

ANATOLIAN-BALKANIC CONNECTIONS. The Central Greek District of Vitrinitsa (Tolophon) and the North Anatolian town of Amasya in the 15th-17th Centuries According to Unknown and Rarely-Used Ottoman Turkish Sources*

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The small and particularly mountainous district of Vitrinitsa (now: Tolophon), is situated on the northern shore of the Gulf of Corinth, halfway between Delphi and Lepanto/Navpaktos in Central Greece. The history of the district of Vitrinitsa in the Ottoman period, and its links with the beautiful northern Anatolian city of Amasya on the river Kızıl Irmak, have remained a blank page of history.

For Vitrinitsa the Ottoman period lasted, with only a single interruption, from 1394 to 1821. For Amasya the Ottoman period started in about the same year as Vitrinitsa but it lasted a full century longer. After the end of the Frankish and Catalan periods, from the mid-15th century onward, virtually nothing is known about Vitrinitsa and its district until the early 19th century. This is not because there are no sources for this long period, but rather because of the insufficient knowledge amongst historians of Ottoman Turkish, the language in which the records are written.

About Amasya, on the other hand, much more is known. Amaseia of antiquity, was the residence of the formidable King Mithridatus of Pontus (150-75 BC). In Byzantine times Amasya was a provincial town. Then, from about 1080 AD, it was a centre of the chivalrous Turkish dynasty of the Danişmendids. Subsequently it was a centre of the art-loving Seljuks. Under the Ottomans, beginning in 1398 Amasya became an Ottoman princely residence and, because of its many institutions of higher learning, it was called the "Oxford of Anatolia."

The history of Vitrinitsa is less exciting, but is worth recounting nevertheless. It is characteristic for the history of Anatolia and the Balkans that a relatively remote place like Vitrinitsa became part of the Ottoman Empire even before Amasya. It shows the relative importance of *Rumeli* for the Ottoman Empire.

In the present contribution we hope to cast some light on the history and development of Vitrinitsa. After a brief overview of the geography of the district, we will

* The sources on which this study rests were collected during several working campaigns in the Turkish archives in Istanbul and Ankara, and during repeated visits to the area itself, which were generously sponsored by the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Scientific Research (ZWO/NWO), The Hague, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) in Bonn. I would like to thank the Turkish authorities for permitting me to work in their archives and for the help I received from them at every stage of the work. I would also like to thank my wife Hedda Reindl-Kiel for her valuable advices, and my friend Steve Lewis, New York, Sofia, for reading the text carefully and improving it whenever needed.

turn to its early history, the history of the district prior to and following the Ottoman conquest. We will then establish a link between Vitrinitsa and Amasya, a tie that was primarily financial and administrative. In doing so, we will present examined sources and a number of relevant historical issues. Finally, on the basis of our sources, we will trace the demographic development of Vitrinitsa from the mid-15th to the early 17th century in so far as the sources allow and indicate some modern-day parallels.

Geography

The district of Vitrinitsa comprises the narrow plain of Vitrinitsa and the much larger and more fertile plain of Malandrino and Plessa (now Amygdalea) further to the east. The greater part of the district consists of mountains, covered with woods or more often with *maquis*. The whole district measures about 25 km from east to west and 15 km from the shores of the Gulf of Corinth in the south, to the mountains of Lidoriki in the north.

The administrative centre of the district – and for most of the period its largest settlement – was Vitrinitsa, situated (as the crow flies) 23 km to the south-west of Salona (Amphissa) and 47 km by road. Salona was the main centre of the Ottoman *Kadılık* (judicial district under a Kadı or judge) of which Vitrinitsa was a *Nahiye* or subdistrict under a Na'ib, a probable perpetuation of the previous Franco-Catalan administrative division. In the 15th-17th century the district contained 14 settlements. At its prime, in 1570, the *Nahiye* of Vitrinitsa had about 5,400-5,900 inhabitants, far more than in our time.

Vitrinitsa is situated 3½ km inland of the Gulf of Corinth near the present-day village of Eratini. It is the indirect successor of the ancient town of Tolophon. The narrow plain in which it is situated opens southwards to the sea. On a steep hill, at the western edge of the plain lay the ruins of a small Frankish castle. On the south-western edge of the plain of Eratini, near the present Paralía Tolophónos are the remains of ancient Vitrinitsa/Tolophon, now partly disturbed by the construction of the new road Amphissa-Navpaktos and by hotel buildings. The other ancient centre in the area is at Malandrino, on the inland plain, where considerable parts of the town walls of the ancient Physkeis are still visible today. Both towns disappeared at the end of Antiquity.¹ Between that time and the mid-12th century virtually no written sources have survived to cast light on their history, a common situation with many parts of Greece.

Sources and History

The historical toponymy of the district could help us in reconstructing its medieval history. Unfortunately, 20th century nationalist frenzy willfully obliterated this faithful mirror of history. We can only recover it with help of 19th century maps and, much

¹ For Tolophon see: W.A. Oldfather, "Tolophon" in: Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthums-wissenschaften, 6 A2 (1937, column 1683/85. For Physkeis: Paulys Real-Encyclopädie, 39, Stuttgart 1941, article "Physkos" column 1167-1169.

earlier, in the Ottoman records, which for the district in question are preserved from 1466 onward. They are: MAD 66 from 1466, T.D. 36 from 1506, T.D. 367 from 1521, T.D. 431 from 1540, all in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BBOA) in Istanbul; T.K.G.M. Ankara, Kuyudu Kadime 183 from 1570; MAD 15250 in Istanbul; and Sofia, Nat. Libr. Oriental Department F 195/2 from 1689. The 1466 and 1521 registers are *icmal* (synoptic), 1506, 1540 and 1570 are *mufassal* (detailed); 1603 is a *mufassal* register of the poll tax, and 1689 is an *icmal* poll tax register, giving only the village names and the total tax payers (heads of households) per village. T.D. 367 was written in 1530 but based on a detailed register from 1521, of which only a fragment is preserved. The 1689 *icmal* poll tax (*cizye*) register was written two years before the great reform of the poll tax under the able Grand Vezier Köprülüzâde Mustafa Pasha is more the result of a local deal than an actual registration and the numbers it contains shall therefore not be used here.

