

ISSN 0330 - 8081



Arab

Historical Review
For Ottoman Studies

Nos. 19-20

October 1999

Publications de la :

**Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et
L'Information - Zaghuan**

LANDED PROPERTY OF THE MONASTERIES ON THE ATHOS PENINSULA AND ITS TAXATION IN 1764

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In the course of the research among the Başbakanlık Arşivi (Istanbul), I came across two registers that refer to a census made on Mount Athos in 1764. At that time, I kept a few random notes with the intention of returning to the text at a later date to conduct a more systematic investigation. This opportunity presented itself in 1997 (1). The five registers presented in this article represent the fruit of systematic research in the Archive catalogues.

The census of 1764 is known in the bibliography in the form of a Greek translation and tabulation of 1807-1808 recorded in a codex of Protaton. This table was published in a study of 1963 by G. Alexandros Lavriotis (Lazaridis) (2). Ch. Gasparis presented a summary of this translation in his description of the contents of the Protaton codices (3). In the second codex of the Protaton archives (p. 40, doc 10), a noted dated 6 August 1764 refers to a census undertaken on the monasteries, cells and sketes of Mount Athos by a tahrıcı under the supervision of the teacher Damaskinos Iviritis and the prohegoumen Kallinikos Pantokratorinos (4).

Bibliographical references to the census of 1764 made prior to those of G. Alexandros Lavriotis can be found in the studies of K. Vlachos (5), G. Smyrnakis (6) and Ch. Ktenas (7). The catalogues of documents published as

(1) My research was generously funded by the "Alexandros S. Onassis Foundation". I thank the Governing Board of the Foundation most warmly for the second time, the first being for the bursary for my post-doctoral studies (Paris, 1980-1983). The Foundation has stood firmly by me during my attempts at research. The present study presents a summary description, drawn from the sources I managed to uncover, of the taxation of monastic landed property on the Athos peninsula. I intend in the future to follow this with other publications on broader matters related to the census; for example, as concerns commentary on population sizes.

(2) G. A. Lavriotis, "The Holy Mountain after the Ottoman conquest" (in Greek), *Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 32 (1963), p. 258-260.

(3) *Archive of Protaton : Summaries of Post-Byzantine documents* (in Greek), ed. Ch. Gasparis, *Athonika Symmeikta* 2, Athens 1991, p. 203, codex no. 9 (no. 4 according to the older numeration), doc. 8.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 34. I warmly thank my colleague Charalambos Gasparis for generously having placed at my disposal the photographs of the codex held in the Institute for Byzantine Studies of National Research Foundation.

(5) "In 1764, a new record was made of the lands of the monasteries, under Dervish Mehmed of the Mevkufat Kalemi and Mehmed efendi, mütevelli of the Constantinople Nuri-Osmaniye, and from that time Mt. Athos paid the public fisc 14,072 guruh", see K. Vlachos, *The peninsula of the Holy Mountain of Athos and the monasteries and monks thereon, in old times and today. A historical and critical study* (in Greek), Volos 1903, p. 102.

(6) "In 1764, under the patriarch Samuel I, there being discord between the Iverioties and the other monasteries, especially Lavra and Vatopedi, the Spatharios Georgios Stavrakoglou, an illustrious Fanariote banker, who was hanged in 1765 and had his property confiscated caused certain prominent Ottomans to be sent to Mount Athos to count the monks and impose taxes, which were used as income for the Dragoman of the Sublime Porte...", see G. Smyrnakis, *The Holy Mountain* (in Greek), Athens 1903 (reprint ed. Athens 1988), p. 150. See also Ath. Komninos Ypsilantis, *Ecclesiastical and Political History in Twelve books, 8, 9, and 10, namely The Events Following the Fall of Constantinople (1453-1789). From a manuscript of the Holy Monastery of*

Appendices to specialist publication devoted to the history of various Athonite monasteries often contain extracts from the census of 1764. These documents were issued by the Sublime Porte and were often accompanied by a Greek translation. These were held in the monastery archives. For example, document no. 13 published by Barlaam Angelakos in his monograph on the Gregoriou monastery (8) is nothing but an extract, as I was able to ascertain, of the Ottoman register Kâmil Kepeci 2541/1. The extract in question, a written copy (sûret) authenticated with a *tuğra*, was issued for the monastery and evidently kept in its archives where it came to be recorded in the catalogue compiled by the monk Barlaam. Such authenticated copies of the census of 1764 undoubtedly also existed in the archives of other monasteries (9). In the archives of the Hilandar monastery two copies are preserved of a firman issued by the sultan Mustafa III regarding the census of 1764. These copies are written in Turkish using the Cyrillic alphabets (10).

Investigating the microfilms of the Athonite archives kept in the microfilm library of the Institute for Byzantine Studies of the National Foundation Research Foundation (Athens), I discovered that the file 4 (d) of the Esphigmenou monastery archive was a copy of the 1764 census, bearing the date December, 1800 (11).

Sinai, published by Arch. Germanos Athonidis Sinaïtis (in Greek), Constantinople 1870, p. 397-401.

(7) Ch. Ktenas, *All the Holy Foundations on the Mount Athos, 726 in number, and the services made by them to the enslaved nation* (in Greek), Athens 1935, p. 261.

(8) B. Angellakos (or Barlaam Gregoriates), *The Holy Monastery of Gregoriou on the Holy Mountain 1300-1921. With 35 plates*, Thessaloniki 1921, p. 181-184.

(9) From the short description of the document no. 270 in the Xeropotamou monastery, I conclude that this must be the authenticated copy issued by the Sublime Porte on the basis of a defter drawn up in 1764. It copies part of the 1764 census and refers to property of the said monastery, see E. Xeropotaminos, *The Holy, Royal and Stavropegal worthy monastery of Xeropotamou 424-1925, With 25 plates* (in Greek), Thessaloniki-Serres 1926 (reprint ed.: 1971), p. 185. In the census of 1764, another copy is mentioned which records the 58 metochia of the Mountain, see *Catalogue of the Archives of the Holy Community, namely Typika, Chrysobulls and Seals of Valachia, Edicts, Sigillia, Firmans and other officials documents of Mount Athos assembled and edited by Eulogios (prohegoumen of Baiopedi Monastery), Daniel (prohegoumen of Docheiariou Monastery), Ioasaph (prohegoumen of Haghios Paulos Monastery), Gabriel (prohegoumen of Stavronikita Monastery) and Stefanos (hegoumen of Gregoriou Monastery)*, (in Greek), Athens 1921, p. 14, no. 14. On the existence of such *sûrets* in the Athonite monasteries, copies of documents (kayd/kuyûd) from defterhane registers, and on the importance in the certification of rights to monastic estates, see N. P. Eleutheriadis, *Monastic Estates. Estates and Woodland of the Holy Monasteries of the Mt. Athos*, Athens 1939, p. 84-85. See also the comments on the *sûret-i defter* in the study by B. Demetriades, "Turkish Documents", in: *Simonopetra. Agion Oros*, Athens 1991, p. 268-269. For a general review of the Ottomans documents preserved on Mt Athos, see B. Dimitriadis, "The Turkish documents of the Holy Mountain", *Epopteia* 96 (December 1984), p. 1242-1243; idem, "The Turkish Documents of Mount Athos and their importance for the history of the period of Turkish rule" (in Greek), in: *Mout Athos - Yesterday - today - tomorrow*, Acts of the International Congress, Thessaloniki 29 October - 1 November 1993, Thessaloniki 1996, p. 81-92; idem, *Treasures of Mount Athos*, Thessaloniki 21997, p. 546-555.

(10) V. Boskov, "Ein kyrillischer Transkriptionstext des Osmanisch-Türkischen im Athoskloster Hilandar", in *Studi Preottomani e Ottomani*. Atti del Convegno di Napoli (24-26 settembre 1974), ed. A. Gallotta, Napoli 1976. I warmly thank my colleague A. Fotić for alerting me to the existence of this study.

(11) The source is recorded in the Appendix of the study. It would appear that till 1800 at least the monasteries continued to pay the *resm-i zemin* tax on the basis of the extent of land they owned, based on the 1764 census. I would like to thank Kriton Chrysochoïdis for making the microfilms of the Athonite archive kept at the Institute for Byzantine Research available to me. I also want to thank Antonis Pardos in particular for helping me transcribe the texts.

To continue this survey of the bibliography, I should point out that the census of 1764 is mentioned in a firman of the Sultan Mahmud (1809) published by I. Vasdravellis in a Greek translation (12). Herein we also find a reference to the census of 1722 (H. 1134) (13). In the firman in question, we read that 1764, a certain Ahmed, mütevelli of the mosque Nuri Osmaniye and the dervish Mehmed Kalfa of the Mevkufat Kalemî recorded the estates and the revenues of the monks of Mount Athos, namely the *tithe*, the *ispence* and the other taxes which the monks were obliged to turn over annually according to the letter of the religious law (*şeriat*). The following sums are recorded in detail: 1,418 gurush for *resm-i zemin* 1,550 gurush for *ispence* (corresponding to 60 aspers per monk), 830 gurush for the vineyards (60 aspers per *dönüm*), 570 gurush for the olive trees (two aspers per tree), 1,985 gurush as 'ösür for the hazelnut trees (two aspers per *dönüm*), 225 gurush for the vegetable gardens (one gurush per *dönüm*), 150 gurush for the beehives (nine aspers per beehive), 32 gurush for the mills. The firman notes that the monasteries, above and beyond these exactions, are obliged to pay 500 gurush for "asydosia" (thus the Turkish term *afv-i mubaya* is translated into Greek). In total, 7,800 gurush were paid annually (14). It is mentioned that at the beginning of March, 1178 the tax collectors (*bostancı*) (15) appointed a *haseki* (16), who gathered the 7,800 gurush. On this sum, 2,166.5 gurush and 20 aspers were assigned to buy meat for the *bostancı* (*ocaklık*). This sum was increased by 500 gurush by decree of the Sultan. Another 354 gurush were earmarked for the food of the *bostancı* of the *kalendarhane*. Finally, 5,279 gurush and 40 aspers were sent to the Sublime Porte (*irsaliye*). Apart from these payments, the monasteries promised to provide an annual payment of 7,000 gurush in three installments to the *miri* in order to secure continuation of exemptions granted by imperial decree (in the text of the Greek translation of the

(12) I. K. Vasdravellis, "Firman dealing with fiscal and tax questions privileges and other sundry associated questions of the Holy Mountain" (in Greek), *Makedonika* 6 (1964-1965), p. 256-265.

