

Turkish Archival Material in Greek Historiography*

Evangelia BALTA**

“L'histoire est une lutte contre la mort”

Jacques Le Goff¹

THIS PAPER aims to examine the management of the Turkish archival material appertaining to “Greek space,” a geographical continuum which functions as the canvas on which the Greek populations were intertwined with time and history. The study describes the place of the Ottoman era in Greek historiography up to 2005.

By employing the term “Turkish archives,” this study will focus on the sources written in the Turkish language, thus distinguishing them from the total of the archival material generated in the linguistically and culturally pluralistic Ottoman Empire. This choice was made precisely in order to remove any confusion that the definitive epithet “Ottoman” might cause with regard to the sources produced by other pre-national communities of the empire, such as the Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Arabs, etc.

This subject imposes a watershed, which is directly articulated with the introduction of Ottoman Studies in Greece and its establishment in the 1980s as a new branch of historical studies, as well as its implications in terms of methods, techniques and the manner in general of approaching the Ottoman past. Consequently, the discussion of this subject will revolve around two axes. First, the fate of the Turkish sources in modern Greek historiography which deal with the Ottoman period, called *Tourkokratia* (Turkish Domination)² in the scheme of national history, will be examined. Second, the confrontation and manipulation of these sources by the now international historical dis-

* In 2003 several of the author's articles on Ottoman archives and Ottoman Studies in Greece were published as Evangelia Balta, *Ottoman Studies and Archives in Greece*, Analecta Isisiana LXX, (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2003) with relevant bibliography. See also I. Theocharides and Th. Stavrides, “The Course of Ottoman Studies in Greece (An Overview),” in *The Turks*, eds. Y. Halaçoğlu and H. Inalcik, t. 4, Ankara 2002, 714-719.

** National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens-Greece

1 J. Le Goff, “L'appétit de l'histoire,” in *Essais d'ego-histoire*, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard 1987), 236.

2 This term was first used in 1834. See St. Koumanoudis, *Synagogi neon lexeon ypo ton logion plaththeion apo tis aloseos mechri ton kath'imas chronon* [A Collection of the New Words Coined by Men of Letters from the Fall (of Constantinople) to the Present], reprinted with prolegomena by K.Th. Dimaras, Athens 1980.

cipline of Ottoman Studies, which has existed in Greece institutionally since the early 1980s, will be looked at.³ The discipline of Ottoman Studies deals almost exclusively with the Turkish archival material that constitutes a specific element of its identity and even creates a whole mythology around its value as a source at times. “Greek” Ottoman studies proceeded alongside the historiographic production that was shaped after the restoration of democracy, when the Ottoman period was investigated in light of the new conceptions of history, methods and thematic repertoires incorporated from the transfer and the utilization of international models.

In order to better understand the evolution of these historiographic productions and the relationship that each one developed with the Turkish archival material, the earlier modern Greek historiographic production should be looked at retrospectively in order to point out the process of the transmutation of its structure in terms of the methods, the techniques and, primarily, the theory of history. It goes without saying that such a critique is alien to today’s conceptions of historical logic, since, as we know, the historian and his work are dependent on the dynamic developed by the conjunctures of the time.

I. Modern Greek Historiography and the Historiography of the Ottoman Period

Modern Greek historiography, which began to be compiled in the second half of the nineteenth century, is almost exclusively Hellenocentric. It examines the long period of Ottoman rule, either primarily in the Greek regions and to a lesser extent in Asia Minor and the Balkans, or it includes the latter in its narrative in the proportion that these resignify the conceptual content of the nation and offer arguments to its scientific documentation. The *terminus post quem* of this long period is the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire with the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and the *terminus ante quem* is either the War of Independence in 1821, the years of the Balkan Wars with the acquisition of the new territories,⁴ or 1922, when national integration was achieved with Hellenism in the Greek Peninsula. So, the time frame of Ottoman rule was dependent on a specific ideological-political conception about the writing of history, which was none other than to promote the meaning of the national struggles with regard to the overall historical course of the nation.

Modern Greek historiography followed the path of national ideology, which was structured around the idea of the three-thousand-year continuity of Hellenism through three separate pasts: ancient Greek, Byzantine and Ottoman past. From very early on, the historiographical inquiries and political and cultural deliberation, which grew out of the Enlightenment period introduced into Greek discourse the idea that the relationship with

³ Ottoman Studies as a discipline was introduced into higher education in 1985. N. Svoronos organized the institutional framework of Turkish Studies at the University of Crete, where Elizabeth Zachariadou and Vasilis Dimitriadis were appointed as faculty. They taught in the Department of History and Archaeology for some twenty years and concurrently organized research at the Institute of Mediterranean Studies, utilizing the Ottoman archives and organizing symposia on Turkish Studies. In 1985, Ottoman specialists were also engaged to teach the history of the period in the history departments of various Greek universities: I. Theocharidis at the University of Ioannina, John Alexander at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Evangelia Balta at the newly-founded Ionian University. P. Konortas can be mentioned for the year 1986.

⁴ See Peter Topping, “Greek Historical Writing on the period 1453-1914,” *The Journal of Modern History* 33, no 2 (Jun. 1961), 157-173.

Greek antiquity was the definitive element of collective identity. This ideological parameter must, therefore, be taken into account when attempting to interpret the way in which the Ottoman past was discussed. For the Ottoman period, which signified the living past, a policy of oblivion was followed.⁵ It was not fortuitous that until the 1940s the Ottoman period was not studied in its own right, but was merely an overture to the 1821 War of Independence, since the insurrections against the conquerors constituted a privileged field of historiographic observation. Nor was it fortuitous that the discipline dealing with the period was –and still is– characterized as “Post-Byzantine Studies.”⁶ The Second World War is the watershed date after which a differentiation in the national narrative of various nation-states is observed at the global level, since, as we know, the wider changes in the geopolitical, economic and social status are related directly to the developments in the social sciences and therefore to the changes in the conception of history.⁷

A. The First Century: 1833-1939

Until the 1940s, modern Greek historiography, which is conventionally defined as beginning with the founding of the modern Greek state, alternated between the rhetoric recruited to serve the national ideology and the documentation of national interests which were elevated to “historical rights.” Only in the early twentieth century, thanks to the intervention of philologists and Byzantinists (S. Kougeas, K. Amantos), was it disengaged from the rambling rhetoric, which made no use of sources –and even less use of Turkish sources– in order to develop its chosen discourse, since this historiography, under the guidance of S. Zambelios and primarily of K. Paparrigopoulos with his *History of the Greek Nation* (1853), treated the period of Ottoman rule as a post-Byzantine epilogue or a prologue to the national revolution. Not even the Cappadocian P. Karolidis escaped from the norms of the national historical school, which he taught at the University of Athens. In the *History* by the Turcophone Karolidis, who also knew other oriental languages, there is no mention of the Ottoman past and in his prolix and convoluted footnotes there is not a single reference to an Ottoman source.⁸ Essentially,

5 See the exceptionally interesting study by John Petropoulos, “The Modern Greek State and the Greek Past,” in *The “Past” in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. Speros Vryonis (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1978), (*Byzantina kai Metabyzantina*, vol. 1), 163-176, who examines the modern Greek society’s conception of the preceding periods and its political and social consequences.

6 See the comments on the conceptual content of the concept “Post-Byzantium,” S. Asdrachas, “Zitimata oikonomikis istorias tis Tourkokratias [Issues of Economic History in the Ottoman Period],” in idem, *Zitimata Istorias [Issues of History]* (Athens: Themelio), n.d., 27ff.

7 I. Wallerstein, “Some Reflections on the Future of Ottoman Studies,” in *Raiyyet Rüşûmu. Essays Presented to Halil İnalcık on his seventieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students-Journal of Turkish Studies*, eds. B. Lewis, O. Pritsak, Gönül Tekin, Ş. Tekin and G. Veinstein, 11 (1987), 236. Most studies examine the historiographic production of Ottoman Studies since the Second World War. See more recently: F. Adanır, “Balkan Historiography related to the Ottoman Empire since 1945,” in *Ottoman Past and Today’s Turkey*, ed. K. H. Karpat (E. J. Brill, 2000), 236-252.

8 P. Karolidis, *Istoria tis Ellados me’ eikonon, apo tis ypo ton Othomanon aloseos tis Constantinoupoleos (1453) mechri tis vasileias tou Georgiou tou A’ [History of Greece with Illustrations, from the Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans (1453) until the Reign of George I]* (Athens, Eleftheroudakis, 1925). For the Ottoman period he confined himself to using the most common narrative sources Gerlach, *Turcograecia*, Komninos Ypsilantis and the histories by Hertzberg, J. W. Zinkeisen. It is contended that in order to refute

during the first century of the Greek state's existence, a history of events was produced, which all are teleologically interdependent and document the need to create a state that refuted the terms of the Ottoman conquest.⁹ The book, *Tourkokratoumeni Ellas* (Turkish-occupied Greece) by K. Sathas, was written from the same perspective; he was also the first to deal with original documentary material in order to enhance the "attempts to liberate the Greeks from Turkish slavery," which is also the subtitle of this work.¹⁰ It is obvious that the ideological orientation of the historiographic production of this period is far removed from the use of Turkish sources. An exception is the case of S. Lambros, who, from the beginning of his scholarly career, was interested in collecting, preserving and enhancing archival material of all kinds. With his characteristic historicism, following the example of F. Miklosich – J. Müller,¹¹ he published the Ottoman documents written in Greek from the archives in Venice in the early twentieth century, Lambros himself, in his *History of Greece*, did not proceed beyond 1453. As an advocate of historical positivism, he was conscious of the fact that to progress to a synthesis the collection of material is necessary.¹²

It is also worth noting that the "Greek" *Ottoman Histories*, which were circulated in 1874, one Greek, the other Karamanlı, were published outside the borders of the Greek state by Rum Ottoman subjects, as was another such work published by Tryphon Evangelidis from Trygleia.¹³

the Ottoman historical reality, Karolidis crams a host of footnotes, in which his excessive devotion to detail and citations are consistent with the adulation of antiquity and function in the direction of obfuscation. See Ioanna Petropoulou, "O ekdimitokratismos tis graphis [The Democratization of Writing]," in *IV International Congress of History, Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece*, vol. II, eds. P. M. Kitromilides and T. E. Sklavenitis (Athens 2004), 641.

9 See the view of Ph. Iliou in the interview he gave with S. Asdrachas to Angelos Elefantis (newspaper *I Avgi*, 27 October 2002). The interview was reprinted in the periodical *Ta Istorika*, iss. 37 (December 2002), 421-430, entitled: "Syneteiches kai tomes: Synentefxi tou Sp. Asdracha – Ph. Iliou ston Angelo Elefanti [Continuities and Watersheds: Interview of S. Asdrachas – Ph. Iliou with Angelos Elefantis]."

10 K. Sathas, *Tourkokratoumeni Ellas. Istorikon Dokimion peri ton pros anatinoxin tou othomanikou zy-gou epanastaseon tou ellinikou ethnous (1453-1821)* [*Turkish-Occupied Greece. Historical Essay on the Revolutions of the Greek Nation to Cast Off the Ottoman Yoke, 1453-1821*] (Athens 1869).

11 F. Miklosich-J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata Graeca*, vol. III, Vienna 1865, 309-359. S. Lambros, "Ellinika eggrapha en to archeio tis Venetias en ois kai eggrapha Tourkon archonton ellinisti meta kai parekdromis peri tou onomatos tou Moreos [Greek Documents in Venetian Archives Containing Documents of Turkish Authorities with first Reference to the Name of Morea]," *Deltion Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etaireias* 4 (1892), 634-52; idem, "Ellinika dimosia grammata tou soultanou Bayazid II [Greek Public Letters of Sultan Bayazid II]," *Neos Ellinonimion* 5 (1908), 155-189. Spyros Lambros's tradition was followed by A. Bombaci, "Nuovi firmani greci di Mahometto II," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 47 (1954), 298-319 and Héléne Ahrweiler, "Une lettre en grec du sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512)," *Turcica* 1 (1969), 150-160.

12 Antonis Liakos, "Pros episkevin olomeleias kai enotitos. I domisi tou ethnou chronou [Towards Repair of Plenum and Unity: The Structuring of National Time]," *Symposium in Memory of K.Th. Dimaras* (Athens, Centre of Neohellenic Research, 1994), 191, n. 55.

13 Minas and Christos Chamoudopoulos mention in their book *Istoria tis Othomanikis Aftokratourias* [*History of the Ottoman Empire*] (Smyrna 1874), the wars waged between the Byzantine Empire and the Turkish tribes, without deviating from the line of Paparrigopoulos and Zambelios. The Turcophone Nikolaos Soullidis, in his *Karamanlı Tarih-i Osmanî...*, *Dersaadet 1874*, follows in the footsteps of J. von Hammer. Both works reach up to the events of the fall of Constantinople, since their publication was not completed. For the presentation of both studies, see Ioanna Petropoulou, "Istoriographikes prosengiseis tou othomanikou parelthontos stin Christianiki Anatoli, 19os aionas. Mia deigmatolipsia [Historiographic Approaches to the Ottoman Past in the Christian East, 19th century: A Sampling]," *Mnimon* 23 (2001), ⇨

In the same period, many Turkish documents were published on the periphery of national historiography and were included in studies of the history of monasteries, cities, islands, etc. That is, they contributed documentary material to the writing of local histories.¹⁴ This archival material includes the deeds of monasteries, metropolises, and communities; documents granting privileges, permits for the repair of churches, receipts of the payment of taxes, etc., the archival material produced by the machinery of the local Ottoman administration, for example, the *kadi sicilleri* or fiscal registers. After the liberation of various Greek regions, material of this kind was repositied in the so-called “translation bureaus” and until the early decades of the twentieth century, it served the needs of the state and citizens by elucidating issues related to land ownership claims as the documents were subject to the local laws.¹⁵ Later, this material constituted the nuclei of the present Ottoman archives in Greece.¹⁶

The historical value of the Ottoman documents for local history was obvious to their publishers, as indicated by the brief note with which Epameinondas Stamatiadis, the director of the bureau of the Principality of Samos, prefaces the publication of the translated *firman*s and miscellaneous Ottoman documents.¹⁷ It is telling, however, that he includes them in the last volume of his work “Samiaka,” together with folklore material and mementoes, and does not incorporate them in his narrative on the history of the Ottoman period on the island or the years of the War of Independence. Only in

269-295. See also T. Evangelidis, *Istoria tis Othomanikis Aftokratourias [History of the Ottoman Empire]*, 2 vols, (Athens, 1894).

14 I do not intend, nor is it feasible, to present an exhaustive bibliography in the footnotes. I simply cite selectively some titles as examples. See E. Pharmakidis, *I Larisa. Apo ton mythologikon chronon mechri tis prosartiseos aftis eis tin Ellada (1881) [Larisa: From Mythological Times until its Annexation to Greece: 1881]* (Volos, 1926). Included are Greek translations of the *vakifnames* of Turhan Bey and his descendants Ömer and Hasan Bey, in which they dedicate part of their property to the founding of mosques and charitable foundations in the towns of Thessaly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. (See also the recent publication by Stavros G. Gouloulis, *Ta aphierotiria ton Turahanidon (I elliniki metaphrasi) [The Vakf Documents of the Turhan Family (the Greek translation)]* (Larisa, 2004). The study by D. Kambourglou, *Mnimeia tis istorias ton Athinon [Monuments of the History of Athens]*, vols I-III, (Athens, 1889-1890), is a similar example. With regard to the history of monasteries, see G. Kremos, *Phokika. Istoria tis en Phokidi monis tou Osiou Louka Phocian miscellanea [History of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phocis]*, vol. III, (Athens, 1880). For the islands, see D. Chaviaras, “Soultanika fermania peri ton pronomion tis nisou Symis kai ton loipon Notion Sporadon [*Firman*s on the Privileges of the Island of Symi and the Rest of the Southern Sporades],” *Deltion Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etaireias Ellados* 6 (1902-1906), 321-350.

15 In the absence of a national cadastre, the Ottoman tax registers kept in the Historical Archive of Macedonia, in Thessaloniki, continue to be used to this day as evidence in cases of land claims and for resolving inheritance transfers.

16 For the content of the Ottoman archives in Greece, see V. Dimitriadis, “Ottoman Archive Materials in Greece,” in *Die Staaten Südosteuropas und die Osmanen*, ed. Hans Georg Majer (München, 1989), 179-185. See also Evangelia Balta, “Archives Ottomanes en Grèce. Perspectives de la recherche”, in *Problèmes et approches de l’histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eğriboz*, idem, *Analecta Isisiana* XXVIII, Les éditions Isis, (Istanbul, 1997), 259-275, with relevant bibliography.

