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Ottoman Archival Materials on *Millets*

HALIL INALCIK

Kadi Court Records

The *ḳadı* court records, *sicillāt,* constitute an extensive collection,[1] scattered across the former area of the empire, and perhaps the most important source for the social life and actual legal conditions of the non-Muslims under Ottoman rule. This happened not only because the non-Muslims, as the *ahl al-dhimma,* were under the jurisdiction of *ḳadi*s is so many areas of the law, but also because the *dhimmī*s often preferred to seek a *ḳadi*'s decision or certificate. The use of Muslim courts provided greater assurance, or the means to escape the more rigid stipulations of their own religious law in such matters as marriage, divorce, and parenthood rights, which were supposed to be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Christian or Jewish authorities. In the eighteenth century the Greek Patriarchate had to take serious measures to prevent the latter practice, as a result of which the infiltration of Islamic and customary law was being seen in such areas as marriage and dowry practices.[2] At any rate the *ḳadi sicillāt* abound with court decisions, as well as contracts, transactions, certificates and other kinds of documents, drawn up not only between Muslims and non-Muslims but also between non-Muslim parties.

Since the *sicillāt* were deposited in the *ḳadi* courts of the cities and towns throughout the empire, their rediscovery has given existence from the 1930s on to many local archives in the lands once under Ottoman rule—Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, Syria, Turkey, Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. One of the most extensive, and for obvious reasons the most important collections, is that in Istanbul, under the office of the *Mufti.* About ten thousand well-preserved volumes of the *ḳadi* records of Istanbul, Galata, Eyüp, and adjacent districts, collected under Abdülhamid II, have been barely touched for study. The Bursa collection, comprising the oldest *ḳadi* registers dating back to the 1460s, is the best known to the students of Ottoman history, and has been exploited since the 1930s.[3] Also, a number of publications have been made from the collections in such centers as Monastir, Sarajevo, Vidin, Sofia, Salonica, Cyprus, Damascus,

Jerusalem, and Cairo.[4] Documents from the *sicillāt* of Vidin and Sofia concerning the Church and ecclesiastical matters have been collected and studied by Joseph Kabrda.[5]

Monastery Archives

Ottoman documents preserved in monastery archives bear a special interest not only for the history of particular monasteries and the administration of monastic properties under Ottoman rule, but also for Ottoman history in general, since some monasteries preserved documents from the earliest Ottoman times, even the fourteenth century. Monastic documents have been published by Paul Wittek and Paul Lemerle, Elizabeth Zachariadou-Oikonomides (Greece), D. Ihčiev (Bulgaria), P. Džansazov and J. Jastrebov (Yugoslavia), Eutimo Castellani (Jerusalem), Klaus Schwarz (Sinai) and Zdenka Veselá-Prenosilová (Sinai).[6] It should be added that the Ottoman survey registers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries preserved in the central archives in Istanbul contain complete lists of the monasteries in Ottoman territories and often copies of their *fermans* and statutes.

Collections in the Central Archives (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Istanbul)

The collection of *Mühimme* registers in the Ottoman archives, containing copies of the decrees decided upon in the Imperial Council, and covering the period from 1553 to 1905, is definitely one of the most important sources for affairs concerning the non-Muslims and their organizations in the Ottoman Empire. Among the collections of documents on this subject selected from this source, those published by Ahmed Refik Altınay and Uriel Heyd are particularly worthy of mention.[7] Ahmed Refik, in his selection, included principally documents concerning the non-Muslim communities in Istanbul and their organization. Uriel Heyd selected those on the Jews in Palestine. A brief examination of these publications will suffice to show that the *Mühimme* collection documents deal with all aspects of the relations of non-Muslims individually or collectively with the Ottoman government. They also show the government's concern for matters affecting its *dhimmī* subjects, especially in relation to taxation, security and peace among them. A great number of the decrees are concerned with the enforcement of the restrictions that Islamic law imposed upon non-Muslims as, for example: the bans upon selling wine in public, upon dressing as Muslims, riding horses, possessing slaves, having houses too close to Muslim places of worship, upon any construction of churches or synagogues beyond the maintenance of those Mehmet the Conqueror had permitted to remain in use. A need to reinforce restrictions of this sort was apparently felt in times of war against Christian powers and in times of public distress, when the sultan made a show to the Muslim public of the fact that he was scrupulously applying the prescriptions of the *Sharī'a*.

