

Ottoman Paphos (mid-Nineteenth Century)

OTTOMAN PAPHOS

Population, Taxation and Wealth
(mid-19th Century)



Evangelia Balta

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Evangelia Balta is Research Director at the National Hellenic Research Foundation (Athens). Since 2010 she has counted the history of Ottoman Cyprus among her research interests. The priority and main concern of this research project is to publish archival material and original studies which deal with topics from the Ottoman period on the island. The studies published to date are as follows:

- *Histories of Ottoman Larnaca*, (eds) Evangelia Balta – Theoharis Stavrides – Ioannis Theocharides, Istanbul, The Isis Press, 2012.
- *Festschrift in Honor of Ioannis P. Theocharides. Studies on Ottoman Cyprus*, vol. I (eds) Evangelia Balta, Georgios Salakidis, Theoharis Stavrides, The Isis Press, Istanbul, 2014, 246p. vol. I.
- Evangelia Balta - Mustafa Oğuz - Ali Efdal Özkul, *Kouklia in Nineteenth Century Cyprus, on the Ruins of a once Glorious Paphos*, (ed.) Evangelia Balta, The Isis Press, Istanbul, 2015.

In Memoriam

Niki Marangou

Halil İnalçık

Cover

The photograph comes from photographic material housed in the National Archives (Kyrenia) and was provided for the publication of the book by its former director, Gökhan Şengör.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>BNP (Supp. Turc)</i>	Bibliothèque Nationale Paris (Supplement Turc)
<i>BOA</i>	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul
<i>H.</i>	<i>Hicrî</i>
<i>Kouklia</i>	Evangelia Balta - Mustafa Oğuz - Ali Efdal Özkuş, <i>Kouklia in Nineteenth Century Cyprus, on the Ruins of a once Glorious Paphos</i> , (ed.) Evangelia Balta, The Isis Press, İstanbul, 2015
<i>MAD</i>	<i>Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler</i>
<i>ML.VRD.CMH.</i>	<i>Varidat Muhasebesi Defterleri, Cizye Defterleri</i>
<i>ML.VRD.TMT.</i>	<i>Varidat Muhasebesi Defterleri, Temettuat Defterleri</i>
<i>NFS.d.</i>	<i>Nüfus Defteri</i>
<i>Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs</i>	<i>Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs (Nüfusu – Arazi Dağılımı – Türk Vakıfları)</i> , (ed.) Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Ankara 2000
<i>Register VI</i>	Archives of the Archiepiscopal Diocese of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, Nicosia codified under <i>Register VI</i> (1825)
<i>TD</i>	<i>Tapu Defter</i> (Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara)
<i>TŞR-KB.d.</i>	<i>Taşra Tasnifi Kıbrıs Mutasarrıflığı Defterler</i>

For abbreviations pertaining to the edition of the sources, see p. 73

Note on Usage

Since the present study is not only intended for specialists on the Ottoman Empire, but also for scholars and more general readers, as well as Cypriots who are interested in the history of their land, I have applied the simplest way of reproducing the place names and personal names given in Ottoman Turkish. The rendering of the names and terms reflects modern Turkish usage including the following features:

C, c	j as in John
Ç, ç	ch as in church
Ğ	aspirate, roughly as in y
J	like j as in French jaune
I, ı	as in unaccented syllables in English
Ş, ş	sh as in shut

In order to avoid the use of Greek characters, Greek and Cypriot words have been transliterated in the way generally employed for the classical language. The quantity of vowels is not reflected in pronunciation.

Acknowledgments

Special thanks go to the staff at the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives (BOA) in Istanbul and the National Archives (Kyrenia) for their generous help in my research. Sincere thanks to my colleague Ali Efdal Özkül who assisted me in completing my research in the Archives of Kyrenia.

I am deeply grateful to my friend, Kostis Kokkinoftas, who provided me with a copy of pages on the kaza of Paphos from *Register VI* in the Archives of the Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus and who throughout the writing of the book 2015-2016 was always willing to answer my questions and queries, willing to provide me with literature that was for me inaccessible. I cannot find adequate words to thank him.

My debt to my colleague Mustafa Oğuz is, as always, enormous. He undertook with his professional courtesy and general politesse to read and check my readings in the transcribed Ottoman registers. I am particularly grateful to this great üstad who has honoured me with his friendship for thirty years.