17 “In the public archive office of the island, as well as in the monasteries they preserved all types of *firman*s or decrees of sultans, *buyurdia* or commands of admirals and other such documents written in Turkish, which shed some light on the situation and consequently have much to do with the history of Samos; thus according to our judgement, we present them translated from the Turkish in this chapter. See E.I. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka, itoi Istoria tis nisou Samou apo ton panarchaion chronon mechri ton kath’imas [Samian Miscellanea, that is History of the Island of Samos from Most Ancient Times to our Days]*, vol. 5, (Samos: Principality Printing Press 1887), 657-703.

the third volume, which is dedicated to the history of the Samian Principality, does he intersperse Ottoman documents from the Public Archive Office of the island in the body of his text. It should be noted, however, that this period is contemporary with his post as director of the bureau of the Principality. Essentially he presents his personal testimony, which today constitutes a valuable historical source. The work of N. Stavrakis, the former secretary to the general administration of Crete and the former overseer of the Cretan customs houses can be considered a similar case, since he uses Ottoman censuses to compile his *Statistics*.¹⁸ P. Aravantinos utilizes the Ottoman census (*salname*) of 1845-1846 to record the place names of Epirus.¹⁹

In these same years, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, amateur historians with a knowledge of Turkish, realizing the importance of the Ottoman documents as a historical source, took measures to salvage, to translate and to publish them in order to protect them from further destructions. One such historian is Christos Mavropoulos, an interpreter in the Court of the First Instance on Chios, who, in 1920, wrote the following in the foreword to the publication:

During the happy liberation of Chios by the victorious Greek army, most of the manuscripts of the Turkish Codices of the *Kadi Court* on the island were unfortunately stolen, thus significant historical documents disappeared – the publication of which would provide the future historian of Chios with irrefutable evidence of the political and social history of Chios under the Turkish Occupation –, only a very small part of these managed to be saved, pointed out by us, under the then military authority, were deposited in the archive of the Translation Bureau beside the Court of the First Instance here. Thinking that the publication of even the remnants of the said codices will be beneficial for those dealing with history in general and specifically of Chios, we proceeded ... to the translation of them ...²⁰

Ottoman documents were also published at this time by researchers of ecclesiastical history in their studies on the privileges of the Orthodox Church and administrative affairs, such as Manuel Gedeon,²¹ *megas chartophylax* and chronicler of the Ecumenical

18 N. Stavrakis, *Statistiki tou plithismou tis Kritis meta diaforon geografikon, istorikon, arhaiologikon, ekklesiastikon k.t.l. eidiseon peri tis nisou* [Statistics of the Population of Crete with Various Geographical, Historical, Archaeological, Ecclesiastical etc. Information on the Island] (Athens: Paliggenesia Press I. Aggelopoulos, 1890) (reprinted Notis Karavias, 1978).

19 *Hronografia tis Ipeirou, syntetagmeni ypo P.A.P.* (Chronicle of Epirus, compiled by P.A.P.), 2 vols, (Athens: S.K. Vlastos Printing House, 1856) (reprint, Athens, I. Rizos, 1969). On the work of P. Aravantinos see M. Kokolakis, "Dimographikes exelixeis stin Ipeiro, 1830-1910 [Demographic Developments in Epirus, 1830-1910]," *Istor* 6 (1993), 121-142 and idem, *To ystero yanniotiko pasaliki. Horos, dioikisi kai plithismos stin Tourkokratoumeni Ipeiro, 1820-1913* [The Late Pashalik of Ioannina: Space, Administration, Population in Epirus under the Turkish Domination, 1820-1913] (Athens: Centre of Neohellenic Studies, 2003).

20 Ch.V. Mavropoulos, *Tourkika egrapha aforonta tin istorian tis Chiou, exedothisan dapani tou Dimou Chiou* [Turkish Documents concerning the History of Chios, Published at the Expenses of the Municipality of Chios] (Athens: P.A. Petrakos Printing Press, 1920), iii. Mavropoulos, who had an excellent knowledge of the Ottoman language, translated 231 Ottoman documents relating to the island's history.

21 M.I. Gedeon, *Episima grammata tourkika anapheromena eis ta ekklesiastical imon dikaita* [Official Turkish Letters Referring to our Ecclesiastical Rights] (Constantinople, 1910). His narrative on the intellectual history of the Ottoman period is a history of the pre-national millet and is classed in this regard among

Patriarchate. He published *berats* of patriarchs and of metropolitans, and *firmans* to monasteries, *ahitnames* on the privileges of the islands in the Aegean, etc., realizing, as I. Theocharidis maintains, that “one means of resistance to the Young Turks’ efforts to abolish the privileges of the Patriarchate was to mobilize the Ottoman documents through which the peculiar status this occupied in the Ottoman Empire was pointed out,”²² or, possibly, in order to project the rights of the Ecumenical Church against the Bulgarian Exarchate.

With the annexation of Thessaly and Arta to Greece in 1881, issues of redefining the customary land-holding relations in the former Ottoman *çiflik*s were raised, while concurrently the different conceptions concerning land ownership had to be legislatively compromised. The confrontation of this first and foremost practical matter became a pretext for investigating and publishing Ottoman archival material. A few years later, the splendid historical treatise by the Thessalian D. Tsopotos emerged from this study: here the rural relations before the annexation of the regions to the Greek State are examined. Tsopotos explains in his foreword:

Concerning the landownership and the various categories of land, concerning the personal situation of the farmers, the taxation burdens and the *timar* system of the earliest years of the Turkish Domination, there prevailed vagueness and contention between not only European but also Muslim men of letters. For this reason I preferred to support the discussion of these in the present essay on official documents (*firmans* and regulatory decrees), on reports of old, high-ranking economic civil servants of the Porte, and on decisions (*fetva*) of *Sheikhulislams*.²³

It is worth mentioning, as a side note, that in contrast to historians, lawyers in particular, and also economists, were interested in the Ottoman period and published articles relating to their field.²⁴

the exceptions of modern Greek production. See A. Liakos, “To *zitima tis synecheias*,” *op. cit.*, 62. Turkish documents on Mount Athos are also included in the work by G. Smyrnakis, *To Agion Oros [The Holy Mountain]* (Athens, 1903) (reprinted Karyes 1988).

22 I. Theocharidis, “I anaptyxi ton tourkologikon spoudon stin Ellada [The Development of Turkish Studies in Greece],” *Dodoni. Epistemoniki Epeterida tou Tmimatou Istorias kai Archaialogias tis Philosophikis Scholis tou Panepistimiou Ioanninou* 17/1 (1988), 47–48.

23 [D. Tsopotos], “*Soultanika diatagmata (fermania) kai ierodikastiki apophais (ilâm)* aphoronta ktimatikas scheseis ton chorion tou Piliou Zagoras, Makryrachis kai Aniliou [Sultanic Decrees (*Firmans*) and *Kadi* Decisions (*ilâm*) Concerning Land Relations of the Villages of Pilon Zagora, Makryrachi and Anilio],” *Thessalika Chronika* 2 (1931), 220–233; idem, “To soultaniko firmanion kai of perivoitos torukikos kanonismos ton georgikon en Thessalia scheseon [The *Firman* and the Infamous Turkish Regulation of the Farming Relations in Thessaly],” *Epeteris Philologikou Syllogou Parnassos* 10 (1914), 64–93; idem, *Gi kai georgoi tis Thessalias kata tin tourkokratian. Epi ti vasei istorikon pigon [Land and Farmers in Thessaly during the Turkish Occupation on the Basis of Historical Sources]* (Volos, 1912), (Athens 1974). Translated Turkish documents concerning Thessaly and Magnesia were to be published later also by N. Pantazopoulos, “Koinotikos vios eis tin Thessalomagnesian epi Tourkokratias [Community Life in Thessaly and Magnesia under Ottoman Rule],” *Epistimoniki Epeteris Sxolis Nomikon – Oikonomikon Epistimon*, t. 14/3 (1967), 351–445.

24 I mention indicatively N. G. Moschovakis, *To en Elladi dimosion dikaion epi tourkokratias [Civil Law in Greece during the Ottoman Period]* (Athens, 1882) (photo-reprint, Athens 1973). A.M. Andreadis, “L’administration financière de la Grèce sous la domination turque,” Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1910, extrait de *Revue des études grecques* XXIII/102 (1910).

The publications of Ottoman archival material in those years may not have encountered the present canons of the disciplines of palaeography and diplomacy; nevertheless, thanks to them, precious material became accessible to the amateur historians and local literati to whom these publications were primarily addressed, and the *post hoc* result is an enormous reservoir of information for the future historians. Indeed, in some cases the published Greek translations have saved the information, as the original documents were lost in the vicissitudes of wars and other hardships. For example, until thirty years ago M. Gedeon's published translation of the earliest *firmans* of the Prodromos monastery at Serres (Mehmet I, Mehmet II) constituted a source, since the originals did not exist and the codex of the metropolis which contained their translation was "lost"; it was discovered many years later in the Dujcev Institute in Bulgaria, along with other manuscripts and documents which were removed from monasteries, libraries, etc. during the Bulgarian occupation of East Macedonia and Thrace in the First World War.²⁵

Until the Second World War, the publication of Ottoman archival material –however it was done– was dominated, with very few exceptions, by local character and was utilized –and continues to be utilized – mainly in monographs on local history. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the published translations of Ottoman material were in certain cases the basis, starting point, and guideline for the study of a particular subject as well as the subsequent discussion of the original testimony; this has always been, at least for those who read between the lines, the provisional grand terrain on which the embryonic hypothesis is first tested.

The pioneers, who contributed to this gathering of material, mainly translators and publishers of Ottoman archival material and a few authors of historical studies, were either associated with the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Phanariot world or employed in the Ottoman administration.²⁶ They had excellent knowledge of the Ottoman language and bureaucracy and included forefather Athanasios Komninos Ypsilantis²⁷ –part of his work was first published in 1870– and the final representative, the Constantinopolitan Avraam Papazoglou. The latter, who went missing in 1941 in the tumult of the Second World War, was the first Greek to conduct research in the archives of Istanbul and published Greek translations of the documents from the Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi.²⁸

25 See M. Gedeon, "Grammata peri monis Prodromou ellinika (1499-1614) kai tourkika (firmania tou Mehmet Porthitou) [Letters Concerning the Prodromos Monastery, Greek (1499-1614) and Turkish *Firmans* of Mehmet the Conqueror]," *Archeion Ekklesiastikis Istorias*, vol. I, fasc. 3, (Constantinople, 1911), 388-397. Historical studies on the status of the Prodromos monastery in the early Ottoman period were based on Gedeon's translation: see Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Early Ottoman Documents of the Prodromos Monastery (Serres)," *Südost-Forschungen* XXVIII (1969), 1-12 and Evangelia Balta, *Les vakifs de Serres et de sa région (XV et XVI s.)* (Athens, 1995), 185ff., with relevant discussion on the translated documents and collected bibliography.

26 The subject at hand excludes *a priori* studies such as those by G. Polychroniadis, V. Mirmiroglou, N. Moschopoulou et al., because they are not based on archival material but are syntheses from narrative or secondary sources.

27 Athanasios Komninos Ypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin, [1453-1788], ek cheirographou anekdotou tis Ieras Monis tou Sina ekdidontas Archimandritou Germanou Aphthonidou, Sinaitou [After the Fall, (1453-1788), from an Unpublished Manuscript of the Holy Monastery of Sinai Published by Archimandrite Germanos Aphthonidos, Sinaite]* (Constantinople, 1870).

28 A. Papazoglou, "Deka eggrapha tou Othomanikou Archeiou [Ten Documents of the Ottoman Archives]," *Ellinika* 11 (1939), 135-150; idem, "I Eptanisiaki Politeia sta Archeia tou othomanikou kratous [The

B. A Productive Twenty Years: 1940-1960

The eve of the Second World War should be considered a watershed in the modern Greek historiography of the Ottoman period, as it was then that the demand for seeking a picture of an Ottoman past different from the one that had been painted in the previous century was formulated. In his thesis, Michael Sakellariou maintains the necessity of the existence of “specialist scholars, who will explore the *terra incognita* of our historical past during Ottoman rule,” essentially raising the issue of forming an autonomous historical field.²⁹ His thesis, which explored the social and economic history of the Ottoman Peloponnese in the eighteenth century, was rejected by the University of Athens, which was steadfastly devoted to the study of the revolutionary movements of the Greeks against the Turks.

After the Second World War, the new national and wider historiographic issues demanded more positive, more precise and richer knowledge and more synthetic processing. So, out of necessity the specifications of a stricter method of historical positivism were formed. Apostolos Vakalopoulos, who taught at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki until the 1970s, introduced the use of Ottoman sources in the writing of the history of this period. He was the first to make systematic use of the Ottoman archival material translated into Greek, in his magnum opus *History of Modern Hellenism*, in which he follows, with minimal deviations, the basic axes of Paparrigopoulos’s schema.³⁰ His research required the use of unpublished documents as well and he sought the help of persons proficient in the Ottoman language to read them.³¹ In dialogue with the Western historiographic production as well as with that of the Balkan neighbours and the Turks, Vakalopoulos fits the history of the Ottoman period into the framework of the history of the Ottoman Empire. Nonetheless, there are clear shortcomings in his creative comprehension of the cited Balkan bibliography. Essentially it is he, who took modern Greek historiography out of its introspection, which was largely dependent on

Septinsular Republic in the Archives of the Ottoman State],” *Nea Estia* 25 (1939), 807-813. His archive has been deposited in ELIA (Athens). See Ismini Antonoula, “Archeio Avraam Papazoglou [Avraam Papazoglou Archive],” *Ta nea tou E.L.I.A.*, no. 50 (January-March 1998), 17-18.

29 See M.V. Sakellariou, *I Peloponnisos kata tin defteran Tourkokratian (1715-1821)* [The Peloponnese during the Second Period of Ottoman Rule, 1715-1821] (Athens, 1939) (photocopy reprint: Athens, Ermis, 1978). It is not fortuitous that this thesis was “discovered” and reprinted in 1978, when the timeliness of the problem coincided with the historiographic inquiries of the post-dictatorship years.

30 A. Vakalopoulos, “Apopseis gia tin istoria kai tin methodology tis. Prosopiki martyria [Views on the History and its Methodology: A Personal Testimony],” *Synchrone Themata* 35-37 (Dec. 1988), 72-79; C. Hatzi-dimitriou, “From Paparrigopoulos to Vacalopoulos: Modern Greek Historiography on the Ottoman Period,” in *New Trends in Modern Greek Historiography*, eds. A. Lily Macrakis and P. N. Diamandouros (Hanover: N.H., 1982), 13-23. See also Eleni Belia, “Mnimi Apostolou Bakalopoulou. Prosopiki martyria [Recollection of Apostolos Vakalopoulos: A Personal Testimony],” *Deltio Kentou Ereunis tis Istorias tou Neoterou Ellinismou*, t. 2 (2000), 333-342.

31 A. Vakalopoulos, *Istoria tou Neou Ellinismou [History of Modern Hellenism]* (Thessaloniki: E. Sphakianakis & Sons, 1974-1988). See also for example the study A.E. Vakalopoulos, *Thasos. Son histoire, son administration de 1453 à 1912*, Paris, E. de Boccard, 1953, in which 68 Ottoman documents which he discovered in the communities on the island are published, as translated by L. Mamzoridis, director of the Translation Bureau of Thessaloniki. Also his work *Istoria tis Makedonias, 1354-1833 [History of Macedonia]*, 5 vols, (Thessaloniki, 1969), is based on a host of published sources, Turkish, Bulgarian and Serbian are among them.

and reinforced by the exclusive use of Greek sources. So, in the positivist conception of the traditional nationalist school that A. Vakalopoulos served, this fact constituted transcendence.

At the same time, after the end of the Second World War and the Civil War, the political expediencies in the politically sensitive region of northern Greece, with the upsurge of the Macedonian question, triggered the translation and publication of Ottoman material deposited in archives of various cities in Macedonia. Coordinator of the task was Vasdravellis and its Turkish-speaking executors were G. Kanakis, A. Mamzoridis, Th. Symeonidis, S. Anagnostidis, and Char. Emmanouilidis, employees of Translation Bureaus in Macedonia.³² The aim of this endeavour, as declared in the forewords of the editor of the publications, I. Vasdarvellis, was to find proof of the Greekness of the North: “From all these documents emerge more generally the following: a) the invincible strength and vitality of Macedonian Hellenism and the constant pulse towards national liberation, and b) that nowhere do Slavs appear in these documents.”³³ The specific political expediencies and the ideological orientations of the period might have imposed the translation and publication of particular archival material on Ottoman Macedonia; nevertheless the Greekness of Macedonia was not the only thing to emerge from the corpus of sources. Its enormous wealth, undoubtedly, supplied contemporary historians like A. Vakalopoulos and N. Svoronos³⁴ with a wealth of information, as well

32 Ioannis Vasdravellis, *Armatoloi kai kleftes eis ten Makedonian*, Thessaloniki 1948 [*Klephts, Armatoles and Pirates in Macedonia during the Rule of the Turks, 1627-1821*] (Thessaloniki, 1975); idem, *Oi Makedoneseis tous yper tes anexartesiias agonas 1796-1832*, (Thessaloniki, 1940). English translation by Photeine P. Bourboulis, *The Greek Struggle for Independence: The Macedonians in the Revolution of 1821* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1968); idem, *Hoi Makedones eis tous hyper tes anexartesiias agonas 1796-1832 [The Macedonians in the Struggle for Independence]*, 2nd edition, (Thessaloniki, 1950); *Istorika Archeia Makedonias, t. I, Archeion Thessalonikis, 1695-1912 [Historical Archives of Macedonia]* vol. I, Archive of Thessaloniki 1695-1912, (Thessaloniki, 1952); *Istorika Archeia Makedonias, vol. II, Archeion Verroias - Naoussis, 1598-1886 [Historical Archives of Macedonia, vol. II, Archive of Verioia – Naoussa]*, (Thessaloniki, 1954) (It includes 414 documents); *Istorika Archeia Makedonias, vol. III, Archeion Monis Vlatadon, 1466-1839 [Historical Archives of Macedonia, vol. III, Archive of the Vlatadon monastery]*, ed. I. Vasdarvellis (Thessaloniki, 1955) (It includes 52 firmsans); *Tourkika eggrafa peri tou Makedonikou Agonos [Turkish Documents Concerning the Macedonian Struggle]* (Thessaloniki, 1958). In addition to these works, I. Vasdravellis has published Ottoman archival material in a host of articles in periodicals, mainly in Thessaloniki. See also Pan. I Zepos, “Anekdotia eggrafa tis tourkokratias [Unpublished Documents of the Ottoman Period],” *Archeion Idiotikou Dikaion*, t. 11 (1944), 49-91.

