

## JOURNEYS AND LANDSCAPES IN THE DATÇA PENINSULA: ALİ AGAKİ OF CRETE AND THE TUHFEZADE DYNASTY\*

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OUT OF THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF ASIA MINOR, just below Bodrum (Halicarnassus) but above Marmaris (Phycus), a long and narrow tongue of a peninsula stretches into the Aegean between Kos and Rhodes, appearing to catch the island of Symi in its pincers. Today this is known as the Datça peninsula, which requires some explanation. Ancient Cnidus, located originally halfway along the isthmus, was once called Stadia (Stadea, Statea, Statia).<sup>1</sup> This was eventually corrupted into (s)Tad[i]ya, Dad[i]ya, Dadya, then Dadça and finally Datça.

### *The Enigma of Menteşe*

According to ethno-archaeological findings, the present people of Datça stand at the tail end of an enormous process of mixing and mingling which has drawn into its vortex Dardians, Rhodians, Cretans and other Aegean islanders, as well as Crimeans, Rumelians, Arabs, Berbers, Egyptians, Sudanese, Ethiopians, Circassians, Jews, Kurds, Armenians, Tahtacı Alevis, Spanish Gypsies, and even Indians.<sup>2</sup> Many among them have their special histories, inevitably merging fact and fiction, though only some are of an obviously

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1 The well-known site at the western tip of the peninsula was not the original location of the city; see G. Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Meander* (London 1971), 135.

2 B. Ergenekon, 'Dorian Archaeology, History and Local Folklore in Datça', in D. Shankland (ed.), *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, Vol. 2 (Istanbul 2004), 453-464.

*post hoc*, ideological construction. For example, Berbers from the Maghreb claim to be descended from those taken there by the eminent Grand Admirals of the sixteenth century, Barbaros(sa) Hayreddin Reis/Paşa and Turgut/Dragut. They married local women in North Africa (they say), but forgot neither their homeland nor their Turkishness, and eventually re-migrated to the peninsula. By way of contrast, the dwellers of Emecik (as well as Yakaköy) may tell you that they are descended from Spanish outcasts, from gypsies, or even from lepers who were cast ashore at Sarı Liman, down the road from the Temple of Emecik, who somehow cured themselves with the abundant herbs of the peninsula.

Today Datça is the name of the entire neck of land as well as of a small coastal town on its southern coast (Fig. 1a-b). In the nineteenth century, this Dadya/Datça was one of a dozen or so settlements of comparable size and importance. More specifically, it was one of four villages that for centuries had been bunched close together halfway on the promontory, on the slopes overlooking the Gulf of Symi (Hisarönü). Separated by a couple of kilometres at most, they were called Dadya, Elaki, İlya and Aleksî, and a generically named landing-place, İskele (Skala), served all four.<sup>3</sup> In time, it was the last which grew into the modern resort town of Datça, while Dadya became Eski Datça.<sup>4</sup> A little anchorage turned tourist port,<sup>5</sup> new Datça at the former İskele is now beyond recognition even for those, like myself, who were there in the late 1970s.

In contrast, in the two older settlements which have survived, that is to say, Dadya (which has become Eski Datça) and Elaki (which has become Reşadiye), the traditional fabric, surrounded by large belts of cultivation, is miraculously well preserved. The rest of the peninsula, too, still retains its connections to the Ottoman past. It offers a challenge to the historian who would stop and wonder about the adventures of its wrinkled, pinkish *Osmanlı* tomatoes, so-called, the terracotta tiles to be found here and there which bear the stamp of a certain *Şirket-i Cezire-i Rodos* (in both Greek and Ottoman), or Giridli Ali Agaki, a local notable who once founded the Tuhfezade dynasty.

3 The administrative centre of the district kept shifting between these three villages (the orthography of which also kept changing). According to Muğla court registers as quoted by M. Çanlı, from 1894 to 1898 the administrative centre was Aleksî; see M. Çanlı, *Eski Hukuki Kaynaklarda Datça. Muğla Şer'îye Sicillerine Göre (1885-1911)* (Muğla 2003): "Dadya nahiyesinin merkez-i hükümeti olan Aleksî karyesi" (Defter 152 [dated 1894-1898], 84/41-211). In 1904, the population of the sub-district (*nahiye*) of Datça had exceeded the population of Marmaris (*kaza*). At that time Dad[i]ya was the administrative centre of the *nahiye*. Then the seat of government was moved yet again, this time to Elaki. In the context of a policy of the re-organisation and renaming of the villages following the 1909 enthronement of Mehmed [Reşad] V, both the whole peninsula and its administrative centre were renamed Reşadiye. The first municipality in the peninsula was established in 1915. Datça/Datya survived in administrative documents, and in 1934 the Reşadiye peninsula was renamed Datça.

4 In the 1890s, a couple of Greek-owned coffee-houses were located at the landing place: see "Dadya İskelesi" in Çanlı, *Eski Hukuki Kaynaklarda Datça*, Defter 154 (dated 1900-1906), 192/67-444. It was in 1947 that the administrative centre of the town was moved from Reşadiye to the landing-place, which was initially called Yeni (New) Datça.

5 F. Stark, *The Lycian Shore* (London 1956), 78.



Fig. 1a: Sketch map of Dadya/Datça and its wider geographical framework.

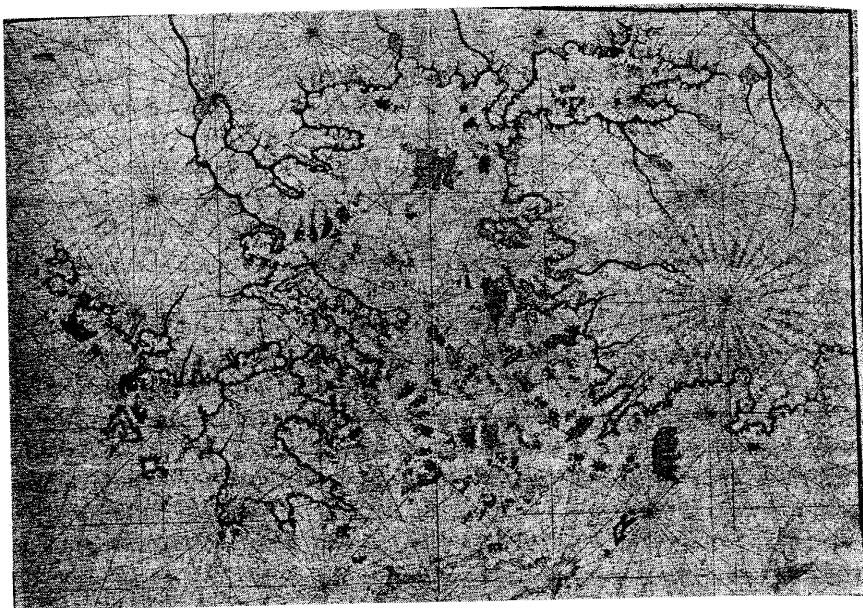
### *A More Layered View of the Gentry and Notables*

Not all studies on the Ottoman provinces distinguish between (at least) two levels of the gentry and notables: (a) those urban-based dynasties who were closely integrated into the state elites, and (b) a lesser group of rural families whose power and prominence was also sanctioned by the state – but only in a way which was mediated through the patronage of the former.<sup>6</sup>

Of course, the second (rural) group, too, had their clients. These last were even further removed from the centres of power (both geographically and socially). Thus, they were also not in front-line competition for the posts or fortunes coveted by the urban or the first-rank rural notables. Instead, their horizons seem to have been limited to ensuring a prolonged and comfortable existence for their line, perhaps founded in the past by a relatively illustrious ancestor. It is easy to understand why they have been neglected by historians: rarely do they show up in archival sources. The first two groups had a stake in central authority (and vice versa). But the relative remoteness of the third group or tier of families appears to have led to a virtually zero level of visibility for them in the state documents on which Ottoman history has been largely built since the mid-twentieth century.

Occasionally, however, a special case turns up. So it is with a certain family in Dadya, rustic but self-possessed, on which there is a wealth of primary sources, ranging from architecture to court registers, also including oral accounts, mural paintings, wedding

6 For a thought-provoking discussion about the term 'provincial elite' in the Ottoman context, see A. Anastasopoulos, 'Introduction', in Idem (ed.), *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire. Halcyon Days in Crete V. A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 10-12 January 2003* (Rethymno 2005), xi-xxviii.



**Fig. 1b:** Location of Dadya in the eastern Mediterranean perspective. From: İ. Bostan and A. Kurumahmut (eds), *Haritalar ve Coğrafya Eserlerine Göre Ege Denizi ve Ege Adaları* (Ankara 2003), Plate II.

rings, kitchenware, or gravestones. There is a possibility for ethno-archaeological remains, and the streams, rocks, hills, trees and orchards on their estates, to be also taken into account.<sup>7</sup>

#### *An Abundance of Sources, and Scope for Methodological Innovation*

All this is so varied and unusual that it virtually calls for a 'total history' approach. By itself, this is an invigorating prospect for Ottoman history. At the same time, in this microclimate, this small world to which the Tuhfezades always stood as outsiders, the nature of the primary sources available is also promising for other avenues and approaches. Since the realities of this quasi-autonomous dynasty were not dictated purely by the centre-periphery relationship (in both its political and financial dimensions), they can and should be told from within. Otherwise put, the material holdings of the family can truly reflect on the secret, unofficial history of another way of life in the Ottoman provinces. Because of a general scarcity of private documentation, this is a rare opportunity in Ottoman history.

7 Noteworthy in this regard are U. Baram and L. Carrol (eds), *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground* (New York 2000); T. Takaoğlu (ed.), *Ethnoarchaeological Investigations in Rural Anatolia* (Istanbul 2004).

What we have here, moreover, is not a story of fringe elements or transient carpetbaggers. On the contrary, the Tuhfezades – possibly like many other rural families of wealth and power, whom Ottomanists have not studied enough, either as individual cases or an entire social group – appear to have enjoyed a relatively safe, long, and affluent life in their inaccessible native recess. They were confident, outward-looking, and capable of enjoying the benefits of self-governance in an otherwise incommensurable geography. Distant as they were, they seem to have acquired a distinct identity involving a variety of border-crossings. Since such hybridities undermine the very concept of monolithic cultures or nations (even in the case of an Early Modern empire), the case at hand provides a favourable terrain for transnational history, for the study of permeable and fluid borderlands, diasporas, encounters and travels across all kinds of boundaries – in short, for explorations of processes and relationships which connect separate worlds.<sup>8</sup> In an area which has seen the intermingling, conquering, reconquering and separation of peoples, distinct yet overlapping and co-existing with each other, nineteenth-century nations are even more emphatically imagined communities rather than entities rooted from time immemorial. On the south-west coast of Asia Minor, there were no natural or permanent lines of demarcation. In contrast with official government business (both central and local) which has provided the standard framework for the post-seventeenth-century centre-periphery paradigm, it is the un-bounded diffusion of people, ideas, practices, and goods that looms large in this corner of the Aegean.

#### *The Early Ottoman Presence in the Region*

The promontory's morphology is characterised by igneous mountain ranges stretching east-west, and by plains huddling in their bends. It was this rough and rocky topography that determined the scattered pattern of historical settlement, with most villages along the

8 I originally argued for this dimension in an earlier (and much shorter) version of this paper; see T. Artan, 'Cretans Turned Turks, Venetians, Englishmen: Encounters in Ottoman Space in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century', paper presented at the Sixth European Social Science History Conference (Section on International Families VI: Cultures of Diaspora), Amsterdam, 22-25 March 2006. Compared and contrasted with other kinds of history (world, regional, comparative and post-colonial) which also aim to transcend national boundaries, transnational history has become an identifiable genre over the last decade: A. Curthoys and M. Lake, 'Introduction', in Eadem (eds), *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra 2005), 5-20. See also L. N. Bacsh, G. Schiller and C. Z. Blanc (eds), *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation States* (London 1994); G. Therborn, *Between Sex and Power: Family in the World, 1900-2000* (London 1994). However, some historians who argue that history has always paid considerable attention to the travels of people, ideas, practices or commodities across geographical, political or cultural borders, question this difference. Some others have pointed to the 'dangers' of transnational history, arguing that, in its sterile international context (of specialised scholarship) it is disconnected from the audience whose history is being written. Some have also claimed, dismissively, that transnational history is in vogue because of globalisation.

southern coast and overlooking the Gulf of Symi (Hisarönü). The northern shore, looking out over the Gulf of Kos (Gökova) is more hostile. Hills are covered by macchia, and valleys with groves of almond and olive trees, both of which probably grew wild in the past. Over a hundred small bays, recurrently called *bük* (Turkish for a thicket or a jungle) in reference to the rich vegetation around them, ring the peninsula from north and south. Over many centuries, they used to shelter, at the confluence of the Aegean and the Mediterranean, both officially licensed corsairs and much feared pirates.<sup>9</sup>

Indeed, it is because of the terribly unsafe waters of the Aegean that so little is known about peninsular settlement in medieval times. Even the history of the larger region of south-western Asia Minor under Ottoman rule is mostly clouded. The House of Menteşe had established itself in Caria in the thirteenth century, only to be nearly overthrown by the conquests of Bayezid I in 1389-1391. Eventually, it was only after the final defeat of the Menteşoğulları by Murad II in 1424 that the region came firmly under Ottoman control.<sup>10</sup> Paul Wittek's study was the first to introduce a variety of sources, though limited in quantity, for the study of this early Ottoman phase. His eminent student Elizabeth Zachariadou then explored the relations of "trade and crusade" between Venetian Crete and the emirates of Menteşe and Aydın in the same period.<sup>11</sup> Hans Theunissen has further contributed to our understanding of commerce and politics in the region with an annotated edition of a corpus of documents pertaining to Ottoman-Venetian diplomacies from the late fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>12</sup> Two dissertations thirty years apart, by Ekrem Uykucu and Zekâi Mete,<sup>13</sup> have surveyed several tax registers (*tahrir*) recording

- 9 "The difference between corsairs and pirates is not always immediately clear to all: pirates fought against everybody while corsairs had their sovereign's permission to fight against its enemies" (M. P. Pedani, 'The Ottoman Empire and the Gulf of Venice (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> C.)', in T. Baykara (ed.), *CIÉPO Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Komitesi XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri. 18-22 Eylül 2000, Çeşme* [Ankara 2004], 585-600). For the Atlantic and the Caribbean, the corresponding Anglo-American term is privateer(ing) rather than corsair(ing). For matters involving pirates and corsairs, also see S. Faroqhi, 'The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire (1600-1630)', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 15/2 (1986), 345-384; İ. Bostan, 'Adriyatik'te Ticari Limanların Gelişimine Korsanlığın Etkisi', *Bilim ve Ütopya*, 12/147 (September 2006), 23-29.
- 10 P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche. Studie zur Geschichte westkleinasiens im 13.-15. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul 1934); reprinted in translation: *Menteşe Beyliği. 13-15'inci Asırda Garbi Küçük Asya Tarihine Ait Tetkik*, trans. O. Ş. Gökyay (Ankara 1944; repr. 1986), 29-30.
- 11 E. A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1300-1415)* (Venice 1983).
- 12 H. P. A. Theunissen, 'Ottoman-Venetian Diplomacy: The 'Ahd'-names. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments, together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents', *EJOS – Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, 1/2 (1998), 1-698.
- 13 E. Uykucu, 'XVI. Yüzyılda Menteşe Sancağı (Tapu Tahrir Defterlerine Göre)', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1974; Idem, *İççeleriyle Birlikte Muğla Tarihi (Coğrafya ve Sosyal Yapı)* (Istanbul 1983 [1967]); Z. Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2004; *TDVİA*, s.v. 'Menteşe' (Idem). For some elaborations on the sources uncovered by Uykucu, see S. Faroqhi, 'Sixteenth Centu-

*kazas, karyes, mahalles, hanes, hass, zeamet* and *timar* recipients and their revenues, as well as the pious foundations of the *sancak* of Menteşe in the sixteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Both, however, have the common flaw of entirely ignoring the non-Muslim populations, causing many questions to be left unexplored. Further on, the post-seventeenth-century history of Menteşe remains uncharted.

### *Centres, Districts, Land Tenure*

The administrative centre seems to have shifted frequently under Ottoman rule. In other words, a multi-centred *sancak* with an itinerant Pasha appears to be the case for the sixteenth century. Although Muğla then seems to have moved ahead as an urban centre, even in Evliya Çelebi's time Ottoman potentates (*ümera*) and militia of the Menteşe district were being settled at Peçin. Nearby Milas (so close that the former was referred to as *Peçin nam-ı diğer Milas*<sup>15</sup>) and Balat also stand out as sizeable settlements, home to a variety of political, cultural or commercial activities. Uykucu identifies some of the governors (*sancakbeyi*) for 1480-1560, as well as the *hass* (crown) lands of the Sultans and princes, and the large prebends of viziers and governors, as recorded in the 1517 and 1530 *tahrirs*.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, one archival series that one might immediately think of turning to, i.e., the *Mühimme Defterleri* (Registers of Important Affairs), proves to be of little help. As these were mainly written in response to accusations levelled at local administrators, the implication is that not many complaints from the region (other than those concerning the unruly behaviour of pirates and bandits) reached Istanbul.<sup>17</sup>

One of the earliest Ottoman records on the Menteşe district, a tax register dated to the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512), enumerates eight *nahiyes* (Pınaz, Çine, Milas, Peçin,

ry Periodic Markets in Various Anatolian *Sancaks*: İçel, Hamid, Karahisar-ı Sahib, Kütahya, Aydın, and Menteşe', *JESHO*, 22/1 (1979), 32-80; Eadem, 'Menteşoğullarından Osmanlılara Muğla', in İ. Tekeli (ed.), *Tarih İçinde Muğla* (Ankara 1993).

- 14 The tax registers in question are BOA, Tapu Tahrir (TD) 39 (n.d., r. Bayezid II [1481-1512], possibly 1483), incomplete, includes only Pınaz and Meğri; BOA, Tapu Tahrir (TD) 47 (n.d., r. Bayezid II), *mufassal*, incomplete; BOA, Tapu Tahrir (TD) 61 (H. 923/1517), *mufassal*, complete; BOA, Tapu Tahrir (TD) 337 (1562/1563), *mufassal*, incomplete; Tapu Kadastro GM Kuyud-u Kadime Arşivi (TK KKA TD) 110 (1583), *mufassal*, complete. There are also registers of important affairs: BOA, Mühimme Defterleri I-IV (1520-1560); BOA, Tapu Tahrir (TD) 176 (1532/1533) recording *cemaats* (= oymak) and *tırs* (= oba) settled in Menteşe together with a short *kanunname*; and two waqf registers: BOA, TD 338 (1562/1563) and Tapu Kadastro GM Kuyud-u Kadime TK KKA TD 569.
- 15 C.BLD 31 (21 Cemaziyelâhir 1275). Peçin was abandoned by the mid-twentieth century.
- 16 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 70-71 and 105-106.
- 17 For such bandits, brigands or other outlaws, see *Mühimme Defteri 90* (Istanbul 1993). In the Registers of Important Affairs, what are mostly recorded are the routine communications between the centre and this remote province; see Faroqhi, 'Menteşoğullarından Osmanlılara Muğla'.

Bozöyük, Muğla, Tavas, Köyceğiz).<sup>18</sup> By 1517, four more had been added: Mazun, Balat, İstavralos and Megri.<sup>19</sup> In 1530, there were still the same 12 settlements, which however had come to be called *kazas*, as well as five cities (*nefs-i şehri*), seven towns (*kasaba*), 548 villages (*kura*), 381 tribal units (*cemaat*), and a total of 34,642 sedentary households.<sup>20</sup> At the time, only 64 non-Muslim households were recorded, and even these were to disappear in the course of the next few decades. As gleaned from the 1562 and 1583 surveys, this change has been taken to reflect the complete Turkification of the region in the late sixteenth century. Earlier, Wittek had argued that even before the Ottoman conquest, Menteşe-ili had had an overwhelming presence of ethnic Turks because of the attraction of its highland pastures for nomadic Turcomans,<sup>21</sup> while the Byzantine Greeks were unable to regain their grip on the area after the initial Seljukid occupation in the eleventh century.<sup>22</sup> Nomadic tribes moving into Caria from 1261 onwards had been settled in its three promontories, around the settlements of Tarahya (Trachia), Dadya (Stadia) and Strobilos (in the Bodrum peninsula), before the end of the decade.<sup>23</sup> Wittek further noted that in contrast to those inland (Milas, Muğla, Tavas), quite a few coastal settlements (Dad[i]ya, Mekkri/Megri/Meğri [Makri], Darah[i]ya/Tarahya, Gereme, Balat and others) maintained their Greek names. He thereby suggested a possible pact, a rapid fusion and then a mutual dependence, between the conquerors and the conquered.

Population growth in sixteenth-century Anatolia had led to an increased demand for arable land – hence the advances of the Turcoman tribes. The revenues of Menteşe were distributed among the Sultan, the Prince Regent, viziers, *mirlivas*, a few *zeamet*-holders, and numerous timariots. Throughout this period, there were fluctuations in the numbers of units, the high-ranking *dirlik* recipients, and the total revenues allocated. Two of the four tax registers of the sixteenth century, nearly 50 years apart, provide the following figures:<sup>24</sup>

18 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 72 (based on BOA, Tapu Tahrir 47), revisited by Faroqhi, 'Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets', 65. Faroqhi has corrected Uykucu in one regard, indicating that these settlements which were earlier listed as *nahiyes* had come to be called *kazas* in 1530.

19 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 72 (BOA, Tapu Tahrir 61 [H. 923/1517]), revisited by Faroqhi, 'Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets', 65. Uykucu's list of the four *nahiyes* consisted of Mazun, Balat, Megri and Ayasulug. Faroqhi opted for Eserulus as the toponym of the fourth *nahiye*, and provided an explanation in her footnote 105 about why it cannot be transcribed as Ayasulug. Earlier, Sirevolos had been suggested in Pirî Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye. Denizcilik Kitabı*, ed. Y. Senemoğlu (Istanbul 1974), Index, 62. In the transliteration of the 1530 register, İsravalos was preferred; for the full source, see the following footnote.

20 166 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri 937/1530. *Hüdâvendigâr, Biga, Karesi, Saruhân, Aydın, Menteşe, Teke ve Alâiye Livâları* (Ankara 1995), 481-574.

21 In support of Wittek's argument regarding the Turkification of the western Anatolian seaboard, we find TK KKA TD 110; BOA, TD 337, after Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*; also see TDVIA, s.v. 'Menteşe', 151.

22 Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentese*, 112.

23 Ibid., 24-26.

24 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 106-111.

	H. 923 (AD 1517)		H. 970 (AD 1562/1563)	
	Units	Total revenues	Units	Total revenues
<i>Padişah</i>	6	647,899	21	738,721
<i>Şehzade</i>	–	–	8	274,757
<i>Viziers</i>	10	252,383	4	96,590
<i>Mirliva</i>	5	62,111	5	142,415
<i>Total hass</i>	21	962,348	48	1,252,483
<i>Zeamets</i>	8	110,440	4	231,471
Sum total (of the last two)	29	1,072,788	52	1,483,954

In 1530 the *miri* lands of the Menteşe *sancak* provided for: the *hassha-yı padişah* (with a revenue of 1,945,191 *akçes*); *hassha-yı mirliva* (300,000); *hassha-yı Mevlâna Kadri Çelebi Efendi, kadıasker-i vilâyet-i Anadolu* (114,381); *hassha-yı Mahmud Çelebi, defterdar-ı hızzane-i âmiri* (69,352); *hassha-yı mirliva-yı cezair-i Midillü ve Rodos* (88,239); *timarha-yı zuama ve sipahiyan* (2,754,751); *timarha-yı mustahfizan-ı kal'a-ı Peçin ve Bodrum* (79,405); *timarha-yı bazdaran* (22,817); and the revenues of the pious foundations, *evkaf* (484,660).<sup>25</sup> Farm land in the *kazas* of Muğla, Milas and Peçin, the three urban centres of the sixteenth century, was strictly limited to units not larger than a *çift* (standard holding).<sup>26</sup>

### The Spread of Tax-Farming

The Menteşe *sancak* maintained stable ties to the capital: Selânikî records a conflict which arose c. early 1588 (H. 995) between the tax farmer (*emin-i mültezim*) of the revenue units (*mukataat*) of the Menteşe *vilâyet* and his alleged guarantors. The latter appealed to the *Divan*, complaining that the Office of Imperial Finances (*defterdarlık*) demanded an advance deposit or down payment (*mal-ı kefalet*) from them as those who had stood surety for the tax farmer (whom Selânikî did not identify by name). Apparently the Office had intervened only after learning of his malpractice. The alleged guarantors claimed that they had no knowledge of the security bond that was in question, and that it had been drawn up in their absence. When the documents in support of the tax farmer's appointment could not be located at the Office, the Grand Vizier, (Makbul) İbrahim Paşa, showing unusual compassion for the guarantors' plight, paid the 100,000 *akçes* of *miri* debt himself with the diamond ring that he took off his finger.<sup>27</sup> Selânikî also tells us of another incident in which, in late 1591 (at the turn of H. 1000), the overbearing guardian or inspector of the provincial tax farms (*Menteşe mukataatı müfettişi*) was a certain Mevlâna Bayezid who was simultaneously the judge of Peçin. Mevlâna Bayezid was murdered by two of his relatives, Lûtfullağlı Abdülcebbar Bey, a local trustee (*mütevelli*),

25 166 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri, 56.

26 Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 247.

27 Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, ed. M. İpşirli (Istanbul 1989), 184.

and his brother (a *dergâh-ı âli çavuşu*), in a fight over a marriage dispute. Both were executed at the Balık-bazarı (fish market) (in Istanbul?).<sup>28</sup> The inspector's murder gives us a glimpse of the Ottoman art of provincial administration: a network of blood-relatives usually holding multiple official positions (or honorary titles).<sup>29</sup>

These two incidents are all the more important because they reveal the on-going *mukataa*-isation of Menteşe. Revenue units called *mukataa* were originally created out of the *havass-ı hümayun* – that is, the land retained out of the *miri* as royal demesne by/for the Sultan – and their income went directly into the Sultan's treasury.<sup>30</sup> From the end of the sixteenth century through the seventeenth century, revenue sources which previously were being distributed to members of the ruling elite as *dîrliks* or fiefs conditional upon service were also converted into *mukataas*. In other words, old *timar* lands were being confiscated and re-divided to be 'sold' to tax farmers (*mültezim*). All in all, the *iltizam* system as a form of revenue collection seems to have overtaken Menteşe in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Selânikî's first story reflects today's consensus among historians that sixteenth-century practice had been for the *sahibü-l'hass* – whether Sultan, prince, vizier(s), military judge (*kadiasker*), governor (*sancakbeyi*), or director of the imperial finances (*defterdar*) – to collect his revenues through an *emin*, a semi-official agent, but that later this responsibility was delegated to tax farmers (*mültezim*) over whom the *emin* now stood watch – hence the term *emin-i mültezim*.<sup>31</sup> The second points to all the intermediaries coming in between the tax source(s) and the central authorities. The guardian or inspector of the province's revenue districts was supposed to protect the tax sources. There was also the *muhassıl*, originally a tax collector charged with the collection of the various routine *havass-ı hümayun* revenues as well as of extra-ordinary taxes, who gradually came to assume administrative responsibilities. In some regions in the seventeenth century, the *muhassıls* grew into local power-holders who were charged with aspects of state administration.<sup>32</sup> Treasury income (*hazine*) accruing from Menteşe, together with the revenues of Aydın and Karesi, were all channelled to the Province of Anadolu, according to Topçular Kâtibi Abdülkadir Efendi writing during the Bayburd campaign of the Rumeli *beylerbeyi*, Defterdar Ahmed Paşa.<sup>33</sup> Topçular Kâtibi refers to *muhassıls* as those who supervised

28 Ibid., 257.

29 For blood-relatives holding positions such as *müderriis*, *muezzin*, imam, *hatib*, *danışmend*, *sipahi*, *kadı*, sheikh or *medrese* student in the *kazas* of Menteşe, see Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 148-149.

