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

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

The Enigma of Menteşe

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

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

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

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

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

3 The administrative centre of the district kept shifting between these three villages (the orthography of which also kept changing). According to Műgla court records as quoted by M. Çanlı, from 1894 to 1898 the administrative centre was Aleksi; see M. Çanlı, Eski Hakiki Kaynaklarda Datça, Müğla Şer’iye Sivilcezine Göre (1885-1911) (Mugla 2003): “Dadya nahiyesinin merkez-i hükümeti olan Aleksi karesi” (Defter 152 dated 1894-1898, 84/41-211). In 1904, the population of the sub-district (nahiye) of Datça had exceeded the population of Marmaris (Karst). At that time Dadi/iya was the administrative centre of the nahiye. Then the seat of government was moved yet again, this time to Elaki. In the context of a policy of the new regime, both the whole peninsula and its administrative centre were renamed Reşadiye. The first municipality in the peninsula was established in 1915. Datça/Datça survived in administrative documents, and in 1934 the Reşadiye peninsula was renamed Datça.

4 In the 1980s, a couple of Greek-owned coffee-houses were located at the landing-place; see “Dadya İskelisi” in Çanlı, Eski Hakiki Kaynaklarda Datça, Defter 154 (dated 1900-1906). 1926/7-444. It was in 1947 that the administrative centre of the town was moved from Reşadiye to the landing-place, which was initially called Yeni (New) Datça.


A More Layered View of the Gentry and Notables

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

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

Occasionally, however, a special case turns up. So it is with a certain family in Dadya, rustic but self-possessed, on which there is a wealth of primary sources, ranging from architecture to court registers, also including oral accounts, mural paintings, wedding
rings, kitchenware, or gravestones. There is a possibility for ethno-archaeological remains, and the streams, rocks, hills, trees and orchards on their estates, to be also taken into account.  

An Abundance of Sources, and Scope for Methodological Innovation

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

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

The Early Ottoman Presence in the Region

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

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8 I originally argued for this dimension in an earlier (and much shorter) version of this paper; see T. Artan, ‘Cretans Turned Turks, Venetians, Englishmen: Encounters in Ottoman Space in the 19th Century’, paper presented at the Sixth European Social Science History Conference (Section on International Families VI: Cultures of Diaspora), Amsterdam, 22-25 March 2006. Compared and contrasted with other kinds of history (world, regional, comparative and post-colonial) which also aim to transcend national boundaries, transnational history has become an identifiable genre over the last decade: A. Curtihoys and M. Lake, ‘Introduction’, in E. Kasim (eds), Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective (Canberra 2005), 5-20. See also I. N. Bacah, G. Schiller and C. Z. Blanc (eds), Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterioralized Nation States (London 1994); G. Therborn, Between Sex and Power: Family in the World, 1900-2000 (London 1994). However, some historians who argue that history has always paid considerable attention to the travels of people, ideas, practices or commodities across geographical, political or cultural borders, question this difference. Some others have pointed to the ‘dangers’ of transnational history, arguing that, in its sterile international context (of specialised scholarship) it is disconnected from the audience whose history is being written. Some have also claimed, dismissively, that transnational history is in vogue because of globalisation.
southern coast and overlooking the Gulf of Symi (Hisaronu). The northern shore, looking out over the Gulf of Kos (Gökova) is more hostile. Hills are covered by macchia, and valleys with groves of almond and olive trees, both of which probably grew wild in the past. Over a hundred small bays, recurrently called buk (Turkish for a thicket or a jungle) in reference to the rich vegetation around them, ring the peninsula from north and south. Over many centuries, they used to shelter, at the confluence of the Aegean and the Mediterranean, both officially licensed corsairs and much feared pirates.9

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


14 The tax registers in question are BOA, Tupu Tahir (TD) 39 (n.d., r. Bayezid I [1481-1512], possibly 1483), incomplete, includes only Prnna and Meği; BOA, Tupu Tahir (TD) 47 (n.d., r. Bayezid II), mufasall, incomplete; BOA, Tupu Tahir (TD) 61 (H. 923/1517), mufasall, complete; BOA, Tupu Tahir (TD) 337 (1562/1563), mufasall, incomplete; Tupu Kadastrom M.Kuyu-u Kadim ki Arjvi (TK KKA TD) 110 (1583), mufasall, complete. There are also registers of important affairs: BOA, Mühümme Deftleri I-IV (1520-1560); BOA, Tupu Tahir (TD) 176 (1532/1533) recording cuerinars (= oymak) and itirs (= oba) settled in Menteşe together with a short kanumname; and two waqf registers: BOA, TD 338 (1562/1563) and Tupu Kadastrom M.Kuyu-u Kadim ki KKA TD 569.

15 C.BLD 31 (21 Cemaziyealüur 1275). Peşin was abandoned by the mid-twentieth century.

16 Uykuç, Muğla Tarihı, 70-71 and 105-106.

17 For such bandits, brigands or other outlaws, see Mühümme Deftleri 90 (İstanbul 1993). In the Registers of Important Affairs, what are mostly recorded are the routine communications between the centre and this remote province; see Farroghi, ‘Menteşeoğullarından Osmanlılara Muğla’.

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

One of the earliest Ottoman records on the Menteşe district, a tax register dated to the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512), enumerates eight nahiyen (Prnna, Çine, Milas, Peşin, kazas, karyes, mahalles, hanes, hase, zamen and timar recipients and their revenues, as well as the pious foundations of the sancak of Menteşe in the sixteenth century.14 Both, however, have the common flaw of entirely ignoring the non-Muslim populations, causing many questions to be left unexplored. Further on, the post-seventeenth-century history of Menteşe remains uncharted.
Bozoyük, Muğla, Tavas, Köyceğiz]. 18 By 1517, four more had been added: Mazun, Balat, Istavrolas and Megri. 19 In 1530, there were still the same 12 settlements, which however had come to be called kazas, as well as five cities (nefs-i şehir), seven towns (kasaba), 548 villages (kura), 381 tribal units (cemaat), and a total of 34,642 sedentary households. 20 At the time, only 64 non-Muslim households were recorded, and even these were to disappear in the course of the next few decades. As gleaned from the 1562 and 1583 surveys, this change has been taken to reflect the complete Turkification of the region in the late sixteenth century. Earlier, Wittke had argued that even before the Ottoman conquest, Menteşe-li had had an overwhelming presence of ethnic Turks because of the attraction of its highland pastures for nomadic Turcomans, 21 while the Byzantine Greeks were unable to regain their grip on the area after the initial Seljukid occupation in the eleventh century. 22 Nomadic tribes moving into Caria from 1261 onwards had been settled in its three promontories, around the settlements of Tarhya (Trachia), Dadya (Stadia) and Strobilos (in the Bodrum peninsula), before the end of the decade. 23 Wittke further noted that in contrast to those inland (Milas, Muğla, Tavas), quite a few coastal settlements (Dadh[i]ya, Mekri/Megri/Megri [Makri], Darah[i]ya/Tarabya, Gereme, Balat and others) maintained their Greek names. He thereby suggested a possible pact, a rapid fusion and then a mutual dependence, between the conquerors and the conquered.

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

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18 Uykuçu, Muğla Tarhı, 72 (based on BOA, Tapu Tahrib 47), revisited by Faroqi, 'Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets', 65. Faroqi has corrected Uykuçu in one regard, indicating that these settlements which were earlier listed as nahîyes had come to be called kazas in 1530.

19 Uykuçu, Muğla Tarhı, 72 (BOA, Tapu Tahrib 61 [H. 923/1517]), revisited by Faroqi, 'Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets', 65. Uykuçu's list of the four nahîyes consisted of Mazun, Balat, Megri and Ayasurgul. Faroqi opted for Esernû as the toponym of the fourth nahîye, and provided an explanation in her footnote 105 about why it cannot be transcribed as Ayașulug. Earlier, Sirevolos had been suggested in Pir Reis, Ktab-i Bahriye, Denizcili Ktab, ed. Y. Senemoglu (Istanbul 1974), Index, 62. In the conscription of the 1530 register, İravolaos was preferred; for the full source, see the following footnote.


21 In support of Wittke's argument regarding the Turkification of the western Anatolian seaboard, we find 1,936 KKA TD 310; BOA, TD 337, after Uykuçu, Muğla Tarhı; also see TİVA, s.v., 'Menteşe', 151.

22 Wittke, Das Fürstentum Mentesche, 112.

23 Ibid., 24-26.

24 Uykuçu, Muğla Tarhı, 106-111.

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In 1530 the miri lands of the Menteşe sancak provided for: the haxsha-yi padişah (with a revenue of 1,945,191 akçes); haxsha-yi mirlıvâ (300,000); haxsha-yi Mevlâna Kadri Çelebi Efendi, kadasker-i vilâyet-i Anadolu (114,381); haxsha-yi Mahmud Çelebi, defterdar-i hizane-i âmire (69,352); haxsha-yi mirlıvâ-yi vezir-i Midilli ve Rodos (88,239); timar-ı zuama ve sipahiyan (2,754,751); timar-ı vezir-i mustafizan-i kalâ-i Peçin ve Bodrum (79,405); timar-ı vezir-i yadaran (22,817); and the revenues of the pious foundations, evkâf (484,660). 25 Farm land in the kazas of Muğla, Milas and Peçin, the three urban centres of the sixteenth century, was strictly limited to units not larger than a çift (standard holding). 26

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**The Spread of Tax-Farming**

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

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25 166 Numarali Muhasil-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri, 56.

