

# ARCHIVUM OTTOMANICUM

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IN PREPARATION FOR THE HAJJ:  
THE WILL OF A *SERDENGEÇTİ* FROM CRETE  
(1782)

ANTONIS ANASTASOPOULOS

Professor Elizabeth Zachariadou's important contribution to the advancement of Ottoman studies in Greece is well known. Since 2000 Professor Zachariadou has headed a research team whose ambitious aim is to publish summaries of the entries of the Islamic court registers (*sicils*) of Iraklio, Crete (Ott. Kandiye). One volume has already appeared,<sup>1</sup> while a second one is currently being prepared. In token of gratitude to this aspect of Professor Zachariadou's multifaceted research activity over the years, this short paper is based on a *sicil* entry from Kandiye.<sup>2</sup>

Arabzade Serdengeçti Ibrahim Ağa, son of Hüseyin, who resided in the Elhac Ali Paşa Camii quarter of Kandiye, decided in 1782 to perform the hajj, that is, the pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>3</sup> Ibrahim Ağa probably was a prudent man, because prior to departure, he appeared before the *kadı* of the town and had his will recorded in the latter's register. It is possible that Ibrahim's prudence was related to age, because we learn from his testament that he had a married niece, which means that apparently he was not young. Even though it was not unusual for pilgrims who were about to leave for Mecca to record their wills or other special arrangements valid for the duration of their

<sup>1</sup> Eleni Karantzikou-Pinelopi Photeinou (ed. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou), *Hierodikeio Herakleiou: Tritos Kodikas (1669/73-1750/67)* [Kadi Court of Iraklio: Register No. 3 (1669/73-1750/67)] (Iraklio: Vikelaia Dimotiki Vivliothiki, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Turkish Archive of Iraklio / *Kandiye kadı sicilleri*, vol. 32, p. 110, entry no. 1 (6 July 1782). The *kadı* registers of Kandiye (Iraklio) are kept at the Vikelaia Municipal Library of Iraklio, Crete.

<sup>3</sup> The hajj is one of the so-called 'pillars of Islam', that is, the basic obligations that true believers are expected to observe and perform. For an introduction to the 'pillars' and the hajj, see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, s.v. 'Rukn', 'Shahada', 'Hajj', 'Salāt', 'Sawm', 'Zakāt', and 'Sadaka'. See also Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994), 13-53.

absence in the *kadi's sicil*, it was neither obligatory nor universal, as is clearly demonstrated by several surviving examples of pilgrims who either drew up their wills on their deathbeds or left no will at all.<sup>4</sup> Besides, drawing up a will was apparently unnecessary unless the testator had some special arrangements in mind. For instance, it is obvious that Ibrahim cared for a number of people who under the stipulations of Islamic law would not have been entitled to any share of his estate.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, he appears to have reconciled himself to the eventuality of dying on his way to Mecca or during the return trip. Carrying out the pilgrimage was not an easy task; pilgrims were faced with all sorts of dangers, and a number of them did not make it back home. Bedouin attacks, lack of food and water, unfavourable weather conditions, and disease were among the most important threats to the caravans and the pilgrims.<sup>6</sup>

Ibrahim's testament pertained to one-third of his estate, that is, the proportion that he was allowed to dispose of at will, according to Islamic law.<sup>7</sup> Ibrahim was obviously not the only one who made use of this provision of the law, as demonstrated by several wills that have survived in the *sicils* of Kandiye and other towns. A small, but rather telling, number of wills (or indirect references to wills) entered in the Kandiye court register were recently published by Zachariadou-Karantzikou-Photeinou. Most of these wills were drawn up in the middle of the eighteenth century and allow us to arrive at certain preliminary conclusions. First of all, both Muslims and non-Muslims (in our case Christians) drew up wills or recorded declarations relevant to the management of their estates in accordance with Islamic law. In some cases we have information as to when the testator died: in the vast majority of these cases, he/she died a few days after drawing up the will; in some other

<sup>4</sup> Gilles Veinstein, 'Les pèlerins de La Mecque à travers quelques actes du *qâdi* de Sarajevo (1557-1558)', *Turcica*, 21-23 (1991), 473-494, esp. 478-492.

<sup>5</sup> For a brief overview of the rules of succession under Islamic law, see Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 170-173. For reasons why one might wish to bypass the rules of succession, see Eyal Ginio, 'Every Soul Shall Taste Death' - Dealing with Death and the Afterlife in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Salonica', *Studia Islamica*, 93 (2001), 130-131. (I would like to thank Dr Marinos Sariyannis for bringing this article to my attention.)

<sup>6</sup> On the case of the Damascene caravan to Mecca (late seventeenth-early eighteenth centuries), see Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual, *Ultime voyage pour La Mecque: Les inventaires après décès de pèlerins morts à Damas vers 1700* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1998), 13-16, 60-64. On security and related political issues (late sixteenth-seventeenth centuries), see Faroqhi, *Pilgrims*, 54-73. Mujezinović calculated the mortality rate among pilgrims from Sarajevo in the second half of the eighteenth century at 25% (cited in Veinstein, 'Sarajevo', 484).

