Greeks in the Ottoman Economy and Finances 1453–1500

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The Ottoman Empire succeeded the Byzantine Empire in Anatolia and the Balkans. In the Turkish archives today, Ottoman land and population surveys (*mufaṣṣal* and *idjmāl taḥrīr defteri*) of these areas go back to the middle of the fifteenth century and contain a considerable amount of information not only on taxation and demography but also on the religious, economic, and social conditions of the Greek population in the countryside and towns.[1] Since the Ottomans as a rule maintained preconquest conditions, in particular in the areas acquired by agreement,[2] their surveys can be used as a basis of comparison with the data provided by the Byzantine *praktika*. It has been suggested that there is, in fact, a parallel between peasant status as classified in the *praktika* and the Ottoman *taḥrīrs*, and further that feudal taxes and labor services from Byzantine times survived under the Ottomans.[3] In addition to the *taḥrīr* registers five centuries of Ottoman customs registers, public account books, and court records provide innumerable data on the role Greeks played in interregional and international trade, handicrafts, tax farming, sea transportation, and other economic activities in the Ottoman Empire. From the fifteenth century onward, Greeks were particularly active in transportation as ship captains or shipowners in the exchange of goods between Istanbul and Aegean and Black Sea ports.[4]

Any researcher of the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire should keep in mind that all non-Muslim minorities were treated according to Islamic Law as *dhimmī* subjects of the Islamic state. Non-Muslim

minorities enjoyed the same rights as Muslims under the protection of the state as far as their economic activities and property rights were concerned. *Dhimma* meant this guarantee and obligation on the part of the Islamic state.[5] For the interests of their empire, the Ottomans applied the Islamic prescriptions in a particularly liberal way in favor of their *dhimmī* subjects. Besides the guarantees of Islamic Law, the protection of commerce and the merchants was a long tradition with the Turco-Mongol states in general. As the only group besides the ruling class to accumulate cash capital, the merchants had various functions in this preindustrial society.[6] "Look with favor on the merchants in the land," says an Ottoman wisdom book of the fifteenth century; "always care for them; let no one harass them; let no one order them about; for through their trading the land becomes prosperous, and by their wares cheapness abounds in the world; through them, the excellent fame of the Sultan is carried to surrounding lands and by them wealth within the land is increased."[7]

In the Ottoman Empire, merchants' activity was not confined to trade; with accumulated cash in their possession, they also acted as money-changers, bankers, and publicans. Many of them combined these various activities.

In this paper, using unpublished material from the Ottoman archives, I shall focus on the Greek publicans in the period 1453–1500.

In order to evaluate changes in the conditions of the Greek mercantile class under the Ottomans, one must first examine pre-Ottoman conditions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The prominent feature of Greek mercantile activity in the fourteenth century, A. Laïou asserts, was its dependence on the Latins, in particular on the Genoese, who monopolized the grand commerce on the exports from and imports to the Aegean and the Black Sea, including slaves and oriental goods.[8] In the pre-Ottoman period, "the Byzantines," Laïou asserts, "rarely gained access to the Italian markets."[9] That the Genoese systematically prevented the indigenous traders—Jews, Armenians, Tatars, and Greeks—by force when necessary,[10] from participating in international commerce is confirmed by contemporary documents. Greeks were prohibited even from bringing such vital provisions as grain from the northern Black Sea

ports, on which Constantinople's provisioning was dependent.

The evidence available indicates that in this period, Greek traders were mostly engaged in retail trade, funneling goods imported by Italians to the local market, and their business generally involved small investments.[11]

However, sporadic references show that there were Greek merchants engaged in distant trade with sizeable amounts of capital.[12] Large capital accumulated in the hands of Greek "businessmen" of aristocratic origin—a fact attested to in the Christian and Ottoman sources (see below)—came, at least partly from long-distance trade.

