OTTOMAN ARCHIVES IN GREECE

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I shall begin my talk with a clarification. When talking of Ottoman archive material in Greece – material inherited from four centuries of Ottoman rule – we should not omit to include material written in the Turkish language but in Greek characters. Consequently, in addition to the large archive collections that have survived down to the present-day in Greece, and which had a direct link with the workings of the provincial administrative machine of the Ottoman Empire, we also need to include archive material that was brought to Greece by Turkish-speaking refugees from Asia Minor with the Exchange of Populations in 1924, since this was broadly similar in kind to the Greek material. I shall take a look at both these archival groups after first outlining how these documents first came into being.

How and why the archives were first created?

Ottoman archival material in Greece stems from official, administrative operations of two sources of authority:

1) The Ottoman government, both central and provincial, which left a series of kadi registers, tax registers, meşkufat defterleri, firmanlar, beratlar, and so on.

2) self-government, including bodies run by the Greek subjects, such as the Church and local communities.

Church archives. It is easy to explain the variety and wealth of ecclesiastical archive material dating from the period of Ottoman rule. Following the Ottoman conquest, the Church was recognised by the Ottoman state as being responsible for the political organisation of its community of Christian subjects. The range of its

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powers and activities was large, since it covered the greater part of the relations of Christian subjects with the state. It was involved in the private life of Christians, in their dealings with one another, and took part in or, indeed, led various initiatives, such as the foundation and maintenance of schools and hospitals. Consequently, the Greek community was principally the recipient of documents from the provincial and central powers of the Ottoman Empire, which notified the community of what was required of it or of the Ottoman response to the community as petitions and requests, whether for tax allowances, building and repair permits for churches, and other such matters. And, naturally, these documents were carefully kept and stored by their recipients, since they comprised official confirmation of privileges granted or recognition of the terms of ownership of land that was under dispute, and so on and so forth.

Community archives. Throughout the long Ottoman rule, secular community powers acted in parallel with the ecclesiastical power as a form of self-government. The communities, while not defined or established by law, differed from place to place and did not take on a uniform character, being rather the result of local needs. The most important service which the communities offered was the collection of taxes. The community leaders, or elders, were responsible for the redistribution of tax that the community had to pay internally, as well as for the collection and rendering of taxes to the Ottoman authorities. Thus, as a political body responsible for the collection of taxes, the communities acquired all those powers — executive, legislative and judicial — that were necessary to achieve their basic raison d'être as local tax collector. The communities, therefore, also created archives, since they not only received and produced documents, but were also required to preserve such documents in order to perform their tasks.

Very frequently Ottoman documents maintained in monasteries, ecclesiastical sees, or in community archives have a short translation of their content written on the verso, and sometimes this was recorded in special books, or registers. Not infrequently it is thanks to such record books containing these short translations that we learn about the existence of original archival documents that have since been destroyed.

I. An overview of Ottoman archival material in Greek lands.

During the long period of Turkish rule, archive material suffered various changes. The ravages of time unavoidably led to damage, as well as the effects of fire, dampness and other natural phenomena. The worst period for the fate of the

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concerning the Great Church, 1484-1567 (in Greek), Athens, 1998; P. Konstantinou, Ottoman Views concerning the Ecumenical Patriarch, Berats concerning the leaders of the Great Church, from the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century (in Greek), Athens, 1998.

archives was during the revolutionary period in Greece. From 1821 onwards, with the outbreak of the Greek war of independence, which lasted for nearly ten years, incalculable damage was inflicted on archives and public records by Turks and Greeks alike. Paper, the raw material of archives and libraries, was useful for the production of cartridges. And it is for this reason that in those regions which raised the banner of rebellion in 1821, and where fighting was particularly intense, such as in the Peloponnese and central Greece, very few archives survived. Further destruction was also inevitable when such material as had survived no longer served a useful administrative purpose, becoming, as it were, obsolete and superfluous, while for a long time the Greek state appears to have had no archival policy whatsoever. It is worth noting, for example, that the modern Greek state only set up a public records office in 1914, a full 70 years after its creation.