On the other hand, since the *dhimmī*s were involved in every aspect of public life in the Ottoman Empire, the papers and registers dealing with public affairs, especially with public finances, are important, such as the *māliye aḥkām,* the *mukata'a* registers, the *'avāriz-i dīvāniyye* registers, and the registers of petitions and complaints, *şikāyāt* and *aḥkām*. Of special interest is a register called *Avrupa [tüccārı]* containing decrees and diplomas issued to non-Muslim merchants of the empire who were engaged in trade with European countries and who were given special privileges and tax exemptions to enable them to compete on an even footing with those enjoying capitulary privileges.[8] It is important to emphasize that these documents show that the Ottoman government dealt with non-Muslims directly as its *dhimmī* subjects.

The *taḥrīr,* or *tapu, defterleri,* the population and tax survey books of the Ottoman state,[9] are of basic importance for statistical data on the non-Muslims in the areas of demography, economic conditions, and taxation. Frequently the contents of important fermans, or of diplomas granting exemptions or appointments, as well as laws and regulations, *kānūnnāmes*, are entered in these registers along with the persons or groups to whom they apply. These are the best known registers in the Ottoman archives and a number of publications have already been made based on them with full reproductions or summaries.[10] Mention should be made here of the surveys of imperial *evḳāf,* comprising valuable statistical data on the non-Muslims who paid their taxes to *evḳāf*. The best example is the sultanic *evḳāf* of the *Fatih* mosque (Tapu registers n. 240, dated 952 cumadelûlâ I/1545 July, and no. 210),[11] which is a mine of information on the Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and European *(Efrenciyān)* communities of Istanbul. From this register we learn, for example, not only the population of each district and the taxes paid, but also individual and group places of origin. These records attest to a large immigration of Armenians and Greeks from Anatolian towns into Istanbul before 1545. As for the nineteenth century, starting from 1831 several detailed population surveys have been the subject of research and publication by E. Z. Karal, K. Karpat, and J. McCarthy.[12]

As for the principal registers concerning only the non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire, they are:

1. the *cizye* registers, registers of the Islamic poll tax, which go back to the fifteenth century. The important *cizye* register of the year 1489 has been studied and published by N. Todorov and Ö. L. Barkan.[13]
2. the *peskopos muḳāta'ası* registers, on which we will focus our attention below.
3. the *cemā'at-i gayr-i Muslima* registers, altogether eighteen registers containing copies of papers on all matters of affairs concerning the non-Muslim communities from the year 1837 on.
4. the *kilise defterleri,* which start in 1837, and contain permissions for construction and repair of churches, schools and other buildings, as well as cemeteries, run by the non-Muslim communities or foreigners.

From 1916 on imperial orders, *irādes*, were classified in dossiers according to

individual subject. Among the *irāde dosyaları,* dossier no. 62 is devoted to the non-Muslim communities and includes such important documents as petitions from the Greek Patriarchate for the appointment of a new patriarch, the reaffirmation of the regulations governing the Armenian Patriarchate, and the resignation of the Haham-başı, Hayim Nahum.

In the nineteenth century important events involving the non-Muslim communities prompted special investigations by the government and resulted in such special *defters* as that on the *Rum fesādı,* the Greek insurrection, a survey of all Greek merchants in Istanbul *hāns*, one on Serbian affairs, and other registers on the Bulgarian uprising in Vidin, the question of the Bulgarian Exarchate, the disorders in Lebanon, and the question of Crete.[14]

