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THE POLL TAX IN THE YEARS
OF THE CRETAN WAR
SYMBOL OF SUBMISSION AND MECHANISMS OF AVOIDANCE

I

THE STORY OF A COLLABORATION
BETWEEN GREEK AND TURKISH HISTORIANS

We met in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)* one hot, humid summer in the 1990s. “Crete”, the subject of Nükhet’s dissertation at that time, kindled our acquaintance and friendship. Breaks in archival research, for tea and relaxation, passed with discussions about the Cretan bibliography, the richness of the Ottoman Archive of Herakleion, N. Stavriniadis and his translations, the Turco-Cretans and the lack of a research centre in Turkey to study their rapidly disappearing cultural identity. These discussions, which we continued during other hot summers in Sultanahmet, with plans and dreams of future projects, cemented our conviction that study of the later history of Crete demands, without doubt, Greek-Turkish collaboration. It demands research into the vast body of Ottoman material shared between Crete and Turkey, and it must take into account the rich Cretan bibliography, the overwhelming majority of which is in Greek. The discovery of the kadı court records of Crete in the Istanbul District Administration of the General Directorate of Pious Foundations (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, İstanbul Bölge Müdürlüğü Arşivi*) sparked off our present collaboration, which was decided upon at Mersina in May 2000. We sincerely hope that not only will our collaboration continue but also that it will be emulated in the circles of Turkish and Greek historians.

THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN ARCHIVAL MATERIAL IN CRETE

The unpublished documents of the kadı sicils of Rethymnon, on which this study is based, were found in Turkey. The archival material of Crete that was discovered in Istanbul reached Turkey through the Exchange of Populations, when the Muslims from Thessaloniki, Kavala, Drama, Serres, Vodena, Crete, Chios, Mytilene and elsewhere, were forced—in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne—to abandon their homes and settle in Turkey, following the same fate as their Rum counterparts of Asia Minor.¹ These refugees brought to their new homelands, along with their moveable property, those archives they had kept as a community in the “land of their fathers”. N. Stavrinidis, himself a refugee from Smyrna settled in Herakleion, writes of the case of the Ottoman archive of Crete:

“A new conflict arose between the Turkish members of the Mixed Commission of Exchange and G. Oikonomidis [Director of the Translation Bureau, which also housed the Ottoman Archive] in 1924, when the Turks, intoxicated by the Asia Minor Catastrophe, wanted to take with them, on leaving for their new homeland, the entire archive of the Administration of Evkaf, including the land registers, which were of no use to them but were absolutely essential for the Christians of the prefectures of Herakleion and Lasithi in the event of any disputes arising over land. Then, once again, G. Oikonomidis, by requesting the support of the administrative authorities, of the Reservists’ organizations and the Bar Association of Herakleion, managed after great effort and struggles, to ensure that the archival material of the Administration of Evkaf remain in Crete and be incorporated also in the Herakleion Translation Bureau”.²

The material brought by the Turco-Cretans to Turkey is undoubtedly huge and diverse, as can be ascertained from a cursory look at the first published catalogue of the documents discovered in the Istanbul District Administration of the General Directorate of Pious Foundations.³ Recorded are 35 kadı court records of Chania (1758-1924), 97 of Candia

1. Nükhet Adiyek, «Mübadeleye Dair Gizli Kalmış Bir Arşiv», *Toplumsal Tarih* (Nisan 2000), 17-20.

2. N. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις τουρκικών ιστορικών εγγράφων αφορώντων εις την ιστορίαν της Κρήτης* (Translations of Turkish Historical Documents Concerning the History of Crete), v. 1, Herakleion - Crete, 1975, p. xviii.

3. Lena Tzedaki-Apostolaki, «Τουρκοκρητικοί: αναζήτηση μιας ταυτότητας» (Turco-Cretans: In search of an identity), *Τα Ιστορικά* 18/34 (June 2001), 147-166. See also S. Beyoğlu, «Girit Cöçmenleri (1824-1924)», *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri* 2 (2000), 123-138.

(mod. Herakleion) (1821-1925), 72 of Rethymnon (1650-1924) and 11 of unknown provenance as *fragmenta*.⁴ The uncatalogued documents dispersed in various archives and libraries on the island complete the corpus of sources for the Ottoman period in Crete.⁵ And it goes without saying that we have not forgotten the likewise rich material in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi and the invaluable taxation registers of the *Tapu ve Kadastro* in Ankara.

Let us turn, however, to the Ottoman archival material in Crete. We know that in the great fire of Chania, in August 1898, a large part of the town's Ottoman archive was burnt;⁶ what remained, uncatalogued, is now kept in the *Historical Archive of Crete* (Chania). Only one register survived from the archive of kadı sicils of Rethymnon, covering 1067-69/1657-59. According to N. Stavrinidis, the kadı registers of Rethymnon were classified by him in 1937 (1939?) "and were later looted by the men of the Rethymnon National Resistance, to be sold to grocers as wrapping paper".⁷ From the sole register handed over to the Herakleion Translation Bureau in 1932, by the Metropolitan of Crete Timotheos Veneris and the Prefect of Rethymnon Sifakas, come the 176 documents that the wise and indefatigable Stavrinidis included in the first volume

4. Nükhet Adıyeke - Nuri Adıyeke, «Newly Discovered in Turkish Archives: Kadı Registers and other Documents on Crete», *Turcica* 32 (2000), 447-463.

5. For information on the Ottoman archives of Crete see N. I. Papadakis, «Ιστορικά Αρχεία Κρήτης, 1204-1915» (Historical Archives of Crete, 1204-1915), *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 8 (1922), 333-367; N. V. Tomadakis, *Γενική κεφαλαιώδης καταγραφή των εν τω Ιστορικό Αρχείο Κρήτης αρχείων και αντικειμένων μουσείων* (General Capital Inventory of the Archives and Museum Objects in the Historical Archive of Crete), Chania 1933; N. I. Papadakis, *Το έργο του Ιστορικού Αρχείου Κρήτης (1920-1933)* (The Work of the Historical Archive of Crete [1920-1933]), Chania 1933; D. A. Zakythinis, «Τα Ιστορικά και μοναστηριακά Αρχεία της Κρήτης» (The Historical and Monastic Archives of Crete), *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κρητικών Σπουδών* 2 (1939), 505-526. Last, for the contents of the Herakleion Archive see the introduction by Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, pp. xi-xxix (in Greek). A brief explanatory article on the Herakleion Archive: A. Ekşigil, «Girid Kadı Defterleri», *Tarih ve Toplum* VIII/43 (Temmuz 1987), 9-12.

6. A. G. Sifakas, *Συμβολή της οικογενείας Σήφακα εις τους υπέρ Ελευθερίας της Κρήτης αγώνας. Εισαγωγή* (Contribution of the Sifakas Family Towards the Struggle for the Liberation of Crete. Introduction), Athens 1940, p. 32. See also N. Stavrinidis, «Απογραφικοί πίνακες της Κρήτης» (Census Tables of Crete), *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 22 (1970), 123.

7. Idem, «Ανδρέας Μηλιώτης, πρώτος "γραμματικός της Πόρτας εν Κρήτη"» (Andreas Miliotis, first secretary of Porte in Crete), *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 2 (1948), 551, note 18; Idem, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, p. xxii.

of his translations. From the now lost kadı court records of Rethymnon, 382 documents have survived, published in Greek in the local newspaper (*Βήμα*) between 1931 and 1933. They had been translated by the Rethymnian Turco-Cretan Esat Siderakis and circulated a few years ago in a volume edited by the Director of the Rethymnon Municipal Library, G. Z. Papiomytoglou. All that we know about Siderakis is what is noted in the introduction to this book: "For love of a Christian Cretan lass and in order to correspond with her from Istanbul, where he was residing, he learnt to read and write Greek. After that, in order to marry her, he was baptized and took the name George. He lived in Rethymnon during the decade 1925-1935".⁸ Last, from the kadı archive of Candia (Herakleion) are preserved 225 registers, 37 registers in the Translation Bureau, where the translations made were copied,⁹ 466 cadasters (mainly concerning the management of Evkaf properties), 119 ledgers of the "Orphanic Bank" and the archives of three Turkish notaries. Today this Ottoman archive, the former Local Archive of Herakleion, is part of the city's *Vikelaiia Library*.

THE SUBJECT OF RESEARCH

In the following study we opted to focus on the three earliest Rethymnon kadı registers, which span the period 1650-1669, because our aim was to study the period of the conquest of Crete. Until a few years ago there was a dearth of studies on the period of the Cretan War,¹⁰

8. See *Έγγραφα Ιεροδικείου Ρεθύμνης, 17ος-18ος αι. Οι μεταφράσεις του "Βήματος" Ρεθύμνης* (Documents of the Kadı of Rethymnon, 17th-18th c. The translations of the Rethymnon "Vima"), ed. I. Z. Papiomytoglou, Public Central Library of Rethymnon, Rethymnon 1995. (Henceforth Papiomytoglou).

9. This service operated until 1939, when it was abolished. N. Stavriniadis had been engaged here in 1931, in order to translate Turkish documents for the needs of private citizens and the Greek State.

10. See M. Sakellariou, «Χειρόγραφος έκθεση περί της πολιορκίας και αλώσεως των Χανίων υπό των Τούρκων» (Manuscript Report On the Siege and Fall of Canea to the Turks), *Byzantinisch-neugriechischen Jahrbücher* 15 (1939), 141-176; A. Koliass, «Το αρχείο Βερροίας και ο Κρητικός Πόλεμος (1645-1669)» (The Archive of Verroia and the Cretan War: 1645-1669), *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 11 (1956), 178-201; D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, «La Crète sous la domination vénitienne et lors de la conquête turque (1322-1684). Renseignements nouveaux ou peu connus d'après les pèlerins et les voyageurs», *Studi Veneziani* 9 (1967), 535-623; A. Karathanassis, «Ανέκδοτη αλληλογραφία του Fr. Morosini κι άλλων Βενετών με Κρητικούς στα χρόνια του Κρητικού Πολέμου» (Unpublished correspondence of Fr. Morosini and other Venetians with Cretans in the years of the Cretan War),

since the majority of studies concerning Crete deal with the history of the island after the fall of Candia.¹¹ In the past decade, however, several doctoral dissertations relating to the time of the Cretan War have appeared. Yannis Gryntakis followed the conquest of the western part of the island, exclusively from Venetian sources,¹² relying on the published material of the kadi court records of Herakleion, the series "Provveditori da Terra e da Mar» of Venice, as well as foreign diplomatic archives. Manolis Peponakis examines in the first chapter of his thesis the phenomenon of conversion to Islam and the formation of the Muslim community in 1645-1669.¹³ Ersin Gülsoy devoted four chapters of his dissertation to martial campaigns conducted between 1645 and 1669, drawing information primarily from unpublished Ottoman chronicles of the period.¹⁴ Last, Maria Vlassopoulou, taking as source the poem by the Rethymnian Marinos Tzane Bounialis "The Cretan War", one of the four known Greek verse narratives recording the historical event of the Veneto-Turkish war, investigates the dynamic relationship between literature and history.¹⁵

Κρητικά Χρονικά 25 (1973), 24-114; Anastassia Papadia, «Έκθεση του Camillo Gonzaga για τα πρώτα χρόνια (1645-1647) του Κρητικού Πολέμου» (Camillo Gonzaga's report on the first years (1545-1647) of the Cretan War), *Θησαυρίσματα* 13 (1976), 152-189.