<sup>7</sup> Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 173-174.

cases, he/she made his/her will, because he/she was ill and afraid of dying. This suggests that wills were normally drawn up only when the testator felt that the end was near. Despite the feeling of proximity to death, not all testators were preoccupied with spiritual issues, the salvation of their souls or philanthropy (as long as we assume that what was recorded was indeed the will of the testator and not of other persons who took advantage of his/her condition; this was supposedly guaranteed by the presence of four or more *shühudülhal* in most such cases, but several 'wills' were in fact oral arrangements that were confirmed by witnesses in court after the testator's death).

Sixteen of these wills belong to Muslims. The purpose of five of them was to guarantee a share of the testator's estate to relatives.<sup>8</sup> To these cases we should add two more that were about the appointment of a close relative as a guardian for children who still were minors.<sup>9</sup> Another testator appointed one of his sons to be guardian of his daughters, and stipulated that an amount of money that represented less than one-tenth of his estate be given to the destitute.<sup>10</sup> This is then one will that partly provides for a God-pleasing charitable activity. The total of such wills is eight: the one just mentioned, four that had to do with philanthropy of a public nature (financing a *vakf* or public works) and three that had to do with philanthropy of a private nature (freeing a slave after the master's death); one of the eight testators also allocated an amount of money to a servant.<sup>11</sup> The sixteenth will was also connected with salvation, but the means to achieve it differed: the testator, a woman, stipulated an amount of money for someone to perform the hajj in her stead, as well as for the cost of her funeral. Besides, she left a quilt, a pair of baggy trousers and something illegible to her girl servant and one-third of her estate to the executor of her will; the arrangement is not clear, but can we hypothesise that the testator would perform the hajj, and that one-third of the estate was his remuneration on top of the amount of money put aside for the hajj itself?<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Karantzikou-Photeinou, *Hierodikeio Herakleiou*, 349, no. 728 (10 October 1750); 350, no. 731 (November 1750); 352, no. 736 (23 January 1751); 373, no. 773 (5 November 1750); 474, no. 929 (23 January 1765).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 390, nos 796 and 797 (29 January and 31 January 1751). Both appointments were apparently made orally, and were confirmed in court after the testator's death by two and three witnesses respectively.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 398-399, no. 809 (7 March 1751). These arrangements were apparently made orally, and were confirmed in court after the testator's death by nine witnesses.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 93, no. 180 (18 May 1672); 114, no. 218 (30 May 1672); 256, no. 516 (15 July 1672) [this 'will' is in fact a declaration]; 350, no. 730 (25 November 1750); 352, no. 735 (11 December 1749); 404, no. 819 (17 September 1750); 434-36, no. 871 (6 January 1763).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 455, no. 903 (30 October 1763). One-third of the woman's estate amounted to 155 *gurus*, while the amount set aside for the hajj was 500 *gurus*.

On the other hand, all four wills of Christians had to do with securing a share of the estate for a relative or another person. In two of these cases it was explicitly stated that this person received one-third of the estate in exchange for services that he had rendered or would render to the testator (such as management of the estate and guardianship of a minor).<sup>13</sup>

It is, then, clear that eighteenth-century Cretans, be it Muslims or not, were not exclusively or primarily concerned with the afterlife while on their deathbeds, but also with settling their affairs in this world.<sup>14</sup> This pattern also applies to Ibrahim Ağa's will, as will become apparent. This is not surprising, given that the testator was on the eve of departing for Mecca, but free from any immediate threat of dying, unlike the testators whose cases we have just examined.

However, one might expect that a pilgrim ready to perform one of the five 'pillars' of the Muslim faith would be in such a state of mind as to render him obsessed with spiritual issues, charity, and acts that would be rewarded by God. This is only partly true, and Ibrahim's will is useful for allowing us insights into the mentality of a pilgrim on the eve of departing for the hajj.<sup>15</sup> Charity was not the only or the main preoccupation of Ibrahim when he drew up his will, but it was not absent either. Besides, one may argue that practically all the provisions of his will involved philanthropy, but this was orientated primarily towards a narrow circle of people who were close to the testator rather than towards the community at large.<sup>16</sup>

That Ibrahim Ağa's attitude was not peculiar to himself is corroborated by a number of sixteenth-century *sicil* entries from Sarajevo, studied by Gilles Veinstein. Only one of the five pilgrims who had some sort of arrangement recorded in the *kadı* register prior to departure provided for an act of charity, namely, the liberation of a slave.<sup>17</sup> Otherwise, this same pilgrim as well as the other four dealt with mundane issues: the appointment of substitutes who would replace them in their duties during their absence, the con-

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 351-352, no. 734 (21 December 1750); 394-95, no. 802 (23 February 1751); 437, no. 873 (5 January 1763); 475-476, no. 932 (26 January 1765).

<sup>14</sup> See Ginio's similar conclusion about eighteenth-century Salonicans (Ginio, 'Every Soul', 132).

<sup>15</sup> See the description of the preparation of the believer for the hajj by Gaudefroy-Demombynes (cited in Establet-Pascual, *Ultime voyage*, 61). Under the lyrical overtones lies the concern of the pilgrim for settling his worldly affairs, securing the livelihood of his family for the duration of his absence, and returning home alive.