My research in Istanbul was supported in a number of ways by various institutions. I am particularly grateful for the hospitality provided to me by the Orient-Institut (Istanbul) and the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations of Koç University during the winter and spring of 2016. Sincere thanks go to my good old friend and colleague, Engin Akarlı, who hails from Aglatzia in Nicosia, and to Ass. Prof. Dr. Günhan Börekçi who helped me join İstanbul Şehir University as a visiting professor on a three-month scholarship from TÜBİTAK.

A number of persons including Şevki Baykus, Şefik Bilal Çavuşoğlu, Carol Haros, Nikolaos Livanos, Lysimachos-Evangelinos Maltoudoglou, Nikos Melvani, Leonidas Moiras, Gülden Sarıyıldız and Maria Stefossi helped with the preparation of the manuscript and the publication.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to my Cypriot physician Giota Chatzilyra for supporting me during the difficult times I have been through recently.

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I am indebted to Sinan Kunalalp, publisher of Isis Press, for taking an interest of this project before its first word was even written.

When I started research for this book in the spring of 2013, I decided that I would dedicate

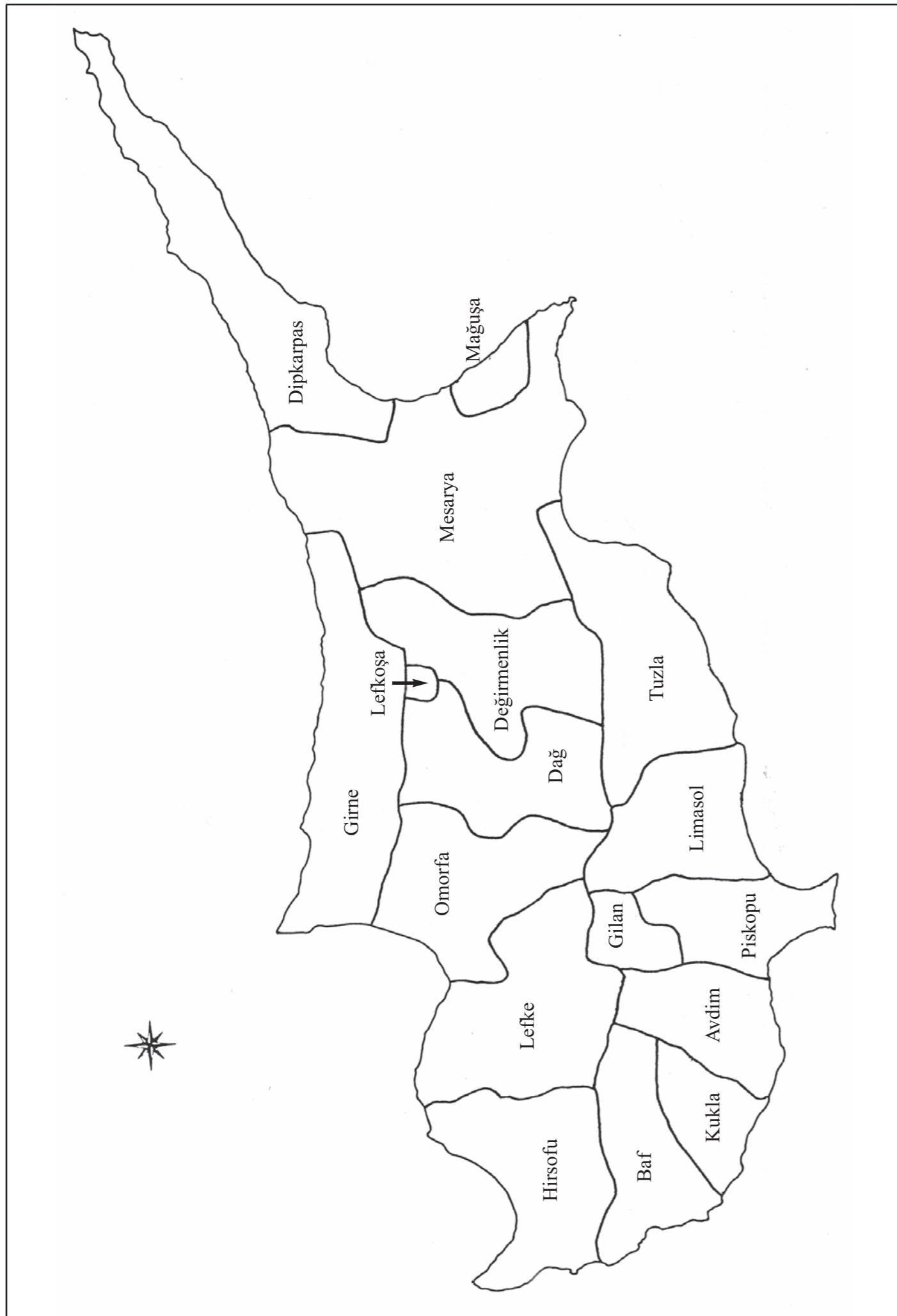
it to the memory of my late Cypriot friend Niki Marangou who passed away on 7 February 2013. During my stays in Cyprus in 2009 and 2012, I spent many evenings with her chatting about literature, books and poets, about the Cyprus Issue and much more. We took unforgettable trips with our Turkish Cypriot friends to villages in Northern Cyprus, we watched excellent films together. She was one of the most cultured, sensitive and generous people I have ever met in Cyprus, a free-spirited person with enthusiasm and a positive attitude on life.