(13) For the census of 1722, see K. Vlachos, *op. cit.*, p. 102 and Ch. Ktenas, *op. cit.*, p. 260. Details about this census are mentioned in the translation of the firman of 1809: "In 1134, a census took place on the Holy Mountain by Küçük Ahmed who recorded 19 monasteries. On the basis of his census, the monks annually had to pay a lump sum of 200,000 aspers. It was also ordained that the monks should be exempt from the payment of extraordinary taxes. In this census, the metochia measured 52.5 *çifts*, while previously they had been only 32. According to the firman of 1809, the monks were given authenticated copies of this census in order that they should not be disturbed by the Ottoman authorities in Kavala and Salonica", see I.K. Vasdravellis, *op. cit.*, p. 259. The census of 1134 is also mentioned in the firman of 1834 published by M. Gedeon: "and in 1134, a census was held in the said peninsula where there are nineteen monasteries, the monks living therein being free of any financial imposition. The monks living in 32 metochia with 52.5 *çifts* are also free of any tax, according the ancient register, which is renewed by imperial command, preventing any contravention". See M. Gedeon, *Official Turkish letters relating to our Ecclesiastical Law* (in Greek), Constantinople 1910, p. 35.

(14) The same amount was paid in 1744, See Historical Archives of Macedonia, Sicill-i Defter of Salonica no. 222, p. 105. The document is published in a Greek translation by I. K. Vasdravellis, *Historical Archives of Macedonia, I. Archives of Salonica, 1695-1912* (in Greek), Thessaloniki 1952, p. 518.

(15) On the *bostancı*s and their relations with *Pikopos mukata'ası kalemî*, see J. Kabdra, *Le système fiscal de l'église orthodoxe dans l'empire ottoman (d'après les documents turcs)*, Brno 1969 and P. Konortas, *Ottoman Conceptions of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (17th to 20th century)* (in Greek), Athens 1998.

(16) The role of the *haseki* was not only one of a tax collector. See Historical Archives of Macedonia, Sicill Defteri of Salonica no. 186, p. 65 which shows that on the eve of the Greek Revolution, the *haseki* acted as guarantor of the safety of monks held hostage. The document is published in a Greek translation by I. K. Vasdravellis, *Historical Archives of Macedonia, op. cit.*, p. 402.

firman, the terms *muafiyet* and *serbestiyet* (17) are mentioned). These 7,000 gurush were each year given to their *zabit*, so that the monks would not be bothered by the local landowners who may demand the imposition of extraordinary taxes, in violation of the old privileges which had forbidden such tactics. The references to the census of 1764 end by stating that all the above were recorded anew in a defter from the Office of the Mevkufat in which a new income of 7,000 gurush was recorded, above and beyond the sums collected by the *bostancı* from the tithe and other taxes. It is also mentioned that a sacred decree dated 15 Zilhicce 1179 (18) was issued all earlier decrees concerning the exemptions made to the monasteries (*muafiyet*).

Investigation on the Sicills of Salonica in the Historical Archive of Macedonia (Thessaloniki) brought to light a firman issued by Sultan Mustafa the third on the occasion of the 1764 census, which mentions the previous fiscal situation on Mt. Athos (19). I present this text below since I believe it constitutes a basic source for the history of the census, as well as a valuable resource for the Ottomanists. I shall present the original text only since I thought it unnecessary to translate it anew. The existing Greek translation of 1809 firman includes the passages in question here and is sufficient for the non specialist reader (20).

Düstûr-ı mükerrem müşîr-i müfahham nizâmü'l-âlem müdebbir-i umûrû'l-cumhûr bi'l-fikri's-sâkib mütemmimi mehâmmi'l-enâm bi'r-re'yi's-sâ'ib mümehhidü bünyânî'd-devleti ve'l-ikbâl müşeyyid-i erkânî's-sa'âde ve'l-iclâl el-mahûf-ı bi-sunûf-ı avâtifi'l-meliki'l-a'lâ hâlâ Selânik sancığı mutasarrıfı vezîrim paşa edâmallahü te'âlâ iclâlehü ve akzâ kuzâtü'l-müslimîn evlâ vülâtü'l-muvahhidîn ma'denü'l-fazl-i ve'l-yakîn râfi'ü i'lâmi's-şerife ve'd-dîn vâris-i ulümü'l-enbiyâ ve'l-mürselîn el-muhtassu bi-mezîd-i inâyeti'l-meliki'l-mu'in Mevlânâ Selânik Kadısı zîdet fezâ'ilehu ve kıdvetü'l-emâsil ve'l-akrân bostaniyân-ı hassa ocağı tarafından ta'yîn olunan haseki zîde kadruhu tevkî'i refî'i hümâyûn vâsıl olucak ma'lûm ola ki bi'l-fi'l hâssa bostancıbaşı olan iftihârü'l-emâcid ve'l-ekârim Ahmed dâme mecduhu Dîvân-ı Hümâyûnuma memhûren i'lâm edip Aynaroz Ceziresi'nde vâki' manastır ve kiliselerin ruhbân ve keşişleri haklarında gerek ez-kadîm cârî ve mer'î olan şurût-ı mu'âfiyet ve gerek hîn-i tahrîr-i cedidde müte'akkid olan şurût-ı serbestiyetlerinin te'yîd ve te'kîdini hâvî tahrîr-i cedidde bedel-i mu'âfiyetleri mukâbili edâya ta'ahhüd eyledikleri senevî yedi bin kuruş be-her sene ramazan-ı şerîf guresinde ceyb-i hümâyûn için ocak-ı mezbûre tarafına teslimlerini mutazammın kaydları tasrîhiyle emr-i şerîfim verilmek bâbında istid'â eylediklerini bostancıbaşı mûmâ-ileyh ale't-tafsîl i'lâm etmeğın Defterhâne-i Amire'mde mahfûz olan defter-i evkâfa mürâca'at olundukda Selânik ve gayre nâhiyelerinin tahtlarında olan emlâk ve davarlar şol şart ile satın alıp emlâk ve tarla ve

(17) B. Lewis, "Serbestiyet", in *Ord. Prof. Ömer Lütfi Barkan'a Armağan*, İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası 41/1-4 (1985), p. 47-58.

(18) See below note 27.

(19) Historical Archives of Macedonia, Sicill-i Defter of Salonica no. 109, p. 67-72.

(20) I would like to thank warmly my friend and colleague Helen Karanastassis who, at the end of 1998, a time of a great personal difficulty for me, undertook to locate information in the Ottoman archives in Thessaloniki on the census of 1764. It should be noted that references to Mt. Athos are very few in the Sicills covering the years 1760-1770. Nevertheless, the same sicills for the 19th century contain abundant material about the Holy Mountain, e.g. those included in their studies by I. K. Vasdravellis, *Historical Archives of Macedonia*, op. cit., p. 402, 518, 526, 544. See also M. Ursinus, "Holy mountain and supreme council : Mount Athos at the beginning of a new area", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 13 (1989), p. 258-285.

bağları ve kürûmlar ve bostanlar ve çiftlikler ve davarları ber-karâr-ı sâbik olup manastırlarında olan râhiblerden birisi mülkiyet üzere nesne tasarruf eylemeyip küllî ve cüz'î nesneye dahl ve ta'arruz eylemeyip ve manastırları râhiblerinden mord veyahut âhar diyâra gittikde ümenâ ve beytül mâl emînleri ve voyvodalar ve subaşlar gelip filân keşîş mord olup yahut âhar diyâra gitti malı kayıptır deyü emlâk ve eşyâ ve davarları nice oldu deyü sâ'ir ruhbânları rencîde ettirilmeyib ber-karâr-ı sâbik selâtin-i mâziye merhûm ve magfûrun leh Sultân Murâd Hân (21) tâbe serâhu zamanında ellerinde olan ahkâm-ı şerîfe mücebince sene be-sene üzerlerine maktû' olan cezîre-i âmîreme ve Defter-i Hâkânî'de üzerlerinde mukayyed mukâta'aların verdiklerinden sonra kimesne ta'arruz eylemeyip ve emr-i şerîfime muhâlefet ve ta'allül edib zulm edenleri isimleriyle yazub Deraliyye'ne arz eylesin ve ba'de'n-nazar bu hükmî şerîfimi ellerinde ibkâ edesin deyü dokuz yüz yetmiş altı senesi şa'bânî'l-muazzamının on üçüncü günü tarîhiyle müverrah Defterhâne-i Amîre'mden mufassal ve meşrûf derkenâr olunmakla (22) [68] Aynaroz Cezîre'sinde vâki' manastır râhibleri hîn-i fetihden beri kabûl-i ra'iyeti cümleye takdîm eyledikleri cihetden el-yevm mevcûd olup manastırları mülhakâtından olan kenise ve çiftlikân ve sâ'ir emlâk ve arazî ve eşyaları yedlerinde ibkâ ve min küllî'l-vücûh mu'âf olduklarını müş'ir mu'âfiyet ve serbestiyân-ı hümâyûnum itâ ve ihsan olunmakla bostaniyân-ı hâssa ocağına ber-vech-i ocaklık maktû'an vergeldikleri akçe mukâbili dahi tekâlîf-i 'örfiyye ve şâkkânın küllîsinden mu'âf ve müsellemler olmuşlarken Selânik sancağı mutasarrıfları ve kadıları ve sâ'ir ehl-i 'örf tâ'îfesi taraflarından mu'âfiyetlerinin muğâyiri mübâşirler irsâli ve akçe mutâlebesiyle ta'cîzden hâlî olmalarıyla livâ-i mezbûre mutasarrıfları ve kadıları taraflarından mübâşir ta'yîn ve mevâdd-ı sâ'ire ile fukarâ-yı ra'iyet rencîde olunmamak üzere hatt-ı hümâyûn ile man'nun mukaddemâ sâdir olan emr-i şerîfim mücebince fukarâ-yı ra'iyeti hıfz ve sâyânet için masârıfları taraflarından rü'yet olunmak şartıyla Selânik'de ikâmet ve re'âyâyı mezâliminden sıyânet ve rü'yet için ocak-ı mezbûr tarafından ra'iyeti perverî haseki ta'yîn olunmasını cezîre-i mezkûre râhibleri istid'â eyledikleri ecilden Hazîne-i Amîre'mde mahfûz olan mevkûfât defterlerine nazar olundukda Selânik kazasına tâbî' Aynaroz cezîresi bin yüz otuz dört senesi Küçük Ahmed tahrîrinde ada-i mezbûrede olan dokuz (23) adet manastır tahrîr edüb sâkin olan râhibler be-her sene bostancı ocağı tarafına kirpâs ve zarar-ı kassâbiyyeleri olan iki yük akçe

(21) For the early Ottoman period on Mount Athos, see in general 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 (1947/8), p. 411-472. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Ottoman Documents from the Archives of Dionysiou (Mount Athos) 1495-1520", *Südost-Forschungen* 30 (1971), p. 1-35. N. Oikonomidès, "Monastères et moines lors de la conquête ottomane", *Südost-Forschungen* 35 (1976), p. 1-10. H. Lowry, "A Note on the population and status of the Athonite monasteries under Ottoman Rule (ca. 1520)", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 73 (1981), p. 115-135 and the controversy engendered by N. Beldiceanu, "A propos de deux registres ottomans de recensement des monastères du Mont Athos", *Byzantion* 52 (1982), p. 496-499; H. Lowry, "Polémique à propos d'un compte rendu paru dans Byzantion LII (1982), p. 115-135. I. Response", *Byzantion* 55 (1985), p. 403-408 and at last N. Beldiceanu, "II. A propos des registres de recensements ottomans TT 70 et TT 403", *Byzantion* 52 (1985), p. 409-412. Nevra Necipoğlu, "Byzantine Monasteries and Monastic Property in Thessalonike and Constantinople during the period of Ottoman Conquests (Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries)", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 15 (1995), p. 123-135.