Laïou's discovery of a relatively high proportion of merchants or "businessmen" belonging to the Byzantine aristocracy[13]in the fourteenth century is confirmed by the Ottoman documentation for the subsequent Ottoman period. Laïou believes that the Byzantine aristocracy, deprived of their income from land as a result of the Ottoman conquest, turned of necessity to trade.[14] The evidence from later Ottoman sources shows that these aristocrats with huge cash capital in their possession, were mostly involved in tax farms. However, the original source of their wealth might have been interregional or international trade, as Laïou suggests.[15]

In the period 1353–1402, Laïou calculates, 20 percent of the Greek merchants referred to in the sources belonged to the aristocratic families.[16] It is of particular interest to find the agents of the Palaiologan dynasty engaged in grain trade between Caffa and Genoa. Later, under the Ottomans, members of the Palaiologan family will be seen undertaking big tax farms. That wealthy members of the high Byzantine aristocracy had established close economic connections with the Genoese is confirmed by the Ottoman survey of 1455.[17] Wealthy Greek aristocrats had residences in Pera prior to the Ottoman occupation of the city in 1453 (see below).

Special mention should be made of Nicholas Notaras, father of Lucas Notaras, who made "a fortune in the Genoese public debt."[18]

In their business activities, the family closely cooperated with the Latins, including the Venetians. Giacamo Badoer's account books,[19] covering the years 1436–1440, show that Greek merchants were quite active in Constantinople as retailers in the trade of imported goods, including cloth and spices.

Peran Greeks must have also been in close economic relations with the Ottomans as early as the mid-fourteenth century. It can be no coincidence that the Byzantine emperor and the Ottoman sultan had simultaneously signed commercial treaties with the Genoese in 1352, following the Byzantines' abandonment of the Venetian alliance and rapprochement with the Ottoman-Genoese coalition.[20] In the following period Perans, obviously Greeks among them, who received oriental goods (in particular spices and silk from Bursa), kept close relations with the Ottomans.[21] After the surrender of Pera in 1453, the Greek capitalist aristocrats of the city became Ottoman *dhimmī* subjects, cooperating closely with the Ottoman government (see below).

The continuing characteristics of Greek enterprise are specified by a Greek source dated 1453,[22] telling us that Greeks made big money through tax farms and sea transportation under the Ottomans as before under the Byzantines.

Sea transportation was indeed a prominent sector of the Greek economy in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. This was true in the ports under the Byzantines as well as in those Black Sea and Aegean ports conquered by the Ottomans, although beyond these two areas, Italian shipping was always dominant. A total reversal of the situation came with the fall of Genoese Pera.[23]

Before 1453, the only people capable of competing in long-distance trade with the Italians for predominance in the overseas traffic were the Ragusans. Perhaps an exceptional case was a wealthy Greek shipowner of Constantinople who lost his four ships with capital totaling thirty thousand gold ducats. He was evidently trading in cooperation with the Venetians and Jews.[24]

Interestingly, the most important ports in which Greeks were present, namely Constantinople and Pera (both conquered in 1453), Caffa (conquered in 1475), and Chilia (conquered in 1484), were the same under the Ottomans as under the Byzantines and the Genoese. Thessalonike, which the Ottomans occupied in 1430, was another important Greek center of business. However, the arithmetic book composed in Thessalonike in which Greek bankers and traders were mentioned should be dated to the end, rather than the beginning, of the fifteenth century.[25]

For the fourteenth century, Laïou, using Genoese archival materials, asserts that "the Greeks formed a large proportion of the artisans and small shopkeepers of the Genoese colonies of Pera, Caffa, and Chios."[26] Ottoman documents of the second half of the fifteenth century fully support this conclusion for Pera, Caffa, Akkerman (Moncastro) and Chilia (see below).[27] One of the principal changes, however, was that under the Ottomans Greek sailors began to carry, in addition to their pre-Ottoman traditional traffic in foodstuffs, European and oriental goods imported into Istanbul and Galata to the Black Sea ports.