33 *Istorikon Archeion Verouias. Eklogai [Historical Archive of Verioia. Selections]*, ed. I. Vasdarvellis (Thessaloniki, 1942), iii.

34 N. Svoronos in the Appendix of his book *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, PUF, 1956 included some Turkish documents published by I. Vasdravellis in 1952 and 1954. He wrote there: “Plusieurs publications parues entre temps ont apporté un riche matériel provenant des archives turques de la Macédoine et de la Turquie, qui complète les données des consuls (français et vénitiens) sur lesquelles ce livre était basé à l’origine. Je n’ai pu utiliser ce matériel que dans les parties non encore imprimées au moment de la parution des publications mentionnées...,” see *ibid*, 369. See S.I. Asdrachas, “Ti einai i “Thessaloniki” tou Nikou Svoronou? [What is Nikos Svoronos’s “Thessaloniki”?],” in *idem, Patridographimata [History of the Homeland]*, Introduction: S. Ch. Sklavenitis, Athens, Etairia Leukadikon Meleton 2003, 277-297. See also Ch. Hadjiiosif, “To ergo tou Nikou Svoronou kai i elliniki istoriografia. Peninta xronia apokliseon kai sygliseon [The oeuvre of Nikos Svoronos and Greek Historiography: Fifty Years of Divergences and Convergences],” *Synchrona Themata* 38 (May 1989), 24-33. Emilie Themopoulou, also in her thesis on Thessaloniki, used some Turkish archival material from Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi. See, ➤

as the later generations who continue to find from it, or thanks to it, diverse material to document their inquiries, even though the publication of the sources does not correspond, as A. Tietze notes, to “the highest standards that one might expect to find.”³⁵

In Crete, Nikolaos Stavriniadis already systematically studied the *kadi* registers of Candia (Herakleion) from the interwar years. However, the publication of the translations was much delayed. It was not until 1975 that the responsible authorities were persuaded of their usefulness and agreed to fund their publication. Nonetheless, from 1947 Stavriniadis himself was publishing studies on Ottoman Crete in Cretan periodicals and drawing on material in the Turkish Archive of Herakleion.³⁶

To conclude, between 1940-1960, a period which extends to the restoration of democracy –following the established concept from Greek history–, modern Greek historiography began to use gradually and increasingly, in parallel with other sources, published Ottoman sources with the intermediation of the Turkish, Balkan and Western bibliographies. Also noteworthy is the interest observed in these years in certain Turkish narrative sources, such as the text of the travels of Evliya Çelebi.³⁷

II. Ottoman Studies

The period of the Turkish occupation as introduction to the Greek War of Independence covered the ideological orientations of modern Greek historiography, for as long as no other desiderata or political expediencies appeared. These emerged after

Emilie Themopoulou, “Salonique, 1800-1875: conjoncture économique et mouvement commercial,” 3 vols. (PhD diss., Université de Paris I, 1994), idem, “L’approvisionnement d’ Istanbul en céréales et l’ évolution de la contribution de l’ ichtira au XVIII^e et au XIX^e siècle,” *I kath’imas Anatoli* 3 (1996), 117-138.

35 See A. Tietze, “The Balkans and Ottoman Sources—Ottoman Sources and the Balkans,” in *Aspects of the Balkans. Continuity and Change*, eds. Henrik Birnbaum and Speros Vryonis Jr (Contributions to the International Balkan Conference held at UCLA, October 23-28, 1969) The Hague - Paris Mouton 1972, 290. His comment applies to all the contemporary publications of Ottoman archival material published in the various Balkan countries. On the quality of the publications of the translated Turkish documents in Greece, see also the comments by I. Theocharidis, “I anapyksi ton tourkologikon spoudon,” op.cit., 52-54.

36 I mention some of those published in this period: N. Stavriniadis, “Anekdotia egrapha tis tourkoratias en Kriti. Dyo egrapha rythmistika tou meta tin alosin tis Kritis phorologikou systimatos [Unpublished Documents of the Ottoman Period in Crete: Two Documents Regulating the Taxation System after the Fall of Crete],” *Kritika Chronika* 1 (1947), 84-122. Idem, “Anekdotia egrapha tis tourkokratias en Kriti. Pente egrapha ton proton meta tin alosin chronon [Unpublished Documents of the Ottoman Period in Crete: Five Documents from the First Years after the Fall],” *Kritika Chronika* 2 (1948), 153-166. Idem, “Anekdotia egrapha tis tourkokratias en Kriti ton eton 1684-1686 [Unpublished Documents of the Ottoman Period in Crete of the Years 1684-1686],” op. cit., 320-348. Idem, “Symvoli eis tin istorian ton Sphakion, 1645-1770 [Contribution to the History of Sphakia (1645-1770)],” *Kritika Chronika* 9 (1956), 213-333.

37 This is attested not only by the growing number of publications in this period, presenting in sections, by regions, the translated or paraphrased text of Evliya Çelebi’s travels (See Dimitris Loupis, “To odoiporoiko tou Evliya Çelebi i oi vivliographikes peripeteies mias perigisis [The itinerary of Evliya Çelebi or the Bibliographical Adventures of a Journey],” *I kath’imas Anatoli* 3 (1996), 173-185), but is also confirmed by the fact that two of the three founders of Ottoman Studies in Greece chose this source as the subject of their doctoral dissertation. See P. Hidirolou, *Das religiöse Leben auf Kreta nach Ewlija Çelebi* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969) and Vasilis Dimitriadis, *I kentriki kai dytiki Makedonia kata ton Evliya Çelebi [Central and Western Macedonia According to Evliya Çelebi]* (Introduction –Translation – Commentary) (Thessaloniki, 1973).

the Second World War and are identified elsewhere, such as in the study of the Slav people of the Balkans. The recognition of the need to create Ottoman studies in Greece, in the late 1950s or so, is linked with the maturation of scholarly demands. Historians such K. Th. Dimaras and D. A. Zakythinios were then working –each from his own standpoint– to create the preconditions that the specialization demanded. Dionysios Zakythinios, who focused his research on post-Byzantine Hellenism, which was “without primary authority” under the influence of N. Iorga,³⁸ mapped out and ranked the specialities of historical disciplines in Greece according to priority. And yet, he did not shift from the scheme of the original conception of Greek history as a continuum spanning three millennia.

It should not be forgotten that in the post-war years modern Greek history continued to be cultivated mainly as an extension of the interests of the Greek Byzantinists.³⁹ For Zakythinios, the *Turkokratia* –a term he considers invalid– does not constitute a historical period in its own right, but an organic part of the overall historical course “during which the essential preconditions for the national renaissance and the formation of the modern state were prepared.” Telling is the epilogue of his foreword to the volume *Post-Byzantine and Modern Greek* (1978):

Moving inside the vast space of the Turkish State, submitting to the painful circumstances of servitude, advancing in their orbit the slow-moving mass of the peoples likewise in bondage and of the same religion, they shaped a supra-national value. The history of the Greeks of the Turkish Occupation presents all the characteristics of greater Hellenism, and for this reason I have no hesitation in including the period of the Turkish Occupation among the major periods in the history of the Greek Nation.⁴⁰

Consequently, the study of the period emerged as an immediate priority in order to enhance the data that had to be found in the sources. Already as the Director of the General State Archives (1937-1946), Zakythinios had ascertained the necessity of preserving and cataloguing the evidence of the post-Byzantine past. He worked for the realization of this vision as the Director of the Centre of Byzantine Studies at the National Research Foundation (1958-1975), organizing missions to the archives of the major monasteries in Greece. So, it is clear how a Byzantinist, through post-Byzantium, became essentially the protagonist for the establishment of Ottoman Studies in Greece.⁴¹

38 N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance. Contribution de l'histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucarest: Institut d'Etudes Byzantines, 1935).

39 D. A. Zakythinios, *Metavyzantina kai Nea Ellinika [Post Byzantine and Modern Greek]* (Athens, 1978), xii.

40 This volume is a collection of his relevant studies, which were published in the postwar years as D.A. Zakythinios, “Dyo istorika parallila: Romaiokratia kai tourkokratia [Two Historical Parallels: Roman Occupation and Turkish Occupation],” “Prodrromoi morphai tis Tourkokratias [Precursory Forms of the Turkish Occupation],” Zakythinios also wrote studies on the Turkish occupation and more recent history. See D.A. Zakythinios, *I Tourkokratia. Eisagogi eis tin Neoteran Istorian tou Ellinismou [The Turkish Occupation: Introduction to the Later History of Hellenism]* (Athens, 1954) and idem, Oxford 1976.

41 I am grateful for the prospects this mentor opened up for me. In 1978, a few months after I began working at the Centre of Asia Minor Studies, the Board of which he was a member, he asked to see me in his office at the Academy of Athens. There he informed me that Greece needed Ottomanists and that if this area of

A. The Beginnings

The beginnings of Ottoman Studies are placed around 1960. The scientific needs of a National Research Foundation for cataloguing archives, and the succession in the direction of two large Ottoman archives, of Thessaloniki and of Herakleion, became the pretext for sending Elizabeth Zachariadou and Vasilis Dimitriadis to England and Pavlos Hidioglou and Basiliki Papoulia to Germany for Turkish Studies. The watershed had come with the recognition in practice of the necessity of Ottoman Studies. It is worth underlining that the post-graduate training of three researchers was then connected with the cataloguing and organization of the Ottoman archives of Greece. Elizabeth Zachariadou turned towards the study of the history of monasteries, such as St John the Theologian on Patmos, Mount Athos: the Prodromos monastery at Serres, etc., making use of the published and unpublished Ottoman material in the Greek archives.⁴² The study by P. Lemerle and P. Wittek on the status of the Athonite monasteries under the Ottomans had already appeared.⁴³

After completing his studies, P. Hidioglou worked for many years in the Social Science Research Centre of Cyprus, cataloguing Ottoman sources on the island's history,⁴⁴ a tradition that was conscientiously continued by Ioannis Theocharidis.⁴⁵ However, since the catalogued material was not utilized in synthetic studies, the basic contributions to the historiography of Ottoman Cyprus, remain as the earlier ones by H. Inalcik and, primarily, R.C. Jennings,⁴⁶ who, by processing *tapu tahrir* and *kadı sicill-eri*, presented important aspects of the island's history. Here one may close the paren-

study interested me, he was prepared to help me to pursue it. The following year the Alexandros S. Onassis Foundation announced a scholarship in Turkish Studies, thanks to the award of which by 1980 I was studying in Paris. I owe this opportunity to Dionysios Zakythinis, to whom I am indebted.

42 A selection of her early studies is reprinted in Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Romania and the Turks (c. 1300 – c. 1500)* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985). This subject remained a fixed pole of her interests in later years, see below. A large part of Elizabeth Zachariadou's studies was oriented towards research on the Ottoman chronicles and based primarily on narrative sources, which does not fall within the brief of the present paper.

43 P. Lemerle and P. Wittek, "Recherches sur l'histoire et le statut des monastères athonites sous la domination turque. Part I, Trois documents du monastère de Kutlumus", *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* 3 (1947), 411-472.

44 P. Hidioglou was not employed in the Turkish Archive in Herakleion, as was originally intended. This fact was denounced by N. Stavrinidis as proof of the local authorities' indifference to the fate of the precious archive that was under their administrative jurisdiction (see N. Stavrinidis, op. cit., xii). Hidioglou's employment at the Social Research Centre of Cyprus is surely not unrelated to the political game that had begun to be played by both sides in the island. The sources on Ottoman Cyprus, which he published, were included in a volume together with other bibliographical contributions by him; see idem, *Symvoli stin El-linki Tourkologia [Contribution to Greek Turkish Studies]*, vol. I, (Athens: Irodotos, 1990).

45 I. Theocharides, *Katalogos othomanikon eggrafon tis Kyprou apo ta Archeia tis Ethnikis Vivliothikis tis Sofias, 1571-1878 [Catalogue of Ottoman Documents on Cyprus: From the Archives of the National Library of Sofia, 1571-1878]* (Nicosia, 1984); idem, *Othomanika eggrafa, 1572-1839. Archeio Ieras Monis Kykkou – I [Ottoman Documents 1572-1839: Archive of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos I]*, 4 vols. (Nicosia: Kentro Meleton Ieras Monis Kykkou, 1993); idem, *Othomanika eggrafa 1840-1912, Archeio Ieras Monis Kykkou – V [Ottoman Documents 1572-1839. Archive of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos V]*, 2 vols. (Nicosia: Kentro Meleton Ieras Monis Kykkou, 1999).

46 R. C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1993), with relevant bibliography.

thesis on Cypriot historiography, which is outside the context of this paper but was opened of necessity, because two of the very few Ottoman specialists of Greece worked on cataloguing the Ottoman material of Cyprus.

Vasiliki Papoulia, after her doctoral dissertation on *devshirme*,⁴⁷ dealt with the philosophy of history and taught the “History of Balkan peoples” at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki until 2000. Vasilis Dimitriadis was employed in the Historical Archive of Macedonia, based in Thessaloniki. Later, from 1977 to 1984, with the help of a team of young graduates and students of the Faculty of Letters of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, he classified and catalogued the archives.⁴⁸ In the same year he published articles on subjects related to the Ottoman history of Northern Greece from material in the archives.⁴⁹ It should be noted that because it touches on the history of Ottoman Studies and is directly linked to their subsequent historiographic choices, a Department of Turkish Studies also operated, teaching the Turkish language in the newly-opened Institute for Balkan Studies in Thessaloniki, which aimed to research mainly the history of the Slav peoples of the Balkans. It was there that some scholars, who were later involved with the Ottoman archives and the study of the Ottoman period were educated (Sophie Tzortzakaki,⁵⁰ Kostas Kambouridis,⁵¹ Evangelia Balta, Eleni Karanastasi, Angeliki Georgiou,⁵² Kirki Georgiadi⁵³) during the dictatorship and the early years after

47 Basilike D. Papoulia, “Ursprung und Wesen der “Knabenlese,” in *Osmanischen Reich Südosteuropäische Arbeiten* 59, Munich 1963.

48 See V. Dimitriadis, “Ta tourkika archeia tou Istorikou Archeiou Makedonias kai I simasia tous ya tin istoria tis Tourkokratias [The Turkish Archives of the Historical Archive of Macedonia and their Importance for the History of the Turkish Occupation],” in *New Trends in Modern Greek Historiography with an Introduction by W. McGrew*, eds. A. Lily Makrakis and P. Nikiforos Diamandouros (The Modern Greek Studies Association [Occasional Papers 1], 1982), 26.

49 V. Dimitriadis, “O kanunnâme kai oi christianou katoikoi tis Thessalonikis, gyro sta 1525 [The *Kanunnâme* and the Christian Inhabitants of Thessaloniki, circa 1525],” *Makedonika* 19 (1979), 328-376. Idem, “Phorologikes katigories ton chorion tis Thessalonikis kata tin tourkokratia [Taxation Categories of the Villages of Thessaloniki during the Ottoman Period],” *Makedonika* 20 (1980), 375-462. Idem, “Problems of Land-Owning and Population in the Area of Gazi Evrenos Bey’s *Wakf*,” *Balkan Studies* 22/1 (1981), 43-57. Idem, “Ottoman Chalkidiki: An Area in Transition,” in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, eds. A. Bryer and H. Lowry (Birmingham: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 39-50.

50 Sophie Tzortzakaki-Tzaridou, “I leitourgia tou thesmou ton ‘christianikon vakufion’ epi Tourkokratias me vasi ta othomankia egrapha tou archeiou tis monis Vlatadon [The Function of the Institution of the ‘Christian *vakfs*’ under the Turkish Occupation on the Basis of the Ottoman Documents in the Archives of the Vlatadon Monastery],” *Christianiki Thessaloniki. Othomaniki periodos, 1430-1912* [Christian Thessaloniki, Ottoman period, 1430-1912], (II, Thessaloniki, 1994), 259-276.

51 Kostas Kambouridis, “Oi kodikes tou Ierodikeiou Larisas-Phanariou (Yenişehir-Fenar ton chronon 1073-89/1662-1678) [The Kadi Sicills of Larisa-Phanari (Yenişehir-Fenar of the Years 1073-89/1662-1678)]” (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2002).

52 Eleni Karanastasi and Angeliki Georgiou have been working since the 1980s in the Historical Archive, continuing its classification and facilitating, with their sound knowledge, the research of those studying the Ottoman archive. See Angeliki Georgiou, Eleni Karanastasi, and Evangelia Balta, “Ambelones kai krasia stin Epanomi. I othomaniki apographi tou 1907 [Vineyards and Wine at Epanomi: The Ottoman Census of 1907],” in the volume *Oinon istoro III: T’ ambelanthismata*, ed. G.A. Pikoulas, (Athens: Yero-vasileiou Estate- Epanomi Thessaloniki, 2004), 129-191.