The earliest Ottoman census- and taxation register, MAD 66, preserves 18 place names within our area: Kalami, Kiseli, Kokovište, Lambino, Likostiani, Likotoni, Makrisi, Malandrino, Marazia, Mavronik, Milea, Nikola Grammatiko, Plessa, Sirvus, Sotaina, Velanikos, Vidavi, and Vitrinitsa itself. Only half of these names are Greek, eight are Slavic and one Albanian.² Such a high proportion of non-Greek place names suggests that great changes of settlement pattern and ethnic composition of the population of the district had taken place after the end of Antiquity and before 1466, most likely prior the ninth century restoration of Byzantine rule in Central Greece.

During the 15th and 16th century four of the place names, Kalami, Kiseli, Sirvus, and Vidavi, refer to deserted villages, *Wüstungen*, uninhabited places whose lands were worked by the villagers of Vitrinitsa. Thus prior to the arrival of the Ottomans there seems to have been a period of considerable desertion and destruction in the area, best to be connected with the Europe-wide economic, political, and demographic crisis of the 14th and most of the 15th century.³

The name Vitrinitsa is Slavic, meaning “Windy Place”, no doubt a reference to the strong winds that often blow from the Gulf of Corinth. The name is first mentioned in 1147, when the troops of the Norman King Roger II of Sicily plundered it, as recounted in the well known Chronicle of Galaxidi, the only source giving details on medieval Doris.⁴ At least from the time of the Fourth Crusade and the partition of Byzantine Greece in 1204 onward, Vitrinitsa belonged to Salona, another possible continuation of previous

² cf. Max Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* (Abh. der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.Hist. Klasse, 1941, Berlin 1942 (2. Leipzig 1970), p. 114. For the seven other Slavic place names, mentioned above, see also Vasmer, p. 105 and 114-117.

³ For the demographic decline of the 14th and 15th century and the desertion of many settlements, including whole towns, see the overview of Erich Meuthen, *Oldenbourg Grundriss der Geschichte, Das 15. Jahrhundert*, especially p. 3-6: For the *Wüstungen*/deserted villages, to classic is: Wilhelm Abel, *Die Wüstungen des ausgehenden Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Siedlungs- und Agrargeschichte Deutschlands*, Jena 1943, (third ed. Stuttgart 1976); for the general European trends see for example Carlo M. Cipolla - Knut Borchardt, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Europas*, München 1971, especially the essay of C.J. Russell, “Die Bevölkerung Europas, 500-1500”, p. 9-58.

Very rich is also the collection of comparative studies: *Villages désertés et histoire économique (Xe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Paris 1965, with a special section on Greece by Antoniadis-Bibicu.

⁴ cf. K.N. Sathas, (ed.) *Chronikon anekdoton Galaxideion*, Athens 1914, p. 204, 213 vv.

administrative divisions. In 1304 the *Chronique of the Morea* mentions it as a harbour.⁵ Koder and Hild⁶ assumed that the castle of Vitrinitsa was built in the 13th century, which seems logical, even though this castle is mentioned in the sources only in the 14th century, in 1318, 1366, 1368, and 1380. Vitrinitsa is supposed to have been an independent fief in the county of Salona.⁷

In early months of 1394 Sultan Yıldırım Bayezid took the entire county of Salona, and with it Vitrinitsa, from its Catalan countess, after having been invited by the Greeks, as is related by the *Chronicle of Galaxidi*, by Sphranzes and Chalkokondylas, as well as colourfully retold by William Miller in 1908.⁸ That the Turks were master of Vitrinitsa is confirmed in 1395 by the Italian traveller Niccolo de Martoni, who calls the place: "terra Vetricanica".⁹

Less than ten years later, in 1404, two years after the fall of Yıldırım Bayezid in Battle of Ankara, the Byzantine Despot of the Morea, Theodoros Palaiologos, captured the castles of Salona and Vitrinitsa. Unable to hold them himself, he gave them to the Knights of St. John. The Knights were soon driven out by the Turks, once again with help of the infuriated Greeks, who deeply despised the "Frankish priests".¹⁰ The Ottomans seem to have kept the former county of Salona, or parts of it, for decades. Then, in April 1445, the Senat of Venice received the message that Constantin Palaiologos of the Morea had taken Vitrinitsa. Its Turkish commander had offered it to Venice.¹¹ Koder and Hild maintain that the Turks, after having regained Vitrinitsa after 1397, gave the harbour and the castle to the Venetians who had been driven out by Despot Constantin for a short time in 1445.¹²

In all, it is not clear exactly what occurred between 1445 and the end of Frankish rule over this part of Greece due to the Ottoman conquest of the Florentine Dukedom of Athens in 1458 and the annexation of the remainder of the Dukedom after the elimination of its last Duke in 1460. The fact that Salona once had a mosque of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (1451-1481) and not of his father Murad II (1421-1451) would suggest that the Salona area definitely became part of the Ottoman empire in 1458/60. On the other hand, the oldest preserved Ottoman register of Thessaly and adjacent districts, dated 1455

⁵ Cf. J. Longnon (ed.), "Livre de la conquête de la principauté de l'Amorée", *Chronique de Morée 1204 à 1305*, Paris 1911, §§ 889, 891.

⁶ Johannes Koder, Friedrich Hild, *Tabula Imperiae Byzantini*, I, Hellas und Thessalien, Wien 1976, p. 135.

⁷ cf. Antonio Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'orient Català (1301-1409)* Barcelona 1947, p. 356, 391, 490 vv (the numbers 272, 300, 304 and 403).

For the castle itself see: A. Rubió y Lluch, "Els castells catalans de la Grècia continental", in: *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 2, 1908, p. 364-425.

⁸ William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant, A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*, New York 1908, p. 346-347. For the counts of Stromoncourt of Salona see also: J. Longnon, "Les Autremontcourts, seigneurs de Salona en Grèce", in: *Bulletin de la Société de Haute Picardie*, 15, 1937, p. 15-48.

