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A CORPUS OF ORIGINAL *BUYRULDUS*
FROM THE CHANCERY OF RHODES,
1837-1867

This paper is based on Dossier 38 of the Ottoman holdings from Saint John's Monastery on Patmos.¹ In its present form, but particularly in its general approach, the paper reflects current "work in progress" on a file which consists of some 80 archival units, in their majority bilingual *buyruldus* issued by the Ottoman governors of the *liva* or *sancak* of Rhodes (which included the island of Patmos) between February 1837 and June 1867.²

With all of the Greek documents and many of the Turkish ones still awaiting analysis in detail, this paper intends to be no more (yet no less either) than a study of a corpus of archival documents taken as a whole, aiming at a better understanding of the functioning of the chancery of Rhodes at a time of accelerating change in the bureaucratic system during the *Tanzimat* era, rather than being an investigation of individual documents. Individual documents figure more prominently only when

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¹ This is the revised version of a paper first presented at the EHESS (Paris) on 29 March 2012 under the title "La communication intraprovinciale entre le *müdir* de Patmos et le chef-lieu de la sous-province de Rhodes dans les années 1850 et 1860."

² The author is responsible, within the joint project of the Institute for Byzantine Studies of the Hellenic Research Foundation (Athens) and the joint (CNRS-EHESS-Collège de France) Centre d'études turques, ottomanes, balkaniques et centrasiatiques (Paris), for cataloguing dossiers n^{os} 21-38 of the Ottoman holdings in Saint John's Monastery, Patmos. For a recent catalogue of the first 22 dossiers of the Patmos holdings of Ottoman documents see Vatin, Veinstein, Zachariadou, *Catalogue*. Further information on the Ottoman holdings on Patmos can be found in Zachariadou, "The Archive;" Vatin, "Le fonds;" *id.*, "Note préliminaire."

required to shed further light on the bureaucratic mechanisms considered here.

This approach is deliberate: rather than investigate the contents of the *buyruldu*s in question and illustrate by their example the principal concerns of the *sancak* authorities vis-à-vis the island of Patmos during the period from the introduction of the *Tanzimat-i Hayriye* issuing from the *Hatt-i Şerif* of Gülhane of 3 November 1839 down to the transformation of the former provinces into modernized *vilayets* shaped along the lines of the French departmental structures between 1864 and 1867,³ I shall look at the corpus of (bilingual) *buyruldu*s assembled in the Patmos Dossier 38 as a (fairly) homogeneous group of documents which went through a number of (fairly) consistent administrative stages, having all been addressed to the local authorities in Patmos and dispatched there before finally being deposited in the archives of Saint John's Monastery. This will be done primarily by analysing such diplomatic criteria as the identity of the issuer, his titles and means of identification by *pençe* or seal; the type of document; the place and date of issue; the addressees and their titles; the date of arrival in Patmos as well as the date of reply – in other words: by working on the “external” evidence of this source considered to be meaningful as to when, where, by whom and in what capacity the documents were issued and later (sometimes repeatedly) “handled” within the administrative framework of the period – a framework which in itself underwent changes during the period under review as is well known on the general level, but about which still very little detail from documentary studies is available for the area in question, the province of the Islands of the Aegean Sea (*cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*).⁴ Even the precise circumstances of when and how the fiscal and administrative control of the Ottoman First Sea Lord or *Kapudan-i Derya* ceased in this area are far from being entirely clear; what is known is that it was after the naval disasters suffered during the Cretan rebellion of 1866 that the need was felt for a new Ministry of the Navy (*nezaret-i bahriye*) to be created, limiting the powers of the Kapudan Pasha to his central function of commanding the fleet.⁵ This was in place by 1867, when the *vilayet* regulations, first piloted in 1864 in the *vilayet* of the Danube (*Tuna*), and giving new powers, obligations and titles to the *sancak* governors (now called *kaymakam* or *mutasarrıf* for the head of the central *liva* or *paşa sancağı* of a province) and the heads of a *kaza* (entitled *müdür* or, after 1867, *kaymakam*), were finally extended across the larger part of the Ottoman Empire in a big sweep, with an autonomous Crete being

³ Such a case-study may eventually result from further in-depth analysis of the available documentation. Until then, the reader will still benefit from the “classical” account of the period by Davison, *Reform*.

⁴ The administrative changes recorded for the islands of the Aegean during the second half of the 19th century, based on the Ottoman *salname* (both empire-wide and provincial), by Birken, *Die Provinzen*, p. 101-108, represent only part of the actual re-organisations.

⁵ Shaw, Shaw, *Reform, Revolution, and Republic*, p. 75.

organized as a *vilayet* by Ali Pasha only in 1871.⁶ According to Davison, the islands known as the Sporades (including Patmos), “which had been allowed effective self-government with a tributary status,” were assimilated into the *vilayet* system in the course of the years from 1869 to 1873.⁷ I will demonstrate below that a number of generalizing statements found in the literature about the administrative changes effected in the province of the Archipelago by the *Tanzimat* legislation preceding the introduction of the *vilayet* system can now be held against the evidence of the close-up study of what remains of the Patmian depository of incoming correspondence issued and dispatched to Patmos from their seat on the island of Rhodes by the provincial governors in charge and (some of) their deputies.

Surprisingly few substantial holdings of (original) Ottoman correspondence emanating from provincial centres or sub-centres and being addressed to the corresponding sub-districts (of *kaza* or *nahiye* level) have come down to us from the *Tanzimat* period and especially the second half of the 19th century, despite the fact that vast numbers of decrees were issued in each provincial and *sancak* capital and dispatched to the subordinate administrative entities during those years of increasing fiscal, bureaucratic and political centralization. Unlike the central archives in Istanbul, where detailed regulations had been in force for most of its history concerning the storing and handling of archival material,⁸ or the *mahkeme* where the (incoming and locally issued) documents were to be recorded by copying them into the *kadi*'s *sicill* which remained in the *mahkeme* and had formally to be handed over to his successor when the holder of the office was appointed elsewhere,⁹ provincial governors, following their appointments from place to place, seem to have enjoyed considerably more freedom in deciding how to deal with “their” papers. Many may have regarded them as their semi-private affair.¹⁰ Yet it seems that, by the turn of the 19th century, at least some of the provincial governors have clearly deemed their correspondence important enough to be kept in a safe place during subsequent terms of office or else to have them “at hand” even during campaigns, just like the grand vizier took sections of the central archives on his way up to the front, leaving parts of them behind for safekeeping at intervals.¹¹ Yet the sheer bulk of the output from about the middle of the 19th century, and the exponential growth of the bureaucratic fall-out during the later *Tanzimat* era together

⁶ For a comprehensive study of the 1864 *vilayet* regulations and consecutive official legislation on administrative re-organisations in the eastern parts of Ottoman Europe see Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung 1864-1878*; *id.*, *Territorialverwaltung 1878-1912/13*.

⁷ Davison, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁸ Majer ed., *Das osmanische „Registerbuch“*, p. 16.

⁹ See, for instance, on the series of *sicills* in Cairo: El-Nahal, *Judicial Administration*, p. 9-11.

¹⁰ Ursinus, *Grievance Administration*, p. 9f (n. 45).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15, where such a possibility is discussed.

with an increasing internal differentiation will have made a provincial archive “stationary” by necessity, with the consequence that it might have been taken care of “on the ground” and more or less intact by the new political masters of the province after its annexation from the Ottoman Empire, as happened in some of its former European possessions in 1876 and again in 1912.¹² One of the most comprehensive such remains of a 19th-century archive of an Ottoman *eyalet* turned *vilayet* is, or rather was, housed in the Orijentalni Institut in Sarajevo, dating from the period between 1852 and 1878, and described by Spaho Fehim as containing a total of *ca.* 200,000 individual documents.¹³ In Salonica, the archive of Northern Greece together with that of the municipality, apart from the comprehensive series of *kadi sicilleri* (1694-1912), not only contain hundreds of fiscal *defters* dating from *ca.* 1873 to 1912 as well as *vakf* registers covering the period between 1830 and 1896, but is also said to include numerous additional documents from the bureaucratic activity of the *vilayet* administration.¹⁴ In both cases, however, the documentary evidence consists predominantly of various *defter* series held in the *vilayet* capital and of correspondence received in the centre of the *vilayet* from outlying districts, as well as from Istanbul. In addition, these archives contain registers (numbering 450 in the case of the Bosnian archive)¹⁵ in which the incoming as well as outgoing correspondence was copied, together with the date of dispatch or receipt (as the case may be) together with a brief summary of the content of the document in question. It is hardly surprising that in particular these protocol registers have already been identified long ago as a valuable source for analyzing the bureaucratic functioning of the Ottoman provincial administration during the later *Tanzimat* era, partly because the corresponding holdings of original correspondence only too often have proved to be still un-catalogued or fragmentary, or both. The relatively compact holdings of original documents kept on Patmos cannot of course make up fully for the deficiencies in our documentary base as outlined, but they will allow taking us at least one step forward.

