

The Ottoman Surveys of Siphnos* (17th – 18th Centuries)

Siphnos Osmanlı Tahrirleri (17.-18. Yüzyıllar)

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Özet

Bu çalışma, 1670 ve 1671 tarihli iki Tapu Tahrir Defteri'ne (*Tapu Kadastro* 105, *Tapu Kadastro* 180) ve bir Cizye Defteri'ne (*Maliyeden Müdevver* 4856) dayanmaktadır. Diğer Ege adaları ile birlikte *Liva-i Cezayir*'e bağlı bir liva olan Sifnos adası, Kapudan Mustafa Paşa'nın hassı idi. Adadaki dört yerleşimde —Kastro, Stavri, Artemonas ve Exambela— en az 560 hane kayıtlıydı ve ayrıca adada 6 manastır vardı. Vergi tahsildarlarının kayıtlarına göre, hayvancılık ve arıcılık sınırlıydı, buna mukabil adada daha ziyade şarap, hububat, pamuk, zeytinyağı, bakliyat ve meyve üretilmekteydi.

Abstract

The study draws on three unpublished Ottoman fiscal registers, which were compiled in 1670 and 1671: *Tapu Kadastro* 105, *Tapu Kadastro* 180 and *Maliyeden Müdevver* 4856). Siphnos, along with the other Aegean islands, belonged to the liva of the islands (*Liva-i Cezayir*), of which the Kapudan Paşa, Mustafa Paşa, had the usufruct. In the island's four settlements – Kastro, Stavri, Artemonas and Exambela – at least 560 tax-paying families are recorded, and there were also six monasteries. The island's products, as recorded in the taxes collected, are wine, cereals, cotton, olive oil, pulses and fruits, while there was limited stock-raising and apiculture.

The Catholic Bishop of Melos and *locum tenens* of the Catholic church on Siphnos, Ioannis Antonios Kamillis, in his report dated 15 June 1670, informed the Vatican that the Turks, having recorded “men, properties, vineyards and fields, and the income from each”, determined the “sums of money each island will pay annually”. He noted also that for agricultural produce they would pay to the public tax-collector ‘of the five one’ (i.e. one-fifth).¹ The present article

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* Paper in *II International Siphnian Conference* (Siphnos, 27-30 June 2002). In the Greek version of my paper which will be published in the *Proceedings of the II International Siphnian Conference* (forthcoming), is included an Appendix in which are presented by settlement the names of the tax-payers, their properties on the basis of TK 105 as well as their fiscal category for payment of the poll-tax (MAD 4856).

focuses on this *tahrir* (fiscal survey) of Siphnos and its contemporary *vizye* register

Sources

The study draws on three unpublished Ottoman fiscal registers, which were compiled in 1670 and 1671, after the fall of Candia, in a period when the Ottomans were consolidating their sovereignty in the Aegean, given that the interest and presence of Venice in the region by no means ceased. The Ottomans recorded the island population's agricultural lands, crops and animals, in order to ensure the rational exploitation of their possessions and the implementation of an efficient fiscal system². Siphnos, along with the other Aegean islands, belonged to the *liva* of the islands (*liva-i Cezayir*), of which the Kapudan Paşa, Mustafa Paşa, had the usufruct. In registers TK 105 and TK 180, which are in the Tapu ve Kadastro Archive in Ankara, the *tahrir* of the island is presented in dual form, one in detail and once summarily. In the *mufassal* register (TK 105), the inhabitants of the four settlements on Siphnos are recorded by name with their property, followed by the taxes each settlement will pay. The summary copy, or *icmal defteri*, (TK 180),³ includes only the total of tax-paying inhabitants, the overall count of the cultivated tracts and other land properties, as well as the total tax levied on various productive activities. The first source, which is the fuller, concerns us here.⁴ The said sources record not only Siphnos but also a host of other Aegean islands: Thasos, Seriphos, Pholegandros, Sikinos, Kimolos, Skyros, Skopelos, Kythnos, Kea, Hydra, Spetses, Poros, Salamis, Anaphi, Antiparos etc. Essentially these two registers and Tapu Tahrir 800 in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*, which covers islands in the Cyclades, complete the census of the Aegean islands, made by the Ottomans after the end of the war against the Venetians, in 1669.⁵ The third

¹ B.J. Slot, «Catholic churches of Kimolos and the surrounding islands. History of the Western nautical communities of the Southwest Cyclades and of their churches», *Kimoliaka* 5 (1975), 5-304 (in Greek). S.M. Simeonidis, «The notaries (*kantzillierides*) of Siphnos. The institution and the persons», *Siphniaka* 7 (1999), 15 (in Greek). Idem, «Economy and trade of Siphnos during the second half of the 17th century», *Siphniaka* 9 (2001), 68 (in Greek).

² See *Ege Adaları'nın İdarî, Malî ve Sosyal Yapısı*, ed. İdris Bostan, Ankara 2003, 78-79.