(22) This firman is recorded in Tapu Tahrir 723, p. 1059-1060 and was recently published by J. Alexander, "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away Athos and the confiscation affair of 1568-1569", *Athonika Symmeikta 4: Mount Athos in the 14th-16th Centuries*, Athens 1997 p. 189-200.

(23) A mistake of the scribe of sicill. This should read nineteen monasteries, see note 12.

mâl-ı maktû'ların edâ eyledikleri mukâbelesinde avârız ve tekâlîf-i sâ'ireden mu'âf ve müsellemler olduklarına yedlerinde hatt-ı hümayûn ile ma'nûn evâmîr-i aliyeleri olduğu muharrer şerh verip ve Aynaroz'da sâkin olan keşişlerin otuz iki kıt'a çiftlikleri üzerinde elli iki buçuk çiftleri olup anlar dahi mu'âf ve müsellemler olduklarına muharrer şerh verdiği mastûr ve mukayyed olduğu derkenâr olunmanın cezire-i mezbûre manastırları râhibleri kadîmden serbest olup tekâlîf-i şâkkadan mu'âf olduklarına selâtn-i mâziyeden ellerinde müte'addid evâmîr-i şerifeleri olmakla tasarruflarında olan çiftliklerine Selânik ve Kavala beyleri ve voyvodaları ve sâ'ir ehl-i 'örf tâ'îsesinin ve Selânik ahâlisinden bazı kimesneler ömür ve hilâf inhâsıyla hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf ve muğâyir-i emr-i münîf senede bir def'a tekâlîf-i şâkka talebiyle rencide eylediklerinde men' ve def' ve yedlerinde olan evâmîr-i şerîf muğâyir-i tekâlîf rencide ettirilmemek üzere mukaddemâ verilen emr-i şerîf vaki' olan cülûs-ı hümayûnumda tecdîd olunub işbu sene-i mübâreke rebülâhîrinde müceddeden emr-i şerîfim verildiği ve mücebince amel oluna deyü ünvânına hatt-ı hümayûn-ı şevket makrûnum keşide ve bâ-fermân-ı âlî kayd olunduğu mâliye ahkâmı kuyûdâtından ve İstanbul rumiyân patriğinin berâtı şurûtunda şer'-i şerîfe müte'allik da'vâları Dîvân-ı Hümayûnumda görmek üzere musarrah olduğu Piskopos mukâta'asından dahi derkenâr olunmakla cezire-i mezbûre manastırları râhibleri ocak tarafına vergeldikleri iki yük akçe mukâbili avârız ve tekâlîf-i şâkkanın küllîsinden bâ-hatt-ı hümayûn-ı şevket makrûn mu'âf ve müsellemler [69] olmalarıyla muğâyir-i şurût-ı hatt-ı hümayûn o makûle safâ geldi ve vilâyet ve menzil imdâdiyesi ve bayrak ve sekban ve kürek ve kazık akçesi ve kilise tefîşi ve bunun emsâli bida' mezâlîm ve te'addiyât ve tekâlîfin küllîsinden mu'âf ve müsellemler olmalarıyla ve chen mine'l-vücûh rencide ve ta'addî ettirilmeyib mu'âfiyet-i kadîmeleri ale'l-istimrâr mürâ'at olunmak üzere bâ-telhîs ve fermân-ı âlî altmış dokuz senesi cemaziyelâhîrinde emr-i şerîf verilip ünvânın mücebince amel oluna deyü hatt-ı hümayûn-ı şevket makrûnum keşide kılındığı dahi mevkûfâtdan ve Delvine kazası ahâlîlerinin umûrlarını rü'yet ve kendülerin muhâfaza için kazâ-i mezbûrede ikâmet eylemek üzere bostancıbaşı i'lâmıyla haseki tayin olunmak için emsâl olmak üzere elli altı senesinde emr-i şerîf verildiği Dîvân-ı Hümayûnum kaleminden derkenâr ve mesfûrûn râhibler bostaniyân-ı hâssa neferâtı ocaklığı olan cezire-i Aynaroz manastırları tevâbi'inden Selânik sancagında vâki' manastırları fukarâları ve râhibleri hîfz ve zâbût olmak için fîmâ ba'd Selânik mutasarrıfları ve kadıları taraflarından hatt-ı hümayûn mübâşirler ta'yîn ve fukarâ-yı ra'iyet rencide ve tecrîm olunmamak bâbında bundan akdem sâdır olan emr-i âlişânım mücebince Selânik'de ikâmet ve masrûfu taraflarından rü'yet olunmak üzere ocak tarafından re'âyâ perver ve mu'temed bir haseki ta'yîn olunub bu def'a dahi sâbıkı misilli bir kâr güzâr kimesne ta'yîn olunması bostancıbaşı mûmâ-ileh Ahmed dâme mecdulu i'lâm eylediği ecilden mücebince telhîs olundukda telhîs ve derkenârı ve şurûtu ve i'lâmı mücebince kadîmi üzere amel olunmak için bin yüz yetmiş yedi senesi Şabanının yirmi üçüncü günü emr-i şerîfim verilip ünvânına keşide kılınan hatt-ı hümayûn sene-i mezbûre zilkadesinin dördüncü günü mahalline kaydolunduğu mukayyed ve Aynaroz ceziresi râhiblerinin mutasarrıf oldukları çiftlik ve emlâk-i sâ'ire ve cezire-i mezkûre derûnunda olan hâsîlât ve irâdları ve senevî iktizâ eden a'sâr-ı şer'iyye ve resm-i ispençe ve rusûmât-ı sâ'ireleri bilâd-ı sâ'ire-i re'âyâ gibi muktezâ-yı kânûn tahsîl olunmak üzere tahrîrine me'mur kılınan Nurosmânî Mütevellîsi Ahmed zîde mecduhu ve me'mûr-ı ma'iyyeti olan mevkûfât kalemi hülefâsından Derviş Mehmed Halîfe zîde kadruhûnun kalemiyle tahrir olunan defter mücebince

nefs-i Aynaroz cezîresinde vâki' manastırların mukâta'a zemînleri bin dört yüz on sekiz kuruş ve cizye mezbûre zimmîleri umûmen mücerred olduklarına binâ'en ve be-her neferine altmış akçeden rusûm-ı ispençiyeleri dahi bin beş yüz elli kuruş beher dönümü altmışar akçeden dönüm bâgât rusûmu sekiz yüz otuz kuruş ve beher dib eşcâr zeytin ikişer akçeden beş yüz yetmiş kuruş ve fındık eşcârı dönüm i'tibârıyla beher dönümünden 'öşür bedeli ikişer kuruşdan bin dokuz yüz seksen beş kuruş ve bahçelerin beher dönümünden birer kuruşdan ikiyüz yirmi beş kuruş ve çayır ve tarlalarından beş yüz kırk kuruş [70] ve resm-i kovandan yüz elli kuruş ve resm-i değirmen olmak üzere otuz iki kuruş ve ahâlî-i cezirenin mübâya'a zahîresinden afvleri birle edâsına müte'ahhid oldukları beş yüz kuruş ki min haysül-mecmû' cezire-i mezbûrenin hâsılât ve ahâlîsinin ta'ahhüdleri senevî yedi bin sekiz yüz kuruşa bâliğ ve edâsına müte'ahhid olmalarıyla mukaddemâ nizâm verildiği üzere işbu yetmiş sekiz senesi martı duhûlünde bostaniyâ-ı hâssa ocağı tarafından mu'temed-i aleyh bir haseki mübaşir ta'yîn ve ber-vech-i muharrer a'sâr rusûmât-ı sâ'ire mezkûre mukâbili edâsına müte'ahhid oldukları meblağ-ı mezbûr yedi bin sekiz yüz kuruşu tamamen zabt mezkûre edâ ve meblağ-ı mezbûrdan ocak-ı mezkûrun ez-kadîm zarar-ı lahm ve kirpas bahası olmak üzere ber-vech-i ocaklık mu'ayyen olan senevî bin altıyüz altmış altı buçuk kuruş yirmi akçenin üzerine bu def'a bâ-emr-i hümayûn lahm bahasına beş yüz kuruş zam birle yekûnu iki bin yüz altmış altı buçuk kuruş yirmi akçe ve kalenderhâne-i bostaniyân ta'âmiyesine ta'yîn olunan üç yüz elli dört kuruş ki cem'an iki bin beş yüz yirmi buçuk kuruş yirmi akçeyi kemâ fî's-sâbık beher sene ocağı mezbûr tarafına ber-vech-i ocaklık [...] (24) beş bin iki yüz yetmiş dokuz kuruş kırk akçesin ber-vech-i irsâliye bundan başka cezire-i mezbûre râhibleri mukaddemâ ocak-ı mezbûr tarafına vergeldikleri zarar-ı lahm ve kirpâs baha mukâbili bâ-hatt-ı hümayûn-ı şevket makrûn mu'af ve m'usellem olduklarına binâ'en bu def'a muâfiyet-i kadîme ve şurût-ı serbestiyetleri ta'zîz ve ibkâ mukâabelesinde üç taksît ile cânib-i mirîçûn zâbutlarına yedi bin kuruş vermeğe ta'ahhüd etmeleriyle meblağ-ı mezbûr yetmiş sekiz senesi martından fîmâ ba'd beher sene üç taksît ile zâbutlarına edâ eylediklerince mu'âfiyet-i kadîmelerine muğâyir vilâyet yardımı ve ihzârîye ve teşrîfiye ve kudûmiye ve arpa saman ve kendi me'kûlatları için iştirâ edegeldikleri buğday on akçeli nâmu ve kilise tefîşe ve vigla tefîşi ve bunun emsâli bidâ' mezâlîm ve ta'addiyât ile vâlî ve a'yân-ı vilâyet taraflarından rencîde olunmamak üzere serbestiyetlerini hâvî hatt-ı hümayûn ile ma'nûn emr-i âlişânım İsdârıyla şurût ta'ahhüdleri te'yîd ve te'kid olunmasını şerh ve tastîr ve şurût-ı mu'âfiyet ve serbestiyet-i kadîmeleri ale't-tafsîl derkenâr olunmakla bu surette a'sâr ve rusûmât-ı sâ'ire-i mezkûrelerinde gayr-i ez ocaklık beş bin iki yüz yetmiş dokuz kuruş kırk akçe irsâliye ile yedi bin kuruş ta'ahhüd akçeleri îrâd-ı cedîd iktizâ etmekle mücebince bu def'a gelen tahrîr defteri mevkûfâta kayd ve şurût-ı kadîmeleri tasrîhiyle sûret ve emr-i şerif verilmek için telhîs mücebince tahrîr defteri mevkûfâta kayd olunub şurût-ı kadîmesiyle bin yüz yetmiş sekiz senesi şenbenin altıncı günü emr-i şerifim verildiği ve sâdır olan fermân-ı âlişânım mücebince bundan akdem Selânik kadısının i'lâm üzere ihrâc olunan kuyûdâta imrâr-ı nazar ve sâ'ir kayıtları ihrâc olunub lede'l-mutâla'a şurût-ı kadîmeleri Defterhâne-i Amirem [71] ve mefkûfât derkenârlarında mastûr olub ve tahrîr-i cedîd vukû'unda dahi mukaddemâ nizâm verildiği üzere yetmiş sekiz senesi martı duhûlünde beher sene