The documentary base provided by the Patmos holdings, however, is even more compact than is apparent at first sight. This is due to the fact that it practically consists of two distinct groups of original documents, both issued in Rhodes and addressed to authorities on Patmos, but

¹² An instruction dated 11 December 1912 issued in Skopje by the Serbian general staff insists that former Ottoman public buildings and offices (*kancelarija*) should come under special protection. Later, a report of 10 December 1913 addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Serbian Finance Ministry observes that in most parts of the former Ottoman districts the Ottoman financial registers (*Turski poreski knjigi*) had all been destroyed in the first (Balkan) war, except in the town and *kaza* of Štip where some financial registers could still be found: Todoroski ed, *Српски извори*, p. 68 and p. 317.

¹³ Fehim, “Архив;” also Hadžibegić, ““Архив босанског вилајета.”

¹⁴ Dimitriadis, *Τοπογραφία της Θεσσαλονίκης*, p. 6-12.

¹⁵ Fehim, *art. cit.*, p. 36.

separated from each other by a time gap of some 15 years. The first group consists of 12 documents issued between February 1837 and November 1842; the second of 64 documents dated between October 1857 and June 1867 (see Appendix below).

Yet what makes the Patmos correspondence even more important is this: perhaps because of the all-Christian character of the recipients addressed in the documents from the first group, these decrees were issued, like certain contemporaneous letters of appointment that were composed in the 1830s by provincial governors and dispatched to members and institutions of the Orthodox community, in Greek alone.¹⁶ This concerns the first 12 pieces. The majority of those in the second group, on the other hand, were issued in Ottoman Turkish *and* Greek, thereby constituting, with no less than 50 examples of this type, one of the largest corpora of original bilingual decrees from a provincial administrative centre active during the decade between 1860 and 1870, i.e. immediately prior to the area's incorporation into the *vilayet* structures proper, reflecting as it were, the last years of the "old order" in Ottoman provincial administration.¹⁷

Space will only allow for a quick glance at the first group of 12 decrees, 10 of which constitute a *buyruldu*,¹⁸ 2 of them the copy (indicated, in Greek, as *antigraphon*) of a *buyruldu* (38-18, 38-22), of the *muhafousis* (*muhafiz*) of Rhodes and the Sporadic Islands. Apart from the earliest document dated 23 February 1837, where the issuer identifies himself merely as Hafiz Pasha (38-23), the following 4 *buyruldus* in Greek were clearly promulgated by Hafiz Ahmed Pasha, easily recognizable by his 12-lobed seal dated 1253H (1837-1838) and inscribed *muhafiz-i cezire-i Rodos* (38-17, 38-19, 38-20, 38-21). The 2 copies are of 2 further *buyruldus* by the same governor. One *buyruldu* in this corpus (38-16) dated 22 October 1839 (Rumi) was issued by a certain Yusuf Pasha, *muhafiz* of Rhodes and the Sporadic Islands, identifying himself with a large oval seal mark with ornate margins dated 1238H (1822-1823). Finally, the remaining 3 *buyruldus* in Greek were issued in the name of el-Hacc Ali, *muhafiz* of Rhodes and the Sporadic Islands, dated 28 July 1841, 5 July 1842 and 17 November 1842 (all Rumi), respectively, who used a large oval seal, dated 1254H (1838-1839), of similar proportions to that of his immediate predecessor. All these decrees are solely addressed to the *demogerontes* (the Greek equivalent for the Turkish *kocabaşı*) and the representatives of the local population, with no mentioning of a *müdir*

¹⁶ Preserved in the metropolitan archive of Manastir (Bitola): Arhiv na Makedonija, fond Grčka Pelagoniska mitropolija (Skopje). For 6 decrees issued by the governor general of Rumelia and preserved (only) in the metropolitan archive, see Ursinus, "Osmanische Statthalterurkunden."

¹⁷ The somewhat special case of Ottoman Cyprus during the period in question is comprehensively illustrated by Aymes, *Un Grand Progrès*.

¹⁸ On the terminological shift from *name* to *buyruldu* in the case of the decrees issued by the Kapudan Pasha, see Veinstein, "Les documents;" Ursinus, "Local Patmians."

or Muslim head of the local administration in the list of addressees. We know that Patmos from of old had only been attached to the judicial district of a *kadi* (that of Kos for most of the time),¹⁹ but, as far as we can see, it never became the seat of a *kadi* prior to the *Tanzimat* when, at some stage, it became the seat not of a Muslim *kadi* or *naib*, but of a Muslim *müdür*. It is known when this happened precisely, but on the basis of the documentation from Patmos we can narrow down the time span within which this truly fundamental break with one of the most cherished Patmian traditions must have taken place. We shall come back to this issue below. For the moment it must suffice to note that until at least November 1842 there is no hint of a Patmian *müdür* (or Muslim head of the local government) anywhere in the address formula of the governors' decrees dispatched to Patmos.

That the decrees were indeed dispatched to Patmos from Rhodes is evidenced not only by their being among the Patmos holdings today, but equally by marginal notes or references on the reverse sides (*verso*) of the documents in question. In half of the 12 cases, the dates of issue of the *buyruldu*s are accompanied by dated notations indicating their arrival in Patmos: the first, dated 16 May 1837 (Rumi), arrived in Patmos on 5 June (38-22), i.e. 19 days later; the second, dated 28 May 1838, arrived 8 June (38-18), 10 days later; the third, dated 1st September 1839, arrived on 8 September (38-17), a week later; the fourth, dated 22 October 1839, was received on 29 October (38-16), also a week later; the fifth, dated 28 July 1841, only arrived on 24 August (38-14), almost 4 weeks later; the sixth, dated 17 November 1842, was received as late as 16 December (38-12), equally about 4 weeks later. This gives us a first impression of the time ranges needed to dispatch a letter (an original envelope has been preserved as 38-58) from Rhodes to Patmos at this period, a distance of some 200 km "as the crow flies."

It is noteworthy that 2 of these *buyruldu*s, the first and second mentioned, were not in fact originals in the narrow sense of the word, yet were dispatched and received as if they had been originals. This suggests that they were considered a certified copy or "*Zweitausstellung*" (*antigraphon*). Instead of the governor's seal, they bear in its place on top of the document the abbreviation T S (perhaps for *Tourkikon Sigillion* or *Tourkiki Sfragida*?) – so much for the first group of bilingual *buyruldu*s.

The second and main corpus begins with a *buyruldu* (38-49) issued by Salih Vamık Pasha, governor general of the province of the Aegean Islands (*vali-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*), which carries no date or place of issue, but comes with a Greek version dated Rhodes, 14 October 1857 (Rumi), corresponding to 26 October 1857 of the Gregorian calendar. It is addressed to the *müdür*, the *kocabaşı* and *çorbacı* of the island of Patmos, for which the Greek version employs the terms *mudir* and *dimarchi*, respectively. This – and I come back now to the question of

¹⁹ Cf. Zachariadou, "Η Κως;" Vatin, "Îles."

the first Muslim administrative head actually residing on Patmos – is the first instance of a positive reference in this corpus to a Patmian *müdür*. A few paragraphs above it was stressed that in November 1842 he was still absent from the list of addressees. He must therefore have come to finally take up office in Patmos sometime between November 1842 and October 1857. Thanks to the Patmos holdings this can be narrowed down further. Even though this topic would strictly speaking belong into the section dealing with the addressees, given the importance of the issue and the fact that I may already have raised the reader's curiosity on the question of the advent of the *müdür* on Patmos we might as well take this matter in hand right now:

A receipt (*ilm-ü haber*) issued by the treasury of Rhodes on 3 *cemazi-yülahir* 1266H/16 April 1850 states that 7,543 piastres were collected from the Patmos *reaya* through the agency of Strati, *kocabaşı* of Patmos, and were received as the first instalment of the *reaya*'s annual lump-sum due in March 1266.²⁰ A subsequent second *ilm-ü haber* dated 30 *nisan* 1267H/12 May 1851 and issued again by the treasury (*sanduk*) of Rhodes (with the seals of Es-seyyid Yusuf Rıza, dated [1]249H/1833-1834) and of Es-seyyid Nazıf Mehmed) was handed over to the island's elders, the *reaya* of Patmos, for having transferred 7,543 piastres to the treasury of Rhodes as the first instalment of their lump sum (*maktu*) for the (financial) year 1267, due in March of that year.²¹ Clearly, the fiscal responsibility here still remained with the Christian notables of Patmos. However, one and a half years later, an instruction (*sıkka*) dated 18 *muharrem* 1269H/1st November 1852 and issued by Seyyid İsmail Rahmi, governor general of the province of the Archipelago (*eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*), concerning the salt works (*memlaha*) of Patmos leased to a certain Koklu Halil Efendi for the term of two years from June 1852, was addressed to “the *müdür*, the members of the administrative council (*aza-yi meclis*) and the elders and notables of Patmos.”²²

Here now is the first proof of a Patmian *müdür* in residence. Or is there? Can we really be sure that the instruction not merely followed the lines of other decrees of the *vali* addressed to the more standard sub-districts of his province where a *müdür* and a district *meclis* with a specified number of members (*aza*) had been in existence for some time? We may not quite be able to exclude this possibility, but by the summer of 1860 there is independent and explicit evidence of the Patmian *müdür* in residence complete with details of his “job description.”