30 *Mukataa* refers to "the division of state revenue sources into parts to be distributed in return for a mutually agreed upon price" (*EP*, s.v. 'Mukata'a' [H. Gerber]). Commercial taxes, such as custom dues or market taxes, state monopolies, such as mints or salt-works, even irregular revenues, such as fines and marriage taxes, could all be carved out and then farmed out as *mukataas*.

31 *TDVİA*, s.v. 'Has' (C. Orhonlu and N. Göyünç).

32 *TDVİA*, s.v. 'Muhassıl' (Y. Özkaya and A. Akyıldız [pp. 18-20] and Z. Mete [pp. 20-21]).

33 *Topçular Kâtibi 'Abdülkâdir (Kadrî) Efendi Tarihi (Metin ve Tahlil)*, Vol. I, ed. Z. Yılmazzer (Ankara 2003), 538.

the collection of those state revenues (*mal-ı miri*) allocated to the expedition. In 1609 (H. 1017), Topçular Kâtibi Abdülkadir Efendi mentions a certain Şems Paşa as being the *muhassılı'l-emval* of Aydın, Akhisar, Gedüz and a few other *livas*, as well as of Menteşe.<sup>34</sup> There were also the *mütesellims* in the *kazas* who were entrusted with the task of delivering the taxes to the centre (on which, more below).

Eventually, it is Evliya Çelebi who informs us that (at least for the late seventeenth century) (i) the centre of the Ottoman district or sub-province of Menteşe was Muğla, where the governing Pasha had his residence; (ii) his *hass* revenues added up to 400,800 *akçes*; (iii) he maintained 1,000 fully armed retainers; (iv) together with 52 *zaims* and 381 timariots, the *sancak* raised a military force of 2,000 armed cavalrymen; and (v) numerous were the distinguished personalities who lived in or around Muğla.<sup>35</sup> Evliya spent a week in the company of Küçük Hüseyin Paşa (the governor?) and the *ayan-ı vilâyet*, and seems to have had a good time, full of "seyr ü temaşa ve zevk u sefâ".<sup>36</sup> He provides us with a comprehensive account of the cultural and material life which flourished in the midst of anarchy and chaos.

For this was a restless area all through Ottoman times. Over the latter part of the sixteenth century Menteşe suffered from *suhte* revolts – uprisings of *medrese* students. In 1574, bandit leaders of *medrese* origins (*suhte elebaşı*), such as Şemseddin and Kara Sadık, ran riot in the *sancak*, while in 1608, a certain Yusuf Paşa gathered the rebellious male population of the Aydın, Saruhan and Menteşe districts under his command.<sup>37</sup> Abdülkadir Efendi relates that in 1606-1607 the Grand Vizier Ferhad Paşa had succeeded in recovering state revenues from the rebellious Yusuf Paşa in Aydın and Menteşe ("mâl-ı mîrîyi Yûsuf Paşa nam hâyinden tahsil eyleyüp").<sup>38</sup> Eventually, military forces based in Menteşe, together with soldiers gathered from the Aydın, Ma[ğ]nisa and Karesi sub-provinces, were deployed to overcome another doughty character, Canpuladoğlu. Meanwhile, however, new settlers, including Greeks as well as Turcoman nomads, kept moving into Menteşe.

#### *Dadya as a Revenue Unit in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*

Up to this day, while the history of the Menteşe sub-province under the Ottomans remains fragmentary, the history of the Datça peninsula and its administrative centre has been even more elusive, indeed nebulous. The earliest reference to Dadya that I have been able to find in the Ottoman sources appears in the *tahrir* of 1517, first studied by

34 Ibid., 548.

35 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. 9. Kitap*, eds Y. Dağlı, S. A. Kahraman and R. Dankoff (Istanbul 2005), 105: "[B]u şehir Anadolu eyâletinde Menteşe paşasının tahtıdır. Taraf-ı padişâhiden paşanın hâss-ı hümâyûnu 400,800 akçe eder. Alaybeğisi ve çeribaşısı vardır. Ve hîn-i tahrîrde elli iki erbâb-ı zü'amâ ve 381 erbâb-ı tîmârî vardır ... Ve bu şehir üç yüz pâyesi ile şerîf kazadır. Ve nâhiyesi 105 kurâdır ...". Also see Hacı Kalfa, *Cihannümâ*, ed. O. Ş. Gökyay (Ankara 1972), 638.

36 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. 9. Kitap*, 106.

37 After Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Menteseche*, 108.

38 *Topçular Kâtibi 'Abdülkâdir (Kadrî) Efendi Tarihi*, 472, 473.

Uykucu.<sup>39</sup> The revenues of Dadya, a total of 29,485 *akçes*, are said to have been part of the *hass* of a vizier called Kasım Paşa.<sup>40</sup> While there were several prominent Kasım Paşas at the time, once more it is Uykucu who has identified this particular *hass*-holder as the tutor (*lala*) of the future Süleyman I during the early years of the Crown Prince's stay in Manisa.<sup>41</sup> Subsequently he appears to have fallen out of favour with Selim I, and to have been dismissed on 8 December 1516 and dispatched to Thessalonica. There he stayed until 1520, when, upon Süleyman's accession to the throne, he was rehabilitated and appointed director of the imperial finances.<sup>42</sup> What the 1517 *tahrir* has to say about Kasım Paşa fits in with the information provided by a manuscript source, *Dastan-ı Sultan Süleyman*, possibly by Kâtib Çelebi, to the effect that Lala Kasım Paşa had a retirement pension of 200,000 *akçes* at the time (1521?).<sup>43</sup> The continuity of the connection between

39 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 105.

40 BOA, TD 61, 191-270. The total *hass* revenues of this Kasım Paşa, also comprising six other revenue units within the same *sancak*, added up to 176,963 *akçes*. He also held a *zeamet* and several *timars* in the various *kazas* of Menteşe. For comparison of the *hass* revenues of the *sancakbeyis*, see TDVIA, s.v. 'Has'.

41 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 105. It is Peçevi/Peçuyulu who, among the viziers of Süleyman I, mentions a certain Koca Kasım Paşa who never made it to the grand vizierate. Apparently he was first the *defterdar* (under Selim I), then Süleyman's *lala*, and was retired because of old age; see Peçuyulu İbrahim Efendi, *Tarih-i Peçuyi*, Vol. I (Istanbul 1283/1866-1867), 28. Matrakçı Nasuh provides the further clarification that Kasım Paşa was Süleyman's *lala* during the early years of the prince's stay in Manisa, and that he subsequently fell out of favour with Selim I and was dismissed on 8 December 1516. The details about his being dispatched to Thessalonica and staying there until Süleyman's accession to the throne come from *Süleymanname*, TSMK Revan 1286, 36a-36b, after F. Emecen, XVI. *Asırda Manisa Kazası* (Ankara 1989), 32. After 1520, Kasım Paşa became a vizier at the imperial council. Peçevi actually claims that the fourth vizierate was initiated with the appointment of Kasım Paşa to this post (*Tarih-i Peçuyi*, I: 28). An article on the identity of Kasım Paşa, or rather on the various Kasım Paşas, which does not really clarify the confusion, claims that Koca Kasım Paşa was retired in 1521 (T. Suzuki, 'Kanunî'nin Vüzerası'ndan Koca Kasım Paşa'ya Dair', *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 12 [1982-1998], 311-318). There is another (Kıvamüddin) Kasım Paşa who was the *defterdar* of Rumeli Vilâyeti Timar in 1518, and of the Hazine-i Âmire in 1520. That he was referred to as *Efendi* or *Bey* before Süleyman I's enthronement has led Mübahat Kütükoğlu to conclude that he (too?) became a vizier only after 1520 (M. Kütükoğlu, *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisadî Yapısı* [İzmir 2000], 237-239). Therefore he cannot be the Kasım Paşa who was *hass*-holder in Dadya in 1517. Kütükoğlu adds that this Kasım Paşa (too?) was retired in 1521 and settled in İzmir where his *mülk* and *zeamet* were located. He died there and was buried in the tomb of his mosque complex in 1528.

42 The Chief of Finances in 1520-1521 was Cezerîzade Kasım Paşa, who had held the same position back in 1504-?. His full name at the time was given as Cezerîzade Koca Kasım Safi Çelebi; see Y. Öztuna, *Devletler ve Hânedanlar*, Vol. 2 (Ankara 1969), 1039-1040. For the confusion of Cezerî Kasım with Lala Koca Kasım, see Suzuki, 'Kanunî'nin Vüzerası'ndan Koca Kasım Paşa'ya Dair'.

43 I owe this information to Zeynep Yelçe, who during her Ph.D. research at Sabancı University has gone through and drawn my attention to *Dastan-ı Sultan Süleyman*, TSM, R. 1286. This manuscript confirms the appointment of Süleyman's tutor, Lala Koca Kasım Paşa, as the fourth

the chief *defterdar*'s revenues and the *sancak* of Menteşe is interesting in itself.<sup>44</sup> As a typical absentee *sahibü'l-hass* of the early sixteenth century, Kasım Paşa must have managed his revenues from Dadya – which, while distant, was still the second largest village of Muğla (after Gökova), and which consisted of 335 *hanes* with a population of 1,675 (taxpayers?) – through the *emanet* system.<sup>45</sup> No *zeamets* or *timars* were listed in Dadya in the *tahrirs* of 1517, 1530 or 1562-1563.<sup>46</sup>

In the last such tax register available, dated 1583, some new villages appear on the peninsula. Recorded as not independent but subordinate to Dadya and Bedye, these are: Kara, Kızlan, Yazı, Belen, Cumalı/Cumalu, Yaka and Sı[ğ]ındı. It is understood that these villages, like many others elsewhere in the sub-province, came into being as a result of the sedentarisation of the numerous and populous Turcoman tribes who had been flocking to the peninsula. Thus, the population of the peninsular villages, together with those on Menteşe's two other promontories – Bodrum in the north and Bozburun in the south – exceeded the population of the centres on the mainland.<sup>47</sup> There were 283 tax-paying *hanes* in Dadya in 1500, 355 *hanes* in 1517, 520 *hanes* in 1562, and 476 *hanes* in 1583.<sup>48</sup> For the same years the numbers of tax-paying *hanes* in Bedye were 265, 244, 588 and 540, respectively.<sup>49</sup> In 1562-1563, when the number of tax-paying *hanes* in Dadya rose to 520, the total revenue, too, increased by 5,000 *akçes* compared with 45 years earlier to reach 35[000] *akçes*.<sup>50</sup> There were no socio-religious complexes other than a mosque (with no waqf), no markets, and no other urban services at Dadya – even though it was more populous than some *kaza* centres of Menteşe, classified as *kasaba* or *şehir*, at the time.

Thus, it was probably owing to its geographical position that Dadya also became an administrative centre on the peninsula. A document from the Registers of Important Affairs, dated to 1580, involves the *kadı* of Dadya in his capacity as an inspector of tax farms, and curiously refers to Dadya – without any urban character, and also lacking the

vizier in the imperial council; his promotion to the vizierate when he was in Thessalonica (36b-37a); his renunciation of the vizierate, and his retirement with a pension (*oturak dîrliği*) of 200,000 *akçes* (48a-48b).

44 As mentioned above, in 1530 the revenues of the Defterdar-ı Hızane-i Âmire were collected from Menteşe (and totalled 69,352 *akçes*).

45 TD 61, 239, after Uykucu, 'XVI. Yüzyılda Menteşe Sancağı', 77. Compare with Mesudiye (1517): 237 *hanes*, 1185 people, 20,500 *akçes*; Sermend/Semend/Sı[ğ]ındı (1517): 15 *hanes*, 75 people, 1,989 *akçes*; Marmaris (1517): 9 *hanes*, 45 people, 4,788 *akçes*.

46 The 1517 register records all *timar*-holders in Menteşe together with their revenues, while the 1562-1563 register omits all such information altogether (Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 108).

47 TK KKA 110, 70a, after Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 213-214 and 218-219.

48 TD 47, 170; TD 61, 239; TD 337, 94a; TK KKA TD 110, 92b; all after Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 219.

49 TD 47, 167; TD 61, 252; TD 337, 96a; TK KKA TD 110, 94b; all after Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 219.

50 TD 337, 95, after Uykucu, 'XVI. Yüzyılda Menteşe Sancağı', 77. Compare with Mesudiye (1562-1563): 466 *hanes*, 2,330 people, 22,000 *akçes*; Sermend/Semend/Sı[ğ]ındı (1562-1563): 14 *hanes*, 60 people; Marmaris (1562-1563): 1 *hane*, 5 people, 5,916 *akçes*.

corresponding services or networks – as a *kaza*,<sup>51</sup> thereby suggesting that *kaza* was no more than a certain financial-administrative status. Somewhat later, in documents from around the turn of the century, Dadya is found classified as a *nahiye*.<sup>52</sup>

The tax registers of Menteşe await further scrutiny to reveal more about Dadya as a revenue unit and tax farm in the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, from the second decade of the seventeenth century onwards, *tapu tahrir* registers were replaced by surveys of *cizye* and *avarız* – direct cash taxes which were made more comprehensive and regular as the *sipahis* and the *timar* system lost their primary function.<sup>53</sup> Thus, the 1621 *avarız* register still records Dadya as a village (*karye*) of Muğla.<sup>54</sup> However, in the later *avarız* registers of 1624, 1676, and 1688, Dadya – together with Eskihisar, Gereme, Sultan, Şahim, Döğer, Talama, Sobuca, Gökabad, Ula and Tarahya – is listed as one of the *kazas* of the Menteşe sub-province.<sup>55</sup> In addition to *cizye* and *avarız*, there were the substitute taxes for emergencies (*imdadiye*), also regularised in the eighteenth century as a compulsory annual borrowing from wealthy state officials, as well as other levies (such as the *ayaniye*) administered at the *kaza* level by leading local notables along with a judge.<sup>56</sup> Compiled in the form of the registers of allocations and expenses (*tevzi defterleri*), records of

51 “Liva-yı Menteşe’de vakî havass-ı atika mukataatı müfettişi Dadya kadısı Mevlâna Muslihiddin’e ... hüküm ki ...” (MD 41, 349/745, 20 Zilkade 987/8 January 1580, after Mete, ‘XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla’, 220).

52 İ. Şahin and F. Emecen, *Osmanlılarda Divan, Bürokrasi, Ahkâm. II: Bayezid Dönemine Ait 906/1501 Tarihli Ahkâm Defteri* (Istanbul 1994), 32 (Hüküm 112), after Mete, ‘XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla’, 277.

53 Direct taxation through *cizye*, the poll tax, and *avarız*, originally an extra-ordinary levy in wartime which probably became a regular and annual cash tax during the Habsburg wars of 1593-1606, brought much-needed hard cash into the Treasury. They eventually replaced the *timar* system, which allowed fief-holders to retain agrarian taxes in return for the Ottoman equivalent of knight service. For *cizye* and *avarız* registers, see B. McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade, and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800* (Cambridge and Paris 1981); L. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax-Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden 1990); O. Özel, ‘17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Demografi ve İskan Tarihi İçin Önemli Bir Kaynak: ‘Mufassal’ Avarız Defterleri’, in *XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara, 12-16 Eylül 1994. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Vol. 3 (Ankara 1999), 736-743. For a case study which utilises these ‘new’ tax registers vis-à-vis the site, size, and population composition of a settlement, see M. Kiel, ‘Kuşadası: Genoese Colonial Town of the 1300s or Ottoman Creation of the 17th Century?’, in Baykara (ed.), *CIÉPO XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 403-415. Kiel uses the following registers: İcmal and Mufassal Avarız of 1676 (Kepeci 2791 and TD 802, both dated H. 1087) for the *kaza* of Ania, also known as Kuşadası. Kuşadası, also a pirate base, is comparable to both Datça and Alanya.

54 BOA, KK Mevkufat 2620, 9-10 and MAD 2447, 47-51; see TDVİA, s.v. ‘Muğla’ (Z. Mete).

55 BOA, MAD 3399, 5, 7, 9 (n.d.); Kâmil Kepeci Mevkufat 2620, 26 (1624); 2670, 5a (1676); 2672, 6a (1688) (all after TDVİA, s.v. ‘Menteşe’ [Z. Mete], 151-152).

56 Y. Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi (XVIII. Yüzyıldan Tanzimat’a Malî Tarih)* (Istanbul 1986), 53-54, 329, 330; Idem, ‘18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Taşrasında Oluşan Yeni Malî Sektörün Mahiyet ve Büyüklüğü Üzerine’, *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi*, 9 (1996), 89-143.

these new taxes, too, may reveal more about the various administrative ambiguities of the Menteşe sub-province.<sup>57</sup> It is also possible that they could shed some light on the identity and the status of those (families) who eventually grabbed power in Dadya.<sup>58</sup>

### Piri’s Geography

Neither does Dadya come up frequently in Ottoman narrative sources. Not surprisingly, the oldest Ottoman account of the promontory and its settlements is that of Piri Reis (d. 1554). In his famous *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, also called *Eşkâl-i Cezair ve Sevahil-i Bahr-i Sefid* (of 1521 and 1526), Piri refers to Dadya as the north-eastern part of the promontory, and Bedye/Bedya/Patya as the south-western part; both appear as two big peninsular settlements belonging to the Menteşe sub-province.<sup>59</sup> In a section on ‘The coastline of Tekir harbour’ (*Bu Fasl Tekir Limanı Kenarın Beyan Eder*),<sup>60</sup> Piri Reis notes:

These are called the Dadya Bedye shores and belong to the Menteşe sub-province; Dadya and Bedye are two big villages [*köy*]. Bedye is the one close to Cape Tekir, and infidels [*kefere tayifesi*] call this place Kav Kriyo [*Kavu Kiriyo*, Cape Crio]. It is a famous cape where there is a harbour built in the Western [*kâfirî*] style on its southern side. There are many old buildings around the harbour. Before [it is said], this place belonged to a *tekfür* [as a lordship, *tekirlik*]. There is a running water one [nautical] mile to the south from the seaward mouth of the harbour. Ships [reaching

57 Despite what Piri Reis, too, says (below) on Dadya being part of the *sancak* of Menteşe, it seems that Dadya was actually part of the province of Bahr-i Sefid over the latter part of the sixteenth century. Suraiya Faroqi has touched on the inconsistencies of Ottoman administrative terminology regarding *kaza* and *nahiye*; she argues that only in the nineteenth century was a clear hierarchy established throughout the Empire (Faroqi, ‘Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets’, 36-37).

58 Since it was impossible to regularise the collection of at least some of these new taxes, the central government was forced to delegate the authority to collect them to the local notables, and thereby to incorporate these notables into the fiscal apparatus in the provinces. The taxes collected in this way evolved into a third sector (together with the *timar* revenues), and came to equal the revenues of the central treasury; Cezar, ‘18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Taşrasında Oluşan Yeni Malî Sektörün Mahiyet ve Büyüklüğü Üzerine’, 118-119. Naturally, both the centre and the periphery wanted the highest share from the local expenditures (*vilâyet masrafı*); Ch. Neumann, ‘Selânik’te Onsekizinci Yüzyılın Sonunda Masarif-i Vilâyet Defterleri, Merkezî Hükümet, Taşra İdaresi ve Şehir Yönetimi Üçgeninde Malî İşlemler’, *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 16 (1998), 69-97.

59 Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, 216 (from the second, 1526, version with 218 maps). For the legend explaining the topographical division, also see B. Ergenekon, ‘Dadya Yarımadası Kültürü’, *Halk Bilimi. ODTÜ Halk Bilimleri Topuluğu Dergisi*, 1998, 25-29. Although the dialect that people speak these days can be identified as unique to Datça, there are still some linguistic differences which endure between Datça and Beççe; Idem, ‘Dorian Archaeology’.

60 *Tekir* is a corruption of *tekfür*, *tekvour* or *takevour*, a name given to the Christian princes of Asia Minor.



Tekir Limanı] use this water. Near the shores of Dadya Bedye there are steep mountains. This place is a [dry] channel having the shape of an island, and its name is Kemer Boğazı. Five miles north-east of Tekir harbour there is a natural [hüdayi] harbour called Mersincik. There is also a fine creek there. The landmark for Mersincik is the islands in front of it and the other [two] islands near Cape Tekir. But this place is not suitable for anchoring. Cape Tekir is a sharp pointed mountain. Five miles east of this mountain, there is a spring called Kalsoç [Kalmaç] Suyu, the source of which is a shoulder [yumru yerlü] of rock. The area around this water is not a good place for anchoring. Ships can take water from there when the sea is calm, or they can do that with small boats. Two miles east of this water, there is a cape called Kaviskandiya [Kavu İskandiye]. Two miles to the east of this cape is a small [flat?] island called Bükü island, and the village across it is called Balamut Bükü. The area between these two is a good place for big ships to drop anchor. Here, wherever you dig the ground two handspans deep on the Anatolian shore, fresh water starts gushing. Rounding Ince Cape from here, even if one goes as far as Değirmendere, one cannot find a very good place to anchor as it is all mountainous. There is no known suitable anchorage for galleys [çekdürür gemiler]. Değirmendere is a bay. There is a creek in Değirmendere bay. The mill [at the foot of the creek] turns with water power. People do not drink it if they do not have to, as it is bitter. The shore near this water is shallow and suitable for anchoring. From here Zönbeki island is two miles to the east.<sup>61</sup>

The accompanying map of Piri Reis in *Kitab-ı Bahriye* delineates the *sancak-ı Menteşe* ili of the *vilâyet-i Anadolu*; starting with the channel and going counter-clockwise, he indicates Karye-i Dadya, Doğan Burnu, Liman-ı Mersincik, Tekir Limanı, Karye-i Bedye, Kalsoç, Balamut Bükü, Ince Burnu, Değirmen Deresi, and Ilıca<sup>62</sup> (Fig. 2).

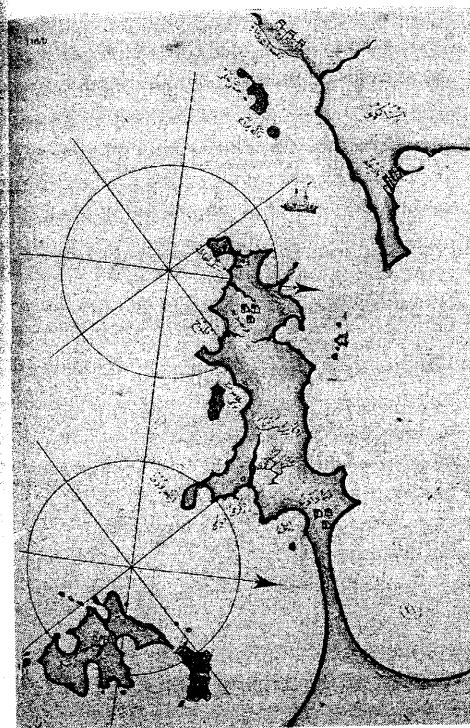
### *Evliya on Piracy and the Switch to Life Farms*

The most evocative Ottoman account of the promontory and its settlements is provided by Evliya Çelebi, who called it "Dacca" in the 1670s. Leaving Kos (İstanköy) on 29 September 1671 (25 Cemaziyelevvel 1082) for Rhodes, and coming upon eight Christian galleons as they rounded Tekirburnu, Evliya and his comrades saved their lives by taking refuge by the shores of the peninsula (*Menteşe hakkında Poça kıyılarına can atup can kurtarınca*...). Then, by moving 18 miles eastward along the shores of Poça (?), and another 11 miles along the Dacca shore (*Poça kenarınca şarka on sekiz mil gidüp Dacca kenarınca on mil dahi ubur edüp*), they reached Kal'a-ı Kiliselî:

... the ruined fortress is on a rocky promontory, but it has a fine bay. Once it was a well-built landing place. On the shores of Menteşe, is the heavenly *kaza* called Dac-

61 Corrected and modified from B. Arı (ed.), *Piri Reis. Kitab-ı Bahriye. Book of Navigation* (Ankara 2002), 190-191.

62 Compare W. Brice, C. Imber and R. Lorch, *The Aegean Sea-Chart of Mehmed Reis ibn Menemli, A.D. 1590-1* (Manchester 1977).



**Fig. 2:** The map which accompanies the description of Piri Reis in *Kitab-ı Bahriye* delineates the *sancak-ı Menteşe ili* of the *vilâyet-i Anadolu*; starting with the channel and going counter-clockwise, he indicates Karye-i Dadya, Doğan Burnu, Liman-ı Mersincik, Tekir Limanı, Karye-i Bedye, Kalsoç, Balamut Bükü, Ince Burnu, Değirmen Deresi, and Ilıca. From: Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, Vol. II (Ankara 1988), 514 (fol. 116b).

ca [Dadya], Becce [Bedye] and Darahiye [Tarahya] with revenues of 80[000] *akçes*, and with no town whatsoever. Settlements, altogether 47 villages, are all inhabited by rebellious Turks. It is the *hass* of the Pasha of Menteşe, governed by a *voyvoda*. God forfend, it is an inaccessibly steep, hooked and crooked, stony country like Europe. They saw our approach after being driven away by the infidels, but did not have mercy on us, these Turks, not even to offer us some water.<sup>63</sup>

This is a promontory which measures 80 miles from west to east. To one side are the shores of Symi, and to the other, Kos. The villages are on a cape, and their people are mutinous fighters. Three days before our arrival, Maltese ships brought soldiers to

63 "... bir alçak kaya üzere bir burunda vîrân kal'adır ammâ bir a'lâ yatak yeri limanı var. Mâtekaddem gâyet ma'mûr iskele imiş. Menteşe kenârlarında Dacca ve Poça ve Dârâhiyye kazâsı derler seksen akçe kazâ-i âsumânîdir, aslâ kasabası yokdur. Cümle nâhiyesi kırk yedi pâre âşî Türk kurâlarıdır. Ve dahi Menteşe pašasının hâssıdır. Voyvodası hükmeder. Ne'üzübîllâh gâyet sarp ve çengelîstân ve sengîstân-misâl Frengîstân yerlerdir. Bizi kâfir kovup "el-amân" deyü yanaşdığımız görüp ve Türk bizi dür (?) edüp bir içim su vermediler. Allâhümme âfinâ" (*Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. 9. *Kitap*, 118). I would hereby like to suggest that the toponym which has been transliterated as Poça, and also as Peçe, Püçe or even Yenice, should be read as Becce.

plunder the villages with the intent of obtaining grain and slaves. The aforementioned rebellious Turks, seven or eight thousand of them, gathered in one place and marched to the seashore to shoot at the ships from the rocks and to drive them off. None of the infidels caught ashore was able to run away. They were put to the sword, and those who escaped the sword were enslaved to herd goats on the hills. Although accursed, this is a brave, forceful and mighty people. In the end, not having succeeded in receiving a single loaf of bread from these people ...<sup>64</sup>

Typically, Evliya's figures of around 47 villages (*karye/kura*) inhabited by 7-8,000 unruly Turks (pirates and bandits) are quite inflated. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that even in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Knights of St John, once based in Rhodes and then in Malta, remained a tangible, menacing presence along the Menteşe coastline. Evliya's account of Dadya merits re-reading in the context of the attempt of impoverished communities backwatered by the mainstream of development to compensate themselves through piracy in the golden ages of the Mediterranean *corso*, 1580-1680.<sup>65</sup> And despite his tendency to exaggerate, he does provide substantial information regarding administrative and tax units: at the time there were no towns (*kasaba*) on the peninsula; Dadya [Dacca] was a *kaza* of Menteşe; it was part of the governor's *hass*, and its taxes were collected by a *voyvoda* sent or assigned by the governor; the revenues of the *kaza* of Dadya (with the centre alternatingly moving to Bedye or Tarahya) came to 80[,000] *akçes*. Compared with the revenues of Kasım Paşa in 1517, the taxable resources of Dadya seem to have almost tripled over a century and a half. This had gone hand in hand with other, more structural, changes. By the 1670s, for example, it seems that provincial governors no longer relied on agents called *emins* to collect their revenues, but had already begun to farm out this right to local tax farmers who went by titles such as *subaşı*, *voyvoda* or *mütesellim*.<sup>66</sup> Thus, in this case, the governor's *voyvoda* could have

64 "Ve bu mahal garbdan şarka seksen mîl bir burundur. Bir cânibi Sönbeki adası kıyılarıdır. Ve bir cânibi Gökova körfezidir. Ancak bir burun üzre bu kazâ kurâları âsi tüfeng-endâz kavimdir. Ammâ bizden üç gün evvel Malta gemileri bu kenâre asker döküp kurâları gâret edüp zahâyir ve esîr almak murâd edinüp asker döker. Mezkûr âsi Türkler fi'l-hâl yedi sekiz bini bir yere cem' olup hemân leb-i deryâyâ seğırdüp kâfir gemilerin kayalar mâbeyninden kurşum ile döğö döğö alarka ederler. Beri cânibde küffâr karada kalup aslâ birisi halâs olmayup dandân-ı tüğden geçürüp bakıyyetü's-seyi esîr edüp dağlarında keçi güderler idi. Gerçi mel'ûn kavimdir, ammâ gâyet bahâdır ve pehlivân ve tüvânâ kavimdir. El-hâsil bu kavimden bir nân-pâre alamayup ..." (ibid., 118).