<sup>16</sup> It is certainly possible that Ibrahim Ağa may have set up a *vakf* through some other *sicil* entry, but this remains to be proved. Finding his *tereke defteri* would also be useful, because it would allow us to see who his heirs were, as well as the total of his estate at the time of his death.

<sup>17</sup> Veinstein, 'Sarajevo', 479.

firmation of a man as the pilgrim's full brother and thus his heir, and the appointment of a guardian for minors and administrator of one-third of the estate of the testator, who also provided for an amount of money to be given to another man.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, there are two wills as to which it is uncertain if they were drawn up before departure or on the deathbeds of the testators whom death caught on the road; here concern for this-worldly and other-worldly affairs appears to be balanced. One will had to do with the daily recitation of a Qur'anic sura for the salvation of the soul of the testator, and the other with the appointment of the testator's wife as guardian for their children.<sup>19</sup> The scales clearly tilt to the side of other-worldly issues and the salvation of the testator's soul only in those cases in which we know beyond any doubt that the will was drawn up on the pilgrim's deathbed: two wills cited by Veinstein were about setting up *vakfs* (and daily recitations of the Qur'an, if there was a surplus), and another four cited by Establet-Pascual provided for money for the construction of tombs and the recitation of prayers for the souls of the testators (one testator also left money for the distribution of alms and sweets, and a meal).<sup>20</sup>

For his part, Ibrahim Ağa, the Kandiye testator, stipulated that, following payment of burial expenses and debts, as was the established practice, one-third of his estate was to be distributed among relations by marriage, a slave, people in his service, apprentices, and the executor of the will.<sup>21</sup> In a way, the *serdengeçti* declared through his will who he felt those deserving of his appreciation and support were. Sadly, we are totally ignorant of whether the pilgrim had any living blood relations, that is, who his legal heirs were, if any.<sup>22</sup> We cannot but wonder how they reacted to his decision to allocate a considerable part of his property to persons who were close to him (some of them actually his family), but legally excluded from his estate.

Ibrahim's will was unusually long and elaborate, if we are to judge from the published wills discussed above. If we try to categorise those who bene-

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 479-483.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 485-486, 492.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 486-487; Establet-Pascual, *Ultime voyage*, 24. According to Ginio ('Every Soul', 123-124, 131), the main purpose of drawing up wills in eighteenth-century Salonica was to provide for funeral expenses.

<sup>21</sup> It was normal for military men of some standing to support servants and others. Military men were given in the 1790s "daily rations of bread, meat and condiments. Officers were given much more than what they needed for their personal use so they could feed and maintain their private servants and others in their personal employ" (Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971], 115).

<sup>22</sup> Since he had two brothers-in-law, he at least had two sisters. The question is if they were alive in 1782.

fited from his bounty, we see that certain categories and patterns emerge (a list of the legatees, and the amounts of money allocated to each of them, is given in Table 1). One category was relations by marriage: two brothers-in-law, the daughter of one of them and her husband, and also the son of one of them. The last one was in the service (*hizmetimde*) of Ibrahim. This in fact constitutes the second category of legatees, that is, people who were in the testator's service: the nephew, one man, one woman and one boy, but also a Muslim slave. Then come the apprentices (*çıraks*): one barber and a certain 'young' (*küçük*) Ibrahim. The testator extended his generosity to the barber's sisters, who, too, were to receive an amount of money; let's recall here an analogy, namely, the inclusion of the husband of the niece among the favoured relatives. The barber with the sisters was not the only beneficiary of this profession; a second barber was to inherit a smaller sum of money if Ibrahim Ağa died on the way to or back from Mecca.<sup>23</sup> The last two legatees did not belong to any of the categories cited above. One was the executor (*vasi*) of the will, a janissary officer of the town's Stony Bastion (*Tabya-ı Sengin zâbiti*).<sup>24</sup> The other was a *medrese* professor, a *müderriş*. Since only his name is cited, there is not much to comment on him. However, his presence among the legatees is significant, as it may reflect the prestige of the *ulema* in Ottoman society, which is also indicated by the title of respect *faziletlü* (virtuous, gracious) that accompanies his name in the will. Furthermore, it is most probably not coincidental that his name is ranked first in the list of beneficiaries.

The amount of money bequeathed to each of these persons ranged from 25 to 50 *guruş*, with two notable exceptions. The first one is the 150 *guruş* allocated to the executor. However, the use of the Qur'anic term 'birr' (pious goodness)<sup>25</sup> in the formulation of the document at this particular point (*yüz*

<sup>23</sup> The word 'berber' also means 'Berber'. Given the context, the meaning 'barber' seems more appropriate here.

<sup>24</sup> For the meaning of the term *zâbit* in the eighteenth century, see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, s.v. 'Dâbit' (by Bernard Lewis). For the Stony Bastion, see Zacharias Praktikidis, *Chorographia tes Kretes* [Topography of Crete] (Iraklio: Techniko Epimelitirio Kritis - Tmima Anatolikis Kritis, 1983), 32, 44.

