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Dördüncü Milletlerarası Kongre Tebliğleri

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A Contribution to the History of Epirus (XVth-XVIth Centuries)

Special Reference to the Privileges Granted to the People
of Epirus by Sultan Murad II

Melek Delilbaşı*

A number of factors played a part in the rise of the Ottoman State, which emerged as a frontier state between the Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate and the Byzantine Empire, to the status of a world power within a period of two centuries. In the context of the systematic policy of conquest followed by the Ottomans, the goodwill policy (*istimâlet; te'lifü'l-kulûb*) applied towards non-Muslim societies was, as Professor İnalcık has stated in his various works, among the basic elements in the spread of the Ottoman power and the establishment of their centralized system of rule.¹

As known, according to Islamic law (*fiqh*) the world is divided into two spheres: the *dârü'l-harp* made up of those countries which are not under Islamic authority, and the *dârü'l-İslâm* consisting of those countries which are under Islamic authority. Before initiating a war against another country, the head of the Islamic society, the Imam, or in this case the Sultan, must first call on the "people of the book" (Jews and Christians) to surrender. The rules of Islamic *amân* ("safety, security") were granted to those non-Muslims who surrendered. In their status as *zimmi*, non-Muslim "people of the book" who accepted Muslim authority, the right to practice their religion, and the security of their property, persons and honor were considered to be under the protection of the state. In return, *zimmi* were required to pay the *cizye*, a poll-tax, to the state.²

The earliest example of a treaty (*ahidnâme*) granted to non-Muslims requesting *amân* is the one written in Greek and sent by Sultan Murad II and

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1 H. İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *Studia Islamica*, II (1954), pp. 103-129.

2 For Islamic law see M. Khadduri – H.J. Liebesny, *Law in the Middle East*, Washington 1955; Antoine Fattal, *Le Statut des Non-Musulmans en Pays d'Islam*, Beyrouth 1958.

Sinan Pasha to the people of Ioannina. After touching on this document, which evaluated in previous work on the history of Ioannina, we will look at the privileges granted to the inhabitants of Zagorya and Metsova which have not been evaluated from the view point of *istimâlet* until now.

Ioannina was the northern center of the Greek Despotate of Epirus that was founded after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204.

When Carlo Tocco, count of Cephalonia and Zanta, died without an heir, Ioannina, held by his family since 1418, became the center of a war between his nephew Carlo Tocco and his illegitimate children. Memnunon, one of five brothers, requested assistance from Sultan Murad during the course of the civil war. Sultan Murad, after taking Thessalonica on 29 March 1430, sent a contingent of Ottoman troops under the command of the Beylerbeyi of Rumeli, Sinan Pasha, who had been moving against rebellious Albanian nobles, towards Ioannina.³

The *Greek Chronicle of Epirus* (Χρονικά Ηπείρου) provides detailed information about Ioannina's coming under Ottoman rule. Based on a variety of manuscripts and covering the history of Epirus from the creation of the world to the end of the eighteenth century, the *Chronicle of Epirus* was first published in the nineteenth century by the French traveler Poqueville in his work *Voyage dans la Grèce*.⁴ Published several times after that, the *Chronicle* was for many years attributed to Proklos and Komninos.⁵ The Greek historian Vrannoussis proved that the *Chronicle* was anonymous and written in the fifteenth century and in his work "Χρονικά τής μεσαιωνικής καί τουρκοκρατούμενης Ηπείρου", published in 1962, he introduced the manuscripts and published editions of the work.⁶

This source, which contains important information relating to Turkish history, has not been studied by Turkish historians so far. The third section

3 H. İnalçık, "II. Murad", *İA*, vol. 8, İstanbul 1971, pp. 598-615; Melek Delilbaşı, "Selanik ve Yanya'da Osmanlı Egemenliğinin Kurulması", *Bellelen* (1987), pp. 75-106.