65 P. Fodor, 'Piracy, Ransom Slavery and Trade: French Participation in the Liberation of Ottoman Slaves from Malta during the 1620s', *Turcica*, 33 (2001), 121, after M. Fontaney, 'The Mediterranean 1500-1800: Social and Economic Perspectives', in V. Mallia-Milanes (ed.), *Hospitaller Malta, 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem* (Msida, Malta 1993), 75-76; W. J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion, 1000-1020/1591-1611* (Berlin 1983). See also E. Ginio, 'Piracy and Redemption in the Aegean Sea during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', *Turcica*, 33 (2001), 135-147.

66 Another name for *voivode* or *voyvoda* was *hass zâbiti*; TDVİA, s.v. 'Has'; E. Ş. Batmaz, 'İltizam Sisteminin XVIII. Yüzyıldaki Boyutları', *AÜ DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 18/29 (1996),

been a local magnate from Dadya (as opposed to notables residing in the district seat of Muğla). This fits in with our modern understanding that the *malikâne* rescript of 1695 simply legalised a *de facto* situation, or at least an on-going process.<sup>67</sup> In other words, it is quite possible that the *hass*-holder might have already 'sold' his revenue rights or entitlements to a sub-contractor, who would thereby achieve distinction among his local peers.

### An Ancien-Régime Complexity

At the turn of the eighteenth century we find Menteşe to have been annexed to Aydın. Since the early seventeenth century, the governors (*mutasarrıf*) of Menteşe had been the *muhasşıl* of Aydın. Together with Canik and the Morea, Aydın enjoyed the status of being governed by those who were appointed primarily as tax collectors of the *havass-ı hümayun*.<sup>68</sup> The earliest documents pertaining to the appointment of a *muhasşıl* at Menteşe/Aydın identify a certain (Mağsub) Ahmed Paşa in 1714 and then again in 1715.<sup>69</sup> In the 1717-1718 provincial appointment registers, Menteşe was recorded as *malikâne*, which meant that the governors were no longer appointed from among the *enderun* graduates. Local notables of diverse backgrounds, who could also be non-Muslims, could start climbing up the social ladder by being appointed *mütesellim* or *voyvoda*, and charged with collecting the revenues due to absentee state officers or *malikâne*-holders. Growing rich through such life farms (*malikâne*), some rose further as governors. Küçükçelebi-zade İsmail Asım Efendi says that this shift in provincial governorships from *enderun* graduates to local power-brokers took place in 1726.<sup>70</sup> However, given that *muhasşıl* were being entrusted with collecting *sancakbeyis*' revenues from (at least) 1609 onwards, the locals' encroachments or takeover could have started much earlier.

In the registers of 1735-1736, Menteşe's administrative status was once more redefined as *muhasşılık-malikâne*.<sup>71</sup> There was a striking difference between the aforementioned Mağsub Ahmed Paşa and those who followed him over the next decade and more, namely Polad Ahmed Paşa and his two sons: the latter maintained the *muhasşılık* of

39-50; Y. Özkaya, 'XVIII. Yüzyılda Mütesellimlik Müessesesi', *DTCF Dergisi*, 17/3-4 (1970), 369-390.

67 E. Özvar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Uygulaması* (Istanbul 2003), 20 n. 19.

68 Aydın (with the addition [*mülhakarı*] of Menteşe and Saruhan), Canik and the Morea were the three *sancaks* which were classified as *muhasşılık*. Kılıç argues that the first *muhasşıl* of Aydın/Menteşe was a certain Abdullah Paşa, and that it was on 11 November 1716 that Menteşe and Saruhan were annexed to Aydın; O. Kılıç, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı. Eyalet ve Sancak Tevcihati* (Elazığ 1997), 118, 228. Also see other notes below.

69 C.ADL 8/524, 16 March 1714 (29 Safer 1126): Aydın and Menteşe *muhasşılı* Ahmed Paşa; C.DH 57, 26 December 1715 (29 Zilhicce 1127): Menteşe *muhasşılı* Hacı Ahmed.

70 *Tarih-i Çelebizade Asım Efendi* (Istanbul 1282/1865-1866), 441-442; see R. Karagöz, *Canikli Ali Paşa* (Ankara 2003), 5.

71 Bâb-ı Asafî Rûûs Kalemi (A.RSK) No. 1568 (1718) and No. 1572 (1736), both after Kılıç, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı*, 36.

Menteşe *ber vech-i malikâne*. Thus, although there was the appearance of a rapid turnover, the governorship was actually rotating among a few pashas who happened to be related to one another, so that the *malikâne* remained within the family.<sup>72</sup> The governors of Mentese were no longer residents at the centre.<sup>73</sup> In the second half of the eighteenth century, if not earlier, the *muhasşils* often appointed proxies from among the *mütesellims* (by then, the local notables of the region) to collect the tax revenues.

At this point it is necessary to tidy up some confusion in the secondary literature which derives, for the most part, from reliance on the oral testimony of members of prominent families of Muğla in the 1960s. Thus, it has been claimed that the first *mütesellims* in the Mentese *sancak* made their appearance in 1739, when the collection of Mihrümah Sultan's waqf revenues began to be administered by sub-contractors, *mütesellims* and *ayan*.<sup>74</sup> The claim that the state lands in Mentese were mainly the waqf land of Mihrümah

72 Uykucu appears to have been mistaken in identifying a certain Hüseyin Paşa in 1735 (20 Zilhicce 1147) as the earliest *muhasşil* in Mentese (*Menteşe sancağı mallarına ber vech-i malikâne muhasşillığına*); but he correctly lists his successors: first, Ahmed Paşa (misread Pozad by Uykucu) on 26 February 1735 (3 Şevval 1147); second, Mehmed Paşa Çelik; and third, Ahmed Paşa (Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 133). The last two were the sons of Pulad/Polad Ahmed Paşa; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, Vol. 1 (Istanbul 1996), 218. This Pulad/Polad Ahmed Paşa, of Arab origin, was appointed *beylerbeyi* of Sivas in September 1731, *beylerbeyi* of Adana in July 1733, and then *beylerbeyi* of Aleppo, before coming to be appointed *muhasşil* of Aydın in 1735. On 29 May 1737, his son, Çelik Mehmed, followed him into office; C.BH 85/4082 (29 Muharrem 1150). On 7 July 1737, the *sancaks* of Aydın and Mentese were given to the same Mehmed Bey, son of Pulad/Polad Ahmed Paşa, *muhasşillik vechiyle ... malikâne deruhde*; A.RSK 1572, 2, after Kılıç, 18. *Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdari Taksimatı*, 40, 116. Mehmed was dismissed in December 1738, and his father Ahmed Paşa returned to office. Soon, however, he too was dismissed and exiled to Chios for having failed to capture Sarı Beyoğlu, and was replaced by Sadaret Kaymakamı Ahmed Paşa (?). On 21 February 1742, Pulad/Polad Ahmed is referred to as the late, former *muhasşil* of Aydın; C.ML 764 (15 Zilhicce 1154). On 24 February 1743, the late, former *muhasşil* Pulad/Polad Ahmed Paşa's son, Ahmed Bey, was appointed *mir-i miran* of Saruhan and Mentese (to maintain the revenues of *mukataat*, *cizye*, *avarız*, which had been under his late father's jurisdiction); C.DH 73 (29 Zilhicce 1155). In subsequent years we also encounter a Yedekeçi Mehmed Paşa and a Yeğen Mehmed Paşa, who may also have been related to Pulad/Polad Ahmed Paşa.

73 It is curious to find that governors of Mentese were not included in the appointment registers of 1717-1730; F. Başar, *Osmanlı Eyâlet Tevcihâtı (1717-1730)* (Ankara 1997). Neither was the entire *eyalet* of Anadolu, and therefore also Mentese, included in the *sancak tevcih* registers of 1735-1736. Records of appointments entered at the beginning of these last-named registers classify Mentese as the *mülhakat* of Aydın *muhasşillığı*; Kılıç, 18. *Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdari Taksimatı*, 52-53 n. 40 and n. 44.

74 It seems that this claim was first made by Uykucu shortly after the first edition of his *Muğla Tarihi* in 1967 (K. E. Uykucu, 'Menteşe'nin Türkleşmesi', unpublished study notes. Kızıltoprak Eğitim Enstitüsü, 1969-1970). While Uykucu did not include the assertion that "in 1522, Süleyman I bequeathed 29 units of *çiftlik*s in Mentese to his daughter Mihrümah upon his return from Rhodes" in the 1983 edition of *Muğla Tarihi*, the claim found its way into the secondary literature through Ü. Türkes, *Muğla İli Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları: Yerkesik* (Istanbul 1971), 86-87 and 112.

Sultan, daughter of Süleyman I, is unfounded.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, there is an insistence on other, precise dates which are close to 1739, such as 1741 for the first recorded *mütesellim* of Muğla.<sup>76</sup> It is also alleged, in quite detailed fashion, that Mahmud I had appointed a certain Ali Agaki his *kapudan-ı derya*; this is somehow connected with the appointment of a sub-contractor, *mütesellim*, for the peninsula in 1749.<sup>77</sup> This, too, remains unsubstantiated, though sometimes *kapudans*, like *derebeys*, did become established as notables along the Ottoman seaboard.<sup>78</sup>

But meanwhile, a reverse process was also operating in the *sancak* of Mentese whereby some of its revenue sources were being allocated out as pensions (*arpalık*) in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and its *arpalık*-recipient absentee governors (*muhasşil*) were being represented by *mütesellims*.<sup>79</sup> This confirms, if such confirmation were need-

75 My research on the *vakfiyes* of Mihrümah Sultan at the Archives of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara has not yielded any reference to waqfs in the sub-province of Mentese. Furthermore, in the waqf sections of the various sixteenth-century tax registers for this area, there is no mention of any revenues allocated to Mihrümah. For a long time, waqfs in Muğla were established by local sheikhs and other *ulema*; Ottoman Sultans and top administrators do not appear to have established waqfs in Muğla (at least not until relatively late in the eighteenth century); Faroqhi, 'Menteşeoğullarından Osmanlılara Muğla', 23. In 1793, however, Selim III's mother Mihrişah Sultan (d. 1805) did endow property in the region (deeding thirteen *çiftlik*s in Mentese, two in Muğla and thirteen in Köyceğiz) to her waqf; Ankara Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi K. 177 (H. 1208/1793). For the names of the thirteen *çiftlik*s in Köyceğiz, see Z. Eroğlu, *Muğla Tarihi* (Izmir 1939), 250. It is possible that Uykucu (and, following him, others) have confused Mihrişah with Mihrümah, and 1793 with 1739. Two documents reflect this confusion. One of them, a document dated 18 May 1837 (12 Safer 1253), indicates that the 29 *çiftlik*s of Mihrişah Sultan were farmed out to Tavashlı Osman Ağa for 135,000 *guruş* for five years and that Hasan Çavuşzade Ebu Bekir Ağa was willing to pay 150,000 *guruş* to take them over (HAT 1303). Another document, dated 13 March 1840 (9 Muharrem 1256), shows that before Tavashlı Osman Ağa's five-year lease came to an end, the 29 *çiftlik*s were farmed out to Ebu Bekir, his brother Osman, and their two sisters (HAT 1425). However, neither the Tavashlıs nor the Çavuşzades were able to benefit from these *çiftlik*s; according to the regulations imposed in 1839, the *çiftlik*s in question were entrusted to the administration of a *muhasşil*.

76 Cevdet Zabtiye 1201 (1741), after Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 126, on Yusuf Bey, the *mütesellim* of Muğla, who was killed by bandits in Megri.

77 N. Tuna, 'Batı Anadolu Kent Devletlerinde Mekan Organizasyonu. Knidos Örneği', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ege Üniversitesi, 1983, 228. Also see note 103 below. This particular allegation apart, for comparing the development of Cnidus with that of Yerkesik in the same period, see Türkes, *Muğla İli Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları*.

78 A. C. Eren, *Mahmud II. Zamanında Bosna-Hersek* (Istanbul 1965), 22-24; Ç. Uluçay, 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık ve Halk Hareketleri (Istanbul 1955), 14; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Meşhur Rumeli Âyanlarından Tirsinikli İsmail, Yılıkoğlu Süleyman Ağalar ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa* (Istanbul 1942), 5-6.

79 Uykucu claims that this process began after 1751, but provides no source references; Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 124; Idem, *Marmaris Tarihi* (Istanbul 1970), 52. For the 1716 allocation of Mentese as *arpalık* to Mustafa Paşa, *ex-beylerbeyi* of Bosnia, simultaneously with his appointment as the commander of the Belgrade fortress, see Kılıç, 18. *Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdari Taksimatı*, 97, 111, 118.

ed, that such terms as *muhasıl* or *mütesellim* did not correspond to the fixed, precisely defined meanings and hierarchies that we associate with modernity, and that especially in local usage they lent themselves to significant slippages.

### *The Leading Mütesellim Families of Muğla-Menteşe*

That said, what I have been able to locate as the earliest evidence on this area's *mütesellims* concerns an *ayan* of Tavas by the name of Hasan Ağa, who is cited as having been murdered at home by brigands on 3 September 1758.<sup>80</sup> Since an early generation of studies on eighteenth and nineteenth-century Muğla, new documents have become available, enabling us to develop a more precise chronology.<sup>81</sup> On the basis of my own archival research, I would provisionally suggest the following: 1762-1782: Köyceğizli (*ayan* of Milas) Hasan Çavuşzade Hacı Ahmed Ağa; 1782-1786: Tavaslı Hacı Ömer Ağa; 1786-1794: Köyceğizli Hasan Çavuşzade Hacı Ebu Bekir; 1794-1817: Milaslı/Tavaslı Seyyid Ömer Ağa; 1817-1829/1830: a period of confusion, during which Tavaslı Hüseyin Ağa, Mehmed Emin Ağa, and Silâhşor Yahya Bey seem to have been tried out for this position in quick succession; 1829/1830-1848: Tavaslı Osman Ağa, and his son Mehmed as his proxy.

This tentative sequence is not without its problems (on which, more below). Nevertheless, it shows that from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, the descendants of Hasan Ağa, who came to be known as the Tavaslıs or Tavasogulları, were engaged in a constant struggle against their arch-rivals, the Köyceğiz-based Çavuşogulları, as well as a third, Milas-based family known as the Abdülaziz Ağaoğulları, over the office of *mütesellim* and hence over the right to farm the state lands around Muğla. Such notables, seizing deserted *dırlıks* or *arpalıks*, appropriated property rights over large landholdings to establish a local power base, and thereby also to carve out an existence autonomous of the centre. In the end, the Tavaslıs were the winners – for which reason they were also called ‘the Menteşe dynasty’ (*Menteşe hanedanı*).<sup>82</sup> This victory, however, came right on the eve of the Tanzimat – which would terminate the office of *mütesellim*, and begin to replace all this *ancien-régime* complexity with the building blocks of a gradually emerging modern state.

It so happens that we now possess a wealth of documents pertaining to the *mütesellims* of Menteşe. They show, among other things, that these *mütesellims* (or their family members) were granted the honorific of *kapıcıbaşı*, implying a certain recognition by the central authorities. The earliest reference to a *mütesellim* who also became *kapıcıbaşı* concerns the son, Ebu Bekir, of a long-standing *mütesellim*, Hasan Çavuşzade Hacı Ahmed

80 C.ML 146 (29 Zilhicce 1171). For the sixteenth and nineteenth-century history of Tavas, see M. S. Kütükoğlu, *XVI. Asırda Tavas Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisâdi Yapısı* (Istanbul 2002), and Eadem, *XIX. Asır Ortalarında Tavas Kazası* (Istanbul 2007).

81 It is especially the information provided by Uykuç (Muğla Tarihi, 124-134) on *mütesellims* that needs to be updated in the light of new evidence.

82 For *Menteşe hanedanı*, see A.MTK.UM 81 (7 Zilkade 1271).

Ağa. This Ahmed Ağa himself was never made or called *kapıcıbaşı*, but Ebu Bekir was made *kapıcıbaşı* in 1772, upon his appointment as *başbuğ* of Sakız/Chios, while his aged father was still *mütesellim* at Menteşe/Muğla.<sup>83</sup> From early 1782 onwards, Tavaslı Kapıcıbaşı Seyyid Hacı Ömer Ağa (the son-in-law of Milaslı Abdülaziz Ağa) appears as both *mütesellim* and *kapıcıbaşı*.<sup>84</sup> After the janissary corps was abolished in 1826, only 30 notables, in both the capital and the provinces, kept the title *kapıcıbaşı* while the rest were retired with a pension of 300 *guruş*. Then, in 1840, the chronicler Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi says that the number of *kapıcıbaşıs* was increased to 40, and they were annexed to the imperial stables.

The Tavaslı house was wealthy, powerful, and durable. They were also related by marriage to their rivals, so much so that (especially in the absence of distinctive family names) it is frequently difficult to distinguish between individuals with identical first names who appear to belong to different dynasties but who could also be the same person. For example, during Ömer's tenure as *mütesellim* of Menteşe, two of his brothers, Osman and Hasan, were also referred to as *ayan* of Tavas. In time, of these two brothers it is said to have been Osman who succeeded Ömer as the new *mütesellim*, and remained in office until the Tanzimat, when he was appointed *kaymakam* of Menteşe. As indicated above, around 1840 it was this Tavaslı Osman Ağa who was in power in Muğla. To repeat, he was (said to be) a brother of Ömer – but which Ömer was this? Tavaslı Hacı Ömer Ağa (*mütesellim* over 1782-1786), or Milaslı Ömer Ağa (*mütesellim* over 1794-1817)? Osman and the former are separated by at least 44 years, while between Osman and the latter, there seemingly lies the problem of Tavas vs Milas. But neither can it be ruled out that Tavaslı Ömer and Ömer, the *ayan* of Milas, might have been one and the same.<sup>85</sup> Ahmed Lûtfî lists the names of the various *kapıcıbaşıs* in his time, and states that those who were retired after 1826 became destitute (having been deprived of their access to means of wealth).<sup>86</sup> But the *mütesellims* of Menteşe/Muğla are not listed among this select group. The dynastic rule of *mütesellims* in the former *sancak* of Menteşe seems to have come to an end with Tavaslıoğlu Osman Ağa and his son (Hacı Mütesellim) Me-

83 C.AS 992 (29 Ramazan 1186).

84 C.BH 185/8697 (29 Safer 1196/13 February 1782).

85 Archival sources themselves can be inconsistent in their usage. Thus, in all except one of some 40 documents, *kapıcıbaşı* and later *mütesellim* Ebu Bekir is always referred to as from Köyceğiz, while in that one exception he is mentioned as “Ağrıdos (?) ayarı”. He was appointed to the office of *mütesellim*, however, to replace his father, the *ayan* of Milas. This could also be the case for the (apparently) ‘two’ Ömers in question. Documents referring to a certain Ömer Ağa as being “of Milas” are C.BH 113/5453 (6 Rebiyülevvel 1232), C.DH 42 (27 Ramazan 1205), HAT 209 (29 Zilhicce 1205). The indication that Ömer Ağa was too old to participate in a campaign in 1810 may also suggest his long, but interrupted, tenure in office and regional politics; HAT 632 (20 Rebiyülevvel 1225). Furthermore, it is understood that the family was resident in the village of Hırka in Tavas; Kütükoğlu, *XIX. Asır Ortalarında Tavas Kazası*, 17, 21.

86 Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi, *Vak'aniyâs Lûtfî Efendi Tarihi*, Vol. 5 (Istanbul 1999), 820-821. In 1851, yet another adjustment was made vis-à-vis the *kapıcıbaşıs*. The rank or title was finally abolished in 1908; see TDVİA, s.v. ‘Kapıcı’ (A. Özcan).

hmed Ağa in the period 1829-1839.<sup>87</sup> However, both are registered in state documents as bearers of the title of *kapıcıbaşı* – until at least 1852.<sup>88</sup>

### *A Mid-Nineteenth-Century Encounter*

The Tavaslıs' marriage connections extended to yet more peripheral families, too, including the Tuhfezades in Dadya. To put it in another way, this urban-based dynasty at the provincial centre had lesser allies who became instrumental in collecting taxes and recruiting soldiers in the *kazas* and *nahiyes*.<sup>89</sup> The *mütesellims* of Menteşe certainly needed *voyvodas* in Dadya. Evliya Çelebi's remarks about the hostility of the land and its people should be taken as indicative of the difficulties of maintaining authority and collecting taxes in the area. As Evliya noted, settlements on the unyielding peninsula were few and far between. He did not see many peasants busying themselves with cultivating a land that he chose to describe as steep and rocky. Moreover, he knew the north-western coastline of Becce/Bedye to be all the more barren, remote, and inaccessible.

In the collective memory of today's locals, behind Dadya and Bedye there lurk two (fictive) brothers, Dayî Ağa and Bedî Ağa, who are believed to have established themselves as local magnates at some time. Not surprisingly, their origins are said to have been in plunder. Pirates raiding and pillaging along the Aegean and Mediterranean coastline – as indeed at many other times and places – were embryonic robber-barons, ready to turn into local despots wherever they found the opportunity to settle. The most revealing primary sources on how locals co-operated with pirates, tipping them off about ships carrying precious merchandise, or provisioning and sheltering, even joining them, are court records, or captives' extremely rare first-person narratives.<sup>90</sup> But both are missing in the case of pre-nineteenth-century Dadya. On the other hand, a few travellers, who were mostly preoccupied with exploring antiquities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, wrote about the peninsula, its dispersed settlements and its people, often including its quasi-piratical local tyrants.

Particularly noteworthy in this regard is the account of Charles Thomas Newton, the explorer of Halicarnassus and ancient Cnidus, who wrote (in 1857/1858):

87 Osman Ağa's wife Ümmügülsüm is mentioned in connection with her charity work in the 1830s. The mosque of Şeyh Sucaeddin in Muğla was restored under her auspices in 1830; Eroğlu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 135, 138.

88 HAT 754 (29 Zilhicce 1250); C.DH 345 (22 Cemaziyelevvel 1251); C.ML 561 (25 Rebiyülâhır 1268).

89 For example, a certain Süleyman Efendi, the judge of Yerkesiği, was famous as the right-hand man of Tavaslıoğlu Osman Ağa in 1830-1848; Türkeş, *Muğla İli Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları*, 86.

90 Invaluable in this regard are the memoirs of a seventeenth-century poet called Esirî (the Captive), whose real name was Hüseyin bin Mehmed, and who was captured by the Maltese in 1625 and held in Messina. His narrative includes his captivity, the torment of his imprisonment, his desperate attempts to escape, and his eventual ransoming; G. Kut, 'Esirî, His 'Sergüzeşt' and Other Works', *JTS*, 10 (1986), 235-244.

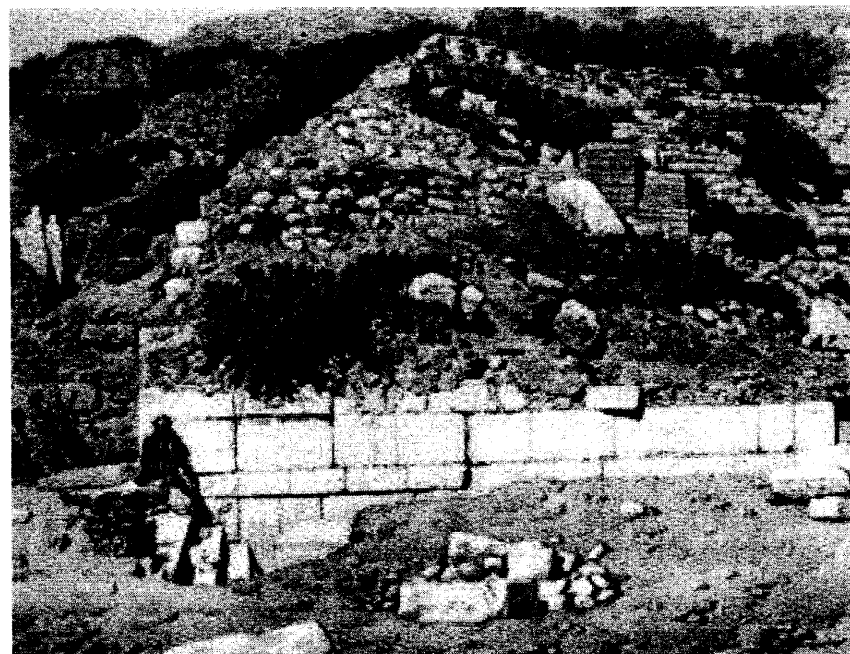


Fig. 3: Charles Newton at the Theatre, Cnidus.

I have lately had a visit from a remarkable character, who rules the peninsula like an ancient "tirannos". His name is Mehemet Ali – he is the Aga of a place called Datscha, halfway between Cape Crio and Djova [Giova: Gökova?], and near the site of ancient Acanthus. Smith [a lieutenant in Newton's company] paid him a visit in the autumn, when we purchased some timber of him. He is an Aga, and can trace his descent from Dere Beys for several generations<sup>91</sup> (Fig. 3).

The three themes which emerge from Newton's introduction are that 'Mehmed Ali' was a despot; that he was involved in commerce, at least in the timber trade; and that even in their initial encounter 'Mehmed Ali' had already boasted of his lineage. They form a convenient framework for the rest of this study. Taking them up in reverse order, I shall start with investigating the origins and genealogy of Newton's acquaintance. Second, I shall study his family mansion, and especially the murals in its reception room, as perhaps reflecting his complex identity against the background of his political, agricultural, and commercial activities at this junction of the Aegean and the Mediterranean. Fi-

91 C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, Vol. II (London 1865), 162. For 'derebey', see *İA*, s.v. 'Derebeyler' (J. H. Mordtmann).

nally, I shall explore aspects of his alleged tyranny, or of his being a usurper, *mütegallibe*, with the semi-official title of an *ağa* or a *derebey*, in an insular peninsula in the middle of the nineteenth century.

But first, I have to correct Charles Newton: the person he met in Dadya was not Meh[e]met Ali but Mehmed Halil (who had a son called Mehmed Ali). The celebrated archaeologist's mistake – for which I have no immediate explanation – has been carelessly passed on into the secondary literature, though mostly at the level of popular history. To avoid further confusion, I have inserted the correction 'Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil]' in quoting directly from *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*; otherwise, I have simply referred to the correct identity of the person concerned, namely Mehmed Halil Ağa, even where I have relied only on Newton's account.<sup>92</sup>

### Past, Pride, Pedigree

The pride that Mehmed Halil Ağa took in his ancestry was not a personality quirk, for he belonged to a local dynasty, the Tuhfezades, who had (and have) been boasting of their origins for many centuries. In fact, it is largely thanks to their family pride that we are able to learn anything about the settlement of their ancestors on the peninsula, though the story has yet to be picked up (and corroborated through) any official documentation.

About their beginnings, there exist three different accounts. The first is a genealogy of the Tuhfezade family which has been meticulously updated from one generation to the other. It identifies the head and founder of the family as a certain Ali Agaki (little *ağa* = little lord) from Crete. Curiously, a date, *Hicrî 1100* (H. 1100), is attached to his name, indicating perhaps that he arrived in Dadya around 1690 and settled in Elaki (a corruption of Allaki or Agaki?).<sup>93</sup> At Elaki, currently Reşadiye, there stands a mosque which was built by Newton's acquaintance Mehmed Halil Ağa. A much shorter version of the genealogy is displayed on an inscription panel located at the gate of this mosque, tracing Mehmed Halil Ağa's ancestors six generations back – down to a certain Ali-i Girid or Ali Giridî, and roughly to the last decade of the seventeenth century (Fig. 4). There is said to have been a yet shorter version of the family tree carved on rings that the family members proudly wore until perhaps the middle of the twentieth century.<sup>94</sup> Back to the mosque inscription:<sup>95</sup> the poet, with Lebib as his pen-name, uses the numerical equivalents of Arabic letters to give the date of construction as 1273/1856 in the last couplet. Mehmed Halil, the patron of the mosque, is praised as a *seyyid* and as *müdür-i Dadya*. He is said to have also built a *medrese* as well as many fountains in various neighbourhoods.

