

Ottoman Documents from the Archives of Dionysiou (Mount Athos) 1495—1520

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The Byzantine monasteries of Asia Minor and those of the Balkans did not share the same fate. As there are hardly any mentions of most of the former after the end of the XIIIth century one may guess that they gradually disappeared while the Turkish expansion was in progress. On the contrary most of the monasteries of the Balkans survived under the Ottoman sultans, enjoying certain privileges and a few of them soon became centres of wealth and education¹).

Although it can be safely taken for granted that the Ottomans recognized the monasteries and their status as soon as they crossed to Europe, hardly anything is known for certain about the first contacts of the monks with their new masters. In some cases such as that of the Prodromos (Margaritis) monastery in Serres and those of Mount Athos legends are reported by authors of a later date²). Very little is also known about the development of the monasteries immediately after the establishment of Ottoman rule in the Balkans. Many Ottoman documents have been preserved in Greek monasteries, especially at Mount Athos: but very few have been published. A quick survey of the published material shows that it is very limited.

The earliest known document of the kind is the much discussed ferman given by *Murad I* to the above mentioned monastery of Serres in 1372/73³). Information is also available about *Bayazid I* (1389—1402). A note from an Ottoman cadastre lets us know that he granted privileges to the monks of the Meteora⁴); a document of his, in very

¹) The monasteries of the region of Trebizond also survived; the circumstances were similar to those in the Balkans.

²) Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, La prise de Serres et le firman de 1372 en faveur du monastère de Saint-Jean-Prodrome: *Acta Historica* 4 (1965), p. 20—21; Α. Λαυριώτη, Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος μετὰ τὴν Ὀθωμανικὴν κατάκτησιν [Mount Athos after the Ottoman Conquest]: *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 32 (1963), p. 121.

³) Beldiceanu, op. cit., p. 15—24; cf. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, Early Ottoman Documents of the Prodromos Monastery (Serres): *Südost-Forschungen* 28 (1969), p. 1—12.

⁴) Halil İnalcık, Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar [Research and Documents of the Conqueror's Time], vol. I. Ankara 1954, p. 175, note 148; the note refers to the monks of "Kalabaka" which can safely be identified with Meteora.

bad condition, is preserved in the archives of the St. Paul monastery (Mount Athos)⁵); there is also mention of his relations with the monastery of Serres⁶). Some documents issued when the Byzantine domination was restored in Macedonia after *Bayazid's* defeat at Ankara (1402) contain some additional information primarily concerning Thessalonika and Mount Athos during the first Ottoman conquest. A decree (prostagma) of *Manuel II* of 1408 states that monastic property was entirely taken by the Ottomans⁷); but it is doubtful that this statement can be fully accepted. There is some evidence for the contrary. Some other documents imply that at least some monasteries continued to possess their land⁸). It seems that monastic property was not considered untouchable but it was more respected than that belonging to individuals. In a document, presumably of the year 1403, we read that some years before, the Turks had taken land situated in Portaria which belonged to the monastery of Esphigmenou and to a certain *George Anatavlas*; the land was given to a Muslim but later the monks managed to take it back in its whole, i. e. their share together with that of *Anatavlas*⁹). A few other documents are very revealing for the taxation system imposed by the Ottomans upon the monasteries of Athos¹⁰).

One document of *Musa čelebi* (1412) and another of *Mehemmed čelebi* (1419) show that the monastery of Serres maintained good relations with *Bayazid's* sons¹¹). With respect to *Murad II* we know that a census of the monastic land of Mount Athos took place during his reign¹²); also a document of the year 1422 preserved in a very poor

⁵) St. Binon, *Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xéropotamou et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos*. Louvain 1942, p. 274—275; as this document is addressed to an ἐκλαμπρότατος (most illustrious), it is not certain that it is addressed to a Greek hegoumenos or monk.

⁶) Zachariadou, *op. cit.*, p. 3—7.

⁷) οὐ λέγω δὲ τὸν καιρὸν, καθ' ὃν ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου ταῦτα [= μετόχια] ἔλαβον οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ εἶχον; see V. Mošin, *Akti iz svetogorskih arhiva* [Documents from the Archives of Mount Athos]: *Spomenik of the Serbian Academy* 91 (1939), p. 165.

⁸) A document of 1386 shows the existence of monastic land-properties in the region of Strymon; see P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumus*. Paris 1946, p. 141—145. Another of the year 1415 mentions a "court" belonging to the Nea Moni of Thessalonika during the 31 preceding years, i.e. a period including the years of the first Turkish conquest of the town; see P. Lemerle, *Autour d'un prostagma inédit de Manuel II. L'aulè de Sire Guy à Thessalonique: Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 9 (1957), p. 271—286. For *Bayazid I's* policy in Thessalonika see also below p. 24.

⁹) L. Petit — W. Regel, *Actes d'Esphigmenou: Vizantijskij Vremennik* 12 (1906), Priloženie, p. 43—44.

¹⁰) Analysis of these documents is to be found in N. Oikonomidès, *Le "haradj" dans l'empire byzantin du XV^e siècle: Actes du I^{er} Congrès International d'Etudes Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*. Sofia 1969, vol. III, p. 681—688.

¹¹) Zachariadou, *op. cit.*, p. 3—7.

¹²) See below p. 23—25.

Greek translation shows that following his father's policy he protected the monastery of Theologos near Delvino¹³).

The available material from the reign of *Mehemmed II* is not very rich. The earliest document issued by him for a monastery is one of the year 1446 concerning the monastery of Vlattades in Thessalonika¹⁴). There follow a document of 1451 for Mount Athos¹⁵) and another of 1460 for the monastery of Serres¹⁶). The same sultan issued two other documents related to monasteries but of a different character. In the first one, 1459, he granted the monastery of Ayia Sophia (or Ayia Moni) in Thessalonika to his step-mother *Mara*¹⁷). In the second, 1463, he granted to the Christian mother of his grand vezir *Mahmud paşa* the monastery of St. John Prodromos of Petra in Constantinople¹⁸).

Finally two documents issued by *Mehemmed II's* successors are to be mentioned here: a ferman of *Bayazid II* of 1491 and a *nişan* of *Suleyman II* of 1527, both concerning the monastery of Koutloumousiou (Mount Athos)¹⁹).

¹³) The document is known through a copy made later; see Εὐ. Μπόγκα, Δύο ιστορικά ἐνθυμήματα τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰῶνος ἐκ Βορείου Ἠπείρου [Two Historical Notes of the XVth Century from Epirus]: Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος 13 (1959), p. 429—430; as I will attempt to show in a forthcoming short article, it should actually be attributed to *Murad II*.

¹⁴) F. Babinger, Von Amurath zu Amurath: *Oriens* 3/II (1950), p. 258: Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südost-Europas und der Levante I. München 1962, p. 150. A most valuable dossier with many Ottoman documents issued for the Vlattades monastery still awaits the study which it deserves; the book of I. K. Βασδραβέλλη, Ἱστορικά Ἀρχεῖα Μακεδονίας Γ'. Ἀρχεῖον Μονῆς Βλαττάδων [Historical Archives of Macedonia, III. The Archives of the Vlattades Monastery] (1466—1839). Thessalonika 1955, contains translations (?) of them in modern Greek. Be that as it may, this book is not an example to be followed; despite the dates of the title the earliest document included is of the year 1446. Also a study of a document of Bayazid II, Ἀνέκδοτον φερμάνιον τῆς Μονῆς Βλαττάδων τοῦ ἔτους 1486 [An unpublished ferman of the Vlattades Monastery]: Μακεδονικά 4 (1960), p. 533—536, written by the same author, should be considered as if never made; for these reasons I have not included the Vlattades documents in this survey.

¹⁵) Binon, op. cit., p. 295—297.

¹⁶) Zachariadou, op. cit., p. 7—8.

¹⁷) F. Babinger, Ein Freibrief Mehmeds II, des Eroberers, für das Kloster Hagia Sophia zu Saloniki, Eigentum der Sultanin Mara (1459): *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44 (1951), p. 11—20: Aufsätze und Abhandlungen I, p. 97—106. It should be added that according to P. Wittek and to the note on the verso of the document the monastery's name is not Ayia Sophia but Ayia Moni.

¹⁸) Μ. Ι. Γεδεών, Ἐκκλησιαί Βυζαντιναί [Byzantine Churches]. Constantinople 1900, p. 62—64; cf. P. Lemerle — P. Wittek, Recherches sur l'histoire et le statut des monastères athonites sous la domination turque: *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental* 3 (1947), p. 426, note 3; Babinger, op. cit., supra n. 17: Aufsätze, p. 101, note 2.

¹⁹) Lemerle — Wittek, op. cit., p. 420—442. I thought that I should not mention here the Ottoman documents of Patmos as the monastery of this island survived under different circumstances than those in the Balkans; see E. A. Ζαχα-

The material being so limited, it can be easily assumed that it is too early to draw conclusions about the history of the Greek monasteries in the XVth and the early XVIth century; what can be taken for certain is that the Ottoman sultans granted to them privileges — not always the same ones — concerning taxation²⁰). I give below the edition of the 14 earlier Ottoman documents preserved in the archives of the monastery Dionysiou on Mount Athos²¹). As women are not allowed to enter this most venerated place, I worked using photographs taken by my colleagues in the Centre of Byzantine Studies of Athens. For editing the documents I am very indebted to Prof. H. J. Kissling, director of the Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen Orients, who was unstinting with his assistance and time while I was in Munich in the winter of 1967—68.

A. Decrees

1. *Ferman of Bayazid II*

First decade of Safer 901 (21—30 October 1495)

The kadi of Thessalonika is ordered to settle a dispute for five tarlas between the monks of Dionysiou and the Christians of Portaria.

Original, 433 × 162 mm. Notes on the verso: a) XVI/XVIIth cent.: + τοῦ κατὰ τῆς πόλε(ως) διὰ τὰ χωράφια τῆς Κ(α)τ(α)καλῆς; b) XXth cent.: N. 27. — Plate 1.

[invocatio]	هو
[ṭughrā]	بايزيد بن محمد خان المظفر دائماً

افتخار القضاة والحكام معدن الفضل والكلام مولانا سلانيك قاضي زید فضلہ || 2 توقيع همايون واصل اوليجاق معلوم اولاكم الحالة هذه دارنده فرمان همايون انشونام قالويوريز || 3 دركاه معدلت مآمه كلوب پورتاريه كافرلري تصرفزده اولان بيش تارلاي بي وجه الوب || 4 بغايت ظلم ايلديلر ديوبلدردى ايله اولسا بيوردم كه خصماى برابر ادوب || 5 بر موجب شرع وقانون تفتيش وتفحص ادب كوره سز شويلكى مزبورلر بونلرك تصرفنده || 6 اولان تارلالرى خلاف قانون الديلرسه كه شرعله ثابت وظاهر اولا حكم ادب || 7 اليوره سز اليورمينجه اولياسز تمرّد ادانى يازوب بلدره سز بر دفعه صورلب || 8 شرعله فيصله ايرمش قضيه ابقا اده سز علامت شريفه اعتماد اده سز || 9 تحريراً في اوائل صفر المظفر سنه احدى وتسعمائه

بمقام
قسطنطينيه

ριάδου, Συμβολή στην ιστορία τοῦ Νοτιοανατολικοῦ Αἰγαίου [A Contribution to the History of the South-East Aegean Sea]: Σύμμεικτα I, Centre of Byzantine Studies, Athens 1966, p. 198—203.

²⁰) A great part of the documents enumerated above were issued to grant exemption from various taxes; when full exemption was not granted a privileged way for paying the taxes was allowed; to the cases already mentioned the situation of two monasteries of Sozopolis has to be added: a note from a cadastre of the year 1528/29 states that they also enjoyed fiscal privileges; see T. G ö k b i l g i n, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası [Adrianople and the Liva of Pasha]*. Istanbul 1952, p. 372, note 579.

²¹) Some general information on Mount Athos during the XVth and the XVIth century is to be found in A. E. Β α κ α λ ό π ο υ λ ο ς, *Ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας [A History of Macedonia]*, 1354—1833. Thessalonika 1969, p. 157—166.

Translation:

[invocatio] He!

[ṭughrā] Bayazid, son of Muhammad Khan, ever victorious.

The glory among the kadis and the judges, the mine of virtue and theology, our lord the kadi of Thessalonika, may his virtue endure.

When the imperial sign arrives be it known that at this present, the bearer of the imperial ferman, the monk (ḳaloyeriz) called Anthimos, came to my Porte, the home of justice, and made known as follows: "the infidels of Portaria took without cause five arable fields (tarla), which are in our possession (tasarruf) and they did an injustice of the very utmost degree".

This being so I have commanded that you are to bring the disputants together and to enquire and investigate according to the holy and the human law; you are to see if the mentioned took the arable fields, which are in their possession, against the human law and if this becomes proved and evident according to the holy law you are to order that they be allowed to take them; you will not deprive them of this possibility. You are to write and make known any who oppose; you are to confirm the case once it has been investigated and decided according to the holy law.

You are to place reliance upon the noble sign.

Written in the first decade of the blessed Safer in the year 901.

In the residence
of Constantinople.

2. Ferman of Bayazid II

Middle decade of Safer 901 (31 October—9 November 1495)

The kadi of Zikhna is ordered to forbid the subaṣhis to extract higher taxes from the monks for their čiftliks in Orphani.

Original, 378 × 155 mm. The unwritten part of the paper over the ṭughrā has been cut off. Notes on the verso: a) XVIIIth cent.: Ουρφανι; b) XXth cent.: Περὶ τῆς μὴ εἰσπράξεως περ[ι]πλεον φόρου || Ουρφανι 1101 οθωμ. ετος. — Plate 2.