53 Kirki Georgiadi worked as an archivist in the Historical Archive of Macedonia, material from which was the basis of her study. “To pyritidopoieio sto Gredmborio Thessalonikis [The Gunpowder Factory at Grademborio, Thessaloniki],” *Mnimon* 13 (1991), 103-120.

the restoration of democracy. In these same years (1967-1971), the *Bulletin of Turkish Bibliography* was published, which included not only an overview of the literature but also extensive summaries of selected contributions by Turkish historians, such as Ö. L. Barkan, M. Cezar, H. Inalcık, alongside similar summaries of propagandist Turkish books and articles from the periodical *Türk Kültürü*. This *Bulletin*, as well as the corresponding one for the *Slavic and Bulgarian Bibliography* of the Institute for Balkan Studies, and the post-dictatorship *Balkan Bibliography*,⁵⁴ all imitating the practices of the historical institutes in the Socialist states of the Balkans, opened up new horizons and for some, sowed the seeds of their subsequent initiation into the enormous wealth of archival material in the Balkans and Turkey. In the meantime, in 1966 John C. Alexander, who was preparing his master's dissertation at Columbia University, came to work in post-dictatorship Greece immediately after the support of his doctoral thesis in 1974 on the publication of taxation legislation relating to Greek regions in the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ Starting in 1975, the publication of N. Stavriniadis's translations from the *kadi* codices of Herakleion began, in which his concern for the exact rendering of the administrative and fiscal terms can be discerned. His choice of material to be translated or published was directed by a totally different conception of history; moreover, his interest tended towards the socio-economic regime of the island and the everyday life of its inhabitants under the Ottomans.⁵⁶ The last of a generation of Turkish-speaking civil servants of the Greek state, who studied in Ottoman schools of the time, Nikolaos Stavriniadis (1895-1987), from the village of Saip in Asia Minor Ionia, devoted his long life to studying the codices of the *kadi* of Candia. From 1931 he was an employee in the Translation Bureau of Herakleion and subsequently in the Vikelaia Municipal Library. In 1939, D. Zakythinis, then Director of the General State Archives, visited Herakleion on one of his tours, and "having gone through the translations made, showed great interest," as he himself writes. Stavriniadis, the author of many studies on Ottoman Crete, left not only five massive tomes with *in extenso* translations, but also summaries

54 K. A. Dimadis et al., eds. *Balkaniki Vivliographia – Balkan Bibliography* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974-1977).

55 They were circulated as books in 1985. See John C. Alexander, *Brigandage and Public Order in the Morea 1685-1806* (Athens, 1985); idem, *Toward a History of Post-Byzantine Greece: The Ottoman Kanunnames for the Greek Lands, circa 1500-circa 1600* (Athens, 1985). He also published: idem, "Dyo othomanika katasticha tou Moria, 1460-1463. Eidiseis ya ton nahiye tis Arkadias [Two Ottoman Registers of the Morea, 1460-1463: Information on the Nahiye of Arkadia]," *I. Conference of Messenian Studies, Kalamata 2-4 December 1977*, Athens, Society of Peloponnesian Studies, 1978, 399-407; "The Monasteries of the Meteora during the first Two Centuries of Ottoman Rule," *Akten ii/2: XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/2 (1982), 95-102. Also idem, "Some Aspects of the Strife among the Moreot Christian Notables, 1789-1816," *Epetiris Etaireias Stereoelladikon Meleton* 5 (1974-75), 473-504.

56 I shall always remember the untidy room, like a stage set, in the Vikelaia Library, in Herakleion, brimful of *kadi* codices, the notebooks with his translations, the thousands of pieces of paper of all sizes and colours in the faded files with his studies, published and unpublished, written in his calligraphic script. The thousands of index cards tied with string, alongside the original editions of Shakespeare and other classic authors, and him, an old man in poor health, sitting at a table, caught up in the fever of production, and in our breaks asking me questions to learn what the "Franks" were doing lately for Turkish Studies. I consider myself fortunate to have spent the summer of 1980 as an "apprentice" to this wise and militant "ustad" of Ottoman Studies, so full of self-denial for our work.

of Turkish documents and a host of other unpublished translations.⁵⁷ Numerous other studies on the history of Ottoman Crete were based on his toil as a translator. Focusing on only the monographs, the older ones by V. Kremmydas and Yolanda Triantaphyllidou-Baladié, and the more recent one by Molly Green are cited in this study.⁵⁸

B. The Meeting of “New History” with Ottoman Studies

The post-dictatorship period in Greece, with the prevailing climate of suspicion of the establishment, swept along academic historiography in its wake. This doubting was surely exacerbated by the Marxist analyses of interwar historians and the very deep social split of the period 1936-1974, which laid the ground for the later historically processed hermeneutic approaches.⁵⁹ With the restoration of democracy new hypotheses appeared, as did new groundbreaking research methods from historians with innovative conceptions and a different view of the past. These historians had studied during the years of the dictatorship in the milieu of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, under the influence of the historians of the *Annales*. The “New History” that they passed on with their return to Greece, which is of interest in this paper, examined the Greek populations in Ottoman times through the prism of the economic and social relations that were formed by the conquest. It focused mainly on the mechanisms that regulated the economy in

57 N. Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis tourkikon istorikon egraphon aphoronton eis tin istorian tis Kritis (Translations of Turkish Documents Concerning the History of Crete)*, vol. I (H 1067-1082/1657-1672), Herakleion of Crete 1975; vol. II (H 1083-1105/1672-1694), 1976; vol. III (H 1105-1127/1694-1715), 1978; vol. IV (H 1127-1165/ 1715-1752), 1984; vol. V (H 1165-1179/1752-1765), 1985. Heart-rending is his testimony in the foreword to the first volume of his translations (p. xix), on the circumstances in which he worked and on the apathy of the local authorities to contribute financially to the publication of his translations, “unable by nature and position to assess the value of the surviving material.” A brief biography, accompanied by his most important publications, was written by Th.E. Detorakis, “Nikolaos Stavrinidis (1895-1987),” *Kritika Chronika* 28-29 (1988-1989), 387-391.

58 The monograph by V. Kremmydas, *Oi sapounopoies tis Kritis sto 18o aiona [The Soap Factories of Crete in the 18th century]* (Athens, 1974), and that by Yolanda Triantaphyllidou-Baladié, *To emporio kai i oikonomia tis Kritis, 1645-1669 [The Commerce and the Economy of Crete, 1669-1795]* (Herakleion, 1988) (published version of her doctoral thesis, submitted in the 1970s) were based on at that time unpublished translations by N. Stavrinidis, which, in fact, is acknowledged in the forewords, where the authors express their due gratitude. Molly Green’s tactic of referring to the *kadi sicills* with no mention of the published form of the document by N. Stavrinidis, exemplifies what M. Laskaris would characterize as “*bon pour l’Occident*.” Stavrinidis’s publication of his translations of the *kadi sicills* is not even cited as information for the reader in the relevant place where there is commentary on the sources, but is merely pushed in as a common bibliographical reference in the secondary sources. See Molly Green, *A Shared World. Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000).

59 Spyros Asdrachas, interpreting the changes in historiography in the post-dictatorship period, notes that the upsurge of interest in historical studies was a syndrome of two phenomena: political disenchantment and the historicizing of the social sciences. See S. Asdrachas, “Apo tin anagi tis istorias stin anagi diamorphosis istorikon [From the Need of History to the Need of Forming Historians],” *Synchrone Themata* iss. 35-37 (1988), 94. (The article was reprinted in: idem. *Scholia*, Athens, Alexandria, 1993, 15-24). I shall always remember a maxim of Gunnar Hering: It was after the fall of the Junta and I was on duty in the seminar room in the old Faculty of Letters at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Addressing me, who certainly had more need to hear it than the judicious Elli Skopetea, who was also present, he said that the doubting of traditional conceptions is the first step towards freedom. I hope I shall never forget that.

which the conquered participated as agents of production, either because they were directly involved in this or because they appropriated this as agents of the market.⁶⁰ Using the works by Spyros Asdrachas from the late 1970s as a starting point and landmark, a turn is observed not so much towards new thematic fields as towards a change in the method, the use of the document, and the whole problematic. In his work *Mechanisms of the Rural Economy* - a title indicative of his philosophy-, which is based on published fifteenth and sixteenth century Ottoman registers, and in the inspired introduction to a collective volume of translated classical articles (Ö. L. Barkan⁶¹, H. Inalcık, T. Stojanovich) on the structure of the Ottoman Empire, he expressed his position on how to investigate issues impinging on mechanisms of the rural economy, the settlement pattern and the demographic changes, which the conquest created and its military and fiscal system perpetuated.⁶² Asdrachas, without having the know-how that approaching the Ottoman sources demands, grappled with the study of the published registers, even of those published in Turkish and in Balkan languages, for the needs of his research.⁶³ His *Mechanisms*, like Vera Mutafchieva's *Rural relations*,⁶⁴ were definitive readings, just as the seminars given by N. Svoronos in the Faculty of Letters at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, were definitive for the passage from the Byzantine to the Ottoman system of land-holding and taxation. In these stimuli are detected the beginnings of my subsequent involvement with *defterology*.⁶⁵ In the years 1980-1983, in my doctoral thesis, which is based on the first registers of Euboea, I tried to rearrange the data in order to make them capable of responding to the questions of an eco-

60 See S. Asdrachas et al., *Elliniki oikonomiki istoria, 15os-19os aionas [Greek Economic History, 15th-19th century]*, vol. 1, (Athens: Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation, 2003), 21.

61 It should be noted that the Braudelian version of the *Annales*, obvious in the work of Ö. L. Barkan after the 1950s, not only influenced Turkish Ottoman Studies but also, through Barkan's work, spread to and still has an influence in its own right on Ottoman Studies everywhere. For why this Braudelian tradition, as the late one which was formed in Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems and Civilizations (Binghamton University, State University of New York) is not referred to here, did not find the continuation it deserves in Turkish Ottoman Studies, see what is mentioned in relation by H. Inalcık, "Türkiye'de Osmanlı Araştırmaları. I-Türkiye'de Modern Tarihciliğin Kurucuları," *XIII-Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 4-8 Ekim 1999), Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, I. Cilt, 143ff.

62 S. Asdrachas, *Michanismoï tis agrotikis istorias stin tourkokratia (15-17 aionas) [Mechanisms of the Rural History in the Ottoman Period (15th-17th century)]* (Athens: Themelio, 1978); idem, *Oikonomiki domi ton Valkanikon choron (15os-19os aionas) [Economic Structure of the Balkan Lands (15th-19th Century)]*, introduction – selection of texts: Sp. Asdrachas, Athens, Melissa, 1979. His introduction to this volume translated into English: "Problems of Economic History of the Period of Ottoman Domination of Greece," *Journal of Greek Diaspora* 6/2 (1979), 5-37.

63 His deep knowledge of these sources and their underlying logic, as well as the sensitivity he has developed through dealing with them, very often leads him to point out incorrect readings in the publication of the Ottoman text.

64 Vera Mutafchieva, *Agrarnite otnoshenija v osmanskata imperija prez XV-XVI v.*, Sofia, Balgarska Akademija na naukite, 1962. The Greek translation is based on the English edition: Vera Mutafchieva, *Agrotikes scheseis stin othomaniki aftokratia (15os-16os ai.) [Rural Relations in the Ottoman Empire (15th-16th c.)]*, transl. Ourania Astrinaki, Evangelia Balta, foreword Evangelia Balta, Athens, Poreia, 1990.

65 On the term "*defterology*," see: Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society: Papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982," review of *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* by A. Bryer and H. Lowry (eds.), *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* LII/1 (1989), 146.

conomic history I understood to be expressed in the seminars of the *Ecole* historians.⁶⁶ The Ottoman fiscal register became a tool for researching the hypothesis concerning the existence of clear incomes at the level of the direct producer and for ascertaining, in continuation with the help of numerical magnitudes, not the “real” magnitudes which constitute the surplus that had to be paid as tax to the sovereign conquering state and its mediators, but the mechanisms which governed its realization and distribution.

C. *Compte rendu* of the First Twenty Years (1985-2005)

The historiographic production of Greek Ottoman Studies is limited, as this is a recent discipline served by an extremely small group of no more than twenty persons, even counting in the young ones including those who are preparing doctoral dissertations. The production of Greek Ottoman specialists is limited even more, since the use of Turkish sources is posited as *conditio sine qua non*. Consequently, the discussion includes only those subjects, which in the research relied exclusively on primary sources, or used published archival material without its mediation or processing by others. Thus, when in any case the subjects are determined by the choices of a small circle of individual trends or directions cannot be determined, the contributions are simply recorded.

The list of subjects from the past twenty years includes the following: populations and the economy of Greek regions on the basis of the Ottoman registers, communities; the history of towns and cities; taxation legislations; the regime of the Church and the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the reality of the new status quo; and the history of monasteries. The themes of the international symposia organized by the Turkish Studies Programme of the University of Crete are also varied.⁶⁷

By grouping the subjects, the work produced by the personal inquiries, the lonely wanderings of the Greek Ottomanists will now be discussed. It should be noted that even though it is self-evident, that it is extremely difficult –almost impossible– to speak about things, which have happened and are now happening and with which one is personally involved, without inserting an autobiographical element. It has after all crept into the previous pages on several occasions. So, fully aware of all the difficulties and the consequences, I have undertaken to speak about things that are close, contemporary,

66 My management of the material and the research hypotheses to which I subjected it owe much to these seminars, at a time when Turkish Studies demanded with inflexible severity that I stick to the letter [in this case the number] of the source. This was true even if the source, as was proven in the end, said something more than what it showed on first reading. My thesis was published much later: *L'Eubée à la fin du XV^e siècle. Économie et Population. Les registres de l'année 1474*, Athènes 1989.

67 Five international symposia have been held so far and the proceedings of four have been published, with editor Elizabeth Zachariadou (ed.), *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389), Halcyon Days in Crete I: Rethymnon, 11-13 January 1991*, Crete University Press, Rethymnon 1993; *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule (1380-1699), Halcyon Days in Crete II, A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 9-11 January 1994*, Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1996. Elizabeth Zachariadou (ed.), *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire, Halcyon Days in Crete III, A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 10-12 January 1997*, Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1999; *The Kapudan Pasha. His office and His Domain, Halcyon Days in Crete IV: Rethymnon 7-9 January 2000*, Crete University Press, Rethymnon 2002. *The Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire (Rethymnon, 10-12 January 2003)* (in press).

and not distant in historical time, to look at my craft, my *esnaf* or guild,⁶⁸ myself, and to submit my testimony, my own narrative. In addition, the way I have chosen to cover the state of affairs in Greek Ottoman Studies is consciously different from that adopted by the sage Halil İnalcık when he referred to Turkish Ottoman Studies.⁶⁹

D. The Regime of the Orthodox Church, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the History of Monastery Complexes

In the past, the relationship of the Orthodox Church and particularly the Ecumenical Patriarchate with the Ottoman authority was mainly examined on the basis of sources from the Orthodox environment (Greek and Slavic) and Christian sources in general, which were written after the fall of Constantinople. These sources focused primarily on the privileges that the sultans granted to the patriarchs and pointed out the respect the Muslim conquerors showed towards the Great Church. However, the institution of the patriarch, who acted as head of the Orthodox Christian subjects of Mohamed II, was recognized on the basis of Islamic tradition and aimed at serving the Ottoman State. Consequently, the history of the institution during the course of Ottoman sovereignty, and principally the perspective of the Ottoman authority on the formation of its relations with the Church and its leaders, mainly exists in Turkish sources. Greek Ottoman Studies, following the tradition established in earlier studies by Ottomanists, approached this important chapter in the history of modern Hellenism and showed with published *berats* and Turkish documents in monastery archives, that the Church, that is the monasteries, the metropolises and the patriarchate, were incorporated as bearers of incomes into the Ottoman fiscal organization, which fact favoured, in practice, the co-existence of Ottoman administration and ecclesiastical hierarchy on administrative and economic issues.⁷⁰ This is an important contribution to this field, which also promises the wonderful results of future researches in the *piskopos mukataa defterleri* of the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi.

The methods the Ottomans adopted in order to conquer the Balkans can also be traced from the Ottoman documents in Athonite and other historical monasteries in Macedonia. The measures taken by the monasteries to safeguard the acquired economic privileges and their property from the Ottoman sovereign, on the eve of the conquest,

68 Other colleagues choose other words to define it. H. Lowry, for example, in an analogous case, uses the Turkish word *silsile* (= genealogy, dynasty, succession). See Heath W. Lowry, "The State of the Field: A Retrospective Overview and Assessment of Ottoman Studies in the United States of America and Canada, 1949-1999," XIII. *Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 4-8 Ekim 1999, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, I. Cilt*, (Ankara, 2002), 1-59.