A memorandum (*divan tezkeresi*) issued in the name of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrıf* of the province of *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid* by the provincial council of Rhodes on 17 *zilkade* 1276H/6 June 1860, and addressed to the deputy *müdür* together with the *kocabaşıs* and *çorbacıs* of Patmos

²⁰ AOP, dossier 31, document 9.

²¹ AOP, dossier 24, document 31.

²² AOP, dossier 24, document 32.

(sealed by Ahmed Ata and on the reverse by Batnos Mustafa Ağa), installs in the office of *müdür* of Patmos the deputy *müdür* Mustafa Ağa, because Yusuf Ağa, the previous *müdür*, had to resign from his post (“*ata-i mezkur müdiri bulunan Yusuf Ağanın hesbü’l-icab azliyle*”). The *tezkere* instructs the new office holder to strive for a peaceful and prosperous life for all inhabitants and residents of Patmos, warning him always to execute unprejudiced justice by hearing any trials locally and with due consultation of the population’s elders (*kocabası*) and to swiftly remit all taxes due to the treasury in accordance with *defters* and *fir-mans*.²³ In later documents (Aug.-Oct. 1865) we learn that the Patmos *müdür* received a monthly salary of 100 piastres from the hands of the island’s elders known as “village allowance” (*köy maası*), payable at the end of each solar month.²⁴

In the *tezkere* from the summer of 1860 there is not only firm evidence for a *müdür* in residence on the island of Patmos, but also of a predecessor (a certain Yusuf Ağa) who had to resign from office, possibly because he did not fulfil his duties to the satisfaction of the Rhodes administration, what that same administration was to stress in its instruction addressed to his successor: to execute justice by hearing any trials locally and with due consultation of the population’s elders (*kocabası*) and to remit all taxes due to the treasury without delay. It would only to have been expected that the arrival on the scene (and we can now safely say: by October 1857, if not already by November 1852) of this first permanently settled Muslim official holding the post of district administrator and who was to be remunerated by the local population with a substantial salary would have caused some friction with the representatives of the established order on Patmos, the Monastery and the *demogerontes*. For them, the beginning of the second half of the 19th century must have felt like the beginning of a new era. However, among the documents from the Patmos archives, no evidence has so far come to my knowledge which would suggest that this uneasy relationship lasted unduly long, or had wider implications. At any rate, the newly introduced *Tanzimat* forms of secular provincial administration, including the *müdirlik* at the lowest rank of the administrative hierarchy, were there to stay, with the *müdirlik* proving to be the most stable of all the levels of this hierarchy. According to section IV of the official instructions (*talimat*) detailing the duties of the *valis*, *mutasarrıfs*, *kaymakams* and *müdir*s, dated 13 *safer* 1275/22 September 1858, the *müdür* was to oversee all administrative, fiscal and policing matters in his district; he was responsible in particular for the maintenance of public order, for assuring equity in judicial hearings, for remitting to the treasury the taxes due from his district as well as for ensuring equal treatment of all subjects. He would be answerable to the *vali* if his district fell within the central district of

²³ AOP, dossier 25, document 5.

²⁴ AOP, dossier 30, document 46.

the *eyalet*, otherwise to the *kaymakam*. Other responsibilities include the transfer of criminals, together with the interrogation protocols, to the *liva* authorities and to have them kept under close guard during transport; enacting the prohibition of inadmissible demands towards the population from the side of the police and other officials; employment of suitable gendarmes and enforcement of the ban on their use as servants; to ensure an effective curb on bandits and to make an immediate report if the available gendarmes and army detachments are not sufficient; further the protection of state property; ensuring payment of taxes without delay; rejection of unjustifiable tax demands; remittance of cash amounts to the *liva* authorities; promotion of agriculture and trade; ensuring participation of the district councils and to allow direct inquiries to be made at *sancak* level.²⁵ In addition, the *müdür* was responsible for the administration of the travel permits or *mürur tezkereleri*, in which capacity the *müdir*s of Patmos were repeatedly reprimanded by the *sancak* administration for having been reluctant to return to Rhodes the proceeds from the sale of the permits and/or what remained of unused copies (38-2; 38-42) or, worse still, for having employed handwritten versions instead of the official printed versions (38-3).

The Patmos *müdür* was soon to be joined by other *Tanzimat*-style officials, including a *memur* responsible for dealing with the island's state monopolies on salt and tobacco, entitled *Batnoz ceziresi tuz ve duhan rüsumat memuru* who, in July 1866, after a personal request, had his salary of 400 piastres divided in two parts: 300 piastres were to be sent out to his place of office in Patmos, while 100 piastres should be retained in Rhodes for his family (*familyası*) who had stayed behind (38-41). Perhaps this arrangement proved unsuitable or too cumbersome – whatever the reason, Hacı Salih Ağa was soon dismissed. His successor Adem Ağa, in office from October 1866, was to have his salary of 400 piastres paid out on a monthly basis from the funds (*emval*) of the Patmos monopoly, acknowledged by receipt (*ba sened*). These he was to forward to Rhodes instead of their cash equivalent (38-42). He, too, did not last long. By May 1867 he was preplaced by a certain İsmail Ağa (38-53).

Now that I have illustrated with a few strokes of the brush the new face of the *Tanzimat* regime on the island of Patmos, we must return to the interpretation of the external evidence contained in the corpus under study.

Let us start with one of the most characteristic elements in a *buyruldu*, its authentication. This, in the present collection, is either done by means of a seal, usually positioned on the top right corner of the document,²⁶ or by the governor's *pençe* placed at the bottom of the decree next to the date.²⁷ The vast majority of the *buyruldu*s in this main corpus are in

²⁵ Kornrumpf, *Die Territorialverwaltung 1864-1878*, p. 65f.

²⁶ For illustrations of *buyruldu*s of this type and period see, for instance, Velkov, *Видове османотурски документи*, p. 89 and p. 315.

²⁷ *Pençe* of this type with three *tuğs* from the second half of the 19th century are illustrated in *ibid.*, p. 453 and p. 454.

possession of a *pençe* with two or three vertical *tuğs* shaped in such a way as to place in its midst the titles of the governor. Among the *valis* of the province of the Archipelago, only Vamık is consistently distinguished by a three-*tuğ pençe*, while most of his successors, as well as deputies, are identified by a *pençe* of no more than two *tuğs*. Strangely, Kaymakam Hasan Pasha who is consistently having his decrees authenticated with a two-*tuğ pençe*, displays, during October and November 1863 (38-3, 28), a *pençe* with no less than three *tuğs*, only to revert back to the previous arrangement for the rest of his governorship. On the other hand, Seyyid Ahmed, *vali* of the province of *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid* after Vamık, uses no *pençe* at all, but displays his seal at the top of the document, as does Kaymakam Hasan Hüsnî at a later period during the summer of 1867. The reasons for this are unclear – could the latter perhaps be *buyruldu*s issued in the absence of their promulgator on *blanco* documents, and the former possibly be decrees issued (during October and November 1863) while their promulgator (temporarily) held additional powers, perhaps as inspector or *müfettiş*?

The 64 or so *buyruldu*s from the main corpus were issued by 8 governors and their deputies, with Salih Vamık Pasha the earliest. In his *pençe*, first encountered on 14 October 1857 (Rumi), he sports the title of *vali-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid* (38-49) or *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid* (38-60, 36), indicating that he is governor general of the province of the Archipelago. His (indistinct) seal “Vamık” is possibly dated 1253H (1837-1838), which would indicate that he already started his career as an official before Gülhane. I have been unable to trace Vamık in the provincial almanac (*salname*) of the Archipelago,²⁸ nor in Ahmed Lutfi’s *Tarih*, but Vamık Salih Paşa (Serhalifezade) who died in 1861 is recorded as *vali* of *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid* for the period *haziran* 1857 – *mayıs* 1859 in Kunalp’s *Erkan ve Ricalı*.²⁹ He cannot be traced beyond late March 1859 in Dossier 38.