[ṭughrā] (as in doc. 1)

اقضى قضاة المسلمين اولى ولاية الموحدين مولانا زخنه قاضيى دام فضله ||² توقيع رفيع همايون واصل اوليجاق معلوم اولاه شمديكالده ايانوروس برودرمو نام ||³ مناستر كشيشر لرنندن دركاه معلومه كلوب شيله عرض اتديلر كه اورفان ||⁴ كوينده چفتلكلرى وارمش اول كوى قدوة الوزرا العظام اسوة الكبرا الفخام ||⁵ ذو الدولة الراسخ والعزة الباذخه وزيرم اسكندر پاشا دامت معاليه نك ||⁶ خاصى وتيارى ايמש مشار اليهك سوباشيلرى بونلردن شمديادك ويردكلرين ||⁷ المايوب زياده المق استرمش امدى كرك دركه كورهسن بونلر اول ||⁸ كويده اولان چفتلكلرنده اتدكلرى زراعتدن شمديادك نه ويرى كلمشلاسه ||⁹ حكم ادب كروانى اليويره سنز زياده تعدى اترمياسنر شيله بلا سنز ||¹⁰ تحريراً فى اواسط شهر صفر المظفر سنه احدى وتسعمائه

بمقام
قسطنطينيه

بلاسنز علامت شریفه اعتماد ادهسنز وبعد النظر بو حکم شریفی بونک النده || 12 ابقا ادهسنز تحریراً فی اواخر
شعبان سنه ستّ وتسعائه

بمقام
قسطنطنیه

Translation:

[invocatio] He!

[ṭughrā] (as in doc. 1)

The most just among the kadis of Islam, the best among the governors of mankind, the source of virtue and theology, our lord Zain al ʿAbidin, the judge of the protected Thessalonika, may his virtue increase.

When the exalted imperial sign arrives be it known that at this present, the bearer of the sacred decree, the monk (ḳaloyoriz) called Anthimos, came to my sublime Porte and made known the following: "in the past the infidels of Portaria against the holy and the human law wanted to take five arable fields (tarla) which are in our possession; this affair was investigated according to the requirement of a sacred decree and the above mentioned disputed places were decided in our favour. On this [decision] we have in our hands a sacred deed. We take precautions against future claims and disputes contrary to the mentioned sacred deed."

This being so I have commanded that you are to look into the mentioned sacred deed; and if its contents are proved and conform to the holy and human law you are to proceed accordingly and to confirm it; you are to prevent and not allow anyone who wants to take, without cause, the mentioned places by making claims and disputes against the mentioned deed; you are to punish any who oppose.

Thus you are to know; you are to place reliance upon the noble sign; and after looking into it you are to place this sacred decree in their hand.

Written in the last decade of Shaban in the year 906.

In the residence
of Constantinople.

4. *Ferman of Bayazid II*

9th Dhu'l-Hidjdje 909 (24th May 1504)

After the intercession of the Wallachian voyvoda the sultan commands that the čiftlik Katakali pays a fixed sum (523 akče) instead of the tithe.

Original, 398 × 156 mm. The unwritten part of the paper over the ṭughrā has been cut off. Notes on the verso: a) XVI/XVIIth cent.: Ορησμος να δηδου το αποκοφτικον ασ(πρα) φκγ ανθ ου εχη πα[χ]τος της Κατακαλ(ης); b) XVI/XVIIth cent.: του τευτεταρι; c) XXth cent.: N. 65. — Plate 4.

[ṭughrā] (as in doc. 1)

افتخار القضاة والحكام معدن الفضل والكلام ميمز الحلال عن الحرام مولانا سلانيك قاضيى دام فضله
 2 توقيع همايون واصل اوليجاق معلوم اولاكه بوندن اول ولايت يزان محمود چلبى اينه روزا تابع 3 اولان
 مناسترلردن قنقالى منا سترى چفتلكنه بيشيوز يكرم اوج اقچه حاصل قيد ايدب 4 دفتره ثبت ايتمش ايمش
 اول اجلدن ذكر اولان چفتلكدن عشر النور اولمش حاليا 5 افلاق ويوده سى رادول ويوده دركاه معلامه
 كلوب ذكر اولان مناستر بكا متعلق مناستردر 6 چفتلكى ازرنه حاصل قيد اولنان بيشيوز يكرم اوج اقچه
 حاصلنه بدل مقطوع اولوب 7 النسون عشر الناسون ديو اميد ايدنوب بنم عز حضوره عرض اولندقده قبول
 ايدب 8 بو حكم همايون ويردم ويورددم كه من بعد ذكر اولان مناسترك چفتلكى حاصلندن بدل بيش يوز
 9 يكرم اوج اقچه انه زياده النيه وحاصلى تعشير اولنميه سباشيلر وعامللر وغير يلر خلاف 10 امر ايش
 ايتميالرشيله بلاسز وبعد النظر بو حكم مذكور مناسترك كشيشرى 11 اللزنده ابقا ايدسز علامت شريفه
 اعتماد قلاسز تحريراً فى اليوم التاسع من شهر 12 ذى الحجه سنه تسع وتسعمائه

بمقام
 قسطنطينيه

Translation:

[ṭughrā] (as in doc. 1)

The glory among the kadis and the judges, the mine of virtue and theology, who distinguishes the canonically lawful from the prohibited, our lord the kadi of Thessalonika, may his virtue endure.

When the imperial sign arrives be it known that Mahmud čelebi, who in the past made the census of the vilayet (vilayet yazan) registered 523 akče as revenue (hasil) of the čiftlik of the monastery Katakali, which is a dependent of the monasteries of the Holy Mountain, and inscribed it in the defter; for this reason the tithe (‘üşhr) was taken from the mentioned čiftlik. Now Radul voyvoda, the voyvoda of Wallachia, came to my sublime Porte and expressed hope saying: “the mentioned monastery is connected with me; instead of the revenue of 523 akče, registered as revenue of the čiftlik, let a fixed sum (maktu‘) be taken; let the tithe not be taken.”

As this petition was submitted in presence of my glory, I accepted, I gave this sacred decree and I have commanded: from this day onwards from the revenue of the čiftlik of the mentioned monastery there is to be received the sum of 523 akče; more is not to be received and the revenue is not to be subjected to the tithe. The subaşhis and the ‘amils and the others are not to act against the command.

Thus you are to know; and after looking into it you are to place this sacred decree in the hands of the monks of the mentioned monastery; you are to place reliance upon the noble sign.

Written on the 9th day of the month Dhu’l-Hidjdje in the year 909. In the residence of Constantinople.

5. *Ferman of Selim I*

Middle decade of Djemadi II 919 (4—13 August 1513)

The kadi of Thessalonika is ordered to see that the *çiftlik* Katakali pays a fixed sum (523 akçe) instead of the tithe.

Original, 356 × 192 mm. The unwritten part of the paper over the *tuğhrā* has been cut off. Notes on the verso: a) XVIII/XIXth cent.: 919 ἔτος ὁ βοιβόδας ἐξέκοψε διὰ 515 ἄσπρα τὸ τζιφλήκιον || τοῦ Μοναστηρίου Καρακαλα; b) XXth cent.: Ἀριθ. 11. — Plate 5.

[*tuğhrā*]

سليم بن بايزيد خان المظفر دائماً

1|| مفخر القضاة والحكام معدن الفضل والكلام مولانا سلانك قاضي دام فضله توقيع رفيع هميون واصل اوليچاق معلوم اولاكى بوندن اول ايل يازيلوب || 2 دفتر اولندقده اينه روزه تابع اولان مناسترلردن قتاقل مناسترى چفتلكينه بيش يوز يكرى اوچ اقچه حاصل || 3 قيد اولنوب اول سبیدن اول چفتلكدن عشر آنور اولوب بعده افلاق ويودسى رآدول ويوده || 4 دركاه معلومه كلدوكى وقت ذكر اولنان مناستر بكا متعلق در چفتلكى اوزرنه حاصل قيد اولنان بيشيوز يكرى || 5 اوچ اقچه حاصله بدل مقطوع النسون عشر الناسون ديوايمد ايدنوب عرض اولناغين مرحوم بابام || 6 سلطان بايزيد خان طاب ثراه داخى دفترده قيد اولنان عشره بدل بر وجه مقطوع بيشيوز يكرى اوچ اقچه النسون ديو || 7 امر ايدوب اول موجبنجه حكم ويرمش ايمش بعده صاحب تيمار اولان اللرينده اولان حمله عمل اتميوب كرو || 8 بونلردن عشر طلب اتمك استيوب بونلر داخى عرض حال ايديجك بابام داخى سابقا ويريلن حكم موجبنجه بر وجه || 9 مقطوع بيش يوز يكرى اوچ اقچه حكم ايدوب الدرهمسز اكر من بعد كرو صاحب تيمار بونلردن عشر المق || 10 استرايسه منع ودفع ايدوب الدرهمسز ديو حكم هميون ارزاني قلمش ايمش ايله اولسه سرير سلطانت || 11 جناب خلافت مآمه ميسر اولغين حاليا اول حكمى باب سعادت مآمه كتوروب حكم جديد طلب ائدوكلرى اجلدن || 12 بيوردوم كه مرحوم بابام ويردوكى حكم شريفه نظر ايدوب كوروب داخى اول حكم موجبنجه عمل ايدوب || 13 اكا مخالف هيچ فردى دخل ونزاع ائدريميوب اتمك استينلري منع ايليوب ممنوع اوليوب عناد ايدنلرى || 14 يازوب بلديرهسز بوبابده قپومه شكايته كلملو اتميهسز شويله بيلاسز وبعد النظر بو حكم || 15 هميونمى اللرينده ابقا ايدهسز علامت شريفه اعتماد قلاسز تحريراً فى اواسط || 16 شهر جهاذى الاخر سنه تسع عشره وتسعمائه

بيورت

انجوكرز

Translation:

[*tuğhrā*] Selim, son of Bayazid Khan, ever victorious.

The ornament among the kadis and the judges, the mine of virtue and theology, our lord the kadi of Thessalonika, may his virtue endure.

When the exalted imperial sign arrives be it known that in the past, when the defter of the census of the land was made, 523 akçe were registered as revenue for the *çiftlik* of the monastery of Katakali, which is a dependent of the monasteries of the Holy Mountain; for this reason the tithe (*‘üşhr*) was taken from this *çiftlik*. Later the voyvoda of Wallachia, Radul voyvoda, came to my sublime Porte and expressed hope saying: “the mentioned monastery is connected with

me; instead of the revenue of 523 akče, registered as revenue of the čiftlik, let a fixed sum (maktu⁶) be taken; let the tithe not be taken." Due to this petition my deceased father sultan Bayazid khan — may his grave be pleasant to Himself — commanded that instead of the tithe, registered in the defter, 523 akče were to be taken as a fixed sum; and he gave a decree accordingly. Later those who were holders of the timars did not act in accordance with the decree in their hands and they wanted again to ask the tithe from them. They [the monks] then presented a written petition and my father granted an imperial decree saying: "you are to order and let them take as a fixed sum 523 akče according to the given decree in the past; if in the future again the holders of the timars want to take the tithe from them, you are to prevent and forbid them and you are not to let them take it."

Thus being so, now by the help of God they were brought to my Porte, the throne of the Sultanate, the home of the Caliphate, and because they brought to my felicitous Porte this decree and they applied for a new decree, I have commanded: you are to look into the sacred decree given by my deceased father and see; you are to act according to this decree; you are not to let anyone cause trouble and dispute against it; you are to prevent those wanting to do so; you are to write and make known those who do not desist and who oppose; you will not make it necessary for them to come to my Porte with grievances on this subject.

Thus you are to know; and after looking into it you are going to place this imperial decree in their hands; you are to place reliance upon the noble sign.

Written in the second decade of the month Djemadi II in the year 919.

In the camp
of İndjügez.

6. *Ferman of Selim I*

Last decade of Djemadi II 919 (23 August—1 September 1513)

The kadi of Thessalonika is ordered to protect the čiftlik Katakali of the monastery Dionysiou against future disputes.

Original, 470 × 170 mm. Notes on the verso: a) XVI/XVIIth cent.: + 'Ορθοσμοδ(ς) του σ[ού]μπα[σ(η)] δια [τ](ήν) Κατακα[λήν] να διδι αποκοπτικον ασπρα(α) φκγ'; b) XVI/XVIIth cent.: + 'Ορι(σ)μος του καντιλεσκέρι άπάνω εις τα χοντζέτια τ(ής) Κατακαλ(ής) δια τώ σίνορον. — Plate 6.

[invocatio]

هو

[tughrā] (as in doc. 5)

اقضى قضاء المسلمين اولى ولاية الموحدين معدن الفضل واليقين وارث علوم الانبياء والمرسلين مولانا الحاكم
بمحروسة سلانيك زيدت فضايه ||² توقيع رفيع همايون واصل اولي جاق معلوم اولاكم الحالة هذه دارنده كان

فرمان همایون پلاویو وانتون ویوسف نام || 3 راهبانلر درکاه معلامه کلوب دیونسات نام مناسترومزه تابع اولب
حجتله متصرف اولدوغمز || 4 قتاقاله دیمکله معروف چفتلکومزه زمانله نزاع اولنه دیو احتیاط ایدرز دیو عرض
ایلدیلر ایله اولسه || 5 بیوردم که کوره سز بونلر وک بو بابده اللرنده اولان حجتلرینک مضمونی || 6 ثابت
اولب موافق شرع قدیم وقانون مقرر اولدقدن صکره موجبله عمل || 7 ادب مقرر اده سز هر کم بی وجه دعوی
ونزاع ایلرسه منع ودفع اده سز || 8 نزاع ادرمییه سز منعله ممنوع اولیان سپاهی طایفه سندن ایسه یازوب
|| 9 بلدره سز دکل ایسه محکم حقندن کلاسز علامت شریفه اعتماد اده سز وبعد النظر بو حکم || 10 شریف
جهانمطاعی مذکورلر اللرینده ابقا اده سز تحریراً فی اواخر اخری الجمادین سنه تسع عشره وتسعائه

بیورت
ارکنه صوی

Translation:

[invocatio] He!