4 Poqueville, *Voyage Dans le Grèce*, Paris, I (1829); V (1821).

5 Moravcsik, *Byzantino-Turcica*, Berlin, 1958, p. 352.

6 L.I. Vrannoussis, *Χρονικά Ηπείρου*, Ioannina, 1962. In addition, the writer also published a summary of the second section of the chronicle written in 1865 in the colloquial language that mentions the Despots of Ioannina under the title *Τό Χρονικόν τών Ιωαννινών καί Ανεκδότων Δημοδή Επιτομήν*, Athens, 1965; M. Delilbaşı, *Ibid*, p. 93-94.

of the *Chronicle* provides a detailed description of Ioannina's conquest in the time of Sultan Murad II and the *amânnâme* granted to the inhabitants of Ioannina is also found in this section.⁷

According to the chronicle, the people of Ioannina twice took control of the Pindus Mountains and the narrow passes of Epirus against Sultan Murad II when he sent his army against them. Sultan Murad, while still in Thessalonica, sent a letter to the inhabitants of Ioannina calling on them to surrender. It is clear from the chronicle that, in accordance with Islamic law, Sultan Murad called on the people of the city to surrender twice. In addition to Sultan Murad's call, the Beylerbeyi of Rumeli, Sinan Pasha, also sent a letter written in Greek calling on the leaders of Ioannina to surrender the city. K. Amantos, who published Sinan Pasha's letter, was of the opinion that only one letter was sent by Sultan Murad II and Sinan Pasha.⁸ However, as we pointed out above, there were two separate letters sent to the people of Ioannina.

The *Amânnâme* Sent by Sultan Murad II to the People of Ioannina

There are two different texts of the letter sent to the inhabitants of Ioannina by Sultan Murad II in 1430. One of the texts (Text I) was found in a codex in the Meteora Monastery; the second is in the *Chronicle of Epirus*.⁹

Translation of the Text

Text I (from the Meteora codex)

I, Murad, ruler of the east and the west, am writing to you, the people of Ioannina. To keep me from sending my army against you and taking your

⁷ Poqueville, *Ibid*, vol. V, pp. 272-279; Bekker, *Historia Politica et Patriarchia Constantinopoleos, Epirotica*, Bonnae, 1849, pp. 242-246.

⁸ K. Amantos, "Η Αναγνώρισις υπό τών Μωαμεθανών Θρησκευτικών Δικαιωμάτων τών Χριστιανών καί Ορισμός του Σινάν Πασά", *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 5 (1930), pp. 197-210. (The Recognition of Christians' Religious Rights by the Muslims and Sinan Pasha's Letter).

⁹ The texts were published for the first time with a translation into French in Poqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*; the Meteora Codex on p. 115 and the text within the *Chronicle of Epirus* in vol. V (1821), pp. 272-279. The letters were later published by Sp. Lampros, *Η Ελληνική ως Επίσημος Γλώσσα τών Σουλτάνων* (Sultanların Resmî Dili olarak Yunanca) NE 5 (1908), pp. 57-61. For detailed information about the writing and publication see L.I. Vranoussis, *Ibid*, pp. 16-30; cf. M. Delilbaşı, *Ibid*, pp. 95-97.

castle with my sword I advise you not anger me further and come willingly to surrender your castle and submit to my rule. If not, what befell those in the other castles of the east and west who did not willingly submit to me, those who were destroyed by my sword and those who were taken prisoner by my soldiers will happen to you. Let us swear to each other that I will never force you from your castle and that you will never betray or disobey me.

Text II (from the Chronicle of Epirus)

From Murad, ruler of the east and the west, to the people of Ioannina: From the my victories and the victories of my ancestors know for certain that God has not placed limits on my rule and that thanks to His help all of the east and almost all of the west has come under my sway. Everyone beyond your mountains has sworn loyalty to me. In order not to taste the disaster that follows the end of war, to avoid spilling the blood of many innocent people, to save your city from destruction and not see those who resist put to the sword or those taken prisoner by my soldiers being sold in the east and the west, surrender your city to me. I solemnly promise that if you swear loyalty to me and submit I will never force you from your castle. On your part, you will never betray your Sovereign nor rebel against him. Beware, should you reject my offer, you will not even have time to regret it.