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

and his brother (a dergah-i âli çavaçasu), in a fight over a marriage dispute. Both were executed at the Bağıbazaar (fish market) (in Istanbul?). The inspector’s murderer gives us a glimpse of the Ottoman art of provincial administration: a network of blood-relatives usually holding multiple official positions (or honorary titles). These two incidents are all the more important because they reveal the on-going mukataas-isation of Menteşe. Revenue units called mukataas were originally created out of the havâss-i hümâyûn — that is, the land retained out of the miri as royal demesne by/for the Sultan — and their income went directly into the Sultan’s treasury. From the end of the sixteenth century through the seventeenth century, revenue sources which previously were being distributed to members of the ruling elite as dirliks or fiefs conditional upon service were also converted into mukataas. In other words, old timar lands were being confiscated and re-divided to be ‘sold’ to tax farmers (mütezzim). All in all, the ilizam system as a form of revenue collection seems to have overtaken Menteşe in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Selânikî’s first story reflects today’s consensus among historians that sixteenth-century practice had been for the salehi-l-hass — whether Sultan, prince, vizier(s), military judge (kadıasker), governor (sancakbeyi), or director of the imperial finances (defterdar) — to collect his revenues through an emin, a semi-official agent, but that later this responsibility was delegated to tax farmers (mütezzim) over whom the emin now stood watch — hence the term emin-i mütezzim. The second points to all the intermediaries coming in between the tax source(s) and the central authorities. The guardian or inspector of the province’s revenue districts was supposed to protect the tax sources. There was also the muhassil, originally a tax collector charged with the collection of the various routine havâss-i hümâyûn revenues as well as of extra-ordinary taxes, who gradually came to assume administrative responsibilities. In some regions in the seventeenth century, the muhassils grew into local power-holders who were charged with aspects of state administration. Treasury income (hazine) accruing from Menteşe, together with the revenues of Aydin and Karesi, were all channelled to the Province of Anadolu, according to Topçular Kâtip Abdülkadir Efendi writing during the Bayburt campaign of the Rumeli beylerbeyi, Defterdar Ahmed Paşa. 

Topçular Kâtip refers to muhassils as those who supervised the collection of those state revenues (mâl-i miri) allocated to the expedition. In 1609 (H. 1017), Topçular Kâtip Abdülkadir Efendi mentions a certain Şems Paşa as being the muhassil-i emval of Aydin, Akhisar, Gediz and a few other livas, as well as of Menteşe. There were also the mütezzimler in the kazas who were entrusted with the task of delivering the taxes to the centre (on which, more below).

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

For this was a restless area all through Ottoman times. Over the latter part of the sixteenth century Menteşe suffered from suhte revolts — uprisings of medrese students. In 1574, bandits leaders of medrese origins (suhelelebi), such as Şemseddin and Kara Sadık, ran riot in the sancak, while in 1608, a certain Yusuf Paşa gathered the rebellious male population of the Aydin, Saruhan and Menteşe districts under his command. Abdülkadir Efendi relates that in 1606-1607 the Grand Vizier Ferhad Paşa had succeeded in recovering state revenues from the rebellious Yusuf Paşa in Aydin and Menteşe (“mâl-i miri soğan nam hayinden tahsil eleyip”). Eventually, military forces based in Menteşe, together with soldiers gathered from the Aydin, Mâğânîsa and Karesi sub-provinces, were deployed to overcome another doughy character, Canpoladolu. Meanwhile, however, new settlers, including Greeks as well as Turcoman nomads, kept moving into Menteşe.

Dadayâ as a Revenue Unit in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

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

28 Ibid., 257.
29 For blood-relatives holding positions such as müderris, muezzin, imam, hatib, danîşmand, sipahi, kadi, sheikh or medrese student in the kasâz of Menteşe, see Mete, ‘XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla’, 148-149.
30 Mukataas refers to “the division of state revenue sources into parts to be distributed in return for a mutually agreed upon price” (EP, s.v. ‘Mukata’a’ [H. Gerber]). Commercial taxes, such as custom dues or market taxes, state monopolies, such as mints or salt-works, even irregular revenues, such as fines and marriage taxes, could all be carved out and then farmed out as mukataas.
31 TDVA, s.v. ‘Has’ (C. Orhonlu and N. Göying).
32 TDVA, s.v. ‘Muhassil’ (Y. Özkaya and A. Akyıldız [pp. 18-20] and Z. Mete [pp. 20-21]).
34 Ibid., 548.
37 After Wittek, Das Versentum Mentesche, 108.
38 Topçular Kâtip‘ Abdülkadir (Kadri) Efendi Tarhî, 472, 473.
Uykuçu. The revenues of Dadya, a total of 29,485 akçe, are said to have been part of the hâss of a vizier called Kasım Paşa. While there were several prominent Kasım Paşas at the time, once more it is Uykuçu who has identified this particular hâss-holder as the tutor (sala) of the future Süleyman I during the early years of the Crown Prince’s stay in Manisa. Subsequently he appears to have fallen out of favour with Selim I, and to have been dismissed on 8 December 1516 and dispatched to Thessalonica. There he stayed until 1520, when, upon Süleyman’s accession to the throne, he was rehabilitated, and appointed director of the imperial finances. The 1517 tahvîr has to say about Kasım Paşa fits in with the information provided by a manuscript source, Dostan-ı Sultan Süleyman, possibly by Kâtip Çelebi, to the effect that Lala Kasım Paşa had a retirement pension of 200,000 akçe at the time (1521?). The continuity of the connection between

the chief defterdar’s revenues and the sancak of Menteşe is interesting in itself. As a typical absentee sahibi’s-hâss of the early sixteenth century, Kasım Paşa must have managed his revenues from Dadya – which, while distant, was still the second largest village of Muğla (after Gököva), and which consisted of 335 hanes with a population of 1,675 (taxpayers?) – through the emanet system. No zeamanets or timars were listed in Dadya in the tahvîr of 1517, 1530 or 1562-1563. In the last such tax register available, dated 1583, some new villages appear on the peninsula. Recorded as not independent but subordinate to Dadya and Bedey, these are: Kara, Kızılcam, Yazi, Belen, Cumalı/Cumalı, Yaka and Sıl[i]ndi. It is understood that these villages, like many others elsewhere in the sub-province, came into being as a result of the sedentarisation of the numerous and populous Turchomans who had been flocking to the peninsula. Thus, the population of the peninsular villages, together with those on Menteşe’s other principalities – Bodrum in the north and Bozbazar in the south – exceeded the population of the centres on the mainland. There were 283 tax-paying hanes in Dadya in 1500, 255 hanes in 1517, 520 hanes in 1562, and 476 hanes in 1583. For the same year the numbers of tax-paying hanes in Bedey were 265, 244, 588 and 540, respectively. In 1562-1563, when the number of tax-paying hanes in Dadya rose to 520, the total revenue, too, increased by 5,000 akçe compared with 45 years earlier to reach 35,000 akçe. There were no socio-religious complexes other than a mosque (with no waqf), no markets, and no other urban services at Dadya – even though it was more populous than some kaza centres of Menteşe, classified as kasaba or şehir, at the time. Thus, it was probably owing to its geographical position that Dadya also became an administrative centre on the peninsula. A document from the Registers of Important Affairs, dated to 1580, involves the kadi of Dadya in his capacity as an inspector of tax-farms, and curiously refers to Dadya – without any urban character, and also lacking the

vizer in the imperial council; his promotion to the vizierate when he was in Thessalonica (36b-37a); his renunciation of the vizierate, and his retirement with a pension (otarız direği) of 200,000 akçe (48a-48b).

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


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


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

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

TD 337, 95, after Uykuçu, ‘XVI. Yüzyılda Menteşe Sancakı’, 77. Compare with Mesudiye (1562-1563): 466 hanes, 2,330 people, 22,000 akçe; Sermed/Semend/Sı[î]ndi (1562-1563): 14 hanes, 60 people; Marmaris (1562-1563): 1 hane, 5 people, 5,916 akçe.

39 Uykuçu, Muğla Tarihi, 105.

40 BOA, TD 61, 191-270. The total hâss revenues of this Kasım Paşa, also comprising six other revenue units within the same sancak, added up to 176,963 akçe. He also held a zeamen and several timars in the various kazas of Menteşe. For comparison of the hâss revenues of the sanca rekheys, see TDVIA, s.v. ‘Hâs’.

41 Uykuçu, Muğla Tarihi, 105. It is Peçevi/Puşul on who, among the viziers of Süleyman I, mentions a certain Koca Kasım Paşa who never made it to the grand vizierate. Apparently he was the first defterdar (under Selim I), then Süleyman’s lala, and was retired because of old age; see Peçevi’s book by Efendi, Tahvîr-i Peçevî, Vol. I (Istanbul 1283/1866-1867), 28. Matarçu Nasuh provides the further clarification that Kasım Paşa was Süleyman’s lala during the early years of the prince’s stay in Manisa, and that he subsequently fell out of favour with Selim I and was dismissed on 8 December 1516. The details about his being dispatched to Thessalonica and staying there until Süleyman’s accession to the throne come from Süleymanname, TSMK Revan 1286, 36a-36b, after F. Enenc, XVI. Asrada Menteşe Hâkimleri (Ankara 1989), 32.

After 1520, Kasım Paşa became a vizier at the imperial council. Peçevi actually claims that the fourth vizierate was initiated with the appointment of Kasım Paşa to this position (Tahvîr-i Peçevî, I: 28). An article on the identity of Kasım Paşa, or rather on the various Kasım Paşas, which does not really clarify the confusion, claims that Koca Kasım Paşa was retired in 1521 (T. Suzuki, ‘Kanuni’nın Vezerası’ndan Koca Kasım Paşa’ya Dair’, Gümüş-Dolu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi, 12 (1982-1998), 311-318). There is another (Kirimداد) Koca Paşa who was the defterdar of Rumeli Vilayet Timar in 1518, and of the Hazine-ı Âmire in 1520. That he was referred to as Efendi or Bey before Süleyman I’s enthronement has led Mubahat Kütukoglu to conclude that he (too?) became a vizier only after 1520 (M. Kütukoglu, XV. ve XVI. Asrada İzmır Kasasının Sosyal ve İktisadi Yapısı [Izmir 2000], 237-239). Therefore he cannot be the Kasım Paşa who was hâss-holder in Dadya in 1517. Kütukoglu adds that this Kasım Paşa (too?) was retired in 1521 and settled in İzmir where his mülk and zeamen were located. He died there and was buried in the tomb of his mosque complex in 1528.

The Chief of Finances in 1520-1521 was Cezerizade Kasım Paşa, who had held the same position back in 1504-5. His full name at the time was given as Cezerizade Koca Kasım Şafi Çelebi; see Y. Özruva, Dostan-ı ve ğzüddatlar, Vol. 2 (Ankara 1969), 1039-1040. For the confusion of Cezerizade Koca Kasım with Lala Koca Kasım, see Suzuki, ‘Kanuni’nin Vezerası’ndan Koca Kasım Paşa’ya Dair’.