[tughrā] (as in doc. 5)

The most just among the kadis of the Muslims, the best among the governors of the monotheists, the mine of virtue and knowledge, the inheritor of the wisdom of the prophets and the apostles, our lord the judge of the protected Thessalonika, may his virtue increase.

When the exalted imperial sign arrives be it known that at this present, the bearers of the imperial ferman, the monks called Pelayios and Antonios and Joseph, came to my sublime Porte and submitted a petition saying: "We take precautions against future disputes about our čiftlik known by the name Katakali, which is a dependent of our monastery called Dionysiatikon and which we possess by a deed".

This being so I have commanded that you are to see; when the contents of the deeds, which they have in their hands about this subject, are proved and conform to the holy eternal law and the human law and confirmed, you are to act accordingly and to confirm them. If anyone makes claims and disputes without cause, you are to prevent and forbid him; you are not to allow disputes; you are to write and make known those who do not desist despite the prohibitions, if they are of the class (tayfe) of sipahi; if they are not, you are to punish them severly.

You are to place reliance upon the noble sign; and after looking into it you are to place this sacred decree, to which the world obeys, in their hands.

Written in the last decade of Djemadi II in the year 919.

In the camp
of Ergene Suyu.

7. *Ferman of Selim I*

Middle decade of Djemadi I 925 (11—20 May 1519)

The sultan commands that the čiftlik Katakali pays a fixed sum (897 akče) instead of the tithe.

Original, 458 × 204 mm. Note on the verso: XVIII/XIXth cent.: έτος 925. φερμάνι δια τας γαίας του Καρακάλλου όπως μη δίδωσι πλέον του κατ' αποκοπήν ώρισμένου φόρου. — Plate 7.

[tughrā] (as in doc. 5)

اقضى قضاء المسلمين اولى ولاء الموحدين معدن الفضل واليقين مولانا سلانيك قاضيى دام فضله توقيع رفيع
همايون || 2 واصل اوليجاق معلوم اولاكى اينهروزه تابع اولان <ديونسات> مناسترى كشيشرلندن دارنده كان
فرمان همايون الكسي ومقاريو نام كشيشر || 3 دركاه معلامه كلوب شويله عرض ايلديلر كه قتا قالي مناستري
مزرعه سي چفتلكى اولوب دفتر عتيقهه بيشيوز يكرى اوچ اقچه || 4 مقاطعه قيد اولنمش امش عشر النايوب بدل
عشر ذكر اولنان مقطوعي ويرلر يمش اول ولايتى يازان امين الان || 5 امر شريفمله يازيلان دفتر جديدده
ذكر اولنان مزرعيه بدل عشر بر وجه مقطوع سكر يوز طقسان يدى اقچه قيد ايدوب || 6 دفتر جديددن اللرينه
مهرو صحیح صورت دفتر ويرمش حاليا اول دفتره موجبجه باب سعادت مآبدن حكم همايون || 7 طلب اتدوكلري
اجلدن بيوردوم كى اللرنده اولان مهرو صحیح صورت دفترلرينه نظر ايدوب داخي || 8 مقتضای دفتريله عمل ايدوب
دفتره مخالف كسنه بونلر وك مزرعه سنه دخل اتدريمه سز اتمك استيانلري || 9 منع ودفع ايده سز منعه ممنوع
اوليانلري يازوب عرض ايده سز شويله بلا سز وبعد النظر || 10 بو حكم همايونمى اللرنده ابقا ايدوب علامت
شريفه اعتماد قلاسز تحريراً فى اواسط شهر جمادى الاول || 11 سنه خمس وعشرين وتسعائه

بمقام
ادرنه

Translation:

[tughrā] (as in doc. 5)

The most just among the kadis of the Muslims, the best among the governors of the monotheists, the mine of theology and knowledge, our lord the kadi of Thessalonika, may his virtue endure.

When the exalted imperial sign arrives be it known that the bearers of the imperial ferman, the monks called Alexios and Makarios, who are of the monks of the monastery <Dionysiou>, which is a dependent of the Holy Mountain, came to my sublime Porte and made the following petition: the field of the monastery Katakali being a čiftlik, 523 akče were registered in the old defter as a fixed sum (mukata'a); the tithe was not taken; instead of the tithe they gave the mentioned fixed sum (maktu'). At present the amin, who made the census of this vilayet, registered in the new defter, written with my sacred command, for the mentioned field 897 akče as a fixed sum, instead of the tithe, and gave to their hands a sealed, valid copy from the new defter.

Now as they have asked, from my felicitous Porte, for an imperial decree in accordance with this defter I have commanded that you are to look into the sealed, valid copies, which they have in their hands, and you are to act according to their requirements and to the

defter; and you are not to let anyone tamper with their field contrary to the defter; you are to prevent and forbid those who want to do so; you are to write and denounce those who do not desist despite the prohibitions.

Thus you are to know; and after looking into it you are to place this imperial decree in their hands and you are to place reliance upon the noble sign.

Written in the second decade of the month Djemadi I in the year 925. In the residence of Adrianople.

B. Documents of Kadis

8. *A letter of credit*

First decade of Rabi' II 901 (7—16 January 1496)

Three attorneys are to receive from the ex-Patriarch Niphon the sum of 14,000 akçe for the account of the Dionysiou monastery.

Original, 305 × 145 mm. Notes on the verso: a) XV/XVIth cent.: χοντζέτη δια τω κρ(ι)τι τουτ(ο) ένε του αγύο υ όρωσ; b) XVI/XVIIth cent.: διά την εκκλησιαν του μοναστηριου [[του μετοχειου της Καλαμαρί(ας)]. — Plate 8.

The document, which is written in Arabic, falls quite outside my competence; I am indebted for the summary to Miss Alia al-Schama whom I met in the seminar of Prof. H. I. Kissling in Munich; I acknowledge her help very gratefully.

Summary: The molla of Constantinople Salih ibn Seydi and the kadi of Galata Mehemed ibn Mehemed testify: The papa-Yakumi, son of Theodore, monk in the monastery (kanisa) Dionysiou in Mount Athos (Erkeklü Adası), authorised the krites Pantaleon son of Dimitrios, Antonios son of Angelos and Georgios Kantakouzinou son of Dimitrios to receive 14,000 akçe (dirhem) of the currency of sultan Bayazid from the monk and ex-Patriarch Niphon, son of Manuel, who lived in Ainos, also known as the "field of Huseyn beğ", and send them to him. This sum comes from the vakfs of the mentioned monastery and constitutes its rights.

Date; names of the witnesses: Mevlana Tatar (?) ibn Habib, Mehemed ibn 'Isa, Zano ibn Vasil, Yiorgi ibn Zano, Yani ibn Manol, Ali ibn al-Hadj Mehemed.

9. *A receipt.*

Middle decade of Şhāban 906 (2—11 March 1501)

The timar-holder of the çiftlik Katakali Ahmed Dizdaroğlu receives from the monks of Dionysiou 900 akçe.

Original, 266 × 151 mm. Notes on the verso: a) XVI/XVIIth cent.: χογτζεφ [.] δια τη δεκατηα της Καλαμαρα; b) XIX/XXth cent.: απόδειξις πληρωμής δεκάτου.— Plate 9.

[invocatio]

هو

الامر كما ذكر والشان كما سطر زبره الفقير يحيى بن حمزه المولى بمدينة
 سلانيك خلافة عن قبل المولى زين العابدين بن حسام الدين
 سبب تحرير كتاب وموجب تسطير خطاب اولدركي ||² كلمريه توابعنده قتاقي نام مزرعه نك تيار اري
 دزدار اوغلي احمد محفل شرع مطهره ||³ على شارعه اكمل التحيات واشرف التسليمات حاضر اولوب شيله اقرار
 واعتراف اتدي ||⁴ كى ذكر اولان مزرعك جميع حاصلى سنة ست وتسعمائه شعبانك اون اكسندة واقع
 اولان ||⁵ مارت ابتداسندن برييله دكن اشبو حامل الكتاب ديونسيوت مناستر كيشيلرنه طقوز يوز اقچه مقاطعيه
 ||⁶ صاتم اقچم الدوم ديواقرازا واعترافا صريحا ومذكور مناستر كيشيلرى مقرر مزبور ||⁷ تيار اري احمد
 بوجه مشروح وتفصيل صرح اوزره اقرارنده مشافهة ||⁸ تصديق اتدكلرندن صكره بو وثيقه بر سبيل تمسك
 كتب اولنوب مسطور ||⁹ كيشيلر طلبريله اللرينه ويرلدى تاكه وقت حاجتده حجه ادنه ||¹⁰ وذلك جرى
 وحرر فى اواسط شهر شعبان المعظم من شهر سنة ||¹¹ ست وتسعمائه
 شهود الحال

مولانا سنان ومحمد بن سنان ومحمد بن عمر فقيه وقاسم بن ويوسف وجم غفير
 بن عبدالله القسام الكاتب والكاتب محكمه عبدالله بن قلفال

Summary: The molla of Thessalonika Yahya ibn Hamza (representing the molla Zayn al-ʿAbidin) testifies: Ahmed Dizdaroğlu, the holder of the timar (timar eri) of the field Katakali — near Kalamaria — acknowledged that he farmed out (mukataʿaya sattım) the whole revenue of this field for one year, from the 12th of Şaban [3rd March], i. e. the beginning of March (Mart ibtidasından) of 906 [1501] to the monks of the monastery Dionysiou and received 900 akçe from them. The document is placed in the hands of the monks to be used if necessary.

Date; names of the witnesses: Mevlana Sinan ibn al-Kassam; Mehemmed ibn Sinan, the Kâtib; Mehemmed ibn Umur Fakih, the Kâtib of the court; Kasim ibn ʿAbdullah; Yusuf ibn Kalofal (?); many others.

10. A receipt.

20th Djemadi I 915 (5th September 1509)

Mehemmed ibn Rosota acting for the account of the timar-holder of the çiftlik Katakali Halil çauş receives 523 akçe from the monks of Dionysiou.

Original, 305 × 154 mm. Note on the verso: XVI/XVIIth cent.: Χοντζέτ(ι) τοῦ καδδῆ ὄπου ἐπλήρωσαν οἱ Διονυσιάτ(αι) || τὸν Ῥωσοτ(ᾶ) τὸ δέκατ(ον) τ(ῆς) Κ(α)τ(α)καλῆς εἰς τ(οὺς) ζῆς, (ἰνδικτιῶν)ος ιβ(ης). — Plate 10.

[invocatio]

هو

جرى ما حرر فيه عندى زبره الاقتر لطفى بن حسن
 المولى بقضاء مدينة سلانيك نيابة

||¹ سبب تحرير كتاب وموجب تسطير خطاب اولدركي ||² فخر الامائل والاقران خليل چاوش تيارى اولان
 قالوقامبونام مزرعة ||³ مقاطعيه الان فخر الاعيان محمد بك بن روسوته اقرار واعتراف ايدب ||⁴ شيله ديديكه

اینهروزه تابع مناسترلردن قتهقالی مناستری ||⁵ چفتلکی که مزرعه مزبوره سنورنده در حاصلنه بدل مقطوع
 ||⁶ ویروکلدکلی بیشیوزیکرم اوچ اچه بیقصور خمس عشرة و تسعمائة ||⁷ یلی حاصلیچون مذکور مناستر
 کشیشلردن اشبو حامل کتاب ائمو ||⁸ نام کشیش بکا تسلیم اتدی الدم قبض ایلدم دیواقرارا صحیحا شرعیاً
 ||⁹ واعترافاً صریحاً مرعیاً مصدقاً عن المقر له المزبور وجاهاً ||¹⁰ وقتی کی قضیه وجه مشروح اوزرنه جاری
 اولدیه بعد الطلبد ||¹¹ بو وثیقه کتب اولنوب مذکور کشیش انه ویرلدی که عند الحاجه ||¹² تمسک ادنه
 تحریراً فی الیوم العشرین من شهر جاذی الاولی سنه خمس عشره و تسعمائة
 شهود الحال

کتخدا اویس بن حمزه	ویواجی سنان اوغلی محمد چلبی	وعمر بالی بن حسین القسام	وباشچی حمزه بن عبدلله
ومحمد خواجه بن ترك موسى الامام	وکاتب الحروف عبدی بن حاجی علی		

Summary: The molla of Siderokapısı Lutfi ibn Hasan testifies: the a'yan Mehemed beğ, son of Rosota, who farmed out (mukata'aya alan) the field Kalokampos, the timar of Halil čaušh, acknowledged that he received from the monk Anthimos, of the monastery Katakali — a dependent of Mount Athos — 523 akče for the year 915 [1509]; this money constitutes a fixed sum (maktu') which the monks use to pay for the revenue of the çiftlik of the monastery Katakali situated within the territory of the mentioned field. The document was placed in the hands of the monk to be used if necessary.

