

ABSTRACT

Doç. Dr. MELEK DELİLBAŞI

The Establishment of Ottoman Sovereignty in Thessaloniki (Selânik) and Ioannina (Yanya)

In the present study we dwell upon the circumstances under which Thessaloniki and Ioannina came under Ottoman sovereignty. These two towns were conquered by Murad II within an interval of seven months. This study is based upon Byzantine, Ottoman and Latin sources; we have also studied the information gleaned from Byzantine sources about Ottoman policies of conquest. As Thessaloniki became part of the Ottoman realm by conquest, while Ioannina did so by conforming to the Sultan to surrender, different policies were applied to the two cities. The conquests of Murad II have been studied not with the present value judgements in mind, but considering the conditions and necessities of the fifteenth century. The conquest is viewed within the framework of Ottoman conquest policies based upon on *Fıkıh* (the Muslim religious and legal Code).

An eye witness account of the conquest of Thessaloniki by Murad II is Johannis Anagnostis' Chronicle *Διήγησις περί τῆς τελευταίας ἑλωσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*. This text gives detailed information about Murad II's attempt to secure the peaceful surrender of the city before mounting a full-scale attack, and the events that happened when the city was taken by force (Anveten). On the other hand, the *amannâmes* granted to the people of Ioannina written in *Greek* by Murad II and the Beylerbeyi (Governor General) Sinan Paşa, is of value with respect to the privileges granted by the Ottomans to their *non-Muslim* subjects, provided that the latter had surrendered. No evaluation of these *Nâmes* concerning the conquest policies of the Ottomans has as yet been undertaken. Neither has the *Nâme* of Murad II been mentioned anywhere in secondary works on Ottoman history.

The Capture of Thessaloniki

Thessaloniki under the Ottoman suzerainty during the reigns of Murad I (1387) and Bayezid I (1391) again passed into the hands of Byzantium following the battle of Ankara in 1402. Following the accession of Sultan Murad

II in 1421, while Turkish raids extended up to Morea, Thessaloniki also was subjected to continual Turkish attacks. According to the information provided by Symeon Archbishop of Thessaloniki in his work known as the "*Discourse on St. Dimitrius*", the people of Thessaloniki were divided into two separate camps: One group favoured the Turks, and the other the Venetians. The nobles of the city preferred Venetian rule while the common people favoured the Turks. As can be understood from the Chronicle of Anagnostis the majority were on the Turkish side .

Due to incessant Turkish attacks and the famine that ensued in the city, the Despot Andronikos of Thessaloniki had previously surrendered the city to the Venetians upon certain terms. Sultan Murad II considered the surrender of Thessaloniki to the Venetians as an aggression against Turkish territories, since the city had previously been under Turkish rule. By intensifying the Turkish raids on the city, the Sultan declared war against Venice. As understood from Venetian chronicles as well as from decisions of the Senate, during the Ottoman-Venetian war 1423-1430 Venetian governor of Thessaloniki did not conform to the terms of the treaty of surrender, and increased their acts of tyranny over the people.

After Sultan Murad II had strengthened his position in Anatolia and the Balkans, on 26 March 1430 he arrived with his army at the gates of the city. The Sultan was accompanied by Hamza Paşa, beyberbeyi of Anatolia and Sinan Paşa beylerbeyi of Rumelia. As we learn from the Chronicle of Anagnostis, Murad II in conformity with the principles of *Fıkıh* invited the city authorities to surrender three times, he even tried to persuade them to do so by sending Christian envoys. On the other hand the Greek people even though their sympathies were with the Turks, had to fight the Sultan under the pressure of their Venetian rulers. Following a four-day siege of the city both by land and the sea, Thessaloniki was conquered by Turks. According to *Fıkıh* as a city was captured by *force* (anveten) the people were considered captives while their lands and property were deemed as state property. We learn from Anagnostis' chronicle that about 7000 Thessalonicians including the author himself, were taken as captives. Although a certain amount of looting and destruction occurred in the city, this did not last long. The Sultan intervened to stop the looting, he himself paid the ransom of a number of dignitaries and set them free. Moreover, he issued the order that those who had deserted the city should come back and their properties would be returned to them. According to the chronicler while everybody began to entertain