<sup>25</sup> *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, s.v. 'Birr' (by L. Gardet); Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, *Institution du vaqf au XVIIIe siècle en Turquie - étude socio-historique* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1985), 39. See also Franciscus à Mesgnien Meninski, *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae-Arabicae-Persicae. Lexicon Turcico-Arabico-Persicum* (Istanbul: Simurg, 2000), s.v. 'berr': *berr ü ihsan = beneficentia*. On the other hand, we should note that the expected *reşidî* sign - noted in other words of the text - is missing here and that another meaning of the word was 'performance of duty; especially, performance of the rites of the pilgrimage at Mekka' according to the late-nineteenth-century James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Istanbul: American Mission, 1890), s.v. 'birr'.

*elli guruş dahi vasi-i muhtarım olan mumaileyh Elhac Mustafa Ağa rey ve istihsan eylediği vech üzere vücuh-ı birre sarf eyleye*) suggests that this amount of money was earmarked for charity and the benefit of society, and not to be kept by Elhac Mustafa Ağa for his own needs, even though he was apparently given a free hand to administer it.<sup>26</sup> Ibrahim could certainly have specified the kind of charity that was to benefit from his generosity, but, as is clear from the wills examined above, testators in any case needed to appoint plenipotentiary administrators of their charity money.<sup>27</sup> The fact that the executor was vague as to where the money should be spent is in all likelihood a sign of trust in the executor of the will; all the more so, as he preferred him to the *müderriş*, who as a member of the *ulema* would in principle be a more obvious choice for the handling of issues related to God-pleasing benevolence. In fact, executors usually were, as one would expect, trusted people, that is, relatives, colleagues, or respectable members of the community. The executor of Ibrahim's will was connected to the testator in two ways. They both were military men, and the executor had already performed the hajj, as he bore the title 'Elhac'. It is impossible to know whether this was coincidental or not, that is, whether the pilgrim preferred to have a hajji as executor of his will.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, there can be no answer as to whether Mustafa Ağa might have set the example for Ibrahim's pilgrimage to Mecca.

The other exception is just as interesting. The second largest amount, 100 *guruş*, was double the next one and bequeathed to none other than the *serdengeçti*'s slave, which must be an indication of the strong bond between master and slave in Ottoman society.<sup>29</sup> In this regard, we should not overlook the fact that the slave's name is listed third in the will, after the names of the *müderriş* and of a man in the service of Ibrahim, but before those of the testator's relatives. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that Ibrahim did not manumit his slave, at least not through this document. This would have been

<sup>26</sup> Bequeathing this amount of money to Mustafa as his private property would not have been out of the question either, as executors could be remunerated for the service they provided (Karantzikou-Photeinou, *Hierodikeio Herakleiou*, 475-476, no. 932 and, most likely, 455, no. 903).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 350, no. 730; 351, no. 733 (4 December 1750); 352, no. 735; 398-399, no. 809.

<sup>28</sup> Hajjis were often appointed executors or substitutes by the pilgrims of sixteenth-century Sarajevo, and not just by those who died among hajjis on the return trip from Mecca.

<sup>29</sup> For an overview of the institution of slavery in the Islamic world, see Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 3-15. See also the interesting points about the nature of Ottoman domestic slavery made in Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1998), 14-19.

a commendable act of piety, appropriate for someone who departed for the hajj.<sup>30</sup>

As we noted above, Ibrahim was not at all specific about the money that he bequeathed to the executor of his will. However, when it came to setting up a *vakf*, he was somewhat more specific. His *vakf* was actually not of the religious or public-benefit type one might have expected from a prospective pilgrim. The testator dedicated as *vakf* an unspecified amount of money, "the remainder of one-third of his estate", which was to be used for the manufacture of a silver (most likely meaning silver-threaded) waistcoat (*sim çapraz*) to be worn by the holders of the office of *aşçı* (cook) of the eighteenth imperial janissary company (*orta*).<sup>31</sup> On the one hand, this provision shows how strongly Ibrahim felt for the people who, we may assume, were his brothers in arms.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, it is indicative of the extreme popularity of the institution of *vakf* and the extensive use of the term *vakf* in the late eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Alan Fisher, 'Studies in Ottoman Slavery and Slave Trade, II: Manumission', *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 4 (1980), 49-51; Lewis, *Race*, 6; Ginio, 'Every Soul', 125.

<sup>31</sup> On the janissary organisation, see H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. 1, part 1 (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1950), 59-62, 314-322. For the officer known as *aşçı* in particular and the ambiguity about his duties, see *ibid.*, 319. According to Gibb and Bowen, the eighteenth *orta* belonged to the *Seğmen* (*Segban*) and not to the *Bölük*, as cited in Ibrahim's will; however, the authors refer to the period prior to the "amalgamation of the *Seğmens* with the rest of the Janissaries" (*ibid.*, 321 and n. 8). See also Praktikidis, *Chorographia*, 43.

<sup>32</sup> Three officers of the eighteenth company were among the *şühudülhal*, one of them being the *çorbacı*, i.e., the commander. The other two were the *odabaşı* (head of the barrack room) and the *aşçı*. The cook's name is accompanied by the title *usta* (master) that brings guildsmen to mind (cf. Gibb-Bowen, *Islamic Society*, 319, n. 14).

<sup>33</sup> The importance of the institution of *vakf* in eighteenth-century Ottoman society is discussed in Yediyıldız, *Institution du vaqf*.