(24) The word was difficult to read. The transcription of the document was greatly assisted by Fuat Recep.

bostaniyân-ş hâssa ocağı tarafından mu'temed-i aleyh bir haseki zâbit ta'yîn olunub Hazîne-i mezbûrenin hâsılât va âhâlîsinin rusûmât-ı sâ'ire ve muharrere bedel-i mübâya'a bedeli edâsına müte'ahhid oldukları yedi bin sekiz yüz kuruşu tamamen zâbit-ı merkûme edâ ve meblağ-ı mezbûrdan gayr-i ez ocaklık kusûr irsâliyesini Hazîne-i Amire'ye teslim eylemek ve bundan ma'adâ cezîre-i mezbûre manastırlarının Selânik kazasına tâbi Siderokapsi ve Pazârgâh ve Rumla ve Kelimeriye ve Kesendire nâhiyelerinde metoh ta'bîr olunan elli sekiz kut'a çiftliklerin tahrîr-i cedîd (25) mücebince senevî bin üç yüz bir buçuk kuruş avâriz va bedel-i nüzûl mâl-ı maktû' fîmâ ba'd Selânik avâriz defterlerine zam ve ilhâk ve idhâl olunmayıb beher sene zâbitlarına edâ ve zâbitları dahi ibtidâ-yi muharreminde Hazîne-yi Amire'ye teslim ve bu mukâbelede Selânik kazası tarafından tekrar avâriz ve tekâlîf talebiyle rencide olunmamak üzere ta'ahhüdleri şerh verilüb ve bunlardan başka hîn-i tahrîrde bezl-i mu'âfiyet-i kadîme ve şurût-ı serbestiyetleri takrîr ve ibkâ mukâbili dahi yetmiş sekiz senesi martundan senede üç taksit ile vermeğe ta'ahhüd eyledikleri yedi bin kuruş zâbitlarına edâ eylediklerince mu'âfiyet-i kadîmelerini muğâyir vilâyet yardımı ve ihzâriye ve teşrifîyye ve kudûmiyye ve arpa ve saman ve kendir ve me'kûlâtı için iştirâ edegeldikleri buğday izni akçesi nâmu ve kilise teftîşi ve vigla teftîşi ve bunun emsâli bida' mezâlîm ve ta'addiyât ile vâlî ve a'yan-ı vilâyet taraflarından rencide olunmamak üzere serbestiyetlerini hâvî hatt-ı hümayûn-ı şevket makrûnumla ma'nûn emr-i âlişânım İsdâriyla şurût ta'ahhüdleri te'yîd ve te'kid olunması şerh ve tastîr olmakla ol bâbda mufassal meşrûh emr-i şerîfim verildiği ve mesfûrların bedel-i mu'âfiyetleri olmak üzere tahrîr-i cedîde yetmiş sekiz senesi martundan beher sene edâya ta'ahhüd eyledikleri sâlifü'z-zikr yedi bin yetmiş sekiz senesini mahsûben ocak-ı mezbûr tarafına edâ ve akçe hesâbıyla yetmiş dokuz senesi ramazan-ı şerîfi gâyetine dek olan hümayûn hâssa mahsûlâtı defterine sekiz yüz kırk bin akçe îrâd kayd olunup Baş Muhâsebe'den (26) dahi derkenâr olunmakla bostancı baş-ı mûmâ-ileyhin muktezâ-yı inhâsı üzere gerek mâ-takaddümden mukayyed ve mu'teber olan ve gerek tahrîr-i cedîde mün'akid olan şurût-ı mu'âfiyet ve serbestiyetlerine ri'âyet olunmak üzere derkenârları mücebince mevkûfâta kayd ve mücebince emr-i şerîfim verilmek bâbında iftihârü'l-ümera' ve'l-ekâbir bi'l-fi'l baş defterdârım Seyyid Mehmed Avnullah dâme uluvvuhü telhîs etmeğın telhîs mücebince mevkûfâta kayd olunmakla imdi mücebince amel olunmak bâbında fermân-ı âlişânım sâdır olmuştur buyurdum ki hükm-i şerîfim vardıkda bu bâbda sâdır olan emrim üzere amel edib dahi cezîre-i mezbûre râhibleri ve ahâlî fukarâsının gerek mâtakaddümden takayyüd ve mu'teber olan ve gerek tahrîr-i cedîde mün'akid olan şurût-ı mu'âfiyet ve serbestiyetleri müceblerince bâlâda tahrîr olunan mebâliği beher sene zâbitlarına edâ eylediklerinden sonra mu'âfiyet-i kadîmelerine muğâyir vilâyet yardımı ve ihzâriye ve teşrifîyye ve kudûmiyye ve arpa ve saman ve kendir me'kûlâtı için iştirâ edegeldikleri buğdayı izin akçesi nâmu ve bilâ fermân kilise teftîşi [72] ve vigla teftîşi ve bunun emsâli bida' mezâlîm ve ta'addiyât ile vâlî ve

(25) In the archive of Chilandar Monastery, there is preserved a two-leaf register (no. 115, 420 x 152 cm), that records the 58 athonite metochia in the kaza of Salonica. Their gifts and the number which pay *resm-i avariz* are recorded. On the athonite metochia, see J. Koder, "Die metochia der Athos-Klöster auf Sithonia und Kassandra", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* XVI (1967), p. 211-224; *idem*, "Ein Athospilger des 19. Jahrhunderts bei den metochia der Chalkidike", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* XVII (1968), p. 117-125.

(26) Two registers amongst those that I have studied come from the Baş Muhâsebe archives (Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul).

a'yân-ı vilâyet taraflarından vechen mine'l-vücûh müdâhale ve ta'arruz ettimeyip fukarâya dürlü cevır ve te'addî ettirmeyesin şöyle bilesin ve ba'den'n-nazar işbu hükmi şerîfimi yedlerinde ibkâ edib alâmet-i şerîfe i'timâd kılasız tahrîran fi'l-yevmi's-sâmini aşer zilka'de sene tis'a ve seb'in ve mi'e ve elf (27). Be-makâm-ı İstanbul el-mahrûsa.

Below, I present the registers which record the census of landed property belonging to the monks on the Athos peninsula.

a) Bab-i Defter-i Baş Muhasebe 3755 (H. 1178-1179.9.13) (28) :

The extent of and the tax on each cultivated area is recorded in terms of guruh and aspers for each monastery. Recorded in the same sequence for all the monasteries are the extent of the vineyards (at 60 aspers per stremma), the number of olive trees (at 2 aspers per tree), the extent of hazel-nut trees (at 2 guruh per stremma), of the vegetable gardens, grazing land and fields (at 1 guruh per tremma), the number of the bee-hives (at 9 guruh per hive) and the mills (at 1 guruh per mill). The record of the monasteries' landed property begins on the p. 2 and continues through pages 7-9. The census numbers are reproduced below in the table form, precisely because the standardised manner in which they were recorded in the original document facilitated such a tabulation. In order, however, to provide a single paradigm that can serve for the register as a whole, I present below the census of the monastery of Great Lavra.

Manastır-ı Lavra :

bağ : dönüm 323 (fî 60) = 19.380 akçe	161,5 kuruş
eşcar-i zeytun : 7.421(fî 2) = 14.842 akçe	123,5 kuruş 22 akçe
eşcar-i fındık : 240,5 (fî 2) = 480 +1= 481	
bahçe: dönüm 31,5 (fî 1) = 31,5	
çayır : dönüm 27,5 (fî 1) = 27,5	
tarla : 1 dönüm (fî 1) = 1	
kovan : adet 399 (fî 9) = 3.591 akce	29,5 kuruş 50 akçe
degirmen : adet 4 (fî 1) = 4	
860 kuruş ve 12 akçe	

Various notes and equations made by the scribe appear on the p. 4 to 6. I thought it proper to record them here. On p. 4, the following equations appear, the meaning of which escapes me:

1.800 - 88 =	1.712
491 - 88 =	403
3.653 - 88 =	3.065
4.283 - 88 =	4.195

(27) The firman's date of issue as copied into Sicill of Salonica is 18 Zilkade 1179 (28 April 1766) and the place of issue is recorded as Istanbul. Consequently, the date of 15 Zilhicce 1179 in the 1809 translation of the firman published by Vasdravellis is, if not a typographical error, possibly the date on which the original was copied into another codex. Note that the month Zilhicce follows Zilkade.

(28) Dimensions : 15.5 x 46 cm, 12 pp (white pages: 1, 3, 10 -12).

960 - 88 =	872
2.563 - 88 =	2.475
2.585 - 88 =	2.497
1.043 - 88 =	955
2.244 - 88 =	2.156
2.313 - 88 =	2.225
1.404 - 88 =	1.316
933 - 88 =	845
1.018 - 88 =	930
560 - 88 =	472
612 - 88 =	524

On p. 5, there appear further random equations of the scribe. I ascertained that amounts added up here correspond to the tax sums paid by each monastery.

gurush	aspers	
856	25	[Lavra]
490,5	11	[Vatopedi]
391,5	50	[Ivion]
373	32	[Chilandari]
<u>43</u>	<u>26</u>	[Dionysiou]
2.155	24	
435,5	30	[Koutloumousiou]
255,5	9	[Pantokratora]
127	10	[Zographou]
120	16	[Xeropotamou]
<u>40,5</u>	<u>10</u>	[Docheiariou]
3.134	39	
362,5	34	[Karakalou]
299	22	[Philotheou]
87,5	-	[Esphigmenou]
12,5	22	[Simonopetra]
<u>72</u>	<u>28</u>	[Xenophontos]
3.968,5	25	
51,5	46	[Kastamonitou]
61,5	30	[Stavronikita]

97	10	[Rossiko]
88,5	44	[H. Pavlou]
<u>35</u>	<u>28</u>	[Grigoriou]
4.313,5 (29)	3	

On the page 6 of the register, the number of monks is recorded by monastery.

Monasteries	Monks
Lavra	514
Vatopedi	112
Iviron	<u>136</u>
	762
Hilandari	94
Dionysiou	15
Koutloumousiou	<u>121</u>
	992
Pantokratora	117
Zografou	35
Xeropotamou	43
Docheiariou	<u>6</u>
	1193
Karakalou	85
Filotheou	62
Esphigmenou	10
Simonopetra	<u>24</u>
	1374
Kastamonitou	40
Stavronikita	32
Roussiko	<u>39</u>
	1485
Aghiou Pavlou	86
Grigoriou	13
Xenophontos	<u>40</u>
Total	1604 (30)

The register ends with a record of taxes paid annually by the Holy Mountain.

(29) Logistical mistake by the scribe: 4,300.5 guruh and 3 aspers.