92 I am grateful to Dr Simon Price for bringing the 'Newton Papers' – the unpublished papers of Charles Newton in the British Museum – to my attention. Unfortunately, I have yet to be able to consult this corpus.

93 I am grateful to Fulya Bayık for providing me with copies of this family tree, and informing me that it was put into its current form by Özhan Ulusoy. Also see Ö. Ulusoy, 'Datça Turizmi Gelişme İmkanları', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Ege Üniversitesi, 1971.

94 Fulya Bayık, personal communication.

95 N. Açıköz, *Datça Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri* (Datça 2006), 176-177.

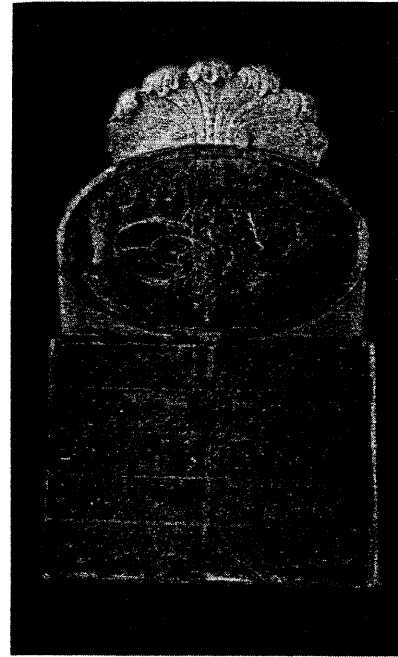


Fig. 4: Inscription panel at the gate of Mehmed Halil Ağa's mosque at Elaki.

At the very top, in the first four lines, the poet lists him together with five generations of his ancestors, thus expanding the family history backward over some 150 years: (6) Tuhfezade es-Seyyid Muhammed Halil, son of (5) el-Hac Halil, son of (4) Muhammed, son of (3) el-Hac Halil, son of (2) Muhammed, son of (1) Ali of Crete. Then comes the *tuğra* of Abdülmecid as the reigning Sultan, and two full quatrains followed by the concluding couplet. The full text of the inscription panel is as follows:

Tuhfe-zâde es-Seyyid  
Muhammed Halil ibn  
el-Hâcc Halil ibn Muhammed ibn el-Hâcc Halil ibn  
Muhammed ibn Ali Giridî

[Abdülmecid's *tuğra*]

Müdür-i Dâdiye Seyyid Muhammed sâhibü'l-hayrât  
İki âlemde de sa'yini meşkûr eylesin Mevlâ  
Be-tevfik-ı Hüdâ mahzar olup ibrâz-ı hayrâta  
Bu şehri sû-be-sû her bir cihetden eyledi ihyâ  
Bu vâlâ câmi'i islamiyâna yâdigâr erdi  
İlâ-yevmi'l-kıyâme nâmın ilhâk eyleyib ibkâ  
Yapıb nev medrese bir kaç mahalde çeşmeler icâd  
Ahâliye inâyetler keremler eyledi hakkâ

Lebibâ yek kalemde söyledim târihini ben de  
Muhammed Tuhfe-zâde ctdi ihyâ câmi'-i ulyâ

Together with and reinforced by this genealogy, Ali Agaki of Crete survives vividly in family memory as the forefather who was given the peninsula as a 'gift' by the Ottoman authorities. This, then, is the meaning and derivation of their family name –Tuhfezadeler, which literally means 'the descendants of the Gift or Grant'.<sup>96</sup> Since it was in the 1690s that the first *malikânes* were farmed out,<sup>97</sup> it is quite possible that the Cretan ancestor, who could well have been a man of the sea who sided with the Ottomans during the final phase of the Cretan campaign (and then perhaps into the Great War of 1683-1699?), had been rewarded with some revenue units on the peninsula, which could have been given to him in fief (*dirlik*) as well as in freehold (*temlik*).

### Foggy Memories?

The second version of Ali Agaki's story that has kept circulating, spreading from family members to a number of secondary sources, goes much further back, not to the completion of the conquest of Crete in the 1660s but to the conquest of Rhodes in 1522. Here the Tuhfezades are cast as a fief-holding (*zaim* or timariot) *sipahi* family whose ancestor had been assigned as *kâhya* or *kethüda* to Süleyman I's legendary Grand Admiral, Hayreddin Paşa Barbarossa.<sup>98</sup> When Hızır Reis rose to become Hayreddin Paşa, appointed

96 Much later, in Republican Turkey, descendants of the family took 'Armağan', also meaning gift, as their family name.

97 Since Mehmet Genç's seminal study 'Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Sistemi', in O. Okyar and Ü. Nalbantoğlu (eds), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri. Metinler – Tartışmalar* (Ankara 1975), 231-296, also see D. Günday, 'Tahrir Defterleriyle Mukataa Defterleri Arasında Mukayese', *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1/6 (1980), 207-212; A. Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme Dönemine Girerken Osmanlı Maliyesi* (Istanbul 1985); Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi*; A. Şener, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Vergi Sistemi* (Istanbul 1990); Y. Cezar, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nin Merkez Malî Bürokrasi Tarihine Giriş', *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi*, 4 (1993), 129-160; A. Salzmänn, 'Measures of Empire: Tax Farmers and the Ottoman Ancien Régime, 1695-1807', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1995; A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri* (Istanbul 1996); Batmaz, 'İltizam Sisteminin XVIII. Yüzyıldaki Boyutları'; E. Özvar, 'XVII. Yüzyılda Taşra Maliyesinde Değişim: Rum Hazine Defterdarlığından Tokat Voyvodalığına Geçiş', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1998; A. Salzmänn, 'İmparatorluğu Özelleştirmek: Osmanlı XVIII. Yüzyılında Paşalar ve Ayânlar', in G. Eren (ed.), *Osmanlı*, Vol. III (Ankara 1999), 227-235; M. E. Sarıcaoğlu, *Mâlî Tarih Açısından Osmanlı Devletinde Merkez Taşra İlişkileri (II. Mahmud Döneminde Edirne Örneği)* (Ankara 2001); Özvar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Uygulaması*; B. Çakır, *Osmanlı Mukataa Sistemi (XVI-XVIII. Yüzyıl)* (Istanbul 2003).

98 We have it on M. Fethi Meltem's authority that he heard this version from the nephews and/or nieces of the last Ağa Mehmed Halil; M. F. Meltem, *Daçça'ya Ait Bildiklerim* (n.p. n.d.), 3. An interview with M. Fethi Meltem was conducted by Fulya Bayık on 22 April 2003 as part of the Daçça Oral History Project.

both Commander of the Ottoman navy and Governor-General of the Aegean islands in early 1534, the income of the newly established province of *Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid* (Islands of the White Sea = the Mediterranean) was allocated to the Grand Admiral and his leading captains, who now became governors of its *sancaks*: Gallipoli, Eğriboz, Karlılı, İnebahtı, Midilli, and Rhodes.<sup>99</sup> Ali Giridî is portrayed as having received his lands, too, somewhere in the midst of this process.

Of course, this is difficult to reconcile with elements of macro-history (Barbarossa, still Hızır Reis, did not personally participate in the siege of Rhodes, but sent a squadron under Kurdoğlu Muslihiddin, who was put in charge of naval operations), as well as with the chronology of the family tree: the H. 1100 date ascribed to Ali Agaki is not accounted for, and six generations are far too few to cover the three centuries or more between an Ali taken back to the 1520s (or 1530s) and the Mehmed Halil that we know in the 1840s-1860s. At the same time, the appearance of an earlier Cretan on the peninsula, granted a fief or freehold, is not altogether impossible. After all, there was an intimate relationship between Venetian Crete and Mentşe even before Ottoman times;<sup>100</sup> there also exist(ed) local families descended from religious or tribal leaders;<sup>101</sup> converts had been operating in the area for a very long time, and (as with many pirates in history – a point which has already been made) it was all too common for some of the luckier or more successful ones to receive entry into the local military/landed classes. The Ali Giridî of the late seventeenth century could conceivably be inserted at mid-point into a much longer family history – as, perhaps, somebody who managed to build upon and expand a toehold dating from the 1520s or 1530s.

All this, however, need not imply anything more than that this second story (too) appears to have been woven of locally available, thus relatively plausible, motifs or elements. When we move to matters of evidence, finding documentary support for this version of the Tuhfezades' co-option into the Ottoman system is likely to prove much more problematic. I should note that in the family graveyard at Sındı (originally Sı[ğ]ındı: literally, the one who takes refuge or to whom shelter has been given), there is a tombstone which purports to belong to "Giridli Barbarosaki [= Little Barbarossa] Murad Ağa". It is not an original, and bears the very late date of "12.8.1924". It can only be taken as a pretentious reflection of the family infatuation with legendary links to Crete, to piracy, and to maritime achievement.<sup>102</sup>

To some extent, this is also true of the third version, which claims that it was Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754) who in 1749 appointed a *kapudan-ı derya*, Ali Agaki, as sub-

99 İ. Bostan, 'The Establishment of the Province of Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid', in E. A. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Kapudan Pasha, His Office and His Domain. Halcyon Days in Crete IV. A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 7-9 January 2000* (Rethymno 2002), 241-251. Bostan notes that information about the sub-provinces of the province of Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid, especially in its early years, is insufficient.

100 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 126-136.

101 For a certain Hacı Ali Bey family from Ula, see Türkes, *Muğla İli Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları*, 113.

102 This tombstone is not listed in Açıkgöz, *Daçça Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri*.

contractor (*mütesellim*) for the peninsula.<sup>103</sup> What is involved here seems to be the grafting of a maritime myth on to more tangible stories of the rise of a family of *mütesellims* in the eighteenth century. The present lack of solid documentation notwithstanding, another tombstone in the family graveyard at Sı[ğ]ındı, dated 1749-1750 and belonging to a certain Tuhfezade Hüseyin Ağa, who is said to have been shot and killed when he was 27, confirms a mid-eighteenth-century presence for the family in Dadya.<sup>104</sup>

### *Evidence for a New Start in the Late Seventeenth Century*

Despite the vagueness and variance of all these versions, based on family members' testimony over the last quarter of the twentieth century, which, moreover, were put together by amateur historians without access to official records, the first (supported by the mosque inscription) is clearly stronger than the others, and the H. 1100 date on the pedigree does point in the direction of further explanations. It is just around this time, for example, that Bernard Randolph – an English aristocrat who visited many islands of the Archipelago in the 1680s – relates a number of stories regarding Cretan Greeks who had converted to Islam and then set out to search for their fortunes in these dangerous waters.<sup>105</sup> Likewise, tradition claims that a Maniot pirate by the name of Limberakis Yerakaris had been rowing in the Venetian galleys when he was captured by the Ottomans in 1667, whereupon the Grand Vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa offered to pardon him provided he co-operated with the Ottomans. He did so over the last years of the Cretan War; meanwhile, in his on-going struggle against other local families, and with the support of his new overlords, in 1670 he was able to build three fortresses (Kelefa, Zarnatas, Porto Kagio) across the Aegean from the Datça peninsula to contain Messa Mani. He thus became the *bey* of Mani. Sometime later, Yerakaris is said to have turned against the Ottomans and started attacking their convoys.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>103</sup> As already indicated (see note 77 above), there is no historical explanation whatsoever for this date, which nevertheless has come to be taken for granted in the secondary literature as well as on the internet. It seems to have been based on an oral account which was first registered in Tuna, 'Batı Anadolu Kent Devletlerinde Mekan Organizasyonu', 228.

<sup>104</sup> Açıkgöz, *Datça Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri*, 98-99.

<sup>105</sup> B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago (or Arches), Sea of Constantinople, and Gulph of Smyrna; with the Islands of Candia, and Rhodes ...* (Oxford 1687). One such convert had settled in Chios and had had a good life until he ran into trouble in Negroponte (Euboea/Egriboz); *ibid.*, 2. A number of travellers in the Aegean, ranging from those in search of antiquities (such as Lord Charlemont in 1749 and Richard Chandler in 1764) to soldiers and statesmen (like the English admiral Sir Francis Beaufort in 1811-1812 and the French diplomat J. M. Tancoigne in 1811-1812), mentioned encounters with pirates whose identities may have been 'intranational', 'international' or 'transnational'.

<sup>106</sup> After his brief triumph, one of Yerakaris' first acts was to exile his clan's enemies, the Iatriani family and the Stephanopoulos family, both originally of Oitylo. The former family moved to Livorno in 1670, and the latter to Corsica in 1676. Subsequently, Yerakaris himself was forced to flee to Italy. After the conquest of Crete, Maniots continued to fight against the Ottomans. In 1685, the Venetians went on the offensive and cleared the entire Morean peninsula of the Otto-

I shall therefore opt for the possibility that a certain Ali of Crete, also an equally 'nationless' pirate, could have proved helpful to the Ottomans during the final campaign (1664-1669) and remained loyal in the aftermath, coming to be rewarded with a fief in this vast yet infertile land. This is how he might have emerged as Ali Agaki, a minor *ağa* in the 1690s (for his revenues were insignificant to begin with). The H. 1100 = AD 1690 date on the pedigree also suggests that the Sultan Süleyman of the second version of Ali Agaki's origins could be Süleyman II (r. 1687-1691), though certainly not Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566). The second Süleyman was the brother and successor of Mehmed IV, whose reign saw the finalisation of the conquest of Crete as Candia fell in 1669 (but then also defeat outside Vienna in 1683 and the near-collapse of the entire western front). Significantly, Süleyman II's brief reign witnessed a new wave of land distribution in line with the preparations for the switch to life-farming that would become official in 1695. Furthermore, it was in the 1680s that the first *ayan* elections were undertaken in the provinces, allowing some local notables to assume publicly acknowledged power and authority and to come to represent a *kaza*. So there is a strong case for situating and contextualising Ali Girdi's origins in the midst of all these changes impacting on a remote countryside.

### *A Hypothetical Path from Piratical Origins to Power and Affluence through Life-Farming*

Secondly, *malikâne*-isation and the rise of *ayan* to official recognition may also provide a hinge for unfolding the subsequent history of the family. We have seen that in 1517 and then again in 1671, the *hass* revenues of the *grandees* or governors in Dadya were being farmed out through intermediaries, initially by an *emin*, later by a sub-contractor or *voyvoda*. If – apart from everything that goes against this assumption – the Tuhfezades were indeed descended from the steward (or any other favourite) of Barbarossa, and given some land under any one or more of the possible revenue-sharing arrangements, they would have been inserted into the multiple transformations of Ottoman land tenure at a relatively early stage. As the *timar* system declined from the late sixteenth century onwards, old fiefs were divided up to be farmed out in parts and parcels to those men of wealth and influence who also had the means to appropriate deserted lands. It was at this time, too, that provincial governors began to sell the right to collect their tax revenues to local tax farmers (*mütesellim*, *subaşı* or *voyvoda*). In the eighteenth century, as the *malikâne-mukataa* system grew and expanded, former *dirlik* revenues were progressive-

mans. Many anti-Ottoman revolts also drove Greek refugees from Asia Minor or Crete to the Mani. Among these, Cretan refugees founded new villages with Cretan names, and enriched the Maniot dialect with Cretan words and idioms (which was not the case in the Dadya peninsula). In 1715, after the Venetians evacuated the Morea, Mani still retained its autonomy and provided a base for the rebels. During these years there were many civil wars between Maniot families. In 1770, the Greeks revolted all over the Morea; see P. Greenhalgh and E. Eliopoulos, *Deep into Mani: Journey to the Southern Tip of Greece* (London 1985); K. Kassis, *Mani's History* (Athens 1979).



ly incorporated into the state budget; *hass*-holders came to receive salaries, stipends or pensions from the central treasury; and local notables, now with multiple roles as sub-contractors or deputies, were ever more firmly incorporated into the state apparatus. Furthermore, together with statesmen (*ricâl-i devlet*) at the centre, local notables (*ayan-ı vilâyet*), too, came to participate in the *malikâne-mukataa* auctions.

Thus, if it were really the case that the family's founding fathers had settled in the Datça peninsula in the early sixteenth century, it was in the process of *mukataat*-isation that the Tuhfezades would have found opportunities to sneak past and above their peers, which, in turn, would have paved the way for them to establish themselves as *malikâne*-holders vis-à-vis first the *voyvodas* and then the *derebeys* themselves. Alternatively, if we accept that these founding fathers arrived in Dadya only after the final phase of the Cretan campaign, so that Ali Giridi/Agaki, or his descendants, were initially given land(s) in freehold and/or as *dirlik* only in the 1680s, though they would have entered the stream of tenurial change a century and a half later, there would still have been ample time for them to establish themselves. There are structural similarities between both cases, though we seem to be on more solid ground with a late-seventeenth-century context. This includes not only the dimension of piratical origins but also that of fortune-soldiering. After all, there were numerous *timar* and *zeamet*-holders of Menteşe who went to Crete together with their locally recruited militias.<sup>107</sup>

Long-term usurpation 'rights' are likely to have come later, perhaps even after 1715, and in the meantime Ali and his descendants would have had to confront the line of *voyvodas* that Evliya mentions in 1671. While more systematic archival research might yield more information on the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century *voyvodas* or *ayan* of Dadya, the Tuhfezades do not seem to have been among the *malikâne*-holders of the first generation.<sup>108</sup> Leading specialists in the field have argued that after 1695, *miri mukataat* lands began to be (officially) life-farmed in Damascus, Aleppo, Diyarbakir, Mardin, Adana, Malatya, Gaziantep, and Tokat.<sup>109</sup> Menteşe was not among these. On the other hand, we now know that *malikâne*-isation was a product not only of decrees and decisions from above, but also of pressure from below. Thus, in many cases, legalisation from above was an attempt by the state to divert part of already *mukataa*-ised revenue sources to itself (in order to offset its growing fiscal starvation). In support of this we may point to fiefs which became vacant in the course of the eighteenth century (*mahlûl olan dirlikler*), including those which were abandoned by their holders. Unfortunately, so far neither Dadya nor its Tuhfezade lords have turned up in the documentation pertaining to the re-allocation of vacant *timars* to other fief-holders in this period in Menteşe.<sup>110</sup>

107 TT 786, which records, together with some forty other *kazas*, the *zeamet* and *timar*-holders in Menteşe, and lists those who showed up for the H. 1065 Cretan campaign (*piyadeğânın yoklama defteri*).

108 See the exploration of the Tapu Tahrihs for Menteşe, TD 786 (1065), TD 841 and TD 844 (1105), TD 851 (1106), in Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla'.

109 Genç, 'Osmanlı Maliyesi'nde Malikâne Sistemi', 239.

110 Cevdet Timar (C.TZ), Cevdet Maliye (C.ML), and Ali Emirî Sultan Mustafa II (AE.SMST

### *Other Gaps in Our Knowledge until the Mid-Nineteenth Century*

It was in reaction to such growth of local and provincial power, culminating in the *Sened-i Ittifak* (Covenant of Union) of October 1808, that first Selim III, and more comprehensively Mahmud II (who succeeded to the throne on 28 July 1808), undertook their centralising measures. Thus, after 1812, these centripetal forces came to be gradually eliminated – by using one dynasty to crush or suppress another, by revoking their tax-collecting contracts, and by not renewing the rights of an *ayan* upon his death. Inevitably, this effort at modern state-making invested society with an increasing degree of homogenisation, so that local magnates or provincial dynasties began to grow more similar over the vast Ottoman geography. Nevertheless, in the absence of concrete evidence, we should not extrapolate from central or other provincial practices to what was actually happening in Dadya.

Still, it can be said, perhaps, that especially when a given local family did not have any great means of manoeuvring against the intimidation or coercive pressure exercised by (alliances of) other magnates, simply ensuring the continuity of family wealth and influence would have been important in itself. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1856 it should have been the officially accepted position of Mehmed Halil as *Müdür-i Dad[i]ya* that came to be inscribed in stone over the portal of the mosque that he commissioned.<sup>111</sup> Elsewhere in contemporary documents the family was referred to as *dere bey*, *vücu*, *mu'teberan*, *hanedan*, and *izzetlü* (honourable), all reflecting their status as the leading notables in the peninsula – but without attributing any official recognition.<sup>112</sup> *Derebey* (or *derre bey*), not in evidence in the state documentation regarding the Tuhfezades, is usually translated as 'valley lord' with a negative slant<sup>113</sup> (though Sakaoglu suggests that what it really meant was 'distinguished bey'<sup>114</sup>). *Müteğallibe* is an even more strongly derogatory term which can be rendered as usurper or oppressor (of the *reaya*). In the state papers that I have studied, it, too, is not used to refer to any of the Tuhfezades that we know of. From the absence of these two key, heavily loaded terms, I would infer that the family never entered into open conflict with the central authorities or any comparable form of rivalry with other families of the gentry and notables.

II) have not yielded any results. Another possible location for the fiefs of the Datça peninsula could be the Defterhane-i Âmirî Timar Zeamet (Ruznamçe) Defterleri (DFE.RZ.d), which register the *zeamets* and *timars* of each *sancak*. I have been able to identify 160 registers in which Menteşe is included or mentioned.

111 Misread as "Müdür-i dâriye" in Açıkgöz, *Datça Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri*, 176-177.

112 For "dere bey", see Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 162; for "vücu", see M Defter 150 (dated 1885-1894), 46/256-257; for "mu'teberan", see İ.DH 939/74333 (23 Rebiyülevvel 1302); for "hanedan" and "Elaki karyesi hanedanı", see M Defter 152 (dated 1894-1898), 148/64-237; for "hanedan-ı belde", see A.MKT.MHM 427 (8 Şaban 1285); for "izzetlü", see M Defter 154, 192/67-443.

113 *EP*, s.v. 'Derebey' (J. H. Mordtmann).

114 N. Sakaoglu, *Anadolu Derebeyi Ocaklarından Köse Paşa Hanedanı* (Istanbul 1998), 2-4.

In fact, the Tuhfezades look as if they were quite reconciled to not being on a par with the local elites of Menteşe/Muğla who were ceaselessly struggling for the posts of *mütesellim* and chief notable (*ayanbaşı*) among themselves. While the biggest *malikâne*-holders (originally *rical-i devlet*) were in Istanbul, where the auctions took place, there were also provincial auctions catering to the provincial gentry. Here the likes of the Tavas(lı)oğulları, Çavuşoğulları or Ağaoğulları competed with many others – including members of the bureaucracy, members of the military (*askeri*) class (such as janissaries, former *sancakbeyis* and others with the titles of vizier, pasha and *ağa*), members of the *ulema* (*seyyid*, *şeyh*, *müderris*), as well as locals who carried the *-zade* form of names or titles – for the rural and agricultural taxes as well as the proto-industrial revenues of south-western Anatolia, plus, of course, the power which went with the right to collect such taxes. The local gentry who managed to sub-contract for the *malikânes* of the absentee tax farmers in Istanbul thereby became *mütesellims*. They in turn farmed these revenues out to lesser local notables. The Tuhfezades would have entered this scene if they had been the *malikâne*-holders in Dadya. But in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, no conflict between them and the *mütesellims* of Menteşe is recorded – even though the Tuhfezades were allied with the Tavasogulları, and this could easily have led to problems with the Tavasogulları's arch-rivals from Köyceğiz, the Çavuşoğulları, whenever the latter took over as the local sub-contractors or deputy governors. A related point is that while, in terms of their commercial interests, the Tuhfezades were not confined to their regional base and peninsular horizons, neither was there anything political at stake for them when they turned to face out to the Aegean.<sup>115</sup>

### *The House and the Household*

These, then, are some of the possibilities for the Tuhfezades' eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century history, at the end of which we do see them as having emerged from obscurity into a Muslim, Ottoman, land-holding and power-brokering identity. With regard to the first dimension, it seems that it did not suffice for the successors of the Cretan founder of the family to embrace Islam; in time, they also came to boast of being a *seyyid*, i.e., a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, and had it written into their mosque inscription.<sup>116</sup> As for the second aspect, although the Tuhfezades remained outsiders to the central state apparatus, if it had not been for anything else their family mansion would still stand out as the ultimate symbol of their appropriation of Ottomanicity.

As we shall see, both statements need to be qualified. But meanwhile, with regard to the third characteristic, it is Charles Newton, the first eye-witness to provide us with

115 For a distinction between imperial, regional, and local elites, see M. M. Meeker, *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity* (Berkeley 2002), Table 2, 224-225.

116 For a discussion of the significance of the increase in the claim to be a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad especially in the eighteenth century, see H. Canbakal, 'On the 'Nobility' of Provincial Notables', in Anastasopoulos (ed.), *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire*, 39-50.

direct evidence regarding the family, who remarks that, in 1858, Ali Agaki's great-grandson Mehmed Halil Ağa was no longer an adventurer of the seas but lived "in a patriarchal fashion, with four harems, flocks, herds, bee-hives, fig-trees, and gardens innumerable".<sup>117</sup> From the family tree, where neither birth nor death dates are indicated, we learn that Mehmed Halil Ağa had two sons and five daughters from his two wives. Newton, however, says that

his progeny is so numerous that he is the putative father of half the children in his village – all these, the offspring of concubines, run about in rags, while the rights of inheritance are reserved for the two recognized sons, both children of a beautiful Circassian, a present from Halil Pasha, the late brother-in-law of the sultan, in exchange for a landed estate in Cos.<sup>118</sup>

This is a mine of information, though not without its problems. In the genealogy, there is no record of Mehmed Halil Ağa's other wives or concubines, suggesting that Newton's statement could be an exaggeration based on the Islamic consent to taking as many as four wives. The same genealogy does indicate, however, that of the two wives, one, Feriştah Hanım, was the daughter of the *ağa* of Tavas, who at the time was Ömer Ağa. This is noteworthy in itself, for Tavas was quite a distance from Dadya, and Ömer Ağa was a long-time *mütesellim* who also carried the titles of *seyyid*, *hacı* and *kapıcıbaşı*. The other wife was Çerkes Cemalifer Hanım, and she, certainly, was the gift of Halil Paşa whom Newton painstakingly identified.

### *Concubines and Courtesans*

A fine tombstone in the Elaki/Reşadiye mosque graveyard (Fig. 5) reveals that "Tavazlı el-Hacc Ömer Efendi'nin kerimesi, Tuhfe-zâde el-Hacc Halil Ağa'nın ehli", Feriştah Hanım, had died on 7 September 1810.<sup>119</sup> It is embellished with a medallion at the bottom, at the centre of which is a bowl of apricots, while the border is decorated with crescents. Feriştah's father, Ömer Ağa, seems to have become the *mütesellim* of Menteşe on two different occasions: first in 1782-1786, and then in 1794-1812 (assuming, once more, that Tavaslı Hacı Ömer Ağa and Milaslı Seyyid Ömer Ağa are one and the same). In between was a troubled term when their enemies, as represented by Hasan Çavuşzade (Hacı Ahmed oğlu) Hacı Ebu Bekir, rose to the top (1786-1794).<sup>120</sup> This is the only time

117 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 162.

118 Ibid.

119 From Açıkgöz, *Datça Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri*, 82-83: "Hüve'l-hayyu'l-Bâkî/Emr-i Hak 'la dürlü emrâz geldi benim tenime/Bulmadı sıhhat vücudum sebab oldu mevtime/Âkibet erdi ecel rihlet göründü canıma/Okuyup bir fâtiha irsal edin rûhuma/Tavazlı el-Hacc Ömer Efendi'nin kerimesi Tuhfe-zâde el-Hacc Halil Ağa'nın ehli merhume Feriştah Hanım rûhuycün fâtiha. Fî 7 Ş Sene 1225".