When we compare the two texts we see that both were written in colloquial Greek (*dimotiki*). The first and last paragraphs of the more detailed Text II are not found in Text I. We agree with Poqueville, who published the texts, that Text II was the basis for Text I. We are also of the opinion that the texts are not translations, but were originally written in Greek since Greek was used as a diplomatic language by Turkish rulers.¹⁰

¹⁰ M. Delilbaşı, "Greek as a Diplomatic Language in the Turkish Chancery", *Πρακτικά Β' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου "Η Επικοινωνία στο Βυζάντιο"* Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Athens 1993, pp. 145-153.

Sinan Pasha's Letter¹¹

I, Sinan Pasha, Beylerbeyi, Bey of all the west, command the most holy Metropolitan of Ioannina and its worthy rulers, Captain Stratigopoulos, the Captain's son Paul, Head Commander Boisabos, Head Judge Stanitzi and all the other rulers of Ioannina, great and small, and I greet them.

Let it be known that the Great Lord (Sultan) has sent us to accept the surrender of the Duke's territory and castles and has commanded us thus: let there be no fear that any stronghold or country that submits in good faith will be devastated. I have ordered that a stronghold and country that does not submit be destroyed and its foundations overturned, as I did in Thessalonica. Therefore I write to you and say, just as the Franks brought the people of Thessalonica to ruin, do not be deceived by their words that will bring you no benefit other than to ruin you likewise and do not listen to them.

For this reason I swear to you by the God of heaven and earth, the Prophet Muhammad, the *Mushaf* "Seven Volumes"¹², and God's 124,000 prophets¹³, by my head and soul and by the sword I have girded that there is no fear of captivity, of your children being taken, of churches being destroyed or of punishment. Your churches will ring their bells as is their custom. The Archbishop will have without condition the authority he had in Roman times to judge and all his rights in the church, as will the fiefholder's managers over their fiefs, their children, those subject to them and over all their property. If there are other things that you wish, we will grant them to you. If, however, you resist and do not submit in good faith, know that as we plundered and destroyed the churches of Thessalonica and destroyed everything else, we

11 Sinan Pasha's letter is based on two separate codexes. One in the *Sinai Codex*, No. 1208, written in the 15th century, and the other is the *St. Petersburg Codex* (CCLVI. f. 23-24) from the 16th century. The texts were published by Enean, *Αθήνα*, p.118; Mustoksidis, *Ελληνομνημίων* vol. 9-10, p. 576; Aravantinos, *Χρονογραφία τῆς Ηπείρου*, vol. II, p. 315; Miclosich-Müller, *Acta et Diplomatica*, p. 282-283; Amantos, *Ibid*, p. 206. In addition, V.L. Vranoussis, *Ibid*, pp.36-42. For the Greek text see Appendix II. Cf. M. Delilbaşı, *Ibid*, pp. 96-98.

12 "Volumes" = *mushaf*, pages bound between two covers, here used for the Qur'an. See A.J. Wensinck, "Mushaf", *IA*.

13 According to some sources the number of prophets between Adam and the Prophet Muhammad was 124,000 and according to others 224,000. See İ.H. Çubukçu, *İslâm'ın Temel Bilgileri*, Ankara, 1971, p. 22.

will destroy you and your property. God will fix the blame on you.

According to the *Chronicle of Epirus*, the people of Ioannina who received this letter, considering that the Turks had brought more powerful cities than theirs in the east and west under their rule and that for that reason further resistance was futile, decided to send a delegation of “learned and intelligent Christians” to the Sultan. This diplomatic delegation sent by the people of Ioannina handed the keys of the city to the Sultan at a place called *Kilidi* outside of Thessalonica, and in exchange were given a *ferman* from the Sultan that specified the privileges granted them (9 October 1430). Later the Sultan sent eighteen Turkish soldiers with the delegation from Ioannina to take the surrender of the castle and to be garrisoned permanently in Ioannina. The Turks who came to the city built houses and settled in an area called the *Turkopalukon*. The chronicle also states that within a month the Turks had taken Greek girls as wives.¹⁴