³ This register has been used as a source for the size of the population on some Aegean islands, such as Kythnos, Skopelos, Ios et al. See *Ege Adalarının Egemenlik Devri Tarihiçesi*, (ed.) C. Küçük, Ankara 2001, 54, note 259. See also *Ege Adaları'nın İdarî, Malî ve Sosyal Yapısı*, op. cit., 148.

⁴ Photocopies of registers TK 105 and TK 180 in the Tapu ve Kadastro Archive are deposited in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, henceforth BOA, under the following numbers respectively: TT 1148 and TT 1143.

⁵ Data from register TT 800 were presented by B.J. Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus, Les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane c. 1500-1718*, Nederlands Historisch-

fiscal document, contemporary with the previous ones, is a *cizye* register (MAD 4856).⁶ Since the archival material of the communities of Siphnos has not survived and information on the early years of Ottoman rule is scarce, these sources are invaluable.⁷

Agricultural lands and taxation

As mentioned already, there were four settlements on Siphnos: Kastro – kale in our sources or kale-i Sifano in the portolan of Piri Reis⁸ –, Stavri (modern Apollonia), Artemonas and Exambela.⁹ The Siphnians were recorded by parish, on the basis of their place of residence, with their priest first each time. Twenty-four parish churches are noted in all.¹⁰ The number and names of the parishes, which are recorded as *kelese* (= church), are identical in the fiscal register TK 105 and the *cizye* register MAD 4856. The Ottoman *tahrir*, which uses a local tradition of recording information, indicates that the churches were focal points for Siphnian society at that time. This phenomenon is not observed in the corresponding contemporary census of Santorini, or in the *tahrirs* of Syros and Paros, of which I am aware. It would be interesting to study the format of Ottoman fiscal surveys in the Aegean islands, since this might give insights into the authorities and institutions of the community in the various island societies during the period of Ottoman rule, and indeed in those

Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1982. Idem, «The Frankish Archipelago», *Byzantinische Forschungen* XVI (1991), 195–207. For the survey of Santorini, which is included in the same register (TT 800), see Evangelia Balta – Maria Spiliotopoulou, «Land Property and Taxation in Santorini in the 17th century», in Evangelia Balta, *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eériboz*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 1997, and Evangelia Balta, «Le rôle de l'institution communautaire dans la reparation verticale de l'impôt: L'exemple de Santorin au XVIIe siècle», op.cit., 97–113.

⁶ The *cizye* of Siphnos in MAD 4856 is on pages 229–237. B.J. Slot, in his study of Siphnos, refers to the register MAD 4856 without presenting its data. On the contrary, without mentioning his sources, in the same study he cites selective information about certain settlements on Siphnos, from the summary register TK 180. See B.J. Slot, «Siphnos, a singular island economy (15th–17th century)», *Proceedings of 1st International Siphnian Conference* (25–28 June 1998), Athens 2001, vol. II, 59–72 (in Greek).

⁷ Data on the population of the island during the period 1420–1835, see D. Dimitropoulos, *Testimonies on the population of the Aegean islands, From 15th to the beginning of 19th century*, National Hellenic Foundation for Scientific Research, Athens 2004, 223–226 (in Greek).

⁸ *Kitab-i Bahriye Piri Reis*, publ. The Historical Research Foundation, Istanbul Research Center, Istanbul 1988, vol. IV, 1735 where Siphnos is recorded as *Yavuzca ceziresi*.

⁹ For the settlements of Siphnos, see Anastasia E. Tzakou, *Central Settlements of Siphnos. Form and development in a traditional system*, Athens 1979 (in Greek).

¹⁰ For the churches of Siphnos, see Th. Ch. Aliprantis, *Treasures of Siphnos. Icons in the churches and monasteries*, Athens 1979 (in Greek).

cases where there are no extant community archives.

The entry for each Siphnian, who is recorded with his Christian name, surname and patronymic, gives the *pinakia*¹¹ of his fields, vineyards and orchards, followed by the number of olive trees and fruit trees belonging to him, each time specifying whether they are fig, mulberry, bitter orange, lemon or pear. In the case of owners of mills or oil presses, these are noted in their portion. Widows are recorded separately and after them, as a distinct category, the landless members of the community. In Kastro, another category of taxpayers is noted, the incomers or foreigners with land-holdings on Siphnos, specifically two immigrants from Melos. Last, again in Kastro, the sole Moslem resident, presumably the voevod or kadi of the island is recorded.¹² He was called Hasan and was son of Umur Bey. It is pertinent to note the lack of Ottomans on Siphnos, which is consistent with the situation on all the Cyclades, where the absence of both Ottoman immigrants and soldiers is a common phenomenon.