Table 1: Legatees according to Ibrahim Ağa's will.

N°	Legatee	Amount (in <i>guruş</i> )
1	Müderriş Emin Efendi ( <i>medrese</i> professor)	50
2	Hizmetimde olan İbrahim (servant, man in his service)	50
3	Kölem Hüseyin (slave)	100
4	Kaynım Ömer Beşe (brother-in-law)	50
5	Kerimesi Gülşah (daughter of brother-in-law)	25
6	Zevci Molla Ahmed (husband of daughter of brother-in-law)	25
7	Kaynım Ahmed Beşe (brother-in-law)	30
8	Çırağımız berber Mehmed (apprentice - barber)	30
9	Berber Mehmed hemşireleri (sisters of apprentice)	30
10	Berber Mustafa (barber)	25
11	Hizmetimizde olan küçük İsmail gulâm (boy servant)	35
12	Hizmetimde olan kaynım oğlu İbrahim (son of brother-in-law who was in his service)	25
13	Hizmetimde olan Rahime (woman in his service)	25
14	Gazi Bey çırağı küçük İbrahim (young apprentice)	25
15	Vasi Elhac Mustafa Ağa (executor of the will)	150
16	Dergâh-ı âli yeniçerilerinin onsekiz bölüğün ortasında aşçı olanlara vakf (cooks of the eighteenth company of the Janissaries of the Porte)	fazlasından ... sim çapraz (from the remainder ... a silver waistcoat)
		TOTAL: 675+?

But what information can we gather from Ibrahim's will about his descent and professional life? What we know for sure is that he bore the title of *serdengeçti*, that is, he was a military man, a janissary;<sup>34</sup> actually, his title may indicate that he was admitted to the janissary corps and enrolled in a company after first having fought in a war as a volunteer.<sup>35</sup> Apparently he

<sup>34</sup> Gibb-Bowen, *Islamic Society*, 321; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1956), s.v. 'Serdengeçti', where the existence of non-janissary *serdengeçtis* is pointed out; the same is suggested by Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, vol. 5 (7) (Istanbul: Les Éditions Isis, 2001), 317: "Ce sont ordinairement des Janissaires". For the suppression of the unruly (and illegal, according to this particular document) *serdengeçti* groups of Kandiye following a janissary mutiny in 1762, see Nikolaos S. Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis Tourkikon Historikon Eggraphon Aphoronton eis ten Historian tes Kretes* [Translations of Turkish Historical Documents about the History of Crete], vol. 5 (Iraklio: Vikelaila Dimotiki Vivliothiki, 1985), 207-209, no. 2778 (21 September 1762).

<sup>35</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943), 619 and n. 2, 487-488.

belonged to the eighteenth company of the imperial janissaries, as his donation suggests. His family name ('Arabzade') tends to suggest that he was not from a Cretan stock. The fact that he was attached to a company of 'imperial' janissaries (*dergâh-ı âli yeniçerileri*) as opposed to the 'local' ones (*yerli*), could be treated as additional evidence in support of this claim, but Molly Greene has demonstrated — at least for the early years of Ottoman rule — that this criterion does not fully apply to Crete.<sup>36</sup> We should further note that not only the testator, the executor and some of the witnesses were military men, but also Ibrahim's brothers-in-law: they bore the title *beşe*, which indicates a military connection.<sup>37</sup> As a matter of fact, Greene wonders whether Kandiye was a "city of soldiers", and puts forward an interpretation for the large number of military men in the town following the Ottoman conquest.<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, two barbers are among the legatees, one of them actually being defined as "our apprentice" (*çırağımız*).<sup>39</sup> *Çırak* is a term that denotes guild association;<sup>40</sup> therefore, there are grounds for assuming that

<sup>36</sup> Greene notes that, unlike in Damascus, local Cretans could belong to the 'imperial' janissaries and non-Cretan Muslims could be registered as 'local' janissaries (Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000], 38 and n. 91-92). On the imperial and local janissaries, also see *ibid.*, 41-43, 87-88, 98 and n. 86, 155, 159-162. For a decree about the local janissaries, see Stavrinidis, *Metaphraseis*, 108, no. 2647 (16 November 1758); see also the entry cited in note 34 above.

<sup>37</sup> *Beşes* were "nonranking soldiers", according to Greene, *Shared World*, 90-91.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-44, 87-95.

<sup>39</sup> The other apprentice of the will is defined as "Gazi Bey çırağı". A certain "late Gazi Bey Elhac Ibrahim Ağa" is cited in *Kandiye kadı sicilli*, vol. 33, pp. 18-19 (25 Rebiyülevvel 1197/28 February 1783). This entry is about the establishment of a *vakf* by Fatma, who resided in the Zulfikar Paşa Cami-i Şerifi quarter of Kandiye and was the daughter of Gazi Bey Ibrahim; the *vakfiye* suggests that the latter was a wealthy man. Maybe the fact that Fatma's father had the same name and title with our testator accounts for him being simply cited as "Gazi Bey" in the will. That the two were related is proved by the fact that Elhac Mustafa Ağa, the executor of Ibrahim's will, and *müderris* Emin Efendi are listed among the *şühudülhal* of the *vakfiye*. For the latter we learn that his full name was Mehmed Emin Efendi and that he was a professor at the Sultan's mosque (*müderris be-cami-i hünkâr*). A Gazi Bey without any other details is also cited among the debtors of a deceased Muslim grocer, who resided in the same neighbourhood as Ibrahim Ağa, in Karantzikou-Photeinou, *Hierodikeio Herakleiou*, 379-380, no. 781 (30 November 1750). Finally, we should note here that in Ottoman Egypt the term 'gulâm', used for another legatee in Ibrahim's will, also denoted the apprentice in a craft or trade (André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle. Tome II* [Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1974], 545).