120 In June 1786, the French Ambassador Choiseul-Gouffier met Hasan Çavuş of Köyceğiz; he was in his eighties at the time, and had settled in Muğla with his sons and grandsons. His

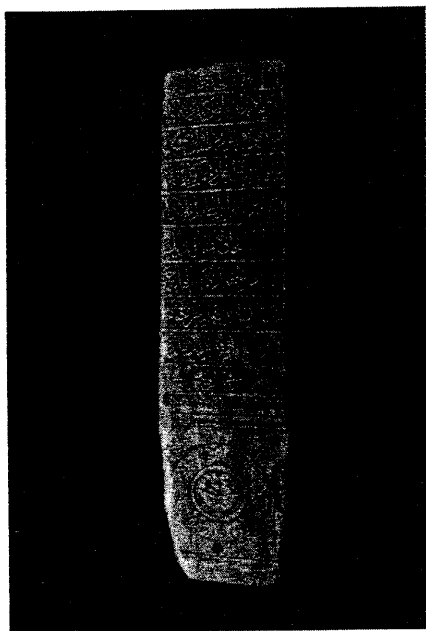


Fig. 5: Feriştah Hanım's tombstone in the Elaki/Reşadiye mosque graveyard (7 Şaban 1225/7 September 1810).

when the lesser politics of this rather remote district came to touch upon and be noticed by Ottoman grand history.<sup>121</sup> Ömer Ağa's second appointment lasted until his death, possibly in early 1812. Feriştah Hanım, Mehmed Halil's first wife, gave birth to two children: Murad Halil Ağa and Hacı Ayşe Hanım.

The name Feriştah (angel) suggests that concubines might have been sent as a gift to the ağas of Tavas, too, in which context her mother could also have arrived as a gift from the court in Istanbul. As the Tuhfezade family tree shows, girls' names preferred for the daughters of the family were Verdina (rose of whims and coquetry), Canfeza (a complex musical mode<sup>122</sup>), Rengigül (colour of rose), Nevcihan (new world), Aynimah (moon-

wealth, as well as the mountainous terrain, had worked in his favour. By waiving half of the routine, state-imposed taxes, he had converted the local people into his own power base. In contrast, the local landlord in the Eskihisar area was signalling his demise. In due course, Choiseul-Gouffier met state forces on the outskirts of Ephesus that were determined to crush this *mütegallibe*; M.-G.-A.-F., Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque dans l'Empire ottoman, en Grèce, dans la Troade, les îles de l'Archipel et sur les côtes de l'Asie-mineure*, Vol. I (Paris 1842 [1782]), 132, 136, 198.

121 Hasan Çavuş was granted *çiftlik*s in the area extending from the Menderes river to Megri, including agricultural land in Muğla, Marmaris, and Köyceğiz. But his immediate descendants, i.e., his son and grandson, were severely punished by the governor of Anatolia, Ali Paşa, in 1794; Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih*, Vol. 6 (Istanbul 1301-1307/1885-1891), 65.

122 Mainly comprising the *saba* and *acemaşiran* modes, with the four *kürdî* modes also added on to the end.

headed beauty), together with a few more Cemalifers and Feriştahs. Standing in stark contrast to more traditional Muslim (peasant or nomadic) women's names, such as Ayşe, Fatma or Emine, these indicate that other Istanbulites must have arrived in Menteşe and Dadya even earlier, resulting in an expansion and diversification of the local names roster. Furthermore, they must have become fashionable, for the court registers for 1885-1911 mention numerous locals, too, who bear the same names.<sup>123</sup>

Thus, Mehmed Halil Ağa's second wife, Cemalifer Hanım, was also a Circassian, presumably a courtesan from the palace of Halil Rıfad and Saliha Sultan (her name means 'pertaining to beauty, grace and goodness' as well as 'radiance, lustre, brightness'). At the time of Newton's account, the reigning Sultan was Abdülmecid I (1839-1861), whose immediate circle included Halil Rıfad Paşa. Between 1830 and 1855, Halil Rıfad served as Grand Admiral on no fewer than four occasions: in 1830-1832, 1843-1845, 1847-1848, and finally 1854-1855. Soon after his first stint at the admiralty, in 1834, he married the Sultan's half-sister Saliha (d. 1843). In between his third and fourth stints, in 1849, he was also appointed marshal of Aydın (*Aydın müşiri*) and the governor (*mutasarrıf*) of the sub-province of Menteşe.<sup>124</sup> He died in 1855. Halil Rıfad must have got to know of Mehmed Halil, and perhaps even to have become personally acquainted with him, perhaps as early as the beginning of the 1830s. They seem to have exchanged favours and gifts, including women. Was the ağa of Dadya really capable of presenting him with an estate on the island of Kos/İstanköy? It is an intriguing question.

#### Women: Imperial, Regional, Local

While three of the daughters born to Mehmed Halil and Çerkes Cemalifer had straightforward Islamic names (Zübeyde, Asiye, Rabia), another was strikingly called Feriştah/Feriştah, perhaps in memory of Mehmed Halil Ağa's first wife, Feriştah Hanım of the Tavasogulları dynasty. Cemalifer of Istanbul is likely to have come to Dadya long after the death of Feriştah, at the earliest in the late 1830s (following Halil Rıfad's first posting to the admiralty and then his 1834 marriage to Saliha?), and to have given birth to Mehmed Ali and his sisters. So far I have not been able to date Cemalifer Hanım's death.

We also do not know how old Mehmed Halil Ağa was when he met Newton in 1857/1858. If he had married Feriştah in 1800, perhaps when he was as young as 17 or 18, so that at Feriştah's 1810 death (after giving birth to a son and a daughter) he was still in his late 20s, he would have been around 75 by 1857/1858, and he must have died by around 1868. In any case, upon his death the impressive *konak* at Elaki, known as *Goca Ev* (Great House in the local dialect), passed to his younger son, Mehmed Ali Ağa (by Çerkes Cemalifer Hanım). His elder son, Murad Halil (from Feriştah), was not only denied a share in the *konak*. Worse still, his household was allowed to settle not in Elaki but

123 There are 110 *sicils* pertaining to Muğla and its sub-provinces. For Marmaris, eight *sicils* have been located.

124 According to Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 136, for fifteen years after 1852 the *mutasarrıf*s cannot be identified.

in the neighbouring village of Aleksî. There was a family house of Murad Halil Ağa also at Dadya. The family tree indicates that he, too, had two wives. Himself the son of a lady from the Tavasogulları, Murad Halil was first married to a maternal relative from the same line. Thus, (a) Fatma, a daughter of yet another Tavas Ağası (Tavaslı Hacı Selim), seems to have kept house at Aleksî, while there was also (b) a local woman from Dadya, [Ümmü] Gülsüm bint-i [Dadyalı] Süleyman. It was for the second that he appears to have had the house (also called *Goca Ev*) in Dadya.

Murad Halil Ağa died in 1885/1886, and his *tereke* was recorded in 1893/1894.<sup>125</sup> At first sight, what was submitted as his property, and which was going to be divided among his two wives and six children, was truly modest – comparable to several peasant *terekes* from the various villages of the peninsula. Eight years after his death, his listed belongings were utterly ordinary: household items ranging from a few mattresses to some caskets. However, the sum total was ordered to be deposited to the *Eytam* (Orphans') Funds, to cover (1) his outstanding *teraküm* tax debts of H. 1303-1311; (2) his outstanding *âşar* debt of H. 1311; (3) his outstanding debts to Ziraat Bankası (the Agricultural Bank); (4) his outstanding debts to the mosque of Marmaris. So, actually, what was submitted as his *tereke* was no more than what was expected to cover these obligations. What is revealed in the process is that he was a taxpayer, someone *bi-berat*, i.e., with no documents to make him tax-exempt as a member of the *askeri* class. In turn, this suggests either that he never undertook any state service, or that, if he did, he must have been provided with some other kind of documentation which was not enough for him to be tax-exempt. Both sons of Mehmed Halil Ağa – Mehmed Ali and his half-brother Murad Halil, as well as their offspring – make a few appearances in official registers as residents of Dadya and Aleksî.<sup>126</sup> The hierarchy between the two branches of Mehmed Halil's family is further illustrated by the fact that while Mehmed Ali is alternately called *bey* and *ağa* in the later *sicils*, Murad Halil is always and only an *ağa*.

Murad Halil's lesser position (despite his probable seniority) vis-à-vis Mehmed Ali suggests a preference for Mehmed Halil's offspring from Istanbul concubines over his heirs from local magnates' daughters. In contrast, there is no obvious hierarchy between Murad Halil's two wives. On the contrary: in his case, the woman from Tavas who was probably his first wife does not seem to have had precedence over the one from Dadya, despite the latter's father's unknown status. Furthermore, when Murad Halil died, and his children from the Dadya woman were found to be underage (further pointing to [Ümmü] Gülsüm as his second wife), the mother was appointed as their guardian and protector.<sup>127</sup>

Nevertheless, the broader lesson seems to be clear: even in distant corners of the Empire, provincial powers were always in search of establishing ties, preferably blood ties, with the capital. While Sultans' aunts, daughters and nieces, married to high-ranking Ottoman dignitaries, played a certain role in the Balkans,<sup>128</sup> their granddaughters, also

125 M Defter 152, 297/128-320.

126 M Defter 152, 84/41-212; M Defter 154, 81/200-518; M Defter 154, 74/265-549.

127 M Defter 152, 211/41-211.

128 T. Artan, 'Periods and Problems of Ottoman (Women's) Patronage on the Via Egnatia', in E.

*hanımefendis*, seem to have had a part to play in Anatolian dynastic households that was equally important over the later part of the nineteenth century. One such example has been brought to our attention by Ayda Arel in her remarkable study on the architectural patronage of the Cihanoğulları in and around Aydın.<sup>129</sup> Remote and isolated, Ali Giridi's descendants faced more limited options when it came to establishing matrimonial alliances with the local elites, let alone the royal house. Meanwhile, other dynasties in the region, like Feriştah's family at Tavas, were also receiving or recruiting rare and precious concubines from Istanbul, thereby establishing their own dynastic ties.

### Marriage and Architecture

But as Ayda Arel's article also indicates, marriage alliances were not the only means that local magnates could turn to as they sought for bonding or protection. In many parts of the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Middle East, it was architecture that provided local dynasties with the most appropriate medium for upward mobility and visibility. Buildings in the style of the capital not only emulated Istanbul life; they also constituted a competitive statement. A case in point is the Tuhfezades' family mansion in Elaki/Reşadiye, which has been dated to 1790-1800 mainly on stylistic grounds.<sup>130</sup> Since Feriştah Hanım, who was most probably Mehmed Halil Ağa's first wife, is known to have died in 1810, the elegant *konak* may have been built (or rebuilt) around 1800 on the occasion of their marriage. It then seems that for the arrival of the second bride from Istanbul, the family house may have been refurbished and adjusted to new needs and tastes. The mural paintings of the reception room testify to restorations and refurnishing in the 1830s.

There are other surviving mansions on the peninsula which belonged to the Tuhfezades. One in Sı[ğ]ındı is a fine example of a regional type<sup>131</sup> (Fig. 6), while another which survives in Çeşme (Selimiye) is a nineteenth-century *konak* in the Aegean (Chios/Rhodes) style which was also distinctively employed in the peninsula<sup>132</sup> (Fig. 7). The Sı[ğ]ındı mansion, a two-storey dwelling in the middle of cultivated fields dotted with olive trees,

A. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule (1380-1699). Halcyon Days in Crete II. A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 9-11 January 1994* (Rethymno 1996), 19-43.

129 A. Arel, 'Aydın ve Yöresinde Bir Âyan Ailesi ve Mimarlık: Cihanoğulları', in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e. Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar. 1. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi. Ankara, 24-26 Mayıs 1993* (Istanbul 1998), 184-221.

130 This dating is based on the decorative pen-work as well as a faded and mostly illegible date on the wall; G. Renda, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı, 1750-1850* (Ankara 1977), 138; Eadem, 'Datça'da Eski Bir Türk Evi', *Sanat Dünyamız*, 2 (1974), 22. For stylistic comparisons, see M. Garidis, *Diakosmetike zographike. Valkania-Mikrasia, 18<sup>os</sup>-19<sup>os</sup> aionas* [Decorative Painting: Balkans-Asia Minor, Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries] (Athens 1996).

131 This is a house which belonged to Mehmed Ağa, the uncle of Mümtaz Ağa, who in recent years was still alive, and still commanding some respect as the last representative of a bygone dynasty; Fulya Bayık, personal communication.

132 This is the mansion of Ömer İhsan Bey of Bosnia, a tobacco expert who married into the family (his wife being Fatma Hanım, the aunt of Mümtaz Ağa); Fulya Bayık, personal communication. It was built in 1800 by masons from Rhodes; Ergenekon, 'Dorian Archaeology', 462.



Fig. 6: The Tuhfezades' house at Sı[ğ]ındı. Photographed by the author, summer 2006.

is rather unassuming, but turns out to have provided with all possible comforts for a landowner in his country residence. Made of local stone, the exterior was left unplastered, as with all the other houses in the village. Unfortunately, it is rapidly turning to rubble.

The two-storey urban mansion in Çeşme, on the other hand, was plastered, white-washed, and the interior decorated with fine brushwork in the Empire style. It has five tall windows on the second floor which alternate with pseudo-pillars. The central window is further emphasised by a balcony (which may have been originally surrounded by railings of wrought iron in the Aegean style). The flat roof is hidden behind a low parapet also decorated with late-nineteenth-century motifs.<sup>133</sup> Although there is no trace of period furniture in any of the houses in question, it is relatively easy to fill in the missing links by comparing their interiors with those from the islands at this period. A relative claims that the kitchenware used in some of their households carried the family insignia.<sup>134</sup> A roof-tile sherd that I located on the site of the ruins at Sı[ğ]ındı reads on the

133 On this entire style, see S. Faroqhi, 'Representing France in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire: A Wealthy French Dwelling in the Peloponnese, 1770', in Eadem and Ch. Neumann (eds), *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture* (Würzburg 2003), 255-273.

134 As told by Mümtaz Ağa's elder sister, Cevher Meltem, wife of Fethi Meltem; Fulya Bayık, personal communication.



Fig. 7: The Tuhfezades' house at Çeşme. Photographed by the author, summer 2006.

back: [ΕΡΓΟΣ]ΤΑΣΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΡΟΔΩ and *Şirket-i Cezire-i Rodos* in Ottoman.<sup>135</sup> It is possible that not only the construction materials and the workers, but also the furniture, household items, and textiles were brought in from Rhodes or beyond.<sup>136</sup>

#### Goca Ev: *The Family Mansion*

The Tuhfezades' *Goca Ev* at Elaki/Reşadiye actually stands in contrast to the traditional fabric of its immediate environs and to the other two surviving mansions of the family on the peninsula.<sup>137</sup> Also in contrast to the crenellated mansion towers and timber *konaks* of the neighbouring districts in Menteşe, or well-guarded fortress-palaces of the local magnates in more distant provinces, it is an urban residence, occupying a total of a thousand

135 I was not able to locate a brick and tile factory in Rhodes. Still, it is worth noting that there were such companies in several localities in the Aegean. An example is provided by the kilns at Alaçatı and Ildırı, where bricks inscribed *Alatsata/Alaçata* and *Litri* were produced in addition to ceramic ware; see İ. Gezgin, *Alacaat'tan Alaçatı'ya. Rüzgarlı Bir Köyün Hikâyesi* (İstanbul 2007), 29.

136 During recent restorations in the family mansion at Elaki, graffiti in Greek were uncovered.

137 Not too far away, the government building (*hükümet konağı*), the only other Elaki building comparable in size and status, and built at the turn of the twentieth century, embodies the so-called Sakız (Chios) style.

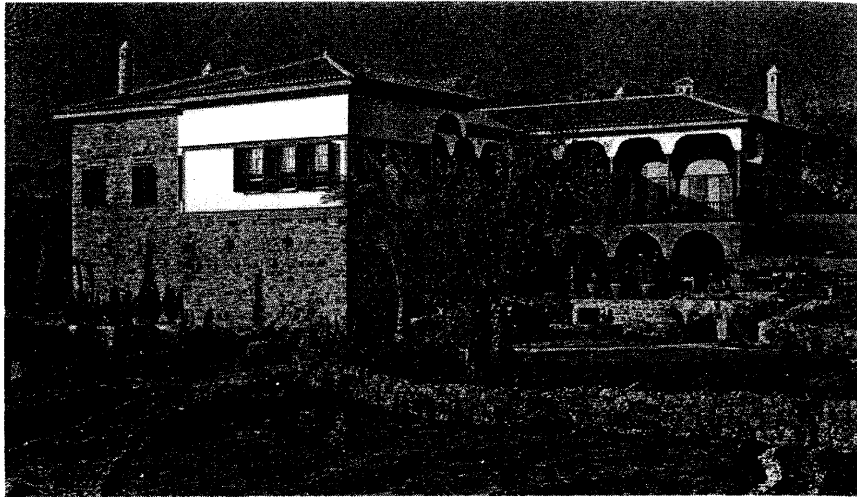


Fig. 8: The Tuhfezades' house at Elaki. Photographed by the author, summer 2006.

square metres, spread over two storeys, with rooms arranged around a U-shaped open hall.<sup>138</sup> The first storey is constructed out of local stone, but the second storey borrows from the timber-filling architecture of the Balkans which became fashionable in western Anatolia in the eighteenth century (Fig. 8). The reception room (*başoda*) on the north-east corner of the U-shaped plan was further accentuated by late-eighteenth-century Istanbul floral decoration and murals depicting Istanbul.

From the U-shaped *sofa*, the entrance to the rectangular reception room is from the far end of its long side. In the middle of the upper section of the wall just across from the entrance is a baroque medallion filled by a *maşallah* written in *müsenna* form (that is to say, together with its mirror image). To the left of the medallion is a depiction of a walled settlement, most probably intended as the Topkapı Palace, while to the right is a mosque, perhaps Hagia Sophia, represented by four minarets and a tripartite porch resting on a stepped platform (Fig. 9). A wall which adjoins this monumental mosque representation extends to the other side of the medallion and connects it with the walled settlement in a fashion which is further strongly and realistically reminiscent of (the relationship between) the Topkapı Palace and the Hagia Sophia. These two monumental buildings of the capital are clearly there as symbols of power: the imperial palace and the imperial mosque. The houses along the wall surrounding the palatial settlement are representative of the capital's multi-storey timber houses in the late eighteenth century, and the baroque features on the portico and the gate to the mosque are also stylistically

138 R. Çalıř, 'Fethiye Evleri', *Folklor*, 16-17-18 (1970); O. Kademođlu, 'Güneybatı Anadolu'nun Açıksofalı Evleri', *Mimarlık*, 5 (1974); A. Mutlu, 'Muđla'nın Beyaz Evleri', *Türkiyemiz*, 26 (1978).



Fig. 9: Murals at the entrance of the Tuhfezades' house at Elaki (www.kocaev.com.tr).

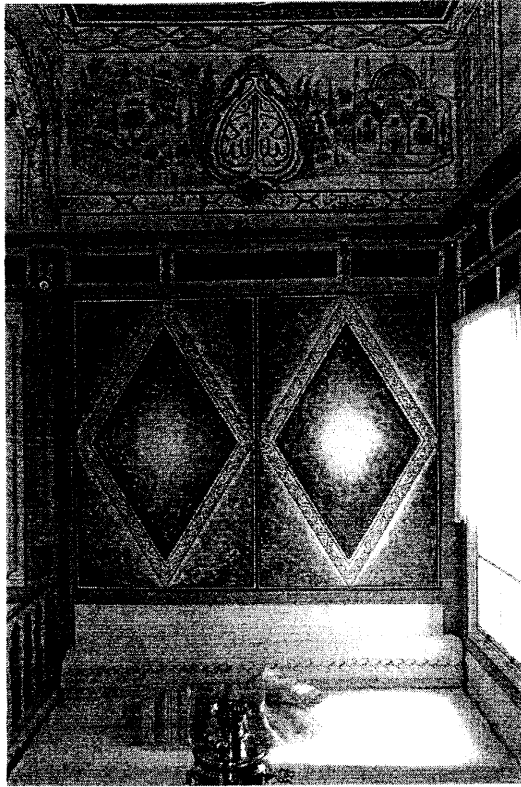
accurate. Likewise, the gate on the forefront of the wall, the garden full of fruit trees and cypresses, and a domed fountain (or baldachin) all correspond to parts or aspects of the Topkapı Palace. Iconographically speaking, it is clearly an allusion to a paradise garden, but it is a worldly paradise.<sup>139</sup>

What makes Mehmed Halil's artistic and architectural patronage quite exceptional is the tripartite panorama occupying the short side of the rectangular reception room, to the right of the entrance and above the cupboard (Fig. 10). It depicts Istanbul at the centre, represented by an arrangement of the historic peninsula, Kadıköy, and Üsküdar. In the middle is a five-portico mosque with four minarets. This must be the Sultanahmed (or Blue) Mosque. The timber houses are very different from the regional architecture in the vicinity of Dadya. Sailboats, row-boats, and the imperial barque, a duck, an eel, and various other fish decorate the forefront of the painting. Flanking the historical peninsula on both sides are imaginary cityscapes, perhaps also pertaining to the capital. To the right is scenery which is divided into two by a river flowing diagonally from upper right to lower left, and crossed by a long bridge. There are two mosques laid out in relation to the bridge; one of them is monumental, carefully depicted, tri-porticoed and with two minarets, while the other is simpler and with a gabled roof. Not far away is a windmill by the river. More multi-storey houses with gabled roofs are interspersed with domed, tomb-like structures surrounded by trees – cypresses and dates in particular. Curiously, an oversized stork with a snake in its beak, a symbol of good luck,<sup>140</sup> and two deer in a hunting park are also part of the scene. To the left of the historic peninsula was yet another cityscape, perhaps showing more of the European side, but this part of the wall-painting has not been well preserved. Larger, gable-roofed houses are visible in the corners.

Much has been written about murals in nineteenth-century Ottoman interiors. First to come to mind are the apartments of Mihriřah Valide Sultan at the Topkapı Palace (1789-1807). There were numerous Westerners in Istanbul at the time, but provincial styles can differ radically from the aesthetics of the capital. Thus, in contrast to the French

139 The painting of a paradise garden with a kiosk in the eighteenth-century Dedeboyrak House in Ankara has also been interpreted as evoking a worldly garden of Eden; S. Ögel, 'Eski Bir Ankara Evi', *Türkiyemiz*, 8 (1972), 37-43.

140 For a raptor with a snake in its beak in Siatista, see Garidis, *Diakosmetike zographike*, 45.



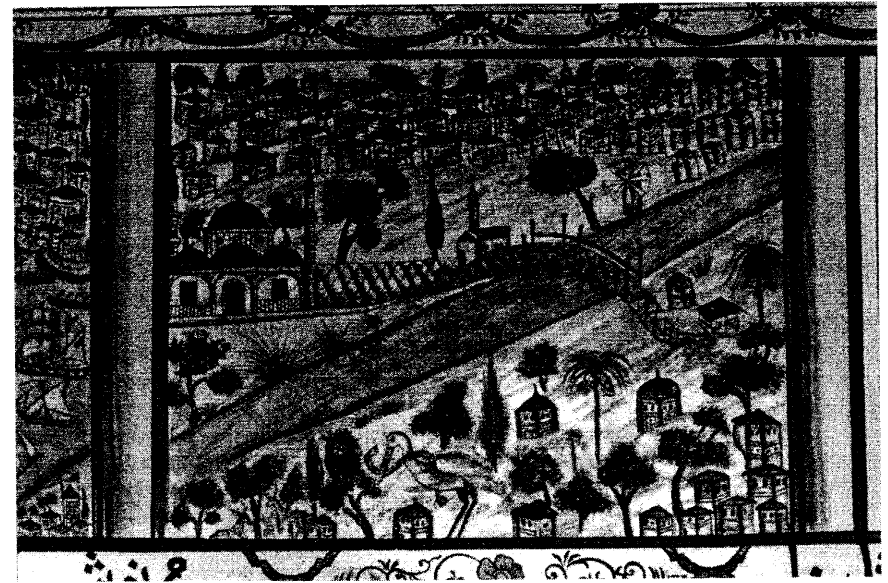
**Fig. 10:** Depiction of a mosque and a palace across the entrance (left); two sections of the tripartite panorama of Istanbul from the Tuhfezades' house at Elaki (right) ([www.kocaev.com.tr](http://www.kocaev.com.tr)).

taste which dominated Istanbuliot elites, in the Aegean it was a predominantly Italian aesthetic, translated into Ottoman via artists, architects and craftsmen operating mostly from Chios.<sup>141</sup> In other Balkan, Anatolian, and Middle Eastern houses, too, there were wall-paintings which alluded to Istanbul, but to have complete panoramas of the Ottoman capital decorating stately mansions is quite rare. The best-known is in the mansion of Çakırağa of Birgi, dated to the 1830s.<sup>142</sup> Others are located in the Hadımoğlu mansion at Bayramiç, near Çanakkale (1796); the Hacı Mehmed Ali mansion in Adatepe; the Bayramtaştepe mansion in Manisa (1818); the Hacı Hafızoğulları (Tillioğulları) mansion in Göreme (1825); the Bahaeddin Ağa mansion in Milas; the Sandikeminiogulları mansion also in Birgi; the Şemaki mansion at Yenişehir, in Bursa; the Nizam House (1803) and the Mujalled House (1810?) in Damascus.<sup>143</sup> In effect, these are worlds apart, rang-

141 Arel, 'Aydın ve Yöresinde Bir Âyân Ailesi'.

142 Renda, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı*, 145-149.

143 H. Tayla, 'Hadımoğlu Mansion at Bayramiç', *Turkish Treasures*, 1 (1978), 10-19; G. Renda and T. Erol, *Başlangıcından Bugüne Çağdaş Türk Resim Sanatı Tarihi* (Istanbul 1980), 66; G. Renda, 'Göreme'de Korunması Gereken Bir Ev', in *III. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*



ing from some remote villages to major provincial centres, and this makes the aspirations behind them, as well as the patronage and production networks that they embody (involving wandering artists), all the more of a puzzle.<sup>144</sup> In contrast to these, the depictions of Istanbul in the houses of Greek merchants such as Georgios Mavros (Schwartz) and Efthymiadis in Ambelakia go against the well-known silhouette of the Ottoman capital crowned with mosques to suggest a non-Muslim, pre-conquest Constantinople.<sup>145</sup>

### *From Murals to Hints of Syncretism*

There is not even a hint of this last strain in the Istanbul panorama at Elaki, and neither did Newton capture any suspicious remark or attitude by Mehmed Halil which may have suggested that the Tuhfezades were crypto-Christians. Instead, he emphasised that the ağa was a devoted Muslim. At one point he makes the following observation which is not without its Eurocentric, contemptuous overtones:

On first visiting him in the morning I found him reading the Koran, a ceremony with which he always begins the day. He showed me the book with great pride – it was rather a handsome manuscript. Forgetting that I was in the presence of a Mussulman, I put out my hand to take hold of the volume, when it glided suddenly into its leather case, narrowly escaping pollution from the touch of Giaour. The old fanaticism is not quite dead yet, though they do condescend to ask for British protection.<sup>146</sup>

In the Ottoman realm, however, different beliefs and cultures were often melted into a faith with syncretic aspects or dimensions.<sup>147</sup> There is a unique feature of the decorations in the reception room: a finely scripted border below the panoramas which carries the names of the *Eshab-ı Kehf*, that is to say, the Seven Sleepers. Counter-clockwise from

(Ankara 1985), 103-132; G. Erim, 'Adatepe'de Eski Bir Türk Evi', *TTOK Belleteni*, 48/327 (1975), 2-8; Ö. Süslü, 'Adatepe'de Hacı Mehmed Ağa Konağının Süslemeleri', *IDMMA Dergisi*, 2 (1978), 99-114; R. Arık, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanatı* (Ankara 1976), 90-93, 94-97; Renda, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı*, 149-150; Eadem, 'Painted Decoration in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Houses: The Damascene Connection', in *Corpus d'archéologie ottomane*, ed. A. Temimi (Zaghouan 1997), 91-105.

144 For changes in mural styles and subjects over the second half of the nineteenth century, see G. Renda's above-cited contributions.