11. Noteworthy among these are two monographs that used Ottoman archival material from the kadi documents of Herakleion and the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, relating to the 17th-18th c., see Yolanda Triantaphyllidou-Baladié, *Το εμπόριο και η οικονομία της Κρήτης από τις αρχές της Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας έως το τέλος του 18ου αιώνα* (The commerce and economy of Crete, from the beginning of Ottoman conquest to the end of the 18th Century), transl. M. Gryparakis - A. Karastathis, Vikelaia Library, Herakleion - Crete, 1988; Molly Green, *A Shared World. Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1999.

12. G. Gryntakis, *Η κατάκτηση της δυτικής Κρήτης από τους Τούρκους. Η στάση των κατοίκων του διαμερίσματος Ρεθύμνου* (The Conquest of Western Crete by the Turks. The Attitude of the Inhabitants of the Department of Rethymnon), Rethymnon Public Central Library, Rethymnon 1998.

13. M. Peponakis, *Εξισλαμισμοί και επανεκχριστιανισμοί στην Κρήτη (1645-1899)*, *Νέα Χριστιανική Κρήτη* (Conversions to Islam and Conversions Back to Christianity in Crete: 1645-1899). New Christian Crete, Annexe no. 2, Rethymnon 1997, pp. 23-29 (résumé: Islamisations et rechristianisations en Crète, 1645-1899).

14. Ersin Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi ve Adada Osmanlı İdaresinin Tesisi (1645-1670)*, Doktora Tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi, İstanbul 1997. The MS 24/510 of Izmir Milli Kütüphanesi was transcribed into Modern Turkish by Nuri Adıyeke. (*Hikâyet-i Azimet-i Sefer-i Kandiye*, ed. Nuri Adıyeke, Ege Üniversitesi, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İzmir 1988).

15. Maria Vlassopoulou, *Literary Writing and the Recording of History: A Study*

It is thus readily apparent that the discovery in the *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü* (Istanbul) of the kadı court records of Rethymnon, which refer to the years of the Cretan War, presented a challenge. This was an opportunity to trace the spoor of events, as these were recorded on the spot by the kadı's pen, and to combine these with what Esat Siderakis and N. Stavriniadis have preserved in their translations. Being fully aware of the wide variety of subjects encountered in kadı sicils, we decided to concentrate on just one subject and to exhaust the information pertaining to it in our sources.¹⁶ The subject chosen was the poll tax, because it constitutes the symbol of submission, of incorporation of a conquered region in the body of the Ottoman Empire. Starting from the 30 documents concerning the cizye, which we located in the three kadı sicils of Rethymnon, we shall follow through it the imposition of the Ottoman conquest in Crete, as well as the mechanisms of resistance that the Cretans developed during the critical years of the Cretan War, prior to the fall of Candia in 1669, which confirmed the island's subjugation. In other words, we shall examine the cizye as a means of imposing the conquest from the standpoint of the conquering society and the conversion of Cretans to Islam as a phenomenon of incorporation of the conquered subjects into the society of the conquerors.

THE OUTBREAK OF THE CRETAN WAR AND THE FALL OF CHANIA AND RETHYMNON

We shall sketch very briefly the events of the first two years of the Veneto-Turkish conflict in Crete, until the fall of Rethymnon, in order to give a picture of the historical context in which the documents presented below belong. After the capture of Rhodes and Cyprus, the Sublime Porte could not possibly tolerate Venetian rule in Crete, especially

of *Marinos Tzane Bounialis' The Cretan War (17th century)*, PhD University of Cambridge, December 2000. Marinos Tzane Bounialis, eye witness to the events of the Cretan War, composed a narrative poem of some 12,000 lines. The text was first published in Venice, in 1681 (1710²). For publications of the verse see St. Alexiou and Martha Aposkiti, *Μαρίνον Τζάνε Μπουνιαλή τον Ρεθυμναίου. Ο Κρητικός Πόλεμος (1645-1669)* (Marinos Tzane Bounialis the Rethymnian. The Cretan War: 1645-1669), Athens 1995.

16. On the thematic repertoire of the registers see Nükhet Adiyek - Nuri Adiyek, «Newly Discovered», op. cit., 448 ff; Idem, «XVII. Yüzyıl Girit (Resmo) Kadı Sicillerinde Zimmi Davaları», *Pax Ottomana. Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, Sota - Yeni Türkiye, Haarlem - Ankara 2001, pp. 77-95.

since Christian corsairs found safe haven in its harbours, essentially violating the treaties endorsed by the Ottoman Empire and the Serenissima Republic. The pretext for embarking on this major military campaign came in 1644, when, offshore of Crete, the Knights of St John of Jerusalem attacked and seized a ship of pilgrims to Mecca and handed over part of the plunder to the Venetian general. The sultan let the rumour spread that he would attack Malta in order to punish it, and duly mustered troops and ships in Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Smyrna and other large cities; it was obvious, however, that his target was Crete. The Venetians took measures too. They equipped galleys, appointed Francesco da Molin as "Provveditore Generale dell'Armata" with the authority of a Capitan Generale, and invested Andrea Cornaro as "Provveditore Generale e Inquisitore", with supreme authority throughout the kingdom of Crete.

In late spring of 1645, the Ottoman forces united at Thermisi, Nauplion, and sailing from Monemvasia to Kythera, landed at Gonia, Kissamos, under the leadership of Kapudan Pasa Yusuf. So commenced the Cretan War, one of the most dramatic events in the struggle between Christianity and Islam, which was destined to last until 1669. The numerous Ottoman, Venetian and Turkish chronicles, and the huge volume in general of published and unpublished sources, attest to the importance of this conflict in the consciousness of the age.

The Ottomans captured the islet of Thodoro, opposite Chania, and laid siege to the city, which capitulated on terms after 54 days, on 29 August 1645. The Chania MS testifies that the peace treaty of Chania secured the life, honour and belongings of those who wished to remain in the town.¹⁷ The large church of St Nicholas was converted into a mosque, the Hünkâr Camisi, and two other churches also become mosques, taking the names of Serdar Yusuf Paşa and vezir Musa Paşa.¹⁸ The Ottoman troops were ordered not to burn down buildings or fell trees or destroy crops, and not to mistreat the inhabitants. Through these prudent measures the Ottomans won the sympathy of many peasants disaffected under the Venetians, and in no time took control of Kissamos, Apokorona and Gramvusa. Venetians and locals struggle in vain to confine them to the western part of the island. And it is not, of course,

17. Sakelariou, *op. cit.*, 170.

18. P. Chidioglou, «Ιστορικά τινά του Ναΐμα διά τα μουσουλμανικά τεμένη των Χανίων» (Historical information of Na'ima on the Muslim places of worship in Chania), *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 21 (1969), 244.

fortuitous that the Ottomans installed the first Orthodox Metropolitan after almost four and a half centuries, Neophytos Patellaros, nephew of the one-time Ecumenical Patriarch Athanasios Patellaros.

In July 1646 reinforcements reached Crete, with Deli Hüseyin Paşa,¹⁹ who besieged Rethymnon. The bombarded town was defended by Don Camilli Gonzaga²⁰ and Provveditore Molino. Precious information is given in the reports and documents dispatched to the Serenissima by the Venetian commanders who took part in the siege of the city, which began on 29 September and ended with the surrender of Fortetsa on 19 November 1646.²¹ Many of the inhabitants left their homes, seeking refuge in Candia, the Ionian Islands, Venice and wherever else they could. There are testimonies that several were arrested and sent as slaves to Istanbul.²² Among them was Evmenia Vergitsi, who, thanks to her beauty and accomplishments, succeeded in becoming the favourite Rebia Gülnûş of Mehmed IV and the Valide Sultan of his two sons.²³

After the fall of Rethymnon, the Ottoman army spent the winter in the town, to which food supplies and military equipment were brought from the capital. According to Ottoman chronicles, that same winter Hüseyin Paşa transformed one of the town's churches into a mosque which he named after the Sultan Ibrahim,²⁴ built a medrese and a ha-

19. N. Stavrinidis, «Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν των Σφακίων (1645-1770)», (Contribution to the history of Sfakia: 1645-1770), *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 9 (1956), 231, note 7; K. Schwarz, «Die Stiftungen Deli Hüseyin Paschas auf Kreta», *Südost-Forschungen* 41 (1982), 117-129.

20. Papadia, *op. cit.*

21. For the surrender of Rethymnon see Bouniales, 221¹-222¹¹. G. Gryntakis, *op. cit.*, and Ioanna Ph. Steriotou, *Οι βενετικές οχυρώσεις του Ρεθύμνου (1540-1646). Συμβολή στη φρουριακή αρχιτεκτονική του 16ου και του 17ου αιώνα* (The Venetian Fortification of Rethymnon (1540-1646). Contribution to fortress architecture of the 16th and 17th centuries), v. 1, Athens 1992, Publ. Archaeological Receipts Fund, pp. 72-80. See also Maria G. Patramani, «Άγνωστη δικογραφία για την παράδοση του κάστρου του Ρεθύμνου. Πρόδρομη ανακοίνωση» (Une Unpublished Legal Document of 1646 concerning the surrender of the fortress of Rethymnon), *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, t. 2/2, Rethymnon 1995, pp. 635-646.

22. We cite indicatively: Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 23.

23. M. Manoussakas, «Η Ρεθυμνιώτισσα σουλτάνα Ευμενία Βεργίτση, στις ευρωπαϊκές χαλκογραφίες και στα ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια» (The Rethymnian Sultana Evmenia Vergitsis, in European engravings and Greek folk songs), *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 5 (1951), 349-384. See also M. Çağatay Ulucay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* Ankara ²1985, pp. 65-67.

24. For the Sultan Ibrahim mosque see Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, docs 78, 79.

mam, repaired buildings and the castle.²⁵ A survey was taken of the houses in Rethymnon and a firman issued in the middle of the month of Şevval in the year 1058 (23 October 1648) declaring that all the houses in the varofl of the town were property of the vakif of padişah, for the upkeep of the Sultan Ibrahim mosque.

II

SUBMISSION: ZIMMI AND CIZYE

The Rethymnians who remained in their town and declared submission to the new conquerors, that is they paid poll tax, were obliged to pay an annual rent to the vakif (*evkaf-i hümayundan olmağla cizye kabul iden zimmilerin küffar-ı haksar zamanında kendi mülk evi veyahud babalarından veya dedelerinden intikal iden evlerin icare-yi mu'accele ve müeccele ile virilmesine vakfiyye-yl...*).²⁶ Those peasants in the district of Rethymnon who declared submission to the Ottomans, by paying head tax as non-Muslims, kept their property. The properties of those who left, abandoning them, were confiscated by the Ottoman State and later sold at auction to other owners.