It is clear from the description alone of fiscal register TK 105 that it is a classic cadaster, lacking the notes regarding the location and the boundaries of the villagers' fields.¹³ Such details were superfluous for the Ottomans, whose interest was confined exclusively to recording the inhabitants' property for fiscal purposes. Boundaries and the various types of property transfer were internal concerns of the community of Siphnos, which were written down in its now lost registers.¹⁴ Community registers that exist for other islands are known variously as "tansa", "onomatologio", "stima book" etc.¹⁵ Ottoman tahrirs

¹¹ The "pinaki" as measurement of area is given by the scribe in the measurement of the area of the fields and vineyards of the Virgin of Vrysi monastery, which are recorded in *pinakia* and *dönüms* (1 dönüm = 919,3 m²).

Fields: 157.5 *pinakia* = 98 dönüms (1 dönüm = 1.6 *pinaki* of field)

Vineyards: 24.5 *pinakia* = 13.5 dönüms (1 dönüm = 1.8 *pinaki* of vineyard).

The *pinaki* as measurement of volume of grain and pulses on neighbouring Seriphos is equal to 8 *okkas*, see Eftychia Liata, *during the Ottoman period (17th-19th c.)*. *Contribution to the study of the social and economic structures and the community system*, publ. Research and Education Foundation of the Commercial Bank of Greece, Athens 1987 (in Greek) 137, note 17.

¹² For the presence of a kadi on Siphnos in the early decades of the seventeenth century, see S.M. Symeonidis, *History of Siphnos from Prehistoric Times*, Athens 2002², 173 (in Greek).

¹³ D. Dimitropoulos, «Limits and boundaries in the rural life of the Aegean islands during the years of Ottoman rule», *Ta Historika* 19/36 (2002), 3–22 (in Greek).

¹⁴ For information on the archival material, see Nikolitsa Matha-Dematha, *Habitat et rapports socio-économiques à Sifnos. Deuxième moitié du XIXe – début du XXe siècle* (December 1992), vol. I, 3 (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Paris I-Sorbonne).

¹⁵ As examples we cite two published theses based on community archives of the Cyclades. See Eftychia Liata, *Seriphos*, op. cit. and D. Dimitropoulos, *Mykonos in the 17th*

similar to that discussed here exist for other islands, such as Santorini, Naxos, Paros, Syros etc. The census of Crete, compiled after 1669, follows the same logic. Both the Aegean islanders and the Cretans kept the ownership rights to agricultural lands, buildings and other immovable properties.¹⁶ For this reason their land-holdings were characterized as 'haraciye', that is subject to the haraç on land, and they were obliged to hand over one-fifth of the harvest.¹⁷

After the entry of the inhabitants of each settlement, the total of its cultivable lands, livestock, and beehives (Table 1) is recorded, followed by the taxes levied on the community as a whole: the *ispence*, the tithes on agricultural and stock-raising produce, as well as various monetary taxes (Table 2). According to T 105, there were 412 households on Siphnos, which paid an annual tax of about 135,000 aspers for their production. The fiscal survey of Siphnos concludes with the recording of the land-holdings of five monasteries/convents and one *metochio* (monastic dependency).¹⁸ The monks – entered by name –, the estates, the poll tax and the taxes on produce are given for the monasteries: Virgin of Vrysi,¹⁹ Prophet Elijah,²⁰ St Anthony, the last one belonged to the Catholics (*efrenç*)²¹. There were also two convents, that is the convents of St John the Theologian and St John Chrysostom.²² It should be

century. Landowning relations and economic transactions, publ. Neohellenic Research Centre of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, no. 64, Athens 1997.

¹⁶ Molly Green, *A Shared World. Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1999. Evangelia Balta, «Olive cultivation at the time of the Ottoman Conquest», *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / Journal of Ottoman Studies* 20 (2000), 143–154.

¹⁷ *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, (eds) H. Inalcik – D. Quataert, Cambridge University Press 1994, 113.

¹⁸ S.M. Symeonidis, *Monasteries of Siphnos: St John the Theologian of Mongou, St John Chrysostom at Phyteia, St Artemios of Simonopetra*, Athens 1984 (in Greek).

¹⁹ Idem, *Our Lady Vrysi, that is contribution to the history of the Holy Monastery of the Birth of the Virgin, in Siphnos*, Athens 1966 (in Greek); idem, «Historical Archive of Siphnos», *Siphniaka* 2 (1992), 159–174 (in Greek). Maria Politi, «The manuscripts of the Vrysi Monastery of Siphnos», *Proceedings of the I International Siphnian Conference* (Siphnos, 25–28 June 1998), vol. II, Athens 2001, 109ff. (in Greek).

²⁰ Archimandrite Ph. Vitalis, «Prophet Elijah Hypsilos and John the Theologian Mongou», *Annual of the Society of Cycladic Studies* 5 (1965), 125–138 (in Greek). S.M. Symeonidis, «Holy Patriarchal and Stavropegic Monastery of Prophet Elijah “in the location at the hill of the high of the mountains of Siphnos”», *Siphniaka* 2 (1992), 21–102 (in Greek); idem, «Holy Patriarchal and Stavropegic Monastery of Prophet Elijah [more recent evidence]», *Siphniaka* 7 (1999), 155–161 (in Greek).