In July 2016, while preparing this publication during breaks in teaching at the Intensive Summer School of Ottoman Studies in Cunda, the news reached me of the death of Halil İnalçık. He passed away after a full and rich life while working on new books. Untiring, optimistic, impetuous, always a bright spirit. In April 2016 at Bilkent University we talked about the book on Paphos that I was preparing. He was delighted. Cyprus had always been a favourite research subject for the Master. We also talked about the publication of the *Tapu Tahrir* of 1571. Thanks to him I have a copy of the register that he entrusted me with. I am deeply grateful to him for the confidence he showed in me and above all for his encouragement at the start of my career.

I dedicate this book to the memory of these beloved persons, who, although living different lives in different places, each with his own special interests and philosophical concepts of life, with his own special bond with Cyprus, enriched both my personal and professional life. I am happy to have known them, to have shared with them thoughts, plans and feelings.

We reached Ktima, the residence of the Turkish Governor and of the Greek bishop of that see. This post, the second of the Turkish dignitaries on the island, had been held for a great number of years by Alaï Bey, an old man of most polite manners, who had earned the respect of both Turks and Greeks. I was lodge with him ... and then I went to the mosque. It is a small but neat building, formerly the Greek church of St. Sophia. ... The town of Ktima, once of some size, is now a labyrinth of ruins; with the appearance of a city of twenty or thirty thousand inhabitants, it contains only two hundred Turkish and twenty Greek families. The bishop's palace, with its outbuildings, is in a separate quarter, but the bishop (who was away) seems to have taken up residence in a town in the interior, said to be large and peopled only by Greeks. ... I left the ruins to go to New Paphos, a seaport half a league away, called by the Turks and the charts Baffa. A considerable town must have existed here, for one still finds heaps of columns, arches and other ruins. Now there are but few habitable houses and some gardens. The port is small and blocked with sand, so that only the smallest boats can enter. On a rocky point to the S.W. is a fort, built by the Turks and furnished with cannon. The moment we were seen the flag was hoisted ... On the seashore opposite the harbour, on a little rocky eminence, there are some excavations like chambers, of which the entrance is blocked up. Above the hill the remains of many columns attest to the presence in old times of some magnificent edifice. They are in dark gray marble and well-polished. The natives say it was a palace of Aphrodite... The superstition, license and interest of Cypriots led them to consecrate temples and celebrate the apotheosis of this woman in the spots where tradition or the poets, the only historians of their day, had fixed the abode of the goddess. The port of Paphos or Baffa, on the west of the island, facing Greece and the Archipelago, and exactly between old Paphos and Yeroschipos, seems to have been the landing place of the Greek pilgrims. The offerings devoted to the construction of the magnificent temple whose fine columns can still be seen in pieces on the little hill of new Paphos or Baffa, opposite the port, would have helped to make this city a centre of wealth and luxury, as proved by the huge masses of ruins¹.