Briefly speaking, all of these documents show that the Ottoman government treated the non-Muslims simply as its *dhimmī* subjects, and that their religious leaders were given full independence of action only in matters concerning the church hierarchy and property. It was only in 1764 that for the first time the sultan gave the Greek and Armenian patriarchs direct authorization to punish troublemakers in their community without having to bring the case to the attention of the Porte; at the same time *ḳadı* courts were ordered to refuse cases involving dubious marriages.[15]

A Study of the Peskopos Muḳāta^{c}ası Registers, Başvekâlet Archives, Istanbul, Kâmil Kepeci Tasnîfi nos. 2539-2542

In this series the introduction to register no. 2540-2 reads: "This is a register of the diplomas and decrees *(berevāt ve ahkām)* concerning the Office of the Public Revenues from the Appointments of Bishops *(Ḳalem-i Muḳata^{c}a-ı Peskopos),* during the time of his Excellency ^{c}Abdullāh Nā'ilī Efendi, *Defterdār-i Şiḳḳ-i Evvel,* and ^{c}Alī Efendi, secretary to the grand vezir's *kethudā* and chief secretary of the said office. First of Muharrem 1167/Oct. 29, 1753)."

The introduction makes clear the following points:

1. There is a special office at the department of imperial finances responsible for the collection of the revenues connected with appointment of the religious heads of the Christian communites in the empire.
2. The head of this office is a *hoca,* head-secretary, under the finance minister, but at the same time he is a secretary to the grand vezir's deputy, thus under the direct control of the grand vezir's office.

The register contains diplomas and decrees on appointments, changes and other matters concerning the title and jurisdiction of the metropolitans *(medrepolid)* and bishops *(peskopos)* in the empire. In other words the registers kept at this office are essential for the study of church organization throughout the empire and its relations with the Ottoman government. The records concern the Orthodox Greek Patriarchate of Istanbul and the Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, Ohrid (Ohri) and peč (İpek) as well as the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul. It also includes decrees concerning monasteries. The

first register in this series contains documents from the period 1051–1061/1641–1651, but it also has notes on circumstances dating back to the sixteenth century as well as marginal records of the years 1061–1082/1651–1671. The office was then under the *Defterdār* of the *şiḳḳ-i sānī.* There are four registers in this series, covering the period between 1051–1253/1641–1837. The office of *Peskopos Halīfeliği Muḳata^{c}ası* was abolished in 1837; after that, diplomas and decrees concerning the non-Muslim communities were copied in the registers of the *Cemā^{c}at-i Gayr-i Muslima* in the *Dīvān-i Hümāyūn* under the direct control of the grand vezir or prime minister.[16]

The following list of the Metropolitan and Episcopal sees under the Patriarchate of the Orthodox Greeks *(Rumiyan)* with the amount of *pīş-keş* is based upon the *Peskopos Muḳāta^{c}ası* register no. 2539 covering the period 1641–1651.

	Pīş-keş
Patriarchate of Istanbul, over the Christians in Istanbul and its dependencies. 105 *oḳḳa* meat per day for the Imperial gardeners *(bostancı)*	20,000 *kuruş*
Metropolitanate of the Christians in the *nāḥiye*s (counties) of Terkoz and Hâslar (area between Bosphorus, Marmara Sea and Black Sea) and the city of Galata	4 gold pieces
Bishopric of the town of Çatalca with the villages of Hamillu(?) and Haridin(?) and Büyük-Çekmece and its dependencies	800 akça
Metropolitanate of the Christians of Bigados and its dependencies	1440 akça
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district *(vilāyet)* of Ereglü (Heraclea) and its dependencies	20 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the *nāḥiye* (county) of Istanimaka and its dependencies	20 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the district *(vilāyet)* of Siroz (Serrès) and its dependencies	65 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the district of Zihne and its dependencies	9 gold pieces
Bishopric of the Christians of the village of Potemkali(?) and its dependencies in the *ḳazā* of Argirikasrı	2000 akça
Gumenot-i Manastır-i Prokri or Panaya along with the Christians of Kızıl-Kaya	5 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of Salonica with the Bishopric of Liti and Andelissa(?) in Sidre-Kapsi (Siderokavsja)	150 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of Arhi, and its dependencies in the *ḳazā* of Sidre-Kapsi	30 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of Kara-Ferye (Pherrai) and its dependencies	25 gold pieces
Kethudalık of the Christians of the *ḳazā* of Sidre-Kapsi	10 gold pieces
Kethudalık of the salt-works in the area of Salonica	730 akça
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Varna and its dependencies	10 gold pieces

Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Kortos (Corinth) and its dependencies	130 gold pieces (100 for metropolitan and 30 for bishop)
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the church of Koron with Kalamata	15 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of Narda with the church of Inebahtı and its dependencies	30 gold pieces
Fixed sum paid annually by the monks in the Aynaroz (Athos) monasteries	200,000 akça
For *zarar-ı ḳaṣṣābān* and *kirbas-bahā* for the *bostancıs* as ordered in the year 1063/1652	200,000 akça
Metropolitanate containing the bishopric of the district of Moton (Modon)	8 gold pieces
Bishopric of the Christians of Yeni-Kale in the provinces of Morea with the districts of Moton, Koron and Arkadya, comprising fifty villages	7 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the Island of Sakız (Chios) and its dependencies	35 gold pieces
Tercumanlık (office of dragoman) at Sakız	500 akça
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the islands of Rhodes and Limnos and their dependencies	24 gold pieces
Bishopric of the Christians of the islands in the Marmara Sea	20 gold pieces
Bishopric of the Latin Christians *(efrenciyye)* in the *ḳazā* of Bar and its dependencies	1800 akça
Metropolitanate of the Christians in the villages of Ganos and Khora and its dependencies in the *ḳazā*s of Gallipoli and Magalkara	8 gold pieces
Metropolitanate in the district of Bursa and its dependencies	15 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians in Mudanya, Sigi (Sige), Pulad, Gusi and Subashi in the *ḳazā* of Kite	25 gold pieces
Bishopric of the Christians in the villages of Kurşunlu (Megas Agros), Mir-Ali and Yeni-Köy	6 gold pieces
Kethudalık of Mir-Ali and its dependencies	30 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians in the district *(vilāyet)* of Amasya with the *ḳazā*s of Sinop, Samsun, Bafra, Aydinat and their dependencies	40 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the province *(livā-sancak)* of Canik with the church of Panaya	10 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of Trabzon, Torul (Ardasa) with the districts *(nāḥiye)* of Gümüş (Argyropolis), Bayburt (Paipert) and their dependencies	50 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Rize (Rizaion)	20 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of Konya and its dependencies	9 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Niğde and its dependencies	12 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Antalya	20 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Aydıncık (near Cyzicus)	20 gold pieces

Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Kefe (Caffa) and its dependencies	50 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Mangup	20 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of Tat-Ili (in the Crimea) and its dependencies	15 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Kayseriye and its dependencies	12 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Ankara and its dependencies	10 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Filibe (Philippopoli) with the *ḳazā*s of Hasköy and Tatar-Pazarı and their dependencies	50 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Sofya (Sofia), and its dependencies	112 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Ayaslug (Ephesus) and its dependencies	20 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the district of Izmir (Smyrna)	10 gold pieces
Under the Patriarch of the Christians of the island of Cyprus	*Pīş-keş*
Patriarchate of the Christians of the province of Cyprus and its dependencies	73,500 akça
Dragoman at the Court of Cyprus	1,600 akça
Bishopric of the Christians of the *ḳazā* of Baf and its dependencies	5,400 akça
Bishopric of the Christians of the *ḳazā* of Kirine and its dependencies	1,400 akça
Bishopric of the Christians of the *ḳazā* of Gilani and its dependencies	2,400 akça
Bishopric of the Christians of the *ḳazā* of Limasson and its dependencies	2,400 akça
Bishopric of the Christians of the *ḳazā* of Lefkoşa and its dependencies	3,600 akça
Bishopric of the Christians of the *ḳazā* of Hirishora and its dependencies	2,800 akça
Under the Patriarch of Ohri (Ohrid)	
Patriarchate of the Christians of the province of Ohri and its dependencies and the fixed lump sum to be delivered to the imperial treasury annually	1,000 gold pieces 60,000 akça
Bishopric of the Latin Christians *(Efrenciyān)* on the island of Andrea and its dependencies	8 gold pieces
Under the Patriarch of İpek (Peč)	
Patriarch of the Serbian Christians of the province of İpek with the provinces of Budin (Buda), Temešvar, Bosnia[17], Gyula, Egre, Kanija, İskenderiyye, Prizrin and their dependencies as found on July 1, 1615. Besides the *pīş-keş* he agreed to pay each year to the imperial treasury	100,000 akça