²¹ This is a church in honour of St Anthony of Padua. See Nikolitsa Matha-Dematha, op. cit., 3.

²² M. Symeonidis, «Information on the history of the convents of Siphnos, of the Theologian of “Mongou” and Chrysostom at Phyteia (pre 1650–1834)», *Siphniaka* 8 (2000), 5–9 (in Greek).

noted that the *tahriri* himself designates these foundations as convents of *biveha*, *havatin*. There follow data on the properties and the taxes of St Artemios, dependency of the monastery of Simonopetra on Mt Athos, which was operative from at least 1629.²³ So, thanks to the Ottoman tahrir, we know the number of monks on Siphnos in 1670, but not the number of nuns in the convents of St John the Theologian and St John Chrysostom at Phyteia: because females did not pay poll tax, their names were not entered in the fiscal register. For the same reason, it is not possible to verify the information that many widows, refugees from Crete after the fall of Candia, had entered the Chrysostomos convent

Table-1 Property of villages and monasteries of Siphnos

<i>Villages and Monasteries</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>OT</i>	<i>FT</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>OP</i>	<i>BH</i>	<i>S</i>
Kastro	803.5	360.5	34.5	508	336	16	3	22	154
Stavri	588	386	27	526	280	4.5	6	30	250
Artemonas	653	204	16	327	332	1		6	1
Exambela	1,410	271	25	676	451	7		36	229
Virgin of Vrysi monastery	157.5	24.5	1	120	82	1	1		24
Prophet Elijah monastery	37	15.5	0.25	76	11	2	1	12	8
St Artemios metochio	3	4		7	6			2	
St Antonios monastery	28.5	1.5	1	2	5				
St John the Theologian convent	15	5.5		10	8				
St John Chrysostom convent	1.5								
TOTAL	3,697	1,273	104.75	2,252	1,511	31.5	11	108	666

(Source: TK 105, TK 180)

F = fields (in pinakia) M = mills
V = vineyards (in pinakia) BH = beehives

²³ It was founded by the Siphnian hieromonk Jeremiah the Orphan, see idem, «Society and education on Siphnos during the Ottoman period (1537–1821)», *Siphnaika* 5 (1995), 19, 24 (in Greek). Idem, «Relations between Catholics and Orthodox of Siphnos during the second quarter of the 17th century. The role of the Athonite dependencies on the island», *Siphnaika* 9 (2001), 94 ff. (in Greek).

O = orchards (in pinakia) OP = olive presses
 OT = olive trees S = sheep
 FT = fruit trees

The overall area of cultivated tracts of the land in 1670 is reckoned as 300 hectares, adopting the equivalence of pinaki-dönüm, which is noted in the register. We ascertained that 38% of the families in the settlements of Kastro, Stavri and Exambela had a land-holding of over 1 hectare of fields and vineyards. We did not include the inhabitants of Artemonas in our count because, since a leaf from the photocopy of register TK 105 deposited in the BOA is missing, knowledge of the land-holdings of the majority of the villagers eludes us.²⁴ Nevertheless, the number of cases in which their land-holdings ranges from 3 to 5 hectares is almost certainly minimal. Of the four families in Kastro that owned more than 4 hectares, we recognize two of the island's notables (*prokritoi*), Diakos Sermartis son of Anagnostis,²⁵ *protonotarios* (chief notary) and commissioner of the community in those days, together with Vasilis Logothetis, and the son of the consul Petrakis Rozas,²⁶ Nikolos.

²⁴ It was impossible to see at first hand the original register in the Tapu ve Kadastro Archive in Ankara, in order to include the names of the villagers of Artemonas.

²⁵ S.M. Symeonidis, «The kantzillierides of Siphnos», op. cit. 23-25.

²⁶ Idem, «Economy and trade of Siphnos», op. cit., 21-23, 65-66.

THE OTTOMAN SURVEYS OF SIPHINOS

Table 2 The taxes of 1670

Villages	ispence	must	grain	cotton	olive oil	peas	orchards	figs	sheep	pigs	beehives	mills	fines	fishing	outport	TOTAL
Kastro	3,050	18,170	4,747	1,710	1,270	1,136	800	576	308	120	44	750	1,760	500	2,000	37,121 ¹
Slavi	2,150	19,458	3,600	1,236	1,330	480	650	488	500	120	60	300	1,350			31,722
Artemonas	1,775	10,278	4,796	1,382	818	800	700	547	354	120	12	100	1,470			22,156 ²
Exambela	3,575	13,662	8,584	2,892	1,680	1,710	1,500	734	458	150	72	460	1,950			37,227
Virgin of Vrysi	1,710 ³	1,246	1,220	384	300	232	180	30	48	-	-	70	-			5,600 ⁴
Monastery																2,100 ⁵
Prophet Elijah	1,330	782	295	96	228	48	15	15	16	-	24	100	-			520 ⁶
Monastery																520 ⁶
St Artemios	190	198	64	-	21	-	-	6	-	-	4	-	-			480 ⁷
metochio																480 ⁷
St Anthony	190	72	221	69	15	40	25	-	-	-	-	-	-			560 ⁸
Monastery																560 ⁸
St John the																70 ⁹
Theologian convent	-	278	112	39	30	16	10	10								70 ⁹
St John Chrysostom																70 ⁹
convent	-	27	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			70 ⁹
TOTAL	13,770	64,171	23,667	7,808	5,692	4,462	3,880	2,406	1,684	510	216	1,780	6,530	500	2,000	137,536 ¹⁰