Date; names of the witnesses: Kethüda Üveys ibn Hamza; Yuvadji Sinan oğlu Mehemed čelebi; Umur Bali ibn Huseyn al-Kassam; Başhdji Hamza ibn 'Abdullah; Mehemed Hodja ibn Türk Musa al-Imam; the Kâtib 'Abdi ibn Hadji 'Ali.

11. Findings of the investigation.

First decade of Rabi' I 916 (26 April—5 May 1514)

After investigation the borders of the çiftlik Katakali are fixed and it is proved that the monks of Dionysiou should pay only a fixed sum.

Original, 435 × 163 mm. — Plate 11.

لما وجدته موافقا للشرع القويم والنهج المستقيم فتليته و[....] تا
 وانا الفقير اسحاق بن عيسى المولى بقضاء سلانيك عنى عنمه
 الامر على ما حرر فى الكتاب زبره الفقير لطفى بن حسن المولى
 بقضاء مدينة سلانيك نيابة

سبب تحرير كتاب وموجب تسطير خطاب اولدركى ||² سلاله الوزرا داود پاشا مرحومك اوغلي محمد اغا
 حضرتلرنك تيمارى ضبطنه كلان ||³ آده ميسي مصلح الدين مجلس شرعه كلوب كلمريه طرفنده مذکور
 اغانك تيمارى اولان ||⁴ پورتاريه نام قريه قربنده ايانورز مناسترلردن ديونسات نام مناستره ||⁵ تابع اولان
 قتهقالی ديمکله معروف چفتلك کشیشلردن اشبو حوامل کتاب ||⁶ پلاويو بن يانی وياسوف بن يوركي
 وانتون بن تودر نام رهبانلري ||⁷ احضار ايدب تقرير دعوي قلوب ذکر اولان پورتاريه نام تيمارمز ||⁸ سنورنده

مذکور کشیشلر زراعت ایدرلر حالیا عشرن طلب ایدهرم ||⁹ ویرمز لر دیوب مذکور کشیشلر دخی جواب ویرب بزوم زراعت اتدوکر ||¹⁰ یرلر قریه مزبورہ نک سنوری دکولدر قدیمدن بزوم مقطوع یرومزدر ||¹¹ انوک ازره الومزده حجة شرعية واردر دیوب آخر الامر نزاع اولنان ||¹² یرلر اوزرنه وارلوب خصما وجم غفیر جمع ایدلوب تفتیش اولندقه ||¹³ شیلہ ظاهر اولدیکی بوندن اول بوخصوص تفتیش اولنوب ذکر اولان ||¹⁴ چفتلک تارلاری قربندن قره میحال باغنه وارر وانندن پراسکوه ولقان ||¹⁵ تارلاسنه وارر وانندن اخلاط اغاجنه وارر وانندن یورکی قوقیل ||¹⁶ تارلاسنه وارر وانندن تودر ماورمود تارلاسنه وارر وانندن ||¹⁷ دیمو بن پاپاس تارلاسنه وارر وانندن ذکر اولان قریه پورتارییه ||¹⁸ قارشو ایامامه نام قریه یه کیدر یوله وارر اول یول صیره شماله قارشو ||¹⁹ سالف الذکر چفتلکوک تارلارنه وارر سکسن دوئم مقداری یر ||²⁰ ذکر اولان چفتلکوک مقطوع یری ایدوکی ثابت اولدوغنه مذکور کشیشلر ||²¹ اللزنده حجة شرعية بولنوب ذکر اولان حجتک مضمونی شرعه ثابت اولب ||²² عشر طلب اولنان یر مذکور کشیشلر وک قدیمدن مقطوع یرلری ایدوکی ||²³ معلوم اولدوغي سبیدن اللزندن اولان حجت مقرر قلوب قدیمدن ||²⁴ مقطوع ویروکلدکلری اقچه دن غیری عشر حکم اولنمدي وبعد التطلب ||²⁵ بووثیقه کتب اولنوب مذکور کشیشلر انه ویرلدی تاکی عند الحاجة ||²⁶ مذکور الحال اولاً تحریراً فی اوایل شهر ربیع الاول سنه ست عشرة وتسعمائة

شهود الحال

حمزه بن اسحاق	وقاسم بن یوسف	ومحمود بن عبد الله الحرّ	وشجاع بن عبد الله الحرّ	ویوسف بن عبد الله الحرّ	ودیکر یوسف بن عبد الله الحرّ
واندره نیقو	ویاقو	وپاپا	ودمرجی	ویانی	ویانی
قالوئی	پسقوپو	یورکی	یورکی	یانی	قواسله ولقان
ویانی اندریه	وفلاختو	واندریه	ودیمو	[.....]	بضی خصم کافرلری اولماغن
[..] کا	یرو	فنکته	فیو[...]		بواسامی دخی قید اولندی

Summary: The mollas of Thessalonika Lutfi ibn Hasan and Ishak ibn 'Isa testify that Musliheddin, a man in the service of Mehemmed ağa, the son of deceased vezir Daud paşa, on the one hand and the monks from the çiftlik Katakali, situated in Kalamaria, a dependent of the monastery Dionysiou, Mount Athos, Pelayios son of Yannis, Joseph son of Yiorgis and Antonios son of Theodore on the other, appeared to the court.

According to Musliheddin, Mehemmed ağa is the timar-holder of the village Portaria in Kalamaria; the monks cultivated land located within the timar; when they were asked to pay the tithe they refused.

According to the monks, the land cultivated by them was not located within the district of Portaria but it was land for which they used to pay a fixed sum (maktu'yer), as it could be proved by a deed.

The judges visited the disputed land together with the disputants and many others. The investigation proved the following: the arable fields of the çiftlik (çiftliğin tarlaları) extend, starting from the West, to the vineyard of Karamikhā, from there to the arable fields of Paraskeva Volkan, from there to Akhlāt-ağadj [Achladodendron], then to the arable field of Yiorgi Kokili, then to the arable field of Theodore

Mavromati (or Mavromyti?), then to the arable field of Dimos the son of the Papas; from there it reaches the village Ayios Mamas, situated opposite to Portaria, and then to the road meeting the northern side of the čiftlik which consists of 80 dönüm [approximately 80,000 sq.m.]. The monks dispose a deed showing that it is a čiftlik for which they used to pay a fixed sum (maktu'yer). Thus the deed was confirmed and order was given that in the future they should not pay the tithe but only the fixed sum (maktu' akče) which they used to pay. The document was placed in their hands so that they use it in case of necessity.

Date; names of the witnesses: Hamza ibn Ishak; Kasim ibn Yusuf; Mehemed ibn 'Abdullah al-Hurr; Sudja' ibn 'Abdullah al-Hurr; Yusuf ibn 'Abdullah al-Hurr; Yusuf ibn 'Abdullah al-Hurr; Andronikos Kalothetes; Iakovos episkopos; Papa-Yiorgis; Demirdji Yiorgis; Papa-Yiannis; Yiannis Kavasilas; Yiannis Volkan; Theodoros Chondromatis (or Chandromatis?); Dimos Kontos; Kyriakos Chalazas; Yiannis Andreas; Phylaktos [. .]ka; Andreas Geros (or geron?); Dimos Phengitas; [. .] Fio[. .].

12. A record of real estate transaction.

Last decade of Muharrem 926 (12—21 January 1520)

The monks of Dionysiou buy a house in Izvoro and a pasture situated in Stratonii.

Original, 305 × 157 mm. Notes on the verso: a) XVIth cent.: Χωτζετι Διονισιάτικον δια της βρι[ση]ς το οσπιτη και το λιβαδι ποσ το ηγορασαν ασπρα βω; b) XVIIth cent.: + Χωτζέτι δια τα σπίτια και τὸ λιβαδι(ν) τῆς καλόγρι(ας). — Plate 12.

[invocatio]

هو

جرى ما فيه من الاقرار والتعريف حرر الفقير سيد ولى بن محمد المولى بسدره قيسى المحميه عفى عنهما

سبب تحرير كتاب وموجب تسطير خطاب بودرکه || 2 محروسه سدره قيسى توابعنده ايزوز نام قريه ده متمکن اولان داميان داماد رايچ ووليوتيس رايچ نام ذميلر || 3 مجلس شرع شريفه حاضران اولوب اقرار صحيح واعتراف صريح قلوب ايتديلر قريه مزبوره ده متمکن اولدوغمز [.] || 4 ملك اويموزي اخوريه وحولسيه وايكى قطعه دكانيله حدودي طرفيندن طريق عامله وديمترى بريياز وپراتسا ويليل نام || 5 ذميلر ملكلري ايله محدود در واستراتون نام موضعده طرفلري هلاندار نام مناستر جايري ايله ورايکه وتودور || 6 وجارنيقو نام ذميلر جايرلري ايله محدود اولان جايريموزي اشبو حامل كتاب جزيره اينوروز مناسترلرندن || 7 کونسيات نام مناستر را هبلرى اولان اغومن لونديو وايسائيه ومتودو وپاولو نام ذميلره ايكى بيك طقوز يوز || 8 فضى مسكوك عثمانى عز نصره اقچهيه بيع تاب صحيح ايله بيع ايدوب قبض ثمن وتسليم مثن ايلدك ديدكلرنده مشار اليهما مشتريلر || 9 مقرران بايعلرك اقرار مشروحلرني بالمواجهه تصديق اتدكدن صكره طلبلري ايله بو وثيقه بر سبل

تمسك كتب ا(و)لنوب || 10 يدلرته وضع اولندى وقت الاحتياج احتجاج ادنلر جرى ذلك وحرر فى اواخر محرم الحرام من شهور سنه ست وعشرين || 11 وتسعائه

شهود الحال

مولانا مصلح الدين	وحاجى رمضان بن	ومحمد بن	وعلى بن	واسكندر بن
بن اياس	حمزه الخياط	عبدالله المحسن	بايزيد(?)	عبد الله الحرّ

Summary: The molla of Siderokapısı Seyyid Veli ibn Mehemmed testifies: Damianos, son-in-law of Rayč (?) and Veliotis (?) Rayč (?), both Christians living in Izvoz [Izvorov], near Siderokapısı, appeared in court and declared that they sold for 2,900 akče to the hegoumenos Leontios and to the monks Isaias, Methodios and Pavlos, of the monastery Dionysiou in Mount Athos: a) their house (mülk ev) in Izvorov, including a stable, a court and two shops; its borders are: the public road and the properties (mülk) of the Christians Dimitri Briaz (?), Pratsa (?) and Yiyil (?); b) a pasture (čayr), situated in Istraton [Stratoni] and surrounded by the pasture of the monastery of Chilandariou and the pastures of the Christians Rayko, Theodore and Tzarniko.

Date; names of the witnesses: Mevlana Musliheddin ibn Ayas; Hadji Ramazan ibn Hamza al-Hayat; Mehemmed ibn 'Abdullah al-Muhsin; 'Ali ibn Bayazid(?); Iskender ibn 'Abdullah al-Hurr.

13. A repair permit.

1rst Rabi° I 926 (20th February 1520)

The monks of Dionysiou are allowed to restore the tower of their monastery.

Original, 315 × 149 mm. Note on the verso: XVIth cent.: Χοντζέτην τοῦ πύργου || τοῦ κῦρ Διονυσίου πῶς || ἐκτίσθη τῇ γνώμῃ || τοῦ καθ(ῆ) τῶν Σιδηρο- || καυσίων καὶ τοῦ Σα- || λονίκησ. — Plate 13.

الامر كما ذكر واللسان كما سطر حرره الفقير عبد الملك المتعالى محمد بن قاسم الجمالى القاضى
بمدينه سلانيك مأمورا بتعيين ملك الاوقاف بأمر من له الامر جلّ جلاله عنى عنهما
لما عرضها على مالك الكتاب فوجدته موافقا للشرع القويم والنهج المستقيم فتليتته وامضيتته
وانا الفقير عبد القادر بن عبد الله المولى بقضاء سدره قيسى عنى عنهما العاقى
جرى ما فيه عندى زبره الفقير سيد ولى بن محمد المولى بقضاء سدره قيسى عنى عنهما

سبب تحرير كتاب وموجب تسطير خطاب بودرکه || 2 ايانورس مناسترلرندن ديونشونام مناسترك راهب لرنندن
الكسي وپاپا ماكسمونام راهب لركلوب مزبور || 3 مناسترك قپوسى اوكنده اولان برغوز زياده خرابه وارمش
در مناسترمزه خيلى ضررى واردر || 4 تعميرنه اجازت ورك ديدكلري سببدن قلقوب نفسمله اوزرينه وارب
كورلدكده نهايتده || 5 ضرر تام مشاهده اولنوب طول اون بش قولاج وعرض بش بوچق قولاج ايچروسى
بش طبقه اولا || 6 اولكى وضعى اوزرينه بنا اولناسنه اجازت وريلوب طلب لريله بو وثيقه تمسك كتب

اولنوب || 7 يدلرینه وضع اولندي که وقت حاجتده احتجاج ادنه لر جری ذلك وحرر فی غره ربيع الاول
من شهر || 8 سنه ست وعشرين وتسعائه

شهود الحال

محمد چلبی بن وخواجه شیرمرد و ابراهیم بن و مراد بن و رسم بن و مصطفی بن
سنان الامین بن عبد الله حضر علی عبد الله الیاس

Summary: The kadi of Thessalonika Mehemmed ibn Kasim and the mollas of Siderokapısı Seyyid Veli ibn Mehemmed and 'Abdul-Kadir ibn 'Abdullah testify: The monks Alexios and papa-Maximos of the monastery Dionysiou, in Mount Athos, asked for permission in order to repair the tower in front of the door of their monastery; for it was ruined and detrimental to the monastery. After personal investigation their claims proved to be true and permission was granted for the restoration of the tower to its former condition: 15 fathom (kulač) in length, 5 and a half in width with five floors inside. The document was placed in the hands of the monks to be used in case of necessity.