As noted above, in those regions which comprised the modern Greek state in 1830, no archive collections have survived on account of the hostilities between the Greeks and Turks. However, some Ottoman documents, such as bcrats, firmans, and huccets granting privileges or tax exemptions of one kind or another, did survive in monasteries, which tended to be located far from the main lines of communication or in remote coastal areas. Similar Ottoman records were saved in the island communities, among Greek codices and documents; others survived because they found their way into family archives, which later were given to large public collections. Today, therefore, from the early Greek state we have several hundred Ottoman records. Let me add in parentheses that, here, I am talking of big collections of records rather than scattered isolates documents and papers. These are to be found in the following collections:

Firstly, the Historical and Ethnological Society, which contains the Peroukas Collection. This includes records relating to Argos dating from the second half of the eighteenth century to the eve of the Greek Revolution, and contains the Londos archive. Secondly, the Benaki Museum, which contains the Benaki family archive, which was consulted by Gilles Veinstein for his study of the çiflikts of Panayotis Benakis; and, thirdly, the State General Archives.

While few Turkish archives survived from the earliest Greek territories, precisely the opposite was the case in Macedonia and northern Greece. The rapid arrival of the Greek army in the region during the Balkan Wars meant that the Turkish archives of various Macedonian cities, such as Thessaloniki, Veroia and Kastoria, were left undisturbed. There had simply not been time to move them.

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5 Helen Lykourgi Lazrou, op. cit., p. 71.
elsewhere, in contrast with the earlier experience of Larissa and other towns and cities in Thessaly, whose archives were moved north to Kozani during military operations. Unfortunately, the invaluable archive of Kozani was largely destroyed by fire in 1912, while other archives were destroyed later. The Kastoria archive was destroyed in the conflagration that consumed the law courts of the town in 1943. Likewise, few Ottoman records survived in Western Thrace. Vassilis Dimitriadis believes that, probably, either the Turks took their archives with them when leaving Thrace, or the two World Wars and the occupation of the area by foreign armies are the cause. I should add that the Ottoman records of Eastern Macedonia (i.e. Kavala, Drama and Serres) were the victims of other troubles in the region. Eastern Macedonia and Thrace suffered Bulgarian occupation: Serres, for instance, was put to the torch by the Bulgarians in 1912 before the city was surrendered to the Greek army; collections of Greek manuscripts from the old monasteries of Kosinitsa in Drama and St John the Baptist of Serres and are now in the possession of the Dujcev Institute in Sofia.

1a. The large collections of Ottoman records

The two principal collections of Ottoman archive material in Greece are today held in the Historical Archive of Macedonia in Thessaloniki, and in the Vikelaia Municipality Library in Herakleio, Crete. Smaller collections are to be found in Veria, Kozani, Chania and Samos.

I shall spare you a detailed account of the dates and contents of these archives. However, it is worth pointing out that the Historical Archives of Macedonia contains around 300 siclus dating from the period 1694-1912 which principally concern Thessaloniki, though also the nearby kazas of Avret Hisar (Kilkis), Katerini and Paziargia (Kassandra). There are also juridical and notarial documents, the administrative records of the vilayet of Thessaloniki and its neighbouring kazas, and the land and tax registers that are still in use since the national cadaster is still incomplete. It is on the basis of the registration and recording of transfers of land made during the nineteenth century that title deeds are still issued today. An important part of archival material held in the Historical Archives of Macedonia is comprised of registers drawn up by the

administration of the vakifs in Macedonia; no less than 111 of these concern the vakifs belonging to Evrenoz Bey\textsuperscript{11}.

Selections of the sicils were published in Greek translation by Ioannis Vasdravellis in 1952\textsuperscript{12}. Vassilis Dimitriadis made use of the cadasters relating to the city of Thessaloniki for his work *The Topography of Thessaloniki during Ottoman Rule, 1450-1912* (Thessaloniki 1983). Dimitriadis also recently published the register of the Greek population of Thessaloniki that was drawn up in the census of 1831\textsuperscript{13}. Meropi Anastasiadou also used this material for her doctoral research\textsuperscript{14}. The greater part of this archive has been catalogued, but unfortunately the catalogues have not yet been published. Some of these, such as the catalogue of vakif registers, are exceptionally detailed and it would be a great benefit to the academic community if they were to be published.