*And all of us poll tax must pay, poll tax to the king
For Christians can't do otherwise, can do no other thing
.....
The sultan's subjects will be those whoin their village stay
Be they princes, be they priests, head tax they must pay*

In these lines, describing the state of affairs after the fall of the towns of Chania and Rethymnon, Marinos Tzane Bounialis refers to the levying of haraç on the inhabitants who remained.²⁷ It is well known that

25. Gülsoy, *op. cit.*, 47.

26. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 60, 152 (Safer 1064/Dec. 1653). The making over of the Christians' property to the vakif is also mentioned in two other kadı documents, dated 22 November 1653, compiled by Defterdar Mehmed Paşa (see Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, docs 22 and 65). See also idem, «Ανδρέας Μηλιώτης», *op. cit.*, 549 note 12.

27. M. Tz. Bouniales, *op. cit.*, 174²³⁻²⁴, 222²³. For the levying of a cizye on the Kastrians (Candians), see lines (573, 7):

*Let those who come back their houses have and their properties too
Poll tax they will surely pay, but they'll find riches too.*

immediate consequence of a region's conquest and induction into the Ottoman Empire was for its non-Muslim inhabitants to pay head tax, that is to accept the status of *zimmi*, by concurrently paying also the *raiyyet rusumu*. We read in the *sicil* that a certain "Antonis Patsilaros, son of Stathis, his mother and his sisters, who originated from Candia and settled in Rethymnon, on joining the Ottomans accepted to pay head tax and all the *raiyyet* taxes, becoming *zimmi*. For this reason, Antonis' family also kept ownership rights to its patrimonial property".²⁸ The kadi's decision was presumably called for because for some reason, not mentioned in the source, the ownership rights of the Patsilaros family were doubted. It is now sure that a document was delivered into the hands of Antonis Patsilaros, a copy of which is read in the *sicil*. We should note that this is the only document we encountered in the published and unpublished material available, which ratifies the property of someone who declared himself *zimmi*.

The *sicil* documents relating to the subject of poll tax, from the period of the Cretan War, refer first to confiscations of properties of individuals who left their homes after the fall of Chania and Rethymnon, refusing to submit to the new conquerors, and second to conversions to Islam, which are the other end of the scale of reaction, namely the endeavoured incorporation into the conquering society, which was gradually consolidating its rule over the island. However, incorporation in the dominant society presupposes inclusion in its religious system, presupposes the conversion of the conquered to Islam. Both forms of reaction will be examined separately in due course. Beforehand, however, we shall trace which villages in the *nahiyes* of Rethymnon and Aghios Vasileios declared submission to the new master that succeeded the Venetians.

CIZYE CENSUSES IN THE NAHIYES OF RETHYMNON AND AGHIOS VASILEIOS

One year after the fall of Rethymnon, in 1057/1647, the Ottomans took a census of the properties of the people living in those regions of Crete they had conquered. Naima writes in his history: "Şaban effendi, who was in the service of the *muhafız* of Chania Mustafa, was appointed *Defterdar* of Crete and ordered by the Empire to make a census of the

28. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 89 (17/4 [1062/1652]. In all probability this is the year of the inventory, since the documents just before and after on the page of the register are dated 1062.

conquered provinces. The Gazi, Hüseyin Paşa, however, did not give his consent, his reason being that circumstances were not yet suitable for the census: "We have not conquered the whole island. For the present we are trying to win the reayas over to our side and to persuade them to submit", he argued. Consequently, the census was postponed. But due to the Kapudan Paşa's insistence and the various pressures exerted, permission was given and the census of the provinces of Chania began during the month of Rebi'ül evvel".²⁹ From the MS *Tarih-i Feth-i Hanya* (History of the Fall of Chania) by Piri Paşazâde Hüseyin, we learn that the survey lasted until Rebi'ül-ahir 1057/May 1647, that the regions from Chania to Candia were recorded and that the registers compiled were sent by Hüseyin Paşa to Istanbul.³⁰

In the kadı court records of Rethymnon in the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, which cover the period of the Cretan War, we located three head-tax censuses for the nahiye of Rethymnon and one document concerning the poll tax in the nahiye of Aghios Vasileios which was under the jurisdiction of Rethymnon.

a. In a berat dated 1 Rebi'ül-ahir 1061 (24.3.1651), which has been copied in kadı sicili no. 56, we read that according to the "new defter" 2,016 persons liable to pay head tax had been recorded in the nahiye of Rethymnon.³¹ Each person had to pay 2 kuruş (riyal kuruş) and in

29. *Ve Hanya muhafazasına tayin olunan vezir Mustafa paşa hizmetinde Saban Efendi nam kimesneye Girit defterdarlığı virilup taraf-ı saltanattan feth olunan nahiyeleri tahrir siparis olundu lakin Hüseyin paşa-yi Gazi riza virmeyub tahrir mahalli değildir henüz tamamen cezireye malik olmadık reayayı istimalatla beru canibe itaate say ediyoruz deyu tehir eyledi sonra kapudan tarafından ilhah ve beru tarafından ibram gune haber vermağla Rebi'ül evvelde Hanya nevahisini tahrire izn verub tahrire suru eyledi ol nahiyede vaki freng müteallik çiftliklerin ashabi olmamağla taraf-ı miriye raci olub yazıldı...*, see, *Tarih-i Naima*, t. 4, Matbaa-yi Amire 1280, p.p. 230-231. The passage has been translated into Greek, see Stavrinidis, «Απογραφικοί πίνακες», *op. cit.*, 122.

30. Gülsoy, *op. cit.*, p. 40 note 64. For the tahrir registers of Crete, see, *ibidem*, p. xiii and idem, «Osmanlı Tahrir Geleneğinde Bir Değişim Örneği: Girit Eyâleti'nin 1650 ve 1670 Tarihli Sayımları», *Pax Ottomana Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, Sota - Yeni Türkiye, Haarlem - Ankara 2001, pp. 185-186; See also Molly Green, *op. cit.*, and Evangelia Balta, «Olive Cultivation in Crete at the time of the Ottoman Conquest», *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / Journal of Ottoman Studies* 20 (2000), 143-164.

31. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 61. In the year 1651 a survey was also made in villages and mezraades of Crete and two registers compiled, analytical and syno-

addition 40 aspers for *gulâmiye* and 20 aspers for *maaş*, sums that were intended to cover the fee and living expenses of the tax-collectors, paid by taxpayers in addition to their tax.³² The State collected 4,132 kuruş, which included 100 kuruş as *tefavüt-i hasene*. This was a special fee levied by the ottoman government for taxes paid in coins other than the akçe, charging two akçe or more per coin. This fee is compensated for the treasury loss due to devaluation.³³ In the census, which is given on the next page of the kadı sicili, we counted 2,058 taxpayers in the 59 settlements and the town of Rethymnon, in which the inhabitants of the varoş and the small-holders (*perivolarides*) living in the purlieu of the city are recorded separately. According to the scribe's calculations, the total number of taxpayers in the nahiye of Rethymnon was 2,073.³⁴ At the end of the census there is a note that in the villages of Aghios Yannis and Aghia Triada 20 persons paid *cizye*. We should note that both villages are included in the census. We observe too that the village of Yannoudi is recorded twice, once with 16 and once with 18 taxpayers. In all probability this is a mistake of the scribe. From the 1652 census, the numbers in which coincide with the 1651 census, we surmise that Yannoudi is the village with 16 taxpayers. Last, the number of taxpayers in the village of Pigi is not recorded; this belonged to a vakıf, as is deduced from the note in the *tahrir* of *cizye* of the following year, 1652.³⁵ Consequently, the poll tax of its inhabitants was collected by the vakıf, which is why it is not entered in the kadı register, in which are noted the taxes that should be collected by the State Treasury of the Empire. We know from two published documents that the villages of Prases and Chromanastiri also belonged to evkaf and that the inhabitants were only liable for payment of poll tax, ispence, tithe and other

ptic (see Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 83 document dated in the first ten days of Muharrem 1062/14-23.12.1651).

32. On these terms see Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and legitimacy. Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*, E. J. Brill, Leiden - New York - Köln, 1996, p. 108 note 73.

33. *Ibidem*, p. 40. The definition of the term *tefavüt-i hasene* found in dictionaries is: "factor based on the difference in length of the lunar and solar years and used in financial computations at the time of transition from the lunar calendar to a solar calendar". See *New Redhouse Turkish - English Dictionary*, p. 1121 and M. Z. Pakalın, *Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, v. 3, Istanbul 1983, p. 434. But according to Mehmet Genç this definition concerns exclusively the term *tefavüt-i şemsiye*. We acknowledge his valuable contribution in reading this paper.

34. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 62.

35. See Appendix.

taxes (*rüsumat-i örfiye*); they were exempted from the tax on salt and on kaftans, corvée, levy in cereals (*zahire bahası*) and other obligatory taxes (*tekalif-i şakka*).³⁶ In a firman issued in 1691 the procedure for collecting poll tax in vakıf villages of Crete is described: "the poll taxes are to be paid as before by the subjects living in the vakıf villages of the well-guarded empire... the said civil servant will collect [these taxes], and after their collection they will be handed over by the State to the stewards of the evkaf (*mütevelli*), depending on the forms entered in defter and on the basis of the sums collected on behalf of the evkaf to date..."³⁷

b. In the second poll tax census for the nahiye of Rethymnon, of 1652,³⁸ the numbers of taxpayers in the villages differ minimally from the previous year. The scribe notes as total 2,196 taxpayers, but on the basis of those entered by village they were less, that is 2,130. In the document accompanying the census, and which we publish in the Appendix, it is declared that in the nahiye of Rethymnon 2,071 persons were liable for payment of haraç of the same sum as in the previous year, that is 2 riyal kuruş and 40 and 20 aspers for *gulamiye* and *maaş* respectively. The State collected 4,246 kuruş, which included 104 kuruş of *tefavüt-i hasene*. The village of Arkoudena, with 17 houses, is noted separately on the same page, after the text accompanying the census. This village was not included in the 1652 census and it was obviously considered expedient to enter it supplementally afterwards.³⁹ The entry for the number of taxpayers in three villages in the nahiye of Rethymnon:⁴⁰ Apano Varsamonero (22 taxpayers), Kato Varsamonero (35) and Frantzesko Nikolo (10 tax-paying families), is undated.⁴¹ The remaining documents entered on the same page of the register are dated 1061 and 1062 (1651-1652). We assume that this document too is of 1062 or, much more likely, of 1063, for the following reason: the villages of Kato Var-

36. Stavriniadis, *Μεταφορές*, v. 1, docs 85 and 93. The taxes of the village of Chromanastiri had been ceded to the Gazi Hüseyin Paşa, who used them for the maintenance of the mosques he rebuilt in Kissamos and Rethymnon.

37. Idem, *Μεταφορές*, v. 2, doc. 1057.

38. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 81.

39. It is dated 17 Cemazi'ül-êvvel 1062 (27.4.1652).

40. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 91.

