Kenuryo	4	3,030
10	Karye-i Metoh-u İksarikara (Xeri Kara)	Kenuryo	8	1,575
11	Plora	Kenuryo	106	54,791
12	Metoh-u Platano {Plora}	Kenuryo	31	34,605
13	Metoh-u Kuvari {Plora}	Kenuryo	2	6,750

10 Cf. BOA, TT. d. no.785, s. 109. Defter şerhinde her ne kadar açıkça "onbir" köyden söz etse de yukarıda da görüldüğü gibi on adet köy ismi yazılmıştır.

11 BOA, Girit, Hanya Resmo Mufassal Defteri, TT. d. no. 822; Girit, Kandiye Sitia Mufassal Defteri, TT. d. no. 825.

14	Metoh-u Kustoliyana{Plora}	Kenurya	12	12,705
15	Aya Triyanda	Piryotiçe	71	37,983
16	Sibalussa	Piryotiçe	70	31,144
17	Dibaki (Tymbaki)	Piryotiçe	62	57,777

Tablo 2. 1670 Yılı Hüseyin Paşaoğlu Ahmed Bey Temlikleri
Kaynak: BOA, 77. d. no. 825, s. 168-851 arası muhtelif

1670 tarihli tahrirden anlaşıldığına göre, Murad Paşa'nın Hanya'da toplam 40,000 akçeye yakın gelire sahip 3 karyesi, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa'nın da Monofaça nahiyesinde 2, Milapotamu nahiyesinde de 1 temlik karyesi mevcuttur. Ahmed Paşa'nın Temenos kazasında parçalı farklı temlik arazileri de bulunmaktadır. Bu temliklerin tespit edilen toplam geliri 309,726 akçedir. Buna ek olarak aynı kazanın havass-ı hümayun olan Gavnos köyünde geliri belirtilmemiş 38,371 cerib arazi de Ahmet Paşa temlikidir. 1670 yılında Fazıl Ahmed Paşa'nın ve Murad Paşa'nın temlik köyleri ile ilgili detay Tablo III'dedir.

No	Köy İsmi	Nahiyesi	Temlik Sahibi	Hane sayısı	Hasılatı (akçe)
1	Aya Varvara	Monofaça	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa	198	102,709
2	Aya Toma	Monofaça	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa	224	75,762
3	Aya İrini	Milopotamu	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa	278	122,595
4	Murniye	Hanya	Murad Paşa	56	30,369
5	Meskla	Hanya	Murad Paşa	24	9,140

Tablo 3. 1670 Yılı Fazıl Ahmed Paşa ve Murad Paşa Temlikleri
Kaynak: İlk iki köy; BOA, TT. d. no. 825, s. 910-913 / 950-954. Diğer köyler; BOA, TT. d. no. 822, ss. 43-45 / 504-508

Temlik köylerinin öyküsü izleyebildiğimiz son kaynak 1705 tahrirleridir. Girit'e ait son tapu tahrirleri olan (TKA, Hanya Mufassal Defteri, eski no. 489; yeni no. 1; Kandiye Mufassal Defteri, eski no. 488; yeni no. 4)¹² bu defterler özellikle 1670 defterleri ile büyük bir benzerlik göstermektedir. Temlik köyleri açısından en çok temlik yine Hüseyin Paşazade Ahmed Bey adına kayıtlıdır. Kenuryo kazasında 11, Piryotiçe kazasında 3 ve Kandiye'de bir köy bu kişinin mülkiyetindedir. Bu köylerin toplam geliri 278,013 akçedir. Hüseyin Paşaoğlu Ahmed Bey'in temliklerinin genel özeti Tablo IV'tedir.

12 Bu tahrirler H. 1116-1117 yıllarında yapılmıştır. 1704-1706 yılları arasına isabet eden bu defterleri 1705 yılı tahriri olarak kabul ettik.

Venetians and Ottomans in the Early Modern Age, 97-110

No	Köy İsmi	Nahiyesi	Hane sayısı	Hasılatı (akçe)
1	Piskopi	Kandiye	175	49,581
2	Kuşe	Kenuryo	24	4,362
3	Metohoryo Aliya ?	Kenuryo	41	4,370
4	Boby	Kenuryo	120	46,973
5	Alisini	Kenuryo	28	10,618
6	Monohoro Yalı	Kenuryo	20	4,209
7	Listaro	Kenuryo	13	5,332
8	Pilora (Plora)	Kenuryo	97	32,560
9	Platano	Kenuryo	16	11,808
10	Kuvari	Kenuryo	4	4,890
11	Kustoliyana	Kenuryo	22	6,478
12	Aya Triyanda	Kenuryo	5	1,106
13	Sibalussa	Piryotiçe	58	19,150
14	Dibaki	Piryotiçe	65	49,180
15	Triyanda (Hagi Triadha)	Piryotiçe	81	19,150

Tablo 4. 1705 Yılı Hüseyin Paşaoğlu Ahmed Bey Temlikleri
Kaynak: TKA, eski no. 488; yeni no. 4, muhtelif sayfalar

İncelediğimiz 1705 tahririnde, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa'nın Monofaça'da 2, Milopotamu'da bir köy toplam 184,628 akçelik temlik kaydedilmiştir. Aynı tahrirde Murad Paşa'nın ise kayıtlı olan 2 karyesi bulunmaktadır. Bunların bilgileri Tablo V'dedir.

No	Köy İsmi	Nahiyesi	Temlik Sahibi	Hane sayısı	Hasılatı (akçe)
1	Murniya	Hanya	Murad Paşa	79	26,299
2	Meskla	Hanya	Murad Paşa	27	10,030
3	Magarites	Milopotamu	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa	438	92,154
4	Anadolu	Monofaça	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa	153	38,113
5	Aya Varvara	Monofaça	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa	158	54,361

Tablo 5. 1705 Yılı Fazıl Ahmed Paşa ve Murad Paşa Temlikleri
Kaynak: TKA, eski no. 489; yeni no. 1; eski no. 488; yeni no. 4. Muhtelif sayfalar

Temlik köyleri ile tımar ve vakıf köyleri karşılaştırıldığında göze çarpan herhangi bir farklılaşma bulunmamaktadır. Büyüklük ve zenginlik bakımından, üretimde bir uzmanlaşma bulunmaması bakımından temlik köylerinin diğer köylerle benzer olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Temlik köylerinin diğer temlik köyleri ile karşılaştırılmasında da dikkate değer farklılaşmaların olmadığını söyleyebiliriz. Ancak köylerdeki hane gelirlerinin genel olarak çok farklı olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Tablolardan anlaşıldığı kadarıyla köylerde hane başına düşen hasılat 1,220 akçeye kadar çıkabilmekte veya 181 akçeye kadar düşebilmektedir.

1650 tahririnde toprak esas alınmamış, ürünler esas alınmıştır. Tek tek ürün miktarları yazılmakla birlikte bu ürünlerin ne kadar bir topraktan elde edildiği kayıtlı değildir. 1670 ve 1705 tahrirlerinde ilk tahririn aksine toprak miktarı detaylı olarak yazılmıştır. Tarlalar ala ve muvassat (vasat) olarak cerib miktarıyla ayrı ayrı yazılmıştır. Bağlar da ala, evsat ve edna olarak üç grupta belirtildikten sonra bunların vergilendirilmesinden elde edilecek gelirler de belirtilmiştir. Bunlara ek olarak bahçe, bostan, çayırların yanı sıra boş topraklar da “arz-ı halı” olarak yazılmış ve vergilendirilmiştir. Defterlerde zeytin ve diğer meyve ağaçları da yazılarak her birinin vergileri yazılmıştır. Dolayısıyla 1670 verileri ile 1705 verilerini karşılaştırmak mümkün görünmektedir. Temlik köylerin her üç tahrirde karşılaştırılabilecek veriler sadece hane sayıları ve toplam hasılatlardır.

Karşılaştırmalar her zaman anlamlı sonuçlar vermemektedir. Örneğin; Murniye köyü 1670 sayımlarında 56 hane ve toplam 932 cerib bir araziye sahip iken hasılatı 30,369 akçedir. 1705 tahririnde köy büyümüş 79 hanelik 1062 cerib araziye sahip bir köy haline gelmiş fakat hasılatı yaklaşık %10 gerileyerek 26,299 akçeye düşmüştür. Keza Meskla karyesinde 1670’den 1705 yılına değin hane sayısı %10 artarak 24’den 27 çıkmış toprak büyüklüğü ise %75 artarak 282 ceribden 463 ceribe yükselmiştir. Hasılatla baktığımız zaman %10’luk bir artış yaşanmış ve 9140 akçe olan hasılat 10,030 akçeye yükselmiştir.