145 Garidis, *Diakosmetike zographike*, 32; A. D. Diamantopoulou, *Ambelakia* (Athens 1987).

146 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 166.

147 For cultural symbiosis and heterodox communities in the Ottoman realm, see A. Y. Ocak, *Alevi ve Bektaşî İnançlarının İslâm Öncesi Temelleri* (Istanbul 2003 [1983]); Idem, *Babailer İsyanı. Aleviliğin Tarihsel Altyapısı yahut Anadolu'da İslâm-Türk Heterodoksisinin Teşekkülü* (Istanbul 2000 [1986]); Idem, 'Anadolu'da XIII.-XV. Yüzyılda Müslim-Gayri Müslim Etkileşimler ve Saint Georges (Aya Yorgi-Hagios Georgios) Kültü', in *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara, 22-26 Eylül 1986. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Vol. III (Ankara 1991), 961-966; Idem, *İslam-Türk İnançlarında Hızır yahud Hızır-İlyas Kültü* (Ankara 1990); Idem, *Kalenderiler (XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllar)* (Ankara 1992); Idem, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler (15.-17. Yüzyıllar)* (Istanbul 1998).

above the entrance, the Islamicised names of the Seven read: *Yemliha, Mekselina, Misliha, Mernuş, Debernuş, Şazenuş, Kefestatayyuş*, and their dog, *Kitmir*. What is this all about? The legend of the Seven Sleepers is about seven young men accused of Christian belief under the Roman Emperor Decius, around AD 250. In the Christian version, they carry Greek or Latin names.<sup>148</sup> Given time to recant, they distribute their worldly wealth to the poor, and retire to a mountain to pray, where they fall asleep. The Emperor then orders the mouth of the cave to be sealed. After many decades, when some later landowner – usually, under Theodosius (r. 379-395) – decides to re-open the cave, they wake up to a fully Christianised world. They tell the Bishop of Ephesus their miracle story, and die praising God.

The story is not included in the Bible but emerges as part of Christian lore and legend from the sixth century onwards.<sup>149</sup> At the same time, as with so many other myths and legends, there are indications that it harks back to much more ancient origins. Once there was a pagan sovereign who proclaimed himself a god and began to persecute those who would not worship him. A group of youngsters sought refuge from him in a cave, falling asleep and waking up in a new era. Eventually the legend appears to have passed into the Abrahamic religions. Thus, the Jews of Medina are said to have put Muhammad to the test by questioning him about the story – and the Prophet, informed by the angel Gabriel/Jibrail, to have astonished them by recounting it in the version they thought only they knew. In any case, a century or so after its Christian popularisation it also appears in the Qur'an (Sura 18, *Al-Kahf*, verses 9-26) – adapted so as to provide a lesson in the strength

148 In one version, Maximian, Malchus, Martinian, Denis, John, Serapion, and Constantine – though other versions may differ.

149 The earliest record of the story appears in Monophysite (neo-Platonist) Assyrian literature, and is recorded by Mar Yakob (Yakob of Suruç), the Bishop of Suruç (452-521), as his 221<sup>st</sup> hymn. Somewhat later it is taken up in the West, notably by Gregory of Tours (538-594), and in Paul the Deacon's (720-799) *History of the Lombards*. Possibly the best-known version appears in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, probably compiled around 1260. For the identification and study of the earliest Christian sources on the subject, see the pioneering work of nineteenth-century Oriental linguists, including J. Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende, ihr Ursprung und ihre Verbreitung. Eine mythologisch-literaturgeschichtliche Studie* (Leipzig and Berlin 1883), 82-83; M. Huber, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern. Eine literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig 1910). The mystical and popular aspects of the legend and its circulation were later studied by the twentieth-century Orientalist Louis Massignon, in his, 'Les Sept dormants d'Ephese en islam et en chrétienté (Ahl al-Kayf)', *Revue d'Etudes Islamiques*, 22 (1954), 59-112; Idem, 'Les Sept dormants. Apocalypse de l'islam', in Idem, *Opera Minora. Textes recueillis, classés et présentés avec une bibliographie*, Vol. III (Beirut 1963), 104-118. Together with others, Massignon also introduced both Christian and Islamic visual sources for the study of the myth: Idem, E. Dermenghem, L. Mahfoud, S. Ünver and N. Witt, *Les Sept dormants d'Ephese (Ahl-al-Kahf) en islam et en chrétienté. Recueil documentaire et iconographique* (Paris 1955). For visual renderings of the legend, see Y. Piatnitsky, 'The Cult of 'The Seven Sleepers of Ephesos' in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Painting', in *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposiums. Wien, 1995* (Vienna 1999), 51-53, 361-366. For an informed overview of the existing literature, see Ö. Sert, 'Hristiyan ve İslam Kültürlerinde Eshab-ı Keyf (Yedi Uyurlar) İnanç', unpublished M.A. thesis, Hacettepe University, 2001, 2.



of Islamic faith against any unbelievers. There are other, minor alterations, such as the inclusion of a dog among the sleepers. The sleepers' names and number are not given, but in Muslim popular belief (once more pointing to separate and multiple sources) they come to be known by the names listed in the Tuhfezade reception room.

Two components of the story were most important during the expansion of both Christianity and Islam (and especially in their borderlands): belief in resurrection, and belief in God's protection for the faithful. In time, the legend became quite widespread. It found its way into the Orthodox *martyrologia*. The Latin Church came to commemorate the Seven Sleepers on 7 July, and the Greek Church on 4 August. Muslims, on the other hand, developed the custom of reciting (venerating) the 18<sup>th</sup> Sura of the Qur'an before Friday prayers.<sup>150</sup> Hadith and *tefsir* contributed to elaborating its contextual meaning. In Christian lore and legend, the cave in question was eventually located in Ephesus, while the Islamic version has led to the identification of numerous caves all over the Islamic world from Spain to Indonesia, including several in Anatolia.

#### *A Legend's Multiple Uses*

On the interface between any two (or more) faith systems, the possibility of pursuing old beliefs and practices under a new guise is known to facilitate conversion. The Church actively and consciously pursued this policy in its Dark-Age attempts to convert the Germanic tribes, and Fuad Köprülü wrote extensively about the survival of shamanistic elements in various mystical sects after the Islamicisation of the Turkic tribes of West Asia. Later, in an overwhelmingly Islamic Middle East, such continuity of myths and legends remained important for the movement from the Bible to the Qur'an.<sup>151</sup> Furthermore, Sufism seems to have played a special role in this regard. For educated merchants and other non-Muslims of a philosophical bent, the neo-Platonist version of Islam, tinged with echoes of Christian mysticism, and distinguished by its rationalist, egalitarian outlook, was more appealing than the Sunni orthodoxy (preferred by the nobility and the urban lower classes), and facilitated their conversion to Islam.<sup>152</sup> With or without (or before and after) conversion, the story of the Seven Sleepers in *Al-Kahf* did not exclude varying and multiple interpretation, thus creating a space for them (or for crypto-Christians in general) where they could feel comfortable.

As prayers are chosen according to the needs of particular times, so are (were) legends. Thus, the ways in which the story of the Seven Sleepers was told reflected the outlook of the day. It was expected to secure God's protection under harsh conditions, to fortify resistance against hardship, to provide succour in wartime or in the face of natural disasters (including earthquakes, epidemics, famine or solar eclipses) as well as personal misfortune (such as exile). Thus, the names of the Seven Sleepers decorated many

150 Ocak, *İslam-Türk İnançlarında Hızır yahud Hızır-İlyas Kültü*, 43.

151 S. Uludağ, 'Introduction', in Feriüddin Attar, *Tezkiretü'l-Evliyâ*, ed. S. Uludağ (Bursa 1984).

152 M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, Vol. I (Chicago 1974), 390.

charms and amulets: against all possible dangers, but more specifically to avert evil, the evil eye, the crying of children, insomnia, headaches, thieves, or anger.<sup>153</sup> Their names are also found on city walls to protect the settlement from the plague, on ships to keep the vessels from sinking, on the walls of mosques to protect them from fires, on swords to prevent their breaking, and even on coins. Hasluck, whose interest in Christian and Muslim syncretism took him far afield in Asia Minor at the turn of the twentieth century, found that the Seven Sleepers were not that important in the Greek Church, but had a wide vogue in popular religion – he had not seen any church dedicated to them, or for that matter any icon representing them in a church, but in homes, in domestic space, small icons of the seven young men were fairly common. He relates how the Orthodox regarded a hanging icon of the Seven Sleepers as an effective cure for sleeplessness. He also notes that “the Seven seem to be looked on as special patrons of shipping, especially in the Black Sea, the most dangerous known to the Turks”. The names of the Seven and of their dog Kitmir, often written ornamentally in the form of a ship, also served as a talisman against evil:

The dog is one of the animals admitted to Paradise, and is regarded as a type of guardian: a special kind of dog, named after him Kitmir, is exempted from the ban against the keeping of dogs, as unclean animals, in houses. Kitmir is regarded as presiding specially over letters, which go far or which pass the sea, as a protection to preserve them from miscarriage.<sup>154</sup>

#### *Probing Mehmed Halil's Identity and Intentions*

Despite this acceptable background in folklore, I will go ahead and ask whether Mehmed Halil might have had something further in mind when he chose this story to be reminded of on a daily basis. Was he looking for some kind of redemption or resurrection, perhaps after the dire straits of the 1840s? Newton has interesting things to say about the *ağa's* outlook:

His activity both of mind and body is most remarkable for an Oriental. He employs all his leisure in reading, shoe-making, and gun-making – Smith saw some very fair locks manufactured by him. He is very fond of history, of which he has got glimpses here and there, through the study of Turkish chronicles, which, like the Monkish annals, begin with Creation and go down through Greek and Roman annals to contemporary times, huddling everything in one confused narrative. Yesterday he rather astonished me by talking about Iskandar, son of Philip (Alexander the Great), Plato, Ar-

153 For an octagonal charm made of carnelian, see S. Kangal (ed.), *War & Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Istanbul 1999), 363. Engraved in the centre is a star formed by the elongated letters of the names of the Seven Sleepers and their dog. The centre field is framed by an inscription: “Oh, you who have opened the Gates, open before us the Gate of God; He is the Helper”. On the reverse side is the inscription “Ashab al-Kahf”.

154 F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. M. M. Hasluck (New York 1929), 309-319.

istotle, and Bokrat (Hippocrates), all of whom he conceived to have lived in the same generation, and to have been on very intimate terms.<sup>155</sup>

Against this picture of an agile and curious, if not highly cultivated, intellect, it might not be too naive to expect Mehmed Halil to have also had an interest in ancient myths and legends. The most basic motif of the Seven-Sleepers story, that of prolonged sleep, is to be found in Diogenes Laertius in the second century AD. Diogenes mentions the myth of Epimenides the Cretan (c. 600 BC), who fell asleep in a cave while looking for his lost sheep. He woke up nearly sixty years later, to discover that much had changed.<sup>156</sup> Apart from the fact that such caves are quite common in the carstic soils of the Mediterranean, an emphatically local story with sleep as its central motif relates to the *Hacetevi* mountain on the south-eastern border of Hızırşah village, a few miles from Elaki. Properly performed, taking a nap at the top of Hacetevi is believed to enable your (day)dream to come true.<sup>157</sup> This is surrounded by all kinds of popular and mystic beliefs, with more than a Bektashi-Alevi hint also thrown in. The Mongol invasion of Anatolia in the thirteenth century led Sufi groups to take refuge in remote areas like the Datça peninsula. The pre-Ottoman mosque in Hızırşah, a picturesque village which was also called Yatır – after the burial place of a saint, a colonising dervish, or a missionary – was and has remained quite important for Dadian spiritual life.<sup>158</sup> Such traditions are a reminder that from the fall of western Crete onwards, while conversion to Islam took off especially among the landowning Creto-Venetians, Judaeo-Cretans, too, were becoming Muslims through the active proselytisation of Bektashi dervishes.

The Epimenides paradox is a problem of logic. It is named after the philosopher-prophet to whom the statement “Cretans, always liars” or “Liars are liars, said a liar” are attributed. Could it be that Mehmed Halil had some deception or fraud on the part of his ancestors at the back of his mind? Or, given his roots, was it protection against not so natural dangers that he was looking for? Prolonged sleep carries connotations of hiding in the face of danger. Were his origins now in conflict with his appropriated identity? Or was it simply an expression of wishful thinking for a more secure and promising future at a time when everything was shifting and resettling? Mehmed Halil lived during the reforming reigns of Mahmud II and Abdülmecid. The murals at his house do not carry any symbols of, or other references to, these reforms. Nor are any human figures represented (a choice usually associated with non-Muslim patrons).<sup>159</sup> At the same time, these murals

155 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 163.

156 Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende*, 27.

157 *Hacet bağı* is a piece of cloth tied to the grating of the window of a saint's tomb for the fulfilment of a wish; and *hacet penceresi* is the door or window of a saint's tomb where people pray for the fulfilment of wishes. “Those who have wishes and would like to plead for them to come true to Allah, climb this mountain by sunrise. When they reach the top they perform and recite prayers (*namaz*) ... Then they sit down and take a short nap. They recite their wish in the form of a daydream and then fall asleep. And what they have dreamt of comes true.” (Ergenekon, ‘Dorian Archaeology’, 459).

158 Meltem, *Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 4-5.

159 The symbols of the Tanzimat reforms in mural painting are coaches, trains, railroads, steam-

do bear the artistic characteristics of the time.<sup>160</sup> Of course, in Tavas, Milas, Köyceğiz, Ula and Muğla, there were houses of greater grandeur. But remarkably, Mehmed Halil was able to compete with these more distant patrons, as well as his closer neighbours and rivals,<sup>161</sup> in recruiting artists – whether locals from Izmir and the Aegean islands, or from Istanbul and beyond. As we have seen, Newton was totally persuaded about the *ağa's* Islamic faith. However, he also noted that Mehmed Halil

had that restless inquisitiveness which characterizes the Greek often, but rarely the Turk. I had just received the *Illustrated London News*, with coloured prints of Delhi and other Indian cities. I gave him these – he asked the name of each city, and, taking out his reed pen from his girdle, wrote it on top of the picture, adding a descriptive title, which embodied such scanty information about the place as I was able to give him.<sup>162</sup>

### *Evidence of a Gentrified Lifestyle*

Unfortunately, Newton is then silent about Mehmed Halil's daily life and does not mention any details of his residence, which he appears to have visited more than a few times. It is unlikely, however, that what he saw was the currently surviving *Goca Ev* – because at that time it was the *harem* quarters. As Mehmed Halil had official duties as the district administrator (*müdir-i Dadya*), it is to be understood that there was also a *selâmlık* on his estate at Elaki – a three-storey building in the vicinity of the existing *konak* where his offices were located.<sup>163</sup> There was also a reception hall to entertain his guests, and next to it was a *cihannümâ*, a glass kiosk from which the *ağa* used to watch horse races and other games taking place at a location known as *bağ harimi*. This must have been the innermost part of the vineyard, indicating perhaps an opening in the midst of his estate.<sup>164</sup>

boats, and factories with chimneys. Moreover, daily-life items, such as tables and chairs, armchairs, clocks and cutlery, are inserted as reminders of the on-going cultural transformation, and the emergence of an *alla franca* lifestyle; B. Tanman, ‘Merzifon Kara Mustafa Paşa Camii Şadırvanının Kubbesinde Zileli Emin'in Yarattığı ‘Osmanlı Dünyası’ ve Bu Dünyaya Yansıyan Kişiliği’, in *Güner İnal'a Armağan* (Ankara 1993), 491-522.

160 The origins of a taste for mural paintings date from the mid-eighteenth century, and one of the earliest surviving examples is to be found in the Kavafyan House in Bebek, Istanbul, dating from 1750. The paintings, however, are dated to the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839); N. Atasoy, ‘I. Sultan Mahmud Devrinden Bir Abide Ev’, *İÜ Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, 6 (1976), 23-43. For the earlier murals of Sadullah Paşa's waterfront mansion (1774-1789), see E. Esin, ‘Sadullah Paşa Yalısı’, *TTOK Belleteni*, 33/312 (1972), 11-25; Renda, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı*, 115; as for the mansion of the Hahambaşı, the Chief Rabbi, see S. H. Eldem, *Türk Evi*, Vol. I (Istanbul 1984), 262.

161 For the *konak* of the Tavaslı family in Hırka, see İrade-i Meclis-i Vâlâ, No. 20414; Kütükoğlu, *XVI. Asırda Tavas Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisâdi Yapısı*, 12. A description of the Çavuşoğlu house and its patron, Hasan Ağa, can be found in M.-G.-A.-F., Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, Vol. I (Paris 1809), 210-216.

162 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 163.

163 Meltem, *Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 12.

164 M. Fethi Meltem also remembers a place to the east of Reşadiye known as Meydanbaşı which,

The extant *başoda* of the former *harem* quarters, too, has a comprehensive view of the plains. The much decorated and symbolically loaded entrance is separated from the rest of the room by two delicate colonettes carrying arches which are also lavishly decorated. Crowning the subdued entrance to the room, the central arch is flat. A fascinating wheel-of-fortune decorates the ceiling at the centre. Akin to the panoramas facing the entrance, its colour scheme, too, catches the eye. The rest of the walls, fenestrated on three sides, are decorated with fine brushwork representing the late-eighteenth-century repertoire known as Ottoman Baroque. Tall vases filled with carnations and roses alternate with bouquets of poppies. It is from here, according to the surviving members of the family, that Mehmed Halil's son Mehmed Ali Ağa (the Younger) would turn his gramophone towards his father's mosque whenever the *ezan* (or the muezzin) bothered him. It is also said that he enjoyed listening to the piano and himself played the violin – improbable as it might sound, a Stradivarius.<sup>165</sup>

There are four other rooms on the second storey, each with a fireplace, built-in closets, and windows opening to a view of the plains to the south. Nevertheless, none are as well-lit or decorated as the reception room. Across from the *başoda* at the opposite end of the U-shaped hall is a spacious bathroom and toilet which add to the luxury of the *konak*. Mehmed Halil built an aqueduct to bring running water to his mansion and its extensive flower garden from a spring around Karaköy, which is 5–6 km away.<sup>166</sup> Chambers on the ground floor open to the courtyard and the garden to the north through a portico. The wooden stairs are located midway on the longer side of the U-plan. The walkway surrounding the *konak*, a restored pavement of black and white pebbles (*podima* or *choch-laki*) which broadens around the eastern entrance, is reminiscent of the streets and courtyards in Rhodes.

#### Further Signs of Cultural Hybridity

Clearly, two (or more) cultures remained blended in Ali Giridi's family, and not only there but to some extent over the entire peninsula – which still had a sizeable Greek population. Desserts are well-known layered pastries of the Mediterranean filled with nuts, spices, and butter, soaked in a syrup of sugar and honey. Much appreciated local dishes and beverages (*dalampa*, *elmascık*, *çıtıramak*, *kıştyak*, *narpız*, *könger*, *garağan*, *gıngıma*, *sepsuyu*, *mürdümük*, *turpucu*, *celpleme*, *ilabada*, *dalankuta*, *ütmek* etc.), however, reflect the herbal riches – mostly endemic to the peninsula. The basic method of cooking them is to boil and serve with olive oil as vegetables or fry them. In more specialised recipes, the cooked herbs and vegetables are enriched with eggs, cheese, or meat. A dish which

his father told him, was the entrance to the fields where horse races and games of *cirid* took place; *ibid.*, 10.

165 H. Unbehaun, *Klietelismus und politische Partizipation in der ländlichen Türkei: Der Kreis Datça (1923-1992)* (Hamburg 1994); republished in Turkish as *Türkiye Kırsalında Klietelizm ve Siyasal Katılım. Datça Örneği (1923-1992)* (Ankara 2006), 95 n. 60.

166 Meltem, *Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 11.

is cherished to this day is made from snails surfacing in the early spring, locally called *garaville*, consuming which is an Islamic taboo.<sup>167</sup> In Cretan cuisine, snails are treasured because they are easy to find, in contrast with the toil and uncertainty of hunting. But game (birds, hares) and fish were also prepared with considerable amounts of olive oil, supplementing the otherwise meat-poor diet of the inhabitants. During a trip through the countryside, Newton refers to Mehmed Halil's attendants with long guns "some few of which have detonators of French manufacture; the rest the old flint-and-steel"; they shot partridges as they went along, he says, and when they came to the coast, "Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] takes from the hand of an attendant a long reed fishing-rod with tackle manufactured at Trieste", and angles for a dinner. As for other provisions, the villages on the way were bound to provide them.<sup>168</sup> Also hunted were both wild goats and wild boar. Once more, this reflects the eating habits of the Mediterranean coastline, which do not necessarily conform to Islamic rules. As for some other customs still observed in the area, ranging from bull-fights to death-and-burial rituals, it is not easy to ascribe them either to Christianity or Islam.<sup>169</sup>

In describing his developing relationship with Mehmed Halil, Newton poses a question for his readers: "Now you may, perhaps, ask why does Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] show so much friendship for me?". The answer seems to be a mixture of mutual admiration and complementary expectations. "The rural life of Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil]", Newton says,

has given his manners a certain homeliness which was to me rather refreshing, after the fake compliments and vapid remarks which generally issue from the lips of official Turks. It seemed to me as if for the first time I had the opportunity of studying a real Turkish country gentleman, full of shrewd observation and mother wit, which he exercised in a good-natured and very amusing way on his suite.<sup>170</sup>

He also speaks of their respective needs: while Newton was trying to keep his staff supplied with fresh food,<sup>171</sup> Mehmed Halil simply wanted stones from Cnidus to build

167 It is so anathematic as to have given rise to the saying 'Müslüman mahallesinde salyangoz satmak' (selling snails in an Islamic quarter), which is perceived as absurdly impossible.

168 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 164-165.

169 Unbehaun, *Türkiye Kırsalında Klietelizm*, 94 n. 56.

170 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 164-165.

171 "Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] has one very great merit", Newton remarks, "he is perfectly aware that an Englishman must eat". Newton then goes on to relate that "[I]n the present destitution of the Turkish provinces, a party of hungry Englishmen are regarded by the natives as a nuisance, only less than that of the locusts. The difficulties of victualling our small messes at Budrum have required incessant trouble, much of which naturally falls upon me. I had not been two days encamped here before a messenger arrived with ten fowls dangling from his horse's crupper, Mehemet Ali's [= Mehmed Halil] first present to the colony. When he arrived himself, there came a sheep, a good supply of eggs, honey and figs. This morning we had a long and most interesting conversation on the subject of bullocks and vegetables, a question of the greatest importance, as our small party cannot live for ever on salt meat"; *ibid.*

a mosque with, and he hoped to obtain these stones easily through the excavations that Newton's team were carrying out.<sup>172</sup>

### *Puzzles Surrounding Mehmed Halil's Mosque*

Already in the late 1830s, Newton notes, several shiploads of marble had been removed from Cnidus by order of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa of Egypt, who employed them in the construction of a new palace.<sup>173</sup> According to tradition, it was the stones and statues of the great amphitheatre which were taken to Cairo. Later, it is claimed, more stones were taken away, this time heading to Istanbul, to be used in the construction of the Dolmabahçe Palace. But whether the mosque Mehmed Halil Ağa intended to build with the stones from Cnidus is the one which still stands next to the *konak* at Elaki is not very clear from Newton's account.

On a closer look, problems multiply. Thus, for a start, the dates do not fit. According to its inscription panel, the stately mosque built by Mehmed Halil was completed nearly two years before Newton and Mehmed Halil met – in 1856 (H. 1273). If this is correct, was Mehmed Halil Ağa intending to build yet another mosque elsewhere? Or were the stones from Cnidus intended for some other building(s)? Curiously, while there is also a *medrese* that is mentioned in the inscription panel, there is no indication of its ever being completed. Neither is there any reference to any pious endowments which were usually set up on such occasions. A dubious note which identifies the Reşadiye Mosque as having been converted from a Byzantine church (though clearly it is not), indeed suggests an earlier building on its site.<sup>174</sup> Perhaps related to this point, it is understood that there was a monastery in Elaki/Reşadiye, though like other traces of the Greek presence on the peninsula, it, too, has not survived. Furthermore, there are only a few mosques on the peninsula even today, and Mehmed Halil's mosque at Elaki surpasses all in scale and style.<sup>175</sup> One of the two other mosques that still bear inscription panels was constructed in 1796 at Karaköy by the father of Mehmed Halil Ağa, Tuhfezade el-Hac Halil Ağa (ibn Mehmed Ağa).<sup>176</sup> In

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 171.

<sup>174</sup> 1973 *Muğla İl Yıllığı. Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Muğla* (Izmir 1974), 247. The same source also records Kuyumçü Kalesi and the mosque at Mesudiye as conversions from Byzantine churches.

<sup>175</sup> When compared with urban and semi-urban centres in the area, even in the islands, the lack of monuments related to the Islamic faith in Datça is striking. For a comparative case in point, see M. Kiel, 'The Island of Lesbos-Midilli under the Ottomans, 1462-1912: Remarks on its Population, Economy and Islamic Monuments', in İ. Bostan and S. H. Başeren (eds), *II. National Aegean Islands Symposium. 2-3 July 2004, Gökçeada-Çanakkale* (Istanbul 2004), 54-61. Compare with F. Emecen, 'Historical Process of the Turkish Settlement in the Island of Lesbos', in *ibid.*, 62-70.

<sup>176</sup> Its waqf deed survives; VGM Aydın Esamiri 8/1 1942, after Uykucu, *Marmaris Tarihi*, 67. The inscription panel reads: *Bu hayratın sahibine olsun mübarek/Versin Hak muradın tebarek/Sahibü'l-hayrat ve'l-hasenat/Tuhfezade el-Hac Halil Ağa ibn Mehmed Ağa. Sene 1211.*

Dadya, there is also the mosque of Ahmed Ağa bin Halil.<sup>177</sup> Why was Mehmed Halil so interested in mosque-building in 1856-1858, between the completion of the one at Elaki and his asking Newton's help for Cnidus marble for another mosque?

In any case, the mosque at Elaki is built not of Cnidus marble (provided by Newton) but of local stone, possibly procured from spoils in the peninsula. It is a typical provincial mosque, and the likes of it can be found elsewhere in Menteşe and the neighbouring regions.<sup>178</sup> The dome rests on an octagonal drum, and is reinforced on four sides by triangular buttresses located at 90 degrees to mid-point on the side walls. It is a small mosque with a plain interior, lit by pairs of windows pierced on three sides. The entrance on the fourth side is through a three-way arched portico resting on four marble columns.

Did Mehmed Halil not just finance it but also build it himself? For this man of many talents, it is not out of the question. We find in Newton an illuminating note about the ağa's 'engineering' talent, and, perhaps, his interest in architecture:

Before taking leave of me, Mehmed Ali [= Mehmed Halil] paid a visit to the carpenters. He watched their work with a keen interest. 'I, too, am a carpenter!' he said, taking up the saw. I offered him a printed plan of the hut – he declined it. 'I have already got the construction here!' he said, pointing to his forehead. Perhaps if he had had the chance, this obscure Ağa might have been a Peter Great for his country, and might have introduced the useful arts. When Smith was staying with him, he gave him the dimensions of the dome of the mosque he was about to build, and asked him how many stones of a given size he would require for it. After some trouble Smith solved the problem, and then found out that Mehmed Ali [= Mehmed Halil] had calculated it in his head correctly by some rule of thumb.<sup>179</sup>

### *The Retinue and the Mesh of Local Power*

In 1858, Mehmed Halil could boast of an immediate retinue comprising "a Cadi, a grey-headed Imam, the head man of a neighbouring village, and a sort of nondescript Greek, who played the part of souffre-douleur or toady".<sup>180</sup> In another instance, Newton remarks that

Mehmed Ali [= Mehmed Halil] usually travels about his small peninsular kingdom accompanied by his cadi, imam, and other cabinet ministers, all mounted on small mountain horses: then come three or four peasant attendants, with long guns.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Ahmed Ağa was possibly the great-grandson of Ali of Crete and great-uncle of Mehmed Halil Ağa; VGM Aydın Esamiri 8/2 457, after Uykucu, *Marmaris Tarihi*, 65.

<sup>178</sup> R. Duran, 'Menteşe Beyliği Mimarisi', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 1994.