(30) In fact, the sum is 1,624. It should be noted that the number 1,604 or 1,624 does not correspond to the total number of monks on Athos.

Ber mucceb-i nizam-i tahrir cedid Ahmed efendi el-vâki' der sene 1178.
 mukata'a-i zemin manastıran der nefsi-i Aynaroz : 1.418 gurus
 resm-i ispençe zimmiyan neferan : 3.100 (be her nefer 60)= 186.000
 akçe = 1.550 gurus

resm-i bağat, dönüm 1.660= 99.600 akçe =830 gurus

eşcar-i zeytün : 34.200=68.400 akçe = 570 gurus

eşcar-i fındık, dönüm 996,5 = 1.985 gurus

resm-i bahçe, dönüm 225 =225 gurus

öşr-i cayı, tarla, dönüm 540 = 540 gurus

resm-i kovan 1.990 = 18.000 akçe =150 gurus

resm-i değirmen 32 =32 gurus

afv-i mubaya : 500 gurus

Minha : 7.800 gurus

2.020 gurus 12 akçe

ocaklık âtik bostancıyân-ı hassa ve
kalenderhane (31)

5.779 gurus 40 akçe

500

ocaklık cedîd der sene 1178 ba
ferman-ı 'ali zam şüde bâhâ-i zarar'ı
lahm.

5.279 gurus 40 akçe

Ocaklık

Ta'yın şüde bâhâ-i zemistanî-i

neferat-ı ocağ-ı bostaniyân-ı hassa

berat dâde ber mücebî ilm ü haber-i

Muhasebe-i evvel fi 24 Şaban sene 1179.

b) Bab-i Defter-i Baş Muhasebe 3763 (H. 1178) (32) :

This register is drawn up in a similar manner to the previous one. In the Bab-i Defter-i Baş Muhasebe 3763, the tax amount for the vineyards and olive trees are crossed out and calculated anew at double the amount. Note that for all monasteries, the scribe makes corrections by reducing by a certain number of units the numbers of stremmata of vineyards and olive trees. The tax figures for the vineyards and olive trees that have been crossed out corresponded to the register Bab-i Defter-i Baş Muhasebe 3755 and Kâmil Kepeci 2541/1. This register does not record the total tax paid by Mount Athos.

Both registers have the same introduction, describing their contents :
Defter-i cezire-i Aynaroz becihet-i manastıran ve neferat zimmiyan ve

(31) In the firman published here, 1,666.5 gurus and 20 aspers are earmarked for the provision of meat to the bostancı (tax collectors of the Mount Athos), and on this an increase was made of 500 gurus. 354 gurus, however, are designated for the bostancı of the kalenderhane. The firman states that a total of 2,520 gurus and 20 aspers covered the food expenses of bostancı. See also the translation of the 1809 firman, I. K. Vasdravellis, "Firman", *op. cit.*

(32) Dimensions : 15.5 x 45.5 cm, 8 p. (white pages: 1, 7, 8).

eşcar-i zeytûn ve fındık ma bahçe ve bağ ve çayır ve tarla ve kovan ve değirmen ve ispence ve gayrihu ki eder cezire-i mezkûr 'an tahrir cedid Ahmed efendi mutevelli cami-i şerif-i Nuri 'Osman der Istanbul be marifet-i dervifi Mehmed efendi 'an rabi-i kalemi mevkufat el-vâki' der sene 1178 ber muceb-i.

c) Maliyeden Müdevver 3072 (9 Cemaziül ahir 1210) :

This is a mukata'a register, which indicates that Mount Athos apparently paid the sum of 7,800 guruh during the period 1179-1200, the same amount, in other words, which had been established in the census of 1178. By way of example, I copy from page 11 of the register the mukata'a paid by Mount Athos in 1181.

Mukataa-i zemin manastıran der nefsi Aynaroz : 1418 guruş
 ispence : nefer 3100: 186000= 1550 kuruş (be her nefer 60 akçe)
 resm-i bağat, dönüm 1660=99600=830 kuruş (be her dönüm 60 akçe)
 eşcar-i zeytun 34200 adet = 68400=570 (be her adet 2 akçe)
 eşcar-i fındık, dönüm 996,5 : 1985 (be her dönüm 2 kuruş)
 resm-i bahçe, 225 dönüm = 225 (be her dönüm 2 kuruş)
 öşr-i çayır ma tarla : dönüm 540 =540 (be her dönüm 1 kuruş)
 resm-i kovan, adet 1990=18000=150 kuruş (beher kovan 9 akçe)
 resm-i deyrmen, 32 adet =32 kuruş (beher deyrmen 1 kuruş)
 bedel-i avf : 500 kuruş
 TOTAL : 7800 kuruş

d) Kâmil Kepeci 2541 (H. 1178) :

Detailed records are made here of the properties of the monasteries on the peninsula, with the properties of cells (*kellia*) (33) and hermits' huts (*sketae, kalyvae*) (34) being recorded separately. The register is much worn and cannot be readily utilised by researchers.

e) Kâmil Kepeci 2541/1 (H. 1178) :

This is in fact two registers that have been bound together. The first records the monks of each monastery by their names and notes the tax category in which they belong with regard to the poll tax (*al'a, evsat, edna*). There follow the "cell dwellers", recorded as *bila evrak* (=those without papers, that means without the receipt of payment of poll tax) (35). The other register presents a detailed record of the landed property of each monastery. At the end, this property is recorded in summary form (vineyards, olive trees, hazel-nut trees, vegetable gardens, fields, beehives and mills). This valuable and extensive register deserves publication in full since, quite apart from the other information it provides, it describes in

(33) *kellion* = a spacious monastic dwelling with a small chapel, inhabited by three or more semi-independent monks who till the land.

(34) *kalyve* = a monastic dwelling, usually small, sometimes with a chapel attached, and either independent or belonging to a skete. *Skete* = a smaller community living under monastic rule and dependent on one of the sovereign monasteries.

(35) The presentation and analysis of the numbers of taxed population on Athos in the register in question, in conjunction with investigation of corresponding registers in the Protaton archives (18th-19th century) will constitute the subject of another study by the present author.

detail the conditions of the monastery buildings at the time. Let me remind the reader here of the extract of the 1764 census regarding the Gregoriou monastery, as preserved in a Greek translation (36).

The registers *Kâmil Kepeci 2541* and *2541/1* were both compiled by Ahmed efendi, müteveli of the Nuru Osmaniye mosque in Istanbul, and by the derviş Mehmed of the Mevkufat Kalemî. It is possible that the both of these detailed registers provided the source of the synoptics *Bab-i Defter-i Baş Muhsebe 3755* and *3763*.

Below, I publish the tables of figures of the three registres as concerns the extent of property and the tax imposed on cultivation and other agricultural activity of the monasteries on the Athos peninsula. (37)

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(36) See note 8.

(37) As noted in the census of 1764, raising animals and the corresponding taxes on them are not recorded. This does not mean that there was no animal husbandry or that these were exempted from tax. In the *tahvils* preserved in the monastic archives, numbers for various animals reared by the monks are recorded, along with the amount of tax paid to the customs house (gümrük) of Salonica, which received the taxes on farm animals from Mount Athos. See, for example codex 8, f. 48a-49 (*Archive Protaton*, op. cit., p. 193) and A. Lavriotis, op. cit., p. 193 and 190-194. On animal husbandry on Mount Athos, also see Ch. Patrinelyis, "The Holy Mountain" (in Greek), offprint from: *Modern and Contemporary Macedonia*, vol. 1, Thessaloniki 1991, p. 7.

Property of Athonite Monasteries (DBŞM 3755)

Monasteries	Vineyards	Olive-trees	Hazel-nuts	Gardens	Meadows	Fields	Bee-hives	Mills
	dönüm	adet	dönüm	dönüm	dönüm	dönüm	adet	adet
Lavra	323	7,421	240,5	31,5	27,5	1	399	4
Vatopedi	225	3,653	44	15	5,5	179,5	449	2
Iviron	199	4,283	84,5	34,5	10	-	120	4
Hilandari	128	1,800	89,5	14	7,5	60	272	4
Dionysiou	30	491	8,5	5,5	-	-	-	2
Koutloumousiou	135,5	2,563	145	18	22,5	-	-	1
Pantokratora	134,5	2,585	68	7	25	-	101	-
Zographou	58,5	1,043	4,5	2	12	60	17	2
Xeropotamou	66,5	960	24	10	8	-	98	2
Docheiariou	41,5	798	-	7	-	-	20	1
Karakalou	82	2,244	130	16,5	5	-	78	1
Filotheou	80	2,313	98	14	10	-	88	1
Esphigmenou	30	388	2,5	2,5	1	60	20	1
Simonopetra	10	399	1,5	0,5	-	-	-	-
Xenophontos	32	1,404	6	3,5	16,5	-	64	2
Kastamonitou	26,5	498	-	5	4	20	64	1
Stavronikita	51,5	1,018	4	8,5	7	-	-	1
Roussiko	46	933	17	5,5	9	-	200	1
Aghiou Pavlou	22	560	29,5	12	1	-	-	1
Grigoriou	8	612	8,5	4	2,5	-	-	1
Total	1,729.5	35,966	1,005.5	216,5	174	380,5	1,990	32

Tax on landed property of Athonite Monasteries (DB\$M 3755)

Monasteries	Vineyards		Olive-trees		Hazel-nuts		Gardens		Meadows		Fields		Bee-hives		Mills		Total	
	gurush	aspers	gurush	aspers	gurush	aspers	gurush	aspers	gurush	aspers	gurush	aspers	gurush	aspers	gurush	aspers	gurush	aspers
Lavra	161,5		123,5	22	481		31,5		27,5		1		29,5	50	4		860	12
Vatopedi	112,5		60,5	46	88		15		5,5		179,5		33,5	21	2		497 (*)	
Iviron	99,5		72 (**)	46	169		34,5		10		-		9		4		398	46
Hilandari	67	40	30		179		14		7,5		60		20	48	4		382	22
Dionysiou	15		8	22	17		5,5		-		-		-		2		47,5	22
Koutloumousiou	67,5	30	42,5	26	290		18		22,5		-		-		1		441,5	56
Pantokratora	67	30	43	10	136		7		25		-		7,5	9	-		285,5	49
Zographou	29	30	17	46	9		2		12		60		1	33	2		132,5	49
Xeropotamou	33	30	16		48		10		8		-		7	42	2		124,5	12
Docheiariou	20,5	30	13	36	-		7		-		-		1,5		1		43,5	6
Karakalou	41		37	48	261		16,5		5		-		5,5	42	1		367,5	30
Filotheou	40		38,5	6	196		14		10		-		6,5	12	1		306	18
Espigmenou	15		6	56	5		2,5		1		60		1,5		1		92	56
Simonopetra	5		6,5	18	3		0,5		-		-		-		-		1,5	18
Xenophontos	16		23	48	12		3,5		16,5		-		4,5	36	2		78	24
Kastamonitou	13	30	8	36	-		5		4		20		4,5	36	1		56	42
Stavronikita	25,5	30	16,5	56	8		8,5		7		-		-		1		67	26
Roussiko	23		15,5	6	34		5,5		9		-		1,5		1		103	6
Aghiou Pavlou	11		9	40	59		12		1		-		-		1		93	40
Grigoriou	4		10	24	17		4		2,5		-		-		1		38,5	24
Total	868	10	600	52	2.012		216,5		174		380,5		149	29	32		4.433	24

(*) Actually 497 gurush and 7 akçe.