I owe this information to Zeynep Yelçe, who during her Ph.D. research at Sabancı University has gone through and drawn my attention to Dostan-ı Sultan Süleyman, TSMK, R. 1286. This manuscript confirms the appointment of Süleyman’s tutor, Lala Koca Kasım Paşa, as the fourth
corresponding services or networks – as a kaza, thereby suggesting that kaza was no more than a certain financial-administrative status. Somewhat later, in documents from around the turn of the century, Dadya is found classified as a nahiyeh.

The tax registers of Menteşe await further scrutiny to reveal more about Dadya as a revenue unit and tax farm in the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, from the second decade of the seventeenth century onwards, taka tahir registers were replaced by surveys of cizye and avarz – direct cash taxes which were made more comprehensive and regular as the sipahi and the imar system lost their primary function. Thus, the 1621 avarz register still records Dadya as a village (karye) of Muğla. However, in the later avarz register of 1624, 1676, and 1688, Dadya – together with Eskhisar, Gereme, Sultan, Şahin, Doğer, Talama, Soboça, Gökhabad, Ula and Tarahya – is listed as one of the kazes of the Menteşe sub-province.

In addition to cizye and avarz, there were the substitute taxes for emergencies (imdadlıye), also regularised in the eighteenth century as a compulsory annual borrowing from wealthy state officials, as well as other levies (such as the avanlıye) administered at the kaza level by leading local notables along with a judge. Compiled in the form of the registers of allocations and expenses (tevci defterleri), records of these new taxes, too, may reveal more about the various administrative ambiguities of the Menteşe sub-province. It is also possible that they could shed some light on the identity and the status of those (families) who eventually grabbed power in Dadya.

**Piri’s Geography**

Neither does Dadya come up frequently in Ottoman narrative sources. Not surprisingly, the oldest Ottoman account of the promontory and its settlements is that of Piri Reis (d. 1554). In his famous Kitab-i Bahriye, also called Eşkâl-i Cezâir ve Seyahât-i Bahri-i Sefâ (of 1521 and 1526), Piri refers to Dadya as the north-eastern part of the promontory, and Bedye/Bedya/Patya as the south-western part; both appear as two big peninsular settlements belonging to the Menteşe sub-province. In a section on ‘The coastline of Tekir harbour’ (Bu Fasîl Tekir Limanını Konarın Baysan Eder), Piri Reis notes:

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

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

54 BOA, KK Mevkifat 2620, 9-10 and MAD 2447, 47-51; see TDVA, s.v. ‘Muğla’ ([Z. Mete].

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


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

58 Since it was impossible to regularise the collection of at least some of these new taxes, the central government was forced to delegate the authority to collect them to the local notables, and thereby to incorporate these notables into the fiscal apparatus in the provinces. The taxes collected in this way evolved into a third sector (together with the timar revenues), and came to equal the revenues of the central treasury; Cezâir, ‘18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Taşınmaları Osuun Yeni Malı Sektörünün Mahiyeti ve Büyüklikleri Üzerine’, 118-119. Naturally, both the centre and the periphery wanted the highest share from the local expenditures (vildâyet masrafi); Ch. Neumann, ‘Selânik’e Onsekizinci Yüzyılın Sonunda Masrafi-Vildâyet Defterleri, Merkezi Hükümet, Taşra İdareleri ve Şehir YönetimineUGHU Mala İşlemeleri’, Tarıh Eştitâsi Dergisi, 16 (1998), 69-97.

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

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

The accompanying map of Piri Reis in Kitab-ı Bahriye delineates the sancak-ı Menteşe ilı of the vilâyet-ı Anadolu; starting with the channel and going counter-clockwise, he indicates Karye-ı Dadya, Doğan Burnu, Liman-ı Mersinik, Tekir Limanı, Karye-ı Bedye, Kalmış, Balamut Bükü, Ince Burnu, Değirmen Deresi, and İlica (Fig. 2).

Evliya on Piracy and the Switch to Life Farms

The most evocative Ottoman account of the promontory and its settlements is provided by Evliya Çelebi, who called it “Dacca” in the 1670s. Leaving Kos (İstanköy) on 29 September 1671 (25 Cemaziyelıevvel 1082) for Rhodes, and coming upon eight Christian galleons as they rounded Tekirburnu, Evliya and his comrades saved their lives by taking refuge by the shores of the peninsula (Menteşe hakinde Poça koylarının can atap can kurtarınca ...). Then, by moving 18 miles eastward along the shores of Poça (?), and another 11 miles along the Dacca shore (Poça kenarına garka on sezik mil gidip Dacca kenarına on mil daha ubur edip), they reached Kal’a-ı Kilseli:

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

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63 "... bir ağaç kaya üzerinde bir huruna viran kal'a'dır anmanın bir a'lla yatak yeri liman var. Maktekimden gayet ma'mır iskele ısmiş, Menteşe kenarlarında Dacca ve Poça ve Dârâhîye kazaza dâhâ derse, seksen ağaç kara-i asumunun, aslî kasabası yokdur. Çünkü nihayet korku yedi päre aşî Türk kurallarıdır. Ve daha Menteşe paschasının hâssûr. Voyoodus hâmmeder. Ne-düßübûlâ gayet sarp ve ğençistanın ve sengistan-ın Sanefistan yerlerdir. Bizi kâfir kovup "el-amân" deydi yanaşdırığınız gürip ve Türk bizi där (?) edip bir içten şu vermediler. Allâhümme âfûna (Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnamesi. 9. Kitap, 118). I would hereby like to suggest that the toponym which has been transliterated as Poça, and also as Peço, Paço or even Yenice, should be read as Becce.
plunder the villages with the intent of obtaining grain and slaves. The aforementioned rebellious Turks, seven or eight thousand of them, gathered in one place and marched to the seashore to shoot at the ships from the rocks and to drive them off. None of the infidels caught ashore was able to run away. They were put to the sword, and those who escaped the sword were enslaved to herd goats on the hills. Although accurced, this is a brave, forceful and mighty people. In the end, not having succeeded in receiving a single loaf of bread from these people...64

Typically, Evliya’s figures of around 47 villages (karyekura) inhabited by 7,800 unruly Turks (pirates and bandits) are quite inflated. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that even in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Knights of St John, once based in Rhodes and then in Malta, remained a tangible, menacing presence along the Menteşe coastline. Evliya’s account of Dadya merits re-reading in the context of the attempt of impoverished communities backwatered by the mainstream of development to compensate themselves through piracy in the golden ages of the Mediterranean corsairs, 1580-1680. And despite his tendency to exaggerate, he does provide substantial information regarding administrative and tax units: at the time there were no towns (kasa) on the peninsula; Dadya (Dacca) was a kaza of Menteşe; it was part of the governor’s hazz, and its taxes were collected by a vovyoda sent or assigned by the governor; the revenues of the kaza of Dadya (with the centre alternatingly moving to Bedye or Tarahya) came to 80,000 akçe. Compared with the revenues of Kasım Paşa in 1517, the taxable resources of Dadya seem to have almost tripled over a century and a half. This had gone hand in hand with other, more structural, changes. By the 1670s, for example, it seems that provincial governors no longer relied on agents called emins to collect their revenues, but had already begun to farm this right to local tax farmers who went by titles such as subashi, vovyoda or mutesellim. Thus, in this case, the governor’s vovyoda could have been a local magnate from Dadya (as opposed to notables residing in the district seat of Muğla). This fits in with our modern understanding that the mutesellım rescript of 1695 simply legalised a de facto situation, or at least an on-going process. In other words, it is quite possible that the hazz-holder might have already ‘sold’ his revenue rights or entitlements to a sub-contractor, who would thereby achieve distinction among his local peers.

An Ancien-Régime Complexity

At the turn of the eighteenth century we find Menteşe to have been annexed to Aydin. Since the early seventeenth century, the governors (mutasarrıf) of Menteşe had been the muhassıs of Aydin. Together with Canik and the Morea, Aydin enjoyed the status of being governed by those who were appointed primarily as tax collectors of the havass-ı hımayan. The earliest documents pertaining to the appointment of a muhassıl at Menteşe/Aydın identify a certain (Maşub) Ahmed Paşa in 1714 and then again in 1715. In the 1717-1718 provincial appointment registers, Menteşe was recorded as mutesellım, which meant that the governors were no longer appointed from among the enderun graduates. Local notables of diverse backgrounds, who could also be non-Muslims, could start climbing up the social ladder by being appointed mutesellim or vovyoda, and charged with collecting the revenues due to absentee state officers or mutesellım-holders. Growing rich through such life farms (mutesellım), some rose further as governors. Küçükçelebi-zade Ismail Asum Efendi says that this shift in provincial governorships from enderun graduates to local power-brokers took place in 1726. However, given that muhassıs were being entrusted with collecting sancakbeys’ revenues from (at least) 1690 onwards, the locals’ encroachments or takeover could have started much earlier.

In the registers of 1735-1736, Menteşe’s administrative status was once more redefined as muhassıl-lık-mutesellım. There was a striking difference between the aforementioned Maşub Ahmed Paşa and those who followed him over the next decade and more, namely Polad Ahmed Paşa and the two sons: the latter maintained the mutesellım of 39-50, Y. Özkaya, ‘XVIII. Yüzyılda Mutesellimlik Müessesesi’, DTFC Dergisi, 17/3-4 (1970), 369-390.

64 E. Özer, Osmanlı Mektebelerinde Malikiye Uygulamaları (Istanbul 2003), 20 n. 19.

65 Aydın (with the addition [mübacular] of Menteşe and Saruhan), Canik and the Morea were the three sancaks which were classified as mutesellım. Kılıç argues that the first muhassıl of Aydin/Menteşe was a certain Abdullah Paşa, and that it was on 11 November 1716 that Menteşe and Saruhan were annexed to Aydin; O. Kılıç, 18. Yüzyılda İk Yararında Osmanlı Devleti’nin İdari Taksimleri. Eyalet ve Sancak Tervatlı (Elazığ) 1997, 118, 228. Also see other notes below.

66 Another name for voivoda or vovyoda was hasz şibit; TDVA, s.v. 'Has'; E. Ş. Batmaz, 'İlçem Sisteminin XVII. Yüzyılda Boyutları', AÜ DTFC Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, 18/29 (1998), 135-147.