<sup>179</sup> Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 166-167.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 164-165.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

Following the Gülhane Rescript proclaiming the Tanzimat, in January 1840 tax-farming (*iltizam*) was abolished. Simultaneously, through a new set of regulations, *muhasıllık* – a long-standing practice of tax collection, initially by officials of the central government, which, however, had been gradually taken over by locals – was re-organised. At the level of provincial centres and *kazas*, a high council (*meclis-i vâlâ, büyük meclis*) of thirteen members; and in *kazas, kasabas* or *köys* without a *muhasıl*, a secondary council (*küçük meclis*) of five members were established – together with courts of regulations (*nizamiye mahkemesi*).<sup>182</sup> The secondary councils, which would be abolished in 1841, consisted of a proxy of the *muhasıl*, a mufti, a *naib*, and two other dignitaries. These correspond very closely to the core of Mehmed Halil's retinue as described by Newton in 1858. Significantly, Newton was also quite aware of the new measures introduced after the Tanzimat:

The Majlis takes cognizance of a variety of cases, civil as well as criminal. There is also another court, called the Mehkemé, which deals only with real property. Sales of land are ratified in this court, in the presence of the Cadi. A commercial tribunal, the Tijaret Meclis, has been recently introduced in many places.<sup>183</sup>

The judge in the retinue of the *ağa* of Dadya was the *kadı* of the religious court. According to administrative regulations, a *kadı* was to reside at the centre of the *kaza*. Hence the so-called *kadı* of Dadya was actually a *naib*, a deputy of the judge in Muğla, and possibly a local. It was common for *naibs* to have long tenures. Gölioğlu Memi Fakih was the *naib* in Dadya for more than 20 years in 1578.<sup>184</sup> We do not know the circumstances under which he had such a long tenure. But we do know that in spite of various edicts forbidding the practice, many *naibs* would prefer to stay in towns and to farm out their office to a local in faraway places. It was this local, designated as the deputy of the deputy judge, who was likely to hold office for a much longer time than the regular (*naib* or *kadı*) whom he represented. This must have enhanced their local influence. After all, the judge was not there solely to preside over the religious court. He also had the authority of tax collector (*mukataat müfettişi*), and transmitted the central bureaucracy's decisions and instructions to the general public.<sup>185</sup>

### *In the Troubled Waters of Tanzimat Centralisation*

Newton mentions but does not identify "the head man of a neighbouring village". At the time, Elaki and other neighbouring villages had a predominantly Greek population.

182 H. İnalçık, 'Tanzimat'ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkiler', *Belleten*, 28/112 (1964), 626-627; İ. Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Sonra Mahalli İdareler (1840-1878)* (Ankara 1974), 13ff.; M. Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları* (Ankara 1991), 212-219.

183 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 74.

184 Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 157 n. 766 (MD XXX 3/9).

185 *Ibid.*, 146-158.

Could this "head man", too, have been Greek, and maybe even a lesser *kocabaşı*, a representative of the Greeks in the peninsula? If so, he would have been on an equal footing with the *ağa* for tax-collection purposes. But we have no means of knowing. Meanwhile, the only – "nondescript" – Greek in Mehmed Halil's retinue appears to have been there as a laughing-stock. Newton noted that the *ağa*

was always making one of these [in his retinue] his butt – the Greek, of course, got the worst of it. He imitated the manner in which they make the sign of the cross, and the genuflections to the Panaiya. 'Let us make a musliman of Demetri,' he said; 'I am sure he wishes it in his heart – to-morrow we will perform the usual rite.' Poor Demetri simpered and looked amiable. I wonder what private end he was serving by eating so much dirt.<sup>186</sup>

However meanly Mehmed Halil might have behaved in picking on Demetri, he does not appear to have displayed any malice towards the non-Muslims under his jurisdiction. Or at least, Newton did not observe anything of the sort. Back in 1821, the outbreak of the Greek Revolution had been marked by massive unrest in the Morea. This had then spilled over to Asia Minor. But by the time Newton and Mehmed Halil met, all such after-shocks had died down. The rebels who started riots in urban centres such as Ayvalık and Chios do not seem to have made it to Dadya.<sup>187</sup> Nevertheless, there were those who had run away from trouble to settle in desolate places such as the villages of the Dadya peninsula. There were also the pirates, known as *izbandids*, who kept attacking the Menteşe coastline from June 1821 onwards – so much so that the region's *kadis, naibs, ayan, voyvodas* as well as the *mütesellim* Mehmed Emin in Muğla were all harshly warned by the central state against any misconduct or negligence.<sup>188</sup> Disturbances spread to Çeşme, just across from Chios, and in 1830 the *kocabaşı* of Çeşme was invited to Istanbul. A nineteenth-century Ottoman treatise on historical geography, based on French geography books and the updates the author received from the imperial council, illustrates the post-Rebellion status of the islanders of the Aegean Sea.<sup>189</sup>

While no such troubles beset the Datça peninsula, it was in this same period (1820-1830) that there was a rapid turnover of *mütesellims* at Muğla, too, who were also repeat-

186 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 164-165.

187 M. Kütükoğlu, 'Yunan İsyanı Sırasında Anadolu ve Adalar Rumlarının Tutumları ve Sonuçları', in *Türk-Yunan İlişkileri. Üçüncü Askerî Tarih Semineri Bildirileri* (Ankara 1986), 133-161; Z. Arıkan, '1821 Ayvalık İsyanı', *Belleten*, 52/203 (1988), 571-600; Ö. Mert, 'Tanzimat Döneminde Çeşme Kocabaşları (1839-1876)', in Baykara (ed.), *CIÉPO XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 475-492.

188 MD 239, 108 (Ramazan 1236), after B. Kayhan, 'Adalar Denizi'nde Rum Korsanları: İzbandidler', unpublished M.A. thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1996, 19, 30. For Mehmed Emin who was dismissed in 1822, see also HAT 496 (17 Ramazan 1236) and HAT 279 (29 Zilhicce 1238).

189 F. Sarıcaoğlu, 'Coğrafya-yı Örfî (1827): Örfî Pasha's Unknown Work of the Aegean Islands in Greek Rebellion', in Bostan and Başeren (eds), *II. National Aegean Islands Symposium*, 80-85.

edly called to Istanbul.<sup>190</sup> Furthermore, there was a considerable population increase, as attested by the newly developing settlements on the peninsula, as well as, more specifically, the 1831 census.<sup>191</sup> The latter was an attempt to record those who were migrating in and out. Immigration was mainly from the islands and the Morea, intensifying over the second half of the eighteenth century and then again after 1822. More immigrants arrived from Crete in 1863-1875, settling throughout the larger region. Strikingly, peace and quiet prevailed in Dadya all through these troubled times. Local magnates virtually everywhere had long had to organise and lead the local militia in order to defend their towns and villages against *celalis*, *sekbans* mercenaries or janissaries, who often imposed illegal levies upon peasants in cash and kind. Provincial notables recruited their troops from among precisely the same brigands or mercenary bands. But in the case of the Dadya peninsula, the *ağa* seems to have been quite at ease. Mehmed Halil's retinue included only a few armed men, who seemed to Newton to be no better than peasants with guns.

#### *What a Petty Tyrant Had to Watch Out For*

All in all, therefore, Newton presents Mehmed Halil as a relaxed and sophisticated provincial landlord, enjoying the tranquillity of the peninsula while exerting an authority which apparently extended to the islands. This picture stands in striking contrast to Westerners' numerous depictions of *ağas* of other regions. Nevertheless, he too had his adversaries. Once, Newton remarks, Mehmed Halil

confided to me this morning that he has certain enemies at Mughla, who must be put down by the intervention of the Pasha of Smyrna. 'I dare not complain of the wrong that has been done to me, except through a Consul – they would crush me!'.<sup>192</sup>

This remark may go some way towards explaining why the Tuhfezades do not appear in state papers. As already indicated, there had been an initial period of turbulence and confusion in Muğla in 1812-1829/1830, during which Tavashlı Osman Ağa had come, gone and come again to office in early 1829, figuring as the *muhassıl* and *kaymakam* of Menteşe.<sup>193</sup> In 1848 he was dismissed yet again, before and after which, the documents

190 HAT 1425 (29 Zilhicce 1245): Osman Ağa was received by the Sultan after his appointment as *mütesellim* of Menteşe; HAT 541 (29 Zilhicce 1249): Osman Ağa was brought to Istanbul by force.

191 The census listed 1,282 Muslim males in Dadya; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı* (Ankara 1943), 204-205. See also H. Cantürk, 'Osmanlı Salnamelerine Göre XIX. Yüzyılda Menteşe Sancağı'nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu', unpublished M.A. thesis, Muğla Üniversitesi, 1998.

192 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 165-166.

193 In the 15 years or more following the death of Seyyid Ömer Ağa, there was some confusion over the appointment of a *mütesellim*. Internecine fighting between several members of the Çavuşoğlu family as well as others appears to have come to a halt when Tavashlı Osman Ağa was appointed *mütesellim* and also received by the Sultan in mid-1830; HAT 1425 (29 Zilhicce 1245/21 June 1830). On one occasion he was actually sentenced to death, but then par-

at our disposal do suggest another period of confusion in Muğla. *Muhassıls*, as we have seen earlier, were tax collectors charged with bringing in the various regular as well as extra-ordinary taxes who came to assume other administrative responsibilities in time. In the early eighteenth century, viziers and even some former Grand Viziers were being appointed *muhassıls* of *sancaks*. In Menteşe, one of the last *muhassıls* was a *mütesellim*, though not a local but the *mütesellim* of Teke.<sup>194</sup> In 1848, the local tyrant Tavashlı Osman became the first *muhassıl* with a local power base, and was also designated *kaymakam* to comply with the new Tanzimat regulations.<sup>195</sup> Until Tavashlı Osman died in 1860, there were always many complaints about him.

As we have seen, Mehmed Halil was initially married to Tavashlı Osman's sister (who died in 1810). The perilous position of his patron and brother-in-law seems to have had an impact on Mehmed Halil's relations with the authorities, and especially vis-à-vis the governor in Izmir.<sup>196</sup> The centre pushed hard against the appointment of Osman Ağa's son, Kapıcıbaşı Mehmed Ağa, as *kaymakam* of Menteşe,<sup>197</sup> while his other son, Ali Ağa, was prevented from interfering with the duties of the *müdür*.<sup>198</sup> Such grievances as have accumulated in the state archives also suggest meddling by other local parties such as the Çavuşoğulları and Ağaogulları. Mehmed Halil's appeal led Newton to conclude that

There is no grade of society in Turkey in which the habit of inviting foreign intervention does not prevail. I never refuse to help people if they have any real case – such good offices give much indirect influence and enable me to work the expedition far more economically and efficiently. I wonder how many days I might have waited for eggs and mutton if Mehmed Ali [= Mehmed Halil] had not had a grievance at Mughla.<sup>199</sup>

done; he was also asked several times to present himself in Istanbul, most notably in 1834 (HAT 541, 29 Zilhicce 1249/9 May 1834) and 1836 (HAT 1321 and HAT 1323, 29 Zilhicce 1251/16 April 1836). In early 1848, after yet another inspection, he was once more dismissed, and this time it turned out to be final; İ.DH 164 (7 Safer 1264/14 January 1848) and A.AMD 3 (12 Safer 1264/19 January 1848).

194 C.DH 117 (4 Zilhicce 1240/20 July 1825): Ali Bey, the *mütesellim* of Teke, was appointed *muhassıl* of Menteşe (with the rank of *mir-i miran*).

195 For documents referring to Osman Ağa as *muhassıl* and *kaymakam* in the period 1844-1851, see İ.MVL 59 (11 Şevval 1260), İ.DH 113 (17 Zilkade 1261), İ.MVL 87 (14 Muharrem 1263), İ.DH 182 (17 Zilhicce 1264), İ.DH 164 (7 Safer 1264), İ.DH 164 (7 Safer 1264), C.ML 561 (25 Rebiyülâhır 1268), A.MKT.UM 84 (22 Muharrem 1268). In the secondary literature one finds claims to the effect that the rule of *muhassıls* at the provincial centre lasted until 1836, when the *sancak* of Menteşe was annexed to Aydın, and a governor, *müşir-i Aydın*, was appointed as *mutasarrıf* of Menteşe (Karaosmanzade Yakub Paşa); Uluçay, *18 ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık*, 282-284.

196 Governors in Izmir around that time, together with their dates of appointment, were Mustafa Paşa, 28 March 1857; İşkodralıza Mustafa Paşa, 20 January 1858; Kâmil Paşa, 20 December 1858.

197 C.ML 561 (25 Rebiyülâhır 1268); A.MKT.UM 153 (4 Cemaziyelâhır 1270).

198 A.MKT.UM 161 (2 Zilkade 1270); A.MKT.UM 186 (3 Receb 1271).

199 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 165-166.

### Big Fish and Small Fry

Newton also reveals bits and pieces about how the family stood in relation to the imperial capital. When asked if he had ever been to Istanbul, Mehmed Halil replied: "Never since my father's death!". It was then, he says, that "they stripped me of all my possessions, declaring that my father had left no heir".<sup>200</sup> Normally, confiscation (*müsadere*) was practised only if a man had died without any male heir(s). In this case, however, not only was Mehmed Halil himself (obviously) there, but the family tree also identifies two brothers of his (called Salih and Hüseyin), though it is not clear whether they were (still) alive at the time. If they were, this confiscation would have been truly an extra-ordinary punishment – for what, or as instigated by whom, we cannot say. Neither do we know just when Halil Ağa died (and therefore when the confiscation is likely to have taken place).<sup>201</sup> In terms of the letter of the law, *müsadere* was abolished in 1830, and private landownership was legalised in 1858. This could point to a date of death for Mehmed Halil's father between 1830 and 1839. When Newton inquired if such a wrong (i.e., confiscation) could be committed in the present day (i.e., in 1858), Mehmed Halil's response was emphatic: "No, not since the Tanzimat; property cannot be openly confiscated, though doubtless much injustice may be committed through the corruption of Pashas and Cadis".<sup>202</sup>

These pashas, as we have seen, were the ones in Izmir – which had become the seat of the governor of the province of Aydın. In other words, the pashas that Mehmed Halil was referring to were the *muhassıls* sent from Istanbul to provincial centres in the wake of the 1839 reforms in order to impose centralisation, to contain abuses by *mütesellims* and *ayan*, and to replace those *muhassıls* who were increasingly turning native. The *kadis* in question, however, must have been the ones in Muğla, the provincial seat for Menteşe. An interesting piece of oral testimony by a member of the family concerns the authorities' attempt to deport Mehmed Halil Ağa. Apparently, after the abolition of *ağalık* as a formal institution (1850-1860), the *kaymakam* who came into office asked Hacı Müftü [the *kadı*?] for a *fetva* to send the ağa into exile. Hacı Müftü, who had been appointed together with the *kaymakam* and the *tapucu*, declined. By marrying the new judge into the Tuhfezade family, Mehmed Halil turned out to have steered clear of future trouble.<sup>203</sup> From Mahmud II onwards, the centre was harsh on those local notables who were seen as obstacles to centralisation; many (including *kocabaşıs*) were murdered, their wealth being confiscated in the process.<sup>204</sup>

As his father is likely to have died before the introduction of the 1839 reforms, the 'wrongs' that Mehmed Halil refers to were probably committed in 1833-1836, when *muhtarlıks* were established in the villages to take over the tasks of *ayan* and *kocabaşıs*. All these efforts to centralise pleased neither government officials, such as governors,

200 Ibid., 163.

201 The only thing that we know of him is that the mosque that he built at Karaköy was completed in 1796.

202 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 163.

203 Hacı Müftü, who married a Tuhfezade and settled into the family, was the grandfather of M. Fethi Meltem; Meltem, *Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 6, 11-12.

204 Mert, 'Tanzimat Döneminde Çeşme Kocabaşıları', 475-492.

*sancakbeyis* and *mütesellims*, nor the *ayan* and *eşraf*, and led to further local struggles. *İltizam* was re-established in 1842.<sup>205</sup> With a radical transformation of the tax structure, tax sources were recounted and registered in 1840/1841 and 1844/1845.<sup>206</sup> In 1845, representatives of (Muslim and non-Muslim) local dignitaries were invited to Istanbul, where they remained for two months.<sup>207</sup> Those who proved helpful in the resulting consultations were later presented with new rank-and-status titles. As for those *ayan* who resisted, they were destroyed in the centralisation process. Likewise, *kocabaşıs* who got themselves involved in the Morean uprisings were harshly punished.

### Lords and Peasants in a New Land-Grab

Furthermore, the attempt to modernise and homogenise Ottoman land tenure caused a lot of distress. The 1847/1849 land regulation (*kanun-ı arazi'l-emiriye*), which was circulating in print after 1851, stipulated that land could now pass not only in the male but also the female line.<sup>208</sup> In 1856 the poll tax (*cizye*) was replaced by the *iane-i askeri*, and *muhtars* or *kocabaşıs* were charged with its collection and delivery. In practice, however, like many other magnates from Ula, Marmaris, Bodrum, Yerkeseği, Bozöyük and elsewhere, including the islands, the Tuhfezades' patrons in the Menteşe sub-province, the Tavaslı Osman Ağazadeler, and their arch-enemies from Köyceğiz and Milas, respectively the Hasan Çavuşoğulları and the Abdülaziz Ağazadeler, continued to rule in their power bases and to fight each other to become the *mütesellim* of Menteşe until 1858 – when the Land Code (*arazi kanunnamesi*) was issued. Then they began to fight over the office of the *kaymakam*.<sup>209</sup>

In 1857-1858, at the time when Newton met Mehmed Halil, and when the Land Code was brand new, the *miri* lands in Muğla-Menteşe were put up for auction. As state land was gradually passing into private hands, a certain Hacı Kadı (of Muğla? Perhaps the same Hacı Müftü who had married into the family?) appears as an ambitious client who was ready to purchase all the real estate that was on the market, grabbing *hans*, *hamams*, coffee-houses and shops together with agricultural land in and around Muğla proper.<sup>210</sup> Few other buyers were able to purchase agricultural land in the *kazas* – so much so that when Hacı Kadı got Dadya Çiftlik,<sup>211</sup> too, he did so on the condition that he did not extend his claim over other *kazas* of Menteşe.

205 TDVİA, s.v. 'Muhassıl' (Özkaya and Akyıldız). For the survival of the *timar* system, see N. Clayer, 'Note sur la survivance du système des timâr dans la région de Shkodër au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Turcica*, 29 (1997), 423-431.

206 Records of Dadya in the *temettüat* registers of Aydın in 1844-1845 (ML.VRD.TMT: Catalogue No. 1) will be studied in a forthcoming study.

207 Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Sonra Mahalli İdareler*, 29-31; Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları*, 199-202.

208 Şeyhülislam Ahmed Ârif Efendi, *El-Ahkâmü'l-Mer'ıye fi'l Arazî'l-Emiriye* (Istanbul 1267/1851 [1265/1849]).

209 Uykucu, *Muğla Tarihi*, 95.

210 *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. 'Muğla', 5872.

211 Dadya Çiftlik today is the name of the seaboard running from Emecik to Kızlan and beyond.

In a sense, this was typical. What the Land Code was trying to do was to provide and maintain private property in the form of small agricultural estates, and to prevent the rise of a new landlord class through the appropriation of large *çiftlik*s on fertile agricultural lands.<sup>212</sup> In principle, such *çiftlik*s (or select ownerships) were to be allowed only in places with scattered villages and population. However, local magnates – former fief-holders, judges, stewards, or notables-by-origin – fought to purchase more of the state lands that they were actually holding, coming out on top to continue to farm ever bigger estates (*çiftlik*), and to rule over their regions.<sup>213</sup>

Only towards the end of the nineteenth century (and even later), did most of the agricultural land change hands yet again, and only slowly did (some) peasants and small farmers come to own the land that they cultivated. Disputes which arose in the process were taken to a new court, the aforementioned *nizamiye mahkemesi*. It is through the documentation relating to such litigations that it might yet prove possible to further verify Ali of Crete's arrival in Datça – because Mehmed Halil's son, Mehmed Ali, too, had to appeal to this court, and had to prove his ancestor's original entitlement.<sup>214</sup> Before that, Mehmed Halil, for his part, appears to have survived this transition period gracefully. In November 1868, a donation (*teberru*) to the imperial treasury by Mehmed Halil Ağa of the Dadya dynasty was well received in Istanbul. This timely gift happened to precede a decree which imposed strict control over forests, and the unauthorised cutting of trees and use of timber, in the *kazas* of Menteşe, including Dadya.<sup>215</sup>

### *Precocious Ties with International Trade*

But perhaps luckily for Mehmed Halil, in such times of change and crisis, neither his wealth nor his authority were limited to the land. In 1858, Newton, noting that the *ağa* frequently travelled around his peninsular micro-kingdom, had portrayed a leisurely proprietor busying himself in fishing or shooting partridges. But along with, or despite, such habitual class-idleness, Mehmed Halil also appears in Newton's account as an able entrepreneur:

Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil], though he possesses four harems and much wealth, is not, like most rich Turks, devoured by indolence. He is a shrewd, hard-headed man of business, who ought to have been a Scotchman. He drives an active trade with

212 For Articles 8, 130 and 131 (towards preventing the *ırgatlaşma* [proletarianisation] of the peasants), see Ö. L. Barkan, 'Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihinde Tanzimat ve 1274 (1858) Tarihli Arazi Kanunnamesi', in *Tanzimat*, Vol. I (Istanbul 1940), 377.

213 In addition to those families listed above, see Ü. Türkeş, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Muğla* (Istanbul 1973), 116-120; *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. 'Muğla', 5872.

214 A cursory examination of the İrade, Dahiliye, Meclis-i Vâlâ, Meclis-i Mahsus, Şura-yı Devlet, and Nizamiye Mahkemesi classifications so far has not yielded any information on the Tuhfe-zades.

215 A.MKT.MHM 427 (8 Şaban 1285) and A.MKT.MHM 407 (19 Muharrem 1285), respectively.

Smyrna, selling the produce of his territory to the great English merchant Mr. Whittall, of whose friendship he is justly proud.<sup>216</sup>

The Izmir merchant in question was Charlton Whittall (1791-1861). The Whittall family can be traced back to one James Whittall, tobacconist of Worcester (1696-1780). Following the emigration of his two great-grandsons, Charlton and James Whittall, to Izmir in 1809, they became a major Levantine family.<sup>217</sup> Charlton Whittall first travelled to the Ottoman lands in 1809 to represent Breed & Co., Liverpool, and stayed on to establish C. Whittall & Co. of Smyrna in 1811. The firm was incorporated into membership in the British Levant Trading Company in 1812. He received the Freedom of the Levant Co. in 1812, and was also awarded the imperial Order of Mecidiye, fourth class.<sup>218</sup> There were numerous connections between the Whittalls and other prominent European families, such as the Barkers, the La Fontaines or the Girauds in Izmir, as well as the likes of the Cortazzi,<sup>219</sup> the Cangelari<sup>220</sup>

216 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 162 and 164.

217 The Whittall family donated their papers, scrap-books, photographs, etc. for 1909-1996 to the University of Exeter in 2004 (MS 259). The collection contains material relating to the family's history and their commercial activities in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.

218 From the website of the University of Exeter on the Whittall Papers. Charlton married the daughter of the Austrian Consul (who was also the granddaughter of the Venetian Consul) of Izmir. His brother James (1798-1836) also came to Izmir and joined C. Whittall & Co., acquiring a third share in the company. Descendants of Charlton and James continued the tradition as prominent merchants, founding the Whittall Tea Company, Ceylon; J Whittall & Co., London; and JW Whittall & Co., Constantinople.

219 Originally from Constantinople, the Cortazzi were sent to Crete in 1182 to quell the rebellious inhabitants and rule the island. Intermarrying with native Cretans, the Cortazzi faithfully served Venice until the Ottoman conquest. Then they retired to Venice, and were given lands in the Morea to compensate them for their losses. The presence of the Cortazzi family in eighteenth and nineteenth-century western Anatolia is well attested through correspondence, business papers, and travellers' accounts. Lucca Cortazzi, for example, was the Venetian Consul in Izmir in 1750-1797. On the other hand, Lui(gi) Cortazzi – who appears as a "British" investor around the mid-nineteenth century – was among those who financed the Izmir-Aydın railway, construction of which began in 1856, and which was completed in 1866. This railway played a major role in opening the western Anatolian hinterland to international commerce.

220 After 1453, the Cangelari family took refuge first on the island of Corfu, and finally settled permanently on the island of Cephalonia, just after its conquest by the Venetians at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They were granted the highland village of Vari, and were entrusted with the military command of the region of Erisso – the northern, and, at that time, the roughest and most inaccessible part of the island. As a result of their military, spying or piratical activities against the Ottomans, many members of the family were enslaved – especially during the Cretan War (1645-1669). They served as notaries, members of the Council of the Community of Cephalonia, and distinguished themselves in the diplomatic field. The Cangelari also produced clergymen as well as elders, teachers, physicians, and constables. For the following three centuries, the family came to possess a house in the capital, known as the Fortress of Saint George. They were engaged in producing cereals, raisins, olives, and wine, while being simultaneously occupied with livestock breeding and to a lesser extent shipping. Clearly, they did well, and some branches settled in other areas on the island. Then, by the mid-seventeenth century, migrations out of the island took place. Some branches of the family took new family surnames, aiming at better differentiation between the various branches. Starting in the mid-nineteenth



or the Vlastos<sup>221</sup> – Byzantine Venetians who, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, had moved first to Crete, then to Athens, then to Izmir/Smyrna or elsewhere in the Aegean (and beyond).<sup>222</sup> They were all instrumental in establishing nineteenth-century trade routes and networks in this area.<sup>223</sup>

### *Crop Patterns in the Nineteenth Century*

Materially speaking, what was there to collect from Dadya and export from Izmir? In earlier times, the Menteşeoğulları had established commercial relations with the Venetian administration of Crete. They bought metals, and exported horses and slaves, soap, and wine in return. After the Ottoman conquest, Bayezid I curtailed trade, prohibiting the export of grain, horses, and timber from Menteşe. In later centuries, when even Ottoman Marmaris remained insignificant as a port, the peninsula does not seem to have been part and parcel of a lively exchange. Sixteenth-century *tahrirs* point to the most common grains (including wheat and barley), and vetch and beans, as making up the taxable crop pattern.<sup>224</sup> While the register of 1500 also records rice cultivation (*çeltik*) in Dadya, together with a few other places in Menteşe, in the later *defters* irrigation channels are indicated to be no longer productive (*bi-hâsıl*). Most windmills (*asiyab-ı bad*) in Menteşe were located in Dadya. There were 26 in 1500, 19 in 1517, 27 in 1562, and 45 in 1583. Piri Reis, too, noted Değirmenderesi (= Mill Creek) to the south-west of Dadya.<sup>225</sup> The *tahrirs* provide rather precise information on how long (a month, three months, six

century, branches of the family established themselves permanently in Athens and other parts of Greece, as well as in Istanbul, Gemlik, Kızıl Adalar (the Princes' Islands) of the Ottoman Empire, in Braila in Romania, in Kerch in the Crimea, as well as in Suez and Alexandria.

221 Another leading noble family whose history can be traced from Constantinople to Crete, and then through Venice, Chios, Trieste, Livorno, the Ionian Islands, and Alexandria into western Europe and beyond, was the Vlastos family. In the early seventeenth century, some Vlastos moved to Chios, the shipping and trading hub of the eastern Mediterranean. After the finalisation of the Ottoman conquest of Crete in 1669, while some Vlastos remained in Crete and maintained their territory until the mid-nineteenth century, some of them re-established the family in the Ionian Islands and in Istria as the Venetian general Morosini organised a retreat of the Cretan nobles to what remained of the Venetian territories in the Levant. On islands such as Chios, Cephalonia, and Zante, as well as in Istria, they intermarried with other patriarchal families, and some converted to Catholicism. Family members also moved to Istanbul, where they became merchants or prominent members of the diplomatic communities.