a lump sum in the amount of 100,000 akça, as fixed down.

Metropolitanate of the Christians of the districts of Iştip (štip), Maleşeva, Kratova, Islavişte and their dependencies; later on with an addition of 6200 akça	45 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the province of İpek later on with addition that was fixed down as 3000 akça	22 gold pieces
Since the aforesaid metropolitanate lies at İpek, the Patriarch himself holds it, and paying the *pīş-keş* he possesses it independently; this was decided on March 27, 1584.	
Bishopric of the Christians of the church belonging to the Latin clergy *(ruhbānān-i Latin)* in the province of Bosnia, Kilis, Hersek and their dependencies. Bishop is nominated by the Patriarch of İpek	40 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the city of Budin (Buda) and its dependencies. Its holder is nominated by the Patriarch of İpek	10 gold pieces
Metropolitanate of the Christians of the districts of Sigetvar with Peçuy. Its holder is nominated by the Patriarch of İpek.	10 gold pieces

The following is a list of all the Metropolitan and Episcopal sees in their hierarchical order as found in the *berāt* renewed for Kyrillos, patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church, on the occasion of Osman III's accession to the throne in 1753 (Register no. 2540/2, p. 39). For the titles Metropolitanate (M), Archbishopric (AB), Bishopric (B) we followed the list in T. Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination,* Brussels, *1952,* p. 82–122.

1. Istanbul and its dependencies (M)
2. Kayseriye (Kayseri) (M)
3. Lititisa (AB)
4. Kuş-Adası (Ephesus) (M)
5. Ereğli (Hrakleia) (M)
6. Radoscuk (Rodosto) (B)
7. Gelibolu (Kallioupoli, Gallipoli) (B)
8. Mirtofona (Miriofiton, Mürefte) (B)
9. Çatalca (Metrai) (AB)
10. Çorlu (Tsuralon) (AB)
11. Ankara (Ancyra) (M)
12. Kapıdagı (Cyzicus) (M)
13. İznikmid (Izmit) (Nicomedia) (M)
14. İznik (Nicaea) (M)
15. Kadıköyü (Chalcedon) (M)
16. Selanik (Salonica) (M)
17. Çitroz (Kitros) (B)
18. Kapaniya (Kampania) (B)
19. Balatomina (Platamuno) (B)

20. Serfice (Serfion) (B)
21. Toyran (Tolvan) (B)
22. Petros (Petras) (B)
23. Ardamiri (Ardamerion) (B)
24. Aynaroz (Mount Athos)
25. Silstre (Dristra) (B)
26. Tırnovi (M)
27. Çirmen (Tsernevon) (B)
28. Lofca (Lovec) (B)
29. Şumnu (formerly Preslav) (B)
30. Edirne (M)
31. Ahtabolu (Agathopoli) (B)
32. Amasya (Amasea) (M)
33. Bursa (M)
34. Niksar (Neokaisaria) (M)
35. Konya (Iconion) (M)
36. Kara-Ferye (Pherrai) (M)
37. Antalya (formerly Pisidia) (M)
38. Talantova (Talantion) (formerly Athens) (M)
39. Girit (Crete) (M)
40. Trabzon (Trebizond) (M)
41. Yenişehir (Larissa) (M)
42. Tırhala (Trikkala) (B)
43. Narda (B)
44. İnebahtı (Lepanto, Naupakhton) (M)
45. Filibe (Philippopoli) (M)
46. Rodos (Rhodes) (M)
47. Siroz (Serez, Serrai) (M)
48. Dırama (Philippi) (M)
49. Zihne (Zichna)
50. Midillü (Mytilene) (M)
51. Yanya (Ioannina) (M)
52. Dimetoka (Didymoteichon) (M)
53. Alaşehir (Philadelphia) (M)
54. Menlik (Melenikon) (M)
55. Badracık (Neo-Patras) (M)
56. İstifa (Tsivon) (M)
57. Inoz (Enez, Ainos) (M)
58. Melo (Melos island) (AB)
59. Nakşa (Naxos)
60. Misivri (Mesambria) (M)
61. Vidin (M)
62. Ağriboz (Euboea) (M)
63. Sofya (M)
64. Vize (Byzon) (M)
65. Ahyolu (Anchialus) (M)
66. Varna (M)
67. Ibrail (Braila) (M)
68. Gömülcine (Komotene) (M)