¹ The sum of the amounts of the individual taxes is actually.
² 23,152 aspers.
³ Ispence is not among the taxes paid by the monasteries; in its stead is recorded the poll-tax of the monks, each of whom paid 190 aspers. Thus, the amounts for the monasteries entered in the isspence column correspond to the poll-tax.
⁴ 5,420 aspers.
⁵ 2,949 aspers.
⁶ The sum of the taxes of the St. Artemios dependency of the Simonopetra monastery was 483 aspers.
⁷ 632 aspers.
⁸ 495 aspers.
⁹ The sum of the taxes of the Chrysostom convent was 55 aspers.
¹⁰ Because of the differences in the total sums of taxes paid by the settlements and the monasteries (convents on the island, the total fiscal obligation of the island was 139,076 aspers. In the original register TK 180, the total taxation of Siphnos is recorded as 140,871 aspers.

The entering of the tax-payers' names in full, with Christian name, surname and patronymic, permits us to correlate and cross-check individuals and families for which we have information from scattered contractual documents of the same period, now preserved in private collections, such as of G. Maridakis, Evangelos D. Vaos or Georgios Th. Gaitanos.²⁷ In several instances we ascertain that the same persons or the names of their sons appear in the Ottoman fiscal registers. I confine myself to a few examples: Among the residents of the Theoskepastos parish in Kastro, we locate Konstantinos Logothetis, son of the wealthy merchant Vasilis Logothetis,²⁸ as well as Diakos Martis (Sermartis), among the first notaries (*kantzillierides*) of the island, while in the Kyra Eleousa parish in Kastro, the consul Pavlis Homiros, son of Loukas, is recorded in the Ottoman document.²⁹ Members of the Orthodox and the Catholic branch of the Gozzadini family are encountered,³⁰ as well as the Matsas, Karditsis, Zambelis, Nadalis, Palaïou, Peratikos, Galiphos, Raphaeletos families, among others. Family names such as Syrigos, Santorinios, Mothonios etc, bear witness to the migration of islanders and Peloponnesians to Siphnos. Concurrently, however, with the prosopographical inquiries, we are offered the possibility of forming a picture of the immoveable property managed by members of old dynastic families, such as Dacorogna and Gozzadini, in the years of Ottoman rule.³¹

Furthermore, the Ottoman fiscal survey lends itself to the classification of the population into categories on the basis of their holdings, which to a degree reflect the income stratification of the population. It should be pointed out

²⁷ G.A. Petropoulos, *Legal documents of Siphnos in the G. Maridakis Collection, 1684–1835, with contributions to the study of Postbyzantine Law*, Academy of Athens, Monuments of Greek History, vol. 3, fasc. 1, Athens 1956 (in Greek). V. Sphyroeras, «Documents of the island of Siphnos 1785–1820 from the Georgios S. Maridakis Collection», *Annual of the Medieval Archive of the Academy of Athens* 17 (1967), 5–44 (in Greek). S.M. Symeonidis, «Fifteen dowry contracts of Siphnos», *Siphnaïka* 1 (1991), 80–109 (in Greek). Idem, «Unpublished legal documents of Siphnos. Another eight dowry contracts, eleven wills», *Siphnaïka* 2 (1992), 103–140 (in Greek). S.M. Symeonidis – G.N. Theodorou, «Catalogue of loose documents in the private collection of G. Gaitanos», *Siphnaïka* 2 (1992), 7–18 (in Greek).

²⁸ Idem, *History* op. cit., 215. S.M. Symeonidis, «Vasileios Logothetis. The merchant-magnate of Siphnos and the Cyclades», *Siphnaïka* 6 (1996–1998), 7–78 (in Greek). For his son Konstantinos, see *ibidem*, 15–16.

²⁹ Idem, «Consuls of foreign states in Siphnos», *Siphnaïka* 7 (1999), 61–78 (in Greek).

³⁰ On Nicola Gozzadini see Ege Adaları'nın İdarî, Malî ve Sosyal Yapısı, op.cit., 29. In Kastro several Prêt Gozzadini, Catholic clerics, are mentioned. Perspicacious are the remarks of Antonis Pardos concerning the conversion of Catholics to Orthodoxy. See A. Pardos, «Siphnos, the Patmos of the Cyclades in the 16th and 17th centuries», *Proceedings of the 1st International Siphnian Conference* (Siphnos, 25–28 June 1998), Athens 2001, 33–48 (in Greek).