<sup>40</sup> Redhouse's dictionary suggests that the term 'çırak' was also used for servants in "a great man's service" (Redhouse, *Lexicon*, s.v. "çırak"), but the most common meaning was that of an apprentice in the business context.

Ibrahim was connected with a guild. Janissaries and other military men often engaged in some craft or were involved in trade in the late eighteenth century; this association of the janissaries with the guilds had in fact started at a much earlier date, and this is a well-known fact for Crete as well.<sup>41</sup> We can only conjecture that Ibrahim may have been a barber, since his apprentice was such, but in any case the guild of barbers was among those of a high standing, even though not among the richest.<sup>42</sup> It is also maybe useful to know that the barbers of Cairo were all members of various *ocaks*, that is, of military corps, from a rather early date (roughly around 1700).<sup>43</sup> We cannot know if Ibrahim was more of a guildsman than of a janissary, but the donation of the waistcoat to the cooks of the eighteenth janissary company, the presence of officers from the same company as witnesses and the titles *serdengeçti* and *ağa* suggest that Ibrahim truly was a military man and not a "putative janissary", as Bruce McGowan calls them,<sup>44</sup> even though it is admittedly difficult to know what the professional and social profile of a 'janissary' in a late-eighteenth-century Ottoman province really was.<sup>45</sup> Finally, it is interesting to note that for some of the legatees it is stated that they were "in my service" (*hizmetimde*), while others were "in our service" (*hizmetimizde*) or "our apprentice". This discrepancy is most likely due to carelessness on the part of the scribe, but — far-fetched as it may sound — we may speculate that Ibrahim had a business partnership with someone, possibly his brother-in-law Ahmed, whose name precedes those of "our" apprentice and the man "in our service", who in this case would have belonged to the joint venture.

Given that the will of Ibrahim exceeded 675 *guruş* in value (as we do not know how much the silver-threaded waistcoat would cost), we can estimate that the net total of his estate at the time must have exceeded 2,000 *guruş* or

<sup>41</sup> Raymond, *Artisans*, 671-677. More generally, for the bonds between the guilds and the military corps in Ottoman Cairo, see *ibid.*, 659-726. For Crete, see Greene, *Shared World*, 89-90, 155 and n. 70, 157; Karantzikou-Photeinou, *Hierodikeio Herakleiou*, xxxiii, xlv, 138, no. 267 (31 December 1671), 156-57, no. 306 (2 January 1672), 343, no. 712 (7-16 June 1671), 429, no. 862 (1 October 1762).

<sup>42</sup> Raymond, *Artisans*, 528, 534-535, 555-556.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 667. Besides, barbers are listed among the guilds that were attached to the janissary corps by Gibb-Bowen, *Islamic Society*, 322.

<sup>44</sup> Bruce McGowan, 'The Age of the *Ayans*, 1699-1812', in Halil İnalçık with Donald Quataert (eds), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 701 (698-708 for a region-by-region overview of the relations between janissaries and guilds).

<sup>45</sup> It remains unclear why Ibrahim stipulated a waistcoat for the janissary cooks in particular, but there is no other indication (such as a title accompanying his name) that can suggest that he was one of them.



80,000 *paras*,<sup>46</sup> since he had already deducted funeral costs and debts. A comparison of this amount of money — which represents the minimum value of his estate, as long as the estimate of 675+ *guruş* was realistic on the testator's part — with other contemporary estates from Kandiye suggests that Ibrahim belonged to at least the medium income group, and in all likelihood to its upper end.<sup>47</sup>

We do not know anything about the fate of Ibrahim Ağa after he recorded his will at the court of justice. He in all likelihood joined the Cairo caravan to Mecca via Alexandria.<sup>48</sup> His will was composed in late Receb, that is, four and a half lunar months before the actual hajj ritual (8-12 Zilhicce).<sup>49</sup> On the grounds of his forethought to record his will, we may assume that such a date allowed plenty of time for a Cretan Muslim to arrive in Cairo in time to join the caravan.<sup>50</sup> Generally speaking, the late eighteenth century was not a very propitious time for performing the hajj because of problems with Bedouin attacks and power struggles among provincial magnates. However, Ibrahim's decision to go to Mecca in 1782 was in a sense made at just about the right time. Kandiye suffered a severe plague outbreak in 1783,<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> We have based this calculation on a rate of 40 *paras* per *guruş*.