(**) Actually 71 gurush and 46 akçe.

Property of Athonite Monasteries (DBŞM 3763)

Monasteries	Vineyards	Olive-trees	Hazel-nuts	Gardens	Meadows	Fields	Bee-hives	Mills
	dönüm	adet	dönüm	dönüm	dönüm	dönüm	adet	adet
Lavra	320	7,337	243	32,5	26,5	1	399	4
Varopedi	220	3,565	44,5	15,5	5	179	449	2
Ivion	194	4,195	84	35	9,5	-	120	4
Hilandari	123	1,712	88,5	14,5	6,5	60	272	4
Dionysiou	26	403	8	5,5	-	-	-	2
Kouloumousiou	130	2,475	148	19	21,5	-	-	1
Pantokratora	130,5	2,475	67	7,5	21	-	101	-
Zographou	54,5	955	4	3	11	60	17	2
Xeropotamou	64,5	872	23	11	7	-	98	2
Docheiarion	38,5	710	-	7,5	-	-	20	1
Karakalon	78	2,156	130	17	4	-	78	1
Filotheou	75	2,225	97	14,5	9	-	88	1
Espigmenou	26	300	2	3	1	59	20	1
Simonopetra	7	311	1,5	1	-	-	-	-
Xenophontos	28	1,316	5	4	15,5	-	64	2
Kastamonitou	21,5	410	-	5,5	3	20	64	1
Stavronikita	48,5	930	3	9	8	-	-	1
Roussiko	43	845	16	5,5	9	-	200	1
Aghiou Pavlou	19	472	28,5	12,5	1	-	-	1
Grigoriou	5	524	8,5	3	3	-	-	1
Total	1,652	34,188	1,001,5	226	158,5	379	1,990	32

Tax on landed property of Athonite Monasteries (DB\$M 3763)

Monasteries	Vineyards		Olive-trees		Hazel-nuts	Gardens		Meadows		Fields		Bee-hives		Mills		Total	
	gurush	aspers	gurush	aspers		gurush	gurush	gurush	gurush	gurush	gurush	aspers	gurush	aspers	gurush	gurush	aspers
Lavra	160		122	34	486	32,5	26,5	1	179	29,5	51	4	862	25			
Vatopedi	110		59	50	89	15,5	5		179	33,5	21	2	493,5	11			
Iviron	97		69,5	50	168	35	9,5			9		4	392	50			
Hilandari	61,5		29	44	177	14,5	6,5	60	60	20	48	4	373	32			
Dionysiou	13		6,5	26	16	5,5	-			-		2	43	26			
Koutloumousiou	65		41	30	286	19	21,5			-		1	433,5	30			
Pantokratora	66	30	41	30	134	7,5	21			7,5	9	-	276,5	9			
Zographou	26	50	15,5	50	8	3	11	60	60	1	33	2	127,5	13 (*)			
Xeropotamou	32	30	14,5	4	46	11	7			7	42	2	120	16			
Docheiariou	19	30	11,5	40	-	7,5	-			-	1,5	1	41	10 (**)			
Karakalou	39		35,5	52	260	17	4			-	5,5	42	362,5	34			
Filotheou	37,5		37	10	194	14	9			-	6,5	12	299	22			
Esphigmenou	13		5		4	3	1			59	1,5	1	87,5				
Simonopetra	3,5		5	22	3	1	-			-	-	-	12,5	22			
Xenophontos	14		21,5	52	10	4	15,5			-	4,5	36	72	28			
Kastamonitou	10,5	30	6,5	40	-	5,5	3	20	20	4,5	36	1	51,5	46			
Stavronikita	24	30	15,5		6	9	6			-	-	1	61,5	30			
Roussiko	21,5		14	10	32	5,5	8			-	1,5	1	97	10			
Aghiou Pavlou	9,5		7,5	44	57	12,5	1			-	-	1	88,5	44			
Grigoriou	2,5		8,5	28	17	3	3			-	-	1	35	28			
Total	825	20	600,5	16	1,993	225,5	158,5	379	379	149	30	32	4,333	6			

(*) The scribe gives the total of 127 gurush and 10 aspers.

(**) The total recorded by the scribe is 40,5 gurus and 10 aspers.

Property of Athonite Monasteries (Kâmil Kepeci 2541/1)

Monasteries	Vineyards	Olive-trees	Hazel-nuts	Gardens	Meadows	Fields	Bee-hives	Mills
	dönüm	adet	dönüm	dönüm	dönüm	dönüm	adet	adet
Lavra	323	7,421	240,5	31,5	27,5	1	399	4
Valopedi	225	3,653	44	15	5,5	179,5	449	2
Iviron	199	4,283	84,5	34,5	10	-	120	4
Hilandari	128	1,800	89,5	14	7,5	60	272	4
Dionysiou	30	491	8,5	5,5	-	-	-	2
Koullounousiou	135,5	2,563	145	18	22,5	-	-	1
Pantokratora	134,5	2,585	68	7	25	-	101	-
Zographou	58,5	1,043	4,5	2	12	60	17	2
Xeropotamou	66,5	960	24	10	8	-	98	2
Docheiarou	41,5	798	-	7	-	-	20	1
Karakalou	82	2,244	130,5	16,5	5	-	78	1
Filotheou	80	2,313	98	14	10	-	88	1
Espigmenou	30	388	2,5	2,5	1	60	20	1
Simonopetra	10	399	1,5	0,5	-	-	-	-
Xenophonios	32	1,404	6	3,5	16,5	-	64	2
Kastamonitou	26,5	498	-	5	4	20	64	1
Stavronikita	51,5	1,018	4	8,5	7	-	-	1
Roussiko	46	933	17	5,5	9	-	200	1
Aghiou Pavlou	22	560	29,5	12	1	-	-	1
Grigoriou	8	612	8,5	2,5	4	-	-	1
Total	1729,5	35,966	1006	215,5	175,5	381,5	1,990	32

APPENDIX

Archive of Esphigmenou Monastery
File D headed "Catalogue of the tax given by each monastery of the Holy Mountain, in the year 1764".

Καταγραφή τῶν δροσιμάτων τῶν εἴκοσι μοναστηρίων τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους καθὼς ἐτιμήθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τεφτιτζή ἀχμέτ ἐφένδη ἐν ἔτει μουαμετάνων 1177 σωτήριον δὲ ἀφξδ' ὡς εὐρίσκονται καταγεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ Κώδικι. Εἰς μὲν τὸ δονούμιον, ταυτὸν εἰπέν εἰς τὸ στρέμμα τοῦ ἀμπελίου ἄσπρα 60: εἰς δὲ τῶν λεπτοκαρῶν τὸ στρέμμα 240: εἰς δὲ τοῦ κήπου, λιβαδίων καὶ χωραφίου ἄσπρα 120, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰς κάθε μύλων ἄσπρα 120: εἰς δὲ τὸ κάθε μελίσιον ἄσπρα 9, εἰς δὲ τὴν κάθε ρίζαν ἐλαιόδενδρων ἄσπρα 2: καὶ καταγραφή των χανέδων ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους καὶ μετοχιῶν ἀπάντων των μοναστηρίων. Εἰς αὐτὰ κατὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν δίκαιον καὶ φανερώσεως ὅτι οἱ χανέδες διαιροῦνται εἰς τρία, καὶ συνίστανται ἐκ τριῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τριῶν ζευγαρίων, καὶ ὅτι ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ χανέ εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸν χαζνέ ἄσπρα 1005: ὡτὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄσπρα 110 κάνουν ἐν γρόσιον εἰς δὲ τὰ ἄσπρα 120 εἰς τὸ γρόσιον ἢ τιμὴ τοῦ χανέ εἶναι γρόσιον 1 ἄσπρα 15. Ὅθεν ἅπαντες οἱ χανέδες εἶναι 142 καὶ μισὸς καὶ ἓν τρίτον. Ὅλοι οἱ χανέδες στένουν γρόσια 130 καὶ ἄσπρα 100 καὶ χάνονται καὶ ἄσπρα 8 ἕως εἰς γρόσια 1301 καὶ ἄσπρα 100 εἰς ὅσα δίδονται κατ' ἔτος εἰς τὸν Σταμπὸλ ἀγασί. Καὶ ἐνδειξίς ἀπὸ τὸ νέον ταχρήλι ὅτι πληρώνει καθ' ἓν μοναστήριον εἰς τὰ γρόσια 4000 καὶ 345: τὰ τοῦ νέου ταχρηλίου καὶ πόσου χανέδες εἰς τὰ γρόσια 1274 καὶ ἄσπρα 55 ἐπειδὴ ἕως εἰς τὰ γρόσια 1301 καὶ ἄσπρα 10 τὰ τῶν ἀπάντων χανέδων τὰ γρόσια 27 καὶ ἄσπρα 45 εἶναι 3 χανέδων τοῦ Τζαοῦς μοναστηρίου καὶ εἶναι καταγεγραμμένα ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος συμποσοῦμενα ταῦτα τὰ τοῦ ταχρηλίου καὶ τῶν χανέδων εἰς γρόσια 5619, ἄσπρα 65. Καὶ ἡ φανέρωσις ἀπὸ πόσον ἀνήκει εἰς τὸ κάθε μοναστήριον, καθὼς τὸ ἔρριψαν εἰς κάθε μοναστήριον εἰς τοὺς 1800 τὸν Δεκέμβριον κατὰ μέρος καὶ δὲν ἐστέρξαμεν ἐννέα μοναστήρια, ὅπου ἀναβαίνει τὸ νάχτι ἀπὸ τὸ τζέπ χουμαγιούν εἰς τὸ ταχρήλι. Ἄς ἐλθωμεν εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. Εἰς τὸ τζέπ χουμαγιούν τότε γρόσια 7000 ὁμοῦ μετὰ καὶ τῶν 2 γροσιῶν καὶ 27 καὶ ἄσπρων 45 καὶ τῶν τριῶν χανέδων διὰ τὸ τζαοῦς μοναστηρίου, ὅπου ἀριθμοῦνται γρόσια 7027 ἄσπρα 45, ἅτινα ἅπασι εἰς τὰ ἀνωθεν γρόσια 5619 ἄσπρα 65 ἐκ τοῦ ταχρηλίου καὶ εἰς τοὺς χανέδες πρὸς ἄσπρα 150 εἰς τὸ γρόσιον καὶ πάλιν ἄσπρα εἰς τὸ γρόσιον 110 μετροῦνται ἅπαντα εἰς τὸ κάθε μοναστήριον ἐκ τοῦ μαχτούπ Ιστροῦ εἰς γρόσια 500 εἰς τὰ ἀνωθεν γρόσια 5619 καὶ ἄσπρα 10 εἰς τὸ γρόσιον ἄσπρα 7 καὶ ἀποδίδουν εἰς τὸ κάθε μοναστήριον ἐκ των γροσιῶν 1550 τῶν τριῶν 3100 σπέντζιαις ἐπάνω εἰς τὰς 2925 σπέντζιαις τὰ καταγεγραμμένα εἰς τὰ 20 μοναστήρια. Ἄπο ὅτι ἦτον πρὸς ἄσπρα 63 εἰς τὴν κάθε σπέντζια καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὰς 10 σπέντζιαις ἄσπρα 6 καὶ ἀπὸ παλαιῶν μουκατάν πληροῦν τὸ κάθε μοναστήριον ὡς ἦσαν καταγεγραμμένα ἄνω α' δεκεμβρίου ἰνδικτιῶνος δ' Ἰδου σημειοῦνται τὰ μοναστήρια τί πίπτει ἐπάνω καὶ δίδουν.