41. We did not manage to identify this village in either Stavrakis or Paul Faure, «Villes et villages du nome de Rhéthymnon. Listes inédites (1577-1629)», *Recherches de toponymie crétoise. Opera selecta*, ed. Adolf M. Hakkert, Amsterdam 1989, pp. 403-426.

samonero and Frantzesko Nikolo are not included in the censuses of 1061 and 1062; only Apano Varsamonero, with 67 tax-paying families, is entered. Nevertheless, we note that the total of taxpayers in the three villages of the entry (22+35+10) equals 67. Consequently, this is a post hoc correction that was made after the 1652 census, to put things in order, because the taxpayers of three neighbouring villages had previously been inscribed in the portion of one village, and for some reasons it was considered pertinent to record each village with its taxpayers separately.

c. Entered in the same kadı sicili (no. 56), is a document dated gurre-yi Muharrem-ül-harem 1063/02.12.1652, in which it is declared that the number of persons liable to head tax payment in the nahiye of Aghios Vasileios, Rethymnon was 1,099 in all.⁴² They too paid 2 riyal kuruş each, plus 40 and 20 aspers for *gulâmiye* and *maaş* respectively. The State collected 2,153 kuruş, which included the 55 kuruş that were *tefavüt-i hasene*. A few years later, in 1659, the nahiye of Aghios Vasileios is recorded with 57 villages and 952 tax-paying families, each one of which paid 4 kuruş, which included not only the cizye but also the taxes *gulamiye*, *kesr-i-mizan*, *maaş*.⁴³ We observe a reduction in the number of taxpayers between the years 1652 and 1659. Had the 15 families who appear to be missing from the total of taxpayers in the 1659 census converted to Islam or abandoned their villages? We cannot tell. The only relevant information available to us is a document dated 10 Rebi' ül-ahir 1069 (21.1.1659) in which the cizye Cafer Ağa alleges that when he came to collect the taxes in the villages of the nahiye of Aghios Vasileios: "in accordance with the stamped and undersigned defter of taxpayers in hand, he found some villages completely vacant, the reaya inhabitants of these scattered and the place they had gone to is not known...".⁴⁴ In published documents wholesale conversions to Islam are attested in the village of Koxare in the nahiye of Aghios Vasileios.⁴⁵ Possibly the same had occurred in other villages in the region too.

d. Last, our sources also include the haraç census of 1666,⁴⁶ the numbers in which coincide with those of the year 1659, which was published by N. Stavrinidis and in which 65 settlements with 2,209 houses

42. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 53.

43. N. Stavrinidis, «Απογραφικοί πίνακες», op. cit., 127-129. See idem, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 164.

44. *Ibidem*, doc. 165a.

45. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, docs 4 and 48. Cf. I. Z. Papiomytoglou, doc. 9.

46. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 93, 63 (Cemaziül-ahir 1077=29.11.-28.12-1666).

are recorded in the nahiye of Rethymnon.⁴⁷ The following differences are observed between the two censuses: the village of Kastelos in the 1659 census is recorded as having 39 taxpayers and with 29 in 1666. Possibly this is a mistaken reading by the publisher or a typographical error. Furthermore, the hamlet noted as Neokastrioti in the 1666 census, is recorded as Landeto in the corresponding one of 1659, and Stavriniadis identifies it as the village of Bilantredo. The document that usually accompanies the census, recording the sum that the taxpayers should pay, was not found in the register. However, we know that in 1659 each taxpayer had to pay a total of 4 kuruş which, as in the case of the nahiye of Aghios Vasileios, also included the sums for the remuneration and living expenses of the tax-collectors.⁴⁸ It is not known when the haraç was doubled. We do know, however, from a published *buy-rultu* of the *Serdar*, that already by 1658 the poll tax in Crete was 4 kuruş.⁴⁹ But let us return to the 1666 census. At the beginning of the census the scribe notes the number 2,348 as total of poll taxes in the liva of Rethymnon and at the end the number 2,332. However, on the basis of the numbers recorded there were 2,355 taxpayers. The number of taxpayers in the liva of Rethymnon in this period fluctuated around these figures, judging also from the 2,372 hanes (households) that were liable for *kaftan* tax in the same province.⁵⁰ Moreover, in the *cizye defteri* compiled immediately after the capitulation of Candia and dated 1670-1671 (TT 980), we observe that the total of taxable units in the liva of Rethymnon was 2,359 hane, distributed in three classes as follows: *ala* 1,416, *evsat* 875 and *edna* 68.⁵¹

47. Stavriniadis, «Απογραφικοί πίνακες», op. cit., 130-132.

48. *Ibidem*, 125 and 132.

49. Stavriniadis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 32.

50. *Ibidem*, doc. 96. The same documents has also been translated by Esat Siderakis, see I. Z. Papiomytoglou, doc. 64. It was not possible for us to process two other *cizye* registers of the years 1666 and 1667, which are in the *BOA*. These are MAD 7412 and MAD 15520.

51. On the basis of the unpublished register (*BOA*) TT 980, those liable for head tax in the liva of Rethymnon were:

R e t h y m n o n : 2,359 hanes (*ala*: 1,416, *evsat* 875, *edna* 68).

M y l o p o t a m o s : 1,950 hanes (*ala* 1,371, *evsat* 492, *edna* 87). The same numbers of taxpayers also appears in a *kadı* document of the year 1082/1671-72, cf. Stavriniadis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 414.

A m a r i : 907 hanes (*ala* 474, *evsat* 329, *edna* 104).

TOTAL of taxpayers in the liva of Rethymnon: 6,166 hanes (*ala* 3,753, *evsat* 1,997, *edna* 416).

Commenting on this inventory, in which the word *neferan* (individuals) occurs, Molly

The table below includes the censuses that we located in the recently discovered kadı court records of Rethymnon. We considered it useful to include also in the table the 1659 census, which had been published earlier by N. Stavrinidis, in order to give the reader as full a picture as possible of the data discovered so far.

TABLE
Poll tax payers in the nahiye of Rethymnon

<i>Villages</i>	1651	1652	1659	1666
Acipopule	110	110	115	115
Adele	24		24	24
Alones	7	7		
Amnatos	50	51	41	41
Anbelaki	28	28	24	24
Anoya	14	14	9	9
Ano Kavuş			15	15
Apano Armenus	35	35	24	24
Apano Malaki	8	8		13
Apano Varsamonero			18	18
Arkudena			17	17
Asteri	18	18	23	23
Aya Irini	4	4	12	12
Aya Marina	10	10	8	8
Ayo Andriyo ma Bala Trilonya(?)	27	28	26	26
Ayo Dimitri	19	19	24	24
Ayo Konstantin	14	14	24	24
Ayo Yani ma'Ayo Triyanda	20		8	8
Ayo Yani			11	11
Ayo Yorgi	7	7	4	4
bahçeciyân-i Resmo	45			
Fotino	43	43	53	53
Galu	16	16	26	26
Hamalevri	24	24	36	36
Harkya	26	26	24	24
Hromanastiri	97	97	96	96

Green notes that "Ottomans were counting individuals, not hanes (households)", see M. Green, *op. cit.*, p. 52. We do not consider, however, that this is the case either for this particular register or for any other register of cizye. The word *nefer*, as well as the word *hane* in the case of tax registers, is an accounting unit, on the basis of which the tax is collected. In a kadı document referring to converts to Islam in the village of Koxare, the tax-collecting logic of the Ottoman State is declared clearly: "recently 12 persons, who constitute 4 taxable families, converted to Islam". See Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 48.

<i>Villages</i>	<i>1651</i>	<i>1652</i>	<i>1659</i>	<i>1666</i>
Iksirohori ma'Ayo Marko	42	42	46	46
Karodi		18	30	30
Kalonihti			3	3
Kamuladi (Mamuladi?)	6	6		
Karya [Kare]	36	36	40	40
Kastelos	31	31	39	29
Kato Armenus ve Ayo Yorgi	15	15	8	8
Kato Kavuşı	32	32	13	13
Kato Malaki	5	5		
Kato Varsamonero	67	67	10	10
Kiryana	53	53	45	45
Kumuz	53	53	54	54
Lutra	19	19	18	18
Marula	67	67	63	63
Maruli		24		
Mesa Milya	21	21	25	25
Mesi	34	34	31	31
Metohi Nikastrot			11	11
Miçi Gonya	36	55	55	55
Migdalya			3	3
Miryokefali	34	34	46	46
Mirtyo			15	15
Monopari	23	23	21	21
Mundros	39	39	67	67
nefsi varoş-i Resmo	95	210	54	54
Nişi	6	6		
Oroz ma' Gulodyana	46	46	52	52
Palelimno	9	9	4	4
Pangalohori	16	18	17	17
Perakende-i nahiye-i Milopotamo			66	66
Perakende-i nefsi-i Resmo			82	82
Perakende-i nahiye-i Amari			64	65
Perakende-i nahiye-i Ayo Vasil			33	33
Pervola	33	33	35	35
Pigi			89	89
Pikri	31	31	34	34
Piskopi	53	53	47	47
Polis	58	58	93	93
Prases	49	49	30	30
Prina	112	112	79	79
Rusospiti	38	38	26	26
Rustika	40	40	51	51
Sayitures	20	20	24	24
Seli	38	38	31	31
Somata	14	14	13	13

<i>Villages</i>	<i>1651</i>	<i>1652</i>	<i>1659</i>	<i>1666</i>
Vukuro	9	9	8	8
Yanudi	16/18	16	12	12
Yerani	98	97	106	106
TOTAL	2024	2130	2355	2359

ACCUSATIONS OF ILLEGALITIES DURING THE COLLECTION OF POLL TAX

In 1651 there was a court case between the cizyedar and the inhabitants of the village of Karoti, over the number of head-tax papers that should be submitted.⁵² The cizyedar demanded 34 head tax payments, whereas the villagers insisted that they should pay only 21. And they were vindicated when autoptic examination of the defter of the previous year showed that only 21 persons were entered. The ruling of the defterdar pasha, was categorical: "The inhabitants of the village of Karoti shall pay in accordance with the register only 21 head taxes and it is expressly forbidden for the tax collector to ask for even one asper more".

An issue also arose with the inhabitants of the village of Veliones in the nahiye of Amari, over whether they had paid the head tax or not in the year 1077 (1668). In this case too autoptic investigation of the relevant defters was ordered, and if it were ascertained that they had not paid the harac, they would then be obliged to pay.⁵³ The zimmi Tzortzis, Yovanis, Antonis and Yannis, who resided in the varoş of Rethymnon, protested because they were asked to pay cizye twice. Normally, on the basis of the register, they paid their tax in Rethymnon. However, because their fields happened to be in Maroula, they were asked to pay cizye in that village too. The kadı judged this demand illegal, since their place of domicile was Rethymnon.⁵⁴

Of comparable content was the complaint lodged by the brothers Andreas and Frangis, sons of Karayannakis (or Karapanakis) from the village of Margarites, Rethymnon. In an undated document they protest because although they paid their cizye in the village of Margarites they were asked to pay it in Rethymnon too, where they were living, having moved there recently. The order issued stipulates that tax should

52. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 86 (16.5.1651).

53. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 98, p. 80 (4 Zilkade 1078/16.4.1668).

54. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 98, 49 (5 Şevval 1067/17.07.1657).

not be demanded of them, since their name is not included in the *cizye* records of Rethymnon.⁵⁵ There is no doubt that the plaintiffs are Andreas and Frangis Miliotis. Andreas was later to become the first secretary of the Porte.⁵⁶ The document in the *kadı sicili* must have been compiled in the years when the Miliotis brothers first settled in Rethymnon, possibly shortly before 1653, years during which they were also granted deed of ownership of their house in the neighbourhood of Uzun Sokak in the town.⁵⁷ And certainly the *kadı* ruling cited here was compiled before they left for Candia, from where they were to return to Rethymnon in 1658.