222 On 11 March 1902, Gertrude Bell, who was visiting Izmir, wrote the following in her diary about Helen Whittall and old Mrs Whittall, the grandmother of them all: "... Mrs H. Whittall a delightful woman. Round the dining room family portraits – on one side the grandfather who first came out, a stern old man; on the other his wife, a Venetian (Cortazzi) of the Byzantine Venetians, driven out by the Turks first to Crete then to Athens and then to Smyrna, and her mother, an Italian, a Capo d'Istria ..."; The University of Newcastle upon Tyne Library, Gertrude Bell Archive Project, Diaries.

223 I shall elaborate on the corpus of family papers in another project.

224 For more on Menteşe in the sixteenth century, see Faroqhi, 'Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets', 65-70.

225 Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 269.

months, or all through the year) the mills in question might be expected to operate. The due (*resm*) was five *akçes* a month, but we have no way of knowing how much the mills charged, as well as the ways of payment.

In the sixteenth century, olive groves in Menteşe were limited to the Datça peninsula. The steady rise of olive cultivation observed through the 1500s is likely to have continued to increase as olive-oil extraction kept developing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The two tax registers that we have from the first quarter of the sixteenth century record only two taxpayers paying the standard produce tax on olives (*öşr-i zeytin*); both were located at Bedye, at the western end of the peninsula. From 150 *akçes* in 1500, the *öşr-i zeytin* of the village of Bedye rose to 545 *akçes* in 1517. The olive-oil tax in Bedye was entered together with the olive tax. In 1562, olive cultivation appears to be under way in and around Dadya, too, and the yield is recorded as twice that of Bedye. In Tarahya, while no olive trees are recorded, there appear to have been five olive-presses. Then, in 1583, that is to say, just 20 years later, some olive production shows up not only in Tarahya but also in İlyla and Marmaris. By this time, there were 20 olive-presses in Bedye, ten in Dadya, and five in Tarahya.<sup>226</sup>

Cotton, too, was grown in the villages located in the same geographical zone which was suitable for olives. In 1500, Dadya, Tarahya and Bedye were the top three cotton-producing villages of Muğla. But by 1517, i.e., in less than two decades, while cotton production doubled in Tarahya and Bedye, it had declined by 40 per cent in Dadya. In the decades and centuries which followed, the production of industrial crops (such as flax, hemp, and sesame) seems to have remained limited, just enough to cover the basic needs of the inhabitants. So was garden produce. The exceptions were figs and almonds, which were plentiful. Almonds, for example, were cultivated most abundantly in two villages of Muğla (Dadya and Yerkesiği), but it was Peçin that supplied almonds to the palace kitchens.<sup>227</sup>

### *Vallonea Oaks and the Acorn Trade*

Both sides of the Uzunazmak spring running into Dadya Bay are covered with some of the most productive plains in the entire peninsula: the Kızlan valley (Kızlan Ovası), the Burgaz clearing (Burgaz Düzlüğü), the Reşadiye meadows (Reşadiye Çayırları). Then come the flatlands around Karaköy, Mesudiye, and Palamutbükü. The last-named actually means 'thicket of vallonea [valonia] oak', reflecting a major income for the inhabitants of Datça. It is not clear when this came about. In the 1500 *tahrir*, there is no acorn tax (*öşr-i palamud*) recorded for Menteşe. Later, too, its cultivation was limited to Bedye, and it was so minimal that the tax intake never exceeded 25-30 *akçes*.<sup>228</sup> In sharp contrast, Newton noted on 25 May 1859 that the plains (lying at regular intervals) on the southern coast permitted the growth of figs, almond groves, and olive trees, as well as

226 Ibid., 265.

227 Ibid., 264, 266.

228 Ibid., 267.

"in particular districts the vallonea oak, which is the principal article of export from the peninsula".<sup>229</sup>

*Sicils*, too, make much of vallonea oaks and their acorns (as well as of carobs, figs, almond and olive trees). There were said to be 25 vallonea oak trees in one *dönüm* (940 m<sup>2</sup>), each tree yielding approximately 70 *okkas* of acorns (an acorn being called *kadeh* at the time). While the fruit (*pelit*) was locally used as animal feed, fertiliser, and for heating, industrially vallonea oak acorns were (and are) used in tanning, dyeing, and pharmacology. Early in the nineteenth century, as the Ottoman leather industry began to fail in competition with European, South American and Indian products, production of the acorn essence (*palamut özü*), too, collapsed, and acorns began to be exported only as a raw material.

In 1838, following the Anglo-Turkish Commercial (Balta Limanı) Treaty, Menteşe ports were listed among the export outlets for acorns. But Mehmed Halil appears to have operated directly from Izmir, where most of the Ottoman export was put together. Acorns were exported in sugar sacks weighing 55-65 kilos. At the turn of the century, among the buyers were England, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and Germany.<sup>230</sup> This busy trade disappeared together with the introduction of tobacco production.<sup>231</sup> Meanwhile, wine as the region's other celebrated product was not favoured. Ancient Cnidus had been a wine-producing centre, but in subsequent centuries not only Muslims but non-Muslims, too, did not go in for viticulture. Instead, it was Cnidus' antiquities that were on the market. This was going on all around the Aegean: Randolph notes, for example, that ships carrying vallonea oak acorns were also (re)moving many stones from the ruins in Eğriboz/Euboea.<sup>232</sup>

### *A State of General Poverty*

In Ottoman times, Menteşe sheep husbandry was also largely located in the villages of the peninsula: Bedye, Dadya, Tarahya, Çatak, Kırançatak and Bozburun. According to two early-sixteenth-century *tahrirs*, the number of sheep in Dadya rose drastically from 400 in 1500 to 2,000 in 1517.<sup>233</sup> Bedye and Dadya also ranked first and second in the number of beehives registered in Muğla in four different sixteenth-century tax registers.<sup>234</sup>

At the end of the day, however, Datça was a backwater with sparse population and scattered settlements. Newton states that in the absence of the civilising effect of commerce and navigation, the locals were ignorant and shallow. He compares the peasants to those of Bodrum, whom he found to be (more) active and intelligent. Newton also notes

229 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 267.

230 F. Çolak, 'İzmir'in İhracatında Palamut'un Yeri ve Önemi', in Baykara (ed.), *CIÉPO XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 89-103.

231 Tobacco production was introduced in 1687 by Süleyman II first in the Balkans. Tobacco was also produced illegally in Muğla and its environs until 1862; Türkeş, *Muğla İli Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları*, 116-120.

232 Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands*, 6.

233 Mete, 'XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla', 271.

234 *Ibid.*, 273. Also see note 14 above.

the poverty in the peninsula. For those who were employed at the excavation at Cnidus, this was a lifetime's only chance to make some money. Furthermore, Newton says that among those he took with him when he went to Branchidae (Didim, Didymaion), quite a few had never set foot outside the peninsula (which is not very surprising, for even in the 1950s, it used to take 20-24 hours to get from the base to the tip of the long and winding spit of land).

The peasants were self-sufficient, and from weaving to food-processing, home industries were widespread. Early-twentieth-century peasant *tereke*s (of which around 80 are to be found in the court registers at our disposal) provide evidence of various kinds of household equipment, but in general the state of poverty is truly striking. They were buying rice and sugar from the ships arriving from Izmir every two weeks, and taking their sick to Rhodes. Newton blames Mehmed Halil for enslaving the locals for fear of losing them to better-paying patrons: "Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] having contrived to keep them there like serfs, on the pretext of their perpetual liability to be drawn as conscripts, but in reality to prevent their emigrating in quest of higher wages than he chooses to give".<sup>235</sup>

### *The Perils of Modern Piracy*

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Mehmed Halil's son Mehmed Ali Bey had three single-storey shops (*mağaza*) at Dadya İskelesi, in the midst of the coffee-houses.<sup>236</sup> Half a century earlier, waterfront commerce had been hazardous, to say the least, because of the perils of piracy. Financial transactions were even more difficult. Newton mentions that while he was in Bodrum, having been authorised by the Embassy to draw for a large amount on the Pasha of the district, he had no difficulty in getting his bills cashed by the *müdür* of Bodrum.

Since I have been here, my friend Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil], who collects the tribute of the peninsula over which he rules, proposed in like manner to be my banker, as, by cashing my bills, he would be enabled to remit the tribute to the Pasha at Muğla in paper instead of in specie. Accordingly, I applied to him for a remittance of L700, and, not thinking it desirable to have charge of so large a sum on shore, specially directed him not to send it before a certain day, when I knew that the Supply would come in from Budrum. Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] forthwith proceeded to call in the tribute from all the villages round him, which was duly paid up in copper piastres and half-piastres. Six mules having been laden with this treasure, were then despatched to Cnidus in charge of some cavasses, who were so proud of their mission that they proclaimed it at every village where they halted on their way, taking care to magnify the sum with that noble contempt for exactness in figures which distinguishes the Oriental mind.<sup>237</sup>

235 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 262.

236 M Defter 154, 192/67-443.

237 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, 230.

Newton was lucky to be able to put his rows of grey camel's hair sacks on board the Supply, which miraculously made an early departure, for the next day they were threatened by a crowded and strange-looking vessel hovering off the coast. Landing an armed party, the pirates carried off a bullock "before the very eyes of an old peasant who was too frightened to offer the slightest resistance".<sup>238</sup> Attracted probably by the cavasses' boastful garrulousness, the pirates were eventually repulsed, and the archaeologist concluded:

This anecdote will give you some idea of the difficulties under which commerce is carried on in this part of the Archipelago. Such is the security of the sea, that bills of exchange can only be negotiated in those few islands where there is a regular service of mail steamers. In other places, money is smuggled in as stealthily as if it were contraband; and those who hold it are afraid to turn it to any proper account, for the reputation of being rich has cost many a man his life in these islands. Thus commercial enterprise will remain undeveloped till some modern Minos arises to put down piracy with a strong hand.<sup>239</sup>

For all his power and influence, Mehmed Halil does not seem to have tried to put down piracy. On the contrary, he is more likely to have been part and parcel of the plundering, commandeering and counterfeiting in the region – though this has yet to be uncovered. But as piracy finally came to be eliminated with the rise of the modern state, we find that by the 1920s, his son, Mehmed Ali, had established his own business company, and was controlling the trade between 'New' Datça, Rhodes and Izmir – a great success, only to collapse during the Great Depression.

### *Mehmed Ali on the Threshold of the Twentieth Century*

Notwithstanding Newton's confusion over the identity of his Dadya interlocutor, it is important to note that there were indeed too many Mehmeds, Halils and Alis, or combinations thereof, in the Tuhfezade family. Thus, several twentieth-century narrators (not necessarily following Newton's account) have also continued to confuse Mehmed Halil Ağa with his son, who rose to head the Tuhfezades during the last gasp of the Ottoman Empire.

On 10 January 1885, Mehmed Halil's son Mehmed Ali had bestowed upon him the honorary rank of *ıstabl-i âmire*, on which occasion he was cited as one of the *mu'teberan-ı Dadiye*, that is to say, the notables of the district (*nahiye*) of Dadya.<sup>240</sup> Unlike his father, he was no longer a *müdir*. Moreover, on 22 July 1885, when he was accused of exploiting the peasants together with the then *müdir* Süleyman Sıdkı Efendi, he was simply re-

238 Ibid., 229.

239 Ibid., 230.

240 İ.DH 939/74333 (23 Rebiyülevvel 1302).

ferred to as one of the locals (*ahaliden*).<sup>241</sup> Such blame did not hinder him from receiving, on 10 January 1899, the *Nişan-ı Osmanî* of the third grade (but *tebdilen*, suggesting some kind of change in his status).<sup>242</sup> Around the same time or just slightly earlier, on the occasion of his receiving the Loyalty and Bravery Medal (in 1898), he was also mentioned as a former member of the Board of Directors (*meclis-i idare*) of the province of Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid.<sup>243</sup> He was then based in Rhodes. In some of the available secondary literature, it is argued that Mehmed Ali Ağa was appointed Mayor of Rhodes (*şehir kethüdası*, or *belediye meclisi reisi*) in the period 1882-1887 (or, rather more generically, in the 1890s).<sup>244</sup> However, since his two sons were born there (Mehmed Halil Efendi in 1875 and Mehmed Fehmi Bey in 1877), an earlier presence in Rhodes prior to his municipal appointment is quite plausible.<sup>245</sup> The family's involvement in Rhodian affairs appears to have gone back quite a bit, for in January 1844, Mehmed Halil Ağa had been charged with collecting the tax arrears on behalf of the late Şükrü Paşa, the former *muhafız* of Rhodes.<sup>246</sup> But then and thereafter, Mehmed Halil must have been based at Dadya. The *eyalet* of Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid was made a *vilâyet* in 1867, and Rhodes became its centre in 1876. Mehmed Ali's initial move beyond his home base must have been around this time.

To judge by all this, towards the end of the nineteenth century, Mehmed Ali was still holding on to both his image and his degree of control as the representative of state authority in the peninsula. At the same time, he now emerges as a *bey* at the core of a circle of lesser *ağas*, most of whom appear to have been newcomers in Datça, such as Koca Kadı of Muğla, or Emrullah Nailî, hailing all the way from Damascus. Within a new, growing and more differentiated economy increasingly integrated with world and European capitalism, the relative weight of old wealth kept diminishing, while the plethora of new grades and honours distributed by the Late Tanzimat state were but a shadow of the previous landlordship, thinly disguising the passing of real power and the gradual sinking of the former gentry into the people.

241 DH.MKT 401 (29 Muharrem 1313).

242 E. Eldem, *Pride and Privilege: A History of the Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations* (Istanbul 2004), 298. Eldem notes that the third and smaller version of the Loyalty and Bravery Medal was probably never issued. Obverse: *Abdülhamid Han bin Abdülmecid el-Muzaffer Daima – El-Gazi* (*tuğra* of Sultan Abdülhamid with *el-Gazi* added); reverse: *Devlet-i Osmanîye Uğurunda Fevka'l-âde Sadakat ve Şecaat İbraz Edenlere Mahsus Madalyadır, 1302* (This medal is reserved for those who have shown extraordinary loyalty and bravery in serving the Ottoman State, 1885), with a cartouche left blank for the name of the recipient.

243 İ.TAL 163 (27 Şaban 1316).

244 This was when the poet and intellectual Namık Kemal was the sub-governor (*mutasarıf*), and Galib Paşa was the governor (*vali*) of Rhodes. Anecdotes of their intimate friendship still circulate; O. Sönmez, *Knidos. Mavide Uyuyan Güzel* (Istanbul 2007), 59, after Z. Özalp, in *Balıkaşiran*, a local newspaper.

245 For the records of their births, see respectively DH.SAİDd 112/393 (29 Zilhicce 1291), and DH.SAİDd 128/193 (29 Zilhicce 1293).

246 A.MKT 8 (29 Zilhicce 1259).

### *The Twilight of the Tuhfezade Fortunes*

Nowhere is this more clearly reflected than the court records of Marmaris, dating from 1885-1911. Gone are the traditional ties to Istanbul, gone the old provincial politics revolving around the *mütesellimlik* (and related) struggles – to be replaced by the ordinary face of ‘equality’ (however it might need to be qualified) before a court that was not modern in origin, but nevertheless caught in the throes of modernisation. For these court records are mostly about family disputes (such as inheritance apportioning and sales),<sup>247</sup> and the more Mehmed Ali – acting either as a principal party or as legal proxy – shows up in cases relating to both movables and landed property in Datça, or else in transactions relating to sales or collection of debts, the more he seems to be sinking into a morass of mundane affairs.

In general, the cases in which Mehmed Ali was involved do not reflect directly on the underlying conflicts and tensions of the implementation of the 1858 Land Code, which were to be adjudicated and registered at the court of regulations (*nizamiye mahkemesi*). Nevertheless, there were some contested cases which spilled over to the religious court. Thus, when a family from Elaki, the Tuhfezades’ home base, wanted to sell their agricultural lands and fig groves in the vicinity of the village to a local from Dadya, and the lands in question turned out to be classified as *arazi-i emiriye*, they had to appeal to the county council at Marmaris (*meclis-i idare-i kaza*), and to assign a noted lawyer from Rhodes as their proxy.<sup>248</sup> So incredibly, there were still some (descendants of) fief-holders who continued to farm state land, or those collecting tithe (*âşar*, pl. of *öşr* or *öşür*) from the peasants. A Kızılan local had reclaimed five *dönüms* of agricultural land from the hills, and put it on auction as *mal-i miri* (public revenue). The man had died, and his brother, who wanted to collect the money, appealed to the local religious court.<sup>249</sup> In yet another case, an *ağa* from Cumalı appointed his son as his proxy to collect the *âşar* from the five villages that he was holding the *iltizam* rights of.<sup>250</sup> Correcting an application of the *kanunname-i arazi-i hümayun* also fell on the religious court. This involved the annulment of the title deed for three *dönüms* of agricultural land with 42 vallonea oak trees, issued in 1880. The case was complicated because of claims that (a) the land in question had originally been held as an *arpalık* in Kızılan; (b) the deceased had bequeathed it to his daughter even though he had a surviving son; and (c) the trees and the land should legally fall to separate parties. Numerous articles and paragraphs of the *kanunname* were cited, witnesses were called in, and the process dragged on over several hearings.<sup>251</sup> Also

common were references to: the *mecelle-i ahkâm-ı adliye* (Ahmed Cevdet Paşa’s famous Civil Code of Judicial Ordinances);<sup>252</sup> other references to or appeals against actions taken by the court of first instance (*bidayet mahkemesi*); appeals (initially to both courts: *mahkeme-i şer’i ve nizamiye bidayeten*) for the assignment of a guardian or deputy, for the renewal of marriage, or for establishing inheritance. Among those who appealed to the court were numerous non-Muslim landholders, as well as various *ağas* – because of cases involving (other) prominent families in the peninsula. One such dynasty was the family of Bedyeli Ahmed Ağa (including his son Mehmed Ağa).<sup>253</sup> The Tuhfezade family tree allows us to trace their relationship with Mehmed Halil Ağa and his two sons.

Mehmed Ali Bey, identified as the son of Mehmed Halil Ağa, of the “house [dynasty] of the village of Elaki” (*Elaki karyesi hanedanı*) appears several times in the context of these court records in transactions relating to the sale of agricultural land;<sup>254</sup> as a resident of Elaki, acting as a party in a property sale;<sup>255</sup> as a legal proxy;<sup>256</sup> by way of assigning a proxy for himself;<sup>257</sup> or in connection with the collection of outstanding debts.<sup>258</sup> At other times, his or his brother Murad Halil’s properties are recorded in connection with cases of property partitioning.<sup>259</sup> Together with or after Mehmed Ali, his children, too, as well as some other members of the Tuhfezades – sometimes identified as *ağas* or *ağazades* – keep turning up in these court records. Thus, his son [Mehmed Ağazade] Mehmed Halil (b. 1875), cited only as “a resident of the village of Elaki” (*Elaki karyesi ahalisinden*) appears to have been appointed a “representative” on 14 August 1894,<sup>260</sup> until he was replaced by Mehmed Faik Bey, a resident of Marmaris.<sup>261</sup> Eventually, though, they become less and less visible as they proliferate, grow smaller, and are scattered (with their own households) all over the peninsula. At this stage, only one Tuhfezade appears before the court by his family name. This has to do with a certain Tuhfezade İzzet Bey, said to be Mehmed [Ali] Bey’s son, who appears to have borrowed money from the Orphans’ Fund (*eytam sandığı*).<sup>262</sup> This is somewhat strange, for we do not have independent information about a fourth son of Mehmed Ali – in addition to the already mentioned Mehmed Halil Efendi (b. 1875) and Mehmed Fehmi Bey (b. 1877), as well as a third, Ahmed Kemal Bey, about whom less is known.

252 According to Articles 851 and 1818; M Defter 150, 38/251-53.

253 M Defter 154, 164/52-436; M Defter 154, 167/54-439; M Defter 154, 240/90-448; M Defter 155 (dated 1901-1905), 7/35-610; M Defter 155, 8/36-612; M Defter 155, 10/37-615.

254 M Defter 154, 164/52-436.

255 M Defter 152 (dated 1894-1898), 37/154-348.

256 M Defter 152, 145/64-235.

257 M Defter 153 (dated 1906-1908), 82/34-416; M Defter 153, 96/208-530; M Defter 154, 192/67-443; M Defter 154, 96/208-530; M Defter 155, 13/54-622.

258 M Defter 152, 148/64-237; M Defter 152, 263/113-306.

259 M Defter 150, 221/361-159, in relation to Deli Çavuşoğlu Musa’s property in Dadya.

260 M Defter 150, 141/312-109; 201/350-154.

261 M Defter 150, 150/318-115; 151/319-117.

262 M Defter 157 (dated 1910-1911), 142/62-688.

247 In a total of 569 *hüküms*, cases related to inheritance (124), dowries (3), marriage (15), divorce (3), alimony (14), guardianship (66) are in the majority; there are also some cases of hiring out locals’ daughters as servants to military-bureaucrats in Muğla (6); waqfs (2), as well as rape (2) and theft (1) are rare.

248 M Defter 149 (dated 1886-1891), 53/34-108.

249 M Defter 149, 60-208/71-3.

250 M Defter 154, 90/154-492.

251 M Defter 149, 150-465/111-10; M Defter 149, 150-466/112-11; M Defter 150 (dated 1885-1894), 75/120-23; M Defter 150, 110/138-24.

### Epilogue for a Lost World

Also curiously, we have no record of Mehmed Ali's death or the division of his wealth in these 1885-1911 *sicils*. Nevertheless, we have it on the word of a family member<sup>263</sup> that when this last *ağa*, Mehmed Ali, died, he was buried near the oak tree by the mosque, and that his tombstone read, at least in part:

Hayatında ruz-ı şeb ikram ederdi âleme  
Hanesinde nice kimse el sürerdi ni'mete  
El çekip fani cihandan erdi kurb-ı rahmete

Alive, he would offer his courtesy to all, by day and night.  
In his house, many were those who ate his bread.  
From this mortal world, he moved closer to the mercy of God.

It is a fitting epitaph not just for one man, not even for a family, but for an entire quasi-lordly class. Both of Mehmed Ali's more easily identifiable sons, Mehmed Halil Efendi and Mehmed Fehmi Bey, became lawyers – the one new profession that was crucial to a transitionally litigious society. Of his two daughters, Seza and Münire, the first never married, while Münire was married to Hidayet Şahingiray, the Crimean prince in exile in Rhodes. In the end, all five of Mehmed Ali's children died childless in or around the 1950s. After the death of Münire and her husband, the *konak*, together with the agricultural land around it, was sold off by the probate court (*tereke mahkemesi*).<sup>264</sup> The family that once held virtually the entire peninsula in its grip, with a son, a half-brother, an aunt or a nephew implanted in every town or village, gradually sank below the horizon.

It was also the death knell of a pre-national mosaic. In the surviving *sicils* of Marmaris, all together 12 villages are listed for the peninsula over 1885-1911 (Cumalı, Emecik, Kara, Kızlan, Yaka, Avlana, Elaki, Dadya, Çeşme, Batı, Aleksi, and İlya), as well as a few neighbourhoods (*Zeytinlik*?, *Yazı/Cumalı*, *Mezgit/Avlana*, *Sı[ğ]ındı/Yaka*). They were dispersed, though mostly along the southern coast. Today, after the re-naming or complete disappearance of the Greek villages of Avlana, Elaki, Aleksi and İlya, and the development of a few recent settlements, the villages in the Datça peninsula are: Cumalı, Emecik, Reşadiye, Sı[ğ]ındı, Hızırşah, Karaköy, Kızlan, Mesudiye, Yaka, and Yazı. As mentioned at the outset, following the 1909 enthronement of Mehmed (Reşad) V, Elaki became Reşadiye, while İlya and Aleksi, initially renamed Turgut and Osmaniye, vanished altogether (with the sole exception of the now ruined church at İlya).<sup>265</sup> In

263 M. Fethi Meltem claimed that he could partially remember these lines from the gravestone, which was removed together with those of other family members in 1928; Meltem, *Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 12.

264 Since then it has been used as a tobacco depot, a cinema, a school, and a wedding hall. Over the last couple of years it has been restored and transformed into a luxury hotel.

265 On 30 July 1914, Greeks living in the vicinity of Reşadiye (Elaki) were denied permission to establish themselves in a new settlement; DH.İD 183-2 (6 Ramazan 1332). M. Fethi Meltem noted that "the inhabitants of the village in the vicinity of the Hızırşah mosque were resettled

1911/1912 the peninsula was divided into two districts (*nahiye*): Süleymaniye (Betçe) and Reşadiye (Dadya/Datça). In the wake of the Balkan Wars, in 1914 Talât Paşa ordered a massive ethnic cleansing operation all along the Aegean coastline. Now regarded by the Unionist leadership as a suspect population, around 300,000 Greeks (Rumiots) were intimidated into leaving.<sup>266</sup> This was when the Datça re-organisation was also finalised as most of the village names in the peninsula were Turkified,<sup>267</sup> villagers were uprooted, and many native Greeks left for the islands of the Archipelago.<sup>268</sup>

Datça cemeteries and tombstones attest to this transformation in a different way. Virtually all graveyards are in total disarray. The oldest tombstone registered on the peninsula, belonging to Veli b. Hüseyin of Yaka village, is dated to 1708. There are ten more from the eighteenth century: three of women, one of a certain Zaim Mustafa b. Hüseyin (AD 1722/H. 1135), and one belonging to Tuhfezade Hüseyin, already mentioned, who was shot in 1749 (H. 1163). Some gravestones near Cumalı belong to black slaves from Tunisia and Algeria, who were brought in as sailors' servants. Most strikingly, not a single Greek tombstone can be found in its original place, and sometimes not even as *spolia*. In a house in Cumalı, a Greek tombstone is to be found as a door beam<sup>269</sup> – in mute, tragic comment on a world turned upside down.

at Elaki. Some of the villagers were located over the hilly side, but most were settled in the Orta Datça quarter. In my youth the settlement in the vicinity of the Hızırşah mosque was called Aşağı Köy [the lower village]"; Meltem, *Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim*, 4. The Orta Datça quarter (*mahalle*) and Aşağı Köy were the villages of, respectively, Aleksi and İlya. Hızırşah, originally a non-Muslim village called Libti, was renamed on 13 April 1914; DH.İD 97-2 (17 Cemaziyelâhir 1332). This document goes against the common belief (which has also found its way into scholarly research) that Hızırşah was called after an Islamic scholar who was a student of Allâme-i Tusî (the exceedingly learned person from Tus), and who lived in the area in the 1400s; Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri, 1299-1915*, Vol. 1 (Istanbul 1972), 336, as also quoted by M. Çanlı and Ü. Türkeş, *Datça (Reşadiye) Kuva-yi Milliyesi* (Ankara 1999), 2 n. 11. The legend has it that he died in H. 853, and his supposed tomb in the village is still visited – hence the alternative name for the village, Yatırköy. For a comprehensive list of all villages and households in Menteşe province as of 14 December 1916, see DH.UMVM 143 (18 Safer 1335).

266 *Osmanlı Mebusan Meclisi Reisi Halil Menteşe'nin Anıları* (Istanbul 1986), 165-166.

267 Change of toponyms: Kırvasil/Orhaniye, İlya/Turgut, Aleksi/Osmaniye, Elaki/Reşadiye, Avlana/Mesudiye, Karamaka/Aziziye, Losta/Selimiye, Rumbükü/Türkbükü, and, last but not least, Rumhaneleri/Türkhaneleri. All were introduced as of 28 February 1914; İ.DH 1506 (3 Rebiyülâhir 1332). Libti became Hızırşah on 13 April 1914; DH.İD 97-2 (17 Cemaziyelâhir 1332). As noted above, on 30 July 1914, Greeks living in the vicinity of Reşadiye (Elaki) were not allowed to establish themselves in a new settlement; DH.İD 183-2 (6 Ramazan 1332); also see note 265 above. In another part of the peninsula, settlements in the vicinity of Yaka village, namely Evrencek, Firket, and Ulana, were separated from Yaka, and were re-organised as a single village under the name of Ulana; DH.MKT 1212 (5 Receb 1325/14 August 1907).

268 DH.EUM.EMN 87 (24 Şaban 1332): Greeks were prevented from fleeing by rowboats on 18 July 1914.

269 Photographed by T. Artan, August 2006. Ergenekon also mentions a Roman tombstone with an inscription in "Greekified Latin", but fails to give its location; Ergenekon, 'Dorian Archaeology', 461 n. 2.