1670 tahriri ile 1705 tahriri de köylerin sürekliliği açısından önemli veriler sunmaktadır. Hüseyin Paşaoğlu Ahmet Bey temlik köylerinden Piskopi, Kuşe, Metohoryo Aliya, Poby, Alisini, Monohoro Yalı, Metoh-u Listaroz (Metohoryaki), Plora, Metoh-u Platano, Metoh-u Kuvvari, Metoh-u Kustoliyana, Aya Triyanda, Sibalussa ve Dibaki karyelerinin 1670 yılı hane sayıları ve toplam hasılatı karşılaştırıldığı zaman dikkat çeken durum şudur. Köylerin hane sayıları bazılarında artmış bazılarında azalmıştır. Fakat Listaroz karyesi hariç bütün köylerin toplam hasılatında önemli bir azalma göze çarpmaktadır.

Temlik köylerin döneminde yaşadığı önemli bir sorun bu köylerin genel tahrirler sırasında farklı kişilere ve kurumlara yazılmaları ve çeşitli taarruzlara maruz kalması olmuştur. Örneğin; Kursiua köyünde bazı yerler hatt-ı hümayun ile Murat Paşa’ya temlik edildiği halde sonradan bazı kişiler bunun mülkiyetine tımar ve zeamet yoluyla müdahalede bulunmuşlardır. Daha sonra bu mülklerin bir kısmı geri verildiyse de Piskopi karyesinin geri verilme işlemi unutulmuştur. Buranın da hatt-ı hümayun mucibince geri verilmesi için 11 Kasım 1654 de işlem yapılmıştır.¹³ Keza 1673 Ekim tarihli bir kayıta vezir-i azam Ahmed Paşa’nın Kandiye Kalesi altında ve muhtelif karyelerdeki parçalı temliklerinin “keşf ve muayene” olunarak, hücceti mucibince defterhane-yi amirede tashih

13 BOA, TT. d. no. 820, s. 132.

edilip mucibince kayıt edilmesi gerekliliği yazılmıştır.¹⁴ Her iki kayda da genel tahririn hemen arkasına tarihlenmesi bu konularda tahrirler çerçevesinde sorunlar yaşandığını göstermektedir.

Temlik arazinin doğal bir süreç olan mirastan sonra en çok vakfa dönüştürme işlemine maruz kaldığı görülmektedir. Barkan'ın, bu temliklerin kimi zaman arazinin vakfa çevrilmesi için bir önbiçim olabileceği (Barkan 1980 b, 251 dipnot 3) tezi de pek göz ardı edilecek bir görüş değildir. Nitekim Girit'e ait her üç tahrirde de buna dair çok sayıda işlem ile karşılaşılacaktır. Temliklerin vakfa dönüştürülmesinden önce 1650 tahrir defterlerinde başta vezir Hüseyin Paşa'ya (Bkz. Sağır 2013), 1670 ve 1705 tahrirlerinde vezir Fazıl Ahmet Paşa'ya ve daha birçok yöneticiye ait çok sayıda vakıf köy ve mülkleri defterlerde kayıtlıdır. Bu köy ve arazilerin, Osmanlı egemenliğine girişi sırasında vakıf arazisi olarak kaydedildiği düşünülmelidir. Dönüşme işleminde ise toprak bir kişiye mülk olarak tescil edilmekte bu kişi de bir süre sonra bu mülkünü vakfa devretmektedir. Anlaşıldığı kadarı ile temliklerin vakfa çevrilmesi yeni bina ve vakıfların kurulması ile ilişkilidir.

Temliklerin vakfa çevrilmesi ile ilgili ilk örnek Nisan 1659 tarihidir. Vezir-i azam Hüseyin Paşa'nın Girit'te bulunan kethüdası Ömer Ağa vasıtasıyla yapılan işlemde Pigi karyesi ve Resmo kalesindeki hamamın gelirleri Resmo'da bina ettirdiği camiye vakfedilmiştir.¹⁵ Ayrıca aynı tarihte birçok köy Resmo ve Kisamu'da bina ettirdiği caminin mühimmat ve mürtezikasını için vakfedilmiştir. Ayrıca 14 farklı köydeki parçalı temlikler de bu vakıflara zam olunmuştur.¹⁶

1745 Şubat tarihli bir işlem de Darüssade Ağası Beşir Ağa'nın arzualinden izlenmektedir. Defterde, bundan önce temlik olan Hanya nahiyesine bağlı Furniya ve Meskla karyelerinin yeni bina olunan "medrese-i latife" için vakıf olarak aktarıldığı yazılıdır. Bu iki köyün kayıtlı bağ, bahçe, zeytin ve diğer ağaçların vakfa aktarılması için gerek yerel mali görevlilerle gerekse merkez maliyesi ile yazışmalar yapılmış; yıllık 39,109 akçe tutan gelirlerin, adı geçen vakfa, medresenin masrafları için vakıf kaydedilmesine karar verilmiştir (TKA, eski no. 489; yeni no. 1, s. 26b-27a).

Son olarak hem ilginç hem de detayları hakkında bilgimiz olmayan ve uygulanıp uygulanmadığını tam olarak bilemediğimiz bir vakıftan söz edeceğiz. Girit'te bir dönem Osmanlı yöneticisi olarak çalışmış ve oldukça önemli bilgiler sunan Andrea Kopasi, Hüseyin Paşa'nın bir vasiyetinden söz etmektedir. Bu vasiyetinde Paşa'nın Hanya'da, Kandiye'de ve Resmo'da birer tane eytam ve ihtiyaç sandığı kurduğundan söz etmektedir.¹⁷ Buna

14 BOA, TT. d. no. 825, s. 506.

15 BOA, TT. d. no.820, s. 116-118.

16 BOA, TT. d. no.785, s. 109-110.

17 "Eytam ve ihtiyaç sandığı" terimi XIX. yüzyılda kullanılan bir terimdir. Kopasi çok büyük bir ihtimalle bu terimleri nü kud vakfı karşılığında kullanmıştır.

göre bu sandıkları bir başkan dört üye gönüllüler yöneteceklerdi. Aşar ve tapu hasılatının “her ne miktar murad ve emr” ederse o miktarı vakfa gelir yazılacaktır. Sandıktan çıkan akçenin her kesesi yani 500 kuruş, aylık 31 akçe faizle kefiller ile talep edenlere verilecektir. Bu sandıkların amacı ahaliden anasız, babasız, akrabasız, yetim kalan kız ve erkeklere nafaka, elbise temin etmek gelin olacaklara çeyiz almaktır. Bu sandıkların muhasebesi her altı ayda bir kontrol edilecekti. (Kopasi [1315] 1897-98, 1159) Bu kontrol mekanizması aslında tüm para vakıfları için uygulanan bir prosedür idi. Kopasi bu bilgileri verirken vakfının kuruluşunda hangi köylerin vakfa dönüştürüldüğünü yazmamaktadır.

Sonuç olarak; ilk etapta merkezden oldukça uzakta olan toprakların temlik sahibi Osmanlı elitleri için ne gibi avantajlar sağladığı tartışılabilir. Geçen zaman içinde elitlerin ahfadına bu durum çok önemli avantajlar sağlamıştır. Bu mülk sahiplerinin büyük bir çoğunluğu temlik köylerin vergi ve çeşitli gelirlerini camilere ve diğer hayır kurumlarına vakfetmişlerdir. Cami ve diğer kurumların masrafları vakıf hasılatından çıktıktan sonra kalan hasılat “şart-ı vakf vechle” varislere kalıyordu. Kalan para bu kişilerin ekonomik olarak rahat bir hayat sürdürmelerini olanaklı kılıyordu. Buna ek olarak bu kişilerin bu köylerin “umuruna nazarat etmek” vazifesi de kendilerine intikal ediyordu. (Kopasi [1315] 1897-98, 1159) Bu durum da bu kişilerin toplumsal prestijlerinin devamını sağlıyordu.

Sultanın ihsanı olan temlikler yine sultanın iradesiyle müsadere yöntemi ile tekrar miriye dönüştürülebilirdi. Ne varki vakfa dönüştürülen temlikler vasıtasıyla fatih paşalar ahfadının geleceğini hem ekonomik açıdan hem de toplumsal statü açısından garanti altına almış oluyorlardı. Girit’te de bu sürecin sisteme uygun olarak yürüdüğü görülmektedir.