Date; names of the witnesses: Mehemmed čelebi ibn Sinan el-Emin; Hodja Şhirmerd ibn 'Abdullah; Ibrahim ibn Hızır; Murad ibn 'Ali; Rüstem ibn 'Abdullah; Mustafa ibn Elyas.

C. Copy from the defter

14. The uninhabited field Katakali belonging to the region of Kalamaria, in the Paşa Livası, is the timar of the Yenicĕri Karadja and pays the fixed sum of 897 akçe.

16th Djemadi I 925 (16th May 1519)

Original, 99 × 104 mm; holes in the paper. Note on the verso: XIX/XXth cent.: 'Αντίγραφον Δεφτέρ σουρετίου ὑπὸ χρονολογίαν 925 διαλαμβάνον κτήματα ἐν Καλαμαρία Γενιτζέη Καρασοῦ. ἸΑριθ.7. — Plate 14.

هو
ناحيه
كلمريه در لواء پاشا
تيمار يكيچرى قرجه
مزرعه قتاقل خالى از رعيت تابع كلمريه
[.....]
[.....]مقطوع
٨٩٧

[.....]
بروجه مقطوع
[.....]٩٧

صورت دفتر جديد سلطاني بودرکه نقل اولندي تحريراً في ١٦ جهادى الاولى سنه ٩٢٥

[Two seals]

Commentary

Documents 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14.

As all these documents concern the affairs of Katakali, a common commentary will perhaps allow us to follow the history of this monastic property during the years 1495—1519. In doc. 1 and 3 the place-name Katakali does not occur; but it is evident that they concern this property when compared with doc. 6 and when the notes on verso are taken into consideration. The place is known to be situated near the villages Portaria and Ayios Mamas, in the area of Kalamaria²²), where many monasteries of the Holy Mountain had land-holdings during the Byzantine era and later during the Tourkokratia. Katakali can safely be identified with the present village "Dionysiou", showing that in the past it was dependent upon the monastery.

It appears that these ten documents are not the only ones issued for Katakali; for they mention at least two other documents probably

²²) The area of Kalamaria constituted a katepanikion during the Byzantine period; see Γ. Ι. Θεοχαρίδη, *Κατεπανίκια τῆς Μακεδονίας* [The Katepanikia of Macedonia]. Thessalonika 1954, p. 7—13 and 72—74. At the end of the 15th century it constitutes a vilayet; see T. Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, p. 154. With the help of Ottoman documents of the late 15th century one may realize that Kalamaria, during the early Tourkokratia, was the name of an area larger than the Byzantine katepanikion: it included the villages of Galatista and Mariana and extended to the villages Polygyros (in Hermeleia) and Gomatou (near Hierissos); see A. Süheyl Ünver, *İkinci Sultan Bayezid'in Edirne'deki vakıf kitaplarına dair* [On the vakıf-books of Sultan Bayezid II found in Adrianople]: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. 4 (1958), p. 120 and 123; *Fontes Turcici Historiae Bulgaricae*, Series XV—XVI, vol. II, ed. N. Todorov — B. Nedkov. Sofia 1966, p. 450, 466; for Polygyros and Gomatou see Theocharidis, *op. cit.*, p. 76, 77. Moreover a village called Ayios Nikolaos is mentioned as depending upon Kalamaria; see *Fontes Turcici*, *op. cit.*, p. 452 and 454. Although this village has a very common name not allowing its positive location one could perhaps identify it with the village of Ayios Nikolaos Chrysokamarou, situated in Longos; this identification is based on the mention of some monastic properties of Mount Athos in Ayios Nikolaos. More precisely of Koutloumousiou, of the "manastır Rus" and of a third one appearing in the edition and transcribed as "İksenôs." The second can be rather safely identified with the Rossikon. I think that one could venture to transcribe the third as İksenovon and therefore identify it with Xenophontos. It is known that the monastery of Xenophontos had a metochion in Longos called Ayios Nikolaos; also that the monastery of Koutloumousiou had some lands there; see L. Petit, *Actes de Xénophon: Vizantijskij Vremennik* 10 (1903), *Priloženie* I, p. 63, cf. the Turkish document mentioned *infra*, p. 22; Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, p. 161—162. In Kalamaria were also some important saltpans; see Neşet Çagatay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda maden hukuk ve iktisadiyatı hakkında vesikalar* [Documents concerning the law and the economy of the mines in the Ottoman empire]: *Tarih Vesikaları*, vol. 2 (1942—43), p. 418; cf. Lütfi Gücer, *XV—XVI asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tuz İhisarı ve Tuzlaların İşletme Nizamı* [The regulations of the monopoly of the salt and the administration of the saltpans in the Ottoman Empire during the 15th and the 16th century]: *İktisad Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23 (1962/63), p. 120.

lost today. The first of the missing records is a *hüddjet* issued after doc. 1 (1495) and mentioned by doc. 3 (1501); the second is a *ferman* issued after doc. 4 (1504) and mentioned by doc. 5 (1513). A *hüddjet* mentioned by doc. 6 and 11 may perhaps be identified with the one issued between the years 1495—1501.

The property of Katakali is qualified as *çiftlik*²³⁾ (doc. 4, 5, 6, 10 and 11) and as *mezra'a* (arable area)²⁴⁾ (doc. 9 and 14). In doc. 7 we have a combination of both terms. Doc. 1 and 3 mention five *tarla* (field). In doc. 11 we find the expression the *tarlas* of the *çiftlik*; therefore a *tarla* appears to be a subdivision of the *çiftlik* or *mezra'a*. There is no doubt that doc. 11 is the most reliable: it was issued after an investigation proving that Katalaki was a *çiftlik* of 80 *dönüm* (one *dönüm* equals approximately 1000 sq.m.), i. e. it had the usual dimensions of a medium *çiftlik*.

In doc. 4, 5, 6 Katakali appears as the name of a monastery. Inaccuracies of this kind are fairly common in the Ottoman documents. The word *kilise* is frequently used instead of monastery²⁵⁾. In a doc. of 1491 the monastery Koutloumousiou is mentioned as a *mezra'a*²⁶⁾. At any rate a *çiftlik* of a monastery — a *metochion* — could easily be changed into a monastery by the scribe: after all, it was a place with a religious building within it and inhabited by monks.

As shown by doc. 1, 3 and 6, as well as by some Greek documents dating also to the end of the XVth century, the monastery of Dionysiou had many a dispute with the Christian neighbours of Katakali in order to keep this *çiftlik*²⁷⁾.

The status of the monastic property in Macedonia. The records are too vague when referring to the legal relationship between the monastery of Dionysiou and the *çiftlik* of Katakali. Nevertheless this point concerning the status of the monastic property in the early Ottoman empire deserves some special attention. One should admit from the very beginning that it is very dangerous to make comparisons between the status of the land-properties belonging to various monasteries and perhaps even between that of separate land-properties belonging to the same monastery; for neither do the regulations always seem to be the same nor were they applied in the same way. Despite these considerations I think that it is worth while to enumerate the expressions in the Dionysiou documents and to compare them to the expressions

²³⁾ For *çiftlik* see EI² s. v. (H. İnalçık); also H. İnalçık, *Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*. Ankara 1954, p. XXIX—XXX.

²⁴⁾ For *mezra'a* see İnalçık, *op. cit.*, p. XXIX.

²⁵⁾ Zachariadou, *Early Ottoman Documents*, p. 5, note 27.

²⁶⁾ Lemerle — Wittek, *op. cit.*, p. 422 and 425, note 1.

²⁷⁾ For the Greek documents see N. Oikonomidès, *Actes de Dionysiou*. Paris 1968, p. 195—202.

used in the documents of the monastery of Koutloumousiou published by Wittek. Furthermore an unpublished document of the year 1455 from the archives of Kastamonitou will be cited, its importance being obvious. Below I enumerate the expressions related to the monasteries' lands and note that all of them are situated in Macedonia.

I) 1455; unpublished mektub from the archives of Kastamonitou issued after a dispute between this monastery and that of Xenophon. With respect to some lands situated in Longos it goes as follows: "Zikr olan yerler Selanik feth olduğundan berü mezkur Kastamonid manastırı keşişlerinin yerleridir; anlar t a s a r r u f ederler . . . hem ellerinde Şamlu 'Ali beğ kağıdı varmış . . . Biz dahi zikr olan yerleri gerü mezkur Kastamonid keşişlerine hükm ittük ve ellerine bu mektub virdük ki zikr olan yerleri t a s a r r u f edeler"²⁸).

II) 1491; document from the archives of Koutloumousiou published by Wittek. With respect to the lands the following expressions are to be noticed: "ol manastıra mute'allik yerlerin 'üşrin", "ol manastıra mute'allik yerde", "ve bazi kimesneler bağların ve değirmenlerin ve yerlerin ve tarlaların almışlar; anlar dahi göresiz şol nesne ki bunların (the monks) kiliselerin v a k f ı d ı r"²⁹).

III) 1495; doc. 1 of the present study: "t a s a r r u f u m u z d a (the monks) olan beş tarlaları" repeated also in the same doc. lines 5—6: "bunların (the monks) t a s a r r u f u n d a o l a n t a r l a l a r ı".

IV) 1495; doc. 2 of the present study: "çiftlikleri varmış".

V) 1496; doc. 8 of the present study (in Arabic); mention of vakfs (e v k a f) of the monastery Dionysiou.

VI) 1501; doc. 3 of the present study: "t a s a r r u f u m u z d a" (the monks) olan beş tarlaları"; it should be noted that this doc. repeats the text of doc. 1; see No III of this list.

VII) 1513; doc. 6 of the present study: "höcct ile m u t e s a r r i f olduğumuz (the monks) Katakali demekle maruf çiftliğümüze".

VIII) 1514; doc. 11 of the present study: "kadimden bizüm m a k t u' yerümüzdir (the monks), "zikr olan çiftliğün m a k t u' yeri".

IX) 1527; document from the archives of Koutloumousiou published by Wittek: "Kutlumuş manastırına mute'allik yerlerden", "şimdiye değin nice t a s a r r u f edegeldilerise", "kadimden bunların (the monks) t a s a r r u f l a r ı n d a o l a"³⁰).

It is obvious that expressions such as "mute'allik yerler" or "çiftlikleri varmış" are too vague to explain the situation; also that the term "mülk" meaning "full property" does not occur in the documents.

²⁸) This mektub together with other documents from the archives of Kastamonitou are going to appear in a forthcoming article.

²⁹) L e m e r l e — W i t t e k , op. cit., p. 422—424, l. 5, 7, 13—14.

³⁰) L e m e r l e — W i t t e k , op. cit., p. 433—435, l. 2, 7.

On the contrary the properties of the Meteora monasteries in Thessaly are explicitly qualified as *mülks* in 1455/56³¹). But in the enumerated cases the legal terms qualifying the land property are "tasarruf", "vakf" and "maktu' yer". The last one must be excluded from our study for the moment. As it will appear, it does not refer to the relation of the monastery and its *çiftlik* but to the tax paid by the *çiftlik*. We shall examine the terms vakf and tasarruf.

The term vakf appears in doc. 8 of the present study in a rather vague sense: a sum of money mentioned in the document is supposed to derive from the vakfs of Dionysiou. In the document of 1491 from Koutloumousiou (see No II of the above list) it appears more precisely as the vineyards, the mills and the lands of this monastery which are qualified as its vakfs. Wittek underlined the unexpected use of the term with respect to a Christian foundation, translated it as "property", and commented on it with some reserve³²). But if one accepts that the term means "property" in the document of 1491, one could ask why in the document of 1527 (No IX of the above list) the term tasarruf is used apparently with respect to the same properties in the old days. As is well known, tasarruf does not mean property but "use" of the land³³).

Information given by Ioannes Anagnostes may perhaps help us to understand the situation in Macedonia. Anagnostes relates the conquest of Thessalonika by the troops of *Murad II* in 1430³⁴). After lamenting the capture of the city, he gives an account of what happened in the following years. When the hard days of pillage and captivity were over, the sultan granted all the buildings of the town and every other immovable property to their old masters. He also returned all the churches, with the exception of two, and the monasteries, together

³¹) İnalçık, *Fatih devri ...*, p.175, note 148 (cf. supra, note 4). The word "mülkler" can be read in a document of 1486 whose photograph is published by V a s - d r a v e l l i s in *Makedonika* (cf. supra, note 14); although it is not at all clear one can read the next word: "alınıp" (taken); therefore its mention will not constitute an obstacle.

³²) L e m e r l e — W i t t e k , op. cit., p. 427—430.

³³) On tasarruf see Ö. L. B a r k a n , *Türk-İslam toprak hukuku tatbikatının osmanlı imparatorluğunda aldığı şekiller* [The forms of Turkish-Islamic land-law applied in the Ottoman Empire]: *Türk Hukuk ve İktisad Tarihi Mecmuası*, vol. 2 (1932—39), p. 119—184.

³⁴) Ioannes Anagnostes, *Διήγησις περὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἀλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης* [A Narrative of the Last Capture of Thessalonika], included in: Georgius Phrantzes, Ioannes Cananus, Ioannes Anagnostes, ex rec. I. B e k k e r i. Bonnae 1838, p. 481—528; I shall deal with the account given by him on p. 520—526. For Anagnostes see G. M o r a v c s i k , *Byzantinoturcica*. Berlin 1958², vol. I, p. 312.

with their sources of revenue, to the monks "by letters and word"³⁵). The inhabitants were hopeful for the future of their town and soon forgot the sufferings of the conquest. But this happiness was temporary. *Murad* revisited Thessalonika two or three years later.