The *ahidnâme*¹⁵ granted by the Beylerbeyi of Rumeli, Sinan Pasha to the rulers of Ioannina was more detailed than that of Sultan Murad and consists of four sections: the *Institutatio*, the *Dispositio*, the *Narratio Salutatio*, and the *Sanctio*. The date (*Datatio*) on the Greek *amânnâme* is 6938 (1430).¹⁶ Both the *nâme* from Sultan Murad and the one from Sinan Pasha are one of the oldest documents of the privileges the Ottomans granted to non-Muslims who asked for *amân*. The people of Ioannina preserved the autonomous form of government they had in Byzantine times through the privileges granted by Murad II. Ioannina had been granted autonomous governance while it was still a part of the Byzantine Empire through *chrysobulls* granted by Emperor Andronikos Palaiologos II in 1319 and 1329. According to these, bishops’ authority to judge, recognized since the Roman period¹⁷ was granted and the Emperor accepted the election of local rulers. At the

14 I. Bekker, *Ibid.*, pp. 242-246; Poqueville, *Ibid.*, pp. 274-280.

15 For Kâtip Çelebi’s *ahidnâme* given to the residents of Galata, Bayezid Genel Kitaplığı n.10318, v.207a (old) – 184a (new), Turkish text of the *ferman* with “*mektub-i amân*” written in the margin. See, M.H. Şakiroğlu, “Fatih Sultan Mehmet’in Galatalılara Verdiği Fermanın Türkçe Metinleri”, *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1983, pp. 211-224.

16 The date of 1431 given in Miclosich-Müller, *Acta et Diplomatica graeca medii Aevi*, III, Vienne, 1865, p. 282-283 should be corrected.

17 In the Roman period judgements given by a bishop could not be appealed. See also K. Amantos, *Ibid.*, p. 206.

same time they were exempt from certain taxes and military duty outside of Ioannina. The people of Ioannina did not feel secure of these privileges when confronted with high-ranking Byzantine officials and tax-collectors, and sought to preserve the degree of independence they had gained after 1204. As can be seen from Sinan Pasha's *nâme*, the citizens of Ioannina continued their privileged status under Ottoman rule.

One distinguishing feature of the *ahidnâme* is that it was written in Greek. Greek had become the lingua franca and language of diplomacy in the eastern Mediterranean world following the conquests of Alexander the Great and during the Hellenistic period. It was used by the Sassanians, in Arab and later by the Seljuks of Rum and the Ottomans until the sixteenth century when corresponding with Christian countries.¹⁸ Unlike modern treaties the privileges were granted by one party, and the agreement was valid only during the reign of the Sultan who had made it. When a new Sultan took the throne, the *ahidnâme* had to be renewed.¹⁹

In addition to this first *ahidnâme*, or *amânnâme*, regions in Epirus such as Zagoria, Malakasi, and Agrafa in Thessaly were also granted special privileges, which will be discussed as a new data in this article. However, there is no written document like Sinan Pasha's letter concerning these privileges, the information is based solely on oral accounts.

The Ottomans had to determine in detail all sources of revenue in the provinces and the distribution of these resources to the imperial domain timariots, pious foundations and private property. After the conquest in order to establish the timar system, which is very similar to the Byzantine pronouia, and to maintain centralized control, the government The oldest *tahrir defters* which are preserved in the İstanbul Prime Minister's archive date from 1564 and 1579.

18 Melek Delilbaşı, "Greek as a Diplomatic Language in the Turkish Chancellery", *Πρακτικά Β Διεθνούς Συμποσίου "Η Επικοινωνία στο Βυζάντιο"* Center for Byzantine Studies, Athens, 1993, pp. 145-153.

19 Halil İnalçık, "İrmtiyazat", *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

Administration

According to these sixteenth century registers the Liva-i Yanya was divided into two Kazas²⁰:

A. Kaza-i Yanya (Ioannina);

B. Kaza-i Narda (Arta).

Kaza-i Yanya was divided into districts, or Nahiyes, as follows:

Nefs-i Yanya (the city of Ioannina)