³¹ B.J. Slot, *Archipelagus*, op. cit., 113 ff.

that members of the island societies were also involved with activities other than farming, such as trade and shipping, which are not taken into account in the Ottoman registers. Nevertheless, involvement with agricultural production constitutes an economic constant in the islands in those times, which to a great extent defines both the subsistence consumption and the creation of monetary reserves in the community. No one can doubt that the given source lends itself to observations relating to economic behaviour. Nikolos, son of the Chiot Petrakis Rozas, inheritor of the Logothetis house, is entered in the Ottoman register with a considerable land property – one of the largest on the island (36.5 pinakia of fields and 22 vineyards). On the contrary, the offspring of the also wealthy Antonakis Stais, Nikolaos Stais and his two sons, Yorgis and Thodoris, owned very little land on Siphnos. Their wealth was invested elsewhere. In all probability, like their forefather Antonakis Stais, they had put their capital exclusively in weaving ‘workshops’.³² The unique Antonis Stais who is noted as inhabitant of Exambela in the Ottoman register, presumably the Cretan who settled *en famille* on the island, is recorded as landless.

Products – Production

It is surmised from the recorded taxes that Siphnos in the mid-seventeenth century produced very little wheat, but abundant mixed cereals and barley, as well as wine, olive oil, cotton and vegetables.³³ The quantities of cereals (approx. 12,250 okkas per annum) were barely sufficient to cover the subsistence needs of the island’s population and its probably limited stock-raising. According to the testimony of the vicar Markos Pollas, in 1650 supplies were brought from the mainland.³⁴ The tax prices of cereals and pulses in the Ottoman register were as follows:

- 1 pinaki (=8 okkas) wheat: 14 aspers
- 1 pinaki mixed cereals: 10 aspers
- 1 pinaki barley: 7 aspers
- 1 pinaki beans: 16 aspers
- 1 pinaki sesame: 40 aspers

The Ottoman scribe records 2,252 olive trees and 11 olive presses.³⁵ The tax in kind per tree was five okkas of oil, which means that the average yield of

³² S.M. Symeonidis, *History*, op. cit., 164, 228. Idem, «Economy and trade of Siphnos», op. cit., 33–34.

³³ Ibidem, 43–45.

³⁴ Ibidem, 44.

³⁵ 45,000 olive trees are recorded in the 19th century. See K.I. Gion, *History of the island of Siphnos from most ancient times to the present day, with the description of its ancient gold, silver mines...* Syros 1876, 69 (photo-reproduced edition 1995) (in Greek).

olives was estimated at 25 okkas, since the tax was equivalent to one-fifth of production. The tax price of olive oil on Siphnos was only half an aspro an okka, whereas in Crete in the same period it reached 3 aspers. The difference in the tax price of oil in Crete and Siphnos points to two different tax-collecting practices for the same product. In the case of Crete, apart from the rich production of olive oil it also indicates the pressure the Ottoman authorities exerted on the Cretans, to force them to pay the tax in kind. In Crete, the natural product of olive cultivation was traded by the representatives of the Ottoman authorities, for personal profit. In the case of Siphnos, the low price of olive oil refers to small-scale production and permitted the payment of the tax in money, primarily in the years of poor harvest, when it was difficult or impossible to meet the local dietary and other needs for oil, let alone to discharge the payment of the fiscal obligation in kind.

At the top of the scale of taxation for Siphnos was wine, the quality of which – according to foreign travellers – was no rival to that of Santorini and Melos.³⁶ On the basis of our calculations, wine production on Siphnos was of the order of 209 tons, with mean yield of wine per hectare 29.5 kilos.³⁷ Measure of the actual income was the mistato, of capacity 9 okkas, and the tax price on an okka of wine was 2 aspers.³⁸ The high tax on cotton suggests that large amounts were produced on Siphnos (6,580 okkas), a tradition carried over from the period of occupation by the Latin conquerors,³⁹ supplying raw material for the manufacture of cotton textiles that were exported to different regions of the Ottoman Empire and the Morea.⁴⁰

Poll Tax

In the year 1670/71, in parallel with the recording of land-holdings, a cizye

³⁶ H. Hauttecoeur, *L'île de Siphnos*, Brussels 1898 (reprint by the Bulletin de la Société Royale Belge de Géographie), 13.

³⁷ In order to calculate an indicative wine production, we multiply by five the sum of the quantities of the actual revenue paid by the settlements and monasteries of the island. By then converting the sum of pinakia and vineyards into hectares, on the basis of the correspondence 1,8 pinakia = 1 dönüm, we reach the yield per hectare of 29.5 kilos. For the hectare rendering of vineyards in the Cyclades, see Evangelia Balta, «Evidence for Viniculture from the Ottoman Tax Registers: 15th to 17th century», *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* 5, İstanbul 2001, 8–10.