b. The other large Ottoman archive — i.e. the Herakleion archive — contains 166 sicils, cadasteres pertaining to various districts of Crete, and the records of three Turkish notaries of Herakleion. The principal researcher into these archives was the Smyrna-born scholar Nikolaos Stavrinidis, who worked on the records from 1931 until his death, at the age of 92\textsuperscript{15}. He published five volumes of translations of records from the kadi registers of Herakleion\textsuperscript{16}, which then formed the raw material for further research by scholars, such as Yolanda Triandafyllidou-Baladié on Cretan trade, Vassilis Kremmydas on the Cretan soap industry and Molly Green\textsuperscript{17}, to take just three examples. Stavrinidis himself wrote a multitude of studies on the history of Crete and was a member of a wider group of scholars and intellectuals on the


\textsuperscript{13} V. Dimitriadis, *Salonika in decline. The Greek Community of Salonica during the decennary of 1830 according to an Ottoman Population Register* (in Greek), Herakleio, 1997.


island. Allow me to relate my own personal experience of Stavrinidis. I met him in the summer of 1980 when I was invited by the Herakleio City Council to conduct research in the city, and had the good fortune to work by his side for 50 days. He was a man of great knowledge, a master of many languages, and a tireless worker, who, even at the age of 87, would work from morning till night 'for the sake of history', as he himself said. He was one of the last of a generation of great scholars. The vast number of unpublished translations that he left behind, as well as 37 codices held in the archive, are being catalogued by the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the University of Crete, and it is to be hoped that we shall soon see this material published. It needs also to be recalled that in Herakleio and other Greek cities, such as Thessaloniki, Veroia, and elsewhere, where Ottoman kadi registers had survived, up until the Second World War special government 'translation offices' operated, whose task was to issue official translations for citizens and state alike. Stavrinidis was an employee at one such office in Herakleio. The translations of employees at the Translation Office of Thessaloniki and Veroia were edited by Ioannis Vasdravellis in his editions of the respective archives. In Chios, Christos Mavropoulos, who translated all the surviving Ottoman documents of Chios, was employed as an interpreter at the magistrate’s court.

A smaller archive, though extremely important, is to be found in Veroia, containing 130 sicils that date as far back as the early seventeenth century. PanayiOS Zepos in 1944 and Ioannis Vasdravellis in 1954 published in translation a selection of documents from this archive, whose microfilms are today stored in the Historical Archives of Macedonia in Thessaloniki. Material deriving from the kadi registers of Veroia was used by Andonis Anastassopoulos for his doctoral research at Cambridge (Imperial Institutions and Local Communities: Ottoman Karafere, 1758-1774, 1998).

In the archive of Kozani there are just thirty-nine surviving codices containing kadi registers and other cadasters. Eight of the codices pertain to the area of Servia (Serfiçe), and the remaining thirty-one to Thessaly. Other archives, such as

19 Stavrinidis’ translation work includes 2,840 translations of state and private documents covering the first one hundred years of Turkish rule on Crete, until 1764. See ibid., p. 98.
20 Ch. Mavropoulos, Turkish Documents on the History of Chios published by the Municipality of Chios (in Greek), Athens, 1990.
those of Chania, Samos\textsuperscript{23}, and the Dodecanese (in Rhodes) have not yet been properly ordered and catalogued. The kadi registers of Chania were unfortunately lost in the fire of 1898, which destroyed the General Administration building of Crete, then located in Chania\textsuperscript{24}.

I have presented a broad outline of the Ottoman archives whose function was to serve the administrative operations of the State General Archives. Besides this material, however, there are also other Ottoman archives that require mention. On Mount Athos, for instance, alongside the Byzantine chrysobulls and the Greek, Serbian, Romanian and Russian archives, there are also Ottoman documents in all 20 of the main monasteries and in the administrative centre – the Protaton – at Karyes. Ottoman archives of Mount Athos have been edited and published by Paul Lemerle and Paul Wittek, Elizabeth Zachariadou, Vassilis Dimitriadi, (who is currently preparing a catalogue of the archives of a number of the monasteries), Yannis Alexandropoulos, Vanko Boskov, H.-G. Majer, and, most recently, Aleksandar Fotic\textsuperscript{25}. There is also an archive in the metochion monastery of Vlatades in Thessaloniki. In 1955, Ioannis Vasdravellis edited fifty-two translated documents in this archive\textsuperscript{26}. Some of the Ottoman records held in the monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos were published by Elizabeth Zachariadou\textsuperscript{27}.


\textsuperscript{27} Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Contribution to the History of the Southeastern Aegean, based on the firman of Patmos for the years 1454-1522" (in Greek), \textit{Symmeikta} 1 (1966), 184-230. The
and Evgenia Kermeli has also studied the same archive. It is to be hoped that this important archive will one day be published, since it is of great interest not only for the history of the old monastery on Patmos, but also for the history of the southeastern Aegean.