1. Nahiye-i Yanya (Ioannina)
2. Nahiye-i Malkas (Malakasi)
3. Nahiye-i Kurenduz (Kourendas)
4. Nahiye-i Çarnakoviste (Tsarkovista)
5. Nahiye-i Zagorya (Zagoria)
6. Nahiye-i Kakotrako
7. Nahiye-i Laka (Lakka)
8. Nahiye-i Podgoryani (Parakalamo)
9. Nahiye-i Konice (Konitza)
10. Nahiye-i Cayim
11. Nahiye-i Rinase (Riniassa)
12. Nahiye-i Grebene (Grevena) (Also listed in the second register)

Kaza-i Narda (Arta) was divided into:

Nefs-i Arta

1. Nahiye-i Töbolyani
2. Nahiye-i Radoviz (Radovizi)
3. Nahiye-i Çemernik (Çoumerka)
4. Nahiye-i Roguz (Rogous)

²⁰ M. Delilbaşı, "1564 Tarihli Mufassal Yanya Livası Tahrir Defterine Göre Yanya Kenti ve Köyleri", *Belgeler*, XVII/21 (1997), pp. 171-223; For the toponomy of the Sancak of Ioannina see: Lampridis, *Ipirotica Meletimata*, I, Athinai 1880, pp. 49-55; Aravantinos, *Chronographia tis Ipirou*, Athinai 1856, vol. II, pp. 328-393, (used 2004 Kouloura Publication); *Stoicheia Systaseos kai Ekselikseos ton Dimon kai Koinotiton*, in "Nomos Ioanninon" 19, Athinai 1962, pp. 669-685.

Zagoria

Zagoria is located in the northern part of the district of Ioannina, in the mountainous region of Epirus which extends from Albania to mid-Greece. Its borders are between the Gamila (Tymphi) Mitsikeli Mountains and the Aaos River. Zagoria's real history begins after Ioannina passed to Ottoman control in 1430.

In 1430, fourteen villages centered around Zagoria made a special agreement which formed the basis of its later privileges. These fourteen villages centered around Zagoria were called "Voynuk" or "Voiniko". The eastern part of the district together with northern vlach villages of Malakasi held out until 1478. This situation was also formally recognized in agreement made by the region of Western Zagoria centered on Papinkos. Zagoria continued as a confederation with its own "autonomous" right of self-government under the name Koinon or Vilayet-i Zagorya until the seventeenth century. In the 17th century the villages of the eastern and western parts of Zagoria formed a confederation of forty-seven villages.²¹ These privileges were repealed in 1868.²²

The privileges granted to the region of Zagoria which have not yet been examined from the aspect of the Ottoman's *istimâlet* "goodwill" policy, are found in section entitled "Zagoriaka" in the second volume of Lamprides' work.

Lamprides' work, based on documents and oral accounts related to the history of Epirus that he collected throughout his life, is an extremely rich source of information. This work and Arvantinos' *Chronographia tou Epeirou* shed light on the history of Epirus under Ottoman rule in particular.

Ioannis Lamprides was born in 1835 in the upper Soudena region of Zagoria. Between 1856-1862 he did a doctorate in law on the subject of marriage. In 1865 he settled in Ioannina and until his death in 1891 he dedicated his life to his childhood dream of collecting and evaluating ethnographic and historical material related to the history of Epirus. The ninth chapter, pages 1-86, of the second volume of his work, which contains

21 Vakalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation*, p. 194.

22 Lamprides, *Ηπειρωτικά Μελετήματα*, Vol: 2, Part: 8, pp. 18-19; Aravantinos, *Chronographia II*, pp. 33-34; Κ.Ε., *Οικονόμος τοπωνομικό της Περιοχής Ζαγοριού*, Ioannina 1991, pp. 10-12.

chapter by chapter important information on all the districts of Epirus, is dedicated to the region of Zagoria and its privileges.