The people thought that the situation was going to improve even more and they expected new donations from the sultan supposing that he wished to imitate his ancestor (presumably *Bayazid I*) who, when master of the town, had bestowed many favours on it³⁶). It was proved that they were completely wrong in their expectations. For the sultan commanded that all the churches and monasteries were to be taken and all their revenues and land properties were to be seized³⁷). Then he ordered a census of all the houses and everything else existing in the town discriminating between those belonging to the present inhabitants and those of the absent or dead³⁸). His intention was to leave to the present inhabitants their properties (although this later did not happen exactly so) and to distribute the properties of the absent ones to future inhabitants of the town — Greeks or Turks. When the

³⁵) Anagnostes, loc. cit., p. 521—522: ὁ Μουράτης . . . πάσας οἰκίας ἔχειν τοὺς ἀρχῆθεν αὐτῶν κυρίους προστάξας ἐλευθερίας τετυχηκότας καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἀκίνητον κτήσιν . . . ὁ Μουράτης πάντα καὶ κτίσματα καὶ κτήματα καὶ νεῶς ἱεροὺς καὶ μονὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν προσόδων αὐτῶν ἀφορμὰς ἐπανιοῦσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ὀπωσθήποτε τῆς δουλείας ἀπαλλαγέισι φιλοτίμως καὶ γράμμασι καὶ λόγοις ἐδεδώρητο, πανταχοῦ τε τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ἐλευθερίαν ἐκήρυξε, καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκίας καὶ ὅσα ἀκίνητα πάντες ἀνέλαβον.

³⁶) This statement of Anagnostes allows the guess that the inhabitants of Thessalonika had rather happy memories of the first Ottoman occupation; it also suggests that property including that of the monasteries had been respected; cf. supra 2.

³⁷) Anagnostes, loc. cit., p. 523: (Murad) πρῶτον μὲν ψῆφον ἐξήνεγκε . . . ἢ δ' ἦν πᾶσας μὲν ληφθῆναι μονὰς καὶ νεῶς, πάσας δὲ προσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κτήματ' ἀφαιρεθῆναι. It is possible to be a little more accurate on the date of this event: a document of July 1432 suggests that the churches and the monasteries of Thessalonika were taken after this date; see Ἐπ. Βακαλόπουλος, Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης μικρὸν μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων [A Contribution to the History of Thessalonika immediately after its Capture by the Turks]: Gregorios Palamas, vol. 20 (1936), p. 26—35, 65—73, and especially p. 35. Another document of a slightly earlier date (May 1432) also suggests that the monasteries still had their properties: according to it the monks of Nea Moni in Thessalonika had a shop hired by a Turk; then they were going to rent it to a Greek; see Γ. Θεοχαρίδη, Δύο νέα ἔγγραφα ἀφορῶντα εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μονὴν Θεσσαλονίκης [Two New Documents concerning the Nea Moni of Thessalonika]: Μακεδονικά, vol. 4 (1960), p. 334—335. Theocharidis states in his commentary (p. 341) that the "taking" of the monasteries took place in 1433 and more precisely after July of this year; it is unknown where he found this information; at any rate Vakalopoulos, whom he quotes, wrote that the terminus post quem is July 1432.

³⁸) Anagnostes, loc. cit., p. 523: ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ καταγραφῆναι πάσας οἰκίας καὶ εἴ τι προσῆν ἕτερον τῇ πόλει προστάττει (Murad), καὶ χωρὶς μὲν τὰ τῶν παρόντων χωρὶς δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων ἀριθμηθῆναι.

census was accomplished according to the sultan's orders, he gave the most beautiful of the houses and the monasteries to persons closely connected with him and to his dignitaries³⁹). Anagnostes finishes his narrative deploring the new situation.

Two points of this account may be related to Mount Athos: a) the land census and b) the seizure of the properties and revenues of the monasteries. One could assume that the land census which according to Anagnostes took place around the years 1432/1433 was not limited to the town of Thessalonika. There are some indications showing that it was general census including at least a great part of Rumili and certainly Mount Athos. After all, this date coincides with the date of the land census of the sandjak of Arvanid in 1431/32⁴⁰). As far as Mount Athos is concerned, the document of 1451 addressed by *Mehemed II* to the protos and the hegoumenoi reports that the properties of the various monasteries found there, were separated in the days of his father *Murad II* (1421—1451)⁴¹). This statement, rather vague from the chronological point of view, can be combined with the phrase found in the mentioned document of Kastamonitou (1455; No I of the list of p. 22) saying that the monastery had had its lands since the conquest of Thessalonika. The separation and recognition of monastic property must be considered as a result of a census and this probably took place in the 1430s.

There is also an indication that the affairs of Mount Athos then were controlled from Thessalonika. For in the document of Kastamonitou there is mention of an older document presumably going back to the years of the census, granting to the monks their properties in Longos and issued by *Şhamlu Ali beğ*. We know something about this *Şhamlu Ali beğ* as his name occurs in the defter of the regions near Thessalonika. He was *subaşı* in this town. The village of Portaria belonged to him as *mülk* before the year 1447;⁴²) he probably had other properties in the area near Hortač (Χορταϊτου, Χορτιάτης) where his name survived as a place-name at least up until the late 15th century.⁴³) One can guess that he issued the document in his capacity of *subaşı* of Thessalonika.

³⁹) Anagnostes, loc. cit., p. 524: τότε δὴ τὰς μὲν τῶν μονῶν ὄσαι δὴ μείζους καὶ πρὸς κάλλος φαιδρότεροι τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτῶ καὶ οὖσιν ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ἐδωρήσατο, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν . . .

⁴⁰) Whether a general land-census took place in Rumili after the conquest of Thessalonika, is a question raised by H. İnalçık, *Sûret-i . . .*, p. XVIII.

⁴¹) Binon, *Les origines . . .*, p. 297—298: ἐπειδὴ ἔγινεν εἰς τοῦ πατρὸς μου τὸν καιρὸν καὶ ἐχωρίστηκαν τὰ σύνορα τῶν μοναστηρίων, νὰ ἔχη τὸ καθένα μοναστήριον τὸ σύνορον του . . .

⁴²) *Fontes Turcici . . .*, op. cit., p. 398, 406, 416, 422, 426, 428, and especially p. 420, where *Şhamlu 'Ali* is mentioned as *subaşı* of Thessalonika.

⁴³) A. Süheyl Ünver, op. cit. (cf. supra, note 22), p. 122—123.

Conclusions are more difficult when examining the "taking" of the monasteries together with their revenues and properties reported by Anagnostes, as it is not quite clear what he means. Did the monasteries of Thessalonika lose their properties completely? Were these properties fully donated to Ottoman dignitaries or were they granted as timars? I think that one fact can be taken for certain. That the lands ceased to constitute full properties (mülk) of the monasteries of Thessalonika, as they had during the first two or three years after the capture of the city.

Moreover one could accept that Anagnostes' description of the situation in Thessalonika reflects the situation of the whole area depending upon this city; so one could explain the use of the term *tasarruf* (= use of the land) found in the documents of Mount Athos with respect to monastic property. As far as this kind of property is concerned one should not connect the subject with the reforms of *Mehemmed II* who in the 1470s changed various mülks and vakfs into *tasarruf*⁴⁴); the monasteries' lands in Macedonia were already *tasarruf* in 1455 and presumably had been since 1432/33.

As for the term *vakf*, it should be noticed that it does not appear to qualify monastic properties only in Macedonia. In a *defter* of the 16th century the properties of various monasteries in Trebizond are also qualified as *vakfs*⁴⁵). Although it seems strange to use the name of an Islamic institution par excellence in order to qualify a Christian foundation, one should perhaps conceive of it with a very general meaning: the lands of a monastery were the lands of a religious foundation.

A final remark before changing subject: my conclusions on the *tasarruf* concern only the old monastic land properties in Macedonia. For there is evidence that the monasteries were soon in a position to

⁴⁴) For these reforms see Bistra A. Cvetkova, Sur certaines réformes du régime foncier du temps de Mehmet II: *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 4/I (1963), p. 104—112; also N. Beldiceanu, Recherches sur la réforme foncière de Mehmed II: *Acta Historica* 4 (1965), p. 27—39.

⁴⁵) Barkan, op. cit. (cf. supra, note 33), p. 136: "Asılda Tonohos manastırının vakfı imiş..." (I suppose that Tonohos is Theotokos). Ö. L. Barkan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler [The Sürgün: a Method for Settlement and Colonisation in the Ottoman Empire]: *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vol. 15 (1953/54), p. 219, note 90, p. 220: mention of "vakfs" belonging to the monasteries Ayios Phokas, Asomatos, Pharos and Ayia Sophia. T. Gökbilgin, XVI. yüzyıl başlarında Trabzon livası ve Doğu Karadeniz bölgesi [The Liva of Trebizond and the Eastern District of the Black Sea at the Beginning of the 16th century]: *Bellekten* 26 (1962), p. 316—317 (the Soşkayâstos mentioned in p. 316 is probably due to a misreading; the name of the monastery is Theoskepastos).

buy new lands and gradually they started possessing mülks; doc. 12 of the present study serves as an example⁴⁶).

The timar and its taxation. The čiftlik of Katakali, being a tasarruf of the monastery of Dionysiou, was granted as timar to various Ottoman dignitaries. This is not an unusual case; similar examples are to be found in other Ottoman documents, already published. The well known monastery of Akapniou in Thessalonika possessed a "field" (mezra'a) included within the timar of Hızır čauşh in the middle of the 15th century⁴⁷). The lands of the monasteries of Trebizond (Ayios Phokas, Asomatos, Pharos, Ayia Sophia, Theoskepastos, etc.) were assigned as timars during the reign of *Bayazid II*⁴⁸). One should wonder whether Anagnostes had similar cases in mind when writing that *Murad II* "gave" the monasteries' properties to his dignitaries. It should also be remembered that *Mehemmed II* applied the timar system largely in order to reward his officials during the last years of his reign⁴⁹).

As for the "field" (mezra'a) of Katakali we know that before the year 1446 it was included within a timar⁵⁰). We can follow its later history better thanks to our documents. In 1509 it was included in the timar under the name Kalokampos⁵¹) granted to *Halil čauşh*. In 1514 together with the village of Portaria it was granted to *Mehemmed ağa*, the son of the great vizir *Daud paşha*⁵²). In 1519 it was the timar of the yeniçeri *Karadja*.

⁴⁶) An earlier example is offered by a Greek document: in 1502 the monks of Dionysiou bought a small monastery in Thessalonika dedicated to Christ the Saviour; see *Oikonomidès*, Dionysiou, p. 190—193. The monasteries also acquired lands through donations; an early example is to be found in a Greek document of 1445; see *J. Bompaire*, *Actes de Xéropotamou*. Paris 1964, p. 214—218. For the fate of monastic property acquired through purchase or donation see *Lemerle—Witteck*, op. cit., p. 422—472.

⁴⁷) *Fontes Turcici* . . . , op. cit., p. 418; no doubt that the reading "Agapino" is due to a slip of the editors.

⁴⁸) See supra note 45.

⁴⁹) See supra note 44.

⁵⁰) *Fontes Turcici* . . . , op. cit., p. 414; no doubt that the reading "Kayakali" is due to a slip of the editors. The place-name Vromosyrta is also mentioned in the same context (also misread as "Vremosirte" by the editors and not identified) as well as the place-name Kamučul (not identified). For Vromosyrta see *Oikonomidès*, Dionysiou, p. 196—197; for Kamučul, i. e. Κουμουτζούλου see *Theocharidis*, *Katepanikia*, p. 75.

⁵¹) The place-name Kalokampos found in Kalamaria is mentioned in a praktikon of 1409; see *F. Dölger*, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges*. Munich 1948, p. 173—177.

⁵²) For *Daud paşha* see *J. Hammer*, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman* (transl. Hellert). Paris 1836, vol. IV, p. 42—43; a son of *Daud paşha* called *Mehemmed* is mentioned by *Gökbilgin*, *Edirne* . . . , p. 406—407.

The documents reveal that in the early years the timariot could receive the tithe of the land⁵³): according to doc. 9 the timariot *Ahmed Dizdaroğlu* received 900 akçe from the monks; it is clearly understood that this was a sum that the monks paid in advance for the year 1501/2, while the further exploitation of the land was left to them.

But as this seemed a rather heavy taxation, the monks managed to improve the situation; a little later the voyvoda of Wallachia *Radul the Great* intervened with *Bayazid II* and obtained privileged treatment for them: the monastery was not to pay the tithe anymore but a fixed sum (*maktu'*) amounting to 523 akçe. This sum was established according to the revenue of Katakali registered in a land census by *Mahmud čelebi* (see below).

This arrangement was certainly of great importance for the monks, who less than two years before had paid almost double to *Ahmed Dizdaroğlu*. But it did not work easily. Some of the timariots insisted on receiving the tithe and *Bayazid II* was asked to repeat his command. He issued a decree, perhaps lost today, part of which is included in doc. 5 issued by his son in 1513. At any rate, in 1509 the a'yan⁵⁴) *Mehemmed beğ*, son of *Rosota*⁵⁵), acting for the account of the timariot *Halil čauš*, received from the monks the exact sum of 523 akçe.

⁵³) A very normal procedure for the timar-holder of a *mezra'a*; see İnalçık, *Sûret-i . . .*, p. XXIX.