⁹ See: L. Le Grand, *Relation de Pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire Italien (1394-1395)*, p. 660.

¹⁰ See: Sathas, *Chronikon anekdoton Galaxidion*, p. 203, 205, 209-214. William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, New York 1908, p. 369, with rich further references. Koder and Hild, *Tabula Imp. Byz.* I, p. 136, however, place the Byzantine recapture and cessation to the Knights of St. John in 1397.

¹¹ Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, p. 136.

¹² Koder and Hild, *Tabula Imp. Byz.* I, p. 136.

(MAD 10), makes clear that the Ottomans controlled the Kravari district just west of Vitrinitza and north of Navpaktos/Lepanto well before 1455.

The 1455 register, makes frequent references to an earlier Ottoman census, which is not preserved. In 1445, Mehmed II, during his brief, first reign, had made new census- and taxation registers of the Ottoman Balkans. From this register a number of fragments have been preserved. We can assume that the “previous register” mentioned in 1455 is in fact that of 1445. However, we may also assume that it is much older and on good grounds attribute it to approximately 1425, i.e. during the first years of Murad II (1421-1451), following his consolidation of power.

Less than 20 km from the villages of Milea and Marazia in the northwest part of the Vitrinitza district, and just inside the southern border of the district of Kravari, lie the villages of Vetolište and Limnište. Vetolište and Limnište and all of Kravari could have been Ottoman as early as 1425, if not earlier. It could be that Theodore Palaiologus was unable to hold Salona because the Ottoman forces were too near. Be this as it may, the least we can say is that the period 1404-1460 is the least known of the history of our district and all that can be said about it are vague suppositions.

The first Ottoman source to give solid detailed information on the status of the district and the size and the composition of its population is the “Defter-i mühmel-i Livâyı Tirhala” or: Synoptic Register of the Province of Trikkala, dating from 871 of the Hidjra (13 August 1466-1 August 1467), preserved as MAD. 66 in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi in Istanbul. It contains a list of villages of all of Thessaly and the land around Levadia, Thebes, Salona and Lidoriki. It does not list the villages of Attica and the great island of Evvia, the former just having suffered a Frankish attack, the latter not yet being in Ottoman hands.

In the 1466 register the settlements are grouped by the category they had in the Ottoman system: crown land for the sultan and the highest dignitaries of the state (*hass*), great fiefs (*ziamet*), and small fiefs (*timar*), for the middle- and lower groups of the ruling class, and giving the total number of households, unmarried young men and widows (heads of incomplete households) and the total tax amount each settlement had to pay. No more. Introductory notes accompany the description of important settlements or groups of them. This kind of register is called “İcmal” (pron.: *Idjmal*) or synoptic. This is in contrast to the second category of registers, “mufassal” or detailed registers. Such detailed registers give the names of all the heads of households village by village, as well as those of the unmarried adult young men, and the widows, and a detailed survey of all taxes on agricultural products, the quantity and the value of each product.¹³ The *mufassal* register

¹³ There is a growing literature on the manner the Ottoman censuses were made, what one can do with them and which are their shortcomings. We mention in chronological order: Gyula Káldy-Nagy, “Bevölkerungsstatistischer Quellenwert der Gizye Defter und der Tahrir Defter”, in: *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, 11, Budapest 1960, p. 259-269.

Bruce McGowan, “Food Supply and Taxation on the Middle Danube (1568-1569)”, in: *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 1, 1969, p. 139-196.

Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr - N. Beldiceanu, “Règlement ottoman concernant le recensement (première moitié du XVe siècle)” in: *Südost-Forschungen* 38, München 1978, p. 1-40. Speros Asdrachas, “Problems of the Economic History of the Period of Ottoman Domination,” in: *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 6:2, 1979, p. 5-37.

of 1466, which was the base of the *icmal* MAD 66, is not preserved. Also not preserved is the register made immediately after the Ottoman conquest of the central Greek lands (1460), to which our register frequently refers.

The Link Between Vitrinitsa and Amasya

According to the 1466 *icmal* register Vitrinitsa was a great fief, a *ziamet*, in usufruct of the Ottoman functionary Kul Hızıroğlu Mehmed Bey (later Pasha), a native of Amasya. Eventually, the descendants of Kul Hızıroğlu Mehmed came to settle in our area. Most probably in the little town of Salona (now: Amphissa), which had developed into a small Muslim centre. In the villages of Vitrinitsa, and in the place itself, no Muslims lived. A document preserved in the Ali Emiri section of the B.B.O.A as “Kanuni nr 3” contains the text of a firman from Sultan Süleyman to the Kadi of Salona dating from the first decade of of Zu'l-Hicce 953 (late Jan. 1547) and dealing with a dispute among the sons of Kul Hızıroğlu Mehmed about the division of the revenue of the *Ziamet* Vitrinitsa, may cited as proof that Mehmed Bey's offsprings were actually living in the Vitrinitsa district.

Towards the end of his life Mehmed (see *infra*) had divided the yearly income of his estate in three parts: one part was given to a foundation for his offsprings, one part was devoted as source of income for a *mesdjid* and a *zaviye* he had built in Gallipoli, and the largest part was to remain his *mülk*, providing himself with discretionary income in Amasya.

On folio 146^V of our source we find the following introductory note to our district, explaining how Mehmed Bey had acquired the Vitrinitsa district as his property:

“Village of Vidirindje, full property (*mülk*) of Mehmed Bey son of Kul Hızır. It has been full property of Sultan Hatun, daughter of [the princely house of] Saruhan. After her death it came to her daughter and then was bought by the aforesaid Mehmed Bey. He has in his hands a written decision that its poll tax is taken by the Sultan but that the other revenues are taken by the owner. At present [during the 1466/67 registration] he has again applied and a new written decision has been given. The poll tax of all the Albanian semi-

Istvan Hunyadi, “Etude comparée des sources fiscales turques et hongroises du XVI^e siècle comme base de calcul de la population,” in: *Turcica*, 12, Paris 1980, p. 125-155.)