According to Lamprides, information about the region's privileges are based on both oral tradition and notes in the margins of a religious book found in the Votsas monastery in 1544. According to these, Carlos II sent a delegation from the Middle Zagoria region to Sinan Pasha who was attacking his territory requesting autonomous rule and exemption from taxation. After a difficult victory against Malakas, Sinan Pasha accepted this request, thinking that it would make it easier to get the people living in the mountains to surrender and the inhabitants of the fortress of Ioannina to submit. Lamprides states that the agreement was made not just with the fourteen villages of Zagoria, but with the entire region. In our opinion, this is correct, that the entire region of Epirus was granted privileges upon accepting Ottoman rule. According to Lamprides, the documents and *fermans* granting these privileges were destroyed when a fire broke out in the home of the administrator of Ioannina, Alexios Loutsos, on 25 August 1820. According to oral tradition, the privileges granted to the inhabitants of Zagoria were:

- 1 – The Ottomans would not settle in the area.
- 2 – The people of Zagoria would have the right to autonomous administration and would not be judged in Ottoman courts.
- 3 – In Exchange for serving as *voynuks* they would be exempt from certain taxes.
- 4 – Freedom of religion and worship would be recognized, and the churches would be allowed to ring their bells as they had previously.
- 5 – The metropolitan of Ioannina would not interfere in the affairs of the people of Zagoria, except upon the request of the general administrator.
- 6 – The enforcement and application of Zagoria's administration and privileges was the responsibility of the administrators (*kocabaşlar*) of Zagoria.

According to Lamprides, the Ottoman documents (*fermanlar*) contained not only the privileges granted, but also recorded the punishments that would be given to those who over time did not comply with these privileges. The first privileged area was listed as the fourteen village-Voiniko centered

around Zagoria. Later, West Zagoria which made the same agreement with the Valide Sultan was also granted privileged status. Here, an autonomous administrative structure was established with Papinkos as its center. The privileged status of the district of Zagoria continued until 1868.

As we stated previously, according to Lamprides the district of Zagoria which received an *ahidnâme* from the Ottomans in 1430 was called the Voiniko district and its approximately five hundred families were required to provide *voynuks* for the Ottoman army. As known, *voynuks* first served among the ranks of warriors in the Ottoman army, and later were assigned to non-combat duties such as carrying for the horses that belonged to the palace or pasture service.²³ As for the origin of the *voynuk* corps, a topic which is still debated in Ottoman sources, Lamprides' work gives information about the formation and naming of these Christian units as *voynuk* in Bulgaria in 1375. This date corresponds exactly with the date given in Solakzade's work. In addition, his work provides the names of villages in Zagoria that were required to provide *voynuks* in the seventeenth century. Outside of the fourteen villages, villages such as Dovra, Lower Soudena in western Zagoria, Çervari and Arista were made up from the *voynuks* who settled in the region after the dispersion of *voynuk* villages. When we look at the sixteenth century tax register (*tahrir defteri*) for the district of Ioannina, we see the same names for villages that provided *voynuks*.²⁴

The Dovra *voynuks* came from Mavrengelo as well as Smoliaso and Vastanya. The majority of *voynuk* families in Lower Soudena had family names such as Sgoradas and Zobranis which were derived from the Slavic surname "Zoupani".

According to the Votsa Chronicle, between 1629-1631 the number of *voynuks* sent to İstanbul with flags waving and singing various songs each year before 23 April was 822.²⁵

23 See for Voynuks, Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, TTK (1989); R. Murphey, "Woynuk", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, vol. XI, Leiden (2002), pp. 214-215.

24 Lamprides, *Ibid*, pp. 5-7.

25 The total arrived at using a computer was 946.

Table I: In Lamprides Μελετήματα;

Name of Villages	The Modern Names	The Number of Voynuks
Kariotes		273
Skammelites		302
Varvesi		60
Baya *		53
Mikri (Küçük) Tsondila		42
Manase	-Manasi	34
Büyük Çernica		28
Mavrengelos		22
Soboçel	-Sopoçel	28
Beritzi		17
Visikon		16
Fragades	-Fragades	15
Vurlades	-Vrades	11
Zlarovo		16
Kato Sudena	-Studena Pedina	11
Çervari	-Çervari, Elafotopos	7
Kukuli	-Kuküli	7
Artsista		4
TOTAL		494

The former *Voynuks* in the tax registers (*tahrir defterleri*) from 1564 and 1579.

The total for the former *voynuks* is 290; *mücerred* 33. In 1579 the total *neferen* was 494.