OTHER CATEGORIES OF POLL TAX

a) *Yave cizye*

In addition to the *cizye*, there is also reference in the *kadı* documents to another class of head tax, the *yave cizye*. This is the poll tax on persons who had abandoned their place of origin and settled in new places. In order to differentiate these individuals, they are frequently characterized as *yave zimmi*.⁵⁸ They are entered in a separate register and from 1652 we know that they paid 120 *aspers* per capita.⁵⁹ Our sources attest that the men garrisoned in the castle of Rethymnon had the usufruct of the *yave cizye* tax. In 1064, 50 *kuruş* were paid as *yave cizye* of Rethymnon to the Ramazan Beşe of the 50th regiment of janissaries and to someone else whose name is illegible.⁶⁰ In 1067, Hacı Mehmed Beşe of the 3rd regiment of janissaries was authorized by *tez-kere* to collect the *yave cizye* of the *nahiye* of Rethymnon, which was intended to cover the salaries of the local troops (*yerli kulunun ululfeleri*

55. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 54. The document is undated. The document on the page immediately before in the register is dated Cemazie'l-evvel 1063/30.3 (29.4.1653).

56. Stavrinidis, «Ανδρέας Μηλιώτης, *op. cit.*, 546-566; Idem, «Ο θεσμός των γραμματικών της Πόρτας στην Κρήτη» (The institution of the secretaries of the Porte in Crete), *Πεπραγμένα του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Ηράκλειο, 29 Αυγούστου - 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1976)*, v. 3, Athens 1981, pp. 397-401.

57. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, docs 70 and 77. For Andreas Miliotis see *ibidem*, docs 86, 94, 103, 146. See also I. Z. Papiomytoglou, doc. 6.

58. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 83. See also Y. Ercan, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Gayrimüslimler Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Kadar Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Hukukî Durumları*, Ankara 2001, p. 178.

59. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 95 (14 Şevval 1062/18.09.1652).

60. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 60, 154 (Muharrem 1064/22.11-22.12.1653).

içün).⁶¹ Sometimes the *yave cizye*, together with certain other taxes of the town of Rethymnon, such as purchase duties, fines, taxes on coffee-grinding and dyeing, taxes on lost and found livestock and slaves, etc. (*bac-ı bazar*, *bac-ı bab*, *tahmishane*, *beytül-mal*, *mal-ı mefkud*) were granted as mukataas to officers of the azaps or the artillery who were serving in the castle.⁶² In a tezkere of the Divan, of 1687, granting a series of taxes from Candia to a commanding officer of the janizary regiments, it is noted that the poll tax on foreigners (*yave cizye*) was 4 kuruş for those who came and settled one year earlier, and 2 kuruş for those who had settled recently.⁶³

b) *Perakende*

Perakende is the term used in the registers for those persons not entered in them but who were living among the locals at the time of the census. In the poll tax censuses of the liva of Rethymnon, *perakende* are noted separately in the *nahiyes* of Mylopotamos, Amari, Aghios Vasileios and the town of Rethymnon. In a document of 1656, Kenan Ağa, the *cizyedar* of Rethymnon, characterizes as *perakende* the 16 Rethymnians living at that time in villages (*baki kalan kayrelerde şehirli perakende*). He orders them to pay the head tax in the year 1066 to the *kethüda* of the town, to whom they would normally have paid it in the event of their residing in Rethymnon.⁶⁴ The *kethüda* must have been some Christian Rethymnian authorized to collect the taxes from his fellow citizens and to deliver these to the Ottomans. In a corresponding document published by Stavrinidis, the identity of the *kethüda* is stated clearly: "Sy, the *kethüda* of the vassalage of the infidels of the District of Rethymnon...".⁶⁵

61. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 8 (30 Muharrem 1067/18.11.1656).

62. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 60, 137 (the taxes *bac-ı bab*, *cizye yave*, *tahmishane*, *beytül-mal*, *mal-ı mefkud* from the fiscal year 1064-1065, for the sum of 40,000 aspers, to the *kedhüda* of the Azaps, Recep, and the leader of the artillery, Ahmed). In the fiscal year 1078 various taxes were granted to the men in the garrison of Rethymnon, such as the *resm-i iskele*, coffee-grinding, dyeing, *mal-ı mevkud*, *mal-ı gaib*, *beytül-mal*, the tithe on fish, the *bac-ı bazar*, wine tax, as well as the mukata'as of the villages in Aghios Vasileios, such as Sallia, Phinikia, Daveryana etc. The tax *yave cizye* was, of course, granted to them also, to cover their salaries (see Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 98, 77).

63. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 2, doc. 936.

64. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 5 (30 Zilkade 1066/19.09.1656).

65. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 89.

THOSE EXEMPTED FROM POLL TAX

a) The Clergy

“Poll tax should not be demanded from the monk Kosmas who lives in the dependency (metochi) between the villages of Atsipoulo and Galu, since he has been exempted long ago. No one has the right to demand cizye from him, if he is not entered in the fiscal registers”.⁶⁶ Presumably in 1656, the year the above ruling was drafted, the Cretan clergy were exempted from cizye. However, in a firman of 1692, to the commander of the eyalet of Crete, Mehmed Paşa, and the kadı of Candia, it is stated that: “the clergy in the monasteries and the churches of the island of Crete, since they are not involved with a profession that brings an income but are kept by charities, are obliged to pay from the time of the fall [of Candia] to this day an annual lump sum (maktu)... It is ordered that once the clergy have paid the annual maktu they shall not be bothered further”.⁶⁷ We assume that before the fall of Candia the clergy most probably did not pay head tax and only after the conquest of the island did they pay a lump sum. Nevertheless, two years later, in 1694, this situation was overturned. The clergy were obliged to pay poll tax, like the rest of the reayas:

“From now onwards all those who in any way whatsoever obtained documents of exemption from taxation, are not excluded from payment of head tax, whether they be priests or monks or Patriarchs and dragomans. Provided they are capable of earning a living and there is no serious reason for exemption, such as a grave health problem, or are paralytics and unfit for work, they too are obliged to pay the head tax. What was until recently said by the people, that the clergy and slaves do not pay head tax, will not apply, but according to the holy law they too are obliged to pay”.⁶⁸

b) The Disabled

The disabled remained exempt from poll tax. Ioannis, son of Nikolaos, from the village of Kavousi, disabled in his right arm and unfit for work, was thrice brought before the kadı by his fellow villagers, who were pressurizing him to pay his poll tax, which they were paying on his behalf. Each time he was vindicated by the kadı, which confirmed

66. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 4 (3 Şevval 1066/25.07.1656).

67. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 2, doc. 1123 (5 Muharrem 1104/16.0.1692).

68. N. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 2, doc. 1149 (18 Cemaziül-ahir 1105/13.2.1694).

his disability and incapability of working, and exempted him from the cizye on the basis of the letter of the law that stipulated: "no tax on the very old, the indigent and the disabled".⁶⁹ And the kadı obliged the jointly liable co-villagers of Ioannis to pay the tax.⁷⁰

c) Those offering services

Lorenzo Patelaros from Chania, having declared submission and become zimmi after the fall of his town, offered services to the Ottomans during the siege of Candia. For this reason he was exempted, just like other infidels who assisted the Ottomans, from payment of the tax *avarız-ı divaniye*⁷¹ and from corvée (*şakka*), but not from the poll tax. We read in a kadı court record of Rethymnon that he was, moreover, presented with a document certifying his tax exemptions.⁷² Analogous is the case of a new Muslim (*nev Muslim*) and nine reayas, who, having been appointed permanent carpenters in the fortress of Rethymnon, were exempted from head tax, the corresponding extraordinary taxes and all other obligations of requisitioned labour (*cizye ve sair tekâlif-i örfiye ve şakkadan mu'af olmak üzere*).⁷³ The peasant Nikolas Yerotzanis was granted the privilege of paying a minimal sum instead of the normal amount of poll tax (*re'is cizyesi mukabelesinden kullet ide*), because he had offered his services to the Ottomans during the siege of Candia. In addition to this symbolic sum, he had to provide 10 okkas of olive oil a year for the lamps of a mosque in Rethymnon, which is not specified but was most probably the large Ibrahim mosque. Furthermore, Nikolas Yerotzanis was exempted from payment of land tax (*arz-ı haraçdan muaf ve müssellem*) for a field of 22 *muzurs*, half a dönüm of vineyard and three olive trees of which he had usufruct, as well as from all extraordinary

69. *Ibidem*, v. 1, doc. 47 (29 Şaban 1068/31.5.1694).

70. Joint reliability in payment of the cizye by the members of a community is also attested in the case of an inhabitant of the village of Episkopi, who was a fugitive. When he returned, his co-villagers asked him to reimburse them for the amount that they had been obliged to pay on his behalf. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 89.

71. *Avarız* (emergency levies) became a tax payable in cash on a regular, annual basis, and its rate continued to rise over the years. See H. Inalcık, «The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600», *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. by H. Inalcık with D. Quataert, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 24 and Darling, *op. cit.*

72. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 87 (25/12/1650 - 3/1/1651).

73. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 168 (1 Zilkade 1069/21.7.1659).

taxes and *corvée*.⁷⁴ The examples cited confirm that in exceptional cases the Islamic law that imposed the payment of poll tax by non-Muslim subjects of the Empire was waived, since we have seen that some zimmi were not obliged to pay head tax. Obviously their services were considered worthy enough to offset their non-conversion to Islam.

POLL TAX COLLECTED IN KIND

If conditions were difficult for the Cretans during the years of the Cretan War, living between two conquerors who were fighting over who would rule their island, the situation that the attacking Ottomans had to confront was difficult too. Mustered around beleaguered Candia, they tried for years and years to breach the city, while at the same time striving to consolidate their position in the rest of the island. The needs in munitions and victuals were enormous, and supplies for the troops reached Crete from all parts of the Empire.⁷⁵ Thus the Ottomans were very often obliged to collect the poll tax from the Cretans in advance and in kind, in order to cover immediate needs of sustenance. In the *kadı* court records we examined, we located an order addressed to the *kadis*, the *voyvodas* and the *zabits* of the villages in the *sandjak* of Resmo, in which is noted the urgent need to gather extra foodstuffs from the population (*ziyade zahire lâzim*). Thus these authorities were ordered to take from each *cizye hane*, in accordance with the *cizye* register, 1.5 kile of flour, that is 30 *okkas*. The value of the flour, 1.5 *kuruş*, will be deducted in the following year, 1078/1667, from the head tax owed by each *hane* (household).⁷⁶ But in the following year too, 1667, presumably because of increased needs for foodstuffs, the *kadı* of Rethymnon was ordered to collect 2 kile of Istanbul flour from each *cizyehane* in the *sandjak*. That is, the Cretans were obliged to pay the *cizye* of the year 1667 (1078) overall in kind. Each taxable unit therefore paid 3.5 kile of flour instead of 4 *kuruş* to the Ottoman public purse.⁷⁷ In the *cizye* register of the *nahiyes* of Rethymnon, Candia and Siteia, for the year 1078-79/1666-

74. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 98, 84 (3 Muharrem 1081/23.5.1670).