<sup>47</sup> I am grateful to Mrs Pinelopi Photeinou, doctoral candidate at the University of Crete, for providing information about the gross value of 31 *tereke defterleri* coming from Kandiye *kadı* registers nos 32 and 33 (1780-1784). The net value of the estates of three Muslims of Kandiye who died in 1775 was 123,000 *paras* (farmer [p. 66]), 396,424 *paras* (blacksmith [cited as soap-maker in pp. 66-67]), and 36,789 *paras* (*vekil* of the *kethüda* of the *çavuses*) (Gilles Veinstein, 'Les pèlerins de La Mecque à travers quelques inventaires après décès ottomans', *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 31 [1981], 70, n. 6). One may also compare with Nikolai Todorov, *The Balkan City, 1400-1900* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1983), 147-150, and Raymond, *Artisans*, 454, Table 43.

<sup>48</sup> A Cretan pilgrim, who died on the way back from Mecca, was buried in Alexandria in 1775 (Veinstein, 'Inventaires après décès ottomans', 64). For commercial relations between Alexandria (and Egypt in general) and Crete, see Yolanda Triantafyllidou-Baladié, *To Emporio kai he Oikonomia tes Kretes (1669-1795)* [Trade and Economy of Crete (1669-1795)] (Iraklio: Vikelaiia Dimotiki Vivliothiki, 1988), *passim* (on the adversities of the sea voyage see pp. 83-84). For merchant ships travelling between Crete and Alexandria, see Stavriniadis, *Metaphraseis*, 90-91, no. 2626 (16 July 1757); 166-167, no. 2734 (16 August 1761); also see Karantzikou-Photeinou, *Hierodikeio Herakleiou*, 122-23, no. 237 (12 June 1672); 309-310, no. 630 (14 December 1671).

<sup>49</sup> The will was registered on 6 July 1782 and Ibrahim needed to be in Mecca before 14 November. The 9<sup>th</sup> Zilhicce/15<sup>th</sup> November 1782 was the most important day of the pilgrimage.

<sup>50</sup> Pilgrims from mid-sixteenth-century Sarajevo usually departed in late Cemaziyelevvel or in Cemaziyelâhir and were, therefore, obliged to set down the terms of their wills almost two months earlier than Ibrahim (Veinstein, 'Sarajevo', 478-479). On the Cairo caravan route, see Faroqhi, *Pilgrims*, 32-53, esp. 33-35, 37-40.

<sup>51</sup> Triantafyllidou-Baladié, *Emporio*, 90-92.

while in the summer of the same year Cairo and Egypt in general were hit by a serious crisis that lasted for more than three years, combining famine, high prices, disease, monetary problems and political antagonisms.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, this does not mean that in the years immediately before 1783 the caravan for Mecca was not affected by the political turmoil in Egypt.<sup>53</sup> But, what happened to Ibrahim after July 1782 is a matter of mere speculation insofar as we do not possess any other documentation about him, and thus we will refrain from it.

As was, we hope, demonstrated above, Ibrahim Ağa's will is useful for a number of reasons, despite the fact that it is an isolated *sicil* entry. First, it enables us to discern elements of the state of mind and concerns of a prospective pilgrim in late-eighteenth-century Crete; in this respect, several published and unpublished wills from all over the Ottoman Empire provide a good basis for comparison. Second, the will gives some indications as to the circle and relations of a military man, and, more specifically, as to his role as a patron of dependent people who in their majority were socially inferior to him. Third, there is information for such institutions as wills, charity, and the *vakf*. On the other hand, even points on which the will remains silent are of interest. For instance, it is noteworthy that Ibrahim did not settle any business or other affairs for the duration of his absence for the hajj. Could we assume that he was somehow free from such commitments? Or had he settled them orally or otherwise? Undoubtedly, the publication of the contents of further *sicil* volumes by Professor Zachariadou and her associates will allow us in a few years to better place Ibrahim in context and possibly to gather more information about him.

#### Appendix

##### Kandiye *kadı sicili* vol. 32, p. 110, entry no. 1<sup>54</sup>

1. Mahruse-i Kandiye mahallatından Elhac Ali Paşa Camii mahallesinde sakin Arabzade demekle
2. ma'ruf Serdengeçdi İbrahim Ağa ibn Hüseyin meclis-i şer'-i hatir-i lâzımı't-tevkirde mahruse-i mezburede
3. vaki Tabya-i Sengin zâbiti bais-i haza'l-kitab Elhac Mustafa Ağa ibn Elhac Ahmed Ağa
4. mahzarında bi't-tavi's-saf ikrar-ı tam ve takrir-i kelâm edüb bi-mennihi taalâ işbu sene-i m[ü]barekede

<sup>52</sup> André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle. Tome I* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1973), 100-102. Another, more severe crisis of a similar nature occurred in 1789-1792 (*ibid.*, 103-104).

<sup>53</sup> Raymond, *Artisans*, II: 792-793.

<sup>54</sup> The transliteration of the entry follows a simplified system based mostly, but not exclusively, on modern Turkish spelling of words.