69. Silivri (Silivria) (M)
70. Süzebolu (Sozopoli) (M)
71. İskete (Xanthi) (M)
72. Golos (Volo) (M)
73. Kefe (Caffa) (M)
74. Gözleve (Kozlov, Jevpatorya)
75. Sakız (Chios) (AB)
76. Limni (Lemnos) (M)
77. Imroz (Imbros) (M)
78. Hâslar (Villages between Istanbul and Bosphorus formerly Derkos or Terkos) (M)
79. Kördos (Kortos, Corinthos) (M)
80. Benefşe (Monemvasia) (M)
81. Ravendos (Reontos) (B)
82. Balya-Badra (Palaia Patra) (M)
83. Moston (Mothonis?) (B)
84. Mezistre (Misithra, Mistra) (M)
85. Arkadya (Christianoupolis) (M)
86. Anabolu (Nauplion) (M)
87. Marmara (Marmora island)
88. Ilıca
89. Santorin (Santorin island) (AB)
90. Mesta
91. Alosonya (Elassonia) (AB)
92. Sisam (Samos) (AB)
93. Istanköy (Karpathos) (AB)
94. Fenar (Phanarion) (AB)
95. Gümüşhane (Argyropolis)
96. Mezid Adası
97. Kesendire (Kassandra) (AB)
98. Değirmen Adası
99. Sifnos (Sifnos) (AB)
100. Andre (Andros) (AB)
101. Egin (Aigina) (AB)
102. Bogonyani (Pogonianis) (AB)
103. Kirine
104. Ayamavra (Levkas) (AB)
105. Ala-Kilisa (Phersalon?) (AB)
106. Kefalya (Kephallenia) (AB)
107. Istendin (Tinos) (AB)
108. Kördos (Corinthos) (B)
109. Eflak (Wallachia) (M)
110. Bogdan (Moldavia) (M)
111. Venice (M); in 1782 the patriarchate notified the Ottoman Porte that since 1557 the Orthodox Greeks resident in Venice had been electing a metropolitan for themselves with the approval of the patriarch.[18]

The list of the metropolitan sees under Ottoman rule as established by T. Papadopoulos on the basis of seven *Notitiae Episcopatum* and the Synodal

Acta can be checked against the above lists drawn up on the basis of Ottoman documents. The amount of the *pīş-keş* to be paid by each metropolitan or bishop can be an indication of the importance of the see and the size of the Orthodox population in the area under its jurisdiction. Among the *Notitiae* the one drawn up by the Patriarch Serapheim in 1759 is chronologically the closest to our document. The next *Notitiae* known is dated 1855, while the *Peskopos Muḳāta*ᶜ *a* registers contain lists of the same character for the whole period after 1641. The hierarchical structure of the Greek church during the Ottoman period, T. Papadopoullos said, exhibited essentially the same structure as it had in Byzantine times. Under the immediate jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch we find metropolitans at the head of dioceses, which constitute the essential subdivisions of the hierarchy. Under the immediate jurisdiction of a metropolitan is placed a bishop, *peskopos*. Those metropolitans under the direct jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate who have no bishops under their own dominion, are considered higher in rank than a bishop but lower than an independent metropolitan. Otherwise, the metropolitans are all of equal importance, distinguished only according to an established order of precedence. As our document makes clear, the respective boundaries of metropolitan dioceses and espiscopal sees are determined by Ottoman administrative divisions. T. Papadopoullos stressed the fact that a metropolitan diocese or an episcopal see owes its historical continuity to the continuing existence of the Orthodox population in that particular area. They flourish, decline and disappear as the Orthodox population increases, decreases and disappears. Thus the actual geographic distribution of the Orthodox population is reflected in the *Notitiae Episcopatum*. The Ottoman *cizye* registers on the other hand furnish us with complete lists of the Orthodox population subject to the poll tax in Istanbul and the provinces; these lists can be used as reliable sources for actual population estimates.[19]