Kaynaklar

- TT. d. = Girit *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri*
BOA = İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
TT. d. no. 785, 1650 Tarihli Girit İcmal Defteri.
TT. d. no. 820, 1650 Tarihli Girit Mufassal Defteri.
TT. d. no. 822, 1670 Tarihli Hanya, Resmo Mufassal Defteri.
TT. d. no. 825, 1670 Tarihli Kandiye, Sitia Mufassal Defteri.
TKA = Ankara, Tapu Kadastro Arşivi
Eski no. 489; yeni no. 1, 1705 Tarihli Hanya Mufassal Defteri.
Eski no. 488; yeni no. 4, 1705 Tarihli Kandiye Mufassal Defteri.

Bibliyografya

- Adıyeke, Ayşe Nükhet (2001). "XVII. Yüzyıl Girit (Resmo) Kadı Sicillerinde Zimmi Davaları". Çiçek, Kemal (ed.), *Pax Ottomana Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*. Haarlem-Ankara: Sota-Yeni Türkiye, 77-95.
- Barkan, Ömer Lütfi (1980a). "Mülk Topraklar ve Sultanın Temlik Hakkı (1)". Barkan, Ömer Lütfi, *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi Toplu Eserler*. İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 231-47.
- Barkan, Ömer Lütfi (1980b). "İmparatorluk Devrinde Toprak Mülk ve Vakıfların Hususiyeti (1)". Barkan, Ömer Lütfi, *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi Toplu Eserler*. İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 249-81.
- Digital Archeological Atlas of Crete*. URL <http://digitalcrete.ims.forth.gr/index.php?l=1> (2018.06.17)
- Gülsoy, Ersin (2001). "Osmanlı Tahrir Geleneğinde Bir Değişim Örneği: Girit Eyaleti'nin 1650 ve 1670 Tarihli Sayımları". Çiçek, Kemal (ed.), *Pax Ottomana Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*. Haarlem; Ankara: Sota-Yeni Türkiye, 183-203.
- İnalçık, Halil (2000). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi 1300-1600*, cilt 1. Halil. İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık.
- Kopasi, Andrey [1315] (1897-98). "Girid'in Ahval-i Umumiye ve Tarihiyesi". *Mecmua-yı Ebuzziya*, 7(69-70) (Cemazie'l-Evvel), 1085-93, 1158-62.
- Sağır, Yusuf (2013). "Gâzî Hüseyin Paşa'nın Girit'teki Vakıf Eserleri". *Turkish Studies*, 8(2), 285-301.
- Veinstein, Gilles; Triantafyliou Balandé, Yolande (1980). "Les Inventaires Après Décès Ottomans de Crète". Woude, Ad M.; van der Woude, A.M.; Schuurman, Anton (eds.), *Probate Inventories A New Source for the Historical Study of Wealth Material Culture and Agricultural Development*. Wageningen: Afdeling Agrarische Geschiedenis Landboowhogeschool, 191-204.
- Zinkeisen, Johann Wilhelm (2011). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, cilt 4. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları.



Ek. 1. Tapu Kadastro Arşivi, Kandiye Mufassal Defteri, eski no. 488; yeni no. 4, s. 215b.

Vezîr-i â'zam ve serdâr-ı ekrem Ahmed Pâşâ adâm-allahu te'âla ve iclâle-hunun uğûr-u dîn ve mübîn ve umûr-u hümâyûn şevket karînde 'avn-i rab-bâni ve 'inâyet sâmedâni birle hidemât-ı mebrûre ve fûtûhât-ı meşkûrede vücûd getürdükleri bez-i kud[r]let ve sarf-ı himmetleri mukâbelesinde bâ-hatt-ı hümâyûn şevket makrûn hibe ve temlîk ve ihsân buyurulan bâlâda mastûr Topaltı'nda dâhil-i emlâk ve ârâzînin sınûr ve hudud deyu rûknü zikr olunur ber-mûcib-i defter mesâha ka'le-i Kandiye hâricinde sâhil-i bahrin şark tarafında vâki' Nazarâta dimekle ma'rûf mevz'ide İbrâhim Pâşâyurdu altındaki sedd ile mezârlık altından geçüb Pedye nam karye yolunda ve andan tarîk-i 'âmm ile gidüb Tâşlıdâğ'ın altında vaki İncir sedd üzerinde vaki tarîk-i hâss ile harâbe şirahâneye ve andan yine zikr olunan İncir sedd üzerindeki yol ile Câmeşûy Deresi'ne ve yine andan dere ile bir mikdâr yukaru gidüb zikr olunan derenin üzerinde yol ile Aktepe'den yukaru harâbe manâstıra ve andan sedd kenârında vâki' şirehâneye ve andan sedd ile tarîk-i 'âmma müntehi olub ba'dehu dört yol bâşına ve andan Frenkyol ile yeniçerîlerin eski karâgolhânesine andan Tekye altında vâki' Frenkyolu'nda Burûsa nâm karyede vâki' hamâm yerine ve andan yine zikr olunan Burûsa karyesi sinor dâhilinde Eskiordu altında vâki' tarîk-i 'âmm ile Anâdolu karâgolhânesine ve andan yine tarîk-i 'âmm ile Rumili karâgolhânesine andan derede vâki' Hasan Pâşâ Köprüsü dimekle meşhûr taş köprüye ve andan köprüyü geçüb yol ile sedd üzerinde vâki' mağâraya ve andan yolun sol tarafında vâki' harâbe şirehâneye ve andan yine yol ile Finike nâm karyeye tefrîk olunan yol başına ve andan Alayyolu ile tepede vâki' üç yol başına ve andan aşağı yine Alâyyolu ile üç yol başına ve andan aşağı yine Alayyolu ile ova yolunun üzerine uğrayub andan yine Alây tarîkiyle Finike Deresi'ne ve andan yine zikr olunan tarîk-i alây ile yol üzerinde vâki' yerlü büyük kayaya ve andan bâş muhâsebeci Mehmed Efendi olduğı sedd başında vâki' mağâralar üzerinde yol ile mezârlığa ve andan beğlik kassâbhâneye ve andan aşağı sedd ile Vârdiye Kulesi altında harâbe şirehâneye ve andan aşağı yine üç yol başında vâki' harâbe şirahâneye ve andan Uluyol altındaki eski binâ yerinde deryâya doğru vaz' olunan nişân taşları ile su deresinin deryâya muhtelit ve mülâhık olduğı mahallden deryâya müntehi olur.

Venedik Konsolosu Bernardo Caprara'nın Larnaka'da Deniz Ticari Taşımacılığına Dair Bazı Gözlemleri (1774-1775)

Some Observations by Venetian Consul
Bernardo Caprara on Maritime Transportation
in Larnaca (1774-1775)

Özgür Oral
(Istanbul University, Turkey)

Abstract In the 18th century, Larnaca, the main international port of Cyprus, enjoyed a very vivid commercial life. The island's rich sources and its geographical position made Cyprus a center of attraction in the Levant and during this period, an important number of ships visited the island. This article offers a portrait of the commercial and transportational activities in Larnaca based on the Venetian registers of 1774-75 located in the ASVe, prepared by Bernardo Caprara, the island's Venetian Consul. The analysis of the registers will bring to light the Western participation in the commercial life of the Levant; the port's potential; the distribution of the flags of the ships that docked in the port; and the types of ships that were used by foreign states. Special interest will be given to the products which were imported and exported from the port of Larnaca.

Summary 1 Giriş. – 2 Kaynaklara Dair. – 3 Veri İncelemesi.

Keywords Larnaca. Commodity. Levant. Trade. Maritime transportation.

1 Giriş

Osmanlı limanlarının sunmuş olduğu ticari fırsatlardan istifade etmek isteyen Batılı devletler, Osmanlı Devleti'nden almayı başardıkları ahidnamelerle Akdeniz'de ticari bir örgütlenme yoluna gitmişlerdir. Temelde konsolosluklar ihdası vasıtasıyla tesis edilen bu örgütlenme ile Batılı devletler hem bölgedeki tacirlerinin ticaretlerini rahatlıkla devam ettirmesini temin ederlerken hem de bu temsilcilerin üretmiş oldukları raporlar vasıtasıyla bölgeye yönelik ticari politikalarını belirleme ve gerektiğinde güncelleme imkanına kavuşmuşlardır. 18. yüzyıla gelindiğinde de Osmanlı egemenliğindeki Doğu Akdeniz limanlarında çok sayıda konsolos yahut konsolos vekilinin görev yaptığı görülmektedir (Bkz. Özkul

2013, 256-7).