It should be remembered that in 1453 almost the entire population of the Byzantine capital had been captured as prisoners of war and their properties taken as booty. But Galata (Pera), on the other side of the Golden Horn, had surrendered under a *'ahdnāme*, and consequently the population was spared a similar fate.[28] Mehmed the Conqueror was most concerned about keeping Galata intact as a commercial center of his new capital, Istanbul, and took measures to give assurances and guarantees to have them stay on. Prior to the siege of Constantinople, some Greeks appear to have taken refuge in Galata. The Ottoman population and tax survey of 1455 shows that Pera could properly be called a Greek city at the time of surrender as far as its population was concerned.[29] Its Greek character became accentuated at the occupation as a result of the Genoese flight from the city. Among those who fled, Italians made up about 60 percent and Greeks 35 percent. At the time of the occupation, however, the sultan declared that those who returned within three months were to recover their properties. Their houses were then sealed and the properties registered. Our survey of 1455 shows that there were indeed people who returned and recovered their properties.

According to the Ottoman survey of 1455, the Greek population in Galata was concentrated in the quarters around the Genoese district at the port area. The majority of the Greeks were poor people—shoemakers, porters, or small traders or craftsmen—but in the district of Varto Khristo lived a group of wealthy Greeks. Twenty-two years later, in the survey of 1477, the population of Galata broken down by religion was as follows: of a total population of 1,521 households Greeks were still in the majority, with 592 households; *Efrenc* or Italian households numbered 332, Armenian 62, and

Muslim 535, already approaching the Greeks. Thus, in addition to the forced or voluntary settlement of Greeks in Istanbul itself,[30] Galata remained the center of Greek business with Greek bankers, shipowners, and merchants. In 1455, the Greek community of Galata included members of the Greek "aristocratic" families, who were to play a key role in Ottoman finances in the following period.

In the period immediately after the conquest of Constantinople we find many Greeks particularly active in tax-farming. Members of the old Byzantine aristocracy, the Palaiologoi, the Kantakouzenoi, the Chalkokondylai, and the Raouls were prominent taxfarmers under Mehmed the Conqueror and his successors. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the customs zone of western Anatolian ports with Istanbul as its center made up the principal customs zone of the empire, and it often came under the control of Greek publicans who, with huge amounts of capital in their possession, were competing with Muslim Turks and Jews for this lucrative undertaking. Here is a list of the Ottoman treasury accounts demonstrating how the customs of Istanbul changed hands during the period of October 1476 to December 1477.[31]

1. Ya'kub, new Muslim, Palologoz of Kassandros, Lefteri son of Galyanos of Trebizond, Andriya son of Halkokondil and Manul Palologoz, offered in company an increase of 1.5 million akça, on Djumāda II, 25, 881. The estimated revenue was 9.5 million akça on this date.

2. Khodja Satı, Çirish Ilyās, Shahin, freed slave of Yūsuf Simsar (chief broker) and Khodja Bahā'al-Dīn, offered an increase of 2 million on Dh'ul-hidjdja 23, 881.

3. Palologoz of Istanbul, Palologoz of Kassandros, Lefteri son of Galyanos of Trebizond and Andriya son of Halkokondil offered an additional increase of 833,334 on the condition that the *mukāta'a* should be farmed out to them for a period of four years. This bid was on the 28th of Muharrem, 882.

4. Seydī Küçük of Edirne, Altana Jew, and Nikoroz Efrendjī [an Italian?] offered an additional increase of 1 million on 23 Djumāda I, 882.

5. The group of Palologoz, Lefteri, and Andriya made a new bid on Djumāda II, 20, 882 and then the group of Seydī, Altana, and Nikoroz offered 20 million akça altogether for four years on Radjab 4, 882.

The Istanbul customs zone included the important ports of Istanbul, Galata, Gallipoli, the two Phoceas, Varna, and Mudanya; it controlled western Anatolian and Black Sea trade with Europe. The spectacular increase from 9.5 million akça to about 20 million akça or over four hundred thousand gold ducats offered by the competing bidders for the customs attest to the rapid expansion of this trade as well as to the financial potential of the publicans involved.

Actually, of the various functions that merchant-capitalist fulfilled in Ottoman society, their services to the public finances as publicans (*'āmil* or *mültezim*) were of vital importance. Since the state depended on cash revenues flowing regularly into its coffers to pay for a turbulent standing army and for its military campaigns, most of the taxes directly under the central treasury's control were farmed out to publicans. As a rule, it was the merchant-capitalists who had sufficient amounts of ready money to undertake taxfarms and to provide cash to the public treasury at three- or six-month intervals, called *kişt*.