Nicolas Oikonomides, “Ottoman Influence on Late-Byzantine Fiscal Practice”, in: *Südost-Forschungen* XLV, München 1986, p. 1-24.

Linda Darling, *The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the Cizye and the Avariz Taxes, 1560-1660*, Diss., Univ. of Chicago 1990 (also in print, with a slightly different title).

Machiel Kiel, “Remarks on the administration of the poll tax (Cizye) in the Ottoman Balkans and the value of Poll Tax Registers (Cizye Defterleri) for demographic research”, in: *Etudes Balkaniques*, Sofia 1990, p. 70-105.

Heath Lowry, “The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations”, in: Lowry, *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman society in the 15th and 16th centuries*, *Analecta Isisiana*, Istanbul 1992, p. 3-18.

B.K. Ataman, “Ottoman Demography (14th-17th Centuries). Some Considerations”, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 35, 1992, p. 187-198.

Margareth L. Venzke, *The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri and Agricultural Productivity*, in: *Osmanli Araştırmaları/Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XVII, Istanbul 1997, p. 1-61.

John Alexander, “Counting the Grains: Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Reading the Ottoman Mufassal Tahrir Defters”, Abdeljelil Temimi (ed.) *Mélanges Prof. Machiel Kiel*, Zaghouan 1999, p. 55-70.

permanent settlements (*katun*) which are inside the village borders of Vitrinitsa are taken, according to the old manner, by the Sultan. All other taxes, what-so-ever they be, are taken by the property owner, as is said in the written order.”

Written upside down, on the top of the description of Vitrinitsa, is a later note (*der kenar*), stating:

“The status of private property of this village and all its belongings and dependencies has been abolished and have been added to the domains (*Has*) of the Sultan and are used as the other crown lands. Written on the twelfth of Şabân of the year 880 (beginning January 1476)”

Below this note the number of households, unmarried young men and widows, as well as the total tax revenue of the “village of Vidirindje” are written down, followed by the data on the Albanian *katuns*, listed one by one. Before we present and examine these numbers, it is interesting to consider the identity of Sultan Hatun.

The Identity of Sultan Hatun

Although Sultan Hatun is mentioned in the 1466 *icmal* and subsequent administrative texts as being a descendant of the princely house of Saruhan (located in Western Anatolia, with Manisa as capital) she appears not to have been known to the writers of the Ottoman chroniclers.

When in 1390 Yıldırım Bayezid had annexed the old Beylik of Saruhan he allowed some minor princelings to continue to live in some local centres in the area. The only Sultan Hatun the Ottoman chroniclers know was a princess of the house of Germiyan, also known as Devlet Hatun, who married Yıldırım and bore him some sons. She died, according to the sources, in 1414 and was buried in the yard of the famous Green Mosque of Bursa, then in course of construction on order of her son Mehmed I. The grave can still be seen. It can be added that the mother of this Sultan Hatun was a daughter of the famous dervish leader and philosopher Bahaeddin Sultan Veled, the son of the even more famous Djelaluddin Rumi of Konya.

Our Sultan Hatun was, according to our text, related to the former princely house of Saruhan and therefore must have been another person. Sultan Hatun of Saruhan must have been taken as a young child to the Ottoman court in 1390, after Yıldırım Bayezid had annexed Manisa and must have been given the former Catalan fief of Vitrinitsa as full and free property (*mülk*) as a source of maintenance. She had a daughter, as mentioned in our text. This daughter could have been born around 1415. The next preserved register of Central Greece, that of 1506, mentions her name, Selçuk Hatun.

History continued

The 1506 describes in some detail events after 1466/76. This information is partly repeated in the registers of 1521, 1540 and 1570, each one adding the changes which had taken place in the status of the property in the interval of time. The important introductory note to the 1506 register, T.D. 36, p. 735, as referred to above, reads in full:

“*Nahiye* of Vidrinidje.

Ziamet of Vidrinidje. The mentioned *ziamet* was originally the property of Sultan Hatun. Later her daughter Selçuk Hatun acquired it by inheritance. The mentioned Selçuk Hatun than married the aforesaid Kul Hızıroğlu Mehmed Bey. After the marriage, by way of inheritance, it became the property of Mehmed Bey. The aforesaid Mehmed Bey kept some as property of the foundation for his children, some as property for his mesdjid and zaviye (small mosque and dervish convent) in Gallipoli and some as his own property. According to the document of division (tevzi'nâme) one forth of the revenue is full property, one fourth of the remaining sum goes to the mesdjid and zaviye in Gallipoli and the remainder goes to the foundation for his descendants (vakf-ı evlâd). The different parts are used according to these stipulations. They possess orders and written decisions of the Lofty Threshold and a title-deed and a document of division of the Supreme Army Judge, Master Fenari-oğlu Ali Çelebi.”

[Total Yearly Revenue]:	44,000	[Akçe]
Part of the mentioned <i>mülk</i> :	11,000	”
Part of the <i>mesdjid</i> and the <i>zaviye</i> of the afore said Mehmed Bey in the town of Gallipoli:	8,250	”
Foundation for his descendants:	24,740	”

Mehmed must have received his confiscated estate back from Sultan Bayezid in 1481/82. The Kadiasker Fenarizâde Ali Çelebi was in charge from 1490 till his death in 1498.¹⁴ These dates tell us when the important change in the status of the territory of Vitrinitsa had taken place. Mehmed Bey died in 1498 (see infra). He had thus made the provisions shortly before his death.

From these pieces of information we are able to reconstruct at least a part of the administrative history of the district after it had become Ottoman territory.

The life of Mehmed Bey, son of Kul Hızır can be pieced together from other sources. Mehmed belongs to an old Ottoman family with strong ties to the city of Amasia. His grandfather was Yörgüç Pasha, who under Mehmed I (1413-1421) had been tutor (Lala) of prince Murad, the later Murad II (1421-1451). In 1428, in Amasya, Yörgüç constructed a beautiful *zaviye*-mosque, in the porch of which he was buried. Mosque and tomb are still to be seen. Mehmed's father Hızır Bey, later Pasha, son of Yörgüç Pasha, was the tutor of prince Bayezid, the later Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512). The Ottoman chroniclers mention Mehmed Bey from 1476 onward. The contemporary historian Oruç Bey states that in 881 (1476/77) Mehmed ben Hızır became Third Vizier. According to Kemalpaşazâde, also a contemporary, Mehmed became tutor of prince Bayezid in 884 (1479), residing in the princely residence of Amasya.