Akdeniz'in kadim devletlerinden biri olan ve bir dönem Kıbrıs adasında doğrudan egemenlik tesis etmiş bulunan Venedik Cumhuriyeti, adanın Osmanlı egemenliğine girmesi ile birlikte buradaki ticari çıkarlarını muhafaza etmek için Osmanlı Devleti'nden almış olduğu müsaade ile 1588 yılında Larnaka'da bir konsolosluk açmıştır.¹ 1645 senesinde Girit'in Osmanlılarca kuşatılması ile patlak veren savaş (1645-1669) Venedik Cumhuriyeti'ni içerisinde Kıbrıs konsolosluğunun da bulunduğu Osmanlı Devleti'nde faal bulunan konsolosluklarını kapamaya mecbur etmiş ve konsolosluk sistemi bir daha 1718 tarihinde Venedik Cumhuriyeti ile Osmanlı Devleti arasındaki son savaşı (1715-1718) bitirecek olan Pasarofça Antlaşması imzalanıncaya dek tam anlamıyla işlevsel hale gelememiştir (Ianiro 2009, 187).² Bu tarihten sonra Halep ve İskenderiye konsoloslukları ile Larnaka'daki Kıbrıs ve tevabii konsolosluğu bölgedeki üç önemli konsolosluk merkezi olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Oral 2017, 96-170). Burada görev yapan konsoloslar Venedik devleti için icra ettikleri bir çok fonksiyonun yanında önemli birer enformasyon kaynağı olmuşlardır (Pedani 2007).

1764 yılı 28 Eylül'ünde esasen Livorno doğumlu bir Venedik vatandaşı olan Bernardo Caprara 9 Nisan 1765 tarihinden itibaren göreve başlamak üzere Venedik'in Kıbrıs ve tevabii konsolosu olarak seçilir³ ve 1778 senesinde hayatını kaybedene kadar geçen dönemde bu vazifeyi icra eder.⁴ Bu dönemde konsolosluk kaçırlaryasının üretmiş olduğu evrak büyük ölçüde günümüze ulaşmıştır ve adadaki Venedik ticari varlığını bu evraktan hareketle takip edebilmek mümkün olmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın ana malzemesini oluşturan Larnaka limanına giriş yapan ve bu limandan ayrılan gemileri gösteren aşağıda daha da detaylandırılacak olan listeler Bernardo Caprara tarafından hazırlanmış olup bu evrak içerisinde dağınık bir biçimde yer almaktadır.

Osmanlı Devleti'nin Rusya ile büyük bir mücadele içerisine girdiği 1768-1774 savaş periyodu Osmanlı Devleti'ni derinden sarstığı gibi, bu

1 ASVe, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, Seconda Serie*, Consoli, Vice Consoli in Genere, b. 21, d. 169 prima. 3 Haziran 1588 tarihli bir karar ile teşekkül ettirilmiştir.

2 Kıbrıs'a 1710 yılında Paulo Scrivanich konsolos olarak atansa da, sadece 1 yıl görev yapacaktır. Konsolosluğun bir kez daha işlevsel hale gelmesi ancak 1721 yılında Liberal Calogera'nın atanması ile mümkün olacaktır.

3 ASVe, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, Terminazioni, b. 282, no: 71, 28 Eylül 1764. Caprara, görevine ancak 4 Haziran 1765 tarihinde başlayabilecektir 9 Cemaziyelahir 1179/23 Kasım 1765 tarihinde Osmanlılarca beratı verilmiştir (BOA, *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri* (A.DVN. DVE), 16/4, s. 138/330). 28 Cemaziyelahir 1195/19 Kasım 1774'te de cülus dolayısıyla konsolosluk beratı yenilenmiştir (16/4, s. 141/346).

4 ASVe, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, b. 649, no: 94, ek 1 ve ek 2, 25 Eylül 1770 ve b. 650, 18 Kasım 1778.

savaş esnasında Rus donanmasının Baltık Denizi'nden hareketle Akdeniz'e girmesi ve burada faaliyetlere başlaması Akdeniz'deki dengeleri değiştiren bir gelişme olmuştur. Bu süreçte Akdeniz'deki Osmanlı donanmasının tamamına yakınının Çeşme'de imha edilmiş olması ve Rus donanmasının Osmanlı kıyılarında serbestçe hareket edebilir hale gelmesi Osmanlı ticaretini durma noktasına getirir. Bu durum bu dönemde İzmir'de görev yapmakta olan Venedik'in İzmir konsolosu Luca Cortazzi ile birlikte Fransa, İngiltere, Napoli, Hollanda, İsveç ve Prusya temsilcilerinin bu hususta Rus orduları kumandanı Orlov'a hitaben yazdıkları bir mektupta çok iyi resmedilmektedir. Bu temsilciler topluluğu Rusların bölgedeki faaliyetleri ve çok sayıda Türkü esir etmiş olmaları dolayısıyla Efrenc milletinin ve yerli Rumların ticaret yapamaz hale geldiklerini yazarlarken, konsolosların Orlov'dan bir an evvel esirlerin serbest bırakılmasını talep ettikleri görülür.⁵ Tıpkı İzmir'de olduğu gibi imparatorluğun diğer limanlarında da benzer tedirginliğin yaşandığı ve ilaveten Osmanlı tüccarının güvenlik sıkıntıları dolayısıyla deniz ticaretine dahil olamadıklarını söylemek mümkündür.

Bu savaş sürecinde Osmanlı gemileri ile Rus gemileri son olarak 28 Ekim 1772'de Balyabadra'da karşı karşıya gelmişlerdir (Blackmore 2011, 133); bundan sonra Akdeniz'de Rusların etkisi azalacak ve ticarete normalleşme süreci başlayacaktır. Osmanlı Devleti'nin 26 Temmuz 1774 senesinde Rusya ile Küçük Kaynarca Antlaşması'nın imzalaması ile birlikte Akdeniz'deki savaş durumu resmen ortadan kalkmıştır. Antlaşmanın 17. maddesi uyarınca, Rusya Akdeniz'de ele geçirdiği yerleri iade ederken, 11. maddesi ile de Karadeniz ve Akdeniz'de Rus gemilerinin serbestçe ticaret yapabilmesi hususu da düzenlenmiştir. Böylece Akdeniz'de 1768 sonrası Rusya kaynaklı olarak oluşmuş olan güvenlik sıkıntısı tamamen ortadan kaldırılmış olur (Bkz. Beydilli 2002; Bostan 1995, 357-359).

Bu kısa çalışmada Osmanlı karasularında güvenlik sıkıntılarının büyük ölçüde azalmış olduğu 1774-1775 yıllarını kapsayan iki yıllık bir periyotta Larnaka limanındaki deniz ticari taşımacılığına dair Bernardo Caprara tarafından hazırlatılan listelerden elde edilen verilerin bir analizi yapılacaktır. Öncelikle çalışmaya esas olan kaynakların kısa bir tanıtımı yapılacak, ne tür özellikler gösterdikleri ve ne gibi bilgiler ihtiva ettikleri konusuna değinilecektir. İkinci olarak bu kaynaklarda yer alan verilerin tasnifi ve sonrasında tahlili yoluna gidilecektir. Bu sayede Larnaka limanında 1774 ve 1775 yılları arasında yaşanan uluslararası deniz ticari hareketliliğinin bir resminin çizilmesi hedeflenmektedir.

5 ASVe, *Cinque Savi alla Mercaniza*, b. 749, numarasız, 21 Temmuz 1770.

2 Kaynaklara Dair

Venedik Devlet Arşivi'nde (ASVe) *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia* tasnifi içerisindeki Konsolos Mektupları (*Lettere dei Consoli*) serisindeki 649 ve 650 numaralı dosyalar içerisinde Bernardo Caprara tarafından hazırlanmış olan iki tür liste yer almaktadır. Bunlardan ilki Kıbrıs Limanına Giren ve Limandan Ayrılan Yabancı Gemilere Ait Kayıt Defteri'nin Özeti (*Estratto dal Libro Annotazione dell'Arrivo e Partenza de Bastimenti Esteri in Questa Rada di Cipro*) diğeri ise Kıbrıs Limanına Giren ve Limandan Ayrılan Venedik Gemilerine Ait Kayıt Defterinin Özeti (*Estratto dal Libro Annotazione dell'Arrivo e Partenza de Bastimenti Veneti in Questa Rada di Cipro*) başlığını taşırlar. Bu dosyalar içerisinde çok sayıda benzer liste yer almakla birlikte 1774 ve 1775 yıllarına ait hem Venedik hem de yabancı gemilere ait kayıtları havi özet listelerinde bir eksiklik yer almıyor oluşu ve bu dönemde yukarıda da ifade edildiği üzere ticaretin normalleşme sürecine girmiş olması bu iki seneye odaklanılmasının başlıca etkeni olmuştur.