67 'Alebi-ı Asaf Rüüs Kalenî (A.ŞK) No. 1568 (1718) and No. 1572 (1736), both after Kılıç; 18. Yüzyılda İk Yararında Osmanlı Devleti’nin İdari Taksimleri, 36.
Menteşe ber vecli-i malikâne. Thus, although there was the appearance of a rapid turnover, the governorship was actually rotating among a few pashas who happened to be related to one another, so that the malikâne remained within the family. The governors of Menteşe were no longer residents at the centre. In the second half of the eighteenth century, if not earlier, the muhassils often appointed proxies from among the mütesellims (by then, the local notables of the region) to collect the tax revenues.

At this point it is necessary to tidy up some confusion in the secondary literature which derives, for the most part, from reliance on the oral testimony of members of prominent families of Muğla in the 1960s. Thus, it has been claimed that the first mütesellim in the Menteşe sancağ made their appearance in 1739, when the collection of Mihritman Sultan’s waqf revenues began to be administered by sub-contractors, mütesellims and ayaş. The claim that the state lands in Menteşe were mainly the waqf land of Mihritman

72 Uykucu appears to have been mistaken in identifying a certain Hüseyin Paşa in 1735 (2 Zilhicce 1147) as the earliest muhassil in Menteşe (Menteşe sancağı mühassilnames ber vecli-i malikâne muhassilnamesi); but he correctly lists his successors: first, Ahmed Paşa (misread Pozad by Uykucu) on 26 February 1735 (3 Şevval 1147); second, Mehemmed Paşa Çelik; and third, Ahmed Paşa (Uykucu, Muğla Tarhi, 133). The last two were the sons of Palad/Polad Ahmed Paşa; Mehemmed Sireyva, Scullar-i Osmani, Vol. 1 (Istanbul 1996), 218. This Palad/Polad Ahmed Paşa, of Arab origin, was appointed beylerbeyi of Sivas in September 1731, beylerbeyi of Adana in July 1733, and then beylerbeyi of Aleppo, before coming to be appointed muhassil of Aydin in 1735. On 29 May 1737, his son, Çelik Mehemmed, followed him into office; C.BH 85/4082 (29 Muharrem 1150). On 7 July 1737, the sancağs of Aydin and Menteşe were given to the same Mehemmed Bey, son of Palad/Polad Ahmed Paşa, muhassillik vecliye ... malikâne deruhde; A.RSK 1572, 2, after Kılıç, 18. Yaşayın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devletinin İdari Taksimleri, 40, 116. Mehmmed was dismissed in December 1738, and his father Ahmed Paşa returned to office. Soon, however, he too was dismissed and exiled to Chios for having failed to capture Sari Beyoğlu, and was replaced by Sadaret Kaymakam Ahmed Paşa (Ç). On 21 February 1742, Palad/Polad Ahmed is referred to as the late, former muhassil of Aydin; C.ML 764 (15 Zilhicce 1154). On 24 February 1743, the late, former muhassil Polad/Polad Ahmed Paşa’s son, Ahmed Bey, was appointed mir-i miran of Saruhan and Menteşe (to maintain the revenues of mukataat, cizye, avarız, which had been under his late father’s jurisdiction); C.DH 73 (29 Zilhicce 1155). In subsequent years we also encounter a Yedekçi Mehemmed Paşa and a Yeğen Mehemmed Paşa, who may also have been related to Palad/Polad Ahmed Paşa.

73 It is curious to find that governors of Menteşe were not included in the appointment registers of 1717-1730, F. Bağar, Osmanlı Eyalet Tercihleri (1717-1730) (Ankara 1997). Neither was the entire eyalet of Anadolu, and therefore also Menteşe, included in the sancağ tevcih registers of 1735-1736. Records of appointments entered at the beginning of these last-named registers classify Menteşe as the mühâkaket of Aydin muhassilname; Kılıç, 18. Yaşayın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devletinin İdari Taksimleri, 52-53 n. 40 and n. 44.

74 It seems that this claim was first made by Uykucu shortly after the first edition of his Muğla Tarhi in 1967 (K. E. Uykucu, ‘Menteşe’nin Türklenmeleri’, unpublished study notes, Kızıltorap Eğitim Enstitüsü, 1969-1970). While Uykucu did not include the assertion that “in 1522, Suleyman I bequeathed 29 units of çiftlik in Menteşe to his daughter Mihritman upon his return from Rhodes” in the 1983 edition of Muğla Tarhi, the claim found its way into the secondary literature through U. Türk, Muğla İli Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları: Verkedi (Istanbul 1971), 86-87 and 112.

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

But meanwhile, a reverse process was also operating in the sancak of Menteşe whereby some of their revenue sources were being allocated out as pensions (arpašık) in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and its arpašık-recipient absentee governors (muhassil) were being represented by mütesellims. This confirms, if such confirmation were needed—
ed, that such terms as muhassal or mütesellim did not correspond to the fixed, precisely defined meanings and hierarchies that we associate with modernity, and that especially in local usage they lent themselves to significant slippages.

The Leading Mütesellim Families of Muğla-Menteşe

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

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

It so happens that we now possess a wealth of documents pertaining to the mütesellimes of Menteşe. They show, among other things, that these mütesellimes (or their family members) were granted the honorific of kapıçbaşı, implying a certain recognition by the central authorities. The earliest reference to a mütesellim who also became kapıçbaşı concerns the son, Ebu Bekir, of a long-standing mütesellim, Hasan Çavuşçazade Haci Ahmed Ağa. This Ahmed Ağa himself was never made or called kapıçbaşı, but Ebu Bekir was made kapıçbaşı in 1772, upon his appointment as başbuğ of Sakız/Chios, while his aged father was still mütesellim at Menteşe/Muğla. From early 1782 onwards, Tavasli Kapıçbaşi Seyyid Haci Ömer Ağa (the son-in-law of Milasli Abdüllaziz Ağa) appears as both mütesellim and kapıçbaşı. After the janissary corps was abolished in 1826, only 30 notables, in both the capital and the provinces, kept the title kapıçbaşı while the rest were retired with a pension of 300 gurus. Then, in 1840, the chronicler Ahmed Lütfi Efendi says that the number of kapıçbaşı was increased to 40, and they were annexed to the imperial stables.

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

80 C.ML 146 (29 Zilhicce 1171). For the sixteenth and seventeenth century history of Tavas, see M. S. Kütükoğlu, XVI. Asırda Tavas Kazanının Soyul ve Başsaşıdır Yapısı (Istanbul 2002), and Eadem. XIX. Asır Ortalarda Tavas Kazası (Istanbul 2007).
81 It is especially the information provided by Uykuçu (Muğla Tarihi, 124-134) on mütesellimes that needs to be updated in the light of new evidence.
82 For Menteşe hanedanı, see A.MTK UM 81 (7 Zilkaide 1271).
hmed Ağa in the period 1829-1839. However, both are registered in state documents as bearers of the title of kapıcıbaşı – until at least 1852.

A Mid-Nineteenth-Century Encounter

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

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

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

87 Osman Ağa's wife Ümmügülistan is mentioned in connection with her charity work in the 1830s. The mosque of Şeyh Sucadddin in Muğla was restored under her auspices in 1830; Erığlu, Muğla Tarihleri, 135, 138.
88 HAT 754 (29 Zilhicce 1250); C.DH. 345 (22 Cemaziyelervel 1251); C.ML. 561 (25 Rebiyultur 1268).
89 For example, a certain Sîleyman Efendi, the judge of Yerkesi, was famous as the right-hand man of Tavaslıoğlu Osman Ağa in 1830-1848; Türkiye, Muğla Il Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları, 86.
90 Invaluable in this regard are the memoirs of a seventeenth-century poet called Esirî (the Captive), whose real name was Hüseyin bin Mehmed, and who was captured by the Maltese in 1625 and held in Messina. His narrative includes his captivity, the torment of his imprisonment, his desperate attempts to escape, and his eventual ransoming; G. Kut, 'Esirî, His 'Sergüze' and Other Works', JTS, 10 (1986), 235-244.

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

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

91 C. T. Newton, Travels and Discoveries in the Levant, Vol. II (London 1865), 162. For 'derebey'; see I.A, s.v. 'Derebeyler' (J. H. Mordtmann).
nally, I shall explore aspects of his alleged tyranny, or of his being a usurper, müteğallibe, with the semi-official title of an ağa or a derebey, in an insular peninsula in the middle of the nineteenth century.

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

Past, Pride, Pedigree

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

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

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

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

94 Fulya Bayık, personal communication.

95 N. Açıkgoz, Datça Mezar Tuşları ve Kütübeleri (Datça 2006), 176-177.

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

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

Tuhfe-zade es-Seyyid
Muhammed Halil ibn
el-Hac Halil ibn Muhammed ibn el-Hac Halil ibn
Muhammed ibn Ali Giridî
[Abdülmeclid's tughra]
Müdür-i Dădiye Seyyid Muhammed sâhibü'l-hayrât
İki âlemde de sa'yini meşkür ęylesin Mevlâ
Be-tevifik-i Hûdâ mahzar olup ibrâız-i hayrâtâ
Bu şehrî sü-bc-sü her bir cihatden eyledi ihyâ
Bu vâlâ câmi'i İslamiyâna yâdigâr erdi
İlâ-vey.lin-l-kyâme nâmnî ihâk eleyebî ikbâ
Yapb nev medrese bir kaç mahalde çeşmeler icâd
Ahâliye mâyetler keremler eyledi hakkâ
Together with and reinforced by this genealogy, Ali Agaki of Crete survives vividly in family memory as the forefather who was given the peninsula as a ‘gift’ by the Ottoman authorities. This, then, is the meaning and derivation of their family name – Tuğfezade, which literally means “the descendants of the Gift or Grant”. Since it was in the 1600s that the first malikânes were farmed out, it is quite possible that the Cretan ancestor, who could well have been a man of the sea who sided with the Ottomans during the final phase of the Cretan campaign (and then perhaps into the Great War of 1683-1699), had been rewarded with some revenue units on the peninsula, which could have been given to him in fief (dirlik) as well as in freehold (temsilik).

Foggy Memories?