69 H. İnalcık, "Türkiye'de Osmanlı Araştırmaları: I. Türkiye'de Modern Tarihçiliğin Kurucuları," *op. cit.*, 85-166.

70 Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Deka tourkika eggrafa gia tin Megali Ekklisia, 1483-1567* [Ten Turkish Documents Concerning the Great Church, 1483-1567] (Athens: Institute for Byzantine Research, 1996). P. Konortas, *Othomanikes theoriseis ya to oikoumeniko Patriarcheio. Bertia ya tous prokathimenos tis Megalis Ekklisias (17os-arches 20ou aiona)* [Ottoman Views of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Berats for the Primate of the Great Church (17th-early 20th century)] (Athens: Alexandria editions, 1998). See also the recent archival material published by G. Salakidis, *Ta sultanika eggrafa tis Dimotikis Vivliothikis tis Kozanis (1721-1909)* [The Sultanik Documents in the Municipal Library of Kozani (1721-1909)] (Kozani, 2004).

were consistent with the policy of penetrating the Balkans. Given the loose to non-existent Byzantine political authority, the large monasteries were the only political entities which existed and to a degree controlled the realm territorially, economically as well as politically; consequently it was these with which the Ottoman authority dealt. The publication of various *firman*s from the archives of the Athonite monasteries or the Prodromos monastery in Serres attests that these foundations were absolutely prepared for the imminent conquest. Their monasterial property, of course under a new land ownership status, together with the inviolability and various tax exemptions, was secured by the timely declaration of submission to the Ottoman sultans. Thanks to their contribution to the collection and processing of the source material and combined with an already existing and rich Greek bibliography, Greek Ottoman Studies have progressed alongside the corresponding important Balkan and other contributions of scholars from the Balkans and other areas.⁷¹

Last, from the study not of “high sultanic decrees” but of humble Turkish documents found in the archives, mainly in Athonite monasteries and in conjunction with the corresponding contemporary Greek ones, the material dimension of monastic life emerges as the other face of the “theoretical and inactive life.” The nature of the material necessarily orientates towards the specification of the economic function of the monastery complexes,⁷² since the majority of the documents are no more than deeds of ownership, promissory notes, cadastres, registers of invoices, acquittance receipts, lease contracts and diverse judicial documents that reveal the frequently violent clashes and long-standing enmity over trivial land issues between neighboring monasteries or between monasteries and the laity living in the vicinity. To quote Christos Patrinelis, “the researcher’s first impression from these otherwise precious monastery archives is that he is delving into the archives of some centenarian agricultural and stock-raising enterprises.”⁷³ The search for the traces of daily life on the Holy Mountain by Greek

71 For the bibliography of works by Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, see n.; idem, “The Worrisome Wealth of the Celnik Radic,” in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, eds. C. Heywood and C. Imber (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1994), 383-397. Evangelia Balta, *Les vakıfs de Serrès et de sa région (XV^e et XVI^e s.)*, *Un premier inventaire, traduit par Edith Karagiannis* (Athènes: Centre de Recherches Néohelléniques, 1995), 185-202. G. Salakidis, *Sultansurkunden des Athos-Klosters Vatopedi aus der Zeit Bayezid II. und Selim I* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1995); John C. Alexander (Alexandropoulos), “The Lord Giveth and the Lord Taken Away: Athos and the Confiscation Affair of 1568-1569,” *Mount Athos in the 14th-16th Centuries*, (Athonika Symmeikta 4), Athens (I.B.E./E.I.E.) 1997, 149-200; V. Dimitriadis, “Athonite Documents and the Ottoman Occupation,” op. cit., 41-67; E. Kermeli, “The Confiscation and Repossession of Monastic Properties in Mount Athos and Patmos Monasteries, 1568-1570,” *Bulgarian Historian Review* 28/3-4 (2002), 39-53.

72 Three doctoral theses at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, under the supervision of Professor John C. Alexander (Alexandropoulos), deal with such issues: Sophia N. Laiou, *I Samos kata tin othomaniki periodo. Pnyches tou koinonikou kai oikonomikou viou, 16os-18os ai.* [*Samos during the Ottoman Period: Aspects of Social and Economic Life, 16th-19th c.*] (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2002). Ph.P. Kotzageorgis, *I athoniki moni Agiou Pavlou kata tin othomaniki periodo [The Athonite Monastery of St Paul during the Ottoman Period]* (Thessaloniki, University Studio Press, 2002). I.A. Kolovos, *Chorikoi kai monachoi stin othomaniki Chalkidiki, 15os-16os aiones. Opseis tis oikonomikis kai koinonikis zois stin ypaithro kai i moni Xiropotamou [Peasants and Monks in Ottoman Chalkidiki: Aspects of Economic and Social Life in the Countryside and the Xeropotamos Monastery]*, 3 vols, Thessaloniki 2000 (unpublished).

73 Ch. Patrinelis, “To Agion Oros [Mount Athos],” *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous*, t. 10 (Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1974), 143.

and Serbian Ottomanists has already yielded the first studies on the history of certain monasteries, but it is certain that systematic parallel research in the central archive, the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, will enrich and corroborate this information with various other sources in multiple ways.⁷⁴

III. Structure of the Rural Economy and Populations in Greek Regions

Since 1987, the Rural History of the Greek Regions (15th-19th c.) Project of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, under the direction of Spyros Asdrachas, has provided the opportunity to form, through many examples from the mainland and the islands, an idea of the income limits in the rural economies. The Ottoman register was the basic tool for tracing, through local examples, the economic function of rural space and for investigating and recomposing the demographic magnitudes of the settlement pattern during the first centuries of Ottoman rule. Starting from the tax recorded in the source, we reconstructed the production in order to proceed to the study of the structure of the rural economy in the Greek regions. We demonstrated with measurements that, as a rule, the per caput presumptive incomes leave a surplus, after the subtraction of domestic consumption, seed and tax, or that the creation of the surplus is completed by other economic activities which bring the necessary money for payment of the total tax levy. Correlation of the monetary taxation income with the physical income indicated the framework within which the commercialization of production, that is the participation in the market for monetary gain, must move.⁷⁵ At a time when involvement with the Ottoman registers stopped at the issue or the deposit of data in the 1980s, we created an analytical model, which is only now being “discovered.”⁷⁶ Our contribution to the sector of *defterology* lies in the fact that we approached the Ottoman registers with certain very simple questions to which we sought answers, believing that by following the logic of the registers these can, *grosso modo*, show us how the fiscal relationship of the conqueror to the conquered operated, since these sources illustrate economic logic. Starting from a *problématique*, which Sp. Asdrachas had already formulated in his major hypotheses in the 1970s, we showed the limits within which a surplus is created and the limit beyond which part of this surplus could remain in the hands of the farmer.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ I cite as an example the census of the land property of the Athonite monasteries, made in 1764, which was known of only from a copy written in 1808 in a codex of the Protaton, until the original was discovered in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi. See Evangelia Balta, “Landed Property of the Monasteries on Athos Peninsula and its Taxation in 1764,” in *Peuple et Production. Pour une interprétation des sources ottomanes. Analecta Isisiana* XLI, Istanbul: Les éditions Isis 1999, 179-207.

⁷⁵ See S. Asdrachas et al., *Elliniki oikonomiki istoria, 15os-19os aionas* [Greek Economic History, 15th-19th century], vol. 1, (Athens: Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation, 2003), 289-356.

⁷⁶ See the works by Mehmet Öz, “XVI. Yüzyılda Anadolu’da Tarımda Verimlilik Problemi,” *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 2002, 1643-1651; idem, “Agriculture in the Ottoman Classical Period,” in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, vol. II, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000), 32-40.

⁷⁷ Sp. I. Asdrachas, “Aux Balkans du XV^e siècle: producteurs directs et marche,” *Etudes Balkaniques* 6/3 (1970), 36-69. Idem, “Gaioprosodos kai ypochreotikos exchrimatismos ton agrotikon oikonomion [Land Income and Compulsory Monetization of the Rural Economies],” in idem, *Elliniki koinonia kai oikonomia 18os kai 19os ai. (Ypoheseis kai proseggiseis)* [Greek Society and Economy, 18th and 19th centuries: Hypotheses and Approaches] (Athens, Ermis, 1988), 79-144 (first publications in: *Annuaire* (1978/79) de l’Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, IV^e Section, Paris 1978/1979, 433-438; *Annuaire* (1977/78), Paris ●

With multiple examples and cross-checks of data from contemporary Ottoman and Greek community registers,⁷⁸ we demonstrated also that the Ottoman fiscal registers cannot be used autonomously as sources for demographic inquiries, because they are subject to the logic of the tax which they record each time and moreover to the logic of its distribution based on the intermediation of the community authorities. In other words, we demonstrated that the Ottoman registers do not record the total of the potential taxable population,⁷⁹ but that they can be simultaneously utilized from a perspective of historical demography, so that, by enhancing classes of magnitudes, a view of the settled space can be formed and its economic function can be shown. Linda Darling's thesis⁸⁰ confirmed these ascertainments with examples from other parts of the empire

1978, 499-529 and idem, "Quelques aspects des économies villageoises au début du IX^e siècle: fiscalité et rentes foncières," *Epitheorisi Koinonikon Erevnon* (special issue: *Aspects du changement social dans la campagne grecque*), Athens 1981, 158-179. Idem, "Le surplus rural dans les régions de la Méditerranée orientale: les mécanismes", Actes du II^e Colloque International d'Histoire (Athènes, 18-25 septembre 1983), *Économies méditerranéennes Équilibres et intercommunications, XIII^e-XIX^e siècles*, vol. II, Athènes, Fondation de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986, 29-57. See also Evangelia Balta, *L'Éubée*, op. cit. Corresponding research in the "Rural Economy of Greek Regions under Venetian and Ottoman Domination (15th-19th c.)", Project of the National Hellenic Research Foundation revolved around the same axes.

78 See e.g. relevant studies on some Aegean islands: Eftychia Liata, *I Seriphos kata tin Tourkokratia (170s-190s ai.)* [*Seriphos during the Ottoman Period, 17th-19th c.*] (Athens, 1987). S. I. Asdrachas, "Nisiotikes koinotites: oi phorologikes leitourgies [Island Communities: The Taxation Functions]," *Ta Istorika* 8 (June 1988), 229-258 and 9 (December 1988), 229-258. Sevasti Lazari, « Économies et sociétés des îles de la mer Égée pendant l'occupation ottomane. Le cas de Mykonos, » (PhD diss., Université Paris I, 1989). Evangelia Balta and Maria Spiliotopoulou, "Eggeia phorologia kai phorologiki apaitisi sti Santorini ton 17o aiona [Taxation on Land and Taxation Demand in Santorini in the 17th Century]," *Mnemon* 18 (1996), 109-142. D. Dimitropoulos, *I Mykonos ton 17o aiona. Gaioktitikes scheseis kai oikonomikes synallages* [*Mykonos in the 17th Century: Land-Ownning Relations and Economic Transactions*] (Athens, 1997). Aglaia Kasdagli, *Land and Marriage Settlements in the Aegean: A Case Study of Seventeenth-Century Naxos* (Venice, 1999). Eleftheria Zei, "Paros dans l'Archipel grec, XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles: les multiples visages de l'insularité," (PhD diss., Université Paris I, 2 vols, 2001). Maria Spiliotopoulou, *I Santorini stin tourkokratia. Koinonikes kai oikonomikes praktikes sto plaisio tis oikogeneias* [*Santorini in the Ottoman Period: Social and Economic Practices in the Context of the Family*], Faculty of Letters, University of Crete, Rethymnon 2005.

79 Heath Lowry very rightly points out that the *tapu tahrir* registers are fiscal and not demographic sources, although his argumentation (see dictum 4) shows that he takes as given that the total of the taxable population is entered in them. See Heath W. Lowry, "The Ottoman *Tahrîr Defterleri* as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations", in idem, *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1992), 12-13. However, there is evidence to the contrary. The observation that 30% of the tax-payers did not coincide in two synchronic registers of 1670 even though their total number was the same in two registers, *tapu tahrir* and *cizye*, attests *inter alia* that the potential taxable population of the island is larger than that which a fixed lump-sum tax (*maktu*) demands. See Evangelia Balta, "Le rôle de l'institution communautaire dans la repartition verticale de l'impôt: l'exemple de Santorin au XVIII^e siècle," in the volume *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eğriboz*, Istanbul 1997, 97-109. So, the use of Ottoman tax registers for investigating the demographic magnitudes of settlements undoubtedly demands multiple cross-checks, but not only exclusively with like sources. The example of the Aegean islands where *tapu tahrir* and community registers have survived has shown that their co-examination leads to safer conclusions, and the same applies also to regions such as the Peloponnese, for which there is the possibility of comparing the Ottoman registers with the Venetian ones.

80 Linda Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy. Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 100-108.

too. It could be contended that Greek Ottoman Studies in the sector of *deftology*, in a pioneering scientific manner, are elevated above the local and the national history and contribute to the study of phenomena of Ottoman times. But whereas research has advanced, there are still studies⁸¹ that insist on considering the Ottoman fiscal registers as demographic sources, as if nothing had changed since Ö. L. Barkan's study in the 1950s. These develop, on the basis of the numbers entered in the registers, an argumentation concerning the increase and decrease in the population of the empire, which, from the nature of the source, cannot possibly be formulated. In order to detect the population movement additional approaches must intervene, in order to suggest, for example, the relation between the tax-yielding ability and the demographic situation.

Investigated furthermore was the role of the community as a political-economic structure within the dominant political regime, with the analysis of Ottoman tax registers and other registers of economic type which the function itself produced, because it is obvious that just as the tax register of the economic service of the empire is an Ottoman source, the community register is also an Ottoman source.⁸² So, the collaboration of Ottoman specialists with researchers processing Greek sources, or *vice versa*, has pointed out the role that the community authorities played in fulfilling the economic-taxation obligations of the public, that is in managing the collective responsibility imposed by the central power. The Ottoman registers attest indirectly to the community practice of apportioning the tax among its members through keeping balances, in order to ensure its survival.⁸³

History of Towns and Cities

In this sector, Greek Ottoman Studies have a rich output to their credit, which is based on Turkish archival material both in Greece and in Turkey as well as in Bulgaria. It was pioneered by Vassilis Dimitriadis with his research on Thessaloniki,⁸⁴ which was

81 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 90-91. See the long book review by Ehud. R. Toledano, "What Ottoman History and Ottomanist Historiography Are – Or, Rather, Are Not," *Middle Eastern Studies* 38/3 (July 2002), 195-207. This text is, at the same time, an extremely interesting study of Ottoman Studies.

82 S. Asdrachas, "Phorologikes kai perioristikikes leitourgies ton koinotiton stin Tourkokratia [Taxation and Restrictive Functions of the Communities in the Ottoman Period]," *Ta Istorika* 5 (June 1986), 45-62. Evangelia Balta, "Le rôle de l'institution communautaire," *op. cit.*

83 The frequency of appearance of certain names in two registers of Samos, for the years 1632 and 1642, on the basis of which the taxable population of the settlements is classed in groups, leads to the hypothesis that the community authorities of the island shared out the head-tax dues that had to be paid to the Ottoman State among specific families, thus the common name. In those years, 14-15 families, possibly the most affluent, paid half the head tax of the island. See Evangelia Balta, "Sousami anoixe [Open Sesame]," *Samiakes Meletes* 3 (1997-1998), 118-119. Cf. also the example of Paros. A document of 1748 describes the apportionment of the island's lump-sum tax among 18 households, the wealthiest families on the island, see Eleftheria Zei, *op. cit.*, t. II, 408-409.

84 V. Dimitriadis, *Topographia tis Thessalonikis kata tin epochi tis tourkokratias, 1430-1912 [Topography of Thessaloniki during the Period of Turkish Rule, 1430-1912]* (Thessaloniki: Institute of Macedonian Studies, 1983). *Idem*, *I Thessaloniki tis parakmis. I elliniki koinotita tis Thessalonikis kata tin dekaetia tou 1830 me vasi ena othomaniko katasticho apographis plithysmou [Thessaloniki in Decline: The Greek Community of Thessaloniki in the 1830s on the Basis of an Ottoman Population Census Register]* (Herakleion, 1997).

afterwards a popular subject for other studies too. Meropi Anastassiadou⁸⁵ based her doctoral thesis and a series of articles mainly on material from the Historical Archives of Macedonia, as did architects studying the urban plan and rebuilding of the city in the final years of Ottoman rule.⁸⁶ The Historical Archive of Thessaloniki continues to supply material for research on diverse subjects relating to the city's history, such as topography and the history of monuments, demographic dynamics and population synthesis, and social stratification, as indicated by the inventories of properties and the distribution of trades and professions documented by the *kadı sicills*, the *vakıf* registers, etc.

In recent years, several doctoral theses have dealt with aspects of the urban phenomenon in northern Greek regions. The starting point of these inquiries is the surviving archival material of the local Ottoman administration. Two dissertations focused on Karaferye (Veroia) and a series of articles issuing from these enhanced images of the local society and the economy of the area were published.⁸⁷ A third dissertation, on Kozani,⁸⁸ is classed among those studies which are essentially publications of material from *kadı* codices, as are the contributions of Kirki Georgiadiou-Tsimino⁸⁹ for Thessaloniki, G. Salakidis for Larisa,⁹⁰ and Eleni Karantzikou and Penelope Poteinou from Herakleion, Crete.⁹¹ These are infrastructural works which meet vital

85 Meropi Anastassiadou, *Salonique 1830-1912. Une ville ottomane à l'âge des réformes* (Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1997); idem, "Yanni, Nikola, Lifter et des autres...Le profil démographique et socio-professionnel de la population orthodoxe de Salonique à la veille des Tanzimat", *Südost-Forschungen* 53(1994), 73-130; idem, "Les inventaires après-décès de Salonique à la fin du XIXe siècle: source pour l'étude d'une société au seuil de la modernisation," *Turcica* 25 (1993), 97-135; idem, "Artisans juifs à Salonique au début des Tanzimat," *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 66 (1992/4), 65-72.