Shortly after Bayezid came to the throne of Osman he appointed Mehmed as governor of the important frontier province of Semendire (Smederevo) on the Danube in Serbia. Soon thereafter, following the execution of the over-powerful Vezier Gedik Ahmed Pasha, Mehmed became Governor-General of European Turkey (Beylerbey of Rumeli). This must have been shortly after 18 November 1482. A year later, in the autumn of 1483, during Bayezid's great changes in the government, Mehmed became Vizier. In a preserved letter the Sultan's mother, Gülbahar Hatun (residing in Amasya,

¹⁴ Cf. Mehmed Süreyya's great biographical dictionary 'Sicil-i 'Osmânî', vol. III, Istanbul 1895, p. 487/88

where she erected a mosque that still exists) showed herself very content with the appointment of Hiziroğlu Mehmed to that lofty rank.

Shortly after the summer of 1485 Mehmed was appointed to Lala of Bayezid's son, prince Ahmed in Amasya. About that time he must have begun the construction of his monumental buildings in Amasya, a domed mosque with a number of rooms for guests attached to it, a kitchen for the poor, a religious college (*medrese*) and a convent for the then very popular orthodox dervish order of the Halvetiyye.¹⁵ According to the inscription over the entrance of the mosque, which still stands in Amasya, the work was completed in 891 (1486/87).

In 1486 Mehmed participated in the struggle against the Mamluks of Syria and Egypt and in 1489 in the struggle for the throne between the Zulkadr Princes Budak and Alauddevle. Most probably he remained Lala of Prince Ahmed till his death in 904 (1498/99) and was buried beside his Amasya mosque, next to the mausoleum of his father Hızır, the son of Yörgüç Pasha, which is also preserved.

The historical link between the owner of Vitrinitsa and his family with the city of Amasya, thus remains very visible till our time. No such tangible reminders of this link exist in Vitrinitsa. In fact in Vitrinitsa, and for that matter in all of Greece, the history of this link has been wholly forgotten.

More about Kul Hiziroğlu Mehmed, Sultan Hatun and Selçuk Hatun can be deducted from the information given in the sources.

Kul Hiziroğlu Mehmed must have been born around 1415. Sultan Hatun, the first Ottoman owner of Vitrinitsa, must have died relatively young. Her daughter Selçuk must have been a few years older than Mehmed, and must have received Vitrinitsa around 1445. She was given this property after the interval of an unknown number of years, when the Vitrinitsa area was out of Ottoman control. In 1466 Mehmed had not yet reached the exalted position of Pasha. The note in the register therefore still calls him "Bey". He must have been married to the daughter of the Saruhan princess because he himself was the son of an important family. In the 1470s, when Sultan Mehmed was in great need of money to finance his relentless wars, he also confiscated among many other properties Vitrinitsa. The additional note of 1476 refers to this event. At that time Mehmed had already risen to some importance (and income) and could do without his Greek property, but the measures were very unpopular, cutting as he did at the income of many and seriously weakening the Pious Foundations (*Vakfs*) which constituted the very basis of all religious and educational institutions.¹⁶

¹⁵ For the career of Mehmed Bey/Pasha see: Petra Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Istanbul 1976 (Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut) 1976, p. 23/24 and 71/72, with further references to the sources. Other details in Hedda Reindl, *Manner um Bayezid, Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bayezids II (1481-1512)*, Berlin 1983, p. 273/78.

For Mehmed's buildings in Amasya see: Albert Gabriel, *Monuments Tuxes d'Anatolie, II*, Paris 1934, p. 42/43 and Planche VII. See also: *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideleri ve Eski Eserler, I*, Vakıflar Gen. Müd, Ankara 1972, p. 224-229.

For the Halvetiyye order: Nathalie Clayer, H.J. Kissling and Grace Smith in Nikki Keddi (ed.) *Scholars, Sufis and Saints*.

¹⁶ For this reform see from various points of view: Bistra Cvetkova, "Sur certaines reformes du régime foncier au temps de Mehmed II", in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (JESHO)* 6, 1963, p. 104-120; Nicoara

Immediately after the mysterious and sudden death of the Conqueror his successor Bayezid II returned the confiscated *vakfs* to their former owners and Hızır-oğlu Mehmed also got his old property back. The more so because the new Sultan had been his pupil. Yet the 1506 register is silent about this restoration. Very probably Mehmed's division of his estate in *mülk* and in two *vakfs* must be seen as measure of precaution against new confiscations. The problem if Mehmed bought the property from Selçuk Hatun, as indicated in the 1466 note, or acquired it after his marriage and after her death (about which we know nothing) cannot be solved with the information at our disposal.

Demographic Developments

The Ottoman census and taxation registers of 1466, 1506, 1521, 1540, and 1570, and the register of the Poll Tax of 1603 allow us to sketch the rough outlines of the history of settlement and demographic development for the villages of our area over almost a century and a half. Thereafter, we are faced with a nasty gap of more two and half centuries for which no reliable statistical material seems to be available. However, when we jump over this gap and pick up the thread in 1879, with the first comprehensive census of the young Greek state, and follow it into the 20th century, we can establish some previously unexamined trends in the history of our area.¹⁷

The 1466 register MAD 66 shows us a very thinly populated area which had not yet started to recover from the general decline of European population in the 14th and early 15th centuries. Vitrinitsa was by far the largest settlement of the district and kept this place over the next half century. The average size of villages in the region was only 28 households. This low number was caused by the 13 settlements which are called *Arnavud katunlar* or semi-permanent settlements of Albanians. Vitrinitsa itself had 104 households of Greek Christians (judging by their names and patronyms), whereas the average Albanian *katun* had only 23 households.