**Table II: The former *Voynuks* in the tax registers (*tahrir defterleri*)
from 1564 and 1579.**

Villages (From the the tax registers)	The new and the old names	1564		1579
		Hane	Mücerred	Neferen
Bulço	- Bultsi, Bultsou - Elati	33	5	64
Kato Istudena	- Kato Studena - Kato Pedina	48	4	57
Varvesi	- Varvesi - Agji Apostoli	25	4	56
Negrades	Negrades	45	5	53
Çodila-i Küçük	- Tzontila, Tziuntila - Dikorfo	15	4	38
(detect in current part of the page)				32
Baya		30	3	28
Mavrengelo		11		27
Soboçil	- Siopotseli - Dilofo	18	2	23
Çernica-i Büzürk	- Mikri Tsernitsa - disapeared	12	2	23
Manasi	Manasi	20	3	21
Izlarova nam-ı diğer Petriç	- Zlarovo - disapeared	9		18
Vezica	Vitsa	6	1	13
Visoka	- Visiko - disapeared	3		12
Frangades	Frangades	4		12
Vurlades	disapeared	4		7
Kukuli	Kukuli	4		7
Çervar	- Tservari - Elafotopos	3		3
TOTAL		290	33	494

Table III: The *voynuk* candidates in the tax registers (*tahrir defterleri*)
from 1564 and 1579.

Villages (From the the tax registers)	The new and the old names	1564		1579
		Hane	Mücerred	Neferen
Kato Istudena	-Kato Studena - Kato Pedina	14	3	14
Kukuli	Kukuli	4	1	11
Aklım Trogor (1579'da Aklıme/ İklıme)		5		5
Çernica	-Mikri Tsermitsa - disapeared	7	2	12
Manasi	Manasi	3		5
Istanadis		5		2
Peçal		6	2	8
Soboçıl	-Siopotseli - Dilofo	4		4
Mirman nam-ı diğır Mirko		2		2
Mavrengelo		4		4
Proto Papa/ Trono Papa		20	4	30
Bulço	- Bultsi, Bultsou - Elati	5		5
Negrades	Negrades	4		
Baya		2		2
Epano Istudena	Ano Studena Ano Pedina	3		3
Çervar	- Tservari - Elafotopos	5	1	6
İskamin	Skamneli	4		3
Vurlades	Vrades	3	1	4
Total		100	14	120

Population of Zagoria

Prior to 1690 they could occasionally fulfill their *voynuk* obligations through the payment of *akçes*. In 1690 a poll-tax and others were added. During the 1690s the amount of taxes came to 86 *akçe*/aspers. In parallel with the decrease in *voynuk* families over time the amount of tax also decreased. According to the *defter* from 1564 there were 1750 Christian households and 613 unmarried Christians in Zagoria. In 1579 the population had increased to 2725 Christian households and 712 unmarried. According to the records in the *defters*, 1/5 of the population was responsible for providing *voynuks*.

According to oral tradition, Malakasi, southeast of Zagoria and settled mostly by Wallachians, and the Agrapha region in the southern Pindos Mountains of Thessaly were also among the privileged regions.²⁶ In the oral tradition, according to the terms of the Tamasi agreement of 1525 the villages of Agrapha would preserve their autonomy, the Turks would settle only in the Phenar region, and they would pay an annual tax to İstanbul. The privileges granted to the people of Metsova in the northern mountains of Epirus on the border with Thessaly are recorded in renewal documents (*tecdidnâmeler*) from Mehmed IV (1659) and Mustafa IV (1794).

The 1794 (Zil Kâde 1290) Ottoman renewal document from the reign of Mustafa was translated into Greek in 1887 by Ioannes Zografos who had learned Ottoman Turkish in İstanbul and published by V. Skaphidas in *Epeiriotika Estia* in 1952.²⁷ The renewal documents given to the people of Metsova require further study in the future.

The first privileges granted to Metsova should have been given in the reign of Murad II in return for the help the people of Metsova gave to the Ottoman army in the narrow passes of Metsova. As recorded in the renewal documents, protecting the passes was extremely difficult due to the severe winters in Metsova.²⁸ In winter, travelers were carried and horses hooves were wrapped with cloth to prevent them from slipping. It is clear that the people of Metsova were granted privileges in exchange for protecting the

²⁶ Vakalopoulos, *The Greek Nation*, pp. 194-195.