86 See e.g. V. Kolonas, "I ektos ton teichon epektasi tis Thessalonikis. Eikonographia tis synoikias Hamidie (1885-1912) [The Extra Muros Expansion of Thessaloniki: Iconography of the Hamidian quarter (1885-1912)]." (PhD diss. Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1991).

87 Antonis Anastasopoulos, "Imperial Institutions and Local Communities: Ottoman Karaferye, 1758-1774" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1998). Idem, "Lighting the Flame of Disorder: Ayan in Fighting and State Intervention in Ottoman Karaferye, 1758-59," *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 8 (2002), 73-88 and Antonis Anastasopoulos, Eleni Gara, "Othomanikes antilipseis peri englimatos kai timorias [Ottoman Conceptions on Crime and Punishment]," *Mnimon* 21 (1999), 37-54. Eleni Gara, *Kara Ferye 1500-1650. Menschen, Lokalgesellschaft und Verwaltung in einer Osmanischen Provinz*, Wien 2000; eadem, "Çuha for the Janissaries –Velençe for the Poor: Competition for Raw Material and Workforce between Salonica and Veria, 1600-1650," in *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East. Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*, eds. Suraiya Faroqui, Randi Deguilhem (London, New York: I.B. Tauris and European Science Foundation, 2005), 121-152.

88 See K. Kambouridis, op. cit. For Kozani, see also G. Salakidis, *Ta sultanika eggrapha*, op. cit.

89 Kirki Georgiadiou-Tsimino, "Othomanikes Piges. Eggrapha apo to Istoriko Archeio Makedonias, teli 17ou aiona. Metaphrasi kai scholiasmos [Ottoman Sources: Documents from the Historical Archive of Macedonia, Late 17th Century]," (Translation and commentary), *Istoria tis Epicheirimatikotitas stin Thessaloniki [History of Entrepreneurship in Thessaloniki]*, vol. II, (Thessaloniki, 2005), 308-391.

90 G. I. Salakidis, *Larisa (Yenişehir) sta mesa tou 17ou aiona, Koinoniki kai oikonomiki istoria mias valkanikis polis kai tis periochis tos me vasi ta othomanika ierodikastika eggrapha ton eton 1050-1052 (1650-1652) [Larissa-Yenişehir in the Middle of the 17th Century: Social and Economic History of a Balkan Town and its Region Based on the Ottoman Juridical Records of the Years 1050-1052/ 1650-1652]* (Thessaloniki: Ant. Stamoulis editions, 2004).

91 Eleni Karantzikou, Penelope Poteinou eds., *Ierodikeio Irakleiou. Tritos kodikas 1669/73 – 1750/6 [Kadi sicil of Herakleion, Third Codex: 1669/73 – 1750/6]* Elizabeth A. Zachariadou ed., (Herakleion: Vikelaia Library, 2003).

needs of Greek Ottoman Studies and modern Greek historiography, not only because they provide documentary material for those who lack the linguistic and other technical knowledge that access to the Ottoman sources demands. However, it should be noted that from the degree of participation of these publications in the historical deliberation, a subject that the published documents strive to answer, in the orientations of historiography and of publication practice, both the methods and the prospects will be determined.

Studies based on the *tahrir*, *cizye* and *vakif* registers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries endeavored to investigate the demography of certain cities, focusing on the population osmoses, part of which in the first two centuries of the conquest was due to the intervention of the political authority.⁹² They also followed the continuity of urban space from the pre-Ottoman to the Ottoman period and the changes that the conquest brought on the urban tissue of the city and on its economic role with the intermediation of the institution of *vakifs*.⁹³

The challenges of the subject of the “history of the Ottoman city” are many and the sources abundant and varied for constructing research hypotheses on the demographic status of cities in relation to the hinterland, the communications by land and water, the circulation of goods, and the strategy of capital. Last, for those for whom the theoretical schemes of historical anthropology do not suffice, there is available material to support research on the very life of the cities with the constants of everyday life, the fears, the defences, the leading classes and its cultural identity as formed by the cohabitation of pre-national societies.

I have confined myself to the above three thematic units because for the time being, I see distributed the small, for the time being, production of Greek Ottoman Studies. This does not mean that other fields of application do not exist. For example, the spread of Bektashism in Thrace;⁹⁴ the conflicts between the military corps and between these and the local Ottoman authorities which are still inscribed in part in the perspective of resistance against the sovereign power, even though the terms of this view have been overturned or differentiated;⁹⁵ and last, tentatively, the approach to the Greek War of Independence from the Ottoman sources,⁹⁶ an issue which post-dictatorship modern

92 See indicatively the study by Stephanos Yerasimou, “Ellines tis Constantinoupolis sta mesa tou 16ou aionu [Greeks of Constantinople in the Mid-16th Century],” *I kath’imas Anatoli* 2 (1994), 117-138.

93 Evangelia Balta, *Les vakifs de Serrès...*, op. cit.

94 E.Ch. Zeginis, *O bektashismos sti D. Thraki. Symvoli stin istoria tis diadoxeos tou mousoulmanismou ston elladiko choro [Bektashism in W. Thrace: Contribution to the History of the Spread of Islam in Greece]* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1988).

95 See J. Ch. Alexander, “The Klephts of the Morea: An Historical Essay,” in *New Trends in Modern Greek Historiography, The Modern Greek Studies Association in Cooperation with Anatolia College*, 1982, eds. A. Lily Macrakis, P. N. Diamandouros, Occasional papers 1, 31-37; Idem, *Brigandage...*, op. cit. However, resistance to the conquerors, a dominant issue in modern Greek historiography, demands a new approach which will examine the *armataloi* also through the prism of an institution of the Ottoman State.

96 See V. Dimitriadis, Dionysia Daskalou (eds), *O kodikas ton thysion. Onomata kai dimevmenes perioussies ton christianon agoniston tis Anatolikis Kritis kata tin Epanastasin tou 1821 [The Codex of Sacrifices:*

Greek historiography continues to confront awkwardly,⁹⁷ still unable to disengage from the constraining factors linked with, until recently, the intensive political and ideological exploitation of the Greek Revolution of 1821. The Ottoman sources shed light on the Greek Revolution from the side of the sovereign state and place it in the framework of Ottoman reality, a dimension that grew out of necessity due to the dearth of approaches to modern Greek historiography, also on account of the exclusive use of Greek sources. On the other hand, these sources create the preconditions for the infrastructure of a *history of events*, which is necessary for developing an interpretation of historical problems of this kind, such as the study of behaviors and mentalities on both sides.

The study of certain Greek regions, both by Greek and foreign Ottomanists,⁹⁸ has undoubtedly enriched our knowledge with material. It has mainly, however, provided another dimension to approaching the issues by putting them in the context of the Ottoman reality. The study of the cultivation and circulation of Mediterranean produce, such as wine and olive oil, has opened up the horizons of Greek Ottoman Studies and transferred them to outside the frontiers of Greek territory by formalizing unofficial collaborations between Ottomanists.⁹⁹

In presenting the contribution of Greek Ottoman Studies to certain fields of knowledge, the silences of this twenty-year production are also inferred. Missing completely are the approaches to the complex nineteenth century,¹⁰⁰ and the study of Asia Minor Hellenism from Ottoman sources,¹⁰¹ indicating indirectly that the historical deliberation

Names and Confiscated Properties of the Christian Freedom-Fighters of East Crete during the 1821 Revolution], trans. V. Dimitriadis, Eleni Karantzikou, Penelope Photeinou and Chrysoula Christodoulara (Herakleion, 2003). This invaluable source was processed by N. Stavrinidis. He, consulting the material in the Herakleion archive, had investigated the revolutionary movements in Crete. See N. Stavrinidis, *O kapetan Michalis Korakas kai oi sympolemistes tou* [Captain Michalis Korakas and his Fellow Fighters], 3 vols. (Herakleion, 1971). Also Evangelia Balta, "I othomaniki martyria ya tin epanastatimeni Karysto [The Ottoman Testimony on Karystos in the War of Independence]," *Archeio Evvoikon Meleton* 35 (2003-2004), 189-200.

97 Ch. Loukos, "I Epanastasi tou 1821. Apo kyriarcho antikeimeno erevvas kai didaskalias, stin ypovathmisi kai siopi [The 1821 Revolution: From Dominant Subject of Research and Teaching, to Downgrading and Silence]," in *IVth International Conference of History, Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece, 1833-2002*, eds. P.M. Kitromilidis, T.E. Sklavenitis, vol. 1, (Athens: Neohellenic Research Centre, 2004), 579-593.

98 The examination of the historiographic output of international Ottoman Studies is for Greece a separate chapter, which merits study in its own right. One of the author's future studies will focus on the categorizations of this historiographic production.

99 The chapter on olive growing and olive harvesting in Ottoman times, in the book *Elia kai ladi stin Anatoliki Mesogeio. Apo tin proistoria sti viomichaniki epochi* [Olive Tree and Olive Oil in the Eastern Mediterranean: From Prehistoric Times to the Industrial Era] (publ. of the Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation, in press), was written in collaboration with Turkish Ottoman specialists (Mehmet Genç, Gülden Saryıldız, Zeki Arıkan, Fikret Yılmaz, et al.).

100 See on this issue, Evangelia Balta, "Oi othomanikes spoudes sti neolliniki istoriographia [Ottoman Studies in Modern Greek Historiography]," in *IVth International Conference of History, Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece, 1833-2002*, eds. P.M. Kitromilidis, T.E. Sklavenitis, vol. 1, (Athens: Neohellenic Research Centre, 2004), 269-270.

101 Studies of Asia Minor Hellenism continue to focus on Greek and Western sources. Exception is the work by Sp. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1971), based on published Turkish, Arabic and Persian sources.

of Greek Ottoman Studies for the present wells from or is at least linked by strong ties to the Greek viewpoint. I believe, however, and not because I am an optimist, that things will inevitably change, because those involved with Ottoman Studies are slowly but surely growing in number and as a consequence of this, a richer range of subjects will be explored. So long, of course, as it does not stop at the superficial and is not lost in the discourse on it,¹⁰² because the merging of a strict conceptual processing and a penetrating historical analysis with knowledge of the primary sources is not simply a methodological ideal but an elementary precondition of a position that aims to offer knowledge.

Bibliography

- Adanır, F., "Balkan historiography related to the Ottoman Empire since 1945", in: K. H. Karpat (ed.), *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, E. J. Brill 2000, 236-252.
- Ahrweiler, Hélène, "Une lettre en grec du sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512)", *Turcica* 1 (1969), 150-160.
- Alexander, (Alexandropoulos) J Ch., "Some aspects of the strife among the Moreot Christian Notables, 1789-1816", *Epetiris Etaireias Stereoelladikon Meleton* 5 (1974-75), 473-504.
- _____, "Dyo othomanika katasticha tou Moria, 1460-1463. Eidiseis ya ton nahiye tis Arkadias" [Two Ottoman registers of the Morea, 1460-1463. Information on the nahiye of Arkadia], *I Conference of Messenian Studies, Kalamata 2-4 December 1977*, Athens: Society of Peloponnesian Studies, 1978, 399-407.
- _____, "The Klephts of the Morea: an Historical Essay", in: A. Lily Macrakis, P. N. Diamandouras (eds), *New Trends in Modern Greek Historiography, The Modern Greek Studies Association in cooperation with Anatolia College*, Occasional papers 1, 31-37.
- _____, "The Monasteries of the Meteora during the first two Centuries of Ottoman Rule", *Akten iii/2: XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/2 (1982), 95-102.
- _____, *Brigandage and Public Order in the Morea 1685-1806*, Athens 1985.
- _____, *Toward a History of Post-Byzantine Greece: The Ottoman Kanunnames for the Greek Lands, circa 1500-circa 1600*, Athens 1985.
- _____, "The Lord giveth and the Lord taken away: Athos and the Confiscation Affair of 1568-1569", *Mount Athos in the 14th-16th Centuries*, (Athonika Symmeikta 4), Athens: I.B.E./E.I.E. 1997, 149-200.
- Anastasopoulos, A., *Imperial Institutions and Local Communities: Ottoman Karaferye, 1758-1774*, University of Cambridge 1998 (unpublished doctoral thesis).
- _____, "Lighting the Flame of Disorder: Ayan infighting and State intervention in Ottoman Karaferye, 1758-59", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 8 (2002), 73-88.
- Anastasopoulos, A. - Gara Eleni, "Othomanikes antilipseis peri englimatos kai timorias" (Ottoman conceptions on crime and punishment), *Mnimon* 21 (1999), 37-54.

102 Ph. Iliou remarks, on the occasion of the IVth International Conference of Historiography: "What is missing is the dual access of the historian to the events *per se* and the thinking on the vents. These are two different levels, which, if you do not study in common, if you do not explore jointly, you completely lose the historicity and the sense of the timeliness. From this viewpoint there is widening but also undermining of the historiographic field". See S. I. Asdrachas- Ph. Iliou, op. cit., 426.

- Anastassiadou, Meropi, "Artisans juifs à Salonique au début des Tanzimat", *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 66 (1992/4), 65-72.
- ___, "Les inventaires après-décès de Salonique à la fin du XIXe siècle: source pour l'étude d'une société au seuil de la modernisation", *Turcica* 25 (1993), 97-135.
- ___, "Yanni, Nikola, Lifter et des autres... Le profil démographique et socio-professionnel de la population orthodoxe de Salonique à la veille des Tanzimat", *Südost-Forschungen* 53 (1994), 73-130
- ___, *Salonique 1830-1912. Une ville ottomane à l'âge des réformes*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1997.
- Andreadis, A. M., "L'administration financière de la Grèce sous la domination turque", Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1910, extrait de *Revue des études grecques* XXIII/102 (1910).
- Antonoula, Ismini, "Archeio Avraam Papazoglou" (Avraam Papazoglou Archive), *Ta nea tou E.L.I.A.*, no. 50 (January-March 1998), 17-18.
- Asdrachas, Sp. I., "Aux Balkans du XVe siècle: producteurs directs et marche", *Etudes Balkaniques* 6/3 (1970), 36-69.
- ___, *Michanismoï tis agrotikis istorias stin tourkokratia (15-17 aionas)* [Mechanisms of the rural history in the Ottoman period (15th-17th century)], Athens: Themelio, 1978.
- ___, "Problems of Economic History of the Period of Ottoman Domination of Greece", *Journal of Greek Diaspora* 6/2 (1979), 5-37.
- ___, *Oikonomiki domi ton Valkanikon choron, 15os-19os aionas* [Economic Structure of the Balkan Lands (15th-19th century)], introduction – selection of texts: Sp. Asdrachas, Athens: Melissa, 1979.
- ___, "Quelques aspects des économies villageoises au début du IXe siècle: fiscalité et rentes foncières", *Epitheorisi Koinonikon Erevnon* (special issue: *Aspects du changement social dans la campagne grecque*), Athens 1981, 158-179.
- ___, "Le surplus rural dans les régions de la Méditerranée orientale: les mécanismes", Actes du IIe Colloque International d'Histoire (Athènes, 18-25 septembre 1983), *Économies méditerranéennes Équilibres et intercommunications, XIII^e-XIX^e siècles*, vol. II, Athènes: Fondation de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986, 29-57.
- Asdrachas, S., "Phorologikes kai perioristikikes leitourgies ton koinotiton stin Tourkokratia" [Taxation and restrictive functions of the communities in the Ottoman period], *Ta Istorika* 5 (June 1986), 45-62.
- ___, "Gaioprosodos kai ypochreotikos exchrimatismos ton agrotikon oikonomion" (Land income and compulsory monetarization of the rural economies), in: idem, *Elliniki koinonia kai oikonomia 18os kai 19os ai. (Ypotheseis kai proseggiseis)* [Greek Society and Economy, 18th and 19th centuries (Hypotheses and Approaches), Athens: Ermis, 1988, 79-144.
- ___, "Nisiotikes koinotites: oi phorologikes leitourgies" [Island communities: the taxation functions], *Ta Istorika* 8 (June 1988), 229-258 and 9 (December 1988), 229-258.
- ___, "Apo tin anagi tis istorias stin anagi diamorphosis istorikon: (From the need of history to the need of forming historians), in: idem. *Scholia*, Athens: Alexandria, 1993, 15-24.
- ___, "Ti einai i "Thessaloniki" tou Nikou Svoronou?" (What is Nikos Svoronos's "Thessaloniki"?), in: idem, *Patridographimata* (History of the Homeland), Introduction: S. Ch. Sklavenitis, Athens: Etaireia Leukadikon Meleton 2003, 277-297.
- ___, "Zitimata oikonomikis istorias tis Tourkokratias" [Issues of economic history in the