Λαύρα γρ.	ἄσπρα	ντουνοῦμα
160		διὰ 320 στρέμματα ἀμπέλι
486		διὰ 243 στρέμ. λεπτοκαρῶνα
32	60	διὰ 32 στρέμ. κήπους
26	60	διὰ 26 στρέμματα λιβάδια
1		διὰ 1 στρέμ. χωράφι
4	4	διὰ 4 μύλους
29	111	διὰ 399 μελίσινα
122	34	διὰ 7337 ἐλαιόδενδρα
79	10	διὰ 8 1/2 χανέδες
941	35	τὸ ταχρηλίου σοῦμμα.
1177		τὸ ἀνάλογον τοῦ τζέπ χουμαγιούν
83	110	τὸ ἀνάλογον μαχτούπ Ιστροῦ
329	15	διὰ 622 σπέντζιαις
288		διὰ παλαιῶν μουκατάν

2819	40	σούμια
Βατοπαίδιον		
<u>γρ.</u>	<u>άσπρα</u>	<u>στρέμματα</u>
110		διά 220 άμπέλια
89		διά 44 λεπτόκαρα
15	60	διά 15 1/2 κήτους
5		διά 5 κήτων ¹
179		διά 179 χωράφια
2		διά 2 μύλους
59		διά 3565 έλαιόδενδρα
493	71	σούμια του ταχρηλίου
115	70	το άνάλογον 12 1/3 χανέδων
609	21	σούμια χανέδων και ταχρηλίου
761	86	ανάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιούν
54	31	διά μαχτού Ιστράν
143	12	διά 270 σπέντζαις
165		διά παλαιόν μουκατάν
1733	30	σούμια όλης της ποσότητος Βατοπαίδιου

Ίβήρων		
		<u>στρέμματα</u>
97		διά 194 άμπέλια
168		διά 84 λεπτόκαρα
35		διά 35 κήτων
9		διά 9 1/2 λιβάδια
4		διά 4 μύλους
9		διά 120 μελισσια
69	110	διά 4195 έλαιόδενδρα
392	50	διά 18 χανέδες 1/3
167	35	ανάλογον του τζέπ χουμαγιούν (ήταν πρώτον
699	97	992 και άσπρα 109 εξέπεσαν)
		ανάλογον του μαχτούπ Ιστρά
49		διά 336 σπέντζαις
178	9	διά παλαιόν μουκατάν
133		διά παλαιόν μουκατάν
1620	60	όλη ή σούμια.

Διονυσίου		
		<u>στρέμ.</u>
13		διά 26 άμπέλια
16		διά 8 λεπτόκαρα
5	60	διά 5 1/2 κήτους
2		διά 2 μύλους
6	86	διά 403 έλαιόδενδρα
43	26	σούμια ταχρηλ.
106	55	διά 11 1/2 και 1/3 χανέδες
187	9	ανάλογον του τζέπ χουμαγιούν
13	41	μαχτούπ Ιστράν
58	99	διά 111 σπέντζαις
16		διά παλαιόν μουκατάν
424	110	ή όλότης.

Κουτλουμούς		
		<u>στρέμ.</u>
65		διά 130 άμπέλια
296		διά 148 λεπτόκαρα

(1) Grazing land is evidently meant here.

19		διά 19 κήπους
21	60	διά 21 1/2 λιβάδια
1		διά 1 μύλον
41	28	διά 2474 ελαιόδενδρα
443	88	σούμμα
18	30	διά 2 χανέδες
577	80	έδιδον πρώτον 232 γρ. 92 άσπρα ήδη 577
41	60	ανάλογον μαχτούπ Ισθράν
90	12	διά 170 σπέντζαις
120		διά παλαιόν μουκατάν
1290	110	ή δλότης.

Παντοκράτορος

		στροέμ.
65	90	διά 130 άμπέλια
134		διά 67 λεπτόκαρα
7	60	διά 7 1/2 κήπους
21		διά 21 λιβάδια
7	69	διά μελίσινα 101
41	30	διά 2475 ελαιόδενδρα
276	69	
21	35	διά 2 χανέδες 1/3
372	55	ανάλογον τζέπ χ. (πρώτον έδιδον 218 άσπρα 40)
26	61	μαχτούπ Ισθρά
88	60	διά 167 σπέντζαις
95		διά παλαιόν μουκατάν.
880	30	σούμμα.

Ξηροποτάμου

		στροέμ.
32	30	διά 64 1/2 άμπέλια
46		διά 23 λεπτόκαρα
11		διά 11 κήπων
7		διά 7 λιβάδια
14	64	διά 872 ελαιόδενδρα
2		διά 2 μύλους
7	4	διά μελίσινα 98
120	16	άσπρα
66	110	διά 71/2 χανέδες
233		ανάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιούν
16	76	μαχτούπ Ισθρά.
57	28	διά 108 σπέντζαις.
42		διά παλαιόν μουκατάν.
536	90	ή δλότης.

Ζωγράφου

		στροέμ.
27	30	διά 24 άμπέλια
	8	διά 4 λεπτόκαρα
3		διά 3 κήπους
11		διά 11 λιβάδια
60		διά 60 χωράφια
2		διά 2 μύλους
2	3	διά 27 μελίσινα
15	110	διά 995 ελαιόδενδρα
129	23	σούμμα ταχρηλίου
106	55	διά 11 και 1/3 χανέδες
294		ανάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιούν (πρότερον έδιδον γρόσια 314 άσπρα 84)
20	117	διά μαχτούπ Ισθράν
82	81	διά σπέντζαις 156

44		4	διά παλαιόν μοναχῶν
677	36		σοῦμμα

Δοχειαρίου

			<u>στοιμίματα</u>
19			διά 38 1/2 ἀμπέλια
7	60		διά 7 1/2 κήπους
1			διά 1 μύλον
1	60		διά 20 μελίσσια
11	100		710 ἐλαιόδενδρα
41	10		σοῦμμα ταχυρλ.
97	40		διά 10 1/3 χανέδων
173	9		ἀνάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιοῦν
112	35		ἀνάλογον μαχτοῦπ ἰστράν
58	36		διά 110 σπέντζαις
14			διά παλαιόν μοναχῶν
495	10		

Καρακάλλου

			<u>στορέμ.</u>
39	33		διά 18 ἀμπέλια
260			διά 130 λεπτόκαρα
17	17		διά 17 κήπους
4			διά 4 λιβάδια
1	1		διά 1 μύλον
5	102		διά 78 μελίσσια
35	112		διά 2156 ἐλαιόδενδρα
362	94		σοῦμμα τοῦ ταχυρλίου.
35	72		διά μαχτοῦπ ἰστρά
499	12		ἀνάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιοῦν (πρῶτερον ἔδιδον γρόσια 108 ἄσπρα 52)
42	72		διά 137 σπέντζαις
112			διά παλαιόν μοναχῶν
1118	70		

Φιλοθέου

			<u>στορέμ.</u>
34	60		διά 75 ἀμπέλια
194			διά 97 λεπτόκαρα
14	60		διά 14 1/2 κήπους
9			διά 9 λιβάδια
6	72		διά 68 μελίσσια
37	10		διά 2225 ἐλαιόδενδρα
299	82		σοῦμμα ταχυρλ.
21	35		διά 2 1/3 χανέδων
401	42		ἀνάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιοῦν
28	37		μαχτοῦπ ἰστράν
45	118		διά 83 σπέντζαις
100			διά παλαιόν μοναχῶν
894	110		σοῦμμα τῆς ὀλότητος

Ἁγίου Παύλου

			<u>στορέμ.</u>
9	60		διά 19 ἀμπέλια
57			διά 28 1/2 λεπτόκαρα
12	60		διά 12 1/2 κήπους
1			διά 1 μύλον
1			διά 1 λιβάδια
7	104		διά 470 ἐλαιόδενδρα
73			διά 8 χανέδες

202	66	ανάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιούν (έξιδον πρώτα γρόσια 161 άσπρα 16)
14	50	μαχτούπ Ιστράν
54	70	διά σπέντζαις 103
31		<u>διά παλαιόν μουκατάν</u>
464	50	ή δλότης.
Ξερόφου		
		<u>στρέμ.</u>
14		διά 28 άμπέλια
10		διά 5 λεπτόκαρα
4		διά 4 κήπους
15	60	διά 15 λιβάδια 1/2
2		διά 2 μύλους
4	96	διά 64 μελίσσια
21	112	<u>διά 1316 έλαιόδενδρα</u>
72	28	
42	70	διά 4 1/2 και 1/3 χανέδων
143	67	ανάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιούν (πρότερον έξιδον 105 και 70)
10	25	διά μαχτούπ Ιστράν
39	90	διά 75 σπέντζαις
24		<u>διά παλαιόν μουκατάν</u>
332	40	
σιμόπετρα		
		<u>στρέμ.</u>
3	6	διά 7 άμπέλια
3	60	διά 1 1/2 λεπτόκαρα
1		διά κήπον
5	34	διά 317 έλαιόδενδρα
27	45	<u>διά 3 χανέδες</u>
40	19	
50	36	ανάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιούν
3	29	διά Ιστράν
12	86	διά 24 σπέντζαις
5		<u>διά παλαιόν μουκατάν</u>
111	50	
σταυρονικητα		
		<u>στρέμ.</u>
24	30	διά 48 1/2 άμπέλια
6		διά 3 λεπτόκαρα
9		διά 9 κήπους
6		διά 6 λιβάδια
1		διά 1 μύλωνα
15	34	διά 930 έλαιόδενδρα
33	54	διά 3 1/2 και 3 τέταρτα.
119		ανάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιούν (πρότερον έξιδον 139 και άσπρα 51)
8	55	διά Ιστρά.
29		διά 55 σπέντζαις.
21		<u>διά παλαιόν μουκατάν</u>
272	105	σούμμα.
Γρηγορίου		
		<u>στρέμ.</u>
2	60	διά 5 άμπέλια
17		διά 8 1/2 λεπτόκαρα
3		διά 3 κήπους
3		διά 3 λιβάδια
1		διά 1 μύλωνα

9	68	διά 574 ελαιόδενδρα
9	15	διά 1 χανέδες.
56	62	ανάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιούν (πρότερον 110 109 άσπρα)
4		διά Ιστρού.
26	60	διά 50 σπέντζαις
12		διά παλαιόν μουκατάν
144	25	
Ρούσηκον		
		<u>στρέμ.</u>
21	60	διά 43 άμπέλια
32		διά 16 λεπτόκαρα
5	60	διά 5 1/2 κήπους
8		διά 8 λιβάδια
1		διά 1 μύλον
15		διά 200 μελίσια
14		διά 842 ελαιόδενδρα
60	100	διά 6 1/2 και 1/3 χανέδων.
197	50	ανάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιούν (πρώτον έδιδον 140, άσπρα 100)
14		διά Ιστρού.
32	103	διά 62 σπέντζαις
34		διά παλαιόν μουκατάν
436	20	σούμμα.
Κωνσταμονίτου		
		<u>στρέμ.</u>
10	90	διά 21 1/2 άμπέλια
5	60	διά 5 1/2 κήπους
3		διά 3 λιβάδια
20		διά 20 χωράφια
1		διά 1 μύλον
4	96	διά 64 μελίσια
6	90	διά 705 ελαιόδενδρα
54	90	διά 6 χανέδες.
133	41	ανάλογον τζέπ χουμαγιούν (πρότερον έδιδον 148, άσπρα 3)
9	55	διά Ιστρού.
12	86	διά 24 σπέντζαις
18		διά παλαιόν μουκατάν
280	8	σούμμα.