³⁸ Cf. the case of Santorini, see Evangelia Balta, «Du document fiscal à l'économie agricole: les cultures à Santorin au XVIIIe s.», in : Evangelia Balta, *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eériboz*, İstanbul, Isis Press 1997, 82. From the tax evidence to the agricultural economy: the crops on Santorini in the 18th century», *Historika* vol 3, iss. 6 (December 1986), 289 (in Greek).

³⁹ B.J. Slot, *Archipelagus*, op. cit., vol. I, 54.

⁴⁰ S.M. Symeonidis, «Vincenzo Castelli. Report on the Latin Church on Siphnos [in August 1711]», *Siphniaka* 9 (2001), 178, 183 (in Greek).

register was also compiled, covering the Cyclades, the Argosaronic islands and some islands in the North Aegean. This is MAD 4856, which is kept in BOA. In the firman accompanying the register, it is declared that shortly after the fall of Candia a survey was made of the Cyclades and the islands in the Argosaronic Gulf, recording a total of 9,023 households that paid 3 guruş each, which means that 27,069 guruş (2,706,900 aspers) were collected from head tax. The Kapudan Paşa, Mustafa Paşa, had usufruct of the poll tax and the revenues (3,937,375 aspers). In the same firman, the sultan prohibited the collection of any other revenue or tax, over and above these amounts, and declared that a sealed copy of the register was delivered to the Kapudan Paşa on 1 Muharrem 1082 (10 May 1671).⁴¹ Thus this register includes the 414 tax-payers in the settlements of Siphnos. They are entered by parish, with their Christian name, surname and patronymic, and their haraç category (*ala*, *evsat*, *edna*) is denoted in red ink. Most are in the third category. In a contemporary document, the haraç on the islands, as in Crete too, was: for the first category (*a'la*) = 48 dirhems of silver, second category (*evsat*) = 24, and third category (*edna*) = 12.⁴² On the first folios of the codex, however, the registrar notes that the household (*hane*) paid 3 guruş poll tax, and we know from register TK 105 that the island's monks paid 190 aspers each⁴³. Consequently, the allocation of the tax-payers in three categories points to the manner of redistribution of tax to the members of the community, commensurate with their property-owning status.

Table- 3: Allocation of poll tax 1670

Source: MAD 4856

Villages	<i>ala</i>	<i>evsat</i>	<i>edna</i>	Total
KASTRO				
parish of Theoskepastos	3	6	17	26
Aghios Georgios	1	4	23	28
Pnaghia	2	3	21	26
Kyr. Anna	2	3	10	15
Kyr. Eleousa	5	4	17	26
TOTAL				121
STAVRI				
parish Christos	4	4	23	29
Aghios Sostis		2	13	15
Aghios Georgios		1	11	12
Aghios Spyridon	1		14	15

⁴¹ *Ege Adalarının Egemenlik Devri Tarihçesi*, op. cit., doc. 51.

⁴² See *ibidem*, doc. 52.

⁴³ On the *cizye* of Orthodox clerics, See Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Ten ottoman documents on the Great Church, 1483–1567*, ed. National Hellenic Foundation for Scientific Research, Athens 1996, 80–81 (in Greek).

Aghioi Taxiarches			15	15
TOTAL				71
ARTEMONAS				
parish of Aghioi Taxiarches	1		12	13
Aghios Loukas		1	9	10
Panaghia	1	2	32	35
St John Theologos		1	12	13
TOTAL				86
EXAMBELA				
parish of Panaghia		2	19	21
Aghia Varvara		2	15	17
Aghios Nikolaos		1	10	11
Aghios Georgios			20	20
Panaghia			12	12
Christos			10	10
Panaghia Katavati	1	1	11	13
Aghia Irini Lefki		1	16	17
Panaghia Chrysopigi		2	11	13
TOTAL				134
MONASTERIES				
Virgin of Vrysi				9
Prophet Elijah				7
St Anthony of Catholics				1
<i>Metochio</i> of St Artemios				1
GENERAL TOTAL	21	40	353	432

The coincidence of the total number of tax-payers in the revenue and poll tax registers, 412 tax units in the first and 414 in the second, excluding the monks, is not fortuitous. It denotes that the island was “contracted” to pay the specific number of tax units to the Ottoman purse. However, comparison of the names in the two fiscal registers, as in the case of Santorini too,⁴⁴ showed that not all were identical. Consequently, the total tax-paying population of Siphnos was much larger than 412/414 units. It is pertinent to stress that I refer to a tax-paying population, because the actual population was certainly larger. In order to find the overall number of tax-payers, the individuals not entered in both fiscal documents should be counted. First of all, the households whose heads were widows, who as women did not pay poll tax, are omitted from the *cizye* register. In all, 93 widows are recorded in the four

⁴⁴ Evangelia Balta, «Le rôle de l’institution communautaire», op. cit.

settlements and their place in the *cizye* register is occupied by other persons. Who are they? Some of them are sons of property-owners, who are entered in tax register TK 105, since sons over the age of 14 years were liable for head tax. These were easy to locate, since everyone is entered his surname and patronymic, and moreover the names of the sons follow their father's entry in the head-tax register. In addition to adult sons, persons without land-holdings but whose income derived from other activities, such as trade or manufacturing, which because of the nature of the source were not entered in TK 105 (as was observed also in the case of Santorini), were liable for poll tax.