The next in line is Seyyid Ahmed Pasha, in evidence in Dossier 38 as *vali* of the province of the Archipelago from early July 1859 (38-38),³⁰ and continuing in this function until late December of that year (38-79). He is followed by Ahmed Ata, entitled *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, who issued *buyruldu*s in this capacity (that were preserved in the Patmos holdings) from 10 March 1860 (38-47) till 1st September 1862 (38-61), a period of over two years.³¹ But not all *buyruldu*s from this period are Ata’s. Three decrees, issued between 18 September and 16 October 1861, were promulgated by a certain Mehmed Said, deputy

²⁸ The 263 page strong copy I used is entitled *Cezayir-i bahr-i sefid vilayetinin bin üçyüz iki sene-i hicriyyesi salnamesidir 1302*; the list of *valis* on p. 51 only begins with Ahmed Pasha, appointed 26 May 1283 “after the re-organisations (*teşkilatdan sonra*)”.

²⁹ Kunalp, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Erkân*, p. 28, p. 124.

³⁰ Ahmed Paşa (Kayserili, 1796-1878), *vali* of *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid* between *ocak* and *mayıs* 1857 and from *mayıs* 1859 till *haziran* 1860: *Ibid.*, p. 28, p. 59.

³¹ Not listed in Kunalp, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

governor general (*kaymakam*), the second in command after Ahmed Ata (38-7, 38-34, 38-63) administering the *Tanzimat* province of *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid* as a whole. I am stressing the point that both were responsible, albeit in a clear ranking order, of the *eyalet* as the biggest unit of the Ottoman territorial administration at this time, the first as *vali*, the second as his deputy or *kaymakam* (lit. who stands in for), because we shall now come across another *kaymakam* who clearly was responsible not for the *eyalet* as a whole, but only for its central part, the *liva* or *sancak* of Rhodes.

This is Hasan Hakkı, whose *pençe* gives his titles as “*kaymakam-i liva-yi Rodos*” or “*kaymakam-i cezire-i Rodos*” (deputy for the island of Rhodes)³² or, as in the Greek versions of his decrees, “of Rhodes and the Sporadic Islands.” His activity as *kaymakam* issuing *buyruldus* can be traced throughout the period from 25 April 1863 (38-10) till 1st March 1866 (38-48), a turn of office of about three years, i.e. comparable to, if not more extensive than that of a *vali*. Whereas *vali* Ahmed Ata Pasha, during his almost two and a half years in office, had some 14 decrees sent to Patmos and deposited in the archives of Saint John’s Monastery, the figure for *kaymakam* Hasan Hakkı is 22. This clearly demonstrates that *Kaymakam Hakkı*’s bureaucratic output vis-à-vis one locality was also similar to, if not exceeding, that of a governor general. No doubt was he a *kaymakam* – though not of the Mehmed Said kind. Instead, he was a *kaymakam* of a new type, acting as *vali* or *mutasarrıf* in the central *liva* or *paşa sancağı*. The moment of his inauguration indicates the shift of one administrative burden away from the governor general and onto the head of the central sub-district of the province – a move that was to be reversed only when the position of head of the central *liva* got amalgamated again with the position of *vali* in the course of the *vilayet* regulations after 1867 which aimed at a renewed centralization in the hands of the governors.³³

Thanks to the Patmos documentation we can date this initial move towards an interim de-centralization in the workings of the province of the Archipelago into the time-span between September 1862, when *vali* Ahmed Ata was still addressing the Patmians directly, and April 1863, by which time Hasan Hakkı had taken up office as the head of the *liva* of the island of Rhodes. Significantly, all subsequent *kaymakams* to promulgate *buyruldus* from Rhodes until 1867 were of the type of Hasan Hakkı, acting as *vali* in the central *liva* under the general responsibility of the governors general who, for the period in question, were Osman Raşid Paşa (from *şubat* 1863), Mehmed Cemâleddin Paşa (from *ocak* 1864), Hüseyin Hüsnü Paşa (from *aralık* 1866) and Ahmed Paşa (from *haziran* 1867).³⁴

³² Provincial functionaries of *kaymakam* rank are not given in Kunalp, *op. cit.*

³³ Kornrumpf, *Die Territorialverwaltung 1864-1878*, p. 23.

³⁴ Kunalp, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Even though Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos* during the period from at least 22 May 1866 till 15 March 1867, stayed in office for less than one year, 12 *buyruldu*s and one certified copy (*antigraphon*) of a *buyruldu* from his chancery have been preserved in the corpus, an average of 1.08 decrees (with Patmos their destination) per month, suggesting an even bigger bureaucratic output than in the case of his predecessors (let us remember that from the 2 1/2 years or so of Ahmed Ata's governorship there are 14 or, on average, 0.46 decrees per month, and 22 from the 36-month-long governorship of Hasan Hakkı, an average of 0.6 decrees per month with a Patmian destination).

A deputy *liva* (!) governor is making his appearance for the first time under Osman Asım, significantly not as *kaymakam* (as in the case of Mehmed Said since the title is by now occupied by the boss), but as *vekil-i kaymakam* (representative of the deputy). This is Süleyman Beğ, of whom one *buyruldu* has come down to us (38-42), dated 27 October 1866. Another first-time occurrence during Osman Asım's governorship (or rather immediately following his term in office) are *buyruldu*s issued by the "ex-governor": two decrees in the Patmos holdings promulgated in Rhodes during late April 1867 were issued by Osman Asım Pasha at a time *after* the end of his term of office, with his *pençe* clearly stating that he is the *kaymakam-i sabık* or *asbak*, "former" *kaymakam* of Rhodes (38-1, 38-66). This seems to have been necessitated by the late arrival of Hasan Hüsni, our last *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, whose earliest surviving *buyruldu* (in Dossier 38) only dates from 18 May 1867, while the latest one to be found in the corpus carries the date 3 June 1867, only a matter of weeks before the Ottoman Provincial Reform Bill or *Vilayet Nizamnamesi* was finally printed and communicated throughout the Empire from 25 July 1867, causing not only most old-style *eyalets*,³⁵ but also our documentary base in Dossier 38 of the Patmos holdings to come to an abrupt end. Yet during the short term of office of this final *kaymakam* of Rhodes which seems to have lasted little more than a fortnight, there are 3 *buyruldu*s and 2 authenticated copies among the documents of this file which carry the name of Hasan Hüsni, suggesting that this last *kaymakam* was also the busiest in terms of promulgating decrees, or having his decrees re-issued, to be dispatched and finally deposited in a safe place in Patmos.

What should have become clear is this: for the period between Hasan Hakkı's inauguration as the new-style *kaymakam* of Rhodes by April 1863 and Hasan Hüsni's departure after 3 June 1867, it was no longer the *vali*'s chancery that was responsible for dealing with the island of Patmos, but that of the *kaymakam* of Rhodes. The following is an attempt to investigate some of the idiosyncrasies of this chancery which, based

³⁵ *Düstur I*, 608-24. For (modern) translations and a summary (in German) of the articles of the 1867 *Vilayet Nizamnamesi*, see Kornrumpf, *Die Territorialverwaltung 1864-1878*, p. 75-83.

on the above evidence, appears to have become busier and busier as time went on. It would be interesting to see if this increase in the bureaucratic output of the *kaymakam*'s chancery over time might be reflected in a longer working week rather than in longer working hours: an inquiry into the days of the week during which the decrees were composed should throw some light on this question. Unfortunately, the cases are too few in number in order to offer any meaningful data along the time scale, but the details are interesting nevertheless: distributed unevenly across the days of the week, a clear picture is emerging as to which days were favoured for issuing decrees by the chancery of Rhodes, and which were less favoured or even not at all used for promulgating *buyruldu*. With regard to an Ottoman (provincial) chancery one might perhaps assume that Friday, the day of Muslim Friday prayer, was kept free from such tasks, but this is not so. There are 6 decrees among our corpus issued on a Friday, as many as were issued on Mondays and Tuesdays; only Thursdays (with 7) and Saturdays (with 8 cases) were more popular. Perhaps surprisingly, no *buyruldu* in the collection was ever promulgated on a Sunday, the day of worship of the Christian-subject population.

It is significant that this arrangement cannot be dated back to before April 1863, suggesting that it constitutes a distinctive element only of the chancery of the new-style *kaymakam*, not of the Rhodes bureaucratic set-up in general. During the period when the *vali* or governor general was still dealing with Patmos himself, Saturday and Thursday were the preferred days for issuing those *buyruldu* which ended up in the monastic archives, with Friday and Sunday following suit, again followed by Wednesday and Monday. Only Tuesday, one of the preferred promulgation days after April 1863, remains without a single *buyruldu* issued, raising the possibility that Tuesday was the habitual day off during the earlier period, a day of the week without any confessional connotation. The change from the chancery of the *vali* to that of the *kaymakam* was therefore more fundamental than a mere change of terminology or rank: The *kaymakam*'s chancery appears to have operated along different lines from that of the governor general. Could this be a result of the new Rhodes chancery adapting more closely to the demands of the time?