⁵⁴) For a'yan see IA, s. v. (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı); El², s. v. (H. Bowen); H. A. R. Gibb — H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I/1. Oxford University Press 1951, p. 256—257; Avdo Sućeska, Ajani — Prilog izučavanju lokalne vlasti u našim zemeljama za vrijeme Turaka. Serajevo 1965 (with a German summary in p. 237—254, *Die Ayanen. Beitrag zur Erforschung der lokalen Gewalt in den südslawischen Ländern unter den Türken*); same author, *Bedeutung und Entwicklung des Begriffes A'yan im osmanischen Reich: Südost-Forschungen* 25 (1966), p. 5—6. According to the preceding studies a'yans, among others, were called persons employed as substitutes of the local governors who could not reside in their see. In doc. 10 it is clear that *Mehemmed beğ ibn Rosota* qualified as a'yan acted for the account of a timar-holder collecting the tax (here a fixed sum) of the timar. It should be noted that the earliest mention of a'yan in the preceding bibliography is in the year 1574.

⁵⁵) *Rosotas* or *Rosatas*, a Byzantine surname; see G. Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, ed. V. Grecu. Bucarest 1966, p. 288; H. Oumont, *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale du IX^e au XVI^e siècle*. Paris 1891, p. 17 (in a note of the year 1465); *Néos Ἑλληνομνήμων*, vol. 14 (1917), p. 399. A Kalojan *Rusota* appears in 1428 in Novo Brdo acting as "gabelotto" (custom officer); see M. Lascaris, *Cinq notes à la πρόνοια de M. Ostrogorski: Byzantion* 21/1 (1951), p. 270. The *Rosotas* of our document is a Muslim still bearing his Byzantine surname; examples of this kind are not rare in the 15th and early 16th century: *Mustafa ibn Katakuzinos* mentioned around the year 1481; see H. Sahillioğlu, *XV. yüzyıl sonunda Osmanlı darphane mukataaları [The Mukata'as of the Ottoman Mints at the End of the 15th century]: İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23 (1962/63), p. 188, 192. Also *Süleyman Agallianos* mentioned in a Greek document of ca 1500; see *Oikonomidès, Dionysiou*, p. 189.

With *Selim I's* accession to the throne⁵⁶⁾ the monks hurried to insure keeping Katakali and obtained two decrees; one protecting them from disputes with their neighbours and another renewing the privileged taxation of the *maktu'* type. Nevertheless one year later the monks had to undergo an investigation reported by doc. 11. As this document includes the term "*maktu' yer*" to qualify the *çiftlik*, it deserves perhaps a more extended analysis.

The village of Portaria near Katakali was the timar of *Mehemmed ağa* whose servants asked the monks for the tithe; the monks refused to pay it saying that they had only cultivated their land which was a "*maktu' yer*". At first sight one might think that the servants of the timariot wanted to extend their tax collection to lands not included within the timar; but the rest of the document leads to a different conclusion. After an investigation the kadi decided that the land cultivated by the monks was really a *maktu'* since the "old days"; also that the monks need pay nothing more than the *maktu' akçe*⁵⁷⁾, i. e. a fixed sum. This last statement implying that the *maktu' akçe* had

⁵⁶⁾ Selim I became sultan at the end of April 1512; see J. Hammer, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 121. After having fought against his brothers and nephews in Anatolia for a whole year he went to Brusa; a document issued by him shows that he was there early in April 1513; see C. Truhelka, *Tursko-Slovenski Spomenici*. Serajevo 1911, p. 141. According to Lutfi (quoted by Hammer, op. cit., p. 155) he went from Brusa to Kallipoli and to Mount Athos. In July 1513 he was in Constantinople, as shown by two documents; see Truhelka, op. cit., p. 141—142 and 143—144; cf. Gliša Elezović, *Turski Spomenici*, knj. I, sv. 2. Beograd 1952, p. 148—152. Then Selim I went to Adrianople where he received various ambassadors; Hammer, *ibid.*, p. 155. It seems that the representatives of Dionysiou visited the sultan while on his way to Adrianople, first at Indjiğiz (Indjüğez, Indjügüz, doc. 5, beginning of August) and then somewhere near the river Ergene (doc. 6, end of August). For Indjiğiz see H. J. Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden 1956, p. 43, note 156. For other mentions of this place-name, see Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, p. 24; same author, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları* [Livias, Cities and Towns of the Eyalet of Rumili at the Early Time of Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver]: *Belleter* 20 (1956), p. 255; Ö. L. Barkan, H. 933—934 (M. 1527—1528) *Malî yılına ait bir bütçe örneği* [A sample of the budget of the fiscal year 933—934 H. (1527—1528 A.D.)]: *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15 (1953/54), p. 267, note 24. For the topography around the river Ergene in Thrace see also Kissling, *Beiträge*, p. 16—21, 40—41, 59, 98.

⁵⁷⁾ For "*maktu' akçe*" cf. Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI'ncı asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları* [The basic laws and fiscal regulations concerning the agriculture of Ottoman Empire.] I, *Kanunlar*. Istanbul 1943, p. 166, 181 and 224. As for "*maktu' yer*", the nearest expression I could find is "*mukata'alu çiftlik*"; see Barkan, *ibid.*, p. 309. For the term "*mukata'a*" see İnalçık, *Sûret-i . . .*, p. XXXV; L. Fekete, *Die Siyâqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*. Budapest 1955, vol. I, p. 84—89; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*. Paris—La Haye 1964, vol. II, p. 141.

to be paid to *Mehemmed ağa* explains the reason of the litigation. Although it is not explicitly stated in the document, it appears that the *çiftlik* of Katakali was included within the timar of *Mehemmed ağa* together with the village of Portaria. The servants of the timariot ignoring the sultan's command asked the tithe from the monks; the monks refused on the ground that they had not formerly paid the tithe but a fixed sum. It is to be noticed that the same term is used to qualify the type of land (*maktu' yer*) and the type of tax paid for it (*maktu' akçe*).

Some years later according to a new land census made during the reign of *Selim I* the fixed sum increased from 523 to 897 *akçe*⁵⁸). The monks had to seek a new decree. They went to Constantinople and after getting a copy from the *defter* (doc. 14) they obtained a new *ferman* commanding that they had to pay the fixed sum of 897 *akçe* instead of the tithe (doc. 7).

The land census of Mahmud çelebi. As has already been noted, the fixed sum paid by the monks was agreed upon according to the revenue of the *çiftlik* Katakali registered before 1496, during a land census (*taħrir*) by *Mahmud çelebi* acting as an *emin*⁵⁹). It is difficult to say when this census took place. The only chronological indication is the person of *Mahmud çelebi* perhaps not completely unknown. A note following the twenty chapters of the Christian religion, submitted by the Patriarch *Gennadios Scholarios* to *Mehemmed II*⁶⁰), informs us that this text was translated into Turkish by the *kadi* of Veroia *Ahmed* who was the father of the *anagrapheus* *Mahmud çelebi*⁶¹). As *anagrapheus* in Greek means an employee making a land

⁵⁸) The increase of the tax is perhaps connected with the financial crisis and the devaluation of the *akçe* in the Ottoman empire during the 16th century; see Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadî Vaziyeti* [The Economic Situation of Turkey]: *Belleten* 13 (1949), p. 517—518.

⁵⁹) For the terms "emin" (*amin*) and "taħrir" see EI², s. v. (B. Lewis); İnalcık, *Sûret-i . . .*, p. XIII—XXIII; Fekete, *Die Siyâqat-Schrift*, p. 75 sq.

⁶⁰) For this text see M. Jugie, *Ecrits apologétiques de Gennade Scholarios à l'adresse des Musulmans: Byzantion* 5 (1929/30), p. 302—311; A. Decei, *Patrik II Gennadios Skolarios'un Fatih Sultan Mehmet için yazdığı Ortodoks itikad-namesi türkçe metni* [The Turkish Text of the Orthodox Creed Written by the Patriarch Gennadius II Scholarios for Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror]: *Fatih ve İstanbul* [The Conqueror and Istanbul]. Istanbul 1953, vol. I/1, p. 99—116; S. Salaville—E. Dalletleggio, *Karamanlidika*. Athens 1958, vol. I, p. 1—2; cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, loc. cit., p. 290—291.

⁶¹) *Historia Politica et Patriarchica Constantinopoleos*, ed. Bekker. Bonnae 1849, p. 84: Μετεγλωττίσθη δὲ εἰς τὴν Τουρκοαραβόγλωσσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχμέτ, καδδῆ Βεροίας, τοῦ πατρὸς Μαχουμουτ τζελεμπὶ τοῦ ἀναγραφέως with a variant reading: Μαχμούτ.

census⁶²) it seems probable that this is the same person. Consequently *Mahmud čelebi* was known as emin in the second half of the 15th century. Therefore it seems possible that the census took place during the reign of *Mehemmed II* or a little later when his son succeeded to the throne. Another argument could also be used for a more precise assumption: in 1519 a new defter is mentioned by doc. 7 and 14 resulting from a new census. As the census was made every 30 or 40 years until the beginning of the 17th century, one could assume that *Mahmud čelebi's* activities must be placed approximately between 1479—1489⁶³).

The intervention of the voyvoda. It is well known that *Radul the Great*⁶⁴ (1496—1508), like many other voyvodas of Wallachia, showed special interest for Mount Athos⁶⁵). As for the monastery of Dionysiou, it is well known to have maintained close relations with the court of Wallachia thanks to the activities of the Patriarch *Niphon II*. *Niphon* stayed as a monk in Dionysiou, visited Wallachia later and became spiritual father of the voyvoda *Neagoe Bassarab* († 1521)⁶⁶). Document 4 (1504) reveals that the relations between Dionysiou and the Wallachian court had started at a somewhat earlier date than has been assumed until now.

The mentioned document of 1491 from Koutloumousiou was also issued after the intervention of a Wallachian voyvoda, then *Vlad the Monk* (1481—1496). Wittek in his commentary tried to establish the relation between the voyvoda and the monastery of Koutloumousiou; but the text of the document did not allow him to be very positive: for the phrase referring to this relation is too vague (ol manastir mezkur

⁶²) For ἀναγραφή-εὐς during the Byzantine period see F. Dölger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung. Leipzig 1927 (reprint: Darmstadt, 1960), p. 88—90; the terms survived in Crete during the Venetian domination: "anagrafi" or "anagraffi"; see F. Thiriet, Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie. Paris—La Haye 1958—1961, vol. I—III, index, s. v. anagra-phée; Σπ. Λάμπροβ — Κ. Ἀμάτωβ, Βραχέα Χρονικά [Short Chronicles]. Athens 1932, p. 45, line 54 with reference to the year 1579; it should be noted that in this last text (l. 51) appears also the word ἐλγιατζής deriving doubtless from il-yazıcı.

⁶³) See EI², s. v. Daftar-i K̲hakani (Ö. L. Barkan); see Ö. L. Barkan, Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles: *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1 (1958), p. 9—36.

⁶⁴) Called also by the Ottomans Radul ibn Papas; see Gökbilgin, Edirne..., p. 484.

⁶⁵) P. Năsturel, Aperçu critique des rapports de la Valachie et du Mont Athos des origines au début du XVI^e siècle: *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes*, vol. 2/ I—II (1964), p. 93—126.

⁶⁶) Oikonomidēs, Dionysiou, p. 18—19; cf. and commentary to doc. 8, infra, p. 33.

voyvodanın manastırını olduğu sebepten...)⁶⁷). As for Dionysiou, in our document 4 there is an equally vague phrase said by the voyvoda: bana mute'allik manastırdır. Consequently with the present data the research cannot go further than the point reached by Wittek.

Prosopographical notes. The only one of the monks mentioned by the documents who can perhaps be identified is *Anthimos* of doc. 1, 3 and 10. A certain *Anthimos* signed a document of the Zographou monastery as representative of Dionysiou in 1483⁶⁸). As this date is rather near the dates of the three documents (1495, 1501, 1509), one may surmise that he is the same person.

Some of the witnesses signing doc. 11 by which the borders of Katakali were fixed in 1514 appear also in a Greek document of 1503/4 issued for the same purpose: at that time the monastery Dionysiou had a dispute about Katakali with the monks of the Zographou monastery and the metropolitan of Thessalonika made an investigation to settle the trouble⁶⁹). One can assume that these people represented the local élite of the time. I think that I must draw attention to two of the witnesses of the present document: *Ioannes (Yani) Kavasilas* (a distinguished surname for the region of Thessalonika) and an episkopos *Iakovos (Yakov piskopoz)*, probably one of the suffragans of the metropolitan of Thessalonika.

It must be finally underlined that the patronymic 'Abdullah ist very common among the witnesses of the deeds revealing thus that a great percentage of them were converts to Islam⁷⁰).

Document 2.

Here too is a case concerning the çiftliks of the monastery Dionysiou included within a timar, more precisely within a hass and timar (l. 6)⁷¹). The çiftliks are located in the village Orphani (l. 3) which has preserved its name until now (at the foot of Mount Pangaion, near the gulf of Strymon); the village was apparently under the jurisdiction of the kadi of Zikhna to whom the document is addressed⁷²). According to a tradition this village was donated to the monastery by the last emperor of Trebizond *David, the Great Komnenos*⁷³). It is

⁶⁷) Lemerle—Wittek, op. cit., p. 421—430; Vlad voyvoda is mentioned in connection with Koutloumousiou in a document enumerating the timars of the region of Thessalonika; see Fontes Turcici . . ., op. cit., p. 454.

⁶⁸) Oikonomidès, Dionysiou, p. 20.

⁶⁹) Ibid., p. 199—200.