The processing of the two documents was revealing concerning the role of the community authorities in the tax-collecting tactic of the Ottoman State. On the basis of the sum that had been imposed – Siphnos was ‘contracted’ to pay tax, revenue tax and poll tax, for 412/414 households – the local nobility of Siphnos assumed responsibility for apportioning the total tax to the inhabitants. Clearly, more people were liable for tax than the given number. We form an idea of their actual number if we add to the official 412/414 tax-payers those who are not identical in the two registers: that is the 93 widows in the four settlements and the 57 persons in the *cizye* register who are not entered in the corresponding revenue register. The latter number was surely higher, since we do not have the possibility of counting in the residents of Artemonas.⁴⁵ Notwithstanding this weakness, the individuals entered in only one of the two registers is of the order of 150 tax units, that is they represent at least 36% of the recorded tax-paying population. In Santorini this category was 30%.

In its distribution of the tax demanded by the Ottoman State, the community's guidelines were the protection of the poorer strata from encumbrance with debt and the preservation of internal balances, in order to avoid social tensions and protests. That is why we observe certain tax-payers entered in both types of tax registers, since they were judged capable of paying both production tax and poll tax, whereas the economically weaker pay only one of the two taxes, that is either production tax or head tax. The community had the collective responsibility *vis-à-vis* the Ottoman authority and the apportionment of the island's fiscal obligation was an exclusively community concern. The Ottoman State was satisfied to collect the agreed sum. The numbers in a community register of Andros for 1721 show that there is no absolute correspondence between tax units and persons – either for ispence or poll tax –, because the community apparently intervened and, on the basis of its own choices, redistributed the tax units for both these taxes, which are not always identified with the number of persons.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ See note 24.

⁴⁶ D. Dimitropoulos, «Family and fiscal registers in the Aegean islands during the Ottoman period», *Ta Historika* 14, iss. 27 (1997), 338–340 (in Greek).

Information about Siphnos in the 18th century

Up until 1713, the taxes in the Cyclades and the islands of the Argosaronic Gulf were collected by the Kapudan Paşa, who was not entitled to increase them.⁴⁷ After the end of that year, both the head tax and the other taxes from the islands became a life-term tax farm (*malikâne*). The islanders protested when they were requested to pay the same sums of poll tax as the inhabitants of the Morea, Crete, Cyprus, Chios and elsewhere. So, in 1735, the Ottoman State conducted a new survey and ordered the inhabitants of the Aegean islands to pay, irrespective of their property-owning status, category *edna* poll tax. In the firman issued to ratify this measure, it is also noted that 45,000 *cizyehanes* were collected from the islands each year.⁴⁸ We located the register of the 1735 survey in the BOA (Kâmil Kepeci 2888), in which the tax-payers of Siphnos number 510 households. Each household paid 360 aspers a year to the Kapudan Paşa, Mehmed Paşa. Of this sum, 300 aspers were collected by the public purse and 60 were intended to cover the expenses and remunerations of the scribes (*gulâmiye*). The tax-payers were distributed in the settlements and monasteries of Siphnos as follows:

Kastro:	110	families
Artemonas:	129	
Stavri:	120	
Exambela:	139	
Monastery of the Virgin of Vrysi:	8	
Monastery of Prophet Elijah:	4	

In relation to the census taken in the previous century, the number of Siphnian tax-payers had increased by the mid-eighteenth century. Does the increase in the number of tax-payers also imply demographic growth? Possibly yes. But the estimate of the island's population as 7,000 souls, made in 1711 by the apostolic legate Vincenzo Castelli and his secretary Smaragdo Ruggieri,⁴⁹ who cited the evidence of the tax register, is highly exaggerated⁵⁰.

To summarize. From documents that were drawn up in order to serve fiscal needs of the Ottoman Empire, we have endeavoured to study the economy and population of Siphnos in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the island's four settlements – Kastro, Stavri, Artemonas and

⁴⁷ *Ege Adalarının Egemenlik Devri Tarihçesi*, op. cit., doc. 76.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 97.

⁴⁹ S.M. Symeonidis, «Vincenzo Castelli», op. cit., 177-188. *Idem*, *Historia*, op. cit., 234.

⁵⁰ In the end of the 18th century, the population of Siphnos was about 4,000 souls. See K. A. Vakalopoulos, «Some informations on the islands Syra, Samos, Siphnos and Naxos in 1828», *Mnemosyne* 6 (1976-77), 270, note 4 (in Greek).

Exambela – at least 560 tax-paying families are recorded, on the basis of the cizye and tahrir registers, in the second half of the seventeenth century. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the tax-payers reached 510. The island's products, as recorded in the taxes collected, are wine, cereals, cotton, olive oil, pulses and fruits, while there was limited stock-raising and apiculture

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