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

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

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

both Commander of the Ottoman navy and Governor-General of the Aegean islands in early 1534, the income of the newly established province of Cezâir-i Bahri-i Sefid (Islands of the White Sea = the Mediterranean) was allocated to the Grand Admiral and his leading captains, who now became governors of its sancaks: Gallipoli, Eğriboz, Karśli, İnebaht, Midilli, and Rhodes. Ali Girdi is portrayed as having received his lands, too, somewhere in the midst of this process.

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

All this, however, need not imply anything more than that this second story (too) appears to have been woven of locally available, thus relatively plausible, motifs or elements. When we move to matters of evidence, finding documentary support for this version of the Tuğfezades’ co-option into the Ottoman system is likely to prove much more problematic. I should note that in the family graveyard at Sını (originally Sû[ğ]nû), literally, the one who takes refuge or to whom shelter has been given, there is a tombstone which purports to belong to “Girdili Barbarosak [Little Barbarosa] Murad âli”. It is not an original, and bears the very late date of “12.8.1924”. It can only be taken as a pretentious reflection of the family infatuation with legendary links to Crete, to piracy, and to maritime achievement. To some extent, this is also true of the third version, which claims that it was Mahmut I (r. 1730-1754) who in 1749 appointed a kapudan-ı derya, Ali Agaki, as sub-
Evidence for a New Start in the Late Seventeenth Century

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

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

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

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

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

104 Ağşıköz, Dağca Mezar Tavârini ve Kitabeleri, 98-99.

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

106 After his brief triumph, one of Yerakaris’ first acts was to exile his clan’s enemies, the Iatiani family and the Stephanopoulos family, both originally of Oitylo. The former family moved to Livorno in 1670, and the latter to Corsica in 1676. Subsequently, Yerakaris himself was forced to flee to Italy. After the conquest of Crete, Maniot continued to fight against the Ottomans. In 1685, the Venetians went on the offensive and cleared the entire Mani region of the Ottoman.
ly incorporated into the state budget; hazz-holders came to receive salaries, stipends or pensions from the central treasury, and local notables, now with multiple roles as subcontractors or deputies, were ever more firmly incorporated into the state apparatus. Furthermore, together with statesmen (rical-i devlet) at the centre, local notables (ayan-i vilâyet), too, came to participate in the maliקâne-mukataa auctions.

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

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

107 TT 786, which records, together with some forty other kazas, the zemnet and timar-holders in Menteşe, and lists those who showed up for the H. 1065 Cretan campaign (piyadeğâri yoklama defteri).
108 See the exploration of the Tapu Tahrirs for Menteşe, TD 786 (1065), TD 841 and TD 844 (1105), TD 851 (1106), in Mete, XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Muğla.
110 Cevdet Timar (C.TZ), Cevdet Mاليye (C.ML), and Ali Emiri Sultan Mustafa II (AE SMST

Other Gaps in Our Knowledge until the Mid-Nineteenth Century

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

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

110) have not yielded any results. Another possible location for the fiefs of the Datça peninsula could be the Deftihan-e Âmire Timar Zemnet (Ruznameye Defterleri (DFE-RZ-02), which register the zemnets and timars of each sancak. I have been able to identify 160 registers in which Menteşe is included or mentioned.
111 Misread as “Mürd-i dârîye” in Açkgöz, Datça Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri, 176-177.
112 See “dere bey”, see Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 162; for “viçan”, see M Defter 150 (dated 1885-1894, 46/265-257; for “mu’tebanan”, see LDM 939/74333 (23 Rebiyiylevel (302); for “hanedan” and “Elâki karesi haneidan”, see M Defter 152 (dated 1894-1898), 1486-237; for “hanedan-i beld”, see A.MKT.MHM 427 (8 Saban 1285); for “izelâla”, see M Defter 154, 19267-443.
113 EF, s.v. ‘Derebey’ (J. H. Moritzmann).
In fact, the Tuhfezades look as if they were quite reconciled to not being on a par with the local elites of Menteşe/Muğla who were ceaselessly struggling for the posts of mütesellim and chief notable (ayvanbaş) among themselves. While the biggest malikâneholders (originally rical-i dever) were in Istanbul, where the auctions took place, there were also provincial auctions catering to the provincial gentry. Here the likes of the Tavas(3).oğlu or Ağaoğulları competed with many others – including members of the bureaucracy, members of the military (askerî) class (such as janissaries, former sancak beyis and others with the titles of vizier, pasha and ağâ), members of the umele (seyîd, şeyîh, müdderris), as well as locals who carried the -zade form of names or titles – for the rural and agricultural taxes as well as the proto-industrial revenues of south-western Anatolia, plus, of course, the power which went with the right to collect such taxes. The local gentry who managed to sub-contract for the malikânes of the absentee tax farmers in Istanbul thereby became mütesellims. They in turn farmed these revenues out to lesser local notables. The Tuhfezades would have entered this scene if they had been the malikâne-holders in Dadya. But in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, no conflict between them and the mütesellims of Menteşe is recorded – even though the Tuhfezades were allied with the Tavasoğlu or Ağaoğulları, and this could easily have led to problems with the Tavasoğlu’s arch-rivals from Köyçeğiz, the Çavuşoğlu, whenever the latter took over as the local sub-contractors or deputy governors. A related point is that while, in terms of their commercial interests, the Tuhfezades were not confined to their regional base and peninsular horizons, neither was there anything political at stake for them when they turned to face out to the Aegean.  

The House and the Household

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

As we shall see, both statements need to be qualified. But meanwhile, with regard to the third characteristic, it is Charles Newton, the first eye-witness to provide us with direct evidence regarding the family, who remarks that, in 1858, Ali Ağâk’s great-grandson Mehmed Halil Ağâ was no longer an adventurer of the seas but lived “in a patriarchal fashion, with four harems, flocks, herds, bee-hives, fig-trees, and gardens innumerable”. From the family tree, where neither birth nor death dates are indicated, we learn that Mehmed Halil Ağâ had two sons and five daughters from his two wives. Newton, however, says that his progeny is so numerous that he is the putative father of half the children in his village – all these, the offspring of concubines, run about in rags, while the rights of inheritance are reserved for the two recognized sons, both children of a beautiful Circassian, a present from Halil Pasha, the late brother-in-law of the sultan, in exchange for a landed estate in Cos.

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

Concubines and Courtesans

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

115 For a distinction between imperial, regional, and local elites, see M. M. Meeker, A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity (Berkeley 2002), Table 2, 224-225.
116 For a discussion of the significance of the increase in the claim to be a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad especially in the eighteenth century, see H. Canbâk, “On the ‘Nobility’ of Provincial Notables”, in Anastasopoulos (ed.), Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire, 39-50.
117 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 162.
118 Ibid.
119 From Açıkgoz, Dahta Mezar Taşları ve Kitâbeleri, 82-83: “Hüve’l-hayyû’l-Bâkî Emir-i Hak’la dürül emrûz geldî zikirrên bûmcûr imâmû bûmcûr inûne/zâmûna/kefûna/fûna/erêرمîna/erêrmîna ‘Tavâzî el-Hacc Ömer Efendi’nin kerimesi Tuhfe-zâde el-Hacc Halil Ağâ’nın ehi” merhume Feriştah Hanım hûhûyûn fûta/âr. Fû 7 Şûne 1225”.
120 In June 1786, the French Ambassador Choiseul-Goufier met Hasan Çavuş of Köyçeğiz: he was in his eighties at the time, and had settled in Muğla with his sons and grandsons. His
when the lesser politics of this rather remote district came to touch upon and be noticed by Ottoman grand history. Ömer Ağa’s second appointment lasted until his death, possibly in early 1812. Feriştah Hanım, Mehmed Halil’s first wife, gave birth to two children: Murad Halil Ağa and Haci Ayşe Hanım.

The name Feriştah (angel) suggests that concubines might have been sent as a gift to the ağa:s of Tavas, too, in which context her mother could also have arrived as a gift from the court in Istanbul. As the Tuğçe family tree shows, girls’ names preferred for the daughters of the family were Verdinaz (rose of whims and coquetry), Canfeza (a complex musical mode), Rengigül (colour of rose), Nevcihan (new world), Aynimah (moonwealth, as well as the mountainous terrain, had worked in his favour. By waiving half of the routine, state-imposed taxes, he had converted the local people into his own power base. In contrast, the local landlord in the Eskihisar area was signalling his demise. In due course, Choiseul-Gouffier met state forces on the outskirts of Ephesus that were determined to crush this muğallibe; M.-G.-A.-F., Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage pittoresque dans l’Empire ottoman, en Grèce, dans la Troade, les îles de l’Archipel et sur les côtes de l’Asie-mineure, Vol. 1 (Paris 1842 [1782]), 132, 136, 198.

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

122 Mainly comprising the saba and acemâşiran modes, with the four kûrdî modes also added on to the end.

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

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

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

Women: Imperial, Regional, Local

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

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

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

124 According to Uykucu, Muğla Tarihi, 136, for fifteen years after 1852 the mutasarrifs cannot be identified.
in the neighbouring village of Aleksi. There was a family house of Murad Halil Ağa also at Dadya. The family tree indicates that he, too, had two wives. Himself the son of a lady from the Tavasogulları, Murad Halil was first married to a maternal relative from the same line. Thus, (a) Fatma, a daughter of yet another Tavas Ağası (Tavaslı Haci Selim), seems to have kept house at Aleksi, while there was also (b) a local woman from Dadya, [Ümüm] Gülşüm bint-i [Dadya]lı Süleyman. It was for the second that he appears to have had the house (also called Goca Ev) in Dadya.