⁷⁰) V. L. Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents from the Reign of Mehemmed II: Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern. Oxford 1965, p. 112—116.

⁷¹) For these terms see Gibb—Bowen, op. cit., vol. I/1, p. 144; cf. İnalçık, *Sûret-i . . .*, p. XXIII—XXIV.

⁷²) For Zikhna see Lemerle—Wittek, op. cit., p. 447, note 3; cf. Theodoridis, *Katepanikia*, p. 59—63.

⁷³) Oikonomidès, Dionysiou, p. 17, note 54.

known that after the conquest of Trebizond *Mehemmed II* granted to *David* "lands for his maintenance near Serres", i. e. near *Zikhna*⁷⁴).

The timar holder, *Iskender paṣha*, was named vezir in 1489 for the second time⁷⁵).

Document 8.

The papa-*Yakumi* (l. 2) requesting the sum of money on behalf of his monastery can safely be identified with the hegoumenos of Dionysiou *Iakovos* whose name appears in two Greek documents; one of them is issued in the year 1493/4 and the second some months later than the present document, in May 1496⁷⁶).

The life of Patriarch *Niphon* (l. 7) is known thanks to his biography written by a contemporary⁷⁷). We can thus confirm the information about his father's name *Manuel*⁷⁸). Our document was issued between the first (1486—1488) and the second (1497—1498) patriarchate of *Niphon*. According to his biographer *Niphon* spent "two whole years" in the monastery of Prodomos in Sozopolis during this period⁷⁹). The document now adds that he also stayed in Ainos (l. 8).

Two of the attorneys (l. 4—5) can be identified. An *Anton ibn Angelos* appears in Adrianople in 1497/98 having farmed a service for supplying food to the market of this town⁸⁰). A *Yorgi Kantakouzinou* appears in the year 1479 having farmed a service related to Kallipolis and Constantinople⁸¹).

The krites *Pantaleon* (l. 4) remains unknown to me; it should perhaps be reminded that another person, apparently powerful, of the early Tourkokratia is mentioned with the same title: *Isidoros* known from some letters of the year 1453 and addressed not only as krites but sometimes also as "krites and emin" of the sultan⁸²).

⁷⁴) *Historia Politica et Patriarchica*, op. cit., p. 38, line 10.

⁷⁵) F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechts der Malqoç-oghlu's*. Aufsätze und Abhandlungen, vol. I, p. 360, note 1; Ménage, op. cit., p. 117.

⁷⁶) *Oikonomidès*, Dionysiou, p. 179, 186.

⁷⁷) See *Viața Sfântului Nifon* [The Life of Saint Niphon], ed. V. Grecu. Bucarest 1944. Additional information can be found in *Historia Politica et Patriarchica*, p. 58—60, 127—131, 134—135, 138—139.

⁷⁸) *Viața* . . . , p. 32; cf. doc. 8, l. 7.

⁷⁹) *Viața* . . . , p. 72; cf. A. Παπαδοπούλου - Κεραμέως, 'Η ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Σωζοπόλεως βασιλικὴ μονὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρομοῦ καὶ ἡ τύχη τῆς βιβλιοθήκης αὐτῆς [The Imperial Monastery of John the Prodomos in Sozopolis and the Fate of its Library]: *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 7 (1900), p. 688—693.

⁸⁰) See *Gökbilgin*, *Edirne* . . . , p. 106.

⁸¹) See H. Sahillioğlu, *XV. yüzyıl sonunda* . . . , p. 164.

⁸²) See J. Darrouzès, *Lettres de 1453: Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 22 (1964), p. 78, 80, 85, 87.

Although it is known that *Niphon* spent much of his life in the monastery of Dionysiou (where he died) no explanation can be given here about the circumstances of his having this considerable amount of money belonging, according to the document, to this monastery.

It is specified that the silver coins ("dirhem" as the document is written in Arabic: akçe) had to be of the currency of *Bayazid II*; this request is probably due to the financial crisis of the Ottoman empire since the reign of *Mehemmed II*, owing to which, the value of the silver coin was not always the same⁸³).

Mount Athos is called here Erkeklü Adası (l. 3), a slightly different expression from Erkek Adası (the island of men) found in other documents⁸⁴).

Document 12.

The place-name Izvoz is most probably Izvoro; we may guess that the scribe put an unnecessary point over the last letter (an Arabic rā) and distorted the word slightly. This is not his only slip: the name of the monastery (Dionysiatikon) is also slightly distorted by his pen. For the place-names Izvoro (to day Stratonike) and Straton(i)on, see Theocharidis, *Katepanikia*, op. cit., p. 15—19 and 78. I could not find mention of properties of the Chilandariou monastery located in this area.

The term "mülk ev" occurs frequently in a document of 1572, published by Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 356—373.

Leontios appears in the document as hegoumenos of Dionysiou; in 1518 the hegoumenos was a certain *Methodios* who is perhaps to be identified with the one mentioned by the present document⁸⁵); as for *Isaias*, he is perhaps the same with the "geron" *Isaias* of Dionysiou, signing a document of 1526⁸⁶).

Document 13.

It is known that the tower of Dionysiou was restored in 1520; the expenses were paid for by the Wallachian voyvoda *Neagoe Basarab*. A mural inscription of the tower commemorates the event⁸⁷).

⁸³) See Mustafa Akdağ, op. cit. (cf. supra, note 58), p. 517—518; H. İnalcık, *Türkiyenin iktisadi vaziyeti üzerinde bir tetkik münasebetiyle* [For a Study Concerning the Economic Situation of Turkey]: *Bellekten* 15 (1951), p. 654—682.

⁸⁴) For the Turkish names of Mount Athos see Lemerle—Witteck, op. cit., p. 425, note 3.

⁸⁵) See Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumuş*, op. cit., p. 169.

⁸⁶) *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁸⁷) See G. Millet—J. Pargoire, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes du Mont Athos*. Paris 1904, p. 171, N° 494; cf. Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Γαβριήλ, Ἡ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ὄρει ἱερὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἀγίου Διονυσίου [The Holy Monastery of St. Dionysios in Mount Athos]. Athens 1959, p. 56.

According to a clause included in a document of 1568/69 the monasteries could use the revenues of their lands in order to repair their buildings: ὁ ἐξ αὐτῶν καρπὸς νὰ ἐξοδεύηται κατὰ πρῶτον εἰς τὰ μερεμέτια.⁸⁸⁾

The papa-*Maximos* who according to the document asked for the permission of the restoration is perhaps the hieromonachos *Maximos* who was hegoumenos of Dionysiou in 1511/13 and who signed a document in 1528 as prohegoumenos (i. e. former hegoumenos) of Dionysiou⁸⁹⁾. For the hegoumenoi of the monastery in 1518, 1520 cf. the commentary of document 12.

⁸⁸⁾ Μερεμέτια is the plural of μερεμέτι which certainly is the Turkish (Arabic) word "meremmet" (repair) and not "imaret", as suggested by Wittek; see Lemerle — Wittek, op. cit., p. 429, note 4.

⁸⁹⁾ See Oikonomidès, Dionysiou, p. 214—215; Lemerle, Kutlumus, p. 173.

List of the plates

Doc. N° 1.	Ferman of Bayazid II.	21—30 October 1495
Doc. N° 2.	Ferman of Bayazid II.	31 October—9 November 1495
Doc. N° 3.	Ferman of Bayazid II.	12—20 March 1501
Doc. N° 4.	Ferman of Bayazid II.	24th May 1504
Doc. N° 5.	Ferman of Selim I.	4—13 August 1513
Doc. N° 6.	Ferman of Selim I.	23 August—1 September 1513
Doc. N° 7.	Ferman of Selim I.	11—20 May 1519
Doc. N° 8.	A letter of credit.	7—16 January 1496
Doc. N° 9.	A receipt.	2—11 March 1501
Doc. N° 10.	A receipt	5th September 1509
Doc. N° 11.	Findings of the investigation.	26 April—5 May 1514
Doc. N° 12.	A record of real estate transaction.	12—21 January 1520
Doc. N° 13.	A repair permit.	20th February 1520
Doc. N° 14.	Copy from the defter.	16th May 1519

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

از تقاضای انصاف و احکام
مجلس اولیایان معاضدکم لکماله من کارن فی ان یزید انعمان فالویریز
و کما صدرت کتب بورتاریه کاذبیه تفرقه لعل ان نار لای بی بی
بنابین ظلم ابدی و بولدی اولی بولدی بولدی
بر وجهی شیخ و فائز و تنبیه و تنبیه کویک که
لعل ان نار لای صلف فائز اولی که شوعا ناب و طاهر لعل حکم
البوریز البوریز اولی ان لعل ان یازوب بلسن و بلسن
سزما بقا اربین قضیه اربین که سزما سزما سزما سزما
کویک که اولی صلف و لعل ان لعل ان

مقام
مکتوبه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ارفضنا اليك هذا اول اولاد الوصيين مولانا رنجه خاصي
نور فرخ مع اولاد الوصيين كجايه ابا نوزول مودر مودام
ممانه كمنتهن كمنتهن معاليه كجايه عرض ايتياريه اوفان
كوبت جغتكاك اولاد اول كوي قروغوزار العظام الله انعام
خولده الراسيه والغزاليه باضه وزيرم كمنتهن پاشا صاحب معاليه
خاصي وتمامي ايتياريه مشار اليه كجايه نواع ايتياريه كجايه
المايحيه زياره المتقارن من ايتياريه كجايه كجايه كجايه
كوبه راولان جغتكاك ايتياريه كجايه كجايه كجايه
حكم ايتياريه كجايه كجايه كجايه كجايه
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بسم الله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين
والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد
الطاهر المصطفى وآله الطيبين الطاهرين
الطاهرين

لقد اذعننا لطلبكم من قبلنا في طلب
نوفع ما يوجب لطلبكم من قبلنا في طلب
لولا اننا لم نكن نعلم اننا لم نكن نعلم
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حکم
سلیمان

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سحر
لک

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين

لقد قضى قضاء الميامين والوزراء المشهورين والعلو على ملئنا المملوكين والامراء الكرام في جميع اقطار

توقفت في جميع اقطار واهلها على احوالهم ولا يكفوا في ارضهم من كان في زمانه بما يؤمن به ولا يؤمن به

في ارضهم ولا يكفوا في ارضهم من كان في زمانه بما يؤمن به ولا يؤمن به

تقانا لا وبكلام عروف حقيقه كونه زمانا تراعى لولده في ارضها ولا يرضوا في ارضها ولا يرضوا

بوجه كونه في ارضها ولا يرضوا في ارضها ولا يرضوا

ثابت لولده في ارضها ولا يرضوا في ارضها ولا يرضوا

لور مقولون في ارضها ولا يرضوا في ارضها ولا يرضوا

تاريخ لندريه من منع لولميا اسياسه طابفة سنده له بارو

بلد من وكن له حكم حفته كذا في ارضها ولا يرضوا في ارضها ولا يرضوا

تاريخ جهات طام من كور لولميا اسياسه طابفة سنده له بارو

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الملك
سلطان

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين
الذين
الطاهرين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين
الذين

من جملة من حضر في مؤتمر
ناطق مضموننا بذكر ما وكلنا يا يا قومي نودع والنصر
الدهبان في كتيب في ريشة الكاينة في اجزير المعروفة
الطاسي واناب مناب نفسه حاملين الكما بنديو قرش
ديتري وانتون انكلوس ويود في فنقتونوس دغري بقبض
مبلغ اربعة عشر الف درهم فضو ساج سلطانا بايزيد خاني عز بصره
الذي على ذمه يا يا ينفق منول النصراني الكنيشس البطران العتيق
مزواق الكنيب المصوب الساكن بقرية ايناز الشهيرة
حين بكر وبقبض اكتروق العايد الى الكنيب المزبور انما يجد وباله ايضا
اليه وبكل ما يتوقف عليه هذا الامور رسم قبلوا منه تلك الوكالة المزبور
لوقلا صحتا شرعيا مقبولا من قبلهم مجلس التوكيل وجا يا جري ذلك
وحر في اوابل رسع الفوسه احدى رسعا

سندنا و محمد عبي و زانو و زانو و زانو و زانو
مولانا تارا و رسال محض و اصل و رسال و رسال و رسال
حد

حیاتیة الاصل والاضاع
والعنفه وکلی محمد علی
بسمه تعالی

بی بی کماله و بی بی فخره و بی بی
چون سدر قصبی قول بخت لیزوز نام زمین مکتول اولاد و اسیان اولاد و بی بی فخره نام زمین
چون شرف شریفه خانم زور بقره و اوقاف علی قنبره و اوقاف مکتول اولاد و بی بی فخره
مکتول بوزنی لغزیه و علییه و اوقاف علی قنبره و اوقاف مکتول اولاد و بی بی فخره
و بی بی کماله ای بابا قنبره و اوقاف علی قنبره و اوقاف مکتول اولاد و بی بی فخره
و بی بی فخره نام زمین مکتول اولاد و اسیان اولاد و بی بی فخره نام زمین
کونیه نام زمین مکتول اولاد و اسیان اولاد و بی بی فخره نام زمین
فخره کونیه نام زمین مکتول اولاد و اسیان اولاد و بی بی فخره نام زمین
مکتول اولاد و اسیان اولاد و بی بی فخره نام زمین
مکتول اولاد و اسیان اولاد و بی بی فخره نام زمین

مکتول اولاد و اسیان اولاد و بی بی فخره نام زمین
مکتول اولاد و اسیان اولاد و بی بی فخره نام زمین
مکتول اولاد و اسیان اولاد و بی بی فخره نام زمین



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16th May 1519