high hopes for the future, the Sultan returned to the city two or three years later (1432-33) and disappointed the expectations of the people by the measures he took. These included application of the policy of tahrir (survey) and sürgün (deportation) in conformity with Ottoman policies in conquered territories. Turkish settlers were brought into the city from Yenice of Vardar. The chronicler stated that the churches and the monasteries were taken from the Christian and that the original inhabitants were deprived of their properties and real estates. At this point two possibilities must be considered. The first one is that following a conquest, mülk (full properties) or properties of Vakıf (religious foundation) had been converted into mîrî (state property). The second possibility is that the chronicler may have exaggerated the number of confiscations. From Anagnostis we know that Ahirropietos and the monastery of Prodrornos were transformed into mosques while all the rest were left in the hands of Christians. Since the fact is established, the second possibility appears more probable. Although a number of churches and monasteries were not looked after properly following the conquest, there are Greek and Ottoman document testifying that the monks of Vlatadon monastery obtained certain exemptions and privileges as from the time of Murad II, and that they had sided with Turks during the conquest.

The tahrir defter (tax registers) compiled in Thessaloniki in 1432-1433 and which was mentioned by Anagnostis, has not been discovered. The first extant tahrir defter on nefs-i Selânik (the city itself) is dated 1478. It has been used by H. Lowry in his article "*Portrait of a city*". According to author's conclusion, during the first five decades following the conquest the city preserved its Byzantine characteristics. As from the last years of 15th century Jews deported from various parts of Europe found secure refuge in Ottoman territories and settled in Thessaloniki. By the beginning of the Sixteenth century, they formed the overwhelming majority of the population.

According to the unpublished mufassal (detailed) tahrir defter dated H. 975 (1567/1568) now preserved in the Archives of Tapu Kadastro (Land Registry Office) in Ankara, Jews constituted 61 % of the population while Muslims made up 26 % and Christians only 13 %.

The Capture of Ioannina

When Carlo Tocco died in 1429 without leaving an heir, his nephew Carlo Tocco II was involved in a civil war between himself and Carlo's illegitimate children. Memnon, who was one of the five brothers, asked Sultan

Sultan II. Murad'in Yanyalılara verdiği amannâme

I. Metin

A.

Βασιλεὺς Μουράτ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως, γράφω εἰς ἐσᾶς τοὺς Ἰωαννίτας, καὶ σᾶς συμβουλεύω νὰ ἔλθετε θεληματικῶς νὰ μου παραδώσητε τὸ κάστρον σας καὶ νὰ με προσκυνήσετε διὰ βασιλείαν σας, διὰ νὰ μὴ με κινήσετε εἰς θυμὸν μέγαν καὶ ἔλθω ἐναντίον σας μὲ τὰ στρατεύματά μου καὶ πάρω τὸ κάστρον σας μὲ τὸ σπαθί μου. Καὶ τότε θέλετε πάθει τὰ ὅσα ἔπαθαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κάστρον, ὅπου θεληματικῶς δέν με ἐπροσκύνησαν, καὶ ἐκατακόπησαν μὲ τὸ σπαθί μου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μου ἐσκλαβώθησαν, καὶ Ἀνατολὴ καὶ Δύσις ἐπωλήθησαν¹. Καὶ ὄρκον ἀναμεταξύ μας νὰ ποιήσωμεν, ὅτι νὰ μὴν σας ἐβγάλω ποτὲ ἀπὸ τὸ κάστρον σας, καὶ ἐσεῖς πάλιν νὰ μὴν φανῆτε ἐπίβουλοι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας μου ἀπειθεῖς πώποτε.

II. Metin

B.