Besides these large monasteries whose archives either have been or continue to be studied systematically, scattered archive material has survived in various larger or less well-known monasteries of mainland and insular Greece. Since 1978, the Historical and Palaeographical Archive of the Educational Foundation of the National Bank of Greece has systematically recorded and photographed a wealth of archive material that was previously unknown, as well as Byzantine manuscripts. The work of the Foundation is invaluable because, first, the archive material is less likely to be lost as it exists in a copy; second, the publication of even brief descriptive catalogues at least alerts the academic community to the existence of the archive and its contents; and, third and most important, the archive is made easily accessible to those interested in studying it. To take an example, in 1983, when I was examining the microfilms of the archive of the Catholic bishopric of Santorini, whose new catalogue indicated that it included Ottoman material, I was able to identify the tax register of Santorini, dated 1731, which I then published.

II. The archive material of the communities of Asia Minor

As I mentioned at the beginning of this presentation, there is a further body of Turkish archive material, this material, of course, does not concern Greece per se, but rather the Turkish-speaking Orthodox communities of Asia Minor that came to Greece as refugees following the Asia Minor Disaster. In accordance with article 8 of the Treaty of Lausanne (30.1.1923), the refugees were allowed to take with them the movable property of their communities. The Turkish archive material of the Greek world of Asia Minor is composed of firmans, huccets, berats, title deeds and codices. When the material comprises official documents of the Ottoman administration, it is written in the Ottoman script and when it comprises

monastery’s archives were photographed in the 1960s by the Center for Modern Greek Research of the National Foundation for Scientific Research, see Vassilis Panayotopoulos, “The Archives of the Monastery of John the Theologian on Patmos. Classification and photographing” (in Greek), O Eranistes 3 (1965), p. 145-156.


documents concerning local administration, it is written in Turkish with Greek characters. All of these were deposited with the Exchangeable and Public Benefit Property Fund. Today, many remain in the hands of the communities, associations and societies that were set up by the refugees when they settled in Greece. Some still belong to private individuals, judging by the codices donated by individuals to the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. When the Fund for Exchangeable Property ceased to hold archive material, it was transferred to the State General Archives. Berats from the Asia Minor metropoleis, as well as manuscripts, were deposited with the Benaki Museum. I myself produced a detailed descriptive catalogue of the Turkish-language codices held in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. I am currently carrying out the same task, with the help of a colleague, for the codices from Cappadocia, which are held in the State General Archives. The first volume, which deals with the codices of Sinassos (Mustafapasa), Urgup and the surrounding region is now due to be printed. I should underline that the bulk of the archive material relating to Asia Minor is composed principally of codices that were in the possession of the local churches and councils. They date mostly from the nineteenth century down to 1924. There are only a very few that date to the eighteenth century. As you can appreciate, this material gives us valuable insights into the Greek Orthodox communities of Asia Minor during this period.

I must confess that when I came to this meeting I was unsure of the results that it would produce. In 1987, a society of young historians, of which I was a member, organised a symposium on Syros on the subject of archives in Greece, in the hope of producing various proposals regarding the state and organisation of these archives. At the symposium I spoke about the Ottoman archives in Greece. This paper was published in Greek and was subsequently translated into Turkish and Bulgarian. You now have a copy of the Turkish text in your hands, and, as you can see, I made a number of proposals regarding co-operation between the various countries in the regions that possess Ottoman archives. Now, so many years later, I need to repeat this hope for co-operation in the field. But I feel I must add a further proposal. We must draw up a protocol that sets out the commitments and obligations of the academic community and staff of the archives so as to ensure that the former can obtain unhindered access to the archives and the latter can be certain of their role and place in historical research. To many this may sound utopian. But it is not. Historical research, and, what is more, archival research, have unfortunately been considered the handmaids of political exigencies, and this will continue to be the view as long as we do nothing about it. If we agree that this situation must change, then we simply need to make our position clear. Let us, therefore, draw up such a protocol and sign it. I feel that it is only by making a
statement of this kind that, our presence here can produce results of any real substance. Indeed, I would like to be even more categorical. We are historians, and it is our duty to defend the autonomy of our science. Otherwise, we shall all become participants in games of political expendiency.