Yabancı gemilere ait kayıtlar tarih bazlı tutulmuş olup, ticaret gemilerinin limana giriş tarihi esas alınmak suretiyle iki sütun halinde hazırlanmışlardır. Tarihin ardından geminin nereden geldiği hususuna açıklık getirilmektedir. Ardından geminin cinsinin ne olduğu izah edilir. Onu geminin bandırasının ne olduğu takip eder. O dönemde de gemilere isim verme uygulaması yaygın olduğundan gemilerin isimleri de bu kayıtlarda kendilerine yer bulmuşlardır. Geminin ismini kaptanın ismi takip eder. Kaptanın isminden sonra ise varsa şayet geminin kargo durumuna dair bilgiler yer alır. Sonrasında ise zaman zaman geminin varış yerinin neresi olduğuna dair bilgi verilir. İkinci sütunda ise bu sefer geminin Larnaka limanından ayrılış tarihine yer verilmektedir. Geminin cinsinin ne olduğu, kargosunun ne olduğu ve varış yeri ve varsa duraklarının ne olacağı burada detaylandırılır. Bu bilgiler dışında bazen gemilere dair bazı diğer açıklama ve notlara da yer verilmiştir.

Larnaka limanına giren Venedik bandıralı gemilere dair tutulan kayıtlar ise yabancı gemilere dair kayıtlardan farklı olarak bazı ilave enformasyonu havidirler. Bu kayıtlar evrak tanzim usulü itibarıyla yabancı gemilere dair tutulan kayıtlarla benzeşirler. Bununla birlikte Larnaka'ya gelen Venedik gemilerine hasredilmiş olan kısımda yukarıdakilere ilaveten patent numarası da yer almaktadır. Bu kısımda ayrıca gemideki personel sayısına dair notlar bulunur. Bu kısımda son olarak ise geminin yük kapasitesi yaklaşık olarak verilmektedir. İşte aşağıda 1774 yılı başından 1775 yılı sonuna kadar geçen dönem içerisinde Larnaka limanındaki deniz ticari taşımacılığını resmeden bu iki tür kaydın tahlili yapılacaktır.

3 Veri İncelemesi

Ocak 1774 tarihi ile 20 Aralık 1775 tarihi arasındaki periyotta, Larnaka limanına giriş yapan gemilere dair 506 kayıt tespit edilmiştir. Bunlardan 10 adedi Osmanlı bandıralı gemilerdir; bu gemilerin ticaret yahut taşımacılık amacıyla limana uğramadıkları, resmi görevlileri taşıyan ya da donanmaya ait olan gemiler oldukları görülmektedir.⁶ Osmanlı gemilerine ait kayıtlar gibi Rus gemilerine ait olan 4 adet kayıt da benzer niteliktedir; bu gemilerin de limana giriş amaçları ticari olmaktan uzaktır. Donanmaya ait olan gemiler bir takım ihtiyaçlarını gidermek yahut kötü havalardan olumsuz etkilerinden kendilerini muhafaza etmek amacıyla buraya gelip bir süre kalıp yollarına devam etmişlerdir. Geri kalan 492 adet kayıt, ticari kaygılarla hareket eden gemilere ait kayıtlardır ve veri analizinde bu kayıtlar esas alınacaktır.

Öncelikli olarak, liman giriş kayıtlarından hareketle, hangi ülkeye ait gemilerin kaç defa Larnaka limanına giriş yaptıklarının tespitini yapmak gerekir. 1774 yılında Fransa bandıralı gemilerin 174 defa, Venedik bandıralı gemilerin 65 defa, İngiliz bandıralı gemilerin 10 defa, İsveç bandıralı gemilerin 3 defa ve Hollanda bandıralı 1 geminin de 1 defa olmak üzere toplamda 253 defa limana giriş yapıldığı tespit edilmiştir. 1775 senesinde ise bu rakam 239'dur ve Fransa bandıralı gemilerin 153, Venedik bandıralı gemilerin 65, İngiltere bandıralı gemilerin 15, Dubrovnik bandıralı gemilerin 3, Napoli bandıralı gemilerin 2 İsveç bandıralı 1 geminin 1 defa limana girmesi ile oluşmuştur. 1775 senesinde önceki seneden farklı olarak Dubrovnik ve Napoli gemilerinin Larnaka limanına uğradıkları görülür; yine bir önceki seneden farklı olarak bu sene Hollanda bandıralı herhangi bir geminin limana girişi tespit edilememiştir. Toplamda, bu iki senelik periyotta, 327 defa Fransa bandıralı, 130 defa Venedik bandıralı, 25 defa İngiliz bandıralı ve 10 defa da Napoli, Dubrovnik, İsveç ve Hollanda bandıralı gemilerin Larnaka limanına giriş yaptıkları tespit edilmiştir. Aşağıdaki 1 numaralı grafikte iki senenin toplamının yüzdesel dağılımı görülmektedir.

6 23 Eylül 1775 tarihinde Larnaka limanına giren Laz İbrahim'in kaptanı olduğu Osmanlı bandıralı bir gemiye dair tutulan kayıt özel bir önemi hak etmektedir. Bu dönemde Filistin'in kuzeyinde kontrolü ele geçirmiş olan Zahir el-Ömer kendi bölgesindeki iskele ve limanların gümrük gelirlerine el koymuş ve Osmanlı Devleti'ne ödemesi gereken vergiyi ödememiştir. Bu gelişme üzerine Cezayirli Hasan Paşa bölgeyi kontrol etmek üzere gönderilmiş ve Zahir el-Ömer öldürülerek bölgede yeniden Osmanlı kontrolü temin edilmiştir (23 Ağustos 1775) (Emecen 2013, 90-91). Caprara'nın kaydına göre Kapıcıbaşı Abdi Bey, Zahir el-Ömer'e ait olan 30,000,000 kuruş tutarındaki hazineye el koymuştur ve bu hazineyi Laz İbrahim'in gemisi ile İstanbul'a götürmektedir. Bu gemi 25 Eylül 1775 tarihinde limana gelen Cezayirli Hasan Paşa idaresindeki bir filo ile buluşarak 30 Eylül'de İstanbul'a doğru hareket eder (ASVe, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, b. 649, numarasız).

Kayıtlardan çıkarılabilen ikinci tür veri ise gemi türlerine dairdir. Larnaka merkezli deniz ticari taşımacılığında devletler değişik türlerde gemilerle iştirak etmişlerdir. Bölgede en yoğun kullanılan gemi türlerinin *polacca*, *chechia*, *snow*, *tartana barca*, *brigantino*, *corvetta* ve *nave* cinsi gemiler oldukları görülür. Toplamda 10 farklı kayıta ise gemi türleri olarak *batello*, *bombarda*, *galeotta* (4), *smak* (3), *vascello* isimleri karşımıza çıkar. Bunların detaylarını aşağıdaki 2 numaralı grafikte bulmak mümkündür. Burada asıl olarak, hangi devletlerin ne tür gemiler tercih ettiklerine dair bazı tespitlerde bulunulacaktır. Fransızların 59 seferini *polacca*, 57 seferini *snow*, 57 seferini *tartana*, 50 seferini *barca*, 38 seferini *corvetta*, 29 seferini *brigantino*, 10 seferini *nave*, 10 seferini *fregata*, 8 seferini *pinco*, 4 seferini *galeotta*, 1 seferini *vascello*, 1 seferini *bombarda* ve 1 seferini de *batello* türü gemilerle gerçekleştirdikleri görülür. Larnaka'ya uğrayan İngiliz gemilerinin ayrıntılarına bakıldığında ise İngilizlerin 9 seferini *snow*, 8 seferini *brigantino*, 4 seferini *nave*, 3 seferini *smak* ve 1 seferini de *chechia* türü gemilerle gerçekleştirdikleri görülür. İsveçliler dört seferini de *tartana* ile gerçekleştirirken, Napolililer iki seferini de *tartana*, Dubrovnikler 2 seferini *nave*, 1 seferini *polacca* ve Hollandalılar da 1 seferini *nave* türü gemilerle gerçekleştirmiş görülmektedirler.