Μουράτ βασιλεὺς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως πρὸς τοὺς Ἰωαννίτας. Ἐβειβαιώθητε ἀκριβῶς ἀπὸ τὰς νίκας καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν προγόνων μου, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς δέν ἔβχλεν εἰς τὸ βασιλείον μου σύνορα καὶ μὲ τὴν βοήθειάν του ὑπέταξα ὅλην τὴν Ἀνατολὴν καὶ αὐτὴν σχεδὸν τὴν Δύσιν· ὅτι ἔξω ἀπὸ τὰ βουνά σας ὅλοι μ' ἐπροσκύνησαν. Σᾶς παρακινῶ λοιπὸν, πρὶν δοκιμάσητε τὰ ὀλέθρια τοῦ πολέμου τέλη, πρὶν ἰδῆτε τὸ αἷμα πολλῶν ἀναίτιων χυνόμενον ἀδίκως, νὰ με παραχωρήσητε τὴν πόλιν σας, ἂν θέλητε νὰ ποφύγητε τὸν ἀφρανισμόν αὐτῆς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀπειθεῖς καὶ σκληροτράχηλοι ἔπαθαν, κατακοπέντες ἀπὸ τὸ σπαθί μου ἢ πωληθέντες ἀπὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας μου αἰχμάλωτοι εἰς Ἀνατολὴν καὶ Δύσιν. Σᾶς ὑπόσχομαι, ἂν με προσκυνήσητε, πίστει ἐν ὄρκους, ἐγὼ μὲν νὰ μὴ σας ἐβγάλω ποτὲ ἀπὸ τὸ κάστρον σας, ἐσεῖς δὲ νὰ μὴ φανῆτε ἐπίβουλοι καὶ ἀπειθεῖς τῆς βασιλείας μου. Προσεξατε μήπως ἀποβάλλοντες τὸ ζήτημά μου, δέν ἔχητε πλέον οὐδὲ καιρὸν νὰ μετανοήσητε.

Ek. 1

Rumeli Beylerbeyi Sinan Paşa'nın Yanya yöneticilerine verdiği
amannâme * (1430)

ἢ Ὅρισμός ὅτιπερ ἔστειλεν ὁ Σινάν πασις ὁ τοῦ Σουλτάν Μουράτ βε-
ζίρης εἰς τὰ Ἰωάννινα ἐπὶ ἔτους ,σιῖλη^ω . : .

Τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν κεφαλάδων καὶ ἀθέντου πάσης Ἀύσεως, τοῦ Σινάν
5 πασιὰ ὄρισμός καὶ χειρισμός εἰς τὸν πανηγρώτατον μητροπολίτην Ἰωαν-
νίων καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐντιμοτάτους ἄρ | φ. 194^α | χοιτες, τὸν τε καπειάγον
Στρατηγόπουλον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Καπειάγου τὸν κὺρ Παῦλον καὶ εἰς τὸν
προποστράτορα τὸν Μλουήσαβον καὶ εἰς τὸν πρωτασιγροῖτη τὸν Στανίτζη
καὶ εἰς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἰωαννίνων, μικροὺς τε καὶ μεγάλους.

Νὰ ἠξέυρετε ὅτι μῆς ἔστειλεν ὁ μέγας ἀθέντης νὰ παραλάβωμεν τοῦ
10 Δούκα τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰ κάστρον του. Καὶ ὄρισέν μας γούρ οὕτως : ὅτι
δοῦσον κάστρο καὶ χώρα προσκυνήση μὲ τὸ καλόν, νὰ μηδὲν ἔχει κανένα
φόβον, οὔτε κακόν | φ. 194^β | οὔτε κουρσεμὸν ἀλλ' οὔτε κανέναν χυλασμόν.
καὶ δοῦσον κάστρο καὶ χώρα δὲν προσκυνήσουσιν, ὄρισεν νὰ τὰ καταλύσω
καὶ νὰ τὰ χαλάσω ἐκ θεμελίων, ὥσπερ ἐποίησα καὶ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην. Διὰ
15 τοῦτο γράφω καὶ λέγω σας ὅτι νὰ προσκυνήσετε μὲ τὸ καλόν καὶ μηδὲν
πλανηθῆτε καὶ ἀκούσετε τῶν Φραγκῶν τὰ λόγια διὰ τίποτε δὲν σας θέλουν
ἠφελήσει, πλὴν ἂν σας χαλάσουν καθὼς ἐχαλάσασιν καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλονικαί-
ους. Καὶ ἔνεκεν τούτου ὀμνέω σας τὸν Θεὸν τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ | φ. 195^α | καὶ
20 ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιτέσσαρες χιλιάδες προφήταις τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν μου
καὶ εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν μου καὶ εἰς τὸ σπαθὶ ὅπου ζῶνομαι διὰ νὰ μηδὲν
ἔχετε κανέναν φόβον, μῆτε αἰχμαλωτισμόν, μῆτε πιασμόν παιδίων, μῆτε ἐκκλη-
σίας νὰ χαλάσωμεν, μῆτε μαογίδι νὰ ποιήσωμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐκκλησίας σας
νὰ σημαίνουν καθὼς ἔχουν συνήθειαν. Ὁ μητροπολίτης νὰ ἔχη τὴν κρίσιν
25 τὸν τὴν ρωμαϊκὴν | φ. 195^β | καὶ ὅλα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ δικαιώματα οἱ
ἄρχοντες ὅσοι ἔχουσιν τιμάρια, πάλιν νὰ τὰ ἔχουσιν τὰ γονικά τους, τὰ ὑπο-
στατικά τους καὶ τὰ πραγματά τους ὅλα νὰ τὰ ἔχουν χωρὶς τινος λόγον καὶ
ἀλλὰ εἴτι ζητήματα θέλετε ζητήσῃ νὰ σὰς τα δώσωμεν. Εἰ τὲ καὶ σταθῆτε
πεισματικά καὶ δὲν προσκυνήσετε μὲ τὸ καλόν νὰ ἠξέυρετε ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐδια-
30 γουναίσαμεν τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην καὶ ἐχαλάσαμεν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐρη-
μώσαμεν καὶ ἀφρανίσουμεν τὰ πάντα, οὕτως θέλομεν χαλάσει | φ. 196^α | καὶ
ἐοᾶς καὶ τὰ πράγματά σας καὶ τὸ κρῖμα νὰ τὸ γυρέψη ὁ Θεὸς ἀπ' ἐοᾶς . : .