5. ziyaret-i hazret-i seyyidü'l-enam aleyhi efzalü's-salat ve's-selâm arzusuyla hacc-ı şerife azimet
6. üzere olmağla bi-emri'l-ilahi taalâ [crossed-out letters] esna-yı tarikde vefat eder isem terekemden
7. sünnet-i seniye üzere tecehhüz ve tekfinim rüyet olunub düyun-ı sabitem ba'de'l-eda fazla
8. kalan mecmu-ı malımın süls-i ifraz olunub süls-i mezküreden elli guruş faziletlü müderris
9. Emin Efendi'ye ve elli guruş hizmetimde olan İbrahim'e ve yüz guruş kölem Hüseyin'e ve elli guruş
10. kaynım Ömer Beşe'ye ve yirmibeş guruş kerimesi Gülşah'a ve yirmibeş guruş zevci Molla Ahmed'e
11. ve otuz guruş diğer kaynım Ahmed Beşe'ye ve otuz guruş çırağımız berber Mehmed'e ve otuz
12. guruş berber Mehmed'in hemşirelerine ve yirmibeş guruş berber Mustafa'ya ve otuzbeş guruş
13. hizmetimizde olan küçük İsmail gulâma ve yirmibeş guruş hizmetimde olan kaynım oğlu
14. İbrahim'e ve yirmibeş guruş hizmetimde olan Rahime'ye ve yirmibeş guruş Gazi Bey çırağı
15. küçük İbrahim'e verilüb yüz elli guruş dahi vasi-i muhtarım olan mumaileyh Elhac
16. Mustafa Ağa rey ve istihsan eylediği vech üzere vücuh-ı bir[r]e sarf eyleye ve işbu vesayamı
17. ba'de'l-inafaz süls-i mezkûr fazlasından dergâh-ı âli yeniçerilerinin onsekiz bölüğün ortasında
18. aşçı olanlara vakf olmak üzere bir sim çapraz imal oluna ve işbu vesaya-ı [crossed-out: m] mezküremi
19. ba'de'l-vefat tenfiz yine mumaileyh Elhac Mustafa Ağa'yı vasi-i muhtar nasb ve tayin eylediğimde
20. ol dahi vesayet-i merkumeyi kabul ve merasim-i lâzimesini kema yenbağı edaya taahhüd ve iltizam
21. etmeğin vesayet-i merkume müşir yedine bir kit'a hüccet-i şer'iyeye ita olunsun dedikde
22. gibbe't-tasdikî's-şer'î mâ hüve'l-vaki bi't-taleb ketb olundı hurrirre fi 25 min Recebül'l-ferd sene 1196
23. li-sene sit ve tis'in ve mie ve elf  
Şühudü'l-hal  
Ruzname halifesi Mustafa Efend[i]  
Çorbacı Selim Ağa dergâh-ı âli k 18  
Kuyumcızade Elhac Mehmed Efendi  
Ali Odabaşı Ağa [crossed-out: k 18] müezzin be cami-i İbrahim Ağa  
Mustafa Odabaşı k 18  
Aşçı Osman Usta k 18  
Elhac Ali Ağa bazirgân  
Elhac İsmailzade Molla İbrahim  
Tuzçızade Mustafa Ağa  
Molla İsmail tellâl (?) [the rest of the text (if any) is hidden by the register's binding]  
ve gayruhum

## BYZANTINOTURCICA: QUELQUES REMARQUES SUR UN CREUSET CULTUREL

MICHEL BALIVET

Il y a une centaine d'années, F.W. Hasluck tentait un inventaire très suggestif des nombreux cas de symbiose islamo-chrétienne dans l'Empire ottoman finissant. Peut-on appliquer avec le même succès cette méthode d'investigation à des périodes plus anciennes où le processus d'imbrication turco-chrétien dans l'espace anatolien et balkanique, ne faisait que commencer? Peut-on même comparer, au Moyen-Age, des sociétés aussi différentes que celle issue du monde nomade turco-mongol d'Asie-Centrale, progressivement islamisée, et celle de Byzance urbaine, méditerranéenne et chrétienne?

Et pourtant! Pour qui s'occupe de l'histoire des Turcs étroitement imbriquée dans celle de Byzance entre le XI<sup>e</sup> et le XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, de curieuses analogies apparaissent parfois entre les deux sociétés, dans leur culture populaire ou savante, dans leurs toponymies et anthroponymies, dans leurs mythes et *topoi*, dans leurs coutumes et agissements divers etc ...

Pour tenter un début d'explication de ces ressemblances réelles ou supposées, la méthode de catalogage et d'inventaire reste la plus efficace.

Pures coïncidences, ressemblances réelles, interinfluence, processus syncretiste volontaire ou non, le chercheur la plupart du temps a du mal à trancher. Il ne peut que poser des questions sur une matière byzantino-turque apparemment commune, pour laquelle une analyse séparative, voire résolument séparatiste, qu'elle soit byzantino ou turcocentriste a souvent remplacé une nécessaire étude des processus de mélange, une mise en valeur systématique des éléments constitutifs de ces mélanges et des résultats fusionnels qui peuvent en découler, ainsi que le fit Hasluck et ceux qui ultérieurement se réclamèrent de lui.

Si l'on me pardonne une comparaison culinaire-qui a d'ailleurs une parenté régionale avec l'aire géo-culturelle turco-byzantine qui nous occupe ici!-c'est un peu comme si l'on s'obstinait, en préparant une macédoine de légumes, à ne se préoccuper que des vertus du navet, de la carotte ou du petit