²⁷ V. Skaphidas, *HE*, I (1952), pp. 657-660.

²⁸ V. Skaphidas, *HE*, I (1952), pp. 657-660.

road from Thessaly to Epirus that passed through Metsova and the passes, that is acting as *derbends*.²⁹

According to this, the right of the people of Metsova to autonomous rule would be recognized and they would be exempt from certain taxes; they would preserve their religion. In later periods these privileges were expanded: the church of Metsova was bound directly to the Patriarchate, rather than to the churches of Ioannina or Tirhala. The exarch was selected by the religious leaders and council of Metsova and had to be approved by the Patriarch.

By accepting Ottoman rule in exchange for an *ahidnâme*, and, in particular, due to the difficult geography of the region, there was no Muslim settlement in the region of Epirus. According to the tax registers from 1564 and 1579 for the district of Ioannina, in the first register fifty households and eight unmarried Muslims were recorded in Ioannina itself; in the second register 53 Muslims resided there. Christian households in the first *defter* totalled 1195, and 136 unmarried Christians. In the second 823 Christians (*neferen*) were recorded. The total population in the 1564 *defter* was 26927 Christian households. This figure increased to 34908 Christian households in the second *defter*. When we analyzed the demographic structure of the region of Epirus in the sixteenth century tax register (*tahrir defteri*) from the sanjak of Ioannina, the population table for all the districts is as follows³⁰:

29 Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Derbend Teşkilatı*, (2nd edition), İstanbul, 1990.

30 M. Delilbaşı, "Population Movements in Epirus," *Archivum Ottomanicum*, v. 26. (2009), newly published.

Table IV: The Population of the Sancak of Yanya (Ioannina) in 1564 and 1579

Name of District	1564		1579		Percentage (%)	
	Households	Unmarried	Households	Unmarried	Households	Unmarried
Kakotrako	70	23	120	111	71,42 %	382,60 %
Topolyani	538	91	879	486	63,38 %	434 %
Zagorya (Zagoria)	1749	586	2725	712	55,80 %	21,50 %
Kurenduz (Kourendas)	2552	870	3840	859	50,47 %	-1,2 %
Rogoz (Rogous)	1524	393	2250	764	47,63 %	94,40 %
Grebene (Grebena)	4253	1331	5873	1757	38,09 %	32 %
Çernokovište (Tsarkovista)	1889	644	2577	925	36,42 %	43,63 %
Malkas (Malakasi)	2338	1017	3117	1130	33,31 %	11,11 %
Lakka	282	123	358	86	26,95 %	191 %
Cayim	633	127	764	268	20,69 %	111 %
Çemernik (Çoumerka)	1692	693	2015	865	19,08 %	24,81 %
Konica (Konitza)	2288	518	2607	1013	13,94 %	95,55 %
Rinase (Riniasse)	1611	355	1807	860	12,16 %	142,25 %
Yanya (Ioannina)	2271	597	2225	482	-2,05 %	-19,26 %
Radoviz (Radovizi)	1584	485	1513	830	-4,48 %	71,13 %
Narda (Arta)	1274	173	1073	310	-15,77 %	79,19 %
Podgoryani (Parakalamo)	379	108	310	169	-18,20 %	56,48 %
Papinkoz			855	301		
TOTAL	26927	8134	34908	11928	29,63 %	46,64 %

It can be seen that almost all the districts of Greece came under Ottoman administration through peaceful means and by accepting privileges. Byzantine sources such as Chalkokondyles and Anagnostis also provide information on this subject. Beyond mainland Greece, the islands of the Aegean, starting with Xios and the Cyclades were granted privileges in the Ottoman period.

Conclusions : Research into the granting of ahidnames during the period of Murad II and the later renewal documents will doubtless shed more light on the Ottomans istimalet policy (goodwill policy) and the status of non-muslim communities within Ottoman society. Also it is clear that, 19th century Lamprides' work supported by the data from Ottoman tax registers, provided a reliable history of Epirus.