Murad, for help. Following the capture of Thessaloniki, a part of the Ottoman army was directed against certain Albanian chiefs who had revolted, while the other part continued to Ioannina under the command of Sinan Paşa. There is detailed information on the conquest of Ioannina in the *Epirus Chronicle* (in Greek). According to the Chronicle, when Sultan Murad II twice, sent armies to Ioannina the citizens held narrow passes of Epirus.

Sultan Murad and the Beylerbeyi of Rumelia *Sinan Paşa* had sent proposals written in Greek to the people of Ioannina, offering them *amân*. These *amânnames* are the oldest documents showing the rights and privileges granted to to *non-Muslims* accepting the Ottoman suzerainty. On the document the *nâme* (*Orismos*) of Sinan Paşa figures more prominently than that of Murad II. According the document, ancestral rights, the properties and possessions of the people of Ioannina would be guaranteed without question. Fief holders were to continue in their holdings, now considered as *timar* and the people were permitted the free exercises of their religion. The Metropolitan of Ioannina was to retain his judicial prerogatives and all other ecclesiastical rights. Furthermore, a guarantee was given that the city would not be looted, that the people would not be taken captive, and that boys would not be drafted for service in the army. Any other request of the Ioanninans were to be granted. If the people of the Ioannina had not surrendered, the same fate that befell Thessaloniki could easily have befallen Ioannina and the town might have been looted and destroyed. After receiving assurances concerning their future position The People of Ioannina sent envoys to the Sultan, and surrendered the keys of the city. In return obtained a decree assuring them of the priviledges that had previously been promised. Thus on 9 October 1430 Ioannina was annexed to the Ottoman territories; in particular, it is understood that the *autonomous* administration of the people of Ioannina, which had been obtained from Byzantine Emperors, was maintained over a long period under the Ottoman rule.

So far, not the least research has been made on the history of Ioannina under the Ottoman rule. The present study introduces demographic data on the city, according to the first tahrir defter. *The mufassal tahrir defter* on *nefs-i Yanya*, (*the city itself*) is kept in Istanbul Başbakanlık Arşivi (the Prime Minister's Archives), the call number is: 350, H. 972 (1564). According to this defter, Ioannina was a *mirliva hassı*, there were 35 *Christian*

quarters, and only 1 *Moslem quarter*. The *Muslim population* consisted of 250 inhabitants (50 households + 8 bachelors) while there were 5905 Christians (1181 households + 134 bachelors) living in the city. As to the *Jewish population*, they were not recorded in the register of 1564, but they are mentioned as 35 *nefer* (tax payers) (175 inhabitants) in the *mufassal tahrir defter* belonging to the year 1579. Thus by surrendering and asking for *amân*, Ioannina avoided the fate of Thessaloniki. No deportations occurred in the area, perhaps in part due to the isolated geographical position of the town. Even more than one hundred years after the conquest, the overwhelming majority of the population was still made up of Christians.