75. See for example the registers: in (*BOA*), MAD 4408 (1079), MAD 3668 (1078-79), MAD 15728, 4026, 3489 (1078).

76. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 98, 73. It is notable that the Ottomans estimated the cost of flour at 6 *aspers* per *okka*.

77. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 98, 74 (3.5 kile of flour = 70 *okkas* at 6 *aspers* per *okkas* = 420 *aspers*: 120 = 3.5 *kuruş*).

67, now in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi of Istanbul, the quantities of flour collected instead of money are recorded.⁷⁸

III

REFUSAL TO SUBMIT: FUGITIVES AND CONFISCATIONS OF PROPERTIES

In the previous section we discussed issues relating to the imposition of the poll tax on the inhabitants of the nahiye of Rethymnon, who remained in their hearths and declared submission to the new master. In this section we shall examine the case of individuals who refused to submit to the Ottomans and sought refuge in regions of the island under Venetian control or who left for elsewhere.

In a document published by Stavriniadis we read that:

“Immediately after the fall of the fortress of Rethymnon an autograph Imperial Decree was issued in which it was declared that the properties of those Christians who by refusing to pay head tax sided with the enemy camp, be sequestered to the advantage of the public purse. The Defterdar of Crete at that time, Mehmed Paşa, who was also census-taker of the fields, appointed proxy on his behalf Abdukerim Ağa, to proceed to the sale of these fields and to collect the money thus obtained for the public purse”.⁷⁹

The excerpt quoted is taken from the testimony of the defendant Hacı İbrahim Ağa to the kadı of Rethymnon, when Yusuf Beşe, son of Abullah, from the village of Koumoi, who had been taken captive and was now a janissary, on returning to Crete from captivity claimed his patrimonial property which had been confiscated during the time of his absence. His fields had been sold at auction for 80 kuruş to Hacı İbrahim Ağa, who in his testimony before the kadı claimed that: “all the inhabitants of the village abandoned it and went over to the enemy camp; the inhabitants of the surrounding villages confirmed this”. Consequently the land property of the Koumoians passed into the ownership of the state and was subsequently sold at auction. The land property of the inhabitants of the village of Prines, who escaped and went over to the Venetians (*dar-ül-harba firar idmekle*), also came into the hands of the same Hacı İbrahim Ağa; their fields were sequestered and

78. In (BOA) MAD 5089.

79. Stavriniadis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 23.

sold to Hacı İbrahim Ağa, who leased them to the Metropolitan of Crete, Neophytos Patelaros.⁸⁰

The existence of this sultanic decree is also attested in two other published documents from the same register and used as evidence of the change of ownership and the cause of this change. The first document concerns the sale of properties of the inhabitants of the village of Maroula, who "refusing to pay poll tax went over to the enemy camp, leaving their properties uncultivated and neglected".⁸¹ The second concerns the sequestration and sale of properties of the Diskouri monastery in the villages of Mixorouma and Lambrini. It should be noted that in the case of the monastery, in the translated document it is not mentioned anywhere that Papa-Nikolas, obviously the hegumen (abbot), or Flora, the dedicatrix, had gone over to the Venetians or had refused to pay head tax. Papa-Nikolas resorted to the kadı in order to claim Flora's fields, which she had bequeathed to the monastery after her death, but he did not win the case; Flora's fields had been sold and dedicated to the vakıf of the Abdul Kadir Geylani teke.⁸² So we ascertain that fields were also confiscated on behalf of the Ottoman state, on the pretext of the given sultanic decree, even though they did not coincide with the case for which it had been issued.

The Rethymnon kadı registers contain many documents concerning the buying and selling of, and the issuing deeds for fields confiscated

80. *Ibidem*, doc. 18. Cf. also the case of the village of Prases, *ibidem*, doc. 63.

81. *Ibidem*, doc. 24, in which we read: "After the conquest and subjugation of the island of Crete, its inhabitants refusing to pay poll tax went over to the enemy camp, leaving their properties uncultivated and neglected. An imperial decree was issued on behalf of our mighty monarch and addressed to the most glorious Chief General Hüseyin Paşa, ordering that these fields be sold in auction to the benefit of the state. Consequent upon this, the Secretary of the Administration and Defterdar, most honourable Mehmed Paşa, was ordered on behalf of the Chief General to proceed through a proxy or in person to the sale of these field at auction and the collection of their monetary value". For the selling of properties of the inhabitants of the village of Maroula see *ibidem*, doc. 17.

82. *Ibidem*. See also doc. 42: "For the fields of those who, after the fall, not wanting to pay poll tax, escaped to the camp hostile to us, an imperial decree was issued, addressed to the triumphant Chief General Hüseyin Paşa and specifying that these be sold for a price corresponding to their value, to Muslim fighters. Then it was ordered that the secretary of the vilayet and the Defterdar Mehmed Paşa, whose glory be infinite, to proceed to the sale of these fields to collect the money paid for them either by proxy or in person, so that these properties that belong to the enemy camp be sold and the money from them collected...". The same document was also translated by Esat Siderakis, see I. Z., Papiomglytoou, doc. 41.

from Rethymnians who refused to accept the status of zimmi and sought refuge in regions under Venetian control. Outstanding among these is the case of the "arch-brigand" Androulis Youloundas from Yannoudi, who presumably having formed a corps of armed irregulars—he is referred to as leader of a gang—was active in the environs of the village of Prasies during the years 1658-1659, fighting against the Ottomans. Very possibly his activity began immediately after the fall of Rethymnon. Needless to say, long before he was caught and put to death, in March 1659, his property had been confiscated and soled to spahis.⁸³

The documents cited here are for the years 1657-1658. However, much later too, that is after the fall of Candia, reference is made to the sultanic decree during the process of claiming of sequestered properties by heirs of their former owners. Thus, in 1670, some twenty years after the confiscation of the fields of his grandfather Modatsos, the new Muslim Ali Bey bin Abdullah, claimed them from his co-villager Ioannis, who, having purchased them from the state, was exploiting them. Ali Bey's lawsuit was dismissed on the basis of the following argumentation:

"It is not allowed, without special permission, to examine a case of the past fifteen years for which indeed no earlier objection existed. Its handling, moreover, was based on the sultanic decree which commands that all the properties of those infidels who had gone over to the enemy be sequestered. For this reason we did not even consider it necessary to address Ioannis and we prohibit Ali Bey from pressing suit".⁸⁴

Since the kadı registers of Rethymnon prior to 1651 have not survived, the earliest mention we have of the sultanic decree is in a document of 1652, which we located in the recently discovered kadı court records of Rethymnon. We read there that: "after the conquest of Crete, on the basis of an imperial decree, the properties of the Christians who did not side with the Ottomans and who refused to pay poll tax were sold. For this reason 100 olive trees and a field of 10 muzurs, belonging to the brothers Michalis and Yannis Koudadis from the village of Yannoudi, which had been registered as vakıf, were confiscated by the state and sold for 10 kuruş. The said Koudadis brothers", it is noted in the document, "had died in the war during the conquest of Rethymnon",⁸⁵

83. *Ibidem*, docs 33, 39, 60, 75.

84. *Ibidem*, doc. 381.

85. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 57 (10 - 19.04.1652). (*Girit ceziresinde bade'l-feth kabul-ü cizye kabul itmeyüb isyan üzere yurd yirlerin terk idüb darü'l-harbe firar*

— possibly, we suspect, fighting on the Venetian side. Judging from the case of Flora's fields, which she dedicated after her death to the Diskouri monastery, there was in the case of the Koudadis brothers also abuse of the sultanic decree, in order for fields of Christians who had died in that period or were generally absent, to pass into the possession of the Ottoman state. Thus, on the basis of the sultanic firman, the property of the Koudadis brothers was sold and deed of ownership was granted to its new owner — not named in the source, who assumed the obligation of cultivating the land and paying the tithe of its yield. It is mentioned in addition in the document that, provided these terms are observed, no one has the right to intervene.

The documents presented in summary below are also from the registers of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü:

— Seyyid Mustafa Efendi bought for 15 kuruş two ciftliks near Rethymnon. They belonged to Kornelos, who had left during the war and abandoned his fields. Seyyid Mustafa Efendi was granted deed of ownership and assumed the obligation of cultivating them and paying the annual legal tithe.⁸⁶

— The brothers Frantzeskos and Dimitris Kakavalas left the village of Kalonyehiti, refusing to accept the status of zimmi. They were the owners of two half-ruined houses, one ruined oil press, fields, olive trees and two orchards that were confiscated by the Ottoman state and sold for 20 kuruş to the sipahi Mehmed, who also undertook to exploit them and to pay an annual tithe. He was granted deed of ownership.⁸⁷

It is not fortuitous that the overwhelming majority of the confiscated properties were sold to Muslim officials. This must have been specified explicitly in the text of the firman. We suspect from the phrase in a kadı ruling: "an autograph imperial decree was issued addressed to the victorious Chief General Hüseyin Paşa, stating that these be sold at a price corresponding to their value, to *Muslim fighters*".⁸⁸ In all probability the transfer of the properties to Muslim officials also constituted one of the expedencies that the sultanic decree sought to serve: to en-

ve asakir-i islam ile ceng için karar bağlayan harbilerin tasarrufundan olan emlak ve arazileri ehl-i islamlardan müşteri olan guzata canib-i miriden furuht olunması için ferman-i şerif sadır olmağla Resmo sancağında ve nahiyesinde Yanudi nam karyede ki hali vakıftır).

86. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 93 (10 - 19.06.1651).

87. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 84 (20.02 - 01.03.1652).

88. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 42.

sure incomes for the soldiers who had fought and were going to be settled in the conquered territory, in order to administer it.⁸⁹

However, the buyers of confiscated fields were not exclusively Muslims but various local Christians too. In a document translated and published by Stavrinidis, we read that Sophia Frantzias, niece of Loukas Bardos, claimed from a co-villager by the name of Theodoros Vlastos, the property of her uncle who had left for Istanbul after the fall of Rethymnon. Vlastos had erroneously informed the Ottoman authorities that her uncle had gone over to the Venetians, and bought from the Ottoman state his property, which under normal circumstances would have belonged to her as his heir. Sophia Frantzias won her case in court. We consider that this was not the unique case of the kind, in which local Christians slandered fellow-villages by accusing them to the Ottomans of siding with the Venetians. And doing so in order to benefit from the Ottoman tactic of confiscating the fields of persons who were not able to defend their properties because they were either living abroad or were in captivity, or were dead.

INCORPORATION IN THE DOMINANT CLASS: CONVERTS TO ISLAM

*Where Christians galore, turned to Islam
Threw down the crosses and renounced their faith*

In these two lines Bounialis succinctly describes the phenomenon of conversion to Islam, which was prevalent in the years of the Cretan War, a fact attested furthermore by all the sources of the period.⁹⁰ According to P. Richard, by 1657 some 60,000 Cretans had converted to Islam.⁹¹ Molly Green maintains that "the conversion was greater in Crete than anywhere else in the Greek world". She attributes this to the long duration of the war, which lasted "nearly twenty-five years, which must have brought considerable social dislocation in its wake, including the

89. Molly Green rightly calls Crete "the Janissaries' Island", see Green, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

90. Bounialis, 244^{e-8}. For conversions to Islam, see Stavrinidis, *Μεταρράσεις*, v. 1, docs 3, 4, 23, 25, 35, 41, 58, 72, 90, 144, 155 and for mixed marriages between a Christian woman and an Ottoman or a newly converted Muslim man, docs 6, 12, 15, 26, 36, 37, 40, 55, 66. Cf. also I. Z. Papiomytoglou, docs 9, 12, 14, 15, 26, 51, 55, 59, 61, 65, 66, 67, 68, 86, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 98 and 100.