¹ The ancient ruins that cover the Paphos earth, witnesses to its glory in antiquity that established the cult of Aphrodite, impressed the Catalan explorer Domingo Badia y Leblich. He is the author of the *Travels of Ali Bey*, who announced himself as Ali Bey el Abbassi (1766 - ?1816), son of Osman Bey of Aleppo, prince of the Abbassides. [Domingo Badia y Leblich], *Travels of Ali Bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Turkey between the years 1803 and 1807*; written by himself and illustrated by maps and numerous plates in two volumes, London 1816 (reprinted 1995 by the Institute for the History of Arabic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main). See Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excercpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus: With an Appendix on the Bibliography of Cyprus*, Cambridge at the University Press, 1908 (Reprinted by Kraus Reprint Co. New York 1969), p. 408-410.



Preface

The volume presents some representative 19th-century censuses from the *kaza* of Baf (Paphos). It is a continuation of the book previously published, *Kouklia in Nineteenth Century Cyprus, On the Ruins of a Once Glorious Paphos* (Istanbul, İsis Press 2015). Essentially it constitutes a unity with that book, as in most Ottoman censuses, from the 16th to the early 19th century, the *kaza* of Paphos also includes the villages of the *kaza* of Kouklia, composing a single administrative unit that bears the name “*kaza* of Paphos” or sometimes “*kaza* of Paphos and Kouklia”. So for this reason we chose to first publish the censuses of the smaller, as regards size of villages, *kaza* of Kouklia (Palaipaphos) as they supplement the censuses from the corresponding *kaza* of Paphos.

This particular volume contains six censuses from Paphos dating from 1825 to 1848. It therefore gives a representative image of the *kaza* at the outset of the Tanzimat, when for the first time in the Ottoman Empire a modernized type of census was attempted, in accordance with the demands of the era. First in line is the register (*Register VI*) showing the distribution of the head taxes paid by the Christian population in the *kaza* of Paphos in 1825, which has survived intact and is kept in the Archives of the Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus (Nicosia). This is followed by the two censuses of 1246 (1831) in which the Muslims and Christians in the villages and the town of Paphos are recorded. The publication of the *Temettüat Defteri* of 1833, which submits the assets of the inhabitants, follows this and lastly the *Nüfus Defteri* nos. 3751 and 3752 dating from the years 1843-1844, in which the Muslims and Christians in the *kaza* of Paphos are recorded separately. The four Ottoman censuses lie in the Prime Minister’s Ottoman Archives in Istanbul (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, BOA*). The search for the volumes of censuses from the year 1293 (1876-77) that we carried out together with Ali Efdal Özkül in the National Archives (Kyrenia) in October 2013 and the one I did later in April 2016, were unsuccessful. The volumes relating to the census in the *kaza* of Paphos, conducted throughout the island a year before it came under British rule, were not located.

The volume *Kouklia in Nineteenth Century Cyprus, On the Ruins of a Once Glorious Paphos* (Istanbul, İsis Press 2015) and this volume with the six fiscal registers of Paphos come to take their place alongside editions of other registers from Ottoman Cyprus previously published. I must single out the groundbreaking, excellent work by Theodore Papadopoulos (*Social and Historical Data on Population (1580-1881)*, Cyprus Research Centre, Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, I), Nicosia, 1965). In second place chronologically is the register of the *Bibliothèque National Paris, Supplement Turc*

1042, published by Ioannis Theocharides and Stefan Andreev (*Τραγωδίες 1821 συνέχεια. Οθωμανική πηγή για την Κύπρο 1822-1832* [The Continuation of the tragedy of 1821. Ottoman source on Cyprus 1822-1832], Nicosia, Kentro Meleton Ieras Monis Kykkou, 1996). And thirdly in chronological order the publication by the General Directorate of the Prime Minister's State Archives (*Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs (Nüfusu – Arazi Dağılımı – Türk Vakıfları)*, (ed.) Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Ankara 2000). The unity of the two volumes that contain the censuses from Kouklia and Paphos in the first half of the 19th century is directly linked to Theodore Papadopoulos' work and to the volume by the General Directorate of the Prime Minister's State Archives, as they include the now published Greek and Ottoman sources presented for the first time in 1965 and 2000.