Between 1466 and 1506 Vitrinitsa remained the same but the *katuns* grew to an average of 30 households. In the 15 years between 1506 and 1521 this trend accelerated. Vitrinitsa grew slightly, but the *katuns* grew to an average of 36 households. The real leap forward came in the two decades between 1521 and 1540. Vitrinitsa grew slightly to the height of 128 households but the 13 *katuns*, now registered as real villages, jumped to 74 households. By this time, Vitrinitsa had lost its place as the largest settlement of the district. The village of Plessa had overtaken Vitrinitsa in population and Likotoni, Marazia, and Nikola Grammatiko were at the point of doing the same. By 1570 Vitrinitsa had fallen to a fifth place in terms of households and total population. The village of Plessa had grown to be twice the size of Vitrinitsa.

These changes greatly effected the ethnic composition of the district. In 1466 one quarter of the population was Greek. By 1570, due to the Albanian population having

Beldiceanu, "Recherches sur le reforme foncière de Mehmed II", in: *Acta Historica* 4, 1965, p. 27-39; Oktay Özel, "Limits of the Almighty: Mehmed II's 'Land Reform' revisited," in: *JESHO* 42, Leiden 1999, p. 226-246.

¹⁷ The results of the Greek censuses are published every ten years by the Greek government as: *Plithismos tis Ellados / Population de la Grèce*, Athens.

grown at a higher rate, Greeks came to comprise only 8% of the population of the area. The Albanian character of the settlements referred to as *katun* in the sources, is confirmed by the names of their inhabitants. The *katuns* were evidently clan-based settlements. In Milea in 1506 (cf. T.D. 35, p. 741) the first inhabitant mentioned in the register, as per custom the head man of the village, was called Yorgi Milea. We also find an Andrea Muzaki, pointing to the region in southern Albania where he must have come from. There are also men with specifically Albanian names, such as Gjin or Leka. In Plessa (p. 137) no less than eight persons were called Leka, and several Gjin. In Nikola Grammatiko several persons have Grammatiko ("literate") as their patronyms, indicating both literacy and clan relationships.

The difference in ethnicity is also clearly visible in the structure of the village economy. Vitrinitsa had the diversified economy of an ancient established settlement. In addition to its salt pans and harbour-based economy, it produced textiles, cotton, and silk as well as some wine. The Albanian villages produced neither wine nor textiles. Although they grew some wheat and barley, they were dependent on tending very large herds of sheep. This also points to their semi-nomadic character. The situation in Mavronik in 1570 (T.K.G.M. 183, p. 197) provides a good example. The village grew only 400 kg of wheat and barley per family, which was totally insufficient to sustain its population. On the other hand there were 108 sheep per household, more than double the amount that a family of five in a pre-industrial society needed to survive.¹⁸ To give one more example, Kokovište produced in the same year 846 kg of cereals, also insufficient, but had 86 sheep per household.

By 1570, the total population of the district was thrice what it had been a century before. Whereas the population growth between 1466 and 1521 remained in accordance with general trend throughout Europe, growth between 1521 and 1540 was extraordinarily rapid. Indeed, it appears that the population of the *nahiye* of Vitrinitsa was approaching a limit beyond which no further growth would be possible. In the 30 years between the registers of 1540 and 1570 the population of the region continued to rise, but at slower rate. The numbers for 1603, taken from a detailed register of the poll tax (MAD 152), make clear that growth had already peaked. The total number fell back to the level of roughly 1530.

The data for 1570 shows that by the late 16th century the population had simply grown beyond the district's potential for agricultural production. Vitrinitsa, in spite of its diversified economy, did not expand. Plessa, on the other hand, with much more arable land available to it, had quadrupled in population and succeeded to hold its ground even throughout the difficult 17th century when the lower average temperatures caused severe

¹⁸ For the vital minimum of cereals see: Bruce McGowan, Food Supply and Taxation at the Middle Danube, in: *Archivum Ottomanicum* I, 1969, p. 153/57. Also Speros Asdrachas, *Mechanismo tis agrtikis oikonomias stin Turkokratia*, Athina 1978, p. 90 and 285. For the number of sheep per family see: W.D.Hütteroth, *Bergnomaden und Yaylabauern im mittleren kürdischen Taurus*. Marburger Geographische Schriften 11, Marburg 1959.

troubles in the agricultural output, locally as in almost all of Europe (the "Little Ice Age").¹⁹

Another village that did rather well was the former Albanian *katun* of Nikola Grammatiko. Somewhere between 1540 and 1570 its people were given the status of *derbendji* and charged with guarding a narrow pass in the road from Salona to Lepanto. Whereas all other Vitrinitsa villages declined in population between 1570 and 1603, Nikola Grammatiko, now called Xilogaidara, held its own. Its *derbendji* status, which provided its population with tax benefits and permitted them to bear arms and tax facilities, certainly contributed to its better survival.

The peak in growth during the Süleymanic age also hints at the size of the population of the in area Classical times, when the walled towns of Tolophon and Phryskeis must have contained the bulk of the district's population. Population during Classical times could hardly have been more than in 1570. The same conclusion was reached by Peter Doorn, who studied in detail the region of Lidoriki, just north of Vitrinitsa, having a very similar geography, i.e. mountainous terrain permitting cultivation only in small plots.²⁰

It is interesting to note that the numbers we have for the early years following Greek independence reflect the same trends as presented above. The villages belonging to Vitrinitsa suffered severely from the Greek War of Independence (1821-1828). It is most likely that the villages of Kokovište, Lambino, Likostiani, Likotoni, and Mavronik disappeared during these years. However, it is also possible that they passed out of existence during the troubled 1860s, when large scale banditry caused many smaller places to disappear, their inhabitants moving to the relative safety of larger settlements. This phenomenon was seen in many parts of the New Greek state.²¹ It is likely that the knowledge of the Albanian language in the former *katun* villages also disappeared during this time of great changes. Today no Albanian is heard in the old Vitrinitsa villages.