Yukarıda detaylandırılan yabancı bandıralı gemilerin yük kapasitelerinin tespiti mümkün değilken Venedik bandıralı gemiler için bu kayıtlar detaylı veriler sunar. Bu iki senelik periyotta Venedik bandıralı gemilerin toplam 130 seferinin 73'ü *chechia* türü gemilerle yapılmıştır. *Chechiaların* en küçüğü 70 *botta Candiottalık*⁷ bir kapasiteye sahipken en büyüğünün kapasitesi ise 290 *botta Candiotta*dır. 18 adet seferin ise *nave* başlığı altında kaydedilmiş gemiler tarafından gerçekleştirildiği görülür; bu gemilerden en küçük tonajlısı 162 *botta Candiotta* ile Antonio Viscovich idaresindeki *Li Tre Fratelli* gemisi iken, en büyük tonajlı gemiler ise 500 *botta Candiottalık* Pietro Petrina'nın *Il Diamantesi* ile Domenico Rossini'nin *Fede Trionfante* isimli gemilerdir. Larnaka'ya 23 defa uğradıklarını gördüğümüz Venedik *polaccalarının* en küçüğü 66 *botta Candiottalık* Pietro Calugerovich'in *Madonna del Rosario e San Antonio di Padova* isimli gemisi, en büyüğü ise Daniel Valsamachi'nin 250 *botta Candiottalık* *La Madonna d'Aquila e San Nicolo* gemisidir. Mattio Bosidarich 50 *botta Candiottalık* *Madonna del Rosario e San Vincenzo Ferrerio* isimli *polacchettası* ile Larnaka limanına 5 kez giriş yapmıştır; diğer *polacchettalardan* biri 50 *botta Candiotta*, diğeri ise 59 *botta Candiotta* yük taşıma kapasitesine sahiptir. Zuanne Kravolich 90 *botta Candiottalık* *San Antonio di Padova* isimli *tartanası* ile söz konusu dönemde sadece 2 kez Larnaka limanına uğramıştır. Son olarak, bölgede aktif bir kaptan olan Gio. Antonio Panovich'in 172 *botta*

7 *Botta Candiotta*: Gemi kapasitelerini belirtmek için kullanılan bir tabirdir. 1 *botta Candiotta* ise 2000 *libbra grossa*/954 kilograma tekabül eder (Bkz. Chambers, Pullan 2001).

*Candiottalık pinchetto*sü ise iki sene içerisinde Larnaka'dan hareketle 8 farklı sefer düzenleyecektir. Toplamda bu iki yıllık periyotta Venedik gemilerinin yaklaşık 19,633 *botta Candiottalık* bir yük hacminin ortaya çıktığı hesaplanmaktadır; bunun ton olarak karşılığı ise 18,729,8'dir.

Gemi türlerinin yanı sıra, bu bölgedeki deniz ticari taşımacılığına katılan gemi sayısını da tespit etmek imkanı mevcuttur. Yukarıda toplam 492 seferin gerçekleştirildiği belirtilmişti. Bunlardan Fransızlara ait olan 327 sefer, 146 farklı gemi ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Venedikliler tarafından gerçekleştirilen 130 seferde ise 44 farklı gemi kullanılmıştır. İngilizlerin 25 seferinde 13, Dubrovnik'in 3 seferinde 2, İsveç'in 4 seferinde 1, Napoli'nin 2 seferinde 1 ve son olarak Hollanda'nın 1 seferinde de 1 gemi olmak üzere toplam 208 farklı gemi bu ticari hareketlilikte rol üstlenmiş olarak görülmektedir. Fransızların kullanmış oldukları gemilerin 13 tanesi *barca*, 1 tanesi *batello*, 1 tanesi *bombarda*, 17 tanesi *brigantino*, 16 tanesi *corvetta*, 7 tanesi *fregata*, 2 tanesi *galeotta*, 8 tanesi *nave*, 4 tanesi *pinco*, 30 tanesi *polacca*, 24 tanesi *snow*, 22 tanesi *tartana*, 1 tanesi de *vascellodur*. Venedik bandıralı gemilerin ise, 21 tanesi *Chechia*, 11 tanesi *nave*, 1 tanesi *pinchetto*, 7 tanesi *polacca*, 2 tanesi *polachetta* ve 1 tanesi de *tartana*dır. İngiltere 4 *brigantino*, 1 *chechia*, 4 *nave*, 1 *smak* ve 3 *snow*; Dubrovnik 1 *nave* ve 1 *polacca*, Hollanda 1 *nave*, Napoli 1 *tartana*, İsveç 1 *brigantino* ile seferlerini gerçekleştirmişlerdir.

Bu kayıtların da gösterdiği üzere Larnaka'daki deniz ticari taşımacılığının iki yönü mevcuttur. Kıbrıs'ın ana ihracat limanı olması hasebiyle, uluslararası ticaretin önemli bir durağı olan Larnaka'ya, bu iki yıllık periyot içerisinde Amsterdam, Livorno, Londra, Malta, Marsilya, Toulon ve Venedik gibi limanlardan emtia getiren yahut, Larnaka'dan yüklemiş oldukları emtiayı bu merkezlere götüren gemiler mevcuttur. Öte yandan, yabancı bandıralı gemilerin Osmanlı iç ticaret ve taşımacılığına iştirakleri ile oluşan diğer bir yön mevcuttur. Osmanlı tebaası olan tüccar ya da hacılar tarafından kiralandıklarını gördüğümüz yabancı bandıralı gemiler Osmanlı limanları arasında yoğun bir hareketlilik içerisine girmişlerdir. Özellikle Fransız ve Venedik bandıralı gemilerin bölgede uzun süre kalarak ticari taşımacılık yaptıkları dikkati çeker. Yabancı bandıralı gemilerin kiralama bedellerine dair veriler bu kayıtlarda yer almazken, Venedik bandıralı gemilerin bazılarına dair bu tarz bir enformasyona ulaşmak mümkündür. Venedik gemilerinin kiralama sözleşmeleri, konsolos arşiv kayıtları arasında büyük ölçüde yer almakla birlikte bu çalışmaya dahil edilmemişlerdir.

1774 ve 1775 yıllarında Larnaka limanına yönelik olarak düzenlenen 492 seferin %10.97'sine tekabül eden 54 seferde kaptanlar geldikleri yer olarak Osmanlı limanları dışında bir limanı deklare etmişlerdir.⁸ Bu 492

8 Buradan elde edilen veriler, Daniel Panzac'ın İskenderiye için yapmış olduğu incelemenin sonuçları ile örtüşür. O da, 1785'te İskenderiye'ye 552 Avrupa bandıralı geminin

gemiden 11 tanesi, Larnaka limanından ayrılırken gideceği yeri beyan etmemiş, ettiyse de Caprara'nın katibi tarafından buna dair bir kayıt tutulmamıştır. Kalan 481 seferin %16'sına tekabül eden 77 sefer Osmanlı limanları dışında bir limana yönelik olarak gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bunların detaylarına aşağıda yer verilecektir.