The publication of Ottoman censuses has been a structural element of my academic involvement with Ottoman studies. They have essentially defined to a great extent my research and publishing work. I have always believed and continue to do so, that the fiscal registers of the Ottoman Empire constitute a lens with which one brings into one's field of vision the society one is observing. First and foremost they form the basis on which any other information discovered on the history of ethno-religious communities of Muslims and non-Muslims within the Ottoman Empire comes to be linked and connected.

More specifically, the censuses in the two volumes, which I repeat form a unity, the one on the kaza of Kouklia (2015) and this one on Paphos, define the space and reveal for this corner of Cyprus during the critical years of the first half of the 19th century, numbers and identities of persons who supplied the Ottoman Empire with taxes and staffed the army with conscripts. Generally speaking the tax registers, historically mirroring the demographic and economic status of its subjects, conquered or otherwise, reveal the authority, legitimacy or excess of Ottoman power. They explicitly show the role of the Church, appointed as a mechanism for controlling the *reyas* by distributing and collecting the tax, essentially the political power granted to it by the Ottoman ruler and which was the vehicle for maintaining if not increasing its wealth during Ottoman domination. The historical period covered by this volume before you begins in 1825, that is, a few years after the suppression of the Greek Revolution of 1821. Details of this historic event have been reflected for many years in numerous studies based on Greek and western, as well as lastly on Ottoman sources. Apart from specific events, the Greek *Register VI* in the Archive of the Archdiocese (1825) allows us indirectly, by taking as an example the *kadılık* of Paphos, to form a picture of the demographic impact of the Greek revolution on the Christian subjects, based on numbers.

The connection between the censuses creates a narrative, which is presented in the first half of the volume. There I paint an initial picture of the ethno-religious composition, the demography and the economy of Paphos and its region during the first half of the 19th century. Certain aspects are briefly expounded. The nature of the source, which speaks in numbers and not words, naturally dictated how I present my first observations and conclusions that I offer my readers. The tables schematically present the logic of the numbers that are recorded in the censuses in the second part of the volume.

Undoubtedly the wealth of the sources included in the volume you hold in your hand cannot be confined to a brief historical text, or to the notes accompanying the publication of the sources. However I wish to state that an attempt was made to create a dialogue between the tax registers in the volume and other testimonies from the period 1825-1844. Sometimes the comparison of testimonies creates new topics in research. One such typical case is the presence of the name of the metropolitan Chrysanthos in the census of 1831 in Ktima, while Greek, western and Ottoman testimonies bear witness to his killing along with Archbishop Kyprianos and the metropolitans of Larnaca and Kyrenia. Testimonies from the first half of the 19th century, which can interact with the censuses, are undoubtedly numerous. I tried to include in my account all those at least that put forward issues requiring further research or overturn acknowledged opinions.

The six registers in this volume we are publishing provide an exceptionally rich research field for whoever wishes to delve deeper into the history of the Paphos area, an area of particular interest not only in Ancient but also in Medieval and Ottoman times, an area that lends itself to the study of the phenomenon of Islamization on the island and to the zeal of its population in recent years. The censuses allow us to observe the pattern of the phenomenon over the brief twenty-year period they cover and to understand in general the reasons why villages with agionymic place names, revealing a strong bond in the past with Christian worship, are converted into Muslim villages but keep their agionymic name, suggesting tolerance and forbearance in the co-existence of Christians and Muslims, at least in this particular period.

It should be noted by the way that in the century that followed this region produced two emblematic figures from the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities, who determined the fate of the island's history. Archbishop Makarios (1913-1977) came from the village of Panagia and Raouf Dektaş (1924-2012) from Paphos.

This book too is the product of research efforts started by the "Ottoman Studies Programme" at the National Hellenic Research Foundation in 2010 with the aim of contributing to the publication of archival sources related to the history of Ottoman Cyprus. It was set in motion during my first term as a Visiting Professor in the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cyprus and up to now three volumes concerning the history of this period have been published. The publishing plans of the Ottoman Studies Programme I direct at the Institute of Historical Research at the National Research Foundation include 19th-century censuses from the kaza of Chrysochou and the specific part of the *Tapu Tahrir* 64 concerning the kaza of Paphos after the conquest of the island by the Ottomans in 1571.

And last but not least, the volume before you was planned in 2013 as a contribution to the celebration of Paphos being chosen as European Capital of Culture for 2017.