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

Murad Halil's lesser position (despite his probable seniority) vis-à-vis Mehmed Ali suggests a preference for Mehmed Halil's offspring from Istanbullû concubines over his heirs from local magnates' daughters. In contrast, there is no obvious hierarchy between Murad Halil's two wives. On the contrary: in his case, the woman from Tavas who was probably his first wife does not seem to have had precedence over the one from Dadya, despite the latter's father's unknown status. Furthermore, when Murad Halil died, and his children from the Dadya woman were found to be underage (further pointing to [Ümüm] Gülşüm as his second wife), the mother was appointed as their guardian and protector.227

Nevertheless, the broader lesson seems to be clear: even in distant corners of the Empire, provincial powers were always in search of establishing ties, preferably blood ties, with the capital. While Sultans' aunts, daughters and nieces, married to high-ranking Ottoman dignitaries, played a certain role in the Balkans,228 their granddaughters, also

125 M Defter 152, 489/128-320.
126 M Defter 152, 484/41-212; M Defter 154, 81/200-518; M Defter 154, 74/265-549.
127 M Defter 152, 211/41-211.
131 This is a house which belonged to Mehmed Ağa, the uncle of Münəzə Ağa, who in recent years was still alive, and still commanding some respect as the last representative of a bygone dynasty; Fulya Bayik, personal communication.
132 This is the mansion of Ümeyr İhsan Bey of Bosna, a tobacco expert who married into the family (his wife being Fatma Hanım, the aunt of Münəzə Ağa); Fulya Bayik, personal communication. It was built in 1800 by masons from Rhodes; Ergenekon, ‘Dorain Arkeologia’, 462.
is rather unassuming, but turns out to have provided with all possible comforts for a landowner in his country residence. Made of local stone, the exterior was left unplastered, as with all the other houses in the village. Unfortunately, it is rapidly turning to rubble.

The two-storey urban mansion in Çeşme, on the other hand, was plastered, white-washed, and the interior decorated with fine brushwork in the Empire style. It has five tall windows on the second floor which alternate with pseudo-pillars. The central window is further emphasised by a balcony (which may have been originally surrounded by railings of wrought iron in the Aegean style). The flat roof is hidden behind a low parapet also decorated with late-nineteenth-century motifs. Although there is no trace of period furniture in any of the houses in question, it is relatively easy to fill in the missing links by comparing their interiors with those from the islands at this period. A relative claims that the kitchenware used in some of their households carried the family insignia. A roof-tile shred that I located on the site of the ruins at Silğindir reads on the back: ΕΡΓΟΣΙΣΩΝ ΕΝ ΡΟΔΩ and Şirket-i Ceziye-i Rodos in Ottoman. It is possible that not only the construction materials and the workers, but also the furniture, household items, and textiles were brought in from Rhodes or beyond.

Goca Ev: The Family Mansion

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

133 On this entire style, see S. Faroqui, ‘Representing France in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire: A Wealthy French Dwelling in the Peloponnesus, 1770’, in Eadem and Ch. Neumann (eds), The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture (Würzburg 2003), 255-273.
134 As told by Mümæz Ağa’s elder sister, Cevher Meltem, wife of Fethi Meltem; Fulya Bayık, personal communication.
135 I was not able to locate a brick and tile factory in Rhodes. Still, it is worth noting that there were such companies in several localities in the Aegean. An example is provided by the kilns at Alaçati and İdmer, where bricks inscribed Alatsata/Alaçata and Litri were produced in addition to ceramic ware; see İ. Gezgin, Alaçatı’ın Alaçatı’ya Rüzgarlı Bir Köşün Hikayesi (Istanbul 2007), 29.
136 During recent restorations in the family mansion at Elaki, graffiti in Greek were uncovered.
137 Not too far away, the government building (hükümet konagi), the only other Elaki building comparable in size and status, and built at the turn of the twentieth century, embodies the so-called Sakız (Chios) style.
square metres, spread over two storeys, with rooms arranged around a U-shaped open hall.\textsuperscript{138} The first storey is constructed out of local stone, but the second storey borrows from the timber-filling architecture of the Balkans which became fashionable in western Anatolia in the eighteenth century (Fig. 8). The reception room (başoda) on the northeast corner of the U-shaped plan was further accented by late-eighteenth-century Istanbul floral decoration and murals depicting Istanbul.

From the U-shaped sofa, the entrance to the rectangular reception room is from the far end of its long side. In the middle of the upper section of the wall just across from the entrance is a baroque medallion filled by a maqālāh written in miṣīnna form (that is to say, together with its mirror image). To the left of the medallion is a depiction of a walled settlement, most probably intended as the Topkapı Palace, while to the right is a mosque, perhaps Hagia Sophia, represented by four minarets and a tripartite porch resting on a stepped platform (Fig. 9). A wall which adjoins this monumental mosque representation extends to the other side of the medallion and connects it with the walled settlement in a fashion which is further strongly and realistically reminiscent of the relationship between the Topkapı Palace and the Hagia Sophia. These two monumental buildings of the capital are clearly there as symbols of power: the imperial palace and the imperial mosque. The houses along the wall surrounding the palatial settlement are representative of the capital’s multi-storey timber houses in the late eighteenth century, and the baroque features on the portico and the gate to the mosque are also stylistically accurate. Likewise, the gate on the forehead of the wall, the garden full of fruit trees and cypresses, and a domed fountain (or baldachin) all correspond to parts or aspects of the Topkapı Palace. Iconographically speaking, it is clearly an allusion to a paradise garden, but it is a worldly paradise.\textsuperscript{139}

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

Much has been written about murals in nineteenth-century Ottoman interiors. First to come to mind are the apartments of Mihrişah Valide Sultan at the Topkapı Palace (1780-1807). There were numerous Westerners in Istanbul at the time, but provincial styles can differ radically from the aesthetics of the capital. Thus, in contrast to the French


\textsuperscript{139} The painting of a paradise garden with a kiosk in the eighteenth-century Deboyayah House in Ankara has also been interpreted as evoking a worldly garden of Eden; S. Ögel, ‘Eski Bir Ankara Evi’, Türk Dünyası, 8 (1972), 37-43.

\textsuperscript{140} For a raptor with a snake in its beak in Siatista, see Garidis, Diakosmetike zographike, 45.
taste which dominated Istanbuliot elites, in the Aegean it was a predominantly Italian aesthetic, translated into Ottoman via artists, architects and craftsmen operating mostly from Chios.  

In other Balkan, Anatolian, and Middle Eastern houses, too, there were wall-paintings which alluded to Istanbul, but to have complete panoramas of the Ottoman capital decorating stately mansions is quite rare. The best-known is in the mansion of Çakırğa of Birgi, dated to the 1830s. Others are located in the Hadimoğlu mansion at Bayramiç, near Çanakkale (1796); the Hacı Mehmed Ali mansion in Adatepe; the Bayramtaştepe mansion in Manisa (1818); the Hacı Hafızoğlu (Tüllüoğlu) mansion in Göreme (1825); the Bahaeddin Ağa mansion in Milas; the Sandıkeminioğulları mansion also in Birgi; the Şemaki mansion at Yenisehir, in Bursa; the Nizam House (1803) and the Mujalled House (1810?) in Damascus. In effect, these are worlds apart, rang-

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

141 Arel, 'Aydınlık ve Yüreksinde Bir Aileş', 145-149.
142 Renda, Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı, 10-19.
ing from some remote villages to major provincial centres, and this makes the aspirations behind them, as well as the patronage and production networks that they embody (involving wandering artists), all the more of a puzzle. In contrast to these, the depictions of Istanbul in the houses of Greek merchants such as Georgios Mavros (Schwartz) and Efthymiadis in Ambelaki go against the well-known silhouette of the Ottoman capital crowned with mosques to suggest a non-Muslim, pre-conquest Constantinople.

From Murals to Hints of Syncretism

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

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

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


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

145 Gardis, Diakonemtke zografhike, 32; A. D. Diamantopolou, Ambelakia (Athens 1987).

146 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 166.


above the entrance, the Islamicised names of the Seven read: Yemliha, Mekselima, Misliha, Murrus, Dherunsa, Sezena, Kefetstaayva, and their dog, Kumir. What is this all about? The legend of the Seven Sleepers is about seven young men accused of Christian belief under the Roman Emperor Decius, around AD 250. In the Christian version, they carry Greek or Latin names. Given time to recant, they distribute their worldly wealth to the poor, and retire to a mountain to pray, where they fall asleep. The Emperor then orders the mouth of the cave to be sealed. After many decades, when some later landowner – usually, under Theodosius (r. 379-395) – decides to re-open the cave, they wake up to a fully Christianised world. They tell the Bishop of Ephesus their miracle story, and die praising God. The story is not included in the Bible but emerges as part of Christian lore and legend from the sixth century onwards. At the same time, as with so many other myths and legends, there are indications that it harks back to much more ancient origins. Once there was a pagan sovereign who proclaimed himself a god and began to persecute those who would not worship him. A group of youngsters sought refuge from him in a cave, falling asleep and waking up in a new era. Eventually the legend appears to have passed into the Abrahamic religions. Thus, the Jews of Medina are said to have put Muhammad to the test by questioning him about the story – and the Prophet, informed by the angel Gabriel/Jibrail, to have astonished them by recounting it in the version they thought only they knew. In any case, a century or so after its Christian popularisation it also appears in the Qur’an (Sura 18, Al-Kahf, verses 9-26) – adapted so as to provide a lesson in the strength

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

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

Two components of the story were most important during the expansion of both Christianity and Islam (and especially in their borderlands): belief in resurrection, and belief in God’s protection for the faithful. In time, the legend became quite widespread. It found its way into the Orthodox martyrologia. The Latin Church came to commemorate the Seven Sleepers on 7 July, and the Greek Church on 4 August. Muslims, on the other hand, developed the custom of reciting (venerating) the 18th Sura of the Qur’an before Friday prayers.130 Hadith and taṣfīr contributed to elaborating its contextual meaning. In Christian lore and legend, the cave in question was eventually located in Ephesus, while the Islamic version has led to the identification of numerous caves all over the Islamic world from Spain to Indonesia, including several in Anatolia.

A Legend’s Multiple Uses

On the interface between any two (or more) faith systems, the possibility of pursuing old beliefs and practices under a new guise is known to facilitate conversion. The Church actively and consciously pursued this policy in its Dark Age attempts to convert the Germanic tribes, and Fuad Köprüülü wrote extensively about the survival of shamanistic elements in various mystical sects after the Islamisation of the Turkic tribes of West Asia. Later, in an overwhelmingly Islamic Middle East, such continuity of myths and legends remained important for the movement from the Bible to the Qur’an.131 Furthermore, Sufism seems to have played a special role in this regard. For educated merchants and other non-Muslims of a philosophical bent, the neo-Platonic version of Islam, tinged with echoes of Christian mysticism, and distinguished by its rationalist, egalitarian outlook, was more appealing than the Sunni orthodoxy (preferred by the nobility and the urban lower classes), and facilitated their conversion to Islam.132 With or without (or before and after) conversion, the story of the Seven Sleepers in Al-Kahf did not exclude varying and multiple interpretation, thus creating a space for them (or for crypto-Christians in general) where they could feel comfortable.