As we have seen, many if not most of the *buyruldu* from the main corpus are bilingual, issued in Ottoman Turkish and Greek. This means that if both language versions were to be promulgated at the same time, as is suggested by their arrangement on paper, the clerk whose task it was to compose the Greek rendering had to be available on that day, just like the scribe instructed to draw up the Ottoman Turkish version. Assuming that the clerk responsible for the Greek version was a Christian, in order to make him perform his duty on a Sunday may well have been considered by the *kaymakam* a thing to avoid – if only for practical rather than political reasons. But why should he be more conscientious or scrupulous than the governor general had been before? Or maybe it was not about conscience and scruples after all – but speed: whereas the governor

general as of old may have consented to have the Ottoman Turkish *buyruldu* drawn up on one day and the Greek version some time thereafter, from the advent of the new-style *kaymakam* it appears that both versions were executed on the same day, reducing the delays in the promulgation of the decrees to a minimum. Whatever the exact reasons, the resulting Sunday break in the activity of the *liva* chancery is, I repeat, a distinguishing mark of the Rhodes chancery on the *district* level only.³⁶

Another interesting observation is the continuing presence, in this chancery, of individual scribes holding on beyond the term of office of an acting *kaymakam*. Take, for example, the Ottoman Turkish version of a *buyruldu* from the early governorship of Osman Asım dated Friday, 13 July 1866 (38-41), the other from the time of Hasan Hüsni dated Monday, 20 May 1867 (38-53). I believe that it is possible to discern one and the same scribal hand standing out in both documents. If these 2 *buyruldus* were indeed executed by the same hand, this and indeed other examples would suggest that many clerks remained in the chancery as part of its “furniture.” It therefore seems probable that the chancery of the *kaymakam* of Rhodes, having been structured at the outset to meet the particular requirement of always being speedily able to issue bilingual documents, soon developed into a noticeably stable institution, equipped with specialists, if characteristically imperfect, clerical expertise available on all working days – except, as we have seen, on Sundays.

Another idiosyncrasy of the *kaymakam*'s chancery (not to be found during the *valis*' period) appears to be the practice of placing reference notes on the reverse of the documents, generally complete with reference number and date of recording. This practice sets in a few months after the start of the governorship of Hasan Hakkı, and lasts, if only briefly, beyond his term in office (cf. 38-30; 38-25). The date at which the document was recorded is either identical with the date of issuing, the next day or up to three weeks later (cf. 38-44); it is generally recorded according to the *maliye* calendar, but twice also by means of *hicri* dates. The fact that simultaneous dates for the promulgation and the recording of a *buyruldu* occur repeatedly (38-30; 38-43; 38-46) proves beyond

³⁶ Other idiosyncrasies of this chancery operating at sub-province level can be observed in the formulaic, lexicographic and palaeographic composition of the *buyruldus* promulgated here. While many if not most of the scribes employed here were fairly competent at their individual *rika* cursives, they can often be seen being less confident in their spelling, particularly as regards certain common formulae and phrases of Arabic origin, for instance those used in the closing formula of a *buyruldu*. Almost regularly, the word for “promulgation” in the phrase (...) “*hususına mezid-i dikkat olunması için işbu buyruldu isdar ve tesyar kıldı*” (“so that utmost care is spent on the matter this decree has been promulgated and dispatched”) is spelt *s-t-r* rather than *ş-d-r*. If the scribes had in mind the “setting down of lines” (from Arabic *saṭara*: draw lines, write, jot down, draw up, compose) rather than “an issuing”, they should have known that Arabic grammar, in the case of *saṭara*, does not allow for a verbal noun (*ifʿāl*) in the shape of *isṭâr* since this verb has no stem IV (*afʿala*). This mistake is to be found in a variety of different hands, not just with one particular scribe.

doubt that these are *derkenars* (chancery records) applied by the Rhodes chancery with the purpose, no doubt, of making the identification of the *buyruldu*'s bureaucratic context easier and speedier. They are certainly not annotations made by the receiving side at the document's place of destination. It goes without saying that such practice can be taken as evidence for the increasing professionalization of the bureaucratic processes in the Rhodes chancery on the sub-province level.

But let us come back to the documents' diplomatic features on their obverse: concerning the terminology employed here for the type of document, the place and date of issue, and the addressees and their titles, there is very little variation in the main corpus. All decrees identify themselves as *buyruldu*s or, in Greek, as orders of the *dioikitis* or governor, without modification even if the issuer is of lower rank like in the case of the *kefil-i kaymakam* or representative of the deputy governor. Their place of issue in all cases is Rhodes. However, the place of issue is not once (!) recorded in the Ottoman Turkish versions (for instance as part of the *datatio*), but given as an integral component of the dating formula only in the accompanying Greek versions. In one single instance do I read *Mytilini* instead of Rhodes (38-4). As with other documents of *buyruldu* type, the provincial *divan* is occasionally mentioned as the body from which the *buyruldu* issued, but in our corpus it is not (ever?) mentioned together with its geographical designation, i.e. *divan-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*. As to the dates themselves, much of what they can tell us about the workings of the Rhodes chancery has already been said. It remains to be underlined that the *hicri* dates are often accompanied by those of the *maliye* calendar in the Turkish versions, whereas the Greek texts usually confine themselves to the Julian calendar, but sometimes also give additional *hicri* dates (cf. 38-1).

Approaching the end of this contribution (where the focus lay on the workings of the *liva* chancery in Rhodes), it remains to be seen if there is anything that the *buyruldu*s issued in Rhodes can tell us about the situation in Patmos where, as was noted before, a *müdir* had been installed by 1857 at the latest. Unlike the *buyruldu*s issued in Rhodes during the 1850s, however, those of the main corpus show little variation when addressing the officials in Patmos: as a rule, the *müdir* and the *kocabaşıs* are the only addressees mentioned; only occasionally (cf. 38-1) are the local *çorbacı*s (or *dimarchi* in Greek) included in the address formula which, following immediately after the invocation of God, *hüve*, is generally found lacking completely in any personal names.³⁷ As a means for documenting the changing personnel in the local administrative set-up on Patmos, these stereotype lines are of little use. It is only when turning the documents over and looking on their reverse sides that some clerical notes can be found which were applied by some of the unnamed officials

³⁷ It mostly runs like this: "*Batnoz atası müdiri himmetli ağa ve kocabaşıları sadakatlu çorbacılar inha olunur ki.*"

after the decrees had arrived in Patmos, allowing us to illustrate some aspects of administrative practice: how long, for example, did the Patmian officials have to wait for an instruction from Rhodes finally to arrive in Patmos (with the most prominent retarding factors probably administrative sluggishness and the hazards of communication by sea), and how long did it take them to reply?

There are 35 *buyruldu*s in the main corpus, i.e. more than half of the total, which indicate the date of arrival in Patmos on their reverse. This arrival date was obviously added by the authorities in Patmos, and may be taken as an indication of careful bookkeeping in the *Tanzimat* provincial offices, even on the lowest administrative levels. All these indications of the document's date of arrival in Patmos were executed in Greek. In three cases, the dates seem incongruous and are therefore not considered further (38-51; 38-9; 38-4). The remaining 32 instances offer the following picture:

The time span between the issuing in Rhodes and the arrival in Patmos of the decrees under review varies between 3³⁸ and 98 days.³⁹ Most frequent are time spans of between 4 and 25 days (17 times). Time differences of 50 days and more are by no means exceptional, as such long discrepancies can be found in 5 cases, predominantly occurring during the winter months, but in rare instances (such as 38-37) also during the summer. Not all the delays must have been due to meteorological causes; let us not forget that not every decree was recorded by the Rhodes chancery on the day of issue; in individual cases (such as 38-44) we noticed that about three weeks had passed before this *buyruldu* was finally being entered in the record book and dispatched to Patmos. Yet it seems plausible that many of the more extreme examples were caused by either too much, too little, or wind blowing from the wrong direction, or other adverse conditions at sea.

In chronological order, the 32 *buyruldu*s considered here show varying time differentials.⁴⁰

³⁸ 38-60, 38-47, 38-59: all three achieved during February/March.

³⁹ 38-3, having travelled from November till February.