By 1879 the population of the Vitrinitsa district had recovered numerically. During the following decades it grew slowly. By 1920 it once again reached a point of saturation and hardly grew thereafter. World War II hit the area harshly once again. Most villages in the larger area of Doris, of which Vitrinitsa is a part, were destroyed and their populations fled or perished.²² The census of 1962 shows that the area had recovered to the level of 1920. Since then the rapid urbanisation of Greece, the explosive growth of Athens, and their limited possibility to expand caused the old Vitrinitsa villages to remain stagnant or to decline. Only the new settlements founded in the 19th century along the coast of the Corinthian Gulf expanded. Among them are the former *Wüstungen* of Kiseli

¹⁹ For the climatic changes in the 17th century see the bulky standard work of Janet M. Grove, *The Little Ice Age*, London, New York 1988; or Geoffrey Parker's succinct overview "The Little Ice Age" in: Parker (ed.) *Europe in Crisis, 1598-1649*, Glasgow (Fontana) 1979.

²⁰ Peter Doorn, "Geographical analysis of early modern data in ancient historical research: the Strouza Region Project in Central Greece", in: *Transactions of the British Geographers*, 10,3, 1985, p. 275-291. In more detail for all of Doris: S. Bommeljé – P.K. Doorn, *Aetolia and the Aetolians, Towards the interdisciplinary study of a Greek region*, Utrecht 1987.

²¹ See for example the canton of Locris, a similarly mountainous and relatively poor area as Vitrinitsa, described by Machiel Kiel and Friedrich Sauerwein, *Ost-Lokris in türkischer und neugriechischer Zeit (1460-1981)*, Passau 1994. In Eastern Locris nine of the 29 villages studied in that work disappeared in the 1860s.

²² P. Doorn, "Geographical Analysis" p. 278/80.

and Vidavi, now called Panormos and Agioi Pandes. The other new coastal settlements are Eratini and Paralía Tolophónos. Beginning in the 1970s all four saw a remarkable expansion thanks to tourism and to the construction of the new east-west *magistrale*. With the historic Vitrinitsa they have little in common.

ANNEX

M.M. 66, Defter-i Mühmel-i Liva-i Tirhala, 1466/67, fol 146^v

NAHIYE-i Vidrinice

“Karye-i Vidrinice mülk-i Mehmed Bey bin Kul Hızır ecdade Saruhan kızı Sultan Hatunın mülk imiş müteveffa olduktan sonra kızını değmiş ondan mezkûr Mehmed Bey satın almış elinde padişahımız mukarrernâme hükmi vardır haracını padişah alır sair mahsûlatını sahib-i mülk alır şimdikihalde tekrar arz olındı tecdîd mukarrer-nâme virilüp mezkûr Vidrinice sinurında oturan cemi‘ Arnavut katunlar ber karar-i sabık haraclarını padişah ala gayri rûsumları her ne olursa sahib-i mülk ala deyü hükm olundi.”

Der Kenar:

“Bu mülk ...kırası tevabi ve levâkhiki bile mülkiyet ref‘ olunup padişahımız ... haslarına ilhak olunup sair haslar gibi has olur
tahriren fi 12 Şaban sene 880 (1474 der Kustantiniye).

T.D. 36, 1506. NAHIYE-i VIDRINCE

Zi’amet-i Vidrinice.

Zi’amet-i mezbure aslında merhum Sultan Hatunın mülk olub sonra kızı Selçuk Hatuna cihet-i ‘irsle müntekal

olub mezbure Selçuk Hatun mezkur Kul Hızıroğlu Mehmed Bey tezwiç olub nikâhle etdükden-sonra

cihet-i ‘irsle cümle Mehmed Beğün mülk olmuş. Müşar alehi Mehmed Bey dahi bazı vakf-ı evlad ve bazı Gelibolu’da olan

mescidine ve zaviyesine vakf etmiş ve bazı mülkiyet üzere ibka imiş tevzi‘name mücibince cümle mahsulatın

rub‘u mülk etmiş andan baki kalan rub‘u dahi Gelibolu’da olan mescidine ve zaviyesine vakf edüb bakisine mevbm

vakf-i evlad itmiş hisseleri üslûb-i mezkur üzere tasarruf olunur elinde Dergah-i Mu’alladan hükm

-i Humayun mukarrernameleri vardır ve Kazı al-asker Fenarioğlu Mevlana Ali Çelebiden hüccetleri ve tevzi‘nameleri vardır.”

The Demographic Development of the Villages of the Vitrinitsa District (in numbers of households)

	1466 MAD 66	1506 TD 36	1521 TD 367	1540 TD 431	1570 TKGM KuK 183	1603 MAD 15250	1878 Pl. Ellad.	1920 Pl. Ellad.	1962 Pl. Ellad.
Kokovište	15	23	27	[32]	35	8	/	/	/
Lambino	17	32	25	54	57	11	/	/	/
Likostiani	24	25	32	[35]	37	21	/	/	/
Likotoni	46	48	43	125	126	94	/	/	/
Makrisi	16	9	21	25	36	14	34	56	58
Malandrino	18	38	47	116	80	20	59	119	147
Marazi	31	48	60	[90]	125	78	79	85	45
Mavronik	9	9	17	29	37	16	/	/	/
Miléa	18	13	19	55	57	[25]	60	89	65
Plessa	64	48	77	219	244	176	111	188	199
Sotaína	18	29	33	53	59	46	21	33	62
Velaniko	14	6	9	[20]	45	50	38	50	80
Vitrinitsa	104	99	120	128	98	36	173	216	155
Xilogaidara	20	59	64	[110]	157	156	104	135	110
Totals	414	486	594	1.091	1.196	746	679	915	921

Research and design M. Kiel, 2004.

Explanation: [20] our reconstructed number. In 1466 Velaniko was called Kalamo. In 1506 both names are given. By 1521 the name Kalamo was no longer used. From 1466 to 1540 Xilogaidara was called Nikola Grammatiko. The numbers for 1879, 1920 and 1962 are in the census give as total inhabitants. As the registers also give the average household size per district we have divided the number of individuals by the household size. This might give slight differences in the household numbers of these three years. The village of Xilogaidara is now called Kallithea, Plessa is Amygdalea, Velaniko is Elaia.