As prayers are chosen according to the needs of particular times, so are (were) legends. Thus, the ways in which the story of the Seven Sleepers was told reflected the outlook of the day. It was expected to secure God’s protection under harsh conditions, to fortify resistance against hardship, to provide succour in wartime or in the face of natural disasters (including earthquakes, epidemics, famine or solar eclipses) as well as personal misfortune (such as exile). Thus, the names of the Seven Sleepers decorated many charms and amulets: against all possible dangers, but more specifically to avert evil, the evil eye, the crying of children, insomnia, headaches, thieves, or anger.133 Their names are also found on city walls to protect the settlement from the plague, on ships to keep the vessels from sinking, on the walls of mosques to protect them from fires, on swords to prevent their breaking, and even on coins. Hasluck, whose interest in Christian and Muslim syncretism took him far afield in Asia Minor at the turn of the twentieth century, found that the Seven Sleepers were not that important in the Greek Church, but had a wide vogue in popular religion – he had not seen any church dedicated to them, or for that matter any icon representing them in a church, but in homes, in domestic space, small icons of the seven young men were fairly common. He relates how the Orthodox regarded a hanging icon of the Seven Sleepers as an effective cure for sleeplessness. He also notes that “the Seven seem to be looked on as special patrons of shipping, especially in the Black Sea, the most dangerous known to the Turks”. The names of the Seven and of their dog Künmir, often written ornamentally in the form of a ship, also served as a talisman against evil:

The dog is one of the animals admitted to Paradise, and is regarded as a type of guardian: a special kind of dog, named after him Künmir, is exempted from the ban against the keeping of dogs, as unclean animals, in houses. Künmir is regarded as presiding specially over letters, which go far or which pass the sea, as a protection to preserve them from miscarriage.134

Probing Mehmed Halil’s Identity and Intentions

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

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

130 Qeas, Islam-Türk İlişkilerinde Hzr. yahud Hzr.-İlyas Külli. 43.
133 F. W. Hasluck, Christianity and Islam under the Seljuks, ed. M. M. Hasluck (New York 1929), 309-319.
do bear the artistic characteristics of the time. Of course, in Tavas, Milas, Köyceğiz, Ula and Muğla, there were houses of greater grandeur. But remarkably, Mehmed Halil was able to compete with these more distant patrons, as well as his closer neighbours and rivals, in recruiting artists—whether locals from İzmir and the Aegean islands, or from Istanbul and beyond. As we have seen, Newton was totally persuaded about the ağası’s Islamic faith. However, he also noted that Mehmed Halil had that restless inquisitiveness which characterizes the Greek often, but rarely the Turk. I had just received the Illustrated London News, with coloured prints of Delhi and other Indian cities. I gave him these—he asked the name of each city, and, taking out his reed pen from his girdle, wrote it on top of the picture, adding a descriptive title, which embodied such scanty information about the place as I was able to give him.

Evidence of a Gentrified Lifestyle

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

boats, and factories with chimneys. Moreover, daily-life items, such as tables and chairs, armchairs, clocks and cutlery, are inserted as reminders of the on-going cultural transformation, and the emergence of an alla franca lifestyle. B. Tanman, ‘Merzifon Kara Mustafa Paşa Camii Şadırvanının Kubbesinde Zileli Emin’in Yaratığı ‘Osmancı Dünüyasi’ ve Bu Dünüyada Yansıyan Kışliliği’, in Güner İnâl’a Armağan (Ankara 1993), 491-522.

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


162 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 163.

163 Meltem, Daça’ya At Bildiklerim, 12.

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

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

Further Signs of Cultural Hybridity

Clearly, two (or more) cultures remained blended in Ali Giri’di’s family, and not only there but to some extent over the entire peninsula – still had a sizeable Greek population. Desserts are well-known layered pastries of the Mediterranean filled with nuts, spices, and butter, soaked in a syrup of sugar and honey. Much appreciated local dishes and beverages (dalampa, elmasık, çıtarak, kâşyak, narça, köngör, garağan, gumjma, sarpay, miürdâmic, turpucu, celpieleme, labada, dalankta, ümück etc.), however, reflect the herbal riches – mostly endemic to the peninsula. The basic method of cooking them is to boil and serve with olive oil as vegetables or fry them. In more specialised recipes, the cooked herbs and vegetables are enriched with eggs, cheese, or meat. A dish which

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


166 Meliìn, Daçça’ya Âit Bildikleri, 11.

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

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

has given his manners a certain homeliness which was to me rather refreshing, after the fake compliments and vapid remarks which generally issue from the lips of official Turks. It seemed to me as if for the first time I had the opportunity of studying a real Turkish country gentleman, full of shrewd observation and mother wit, which he exercised in a good-natured and very amusing way on his suite. He also speaks of their respective needs: while Newton was trying to keep his staff supplied with fresh food, Mehemet Halil simply wanted stones from Cnidus to build

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

168 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 164-165.

169 Unbehauen, Türkiye Karsalında Kliyentelizm, 94 n. 56.

170 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 164-165.

171 “Mehemet Ali [= Mehemet Halil] has one very great merit”, Newton remarks, “he is perfectly aware that an Englishman must eat”. Newton then goes on to relate that “[i]n the present destination of the Turkish provinces, a party of hungry Englishmen are regarded by the natives as a nuisance, only less than that of the locusts. The difficulties of victualling our small messes at Budrum have required incessant trouble, much of which naturally falls upon me. I had not been two days encamped here before a messenger arrived with ten fowls dangling from his horse’s crupper, Mehemet Ali’s [= Mehemet Halil] first present to the colony. When he arrived himself, there came a sheep, a good supply of eggs, honey and figs. This morining we had a long and most interesting conversation on the subject of bullocks and vegetables, a question of the greatest importance, as our small party cannot live for ever on salt meat”; ibid.
a mosque with, and he hoped to obtain these stones easily through the excavations that Newton's team were carrying out.\(^\text{172}\)

**Puzzles Surrounding Mehmed Halil's Mosque**

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

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

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Dadya, there is also the mosque of Ahmed Ağâ bin Halil.\(^\text{177}\) Why was Mehmed Halil so interested in mosque-building in 1856-1858, between the completion of the one at Elaki and his asking Newton's help for Cnidus marble for another mosque?

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

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

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

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

In 1858, Mehmed Halil could boast of an immediate retinue comprising "a Cadi, a grey-headed Imam, the head man of a neighbouring village, and a sort of nondescript Greek, who played the part of souffre-douleur or toady".\(^\text{180}\) In another instance, Newton remarks that

Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] usually travels about his small peninsular kingdom accompanied by his cadi, imam, and other cabinet ministers, all mounted on small mountain horses; then come three or four peasant attendants, with long guns.\(^\text{181}\)

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\(^{172}\) Ibid.

\(^{173}\) Ibid., 171.


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

\(^{176}\) Its waqf deed survives; VGM Aydın Esnami 8/1 1942, after Uykuçu, Marmaris Tarıhi, 67. The inscription panel reads: Bu hayratın sahibine ofsun mübarek/Versin Hak müradın tebarek/ Sahibi'n hayatır ve'l hasenat Tuhf ezade el-Hac Halil Ağâ ibn Mehmed Ağâ. Sene 1211.

\(^{177}\) Ahmed Ağâ was possibly the great-grandson of Ali of Crete and great-uncle of Mehmed Halil Ağâ; VGM Aydın Esnami 8/2 457, after Uykuçu, Marmaris Tarıhi, 65.


\(^{179}\) Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 166-167.

\(^{180}\) Ibid., 164-165.

\(^{181}\) Ibid.
Following the Gülhane Rescript proclaiming the Tanzimat, in January 1840 tax-farming (iltizam) was abolished. Simultaneously, through a new set of regulations, muhassil, a long-standing practice of tax collection, initially by officials of the central government, which, however, had been gradually taken over by locals — was re-organised. At the level of provincial centres and kazas, a high council (meclis-i valâ, büyük meclis) of thirteen members; and in kazas, kasabas or köyas without a muhassil, a secondary council (küçük meclis) of five members were established — together with courts of regulations (nizamîye mahkemesi). The secondary councils, which would be abolished in 1841, consisted of a proxy of the muhassil, a mufti, a naib, and two other dignitaries. These correspond very closely to the core of Mehmed Halil's retinue as described by Newton in 1858. Significantly, Newton was also quite aware of the new measures introduced after the Tanzimat:

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

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

In the Troubled Waters of Tanzimat Centralisation

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

Could this “head man”, too, have been Greek, and maybe even a lesser kocabaş, a representative of the Greeks in the peninsula? If so, he would have been on an equal footing with the ağa for tax-collection purposes. But we have no means of knowing. Meanwhile, the only — “nondescript” — Greek in Mehmed Halil’s retinue appears to have been there as a laughing-stock. Newton noted that the ağa was always making one of these [in his retinue] his butt — the Greek, of course, got the worst of it. He imitated the manner in which they make the sign of the cross, and the genuflexions to the Panayia. ‘Let us make a musulman of Demetri,’ he said; ‘I am sure he wishes it in his heart — to-morrow we will perform the usual rites.’ Poor Demetri simpered and looked amiable. I wonder what private end he was serving by eating so much dirt.

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

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

186 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 164-165.
188 MD 239, 108 (Ramazan 1236), after B. Kayhan, ‘Adalar Denizi’nde Rum Korsanları: Izbandidiler’, unpublished M.A. thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1996, 19, 30. For Mehmed Emin who was dismissed in 1822, see also HAT 496 (17 Ramazan 1236) and HAT 279 (29 Zihicce 1238).
edly called to Istanbul. Furthermore, there was a considerable population increase, as attested by the newly developing settlements on the peninsula, as well as, more specifically, the 1831 census. The latter was an attempt to record those who were migrating in and out. Immigration was mainly from the islands and the Morea, intensifying over the second half of the eighteenth century and then again after 1822. More immigrants arrived from Crete in 1863-1875, settling throughout the larger region. Strikingly, peace and quiet prevailed in Dadya all through these troubled times. Local magnates virtually everywhere had long had to organise and lead the local militia in order to defend their towns and villages against ceftis, sekban mercenaries or janissaries, who often imposed illegal levies upon peasants in cash and kind. Provincial notables recruited their troops from among precisely the same brigands or mercenary bands. But in the case of the Dadya peninsula, the ağas seems to have been quite at ease. Mehmed Halil’s retinue included only a few armed men, who seemed to Newton to be no better than peasants with guns.