- Ottoman period), in: idem, *Zitimata Istorias* (Issues of History), Athens: Themelio, n.d., 27-40.
- Asdrachas, S. et al., *Elliniki oikonomiki istoria, 15os-19os aionas* [Greek Economic History, 15th-19th century], vol. 1, Athens: Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation, 2003.
- Athanasios, Komninos Ypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin, [1453-1788], ek cheirophographou anekdotou tis Ieras Monis tou Sina ekdidontas Archimandritou Germanou Aphthonidou, Sinaitou* [After the Fall, [1453-1788], from an unpublished manuscript of the Holy Monastery of Sinai published by Archimandrite Germanos Aphthonidos, Sinaite], Constantinople 1870.
- Balta, Evangelia, *L'Eubée à la fin du XV^e siècle. Économie et Population. Les registres de l'année 1474*, Athènes 1989.
- _____, *Les vakifs de Serrès et de sa région (XV^e et XVI^e s.), Un premier inventaire, traduit par Edith Karagiannis*, Athènes: Centre de Recherches Néo-helléniques, 1995.
- _____, "Archives Ottomanes en Grèce. Perspectives de la recherche", in : idem, *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eğriboz*, Analecta Isisiana XXVIII, Istanbul Les éditions Isis, 1997, 259-275.
- _____, "Le rôle de l'institution communautaire dans la repartition verticale de l'impôt: l'exemple de Santorin au XVIII^e siècle", in : idem, *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eğriboz*, Istanbul 1997, 97-109.
- _____, "Landed Property of the Monasteries on Athos Peninsula and its Taxation in 1764" in : idem, *Peuple et Production. Pour une interprétation des sources ottomanes*, Analecta Isisiana XLI, Istanbul: Les éditions Isis 1999, 179-207.
- _____, *Ottoman Studies and Archives in Greece*, Analecta Isisiana LXX, Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2003.
- _____, "I othomaniki martyria ya tin epanastatimeni Karysto" [The Ottoman testimony on Karystos in the War of Independence], *Archeio Evvoikon Meleton* 35 (2003-2004), 189-200.
- _____, "Ottoman Studies in Modern Greek Historiography", in: Kaf Dagingin Ötesine Varmak Festschrift in Honor of Günay Kut. Essays Presented by her Colleagues and Students, III, Guest Editor Zehra Toska, *Journal of Turkish Studies* 28/1 (2004), 9-16.
- _____, "Açıl Susam, açıl", *Journal of Ottoman Studies / Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 19 (1999), 87-164.
- Balta, Evangelia - Spiliotopoulou Maria, "Eggeia phorologia kai phorologiki apaitisi sti Santorini ton 17o aiona" [Taxation on land and taxation demand in Santorini in the 17th century], *Mnemon* 18 (1996), 109-142.
- Belia, Eleni, "Mnimi Apostolou Bakalopoulou. Prosopiki martyria" [Recollection of Apostolos Vakalopoulos. A personal testimony], *Deltio Kentou Ereunis tis Istorias tou Neoterou Ellinismou*, t. 2 (2000), 333-342.
- Bombaci, A., "Nuovi firmani greci di Mahometto II", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 47 (1954), 298-319.
- Chamoudopoulos, M. - Chamoudopoulos Ch., *Istoria tis Othomanikis Aftokratorias* [History of the Ottoman Empire], Smyrna 1874.
- Chaviaras, D., "Soultanika fermania peri ton pronomion tis nisou Symis kai ton loipon Notion Sporadon" [Firmans on the privileges of the island of Symi and the rest of the Southern Sporades], *Deltion Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etaireias Ellados* 6 (1902-1906), 321-350.

- Darling, Linda, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy. Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996.
- Detorakis, Th.E., “Nikolaos Stavriniadis (1895-1987)”, *Kritika Chronika* 28-29 (1988-1989), 387-391.
- Dimadis, K. A. et alii (eds.), *Balkaniki Vivliographia – Balkan Bibliography*, vols 1-6, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974-1977.
- Dimitriadis, V., *I kentriki kai dytiki Makedonia kata ton Evliya Çelebi, (Central and Western Macedonia According to Evliya Çelebi)* (Introduction –Translation –Commentary), Thessaloniki 1973.
- _____, “O kanunnâme kai oi christianou katoikoi tis Thessalonikis, gyro sta 1525” [The kanunnâme and the Christian inhabitants of Thessaloniki, circa 1525], *Makedonika* 19 (1979), 328-376.
- _____, “Phorologikes katigories ton chorion tis Thessalonikis kata tin tourkokratia” [Taxation categories of the villages of Thessaloniki during the Ottoman period], *Makedonika* 20 (1980), 375-462.
- _____, “Problems of land-owning and population in the area of Gazi Evrenos Bey’s wakf”, *Balkan Studies* 22/1 (1981), 43-57.
- _____, “Ta tourkika archeia tou Istorikou Archeiou Makedonias kai I simasia tous ya tin istoria tis Tourkokratias” [The Turkish archives of the Historical Archive of Macedonia and their importance for the history of the Turkish Occupation], in: A. Lily Makrakis, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros (eds), *New Trends in Modern Greek Historiography with an Introduction by W. McGrew*, The Modern Greek Studies Association (Occasional Papers 1), 1982.
- _____, *Topographia tis Thessalonikis kata tin epochi tis tourkokratias, 1430-1912* [Topography of Thessaloniki during the period of Turkish Rule, 1430-1912], Thessaloniki: Institute of Macedonian Studies, 1983.
- _____, “Ottoman Chalkidiki: an area in transition”, in: A. Bryer – H. Lowry (eds), *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, Birmingham – Dumbarton Oaks 1986, 39-50.
- _____, “Ottoman Archive Materials in Greece” in : *Die Staaten Südosteuropas und die osmanen*, (ed.) Hans Georg Majer, München 1989, 179-185.
- _____, “Athonite Documents and the Ottoman Occupation”, *Mount Athos in the 14th-16th Centuries*, (Athonika Symmeikta 4), Athens: (I.B.E./E.I.E.), 1997, 41-67.
- _____, *I Thessaloniki tis parakmis. I elliniki koinotita tis Thessalonikis kata tin dekaetia tou 1830 me vasi ena othomaniko katasticho apographis plithysmou* [Thessaloniki in Decline. The Greek community of Thessaloniki in the 1830s, on the basis of an Ottoman population census register], Herakleion 1997.
- Dimitriadis, V. - Daskalou Dionysia (eds), *O kodikas ton thysion. Onomata kai dimevmenes perioussies ton christianon agoniston tis Anatolikis Kritis kata tin Epanastasin tou 1821* [The codex of sacrifices. Names and confiscated properties of the Christian freedom-fighters of East Crete during the 1821 Revolution], translation V. Dimitriadis, Eleni Karantzikou, Penelope Photeinou, Chrysoula Christodoulara, Herakleion, 2003.
- Dimitropoulos, D., *I Mykonos ton 17o aiona. Gaioktitikes scheseis kai oikonomikes synallages* (Mykonos in the 17th century. Land-owning relations and economic transactions), Athens 1997.

- Evangelidis, T., *Istoria tis Othomanikis Aftokratourias* [History of the Ottoman Empire], 2 vols, Athens 1894.
- Faroqui, Suraiya, *Approaching Ottoman History. An Introduction to the Sources*, Cambridge University Press 1999.
- Gara, Eleni, *Kara Ferye 1500-1650. Menschen, Lokalgasell Schaft und Verwaltung in einer Osmanischen Provinz*, Wien 2000 (unpublished doctoral thesis).
- _____, “Çuha for the Janissaries –Velençe for the Poor: Competition for Raw Material and Workforce between Salonica and Veria, 1600-1650”, in: Suraiya Faroqui, Randi Deguilhem (eds), *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East. Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*, London, New York: I.B. Tauris-European Science Foundation, 2005, 121-152.
- Gedeon, M., *Episima grammata tourkika anapheromena eis ta ekklesiastical imon dikaia* [Official Turkish Letters Referring to Our Ecclesiastical Rights], Constantinople 1910.
- _____, “Grammata peri monis Prodromou ellinika (1499-1614) kai tourkika firmania tou Mehmet Porthitou [Letters concerning the Prodromos monastery, Greek (1499-1614) and Turkish firmans of Mehmet the Conqueror], *Archeion Ekklesiastikis Istorias*, vol. I, fasc. 3, Constantinople 1911, 388-397.
- Georgiadi, Kirki, “To pyritidopoieio sto Grademporio Thessalonikis” [The gunpowder factory at Grademitorio, Thessaloniki], *Mnimon* 13 (1991), 103-120.
- Georgiadou-Tsimino, Kirki, “Othomanikes Piges. Eggrapha apo to Istoriko Archeio Makedonias, teli 17ou aiona. Metaphrasi kai scholiasmos” (Ottoman Sources. Documents from the Historical Archive of Macedonia, late 17th century. Translation and commentary), *Istoria tis Epicheirimatikotitas stin Thessaloniki* (History of Entrepreneurship in Thessaloniki), vol. II, Thessaloniki 2005, 308-391.
- Georgiou, Angeliki – Eleni Karanastasi – Evangelia Balta, “Ambelones kai krasia stin Epanomi. I othomaniki apographi tou 1907” [Vineyards and wine at Epanomi. The Ottoman census of 1907], in the volume *Oinon istoro III: T'ambelanthismata* (ed. G.A. Pikoulas), Athens: Yerovasileiou Estate- Epanomi Thessaloniki, 2004, 129-191.
- Gouloulis, S., *Ta apherotiria ton Turahanidon. I elliniki metaphrasi* [The documents of vakifs of the Turahan family. The Greek translation], Larisa 2004).
- Green, Molly, *A Shared World. Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Hadjiiosif, Ch., “To ergo tou Nikou Svoronou kai I elliniki istoriografia. Peninta xronia apokliseon kai sygliseon”, (The *oeuvre* of Nikos Svoronos and Greek historiography. Fifty years of divergences and convergences), *Synchrona Themata* 38 (May 1989), 24-33.
- Hatzidimitriou, C., “From Paparrigopoulos to Vacalopoulos: Modern Greek Historiography on the Ottoman Period”, A. Lily Macrakis – P. N. Diamandouros (eds), *New Trends in Modern Greek Historiography*, Hanover, N.H. 1982, 13-23.
- Hidirolou, P., *Das religiöse Leben auf Kreta nach Ewlija Çelebi*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1969.
- _____, *Symvoli stin Elliniki Tourkologia* [Contribution to Greek Turkish Studies], vol. I, Athens, Irodotos, 1990.
- Hronografia tis Ipeirou, syntetagmeni ypo P.A.P.* [Chronicle of Epirus, compiled by P.A.P.], 2 vols, Athens, from the printing house of S.K. Vlastos, 1856 (reprint, Athens, I. Rizos, 1969).

- İnalcık, H., “Türkiye’de Osmanlı Araştırmaları. I-Türkiye’de Modern Tarihçiliğin Kurucuları”, *XIII-Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara, 4-8 Ekim 1999), Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, I. Cilt.
- Iorga, N., *Byzance après Byzance. Contribution de l’histoire de la vie byzantine*, Bucarest: Institut d’Etudes Byzantines, 1935.
- Jennings, R. C., *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640*, New York and London: New York University Press, 1993.
- Kambouridis, K., *Oi kodikes tou Ierodikeiou Larisas-Phanariou. Yenisehir-Fenar ton chronon 1073-89/1662-1678* [The kadi sicilleri of Larisa-Fanari. Yenişehir-Fenar of the years 1073-89/1662-1678], Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2002 (unpublished doctoral thesis).
- Kambouroglou, D., *Mnimeia tis istorias ton Athinon* [Monuments of the History of Athens], vols I-III, Athens 1889-1890.
- Karantzikou, Eleni - Phteinou Penelope (eds), *Ierodikeio Irakleiou. Tritos kodikas 1669/73 – 1750/67* [Kadi sicilleri of Herakleion. Third codex: 1669/73 – 1750/67], Elizabeth A. Zachariadou (ed), Herakleion, Vikelaia Library, 2003.
- Karolidis, P., *Istoria tis Ellados met’eikonon, apo tis ypo ton Othomanon aloseos tis Constantinoupoleos (1453) mechri tis vasileias tou Georgiou tou A’* [History of Greece with illustrations, from the Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans (1453) until the reign of George I], Athens: Eleftheroudakis, 1925
- Kasdagli, Aglaia, *Land and Marriage Settlements in the Aegean. A Case Study of Seventeenth-Century Naxos*, Venice 1999.
- Kermeli, Evgenia, “The confiscation and repossession of monastic properties in Mount Athos and Patmos Monasteries, 1568-1570”, *Bulgarian Historian Review* 28/3-4 (2002), 39-53.
- Kokolakis, M., “Dimographikes exelixeis stin Ipeiro, 1830-1910” [Demographic developments in Epirus, 1830-1910], *Istor* 6 (1993), 121-142
- _____, *To ystero yanniotiko pasaliki. Horos, dioikisi kai plithismos stin Tourkokratoumeni Ipeiro, 1820-1913* [The late pashalik of Yanya. Space, administration, population in Epirus under Turkish Domination, 1820-1913], Athens: Centre of Neohellenic Studies, 2003.
- Kolonas, V., *I ektos ton teichon epektasi tis Thessalonikis. Eikonographia tis synoikias Hamidie (1885-1912)* [The extra muros expansion of Thessaloniki. Iconography of the Hamidie quarter (1885-1912)], Ph.D., School of Architecture, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1991.
- Kolovos, I.A., *Chorikoi kai monachoi stin othomaniki Chalkidiki, 15os-16os aiones. Opseis tis oikonomikis kai koinonikis zois stin ypaithro kai i moni Xiropotamou* [Peasants and monks in Ottoman Chalkidiki. Aspects of economic and social life in the countryside and the Xeropotamos monastery], 3 vols, Thessaloniki 2000 (unpublished Ph.D.).
- Konortas, P., *Othomanikes theoriseis ya to oikoumeniko Patriarcheio. Bertia ya tous prokathimenos tis Megalis Ekkliisias (17os-arches 20ou aiona)* [Ottoman Views of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Berats for the primates of the Great Church, 17th-early 20th century]. Athens, Alexandria editions, 1998.
- Kotzageorgis, Ph.P., *I athoniki moni Agiou Pavlou kata tin othomaniki periodo* [The Athonite monastery of St Paul during the Ottoman Period], Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2002.
- Koumanoudis, St., *Synagogi neon lexeon ypo ton logion plastheison apo tis aloseos mechri ton kath’imas chronon* [Collection of new words coined by men of letters from the Fall [of

- Constantinople] to the present], reprinted with prolegomena by K.Th. Dimaras, Athens 1980.
- Kremmydas, V., *Oi sapounopoies tis Kritis sto 18o aiona* [The soap factories of Crete in the 18th century], Athens 1974.
- Kremos, G., *Phokika. Istoría tis en Phokidi monis tou Osiou Louka* [Phocian miscellanea. History of the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phocis], vol. III, Athens 1880.
- Laiou, Sophia N., *I Samos kata tin othomaniki periodo. Ptyches tou koinonikou kai oikonomikou viou, 16os-18os ai.* [Samos During the Ottoman Period. Aspects of social and economic life, 16th-19th c.]. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2002.
- Lambros, S., “Ellinika eggrapha en to archeio tis Venetias en ois kai eggrapha Tourkon archonton ellinisti meta kai parekdromis peri tou onomatos tou Moreos” [Greek documents in the archive of Venice, among which are documents of Turkish authorities in Greek in which there is, incidentally, the first mention of the name of the Morea], *Deltion Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etaireias* 4 (1892), 634-652.
- , “Ellinika dimosia grammata tou soultanou Bayazid II” [Greek public letters of Sultan Bayazid II], *Neos Ellinomnimon* 5 (1908), 155-189.
- Lazari, Sevasti, *Économies et sociétés des îles de la mer Égée pendant l’occupation ottomane. Le cas de Mykonos*, Université Paris I, Paris 1989 (unpublished doctoral thesis).
- Le Goff, J., “L’appétit de l’histoire”, in: Pierre Nora (ed.), *Essais d’ego-histoire*, Paris.: Gallimard, 1987.
- Lemerle, P. - Wittek P., “Recherches sur l’histoire et le statut des monastères athonites sous la domination turque. Part I, Trois documents du monastère de Kutlumus”, *Archives d’Histoire du Droit Oriental* 3 (947), 411-472.
- Liakos, A., “Pros episkevin olomeleias kai enotitos. I domisi tou ethnikou chronou” [Towards repair of plenum and unity. The structuring of national time], *Symposium in memory of K.Th. Dimaras*, Athens: Centre of Neohellenic Research, 1994.
- Liata, Eftychia, *I Seriphos kata tin Tourkokratia (17os-19os ai.)* [Seriphos during the Ottoman Period, 17th-19th c.], Athens 1987.
- Loukos, Ch., “I Epanastasi tou 1821. Apo kyriarcho antikeimeno erevnas kai didaskalias, stin ypovathmisi kai siopi” [The 1821 Revolution. From dominant subject of research and teaching, to downgrading and silence], *IV. International Conference of History, Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece, 1833-2002*, P.M. Kitromilidis, T.E. Sklavenitis (eds), vol. 1, Athens: Neohellenic Research Centre, 2004, 579-593.
- Loupis, D., “To odoiporoiko tou Evliya Çelebi i oi vivliographikes peripeteies mias perigisis” [The itinerary of Evliya Çelebi or the bibliographical adventures of a journey], *I kath’imas Anatoli* 3 (1996), 173-185.
- Lowry, Heath W., “The Ottoman Tahrîr Defterleri as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations”, in: idem, *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1992.
- , “The State of the Field: A Retrospective Overview and Assessment of Ottoman Studies in the United States of America and Canada, 1949-1999”, *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 4-8 Ekim 1999, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, I. Cilt*, Ankara 2002, 1-59.
- Mavropoulos, Ch.V., *Tourkika eggrapha achoronta tin istorian tis Chiou, exedothisan dapani tou Dimou Chiou* [Turkish documents concerning the history of Chios, published at the expenses of the Municipality of Chios], Athens: at the printing press of P.A. Petrakos, 1920.