Limana giriş kayıtları esas alındığında Fransa'nın Akdeniz'deki en önemli limanı olan Marsilya 27 seferle ilk sırada yer alır. Bu gemilerden bazıları Larnaka limanında yük boşalmış olmakla birlikte, gemilerin büyük kısmının esasen İskenderun, Trablusşam, Akka, Sayda ve Beyrut gibi Suriye kıyısındaki diğer Osmanlı limanlarına devam ettikleri görülür. Sadece Marsilya'dan hareketle 14 Temmuz 1775 tarihinde Larnaka'ya ulaşan Francesco Despolies'e ait olan *Le Senac* isimli *brigantino*, Marsilya'ya döneceğini beyan etmiştir. Getirmiş olduğu kargoya dair enformasyonun yer almadığı bu geminin, Larnaka'dan sonra Tarsus'a uğrayıp burada buğday yükleyip Marsilya'ya gideceği görülür. 23 Mayıs 1774'te Larnaka'ya ulaşan Francesco Maron'a ait olan Fransız bandıralı *L'Amabile Felicita* isimli *nave* ise, Kıbrıs'a yeni atanan İngiliz konsolosu olan Sig. Giovanni Baddington'u (John Boddington⁹) getirecektir. Ondan kısa bir süre sonra 9 Haziran 1774'te Larnaka'ya ulaşan Spirito Simon'un kaptanı olduğu *L'Amabile Maria* adlı gemiyle Fransa'da 15. Lois'nin öldüğü ve yerine 16. Lois'nin geçtiği bilgisi Kıbrıs'a ulaşacaktır.¹⁰ 38 seferde Fransa bandırası taşıyan gemilerin kaptanları Larnaka'dan ayrıldıktan sonra Marsilya'ya gideceklerini beyan etmişlerdir. Bu gemilerin kargo durumlarına bakıldığında, arpa, buğday, pirinç, hububat, yün, pamuk, ipek ve boyanın öne çıktığı görülür. 1 gemi Marsilya'ya gitmeden önce Sayda'ya, 1 gemi Sur'a, 1 gemi Malta'ya ve 1 gemi de Güney Anadolu kıyılarına uğrayacaklarını ardından Marsilya'ya gideceklerini beyan etmişlerdir. Gemilerin Larnaka'ya varışta yaptıkları beyan uyarınca Fransa'ya ait bir diğer liman olan Toulon da iki kayıta karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Bu süreçte Venedik'ten hareketle Larnaka'ya ulaşan gemi sayısı ise 13'tür. Bu gemilerden 6 tanesi Venedik'ten İskenderiye'ye gidip orada bir miktar yük boşaltmış ve İskenderiye'den hareketle Larnaka'ya gitmişlerdir. Gemilerin kargo durumlarına dair detaylı bilgi verilmemekle birlikte, sadece Sebastiano Buschia'nın kaptanı olduğu *Providenza Divina* isimli

vardığını ve bunlardan sadece %12.1'nin Avrupa ile ticaret yaptığını söylemektedir (Bkz. Panzac 1992, 197).

9 Kıbrıs'taki yabancı konsoloslara dair en kapsamlı çalışmalardan birini kaleme almış olan Ali Efdal Özkul, John Boddington'u sadece 1759 (-1758) yılında konsolos muavini olarak görev yapmış olarak gösterir. Makalesinde 1775'te konsolos olarak görevlendirildiğine dair herhangi bir bilgi yer almaz (Bkz. Özkul 2013, 256-7; Laidlaw 2010, 251'de Boddington'un konsolos olarak görev yaptığını yazar).

10 10 Mayıs 1774'te tahta çıkan XVI. Lois'ye ait bu haber, 1 aydan kısa bir süre içerisinde Larnaka'ya ulaşacaktır.

navenin 6 Eylül 1775 tarihinde boş olarak limana geldiği, burada 9 gün kaldıktan sonra yine boş olarak Limasol'a keçiboynuzu yükleyip İskenderiye'e götürmek üzere hareket ettiği yazılıdır. Venedik'ten gelip Leş ve Parga'ya doğru yola çıkacak olan Mattio Cossulich'in *Fede* isimli *chec-hiası* ise buraya katran ve kereste götürecektir. Pietro Zane'ye ait olan *San Luiggi* isimli *checia* ise 35 gün boyunca Larnaka limanında yattıktan sonra pamuk, yün, şarap ve ipek yükleyip 1 Ağustos 1775'te Venedik'e doğru yola çıkacaktır. Aynı şekilde 13 gemi, Larnaka limanından ayrılırken gittikleri yer olarak Venedik şehrini beyan edeceklerdir. Bu gemilerin kargo durumlarına bakıldığında Zane örneğinin gösterdiği üzere pamuk, şarap, ipek ve yünün başlıca ihraç malı olduğu görülür. Pietro Premuda'nın süvar olduğu *Regina Ester* isimli *nave*, Venedik'e gitmeden önce Zante ve Korfu'ya da uğrayacağını ifade etmiştir. Beş örnekte ise Larnaka'dan ayrıldıktan sonra İskenderiye'ye uğrayan *naveler* buradan da Venedik'e doğru yola çıkacaklardır.

Akdeniz'in bir diğer önemli limanı olan Livorno'nun da Larnaka ile doğrudan ticari bağları olduğu görülmektedir. İsveç (2), Dubrovnik (1), Fransa (1) ve Venedik (4) bandıralı gemiler Livorno'dan hareketle Larnaka'ya doğru 8 sefer gerçekleştirmiştir. Gemilerin kargo durumlarına dair detaylı veri kayıtlarda yer almaz; sadece Kaptan Lorenzo Rossin'in idaresindeki *Madonna del Rosario e San Antonio di Padova* isimli *checchia* Livorno'dan yola çıktıktan sonra Hanya'ya uğramış ve 25 Nisan 1774'te Larnaka'ya kargosunda sabun ve kapı menteşesi olmak suretiyle varmıştır. Sabunu Hanya'dan yüklemiş olsa gerektir. Larnaka'daki iki haftalık ikametinin ardından 9 Mayıs 1774'te Yafa'ya hareket etmiştir. Livorno'dan gelen Venedik bandıralı Kaptan Zuanne Botterini'nin süvar olduğu *Il Pacchetto del Zante* isimli *checchia* ise, Kıbrıs'taki Venedik konsolos naibi tarafından kiralanarak Baf yakınlarında kaza geçiren bir İngiliz gemisini kurtarmak için 2 Haziran 1774'te Larnaka limanından ayrılmıştır. 2 Venedik, 2 İsveç, 1 Fransa, 1 İngiltere ve 1 Dubrovnik gemisi Larnaka'dan ayrılırken Livorno'ya doğru hareket edecekleri bilgisini liman otoritelerine vereceklerdir. Kargolar arasında öne çıkan emtia ise kül, pirinç, yün, şarap ve hububattır.

Malta'dan Larnaka'ya bu iki yıllık periyotta iki adet Fransız bandıralı geminin geldiği görülür. Kargo durumlarına dair bir enformasyona sahip olmadığımız bu iki gemiden biri Larnaka sonrası Suriye'ye devam ederken, diğeri gideceği yeri beyan etmemiştir. Buna mukabil, aynı dönemde 8 adet Fransa bandıralı gemi Malta'ya doğru yola çıkacaktır. Bu gemilerden 4 tanesi Larnaka'ya Sur üzerinden gelmişlerdir ve geldiklerinde kargolarında arpa ve buğday yüklü oldukları görülür; bunları Malta'ya taşıyacaklardır. Malta'nın ardından Marsilya'ya doğru yolculuğuna devam edecek olan Spirito Simon'un kaptanı olduğu *L'Amabile Maria* isimli *tartana* ise Lipari şarabı yüklü bir biçimde 5 Temmuz 1774'te Larnaka limanından ayrılır.

1774 yılında Londra'dan hareketle Larnaka'ya ulaşan gemi bulunmazken, 1775 yılında İngiltere bandıralı *Perth* ve *Peggi* isimli iki gemi Larnaka

limanına giriş yapacaktır. İki gemi de üç gün bu limanda kalıp İskenderun'a doğru hareket edeceklerdir. Buna karşın 1774'te 3 adet, 1775'te de 4 adet gemi Larnaka'dan hareketle Londra'ya gidecektir. Bunlardan sadece 1 tanesi Fransa bandıralı bir gemi iken kalan seferler İngiltere bandıralı gemilerle gerçekleştirilmiştir. Pamuk, ipek, yün ve keresteyle birlikte ilaç sanayiinde kullanılan Ebucehil karpuzu (*coloquintida*) Londra'ya taşınan emtia arasında yer alır. Son olarak 12 Mayıs 1774 tarihinde Hollanda bandıralı bir *navenin* Larnaka limanına giriş yaptığını ve burada dört gün kaldıktan sonra İskenderun'a doğru seyahatine devam ettiğini ilave etmek gerekir. 1774 ve 1775 yıllarında Amsterdam'a doğru harekete geçeceğini beyan eden herhangi bir gemi yer almamaktadır.