91. Th. Detorakis, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης* (History of Crete), Herakleion - Crete 1990, p. 263.

weakening of religious institutions”, since there was no head of the Orthodox Church of Crete for about 500 years.⁹² It was the Church, as is well-known, that in analogous situations in mainland Greece or Asia Minor militated against conversion to Islam, through its teaching as well as by threatening its flock with religious penalties, in its endeavour to keep it within the fold of Orthodoxy. Molly Green notes, furthermore, that “the close relationship between a religious and a military career, a peculiar consequence of the island having been conquered in the seventeenth century, must also have contributed to the high conversion rate in Crete”, adding that the mechanisms by which so many Cretans joined the military orders so quickly are still obscure. No doubt the vast majority of converted Cretans who joined one of the military regiments remained at the humble level of a *yamak* or a *beşe*. Some, however, were clearly able to rise very high very quickly in the society of conquests.

The subject of conversion to Islam is complex and demands multiple approaches, and it would be highly simplistic to claim that the Cretans converted to Islam solely to avoid paying poll tax. Avoidance of paying poll tax is considered the cause of conversion to Islam in the sermons of Nektarios Terpos and Cosmas the Aetolian in the eighteenth century, who exhort their flock to save money for payment of the *haraç*.⁹³

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the poll tax was abhorrent for the Cretans and that amassing of the amount demanded in conditions of war difficult. G. Cassar notes in his report for 1660 that the peasants are burdened with the payment of the *haraç*, which they can no longer bear and make agreements with the Venetians to fight against the Ottomans.⁹⁴ Recorded in the sicils are loans contracted for the payment of poll tax,⁹⁵ as well as, most odious of all, cases in which parents were forced to sell their children because they could not afford to feed them, at least so they maintain before the Kadi.⁹⁶ The buying and selling of

92. Green, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

93. Sp. Asdrachas, «Η οικονομία και οι νοοτροπίες: η μαρτυρία του *Χρονικού των Σεργρών*, του Νεκταρίου Τέρπου και του Αργύρη Φιλιππίδη», (Economy and mentalities: the testimony of the *Chronicle of Serres*, of Nektarios Terpos and Argyris Philippidis), S. Asdrachas, *Οικονομία και νοοτροπίες* (Economy and Mentalities), Athens 1988, p. 177ff.

94. Karathanassis, *op. cit.*, doc. 37.

95. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 21.

96. *Ibidem*, doc. 117, 119, 121, 123, 127. Cf. I. Z. Papiomytoglou, doc. 89, 90, 92, 93, 98.

children must have acquired the dimensions of an endemic phenomenon, so rife that in 1659 a sultanic firman was issued expressly prohibiting it.⁹⁷

Below we shall follow from the sources the connection between conversion to Islam and taxation, in particular with the poll tax. In the kadı registers of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü we read: "Poll tax should not be demanded from those who have embraced Islam". This terse, almost telegraphic, statement expresses the Ottoman state's old standard tactic of collecting, on the basis of Islamic law, poll tax from its non-Muslim subjects.⁹⁸ Obviously an issue had emerged concerning whether Cretan reayas recently converted to Islam were obliged to pay poll tax or not. In all probability the Ottomans demanded that they pay the poll tax, despite their recent conversion to the Muslim religion. Thus the reaction of the Cretan converts to Islam who resorted to the kadı seem to have invoked the issue of the decision that is recorded in the kadı sicili and defines epigrammatically and unequivocally: "Poll tax should not be demanded from those who have embraced Islam".

Apparently, however, it was not enough for someone to declare that he/she had embraced Islam. "Many vassal reayas in our provinces", alleges the Sünnetçi Şeyh Rüstem to the Serdar of Crete, "pretending that they have embraced the Muslim religion, avoid paying the taxes of their villages".⁹⁹ So in this fluid situation during the Cretan War there were several who falsely declared they had converted to Islam. Their aim was to avoid paying poll tax, by exploiting the general confusion of the times, in which circumstances were changing from one moment to the next. We assume this from ascertaining that the kadı issued and entered in the registers the documents that confirm exemption of their possessors from payment of cizye. Obviously, in the prevailing conditions, the cizyedar was obliged to ask the until recently Christian reayas to confirm their new status, that is to prove their new identity as converts to Islam. It was only reasonable for the cizyedar to carry out checks, since he frequently came up against unexpected situations. Not unusual was the phenomenon of the inhabitants of a village who were entered as *gayri muslim* (non-Muslims) in the register of the previous year, to declare themselves *nev muslim* (new Muslims) in the current year, and as Muslims to refuse to pay the poll tax. Consequently the only way of

97. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 147.

98. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 50 (the document is undated. The acts entered before and after it on the same page are dated 1067).

99. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 90.

keeping the numbers in the *cizye* defters in order was through the issue of certificates. This at least emerges from the two *kadı* rulings we located:

The first refers to a document issued to the brothers Ismail and Bekir and to their servant Mehmed, presumably new Muslims, certifying that they are not liable for payment of poll tax, and the entering of the said document in the *kadı* court record.¹⁰⁰

The second mentions that: "the new Muslims in the village of Maroula brought a document that confirmed their exemption from the *cizye*".¹⁰¹ Presumably the tax collector demanded that the new Muslims pay poll tax in the year 1077 and they resorted to the *kadı* to resolve the issue, bringing in evidence the document of exemption issued at the time of the conversion to Islam. A few years before, according to a document date 16 Sevval 1069, 20 persons in the village of Maroula had converted to Islam.¹⁰² We mention in parenthesis that in the published sources we located another two cases of mass conversion to Islam in the region of Rethymnon. Ten of the 14 *reyas* in the village of Koxare¹⁰³ in the *nahiye* of Aghios Vasileios and a large percentage of the population of Kato Varsamonero.¹⁰⁴

If, however, by converting to Islam the former Christian Rethymnians were exempted from the hateful poll tax, they were not exempted either from the *tekalif-i örfiyye* or from *corvée*. This fact, which indicates that they were not on a par with the ruling class, but continued to have the same obligations as they had as Christians, is confirmed by two documents. The first mentions briefly that: "All those who pay homage to Islam are exempted only from the poll tax (*ancak cizye taleb olunmayub*). They must pay the extraordinary taxes and provide

100. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 2 (the document is undated. The acts entered before and after it were drawn up in the month of Ramazan 1066 (23.6.-22.7.1656).

101. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 98, 53 (the document is undated. The acts entered before and after it were drawn up in 1077).

102. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 169; and J. Z. Papiomytoglou, *op. cit.*, doc. 94.

103. *Ibidem*, doc. 9. The translated document is dated 11 May 1657, in all likelihood, however, it is later, because in censuses taken in 1069 (1659), published by N. Stavrinidis, the village is recorded as having 14 families.

104. *Ibidem*, doc. 35 (Cemaziül-evvel 1068). In the 1062 census 67 Christian families in the village of Kato Varsamonero are recorded as paying poll tax (see Appendix). In an undated act (certainly pre 1062) of the Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 56, 91, Kato Varsamonero is referred to with 35 families obliged to pay poll tax, which fact permits us to assume that the rest had converted to Islam.

their services in corvée, just like the rest of the reayas in the village".¹⁰⁵

The second document is the entry of an order, presumably of the serdar, addressed to the kadı of Rethymnon, in reply to a report (ar-zuhal) deposited by zaim Ibrahim. The said timar-holder complained because Hüseyin, Mehmed and Sefer, new Muslims settled in the village of Prines, refused to pay the taxes *tekalif-i örfiyye*, arguing that they had served as azaps during the siege of Rethymnon (*biz Resmo kal'asına azeb odlduk*) and were therefore entitled to exemption. In the order issued to regulate the situation, the Serdar of the island is uncompromising: "converts to Islam are only exempted from the head tax; they are obliged to pay the remaining taxes normally, like all the other reayas".¹⁰⁶

The obligation of the converts to Islam to continue paying the several taxes just as before their conversion to Islam, is reiterated in a published document concerning the collection of taxes in villages in the district of Aghios Vasileios. In this document, dated 1659, the desertion of the villages on account of the war is described and it is declared clearly that the new Muslims were obliged to pay extraordinary taxes in order to secure the income of the state.¹⁰⁷

"...when Cafer Ağa came to your province, on behalf of the state, in order to collect the taxes, in accordance with the sealed and underlined books of taxpayers, he found some villages totally empty and their inhabitants dispersed, having taken refuge in places unknown. He informed us therefore that on account of the situation created, the state will be adversely affected and to avoid this happening, it is incumbent on the remaining inhabitants to shoulder the taxes of those who have left. At the same time, in order to safeguard the income of the state, he requested us to issue an order that will oblige new Muslims to pay the obligatory taxes as before. For this reason, therefore, the present order was drafted and dispatched, by which I inform you that the present reayas must take measures to pay the taxes of those of their fellow villages who escaped or are missing and to take care concurrently that the extraordinary taxes (*avariz bedeli*) of the new Muslims be collected, in order to avoid deficit to the state...".

In a document mentioned previously, concerning the 20 inhabitants of the village of Maroula who converted to Islam,¹⁰⁸ it is recorded that the tax *avarız-ı divaniyye*, which the new Muslims were obliged to pay

105. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 98, 65 (the document is undated. The page in the register lies between two acts dated Rebiül'-evvel 1077 and Muharrem 1078).

106. Resmo Şer'iyye Sicili no. 98, 72 (6 Safer 1078/28.07.1667).

107. Stavrinidis, *Μεταφράσεις*, v. 1, doc. 165; (10 Rebiül'ahir 1069).

108. *Ibidem*, doc. 169.

to the Ottoman state, was 120 aspers, that is one kuruş. Excepting this tax, the new Muslims in Maroula refuse to pay any other tax and to contribute to the taxes of the village, the burden of which was borne by the remaining Christians (*biz nevmuslimanlariz her birimiz yüzyirmişer akçe avarız-ı divaniyyemizi virdikten sonra...*).