- Miklosich, F.- Müller J., *Acta et diplomata Graeca*, vol. III, Vienna 1865.
- Moschovakis, N. G., *To en Elladi dimosion dikaion epi tourkokratias* [Civil law in Greece during the Ottoman period], Athens 1882 (photo-reprint, Athens 1973).
- Mutafchieva, Vera, *Agrarnite otnoshenija v osmanskata imperija prez XV-XVIv.*, Sofia: Balgarska Akademija na naukite, 1962.
- Öz, M., "Agriculture in the Ottoman Classical Period", in: (ed.) Kemal Çiçek, *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation*, vol. II, Ankara, Yeni Türkiye, 2000, 32-40.
- , "XVI. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Tarımda Verimlik Promblemi", *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 2002, 1643-1651.
- Pantazopoulos, N., "Koinotikos vios eis tin Thessalomagnesian epi Tourkokratias" [Community life in Thessaly and Magnesia under Ottoman rule], *Epistimoniki Epetiris Sxolis Nomikon – Oikonomikon Epistimon*, t. 14/3 (1967), 351-445.
- Papazoglou, A., "Deka eggrapha tou Othomanikou Archeiou" [Ten documents of the Ottoman Archives], *Ellinika* 11 (1939), 135-150.
- , "I Eptanisiaki Politeia sta Archeia tou othomanikou kratous" [The Septinsular Republic in the Archives of the Ottoman State], *Nea Estia* 25 (1939), 807-813.
- Papoulia, Basilike, *Ursprung und Wesen der "Knabenlese" im osmanischen Reich*, Südosteuropaische Arbeiten 59, Munich 1963.
- Patrinelis, Ch., "To Agion Oros " (Mount Athos), *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous*, t. 10, Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon 1974.
- Petropoulos, J., "The Modern Greek State and the Greek Past", in: Speros Vryonis (ed.), *The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, Malibu: Undena Publications 1978, (Byzantina kai Metabyzantina, vol. 1), 163-176.
- Petropoulou, Ioanna, "Istoriographikes prosengiseis tou othomanikou parelthontos stin Christianiki Anatoli, 19os aionas. Mia deigmatolipsia" [Historiographic approaches to the Ottoman past in the Christian East, 19th century. A sampling], *Mnimon* 23 (2001), 269-295.
- , "O ekdimokratismos tis graphis" [The democratization of writing], in: *IV International Congress of History, Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece*, vol. II, (eds) P. M. Kitromilides – T. E. Sklavenitis, Athens 2004.
- Pharmakidis, E., *I Larisa. Apo ton mythologikon chronon mechri tis prosartiseos aftis eis tin Ellada (1881)* [Larisa. From mythological times until its annexation to Greece: 1881], Volos 1926.
- Sakellariou, M.V., *I Peloponnisos kata tin defteran Tourkokratian (1715-1821)* [The Peloponnese during the Second Period of Ottoman Rule, 1715-1821], Athens 1939, (photo-copy reprint: Athens: Ermis, 1978).
- Salakidis, G., *Sultansurkunden des Athos-Klosters Vatopedi aus der Zeit Bayezid II. und Selim I*, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1995.
- , *Larisa (Yenişehir) sta mesa tou 17ou aiona, Koinoniki kai oikonomiki istoria mias valkanikis polis kai tis periochis tos me vasi ta othomanika ierodikastika eggrapha ton eton 1050-1052 (1650-1652)* [Larissa-Yenişehir in the middle of the 17th Century. Social and Economic History of a Balkan Town and its Region based on the Ottoman Juridical Records of the Years 1050-1052/ 1650-1652], Thessaloniki: Ant. Stamoulis editions, 2004.
- , *Ta sultanika eggrapha tis Dimotikis Vivliothikis tis Kozanis(1721-1909)* (The Sultanic Documents in the Muncipal Library of Kozanis (1721-1909)), Kozani 2004.

- Sathas, K., *Tourkokratoumeni Ellas. Istorikon Dokimion peri ton pros anatinaxin tou othomanikou zygu epanastaseon tou ellinikou ethnous (1453-1821)* [Turkish-occupied Greece. Historical Essay on the revolutions of the Greek Nation to cast off the Ottoman yoke, 1453-1821], Athens 1869.
- Smyrnakis, G., *To Agion Oros* [The Holy Mountain], Athens 1903 (reprinted Karyes 1988).
- Soullidis, N., *Tarih-i osmani... Dersaadet 1874* (Karamanli book).
- Spiliotopoulou, Maria, *I Santorini stin tourkokratia. Koinonikes kai oikonomikes praktikes sto plaisio tis oikogeneias* [Santorini in the Ottoman Period. Social and economic practices in the context of the family], Rethymnon: University of Crete, 2005 (unpublished doctoral thesis).
- Stamatiadis, E.I., *Samiaka, itoi Istoría tis nisou Samou apo ton panarchaion chronon mechri ton kath'imas* [Samian Miscellanea, that is History of the island of Samos from most ancient times to our days], vol. 5, Samos: Principality printing press 1887, 657-703.
- Stavrakis, N., *Statistiki tou plithismou tis Kritis meta diaforon geografikon, istorikon, arhaiologikon, ekklisiastikon k.t.l. eidiseon peri tis nisou* [Statistics of the population of Crete with various geographical, historical, archaeological, ecclesiastical etc. information on the island], Athens: Paliggenesia Press I. Aggelopoulos, 1890 (reprinted Notis Karavias, 1978).
- Stavrinidis, N., "Anekdotá eggrapha tis tourkokratias en Kriti ton eton 1684-1686" (Unpublished documents of the Ottoman period in Crete of the years 1684-1686), *Kritika Chronika* 2 (1948), 320-348.
- _____, "Anekdotá eggrapha tis tourkokratias en Kriti. Pente eggrapha ton proton meta tin alosin chronon" [Unpublished documents of the Ottoman period in Crete. Five documents from the first years after the Conquest], *Kritika Chronika* 2 (1948), 153-166.
- _____, "Anekdotá eggrapha tis tourkoratias en Kriti. Dyo eggrapha rythmistika tou meta tin alosin tis Kritis phorologikou systematos" [Unpublished documents of the Ottoman period in Crete. Two documents regulating the taxation system after the fall of Crete], *Kritika Chronika* 1 (1947), 84-122.
- _____, "Symvoli eis tin istorian ton Sphakion,(1645-1770) [Contribution to the history of Sphakia (1645-1770)], *Kritika Chronika* 9 (1956), 213-333.
- _____, *Metaphraseis tourkikon istorikon eggraphon aphoronton eis tin istorian tis Kritis (Translations of Turkish documents concerning the history of Crete)*, vol. I (H 1067-1082/1657-1672), Herakleion of Crete 1975; vol. II (H 1083-1105/1672-1694), 1976; vol. III (H 1105-1127/1694-1715), 1978; vol. IV (H 1127-1165/ 1715-1752), 1984; vol. V (H 1165-1179/1752-1765), 1985.
- _____, *O kapetan Michalis Korakas kai oi sympolemistes tou* [Captain Michalis Korakas and his fellow fighters], 3 vols, Herakleion 1971.
- Svoronos, N., *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris: PUF, 1956.
- Themopoulou, Emilie, "L'approvisionnement d' Istanbul en céréales et l' évolution de la contribution de l' ichtira au XVIII^e et au XIX^e siècle", *I kath'imas Anatoli* 3 (1996), 117-138.
- _____, *Salonique, 1800-1875: conjoncture économique et mouvement commercial*, 3 vols, Université de Paris I, 1994 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).
- Theocharides, I. – Stavrides, Th., "The Course of Ottoman Studies in Greece (An Overview)", in: Y. Halaçoğlu, H. İnalçık (eds), *The Turks*, t. 4, Ankara 2002, 714-719.

- Theocharides, I., *Katalogos othomanikon eggrafon tis Kyprou apo ta Archeia tis Ethnikis Vivliothikis tis Sofias, 1571-1878* [Catalogue of Ottoman documents on Cyprus, from the Archives of the National Library of Sofia, 1571-1878], Nicosia 1984.
- _____, *Othomanika eggrafa 1840-1912, Archeio Ieras Monis Kykkou – V* [Ottoman documents 1572-1839. Archive of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos V], 2 vols, Nicosia, Kentro Meleton Ieras Monis Kykkou, 1999.
- _____, *Othomanika eggrafa, 1572-1839. Archeio Ieras Monis Kykkou – I* [Ottoman documents 1572-1839. Archive of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos I], 4 vols, Nicosia, Kentro Meleton Ieras Monis Kykkou, 1993.
- _____, “I anaptyxi ton tourkologikon spoudon stin Ellada” [The Development of Turkish Studies in Greece], *Dodoni. Epistemoniki Epeterida tou Tmimatos Istorias kai Archaialogias tis Philosophikis Scholis tou Panepistimiou Ioanninon* 17/1 (1988), 19-61.
- Tietze, A., “The Balkans and Ottoman Sources-Ottoman Sources and the Balkans”, in: Henrik Birnbaum and Speros Vryonis Jr(eds), *Aspects of the Balkans. Continuity and Change*. Contributions to the International Balkan Conference held at UCLA, October 23-28, 1969, The Hague, Paris: Mouton 1972.
- Toledano, Ehud. R., “What Ottoman History and Ottomanist Historiography Are – Or, Rather, Are Not”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 38/3 (July 2002), 195-207.
- Topping, P., “Greek Historical Writing on the period 1453-1914”, *The Journal of Modern History* 33, no 2 (Jun. 1961), 157-173.
- Triantaphyllidou-Baladié, Yolanda, *To emporio kai i oikonomia tis Kritis, 1645-1669* [The commerce and the economy of Crete, 1669-1795], Herakleion 1988.
- Tsopotos, D., “Soultanika diatagmata (fermania) kai ierodikastiki apophais (*ilâm*) apheronta ktimatikas scheseis ton chorion tou Piliou Zagoras, Makryrachis kai Aniliou” [Sultanic decrees (*firman*s) and kadi decisions (*ilâm*) concerning land relations of the villages of Piliou Zagora, Makryrachi and Anilio], *Thessalika Chronika* 2 (1931), 220-233;
- Tsopotos, D., “To soultaniko firmanion kai of perivoitos torukikos kanonismos ton georgikon en Thessalia scheseon” [The firman and the infamous Turkish regulation of the farming relations in Thessaly], *Epetiris Philologikou Syllogou Parnassos* 10 (1914), 64-93;
- Tsopotos, D., *Gi kai georgoi tis Thessalias kata tin tourkokratian. Epi ti vasei istorikon pigon* [Land and farmers in Thessaly during the Turkish Occupation. On the basis of historical sources], Volos 1912 (Athens 1974).
- Tzortzakaki-Tzaridou, Sophie, “I leitourgia tou thesmou ton ‘christianikon vakufion’ epi Tourkokratias me vasi ta othomankia eggrapha tou archeiou tis monis Vlatadon” [The function of the institution of the ‘Christian vakufs’ under the Turkish Occupation, on the basis of the Ottoman documents in the archive of the Vlatadon monastery], *Christianiki Thessaloniki. Othomaniki periodos, 1430-1912* [Christian Thessaloniki, Ottoman period, 1430-1912], II, Thessaloniki 1994, 259-276.
- Vakalopoulos, A. E., *Istoria tou Neou Ellinismou* [History of Modern Hellenism], Thessaloniki: E. Sphakianakis & Sons, 1974-1988.
- _____, “Apopseis gia tin istoria kai tin methodology tis. Prosopiki martyria” [Views on the history and its methodology. A personal testimony], *Synchrone Themata* 35-37 (Dec. 1988), 72-79;
- _____, *Istoria tis Makedonias, 1354-1833* [History of Macedonia], 5 vols, Thessaloniki 1969.
- _____, *Thasos. Son histoire, son administration de 1453 à 1912*, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1953.

- Vasdarvellis, I., *Armatoloi kai kleftes eis ten Makedonian*, Thessaloniki 1948 (The English translation: *Klephts, Armatoles and pirates in Macedonia during the rule of the Turks, 1627-1821*, Thessaloniki 1975).
- _____, *Hoi Makedones eis tous hyper tes anexartesias agonas 1796-1832* [The Macedonians in the Struggle for Independence], 2nd edition, Thessaloniki 1950.
- _____, *Istorika Archeia Makedonias, t. I, Archeion Thessalonikis, 1695-1912* [Historical Archives of Macedonia, vol. I, Archive of Thessaloniki 1695-1912], Thessaloniki 1952.
- _____, *Istorika Archeia Makedonias, vol. II, Archeion Verroias - Naoussis, 1598-1886* (Historical Archives of Macedonia, vol. II, Archive of Veroia – Naousa), Thessaloniki 1954.
- _____, *Istorika Archeia Makedonias, vol. III, Archeion Monis Vlatadon, 1466-1839* (Historical Archives of Macedonia, vol. III, Archive of the Vlatadon monastery), (ed. I. Vasdarvellis), Thessaloniki 1955.
- _____, *Istorikon Archeion Veroias. Eklogai* [Historical Archive of Veroia. Selections], ed. I. Vasdarvellis. Thessaloniki 1942.
- _____, *Oi Makedoneseis tous yper tes anexartesias agonas 1796-1832*, Thessaloniki 1940, ²1952 (English translation by Photeine P. Bourboulis: *The Greek Struggle for Independence: The Macedonians in the revolution of 1821*, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1968).
- _____, *Tourkika eggrapha peri tou Makedonikou Agonos* (Turkish Documents Concerning the Macedonian Struggle), Thessaloniki 1958.
- Vryonis, Sp., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1971.
- Wallerstein, I., “Some Reflections on the Future of Ottoman Studies”, in: B. Lewis, O. Pritsak, Gönül Tekin, Ş. Tekin, G. Veinstein (eds.), *Raiyyet Rüsûmu. Essays presented to Halil İnalcık on his Seventieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, *Journal of Turkish Studies* 11 (1987), 235-237.
- Yerasimos, St., “Ellines tis Constantinoupolis sta mesa tou 16ou aiona” (Greeks of Constantinople in the mid-16th century), *I kath’imas Anatoli* 2 (1994), 117-138.
- Zachariadou, Elizabeth, “Early Ottoman Documents of the Prodomos Monastery (Serres)”, *Südost-Forschungen* XXVIII (1969), 1-12.
- _____, *Romania and the Turks (c. 1300 – c. 1500)*, Londons: Variorum Reprints, 1985.
- _____, (ed.) *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389), Halcyon Days in Crete I: Rethymnon, 11-13 January 1991*, Crete University Press, Rethymnon 1993.
- _____, “The Worrysome Wealth of the Celnik Radic”, in: *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, (eds) C. Heywood and C. Imber, The Isis Press, Istanbul 1994, 383-397.
- _____, (ed.) *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule (1380-1699), Halcyon Days in Crete II, A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 9-11 January 1994*, Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1996.
- _____, *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire, Halcyon Days in Crete III, A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 10-12 January 1997*, Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1999.
- _____, (ed.), *The Kapudan Pasha. His office and his Domain, Halcyon Days in Crete IV: Rethymnon 7-9 January 2000*, Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 2002.

- _____, (ed.), *The Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire (Rethymnon, 10-12 January 2003)* Halcyon Days in Crete V, A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 10-12 January 2003, Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 2005.
- _____, *Deka tourkika eggrafa gia tin Megali Ekklisia, 1483-1567* [Ten Turkish Documents concerning the Great Church, 1483-1567], Athens: Institute for Byzantine Research, 1996.
- Zakythinou, D. A., *Metavyzantina kai Nea Ellinika* (Post Byzantine and Modern Greek), Athens 1978.
- _____, *I Tourkokratia. Eisagogi eis tin Neoteran Istorian tou Ellinismou* [The Turkish Occupation. Introduction to the Later History of Hellenism], Athens 1954.
- Zeginis, E.Ch., *O bektasismos sti D. Thraki. Symvoli stin istoria tis diadoxeos tou mousoulmanismou ston elladiko choro* [Bektashism in W. Thrace. Contribution to the history of the spread of Islam in Greece], Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1988.
- Zei, Eleftheria, *Paros dans l'Archipel grec, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles: les multiples visages de l'insularité*, Université Paris I, 2 vols, Paris 2001 (unpublished doctoral thesis).
- Zepos, P. I., "Anekdotia eggrafa tis tourkokratias [Unpublished documents of Ottoman period]", *Archeion Idiotikou Dikaiou*, t. 11 (1944), 49-91.

Turkish Archival Material in Greek Historiography

Evangelia BALTA

Abstract

This paper discusses the formation of Ottoman / Turkish studies in Greece, a relatively recent historical discipline, which endeavors to define and consolidate its domain in relation to both modern Greek studies and Ottoman studies internationally. The study describes the place of the Ottoman era in Greek historiography up to 2005 and it is accompanied by a bibliography of works relating to Ottoman Studies undertaken by Greek scholars.

Keywords: Greece, Modern Greek Historiography, Tourkokratia, Ottoman Studies, Turkish Studies