Peşkeş or Pīş-keş

Peşkeş or originally *pīş-keş* meaning gift, present in general usage, was actually "an offering made by an inferior as a mark of respect and dependence" (Redhouse). In the Ottoman Empire, *pīş-keş* was given at the moment of a governor's acceptance of his diploma of appointment. The rate for each rank was fixed by regulation in the sixteenth century. For example, the governor of Rumeli gave to the *mīr-*ᶜ*alem* at the Porte, ten thousand *akça*. Originally, the exchange of presents was a symbolic act, used to establish a bond of dependency between lord and retainer in the Turco-Mongol world. The exchange of presents was, from the beginning of Ottoman history, a persistent custom practiced by the Ottomans (as an early example see Sultan Orhan's *temlīknāme* in *Arşiv Klavuzu*, Istanbul, 1938, document no. 1). Officials of lesser grades paid a fixed amount of money called *resm-i berāt* accompanied by some costly presents from the sultan, such as a caftan, a horse with gilded saddle, or a sword. These presents symbolizing the authority delegated by the ruler in Islamic states were generally called *al-*ᶜ*alāmāt-i mulūkiyya*, (see *al-*ᶜ*Umarī, Al-ta*ᶜ*rīf*, Cairo 1312/1894, pp.

209–211). It should be noted that *pīş-keş* cannot be interpreted as bribery from the Ottoman viewpoint. The money paid by high clergy at the moment of receiving their *berāt* from the Porte was also called *berāt pīşkeşi*, *pīş-keş* paid for *berāt*.[20]

According to a tradition perpetuated in the circles of the patriarchate, Gennadios, at the time of his appointment as the first patriarch under the Ottomans, was granted one thousand gold pieces for his maintenance.[21] The contemporary historian Kritovoulos confirms that "the sultan loaded him with noble and costly gifts."[22] It is known from documentary evidence that before the Conqueror's time metropolitans and bishops were assigned regular income from the Ottoman treasury in the form of *timar*.[23] Hence, these metropolitans, as well as Gennadios, must have given customary *pīş-keş* to the sultan. What was, perhaps, striking for the contemporaries was the extravagant increase of the amount of *pīş-keş*, first to 2,000 gold pieces, and then to 2,500 by the rival metropolitans to obtain the patriarchate.[24] As a result of the competition for the patriarchal throne in the Greek church[25] and the growing tendency of the Ottomans to farm out public offices to the highest bidders, *pīş-keş* was over time substantially increased and considered a source of revenue for the state.

Notes

1. For a bibliography of the *sicillāt* in Turkey, see Osman Ersoy, "Şer'iyye Sicillerinin Toplu Kataloğuna Doğru," *Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 21 (1963), pp. 35–65 and Mücetba İlgürel, "Şer'iyye Sicillerinin Toplu Kataloğuna Doğru," *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Tarih Dergisi*, 28–29 (1975), pp. 123–166.

2. N. J. Pantazapoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula During Ottoman Rule*, Salonica, 1967, pp. 91–112.

3. See H. Inalcik, "Bursa şer'iye sicillerinde Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in fermanları," *Belleten*, 11 (1944), p. 693. *Sicillāt* were extensively exploited for local history in the publications made by *Halkevleri* in Turkey.