Τὰ 20 μοναστήρια σούμμα 16 χιλιάδες 217 γρόσια
άσπρα 59 διά δλα τὰ άνωτέρω ταχρήλι και λοιπά.

διά τὰ ήαγούσια δίδονται 2 χιλιάδες γρόσια

διά το κρασί 1100 στρεμματιάτικα (39)²

διά χωριστόν Ιστρού νέον γρόσια 20 χιλιάδες. πληρώνουσιν έξω
τὰ μετόχια 24 πουργιά και 16 έδώ δίδονται εις τὸ έκάστου
ταχρήλιον αναλόγως

δσα δίδονται κατά τάξιν

α': χαράτζι. β': ταχρήλι. γ': Ιστρούς. δ' μικρόν δεφτέρι των
χαρτζίων

ε': δόσιμον μισόν. ζ': έτερον μισόν.

Διαλαμβάνι τί δόσιματα έδιδαν εξαρχής τὸ κάθε μοναστήρι κατά όνομα.

(2) This tax must be identified by *resm-i dönüm*.

- 353 - د. مواشني ، نناد . - الأسلمة الجماعية للمزارعين في البوسنة
- 359 - د. بكطاش ، قادر . - الترب العثمانية في تونس
- 379 - د. بترونوتيس ، ارجيراس . - المعالم المعمارية العثمانية بأركاديا (اليونان)
- 419 - د. بوبوفتش، الكسندر. - حول التكايا البكتاشية في البوسنة والهرسك
- 429 - د. ريندل كيل ، هدا . - النظافة والصيانة والسوق والجريمة في محكمة كوستندل (Küstendil) في بداية القرن السابع عشر
- 455 - د. روهردانز ، كرين . - النسخة العثمانية المصورة من كتاب عجائب المخلوقات لمحمد الطوسي
- 477 - د. السعداوي ، أحمد . - جامع الصباغين : مركب معماري من تأسيس حسين بن علي
- 507 - د. سايف ، أورلين . - المدارس العثمانية في روسچق (Rusçuk)
- 529 - د. التميمي ، عبد الجليل . - الحياة الحرفية والدينية لمدينة القيروان من خلال دفتر حسابات مسجد السادة الأنصار (1816 - 1824)
- 549 - د. توب ، محمد . - نماذج من المنابر الحجرية العثمانية خلال القرن الخامس عشر
- 569 - د. فينشتاين ، جيل . - أماكن العبادة ومعالم أفلونيا (ألبانيا) في القرن التاسع عشر
- 579 - د. فيتكوفيتش زيكتش ، ميلينا . - الفن الخزرفي في البلقان والتأثير العثماني : زخرفة أكلمة بيروت (Piro)
- 589 - د. زليازكوف ، انتونينا . - حرب الحلف المقدس ضد الدولة العثمانية وتأثيرها على السكان في ولايات البلقان (1683 - 1699)
- 601 - د. فاروقي ، ثريا . - البناء حاجي عبد الله البورصي ، مالكا للعيد ومقرضا للريفين
- 617 موجز بعض البحوث المنشورة بالعربية
- 619 آخر قائمة لمنشورات المؤسسة

- د. أي تكين ، عثمان . - من نماذج المساجد في العهد العثماني
بمدينة آرتوين 119
- د. بالتا ، افنجليا . - ملكية الأرض التابعة للاديرة في شبه جزيرة
أثوس (Athos) والضرائب الموظفة عليها سنة 1764 135
- د. بيهان ، أحمد علي . - الأسطول العثماني ومركزية المعمار الديني
بالقاهرة 161
- د. بالعربي ، ليوبوف . - الخاص والزعامات والقيم ذات الطابع
الخاص في الدولة العثمانية 177
- د. بيبينا ، ايوردنكا . - استانبول من خلال رسومات فلاديمير
ديميتروف (V. Dimitrov) 181
- د. بنتليف ، جون . - العهد العثماني في إطار التاريخ الطويل :
بقايا الآثار بوادي العرائس ، بيوتيا باليونان 203
- د. بوشوتن ، هندريك . - بعض الملاحظات حول كتاب دادا كركوت ...
231
- د. برنتجس ، بورشارد . - حول مصدر الضريح المقرب في الإسلام ...
237
- د. دافيد ، جيزا . - تأويل المعلومات الديمغرافية حول المناطق التي
فقدت الدولة العثمانية السيطرة عليها 253
- د. دراغانوفا ، سلافكا . - حول مسألة الضرائب المباشرة في
سنجقي سالونيك وروسچق (Rusçuk) خلال سنوات 1860-1870 257
- د. أمسين ، فريدون - نشأة وازدهار مدينة تورغوتلو العثمانية
(1500 - 1700) 263
- د. أمير ، سادات . - إعادة بناء معلم عثماني : زاوية مراد الثاني
في بورصة 269
- د. ايوب جبار ، كمال كتغون . - تكية الشيخ حسين 299
- د. قفصي سلامة ، عبد الحكيم . - الجسر الواقع بين تونس وبنزرت
هل هو مبنى موريسكي اندلسي ؟ 309
- د. جيوزو ، جيرو . - تطور هندسة المدن في المجر في العهد العثماني
د. القزدغلي ، نجم الدين . - عائلة نيسان في تونس ودورها في
العلاقات الخارجية للإيالة في القرنين الثامن والتاسع عشر 335

- 91 - د. بقطاش ، قادر . - الترب العثمانية في تونس
- د. بنتليف ، جون . - العهد العثماني في إطار التاريخ الطويل :
- 92 بقايا الآثار بوادي العرائس ، بيوتيا باليونان
- د. دراغانوفا ، سلافكا . - حول مسألة الضرائب المباشرة في
- 92 سنجقي سالونيك وروسچق (Rusçuk) خلال سنوات 1860-1870.....
- د. زليانكوفا ، انتونينا . - حرب الحلف المقدس ضد الدولة العثمانية
- 93 وتأثيرها على السكان في ولايات البلقان (1683 - 1699)
- د. سايف ، أورلين . - المدارس العثمانية في روسچق (Rusçuk)
- 94 - د. فيتكوفيتش زيكتش ، ميلينا . - الفن الزخرفي في البلقان
- 96 والتأثير العثماني : زخرفة أكلمة بيروت (Piro)
- د. القزدغلي ، نجم الدين . - عائلة نيسان في تونس ودورها في
- 97 العلاقات الخارجية للإيالة في القرنين الثامن والتاسع عشر
- د. القفصي سلامة ، عبد الحكيم . - الجسر الواقع بين تونس وبنزرت
- 98 هل هو مبنى موريسكي اندلسي ؟
- 101 آخر قائمة لمنشورات المؤسسة
- 2 - القسم الانجليزي والفرنسي والتركي والالمانى
- أ. د. عبد الجليل التميمي، رسالة صداقة وعرفان للاستاد ماخيال كيل
- 5 - بطاقة إرشادات للاستاد ماخيال كيل
- 11 البحوث :
- د. أفتاش ، ابراهيم . - العمارة المحصنة لمدينة تزنييت المغربية في
- 25 القرن التاسع عشر
- د. أكتوغ كولاي ، إلكنور . - بقاء الزخرفة وتزيين المواد المذكورة
- 41 في سجل بناء مسجد أيازما (1758 - 1761)
- د. الكسندر ، جون . - مسائل مفهومية ومنهجية في قراءة دفاتر
- 55 التحرير المفصل العثمانية
- د. آرال ، عايده . - إمارة منتشه والعمارة بين التقليد والتحول
- 71 - د. استرينيدو ، بلاغيا . - المهندس المعماري في العهد العثماني
- 105

1- القسم العربي

- أ. د. عبد الجليل التميمي، رسالة صداقة وعرفان للأستاذ ماخيال كيل
البحوث : 3
- د. التميمي ، عبد الجليل . - الحياة الحرفية والدينية لمدينة القيروان
من خلال دفتر حسابات مسجد السادة الأنصار (1816 - 1824) .. 11
- حماش ، خليفة . - مظاهر الاستقرار والإضطراب السياسي في
الدولة العثمانية من خلال التعيين والتحية في الوظائف العليا :
مثال الصدارة العظمى 37
- د. سعيدوني ، معاوية . - انعكاس زيارة نابليون الثالث للجزائر
(1860) على التخطيط العمراني الاستعماري لمدينة الجزائر 63
- د. علي ، علي شاكور . - مؤلفات حاجي خليفة التاريخية مصدرا
لتاريخ العراق الحديث 77
- موجز بعض البحوث المنشورة بالفرنسية والانجليزية :
- د. استرينيدو، بلاغيا. - المهندس المعماري في العهد العثماني 87
- د. أفتاش ، ابراهيم . - العمارة المحصنة لمدينة تزيت المغربية في
القرن التاسع عشر 87
- د. الكسندر ، جون. - مسائل مفهومية ومنهجية في قراءة دفاتر
التحرير المفصل العثمانية 88
- د. أمسين ، فريدون - نشأة وتطور مدينة تورغوتلو العثمانية
(1500 - 1700) 88
- د. آي تكين ، عثمان . - من نماذج المساجد في العهد العثماني
بمدينة آرتوين 89
- د. بالتا ، افنجليا . - ملكية الأرض التابعة للاديرة في شبه جزيرة
أثوس (Athos) والضرائب الموظفة عليها سنة 1764 90
- د. بالعربي ، ليوبوف . - الخاص والزعامات والتيمار ذات الطابع
الخاص في الدولة العثمانية 90

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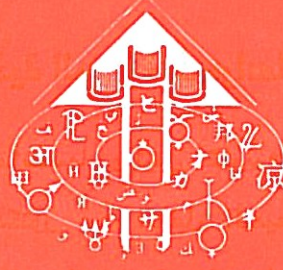
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