⁴⁰ 38-60: *buyruldu* of Vamık, arr. 13 Mar. 1859, a time differential between dispatch and arrival of three days (indicated as <<3>>); 38-36: *buyruldu* of Salih Vamık, arr. 18 Mar. <<4>>; 38-79: *buyruldu* of Seyyid Ahmed, arr. 6 Feb. 1860 (Rumi) <<51>>; 38-47: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, arr.: end (?) Feb. 1860 <<3>>; 38-59: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, arr. 27 Mar. 1860 (Rumi) <<3>>; 38-31: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, arr. 23 Dec. 1860 (Rumi) <<57>>; 38-55: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, arr. 8 Jun. <<16>>; 38-32: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, arr. 23 Jul. (Rumi) <<39>>; 38-62: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, arr. 21 Jul. 1861 <<30>>; 38-63: *buyruldu* of Mehmed Sa'id, arr. 22 Nov. <<45>>; 38-24: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, arr. 28 Jan. (Rumi) <<21>>; 38-27: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, arr. 22 Mar. (Rumi) <<8>>; 38-77: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, arr. 8 Oct. 1862 (Rumi) <<50>>; 38-37: *buyruldu* of Hasan (Hakkı), arr. 2 Jun. 1863 (Rumi) <<54>>; 38-26: Greek version of *buyruldu* of Hasan, arr. 2 Jun. (Rumi) <<11>>; 38-56: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, arr. 19 Jul. 1863 (Rumi) <<24>>; 38-28: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, arr. 25 Oct. <<16>>; 38-33: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, arr. 30 Oct. (Rumi) <<22>>; 38-3:

Out of the 35 *buyruldu*s discussed, 4 bear an additional indication as to the date of reply. These may give us an idea about the degree of efficiency of the administrative set-up in Patmos during the *Tanzimat* years, more particularly the chancery of the local *müdirlik*. Unfortunately, their total number is small – too small in fact to draw any firm conclusions from, because their infrequent occurrence may well point to special circumstances such as a particularly important or pressing subject matter (3 out of the 4 were affixed during the time of Kaymakam Hasan Hakkı) in the course of less than a year. But they are all we have to go by.

What the figures suggest is a local administration well capable of immediate response (cf. 38-28), but more likely to take their time, with time differentials varying between 5 days and one month. This would correspond with one piece of earlier evidence from the early 1840s (38-12) when a decree from Rhodes took 8 days to be answered by the authorities in Patmos prior to the establishment of the local *müdirlik*.⁴¹

To sum up: Dossier 38 (a collection of documents which must have been kept in the Patmos *müdirlik* before being transferred into the monastic archives) offers rather limited insights into the local *müdirlik*'s ways of operating on Patmos, yet precious insights into the workings of the Rhodes administration during the years immediately preceding the introduction of the Ottoman *vilayet* reforms in 1867, and this even prior to the in-depth analysis of the contents of those 80 odd documents of

buyruldu of Hasan Hakkı, arr. Patmos 21 Feb. 1864 (Rumi) <<98>>; 38-30: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, arr. 14 Jul. 1864 (Rumi) <<41>>; 38-44: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, arr. 29 Jun. (Rumi) <<48>>; 38-40: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, arr. 29 Jun. (Rumi) <<33>>; 38-35: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, arr. 18 Dec. <<24>>; 38-43: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, arr. 23 Dec. 1865 (Rumi) <<15>>; 38-46: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, arr. 23 Dec. (Rumi) <<15>>; 38-58: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, arr. 2 Aug. <<16>>; 38-45: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, arr. 21 Jan. 1867 (Rumi) <<43>>; 38-54: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hüsni, arr. 20 May 1867 <<14>>; 38-78: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hüsni, arr. 22 May 1867 (Rumi) <<16>>; 38-53: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hüsni, arr. 20 May 1867 (Rumi) <<11>>; 38-5: copy (*antigraphon*) of *buyruldu* of Hasan Hüsni, in Greek, arr. Patmos 2 Jun. 1867 <<12>>; 38-72: copy (*antigraphon*) of *buyruldu* of Hasan Hüsni, arr. 3 Jun. 1867 (Rumi) <<11>>.

⁴¹ 38-60: *buyruldu* of Vamık, *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 18 *şaban* 1275/Wed. 23 Mar. 1859, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 10 Mar. 1859 (Rumi), verso 10 Mar. 1859, arr. 13 Mar. 1859 (TD 3 days), **answered** 18 Mar. 1859 (Rumi) (TD 5 days); 38-28: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i Rodos*, issued 8 *cumaziyülevvel* 1280/Mon. 21 Oct. 1863 (9 *teşrin-i evvel* 1279), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 8 *cemaziyevvel* 1280 and 9 Oct. 1863 (Rumi), verso 9 Oct., arr. 25 Oct. (Rumi) (TD 16 days), **answered** 25 Oct. (TD 0 days); 38-33: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 8 *cumaziyülevvel* 1280/Mon. 21 Oct. 1863 (*teşrin-i evvel* 1279), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 8 Oct. 1863 (Rumi), verso arr. 30 Oct. (Rumi) (TD 22 days), **answered** 1st Dec. 1863 (Rumi) (TD 31 days); 38-30: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 10 *muharrem* 1281/Wed. 15 Jun. 1864 (4 *haziran* 1280), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 10 *muharrem* 1281 and 3 Jun. 1864 (Rumi), verso arr. 14 Jul. 1864 (Rumi) (TD 41 days) and **answered** 19 Jul. (Rumi) (TD 5 days). Further “*nümero 290 husus-i mezbur usulü vecihle (...) kayd olunarak tutuğı rü’usla (...) kefile rabt olunmuşdur fi 4 Haziran 1280.*”

which Dossier 38 is composed. It is possible, even likely perhaps, but certainly no foregone conclusion, that the details yet to be extracted from these documents, while expected to throw additional (much of it fresh) light on many aspects of Ottoman rule in the Aegean districts during the *Tanzimat* years, may in the end prove less relevant than the *buyrulduş*' external characteristics as a valuable source for our understanding of the bureaucratic workings of the Rhodes chancery on the *sancak* level. Future studies will show if this assumption was justified.

AOP Dossier 38 (Bilingual)

(in chronological order)

Sub-Group

- 38-23: *buyruldu* in Greek of Hafiz (Ahmed?), *muhafiz* of *sancak* of Rhodes, issued 17 *zilkade* 1252/23 February 1837 (9 Feb. 1837) (Rumi) and addressed to *demogerontes*.
- 38-22: copy (*antigraphon*) of *buyruldu* in Greek, of Ahmed, *muhafiz* of Rhodes and of Sporades, dated 16 May 1837 (Rumi), verso: “*antigraphon...*” 16 May, arrived 5 June (1837).
- 38-21: *buyruldu* in Greek of Hafiz Ahmed, *muhafiz* of Rhodes and of Sporades, issued 29 May 1837 (Rumi) and addressed to *demogerontes* of Leros, Patmos and Ikaria, verso: “*Karyota gidecek buyruldu.*”
- 38-20: *buyruldu* in Greek of Hafiz Ahmed, *muhafiz* of Rhodes, issued 18 March 1838 (Rumi) and addressed to *demogerontes*, verso: “*Rodos 18 March 1838*” and “*Batnos atasına İngiliz konsoluz vekili Aleksiyonun iltiması üzere bir hususat için fi 4 muharrem sene 54*” (1st April 1838).
- 38-19: *buyruldu* in Greek of Hafiz Ahmed, *muhafiz* of Rhodes and of Sporades, issued 23 March 1838 (Rumi) and addressed to *demogerontes*, arrived 9 *muharrem* 1254/4 April 1838: “*Batnos atasında olan İngiliz konsulos vekilinin hususatına da’ir buyruldu.*”
- 38-18: Translation of *buyruldu* of Hafiz Ahmed, *muhafiz* of Rhodes and of Sporades, dated 28 May 1838 (Rumi) and addressed to *demogerontes* of Leros, Patmos and Ikaria, arrived 8 June 1838 (Rumi).
- 38-15: *buyruldu* in Greek of Hafiz Ahmed, *muhafiz* and *vali* of Rhodes and of Sporades, issued 29 July 1839 (Rumi) and addressed to *demogerontes*, (according to verso) answered 29 *cumadiyülevvel* 1255/10 August 1839: “*Batnosda eğleniyormasunlar bir sa’at evvel asitaneye gitmek ifadesinde.*”
- 38-17: *buyruldu* in Greek of Hafiz Ahmed, *muhafiz* of Rhodes and of Sporades, issued 1st September 1839 (Rumi) and addressed to *demogerontes*, arrived 8 September 1839 (Rumi), verso: “*katili fima ba’d Batnoza gönderileceği.*”
- 38-16: *buyruldu* in Greek of Yusuf, *muhafiz* of Rhodes and of Sporades, issued 22 October 1839 (Rumi) and addressed to *demogerontes*, arrived 29 October 1839 (Rumi).
- 38-14: *buyruldu* in Greek of el-Hacc Ali, *muhafiz* and *vali* of Rhodes and of Sporades, issued 28 July 1841 (Rumi) and addressed to

- demogerontes*, in Rhodes, 28 July (?), arrived (in Patmos) 24 August, answered 25 August (Rumi).
- 38-13: *buyruldu* in Greek of el-Hacc Ali, *muhafiz* and *vali* of Rhodes and of Sporades, issued 5 July 1842 (Rumi) and addressed to *demogerontes* (same date on reverse).
- 38-12: *buyruldu* in Greek of el-Hacc Ali, *muhafiz* and *vali* of Rhodes and of Sporades, issued 17 November 1842 (Rumi) and addressed to *demogerontes*, (arrived Patmos?) 16 December, answered 24 December.