Personal or factional connections, as well as secret dealings appear to have played an important part in undertaking big tax farms. Apparently, Greeks or converts with influence at the sultan's court favored the Greek bidders. Complaints against favoritism for the Greek or Jewish publicans during the Conqueror's reign is voiced in the contemporary sources. Perhaps it is not just a coincidence that members of Palaiologan family obtained the tax farm of the Istanbul customs zone in the 1470s, exactly when two pashas, Khāss Murād and Mesīh, of the same family were the most influential people with the sultan.[32]

It is a commonplace that Mehmed the Conqueror showed special favor to Greeks in his efforts to repopulate and revive the economic life of his new capital.[33] Aside from the pro-Latin Greeks who left for Italy, many Greeks cooperated and were favored by the sultan in important positions as soldiers, counselors, and finance experts. There is, as well, documentary evidence about the sultan's interest in bringing back the Greeks who had migrated to Italy.

Besides the Palaiologoi and Kantakouzenoi, there were other Greek

archonts involved in Ottoman finances, in some cases probably continuing their positions from pre-Ottoman times. Prior to the Ottoman period, for instance, Theodore Raoul (Theodorus Rali de Constantinopoli) was involved in the customs revenues of Istanbul under the Byzantine government. In 1455 we find him in Crete.[34] But other members of the Raoul family stayed in Istanbul after the conquest.

During the same period, another Byzantine aristocratic family was active in Serbia, farming out the rich silver and gold mines in that province. In 1474 Yani Kantakouzenos, his brother Yorgi, Nichola Dandjovil, and Lika farmed out in partnership the silver and gold mines in the province of Vuk, or upper Serbia, for a total sum of 14 million akça (or about 290,000 Venetian gold ducats) for six years. In the previous year, the contractors were Yani Kantakouzenos of Novobrdo, Yorgi Ivrana, Toma Kantakouzenos (all of Serres), and Palaiologos (of Istanbul) acting as partners.[35] Later in 1476, they were replaced by a new group of partners: Yani and Yorgi Kantakouzenos, Vuk and Knez Yuvan, and Andriya. In 1477 all of them were executed because they failed to pay sums under the contract. On the other hand, the mines of Kratovo in the province of Küstendil were farmed out by Yani Palaiologos of Istanbul in partnership with Istipa Blasica, Istepan Lesh, and Dimitri son of Konstantin in 1473 for a total sum of 1.6 million akça. According to the survey of 1455, this Yani Palaiologos lived in Galata, where he owned large residences.

In competition with Muslim or Jewish publicans, the Greek businessmen were also active as the contractors of the important monopolies of salt production and distribution in the Balkans and the Aegean and Black Sea costs in this period. These monopolies were, as a rule, farmed out with the revenues of the fisheries in the neighborhood. Demetrios Palaiologos, the last despot of the Morea, was also involved in this business. According to an Ottoman register of tax farms[36] "Kir Demetrius Tekfur" possessed the poll tax and other state revenues of Aenos on the basis of *timar*. But from July 11, 1469, onward, a partnership of three Jewish publicans, Eleazar son of Yakub of Salonika, Avraham son of Eleazar of Nicopolis, and Musa son of Ismail of Vidin, took over the job. The total sum of the revenues from it was estimated at 555,000 akça for three years. Six years later, Yuvan Dhapovik and Knez Yuvan of Novobrdo, evidently Slavs, attempted to outbid Yorgi Ivrana and Toma Kantakouzenos without success. The reason for their failure was that the central administration had not approved the documents submitted by the latter. Greek publicans continued to be involved in salt production in the empire in the following century. In 1590, the government-appointed agent for the import of salt into Istanbul was a Greek by the name of Mikhayil, son of Komnen. The salt imported in one year amounted to 41,274 *kile*, or about 105 tons, transported by the ships of Sava, Istefan, Hüseyin, Abdurrahman, and Nika.

In 1610 the government agent responsible for the import of salt into Istanbul and the agent in the Crimean Khanate for salt export were both Greeks by the names of Mikhal and Dimitri. Under their control the total import amounted to 50,000 *kile* or about 128 tons with a value estimated at one million akça. Again, this salt was transported for the most part on ships owned by the Greeks Yorgi, Sava, and Djanali.