We contend that in order to evaluate correctly the phenomenon of conversion to Islam in Crete, it is necessary for us to know which taxes the new Muslims were obliged to pay during this first period of the Ottoman presence on the island, and what were the sums paid in relation to the corresponding ones paid by the rest of the reayas. It should be noted that apart from Molly Green's perspicacious remark that: "The conversion rate is a particular puzzle when we consider the fact that the Ottomans did not offer as many financial inducements to convert as they had in earlier centuries", no research has been conducted on the fiscal status of the new Muslims of Crete. We know however, from a kadı ruling, that in 1658, on an order of Serdar Hüseyin Paşa, the new Muslims in the village of Kato Varsamonero were obliged to pay 80 and 40 aspers respectively as *resm-i çift* and *resm-i bennak*, 24 aspers *resm-i duhan*, as well as a seventh and not a tenth of the harvest as tithe, even though they argued that as Muslims now they should be obliged to pay only one tenth of their yields.¹⁰⁹

EPILOGUE

Through data from three hitherto unknown kadı court records of Rethymnon which were discovered together with an extremely rich archival material in the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Istanbul, combined with those published earlier by N. Stavrinidis and Esat Siderakis, we have considered matters concerning the poll tax during the Cretan War, symbol of submission to the Ottomans. Essentially we have traced the process of a standard Ottoman tactic that was applied on the morrow of the conquest of a region. The Cretans who accepted the new conquerors by paying the *cizye* and the taxes *raiyyet rusumu*, were allowed to keep their property, whereas, by sultanic decree, the property of those who went over to the Venetians or sought refuge elsewhere, was forfeit; their properties were confiscated, then sold at auction and transferred to other owners.

In the pages of the registers we studied, we located three censuses

109. *Ibidem*, doc. 35 (1658), 153 (1659).

of the nahiye of Rethymnon, of the years 1651, 1652, 1666, and one document concerning the cizye for the nahiye of Aghios Vasileios (1652). The villages that appear in these registers indicate the area of the territory of Rethymnon that had been conquered and was under Ottoman control, while the number of taxpayers noted in each village gives a picture of the demographic force. The nahiye of Rethymnon is recorded as having about 60 villages and about 2,100 households, and of Aghios Vasileios as having 1,100 tax-paying units. The poll tax was fixed at two kuruş per caput during the first decade and doubled in the following years, which fact indicates that during the early years of the Cretan War the Ottomans followed of a policy of placating the Christian subjects. We ascertained the exemption of the clergy, the disabled and those who offered services to the Ottomans during the war, from paying poll tax. Last, we investigated, as far as possible, the relationship between cizye and the conversion to Islam, a phenomenon that was remarkably widespread in Crete.

ADDENDUM

When our article was in its final proofs, I received the dactylographic text for the Ph. D. of my good friend and colleague Mustafa Oguz, *Girit (Resmo) Şer' iye Sicil Defterleri (1061-1067)*, Marmara Üniversitesi, Istanbul 2002. It concerns the publication of 1,066 documents included in two court registers of Rethymno, the nos 56th volume and 57th. It is a monumental study, a real mine of information on Cretan history. I would like very much to see it published as soon as possible.

Evangelia Balta

APPENDIX

*Suret-i defter-i cizye-i gebran-i Resmo ve nahiye-i fi sene 1062 Muharrem*¹¹⁰

<i>Nefs-i Resmo</i>	<i>hane</i> 210
<i>Acipopulo</i>	110
<i>Galo</i>	16
<i>Kato Varsamonero</i>	67
<i>Miryokefali</i>	34
<i>Mundros</i>	39
<i>Alones</i>	7
<i>Ayo Yorgi</i>	7
<i>Rustika</i>	40
<i>Palelimno</i>	9
<i>Miçi Gonya</i>	55
<i>Kastelos</i>	31
<i>Apano Armenus</i>	35
<i>Kumuz</i>	53
<i>Ano Malaki</i>	8
<i>Fotino</i>	43
<i>Karye</i>	36
<i>Harkya</i>	26
<i>Mesa Milya</i>	21
<i>Prases</i>	49
<i>Vukuro</i>	9
<i>Yanudi</i>	16
<i>Kiryana</i>	53
<i>Ayo Yani ma' Aya Triyada</i> ¹¹¹	
<i>Pigi (vakıf)</i> ¹¹²	—
<i>Prine</i>	112
<i>Yerani</i>	97
<i>Piskopi</i>	53
<i>Polis (Istanbul köy)</i>	58

110. See note 38.

111. The number of taxpayers is not recorded. In a note accompanying the 1651 census we read that 20 persons paid poll tax in the villages of Aghios Yannis and Aghia Triada.

112. The village of Pigi belonged to a vakıf and the poll tax was collected by this and not by the state. See above, p. 334.

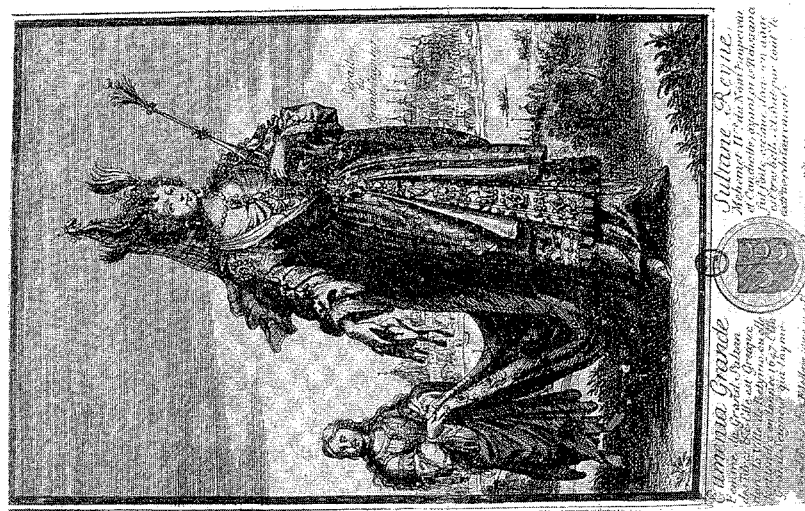
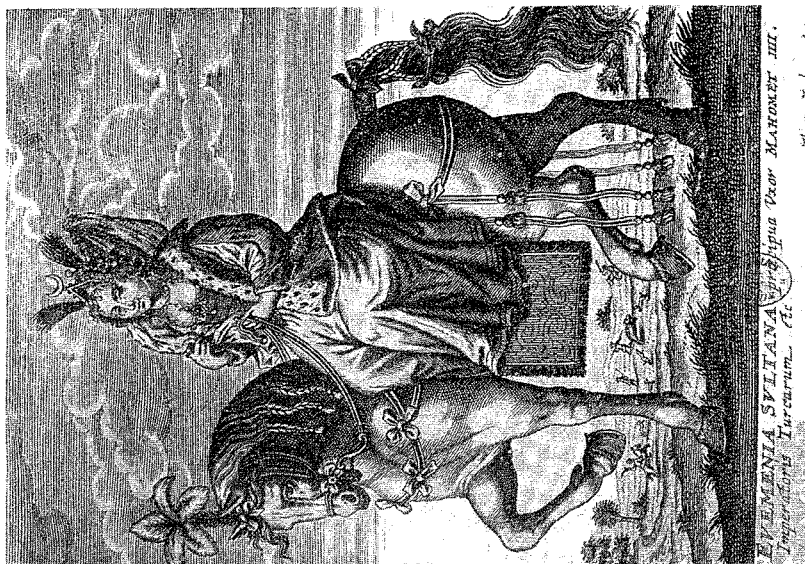
<i>Nisi</i>	6
<i>Kamulado (?)</i>	6
<i>Ayo Konstantin</i>	14
<i>Sayitures</i>	20
<i>Ayo Andrya ma Bala Kalona (?)</i>	28
<i>Monopari</i>	23
<i>Somata</i>	14
<i>Kato Armenus ma' Ayo Yorgi</i>	15
<i>Kato Malaki</i>	5
<i>Aya Marina</i>	10
<i>Anbelaki</i>	28
<i>Oroz ma Gulodyana</i>	46
<i>Seli</i>	38
<i>Pangalohori</i>	18
<i>Aya Irini</i>	4
<i>Rusospiti</i>	38
<i>Kato Kavuş</i>	32
<i>Marula</i>	67
<i>Ikserohori ma Ayo Marko</i>	42
<i>Karodi</i>	18
<i>Mesi</i>	34
<i>Hromanastir</i>	97
<i>Amınyato</i>	51
<i>Garuli (?)</i>	24
<i>Pervola</i>	33
<i>Hamalevri</i>	24
<i>Aster</i>	18
<i>Anoya</i>	14
<i>Lutra</i>	19
<i>Pigri</i>	31
<i>Ayo Dimitri</i>	19
YEKUN	2196

Tahrîren fî gurre-i Muharremü'l-haram li sene isneyn ve sittin ve elf. Nişân-ı Şerîf oldur ki,

Çün inâyet-i Hazret-i Vehhâb ve Cenâb-ı müsebbibül-es-bâb ve müfet-tihül-ebvâb Allah feth ve teshîri cây-ı saltanata nüval ve nisâb olan Girid Ceziresinde havf-i suyûf-i guzât-i müslimîn ve satvet ve hücum kemân-ı muvahhidin ile kabül-i cizye eyleyip püster-i adl ve emân ve kişver-i huzur-ı adâlet ünvanında me'mûn ve masun olan keferenin bin altmış iki sene-

sinde zimmetlerine lâzım olan cizyelerinin cem' ve tahsîli emr-i mühimmi ve umûr lâzım olmakla Resmo nahiyesi'nde vâki olan kurânın tahrîr-i cedîddefteri mücebince keferre re'âyâsi üzerlerine kayd olan iki bin yetmişbir nefer kefereden herbir neferden ikişer riyal kuruş cizyeden dört bin yüz kırk iki kuruş cizye ve yüz dört kuruş tefavüt-i hasene cem'an dört bin iki yüz kırk altı kuruş mîrî için ve kırkar akçe gülamiyesi için ve yirmişer akçe mebâşire vech-i maaş olmak üzere cem' tahsîl ve teslim-i Hazine olunması için işbu dârende-i fermân vâcibü'l-izân kıdvetü'l-emâsil ve'l-akrân Mustafa zîde kadruhû üzerine beşyüz kuruş peşin teslim eylediği ecilden deruhde olub bu berât-ı meserret âyât behcet gâyatı virdim ve buyurdum ki, mezbur varub nahiyeye-i mezbûrede keferre re'âyâsi üzerine tahrîr-i cedîd defteri mâcibince kayd olunan iki bin yetmiş bir neferin beher neferi ikişer kuruş cizye ve tefâvüt yüz dört kuruş dört bin iki yüz kırk altı mîrî için ve kırkar akçe gulâmiyesi için ve yirmişer akçe maaş-ı mübâşir olmak üzere [...] verilen imzalı ve mühürlü defter mücebince itmâm-i cem' ve tahsîl ve teslim-i cizye ettirib defterden ziyâde cizye ve tayin olandan ziyâde hizmet nâmıyka alçe ittimâsından ihtirâz ve ictibâ edeler ve defterde dahî kesr ve noksan gelmek ihtimâli olmaya şöyle bileler alâmet-i şerife i'timâd kılalar. Tahrîran fi gurre-i Muharremüll-haram li sene isneyn ve sittin ve elf (1062).

Vaslün-nebe fi'l yevmit-tâsi' aşer min Şehr-i Rebiulevvel li-sene isneyn ve sittin ve elf. (1062).



Pl. 2a. Euménia Grande Sultane (N. De Larmessin).
b. Euménia Grande Sultane (N. De Larmessin).



Pl. 8a. Eumonia Grande Sultane (F. Jollain).
b. Eumonia Sultana (Th. van Merlen).