Main Corpus

- 38-49: *buyruldu* of Salih Vamık, *vali-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued (no date), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 14 October 1857 (Rumi), verso: 14 October 1857 (Rumi).
- 38-60: *buyruldu* of Vamık, *mutasarrif-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 18 *şaban* 1275/Wednesday 23 March 1859, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 10 March 1859 (Rumi), verso: 10 March 1859, arrived 13 March 1859, answered 18 March 1859 (Rumi).
- 38-36: *buyruldu* of Salih Vamık, *mutasarrif-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 21 *şaban* 1275/Saturday 26 March 1859, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 14 March 1859 (Rumi), verso: 14 March 1859 (Rumi), arrived 18 March.
- 38-38: *buyruldu* of Seyyid Ahmed, *vali* of province of Archipelago, issued 3 *zilhicce* 1275/Monday 4 July 1859, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 23 June 1859 (Rumi), verso: 23 June 1859 (Rumi).
- 38-65: *buyruldu* of (seal) Seyyid Ahmed, governor of Rhodes and Archipelago, issued 2 *rebiyülevvel* 1276/Thursday 29 September 1859, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 17 September 1859 (Rumi), verso: 17 September 1859 (Rumi).
- 38-51: *buyruldu* of Ahmed, *vali* of province of Archipelago, issued 22 *rebiyülahir* 1276/Friday 18 November 1859, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 5 November 1859 (Rumi), verso: 3 (!) November 1859 (Rumi), arrived 10 November.
- 38-79: *buyruldu* of (seal) Seyyid Ahmed, governor of Archipelago, issued with no date, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 15 December 1859 (Rumi), verso: 15 December 1859 (Rumi), arrived 6 February 1860 (Rumi).
- 38-47: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrif-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 19 *şaban* 1276/Thursday 10 March 1860, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 27 February 1860 (Rumi), verso: arrived end (?) February 1860.
- 38-9: translation (*metaphrasis*) of ??? into Greek, dated *şaban* 1276H, arrived Patmos 27 March 1860 (Rumi).
- 38-59: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrif-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 15 *ramazan* 1276/Thursday 6 April 1860, with

- Greek version dated Rhodes, 24 March 1860 (Rumi), verso: 24 March 1860, arrived 27 March 1860 (Rumi).
- 38-31: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 24 *rebiyülahir* 1277/Friday 9 November 1860, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 26 October 1860 (Rumi), verso: 26 October (Rumi), arrived 23 December 1860 (Rumi).
- 38-55: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued (2)3 (!) *zilkade* 1277/Sunday 2 June 1861, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 22 May 1861 (Rumi), verso: 22 May 1861 (Rumi), arrived 8 June.
- 38-32: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 17 *zilhicce* 1277/Wednesday 26 June 1861, verso: 14 June 1861 (Rumi), arrived 23 July (Rumi).
- 38-62: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 25 *zilhicce* 1277/Thu 4 July 1861, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 21 June 1861 (Rumi), verso: arrived 21 July 1861.
- 38-6: ???, issued in Greek, dated Rhodes (?), 16 July 1861 (Rumi).
- 38-7: translation (*metaphrasis*) of *buyruldu* of (Mehmed) Said, (*kaymakam*), into Greek, dated 13 *rebiyülevvel* 1278/18 September 1861 (dated Rumi 6 September 1861).
- 38-34: *buyruldu* of (according to seal) Mehmed Sa'id, (*kaymakam-i?*) *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, dated 22 *rebiyülevvel* 1278/Friday 27 September 1861, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 14 September 1861 (Rumi), verso: 14 September 1861 (Rumi).
- 38-63: *buyruldu* of (according to seal) Mehmed Sa'id, *kaymakam-i mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 11 *rebiyülahir* 1278/Thursday 16 October 1861, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 7 October 1861 (Rumi), verso: arrived 22 November.
- 38-29: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 28 *rebiyülahir* 1278/Saturday 2 November 1861, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 17 October 1861 (Rumi), verso: 17 October 1861 (Rumi).
- 38-24: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 17 *receb* 1278/Saturday 18 January 1862, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 7 January 1862 (Rumi), verso: arrived 28 January (Rumi).
- 38-27: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 23 *ramazan* 1278/Saturday 24 March 1862, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 14 March 1862 (Rumi), arrived 22 March (Rumi).
- 38-64: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrıf-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 23 *ramazan* 1278/Saturday 24 March 1862, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 12 March 1862 (Rumi), verso: 12 March 1862 (Rumi).

- [38-81:] Greek version of *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrif-i*, dated Rhodes, 14 June 1862 (Rumi).
- 38-77: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrif-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 6 *rebiyülevvel* 1279/Sunday 1st September 1862 (20 *ağustos* 1278), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 27 *safer* (!) 1279 or 12 August 1862 (Rumi), verso: arrived 8 October 1862 (Rumi).
- 38-61: *buyruldu* of Ahmed Ata, *mutasarrif-i eyalet-i cezayir-i bahr-i sefid*, issued 6 *rebiyülevvel* 1279/Sunday 1st September 1862 (20 *ağustos* 1278), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 20 August 1862 (Rumi) and 6 *rebiyülevvel* 1279, verso: 5 October 1862.
- 38-10: Greek version of *buyruldu* of Hasan (Hakkı), *kaymakam* of Rhodes and of Sporades, dated Rhodes, 6 *zilkade* 1279/Saturday 25 April 1863 (dated Rumi 12 April 1863).
- 38-11: Greek version of *buyruldu* of Hasan (Hakkı), *kaymakam* of Rhodes and of Sporades, dated Rhodes, 6 *zilkade* 1279/Saturday 25 April 1863 (dated Rumi 12 April 1863).
- 38-37: *buyruldu* of Hasan (Hakkı), *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 2 *zilkade* 1279/Tuesday 21 April 1863 (8 *nisan* 1279), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 2 *zilkade* 1279 or 8 April 1863 (Rumi), verso: arrived 2 June 1863 (Rumi).
- 38-26: Greek version of *buyruldu* of Hasan, *kaymakam* of Rhodes and the Sporades, issued Rhodes, 17 *zilhicce* 1279/Friday 5 June 1863, also 21 May 1863 (Rumi), arrived 2 June (Rumi).
- [38-80:] *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i cezire-i Rodos*, issued 18 *zilhicce* 1279/Saturday 6 June 1863 (24 *mayıs* 1279).
- 38-56: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i cezire-i Rodos*, issued 14 *muharrem* 1280/Wednesday 1st July 1863 (24 *haziran* 1279), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 14 *muharrem* 1280 and 24 June (!) (Rumi), verso: arrived 19 July 1863 (Rumi).
- 38-28: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i Rodos*, issued 8 *cumazi-yülevvel* 1280/Monday 21 October 1863 (9 *teşrin-i evvel* 1279), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 8 *cemaziyelevvel* 1280 and 9 October 1863 (Rumi), verso: 9 October, arrived 25 October, answered 25 October (Rumi).
- 38-33: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 8 *cumazi-yülevvel* 1280/Monday 21 October 1863 (*teşrin-i evvel* 1279), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 8 October 1863 (Rumi), verso: arrived 30 October (Rumi), answered 1st December 1863 (Rumi).
- 38-3: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i cezire-i Rodos*, dated 13 *cumaziyulahir* 1280/Wednesday 25 November 1863, with version in Greek dated Rhodes, 13 November 1863 (Rumi), arrived Patmos 21 February 1864 (Rumi).
- 38-67: Greek version of *buyruldu* of Hasan (Hakkı), governor of Rhodes and of Sporades, dated 15 May 1864 (Rumi).

- 38-30: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 10 *muharrem* 1281/Wednesday 15 June 1864 (4 *haziran* 1280), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 10 *muharrem* 1281 and 3 June 1864 (Rumi), verso: arrived 14 July 1864 (Rumi) and answered 19 July (Rumi). Further “*nümero 290 husus-i mezbur usulü vecihle (...) kayd olunarak tutuğı rü’usla (...) kefile rabtolunmuşdur fi 4 Haziran 1280.*”
- 38-4: Greek version of *buyruldu* of Hasan (Hakkı), *kaymakam* of Rhodes and Sporades, dated Mytilini, 10 July 1864 (Rumi), (arrived Patmos?) 10 July 1864.
- 38-71: Greek version of *buyruldu* of Hasan (Hakkı), governor of Rhodes and of Sporades, issued Rhodes, 13 *rebiyülevvel* 1281/16 August 1864 or 4 August 1864 (Rumi).
- 38-75: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 22 *cemaziyülahir* 1281/Tuesday 22 November 1864 (10 *teşrin-i sani* 1280), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 10 November 1864, verso: “*nümero 577 husus-i mezbur (...) kayd Şüd fi 15 teşrin-i sani sene 80.*”
- 38-50: *buyruldu* of Hasan (Hakkı), *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 5 *zilkade* 1281/Friday 1st April 1865 (19 *nisan* 1281), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 19 April 1865 (Rumi), verso: “*nümero 781 husus-i mezbur usulü vecihle kapı altına kayd Şüd fi 30 nisan sene 81.*”
- 38-44: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 27 *zilhicce* 1281/Tuesday 23 May 1865 (11 *mayıs* 1281), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 11 May 1865 (Rumi), verso: 11 May 1865, arrived 29 June (Rumi) and “*nümero 23 husus-i mezbur aslı vecihle (...) kayd şüd fi 2 haziran sene 81.*”
- 38-40: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 14 *muharrem* 1282/Thursday 9 June 1865 (27 *mayıs* 1281), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 13 (!) *muharrem* 1282 or 26 (!) May 1865 (Rumi), verso: 26 May 1865, arrived 29 June (Rumi) “*nümero 11 husus-i mezbur usulü vecihle (...) kayd şüd 2 haziran 1281.*”
- 38-35: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 18 *receb* 1282/Thursday 7 December 1865 (24 *teşrin-i sani* 1281), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 24 November 1865 (Rumi) or 18 *receb* 1282, verso: 24 November 1865 (Rumi), arrived 18 December.
- 38-43: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued *gurre-i şaban* 1282/Wednesday, 20 December 1865, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 8 December 1865 (Rumi), verso: 8 December 1865, arrived 23 December 1865 (Rumi) and “*nümero 66 husus-i mezbur usulü vecihle (...) kayd Şüd fi 8 kanun-i evvel 1281.*”