In the Ottoman merchant marine, Greeks occupied a prominent place. Around 1500, in the customs registers of Caffa, Akkerman, and Chilia,[37] Greeks made up a high percentage of the sea captains and shipowners. According to the Caffa customs register of 1487 there were twenty-one Greek shipowners or captains, all of them active in the traffic between Caffa, Istanbul, Galata, Sinop, Samsun, Inebolu, and Trebizond, as against forty-one Muslims and four Italians. The Greek captains Paskal Rayis, Todoros, Pandazi, and Yani of Inebolu were trafficking between these Black Sea ports, carrying goods belonging to Muslim, Jewish, and Armenian merchants. In contrast to the prominent place of the Greeks in maritime transportation, there were in this period only a few Greek merchants trafficking in the Black Sea ports—and most of them were engaged in trading wine and other natural products. Many of the Greek captains, however, shipped merchandise belonging to themselves, for which they paid customs dues. These goods consisted mostly of wine of Trebizond and of the Crimea, caviar and fish of Azak (Azov), and other natural products of the Black Sea region. The fact that the Greek captains were involved in the trade of bulky goods such as salt, wheat, flour, fruits, fish, and lumber was apparently due to the high percentage of transportation costs in the prices of such goods.

Already in the fifteenth century, Greek captains must have accumulated fortunes through transporting and trading such provisions for the rapidly growing Istanbul market. Compared with the situation of the Palaiologan period, during which the Black Sea traffic was basically dependent on the Latins, the Greek merchant marine under the Ottomans must have recorded a considerable expansion. Ottoman archives yield ample evidence of this development for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During this period, Galata-Pera became the principal emporium of olive oil, wine, fish, and caviar under the control of the Greeks. Yeniköy on the Bosphorus was the headquarters of the wealthy Greek shipowners and captains.

Replacing the Italians in transportation by sea, Greeks were also active in overseas trade in the eastern Mediterranean during the same period. In a customs register dated 1560, for example, we find Greek sea captains active in the traffic between Antalya, on the one hand, and the Syrian and Egyptian ports, on the other. It should, however, be noted that Muslim captains and shipowners were in a majority in this traffic, just as they were in the Black Sea in the same period.

Also, compared with the situation around 1453, the number of Greek captains of vessels and of wealthy merchants showed an increase in Venice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, according to the archives of the Greek colony of the city.[38] Under Ottoman protection, Jews, Muslim Turks, Slavs, and Greeks from Ottoman lands formed flourishing merchant communities in Ancona and Venice by the mid-sixteenth century.[39] The members of the Ottoman élite invested large amounts of capital in this overseas trade. For example, a letter from Suleyman I to the Venetian doge in 1561 tells us that the *kapı-ağa*, the chief officer of the seraglio, had made a *commenda* contract with two Greek captains to go to Venice and do business for him.[40] The agha had entrusted to them two thousand gold pieces and his ship for this commercial venture. This particular case became the subject of correspondence because the Greek captains had cheated the *kapı-ağa*. Greeks also played an outstanding part in Russian trade, particularly in furs, as the sultan's private merchants, *khāṣṣa tādjir*, during the period.[41]

NOTES

1. For example, see Evangelia Balta, *L'Eubée à la fin du XVe siècle, économie et population: Les registres de l'année 1474* (Athens: Society of Euboean Studies, 1989).

2. See H. Inalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 104–29; reprinted in idem, *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), no. 1.

3. On *praktika*, see G. Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954); N. Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité au XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles: Le cadastre de Thèbes," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* (1959); for the continuity, see Inalcık, "The Problem of Relationship between Byzantine and Ottoman Taxation," in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses, 1958* (Munich, 1960).

4. See Inalcık, *Contributions to the History of the Black Sea Trade* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); also see Inalcık, "The Question of the Closing of the Black Sea under the Ottomans," presented at the Twelfth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies: "Symposium on the Black Sea", Birmingham, March 18–20, 1978, published in *ArchPont* 35 (1979): 74–110.