Yukarıda detaylandırılan uluslararası hareketliliğin yanı sıra, bu yıllarda yabancı bandıralı gemilerin Osmanlı tebaasınca kiralınması ve deniz ticari taşımacılığına dahil edilmesi de söz konusudur. Esasen Osmanlı Devleti'nin bu durumdan rahatsız olarak zaman zaman yabancı bandıralı gemileri iç ticarete dahil etmekten uzak tutmaya çalıştığını fakat her defasında bu kararından geri adım atmak zorunda kaldığını, yabancı gemilerin deniz ticari taşımacılığına aktif katılımlarının devam ettiği görülmektedir. Bu kayıtlardan hareketle Akka, Antalya, Beyrut, Dimyat, Ege Adaları, İskenderiye, İskenderun, İstanbul, İzmir, Lazkiye, Magosa, Mersin, Sayda, Sur, Tarsus, Trablusşam ve Yafa'nın Larnaka ile sıkı ticari bağları olduğu ve yabancı gemilerin Larnaka ile bu limanlar arasında ticari taşımacılık işinde doğrudan rol aldıkları görülmektedir. Hatırı sayılır miktarda gemi de gideceği yeri belirtmemiş, *alla sorte* yahut *alla ventura* kısmet aramak üzere Larnaka limanından ayrılmışlardır.

Gemilerin kargolarına ilişkin notlar ise maalesef çok fazla ayrıntı vermekten uzaktır. Larnaka'ya ulaşan gemilerin yarısından daha az bir miktarı (213 adet) gemi için kargo bilgisi yer alır; bunlardan 70 tanesinin boş olarak Larnaka'ya geldiği belirtilmiştir. Kalan gemilerin ise arpa, buğday ve sair hububat, pirinç, pamuk, kahve, kumaş, kereste, yakacak odun, sabun, yağ, şarap, tuz, tütün, kül, ipek, deri, ilaç ve keçiboynuzu gibi emtia ile Larnaka'ya ulaştıklarına dair kayıtlar tutulmuştur. 12 gemi Rum ve Ermeni Hacıları kutsal topraklara taşımışlardır. Sur'dan İstanbul'a yolcu taşıyan Kaptan Mattio Bosidarich'in Venedik bandıralı *Madonna del Rosario e San Vincenzo Ferrerio adlı* gemisi örneğinde olduğu gibi yolcu taşıyan gemiler de mevcuttur. 21 Ağustos 1774 tarihinde Larnaka limanına uğrayan Kaptan Giorgio Olivato'nun süvar olduğu Venedik bandıralı *San Nicola* isimli gemisi de İstanbul'daki görevini henüz tamamlamış olan sabık baylos Paolo Renier'in misafirlerini taşımaktadır. Yine 3 Kasım 1775'te Larnaka'ya ulaşan Kaptan Steffano Erzegovich idaresindeki Venedik bandıralı *Madonna del Grazie e San Antonio di Padova* isimli *chechia* ise Venedik'in Haleb'teki konsolosu olan Domenico Seriola'yi İzmir'e götürmektedir.

Larnaka limanından ayrılan gemilerin kargo durumlarına dair tutulan notlarda da benzer bir durumla karşılaşmaktadır. Burada dikkat çeken

Kıbrıs'ın genel ticari trendine uygun olarak pamuk, şarap, ipek, keçiboy-nuzu, boya ve tuz yükleyen gemilerin yoğunluğudur. Bunların miktarlarına yahut kimin hesabına yapıldığına dair veriler ise oldukça sınırlıdır. Larnaka'dan hareketle kutsal topraklara hacı taşımacılığı yapıldığı gibi, Larnaka'dan diğer Doğu Akdeniz limanlarına yolcu taşımacılığı yapan gemilerin de mevcut olduğu görülür. Osmanlı devlet görevlilerinin de zaman zaman yabancı bandıralı gemilerle seyahat ettiklerine şahit olmaktayız. 27 Haziran 1775'te Larnaka'dan Lazkiye'ye doğru yola çıkan Mattio di Mattio Piecetta'nın kaptanı olduğu *Providenza Divina* isimli Venedik bandıralı *chechia* Bağdat mollası tarafından kiralanmıştır. 19 Aralık 1775'te Larnaka'dan hareket eden Fransız bandıralı bir gemi ise Kudüs mollasını Yafa'ya götürmektedir. 29 Aralık 1775'te Larnaka'da hareketle Trablusşam'a doğru yola çıkan Kaptan Zuanne Marin'in *Madonna del Rosario e San Antonio di Padova* adlı gemisinde ise bir silahdar ağa yer almaktadır. Sürgüne gönderilen Şeyhülislam kahyası ise Venedik bandıralı Pietro Calugerovich'in *polaccası* ile Yafa'ya gönderilmiştir. Zahir el-Ömer İsyanı ile uğraşmakta olan Osmanlı Devleti, Kapıcıbaşı Abdi Ağa'yı bölgeye Fransız bandıralı *Le Conquerant* isimli bir gemi ile göndermiştir. Başka bir örnekte ise, Mısır bölgesinde Bulutkapan Ali Bey'in çıkarmış olduğu karışıklıklarla mücadele için bölgeye mühimmat sevkiyatı yapan Osmanlı Devleti'nin, Kaptan Joseph David'in süvar olduğu *La Rosalia* isimli *corvettasını* kullandığı görülür.

Sonuç olarak iki yıllık bir periyodu ele alan bu kısa çalışmanın gösterdiği üzere Doğu Akdeniz'de Fransa ve Venedik başta olmak üzere yabancı bandıralı çok sayıda gemi faal vaziyettedir. 18. yüzyıl ticaretine dair genel kabulleri destekleyici bir şekilde Fransa'nın bölgedeki ticareti domine ettiği burada da net bir biçimde görülür; şaşırtıcı olan Venedik Cumhuriyeti'nin de azımsanmayacak bir şekilde bölge ticareti ve taşımacılığında üstlendiği roldür. Venedik bandıralı gemiler, hem kendi ülkeleri ile Doğu Akdeniz limanları arasındaki ticarete katkı sağlamışlar, hem de Osmanlı limanları arasında ticari taşımacılık yapmışlardır. Bu listelerdeki veriler, bize bölgedeki ticaretin niteliği noktasında ayrıntılı veriler sunamasalar da bu ticaretin önemli bir yönünü oluşturan ticari taşımacılık hususunu açıklığa kavuşturmamıza yardımcı olurlar. Bu sayede, Larnaka limanı özelinde Kıbrıs adasının Doğu Akdeniz'de önemli bir ticari durak olma özelliğinin altı bir kez daha çizilmiş olur.

Kaynaklar

ASVe = Venezia, Archivio di Stato:

Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, Terminazioni, b. 282.

Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, Lettere dei Consoli, Cipro, bb. 649, 650, 651.

Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, Lettere dei Consoli, Smirne, b. 749.

Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, Seconda Serie, Consoli, Vice Consoli in Genere, b. 21.

BOA = İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri* (A.DVN.DVE), 16/4.

Bibliyografya

- Beydilli, Kemal (2002). "Küçük Kaynarca", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, cilt 26. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 524-527.
- Blackmore, David S.T. (2011). *Warfare on the Mediterranean in the Age of Sail: A History, 1571-1866*. Jefferson (NC): McFarland.
- Bostan, İdris (1995). "Rusya'nın Karadeniz'de Ticarete Başlaması ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu (1700-1787)". *Belleten*, 59(225), 353-94.
- Chambers, David; Pullan, Brian (2001). *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*. Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press; Renaissance Society Of America. Renaissance Society of America Reprint Series, 12.
- Emecen, Feridun (2013), "Zahir el Ömer", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, cilt 44. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 90-1.
- Ianiro, Erica. "Notes on Venetian Commerce on Cyprus in the 18th Century". Michael, Michalis N.; Kappler, Matthias; Gavriel, Eftihios (eds.), *Ottoman Cyprus. A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 181-96.
- Laidlaw, Christine (2010). *British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. London; New York: Tauris.
- Oral, Özgür (2017). *Osmanlı Venedik Ticari İlişkileri, 1763-1794*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Tarih Anabilim Dalı Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi.
- Özkul, Ali Efdal (2013). "The Consuls and Their Activities in Cyprus Under the Ottoman Administration (1571-1878)". *Turkish Studies*, 8(2), 256-7.
- Panzac, Daniel (1992). "International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th Century". *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 24(2), 189-206.
- Pedani, Maria Pia (2007). "Consoli Veneziani nei Porti del Mediterraneo in Età Moderna". Cancila, Rossella (a cura di), *Mediterraneo in Armi (Secc. XV-XVIII)*. Palermo: Associazione Mediterranea, 175-205.

The present volume, a collection of papers focusing on Venice and those former Venetian colonies which passed to the Ottoman Empire during the early Modern age, retraces the relationship between Venetians and Ottomans in terms of their economic and social history from the end of the XV to the XVIII century showing the permeability of the ruling forces of these two great empires within a continuous and changing stream.