- 38-46: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 2 *şaban* 1282/Thursday 21 December 1865 (8 *kanun-i evvel* 1282), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 8 December 1865 (Rumi) and 2 *şaban* 1282, verso: 8 December 1865 (Rumi), arrived 23 December (Rumi) and “*nümero 79 (...) kayd Şüd fi 8 kanun-i evvel sene 281.*”
- 38-2: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, dated 18 *ramazan* 1282/Tuesday 6 February 1866 and *Mali* 22 *Kanun-i Sani* 1281, with version in Greek dated Rhodes, 22 January 1866 (Rumi), verso: “*nümero 140 husus-i mezbur usulı vecihle (...) kayd Şüd fi 28 ramazan 1282.*”
- 38-48: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hakkı, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 16 *şevval* 1282/Friday 1st March 1866 (15 *şubat* 1281), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 16 *sevval* 1282 or 15 February 1866 (Rumi) and “*nümero 213 husus-i mezbur aslı (...) kayd Şüd fi 16 şubat sene 82.*”
- 38-25: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 7 *muharrem* 1283/Tuesday 22 May 1866 (9 *mayıs* 1282 *Mali*), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 7 *muharrem* 1283 or 9 May 1866, verso: “*husus-i mezbura kayd şüd 7 muharrem sene 83.*”
- 38-69: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 9 *muharrem* 1283/Thursday 24 May 1866 (12 *mayıs* 1282), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 9 *muharrem* or 12 May 1866 (Rumi).
- 38-41: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 29 *safer* 1283/Friday 13 July 1866 (30 *haziran* 1282), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 1st July 1866 (Rumi).
- 38-58: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 15 *rebiyülevvel* 1283/Saturday 28 July 1866 (16 *temmuz* 1282), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 16 July 1866 (Rumi), verso: 16 July 1866 (Rumi), arrived 2 August.
- 38-39: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 11 *rebiyülahir* 1283/Thursday 23 August 1866 (10 *ağustos* 1282), with Greek version issued Rhodes, 11 *rebiyülahir* 1283 or 10 August 1866 (Rumi), verso: 1866 “*Batnoz.*”
- 38-68: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued *selh-i rebiyüssani* 1283/Monday 10 September 1866 (*iptida-yi eylül* 1282), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 1st September 1866 (Rumi), verso: 1866.
- 38-74: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 24 *cemaziyülevvel* 1283/Thursday 4 October 1866 (22 *eylül* 1282), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 24 *cemaziyulevvel* 1283 or 22 September 1866 (Rumi).
- 38-42: *buyruldu* of Süleyman, deputy (*vekil-i*) *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 17 *cemaziyülahir* 1283/Saturday 27 October 1866

- (15 *teşrin-i evvel* 1282), with Greek version issued Rhodes, 15 October 1866 (Rumi).
- 38-57: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 23 *cemaziyülahir* 1283/Friday 2 November 1866, with Greek version dated Rhodes, 19 October 1866 (Rumi), verso: 19 October 1866.
- 38-45: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 12 *şaban* 1283/Friday 20 December 1866 (8 *kanun-i evvel* 1282), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 8 December 1866 (Rumi), verso: arrived 21 January 1867 (Rumi).
- 38-76: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 15 *ramazan* 1283/Monday 21 January 1867 (9 *kanun-i sani* 1282), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 9 January 1867 (Rumi).
- 38-70: copy (*antigraphon*) dated 15 March 1867 (Rumi) of *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, governor of Rhodes and of Sporades, issued Rhodes, 12 *zilkade* 1283 or 7 March 1867 (Rumi).
- 38-66: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i asbak-i liva-i Rodos*, issued 19 *zilhicce* 1283/Thursday 24 April 1867 (11 *nisan* 1283), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 19 *zilhicce* 1283 and 12 April 1867 (Rumi).
- 38-1: *buyruldu* of Osman Asım, *kaymakam-i sabik-i liva-i Rodos*, dated 24 *zilhicce* 1283/Tuesday 29 April 1867, with version in Greek dated Rhodes, 18 April 1867 (Rumi).
- 38-54: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hüsni (seal dated 1273), deputy of sub-province of Rhodes and of Dodeka (?) islands, issued 14 *muharrem* 1284/Saturday 18 May 1867 (6 *mayıs* 1283), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 14 *muharrem* 1283 (!) and 6 May 1867 (Rumi), verso: arrived 20 May 1867.
- 38-78: *buyruldu* of (seal) Hasan Hüsni, governor of Rhodes and of Dodecanese, issued 14 *muharrem* 1284/Saturday 18 May 1867 (6 *mayıs* 1283), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 14 *muharrem* 1283 or 6 May 1867 (Rumi), verso: arrived 22 May 1867 (Rumi).
- 38-53: *buyruldu* of Hasan Hüsni, deputy of sub-province of Rhodes and of Dodeka (?) islands, issued 16 *muharrem* 1284/Monday 20 May 1867 (9 *mayıs* 1282), with Greek version dated Rhodes, 16 *muharrem* 1283 (!) and 9 May 1867 (Rumi), verso: arrived 20 May 1867 (Rumi).
- 38-5: copy (*antigraphon*) of *buyruldu* of Hasan Hüsni, in Greek, dated Rhodes, 28 *muharrem* 1284/Saturday 1st June 1867 (dated Rumi 20 May 1867), arrived Patmos 2 June 1867.
- 38-72: copy (*antigraphon*) of *buyruldu* of Hasan Hüsni, governor of Rhodes and of Sporades, issued Rhodes, 30 *muharrem* 1284/Monday 3 June 1867 or 22 May 1867 (Rumi), verso: arrived 3 June 1867 (Rumi).

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Michael Ursinus, *Un corpus de buyruldu originaux de la chancellerie de Rhodes, 1837-1867*

Cet article s'appuie sur le dossier 38 du fonds ottoman du monastère Saint-Jean à Patmos, qui consiste en quelques 80 documents d'archive, dans leur majorité des *buyruldu* émis par les gouverneurs ottomans du *liva* ou *sancak* de Rhodes (dont l'île de Patmos faisait partie) entre février 1837 et juin 1867. Plutôt que d'étudier des documents individuels, il se penche sur un corpus de documents d'archive en visant à une meilleure compréhension de la fonction de la chancellerie à un moment d'évolution accélérée du système bureaucratique, à la période des Tanzimat. L'accent est principalement mis sur l'analyse de critères diplomatiques tels que l'identité de l'émetteur, ses titres et moyens d'identification (*pençe* ou sceau), le type de document, le lieu et la date d'émission, les destinataires et leurs titres, la date d'arrivée à Patmos ainsi que la date de la réponse apportée – en d'autres mots: sur les éléments «externes» de ce corpus.

Michael Ursinus, *A Corpus of Original Buyruldu from the Chancery of Rhodes, 1837-1867*

The paper is based on Dossier 38 of the Ottoman holdings from Saint John's Monastery on Patmos, a file consisting of some 80 archival units, in their majority bilingual *buyruldu*s issued by the Ottoman governors of the *liva* or *sancak* of Rhodes (which included the island of Patmos) between February 1837 and June 1867. It presents a study of a corpus of archival documents taken as a whole, aiming at a better understanding of the functioning of the chancery of Rhodes at a time of accelerating change in the bureaucratic system during the Tanzimat era, rather than consisting of an investigation of individual documents. The focus will lie primarily on the analysis of such diplomatic criteria as the identity of the issuer, his titles and means of identification by *pençe* or seal; the type of document; the place and date of issue; the addressees and their titles; the date of arrival in Patmos as well as the date of reply – in other words: on the "external" evidence of this corpus.