5. See "*Dhimma*," *Encyclopædia of Islam*, 2d edition (hereafter EI^{2}).

6. Inalcık, "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire," *The Journal of Economic History* 19, no. 1 (1969): 97–140.

7. Ibid., 102.

8. Angeliki E. Laïou-Thomadakis, "The Greek Merchant of the Palaeologan Period: A Collective Portrait," *Praktika* 57 (1982): 113.

9. Ibid.; cf. M. Balard, *La Romanie Génoise* (Geneva, 1978), vol. 2.

10. Laïou-Thomadakis, 102.

11. Ibid., 100–111.

12. Ibid., 102; for example, Cabasilas, a Greek merchant trafficking with Egypt around 1349 (ibid., 108–9).

13. Ibid., 108, 110–11.

14. Ibid., 105.

15. Ibid., 108–9.

16. Ibid., 108.

17. Ibid., 108–10.

18. N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins en Constantinople (XIIIe–XVe siècles)* (Montreal, 1979), 68, 122; cf. Laïou-Thomadakis, "Greek Merchant," 109.

19. *Il libro dei conti di Giacamo Badoer, (Constantinopoli, 1436–1440)*, eds. U. Dorini and T. Bertelè (Venice 1956); the book is examined by Laïou-Thomodakis, "Greek Merchant," 109–11.

20. See Inalcık, "The Ottoman Turks and the Crusades, 1329–1522," *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 6, ed. H. Hazard and N. P. Zacour (Madison, 1989).

21. See Inalcık, "Ottoman Galata," in *Galata*, ed. Edhem Eldem (Istanbul, 1990), 56–57.

22. Laïou-Thomadakis, "Greek Merchant," 111 n.30; the source in question is Nicholos Isidoros' correspondence.

23. See Inalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 17–44.

24. F. Thiriet, *Régestes des déliberations du Senat de Venise concernant la Romanie* (Paris, 1958–61), vol. 3, no. 3009.

25. See Inalcık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology," *Turcica* 15 (1983): 325; Laïou-Thomadakis, "Greek Merchant," 110 note 29, agrees with H. Hunger and K. Vogel that the book was composed in the early fifteenth century.

26. Laïou-Thomadakis, "Greek Merchant," 115.

27. See Inalcık, *Contributions to the History of the Black Sea Trade*, vol. 1. *The Customs Register of Caffa of 1487–1490* (forthcoming).

28. See Inalcık, "Galata," 17–44.

29. Ibid.

30. Inalcık, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23/24 (1969–70).

31. See Inalcık, "Notes on N. Beldiceanu's Translation of the Ḳānūnnāme, fonds turc ancien 39, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris," *Der Islam* 43, nos. 1–2 (1967): 139–57.

32. See F. Babinger, "Eine Verfügung des Paläologen Chāṣṣ Murād-Paşa von Mitte Regeb 876 h. Dez./Jan. 1471/2," in *Documenta Islamica Inedita* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952), 197–210; EI², s.v."Mesih Pasha" (Inalcık), 1025–26.

33. *EI*², s.v."Istanbul," (Inalcık) 225–27.

34. N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle*, 4:106, n. 34.

35. Mukāta'at Register, Başvekâlet Archives, Istanbul, M.M. 7381; on this branch of the Kantakouzenos family in Serbia see Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance: Continuation de la vie byzantine* (Bucharest, 1971), 36; D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenous (Cantacuzenous), ca. 1100–1460*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, vol. 11 (Washington, D.C., 1968).

36. T. Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar-Mülkler-Mukataalar* (Istanbul, 1952), index.

37. See above note 4.

38. D. N. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 55, n. 7.

39. See T. Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," *The Journal of Economic History* 20 (1960), 234–313; Earle, "The Commercial Development of Ancona, 1479–1551," *Economic History Review* 22 (1969).

40. Gökbilgin, "Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Vesikalar Külliyatından Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri Belgeleri," *Belgeler* 2 (1964): 161.

41. A. Bennigsen and C. L. Quelquejay, "Les marchands de la cour ottomane et le commerce des fourrures moscovites dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 21, no. 3 (1970): 363–90.



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