4. For the publications made in these places see J. Reychman and A. Zajaczkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics*, revised ed. A. S. Ehrenkreutz and T. Halasi-Kun, The Hague and Paris 1968, index.

5. In his book, *Le système fiscal de l'Eglise orthodoxe dans l'Empire Ottoman*, Brno, 1969, and his articles, cited in the book's bibliography, p. 163.

6. See for a bibliography, Klaus Schwarz, *Osmanische Staatsurkunden des Sinai-Klosters in türkischer Sprache*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1970, pp. 197–205.

7. Ahmed Refik (Altınay), *Istanbul Hayatı*, 3 vols., Istanbul, 1930–1935; U. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine*, Oxford, 1960; also see Bernard Lewis, *Notes and Documents from the Turkish Archives*, Jerusalem, 1952.

8. For all these *defters* see Midhat Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi*, Ankara, 1955; and B. Lewis (cited n. 7), p. 2–4.

9. See Ö. L. Barkan, "Türkiye'de imparatorluk devirlerinin büyük nüfus ve arazi tahrirleri ve hakana mahsus istatistik defterleri," *Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*,2 (1941), pp. 20–59; 2 (1941), pp. 214–47; B. Lewis (cited n. 7) pp. 4–5.

10. For a bibliography see Reychman and Zajaczkowski (cited n. 4), pp. 24–103.

11. See H. Inalcik, "Istanbul," *EI²*, vol. 3, pp. 244–45.

12. See H. Inalcik, "Impact of the *Annales* School on Ottoman Studies and New Findings," *Review*, 1 (1978), p. 76; K. Karpat, "Ottoman Population Records and Census of 1881–1893," *JMES*, 9 (1978), pp. 237–74; mention should also be made of the important data in the *Sālnāmes* or Yearbooks of the Ottoman Provinces, for a bibliography of these see H. R. Ertug, "Osmanlı devrinde salnameler," *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası*, 9 (1973).

13. N. Todorov, "La situation démographique de la péninsule balkanique au cours des XV^e et XVI^e siècles," *Annuaire de l'universite de Sofia, Faculté de Philosophie et d'histoire*, 53 (1959); Ö. L. Barkan, "894 (1488/1489) yıh cizye muhasebesine âit muhasebe bilançoları," *Belgeler*, 1 (1964), pp. 1–117.

14. See M. Sertoğlu (cited n. 8).

15. See A. Refik, *Istanbul Hayatı, 1000–1100*, Istanbul, 1931, p. 206; for marriages see orders in Kabrda (cited n. 5), no. xxvi, xxviii, xxxiv and Pantazapoulos (cited n. 2), pp. 98–103.

16. See M. Sertoğlu (cited n. 3), pp. 27–29.

17. In a register of *muḳāṭa'a* dated 1479 (Başvekâlet Archives, Maliyeden Müdevver no. 176) the metropolitan of Bosnia *(Medrepolid-i vilāyet-i Bosna)* was to pay fifty gold pieces each year. The high rate of *pīş-keş* can be interpreted as an indication of the importance of the Greek Orthodox church in Bosnia at that time; cf. John Fine, *The Bosnian Church, A New Interpretation*, New York and London 1975, p. 375–78.

18. See the document published by A. Refik (cited n. 15), pp. 227–29.

19. See note 13.

20. See Kabrda (cited n. 5), p. 59.

21. Pantazapoulos (cited n. 2), p. 25.

22. *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. C. T. Riggs, Princeton, 1954, p. 94.

23. See *Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, ed. H. Inalcik, Ankara, 1954, nos. 100, 122, 148, 162, 186, 200, 270, 299.

24. See M. Crusius, *Turcograecia libri octo*, Basel, 1584 cited by S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 193–94; Pantazapoulos (cited n. 2), p. 25.

25. See for the situation in later times T. Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination*, Brussels, 1952, pp. 132–35; O. Kersten, *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert*, Wien, 1970, pp. 82–83.

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The Functioning of a Plural Society

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