<p>1674</p> <p>مات ۱۲۹۳</p> <p>مات ۲۰۱۲</p>	<p>مات ۱۰۴</p> <p>مات ۱۹۲۳</p> <p>مات ۱۸۲۲</p> <p>مات ۱۸۲۹</p> <p>مات ۲۲۱۴</p>
<p>مات ۱۶۳۱</p> <p>مات ۶۳۴</p> <p>مات ۴۵۴۵</p>	<p>مات ۱۰</p> <p>مات ۲۲</p> <p>مات ۹۰۲</p> <p>مات ۱۸۲۲</p> <p>مات ۱۸۲۹</p>
<p>مات ۷۱۱</p> <p>مات ۲۹۱۱</p> <p>مات ۱۲۱۲</p>	<p>مات ۱۸۲۲</p> <p>مات ۱۸۲۹</p> <p>مات ۲۲۱۴</p> <p>مات ۱۰۹۱</p> <p>مات ۲۲۱۴</p>
<p>مات ۱۰۷</p> <p>مات ۴۴۰۲۵</p> <p>مات ۴۴۷</p>	<p>مات ۱۸۲۲</p> <p>مات ۱۸۲۹</p> <p>مات ۲۲۱۴</p> <p>مات ۱۰۹۱</p> <p>مات ۲۲۱۴</p>
<p>مات ۱۰۷</p> <p>مات ۴۴۰۲۵</p> <p>مات ۴۴۷</p>	<p>مات ۱۸۲۲</p> <p>مات ۱۸۲۹</p> <p>مات ۲۲۱۴</p> <p>مات ۱۰۹۱</p> <p>مات ۲۲۱۴</p>

Maliyeden Müdevver (MAD) N° 66, from the year 1466/67, p 147. Introductory notes and short description of all the settlements belonging to Ziamet of Vitrinitsa

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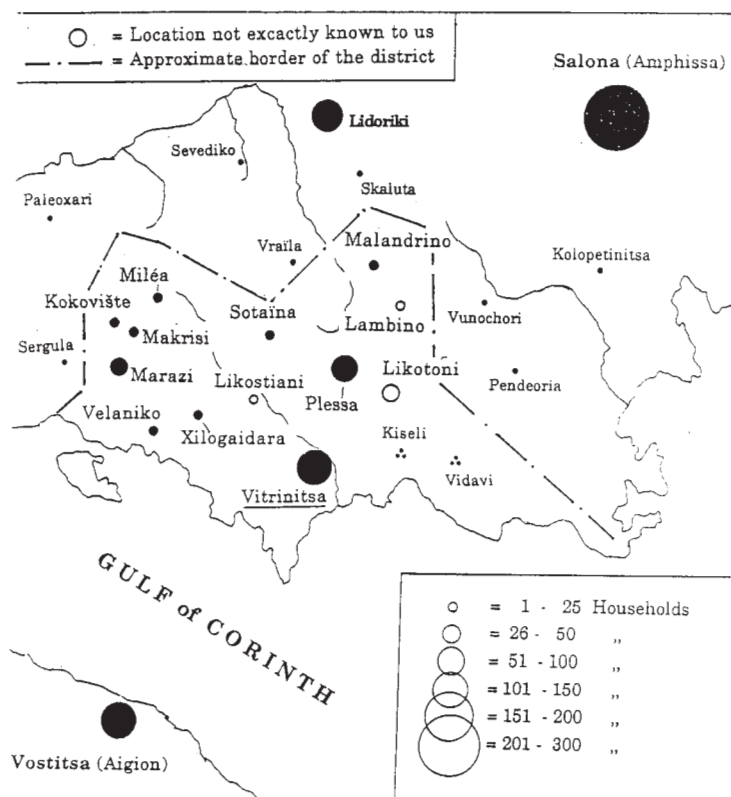
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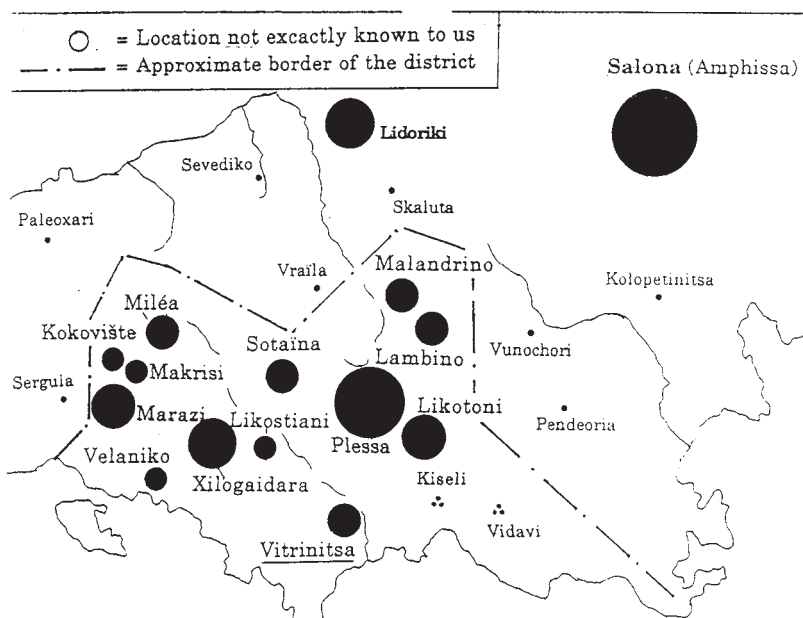
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T.D. 35, 1506/07, p. 741, lower part. Description of the village of Kokovište, with 23 households, 3 unmarried adult males and 2 widows, and a survey of the agricultural production. A little note at the bottom introduces the next village, Nikola Grammatiko (later: Xilogaidara)



The District of Vitrinitsa in 1466
 according to MAD N° 66



The District of Vitrinitsa in 1570
 according to T.K.G.M. N° 183