What a Petty Tyrant Had to Watch Out For

All in all, therefore, Newton presents Mehmed Halil as a relaxed and sophisticated provincial lord, enjoying the tranquility of the peninsula while exerting an authority which apparently extended to the islands. This picture stands in striking contrast to Westerners’ numerous depictions of ağas of other regions. Nevertheless, he too had his adversaries. Once, Newton remarks, Mehmed Halil confessed to me this morning that he has certain enemies at Mugla, who must be put down by the intervention of the Pasha of Smyrna. ‘I dare not complain of the wrong that has been done to me, except through a Consul – they would crush me!’

This remark may go some way towards explaining why the Tuhfezades do not appear in state papers. As already indicated, there had been an initial period of turbulence and confusion in Mugla in 1812-1829/1830, during which Tavashi Osman Ağâ had come, gone and come again to office in early 1829, figuring as the muhassil and kýynamak of Menteşe. In 1848 he was dismissed yet again, before and after which, the documents at our disposal do suggest another period of confusion in Mugla. Muhassils, as we have seen earlier, were tax collectors charged with bringing in the various regular as well as extra-ordinary taxes who came to assume other administrative responsibilities in time. In the early eighteenth century, viziers and even some former Grand Viziers were being appointed muhassils of sancaks. In Menteşe, one of the last muhassils was a mûtesâlim, though not a local but the mûtesâlim of Teke. In 1848, the local tyrant Tavashi Osman became the first muhassil with a local power base, and was also designated kýynamak to comply with the new Tanzimat regulations. Until Tavashi Osman died in 1860, there were always many complaints about him.

As we have seen, Mehmed Halil was initially married to Tavashi Osman’s sister (who died in 1810). The perilous position of his patron and brother-in-law seems to have had an impact on Mehmed Halil’s relations with the authorities, and especially vis-à-vis the governor in İzmir. The centre pushed hard against the appointment of Osman Ağâ’s son, Kapıcıbaşı Mehmed Ağâ, as kýynamak of Menteşe, while his other son, Ali Ağâ, was prevented from interfering with the duties of the müdür. Such grievances as have accumulated in the state archives also suggest meddling by other local parties such as the Çavuşoğlu family and Ağaoğulları. Mehmed Halil’s appeal led Newton to conclude that there is no grade of society in Turkey in which the habit of inviting foreign intervention does not prevail. I never refuse to help people if they have any real case – such good offices give much indirect influence and enable me to work the expedition far more economically and efficiently. I wonder how many days I might have waited for eggs and mutton if Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] had not had a grievance at Mugla.

190 HAT 425 (29 Zilhicce 1245): Osman Ağâ was received by the Sultan after his appointment as mûtesâlim of Menteşe; HAT 541 (29 Zilhicce 1249): Osman Ağâ was brought to Istanbul by force.
192 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 165-166.
193 In the 15 years or more following the death of Seyyid Omer Ağâ, there was some confusion over the appointment of a mûtesâlim. Intercine fighting between several members of the Çavuşoğlu family as well as others appears to have come to a halt when Tavashi Osman Ağâ was appointed mûtesâlim and also received the Sultan in mid-1830; HAT 1425 (29 Zilhicce 1245/21 June 1830). On one occasion he was actually sentenced to death, but then par-
Big Fish and Small Fry

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

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

As his father is likely to have died before the introduction of the 1839 reforms, the ‘wrongs’ that Mehmed Halil refers to were probably committed in 1833-1836, when muhtarlıkls were established in the villages to take over the tasks of ayan and kocabaşis. All these efforts to centralise pleased neither government officials, such as governors, sancakbeysis and müsetellsims, nor the ayan and eşraf, and led to further local struggles. Itizam was re-established in 1842. With a radical transformation of the tax structure, tax sources were recounted and registered in 1840/1841 and 1844/1845. In 1845, representatives of (Muslim and non-Muslim) local dignitaries were invited to Istanbul, where they remained for two months. Those who proved helpful in the resulting consultations were later presented with new rank-and-status titles. As for those ayan who resisted, they were destroyed in the centralisation process. Likewise, kocabaşıs who got themselves involved in the Morean uprisings were harshly punished.

 Lords and Peasants in a New Land-Grab

Furthermore, the attempt to modernise and homogenise Ottoman land tenure caused a lot of distress. The 1847/1849 land regulation (kana-i arazi-i emiriye), which was circulating in print after 1851, stipulated that land could now pass not only in the male but also the female line. In 1856 the poll tax (çizye) was replaced by the tane-i askeri, and muhtarlar or kocabaşıs were charged with its collection and delivery. In practice, however, like many other magnates from Ulı, Marmaris, Bodrum, Yerkesiği, Bozöyük and elsewhere, including the islands, the Tuğçeze’s patrons in the Menteşe sub-province, the Tavaslı Osman Ağazade, and their arch-enemies from Köyceğiz and Milas, respectively, the Hasan Çavuşoğlu and the Abdüllaş Ağazade, continued to rule in their power bases and to fight each other to become the müsetellsim of Menteşe until 1858 – when the Land Code (arazi kanunnamesi) was issued. Then they began to fight over the office of the kaymakam.

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

200 TÜLAY ARTAN
201 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 163.
202 Hacı Meftüh, who married a Tuğçeze and settled into the family, was the grandfather of M. Fethi Meltem, Meltem, Datça'ya Ait Bildiklerim, 6, 11-12.
204 All these efforts to centralise pleased neither government officials, such as governors, sancakbeysis and müsetellsims, nor the ayan and eşraf, and led to further local struggles. Itizam was re-established in 1842. With a radical transformation of the tax structure, tax sources were recounted and registered in 1840/1841 and 1844/1845. In 1845, representatives of (Muslim and non-Muslim) local dignitaries were invited to Istanbul, where they remained for two months. Those who proved helpful in the resulting consultations were later presented with new rank-and-status titles. As for those ayan who resisted, they were destroyed in the centralisation process. Likewise, kocabaşıs who got themselves involved in the Morean uprisings were harshly punished.

205 TDVIA, s. v. ‘Muhassıl’ (Özkaya and Aykıldız). For the survival of the simar system, see N. Clayre, ‘Note sur la survivance du système des simar dans la région de Skhoder au début du XXe siècle’, Turcica, 29 (1997), 423-431.
206 Records of Dayna in the téméttatar registers of Aydın in 1844-1845 (ML.VRD.TMT; Catalogue No. 1) will be studied in a forthcoming study.
208 Şeyhülislam Ahmed Hafız Efendi, 'El-Ahkmâ'ı Mer'îye fil Arazî'ı Emiriye (Istanbul 1267/1851 [1265/1849]).
209 Uykuçu, Muğla Turili, 95.
210 Yurt Ansiklopedisi, s. v. ‘Muğla’, 5872.
211 Davda Çiftlik today is the name of the seaboard running from Emecek to Kızla and beyond.
Precocious Ties with International Trade

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

Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil], though he possesses four harems and much wealth, is not, like most rich Turks, devourd by idleness. He is a shrewd, hard-headed man of business, who ought to have been a Scotchman. He drives an active trade with Smyrna, selling the produce of his territory to the great English merchant Mr. Whitall, of whose friendship he is justly proud.216

The Izmir merchant in question was Charlton Whitall (1791-1861). The Whitall family can be traced back to one James Whitall, tavern-keeper of Worcester (1696-1780). Following the emigration of his two great-grandsons, Charlton and James Whitall, to Izmir in 1809, they became a major Levantine family.217 Charlton Whitall first travelled to the Ottoman lands in 1809 to represent Breed & Co., Liverpool, and stayed on to establish C. Whitall & Co. of Smyrna in 1811. The firm was incorporated into membership in the British Levant Trading Company in 1812. He received the Freedom of the Levant Co. in 1812, and was also awarded the imperial Order of Mecidiye, fourth class.218 There were numerous connections between the Whitalls and other prominent European families, such as the Barkers, the La Fontaines or the Girauds in Izmir, as well as the likes of the Cortazzi219 and the Cangeleri.220

216 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 162 and 164.

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

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

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

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

Crop Patterns in the Nineteenth Century

Materially speaking, what was there to collect from Dadya and export from Izmir? In earlier times, the Menteşeoğulları had established commercial relations with the Venetian administration of Crete. They bought metals, and exported horses and slaves, soap, and wine in return. After the Ottoman conquest, Bayezid I curtailed trade, prohibiting the export of grain, horses, and timber from Menteşe. In later centuries, when even Ottoman Marmaris remained insignificant as a port, the peninsula does not seem to have been part and parcel of a lively exchange. Sixteenth-century tahırs point to the most common grains (including wheat and barley), and vetch and beans, as making up the taxable crop pattern. While the register of 1500 also records rice cultivation (çeltik) in Dadya, together with a few other places in Menteşe, in the later defters irrigation channels are indicated to be no longer productive (bi-hâşit). Most windmills (assyab-i bad) in Menteşe were located in Dadya. There were 26 in 1500, 19 in 1517, 27 in 1562, and 45 in 1583. Piri Reis, too, noted Değirmenderes (= Mill Creek) to the south-west of Dadya. The tahırs provide rather precise information on how long (a month, three months, six months, or all through the year) the mills in question might be expected to operate. The due (resm) was five akçe a month, but we have no way of knowing how much the millers charged, as well as the ways of payment.

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

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

Vallonea Oaks and the Acorn Trade

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

221 Ibid., 265.
222 Ibid., 264, 266.
223 Ibid., 267.
"in particular districts the vallonea oak, which is the principal article of export from the peninsula".  

Sicils, too, make much of vallonea oaks and their acorns (as well as of carobs, figs, almond and olive trees). There were said to be 25 vallonea oak trees in one dönüm (940 m²), each tree yielding approximately 70 okkas of acorns (an acorn being called kadeh at the time). While the fruit (pelit) was locally used as animal feed, fertiliser, and for heating, industrially vallonea oak acorns were (and are) used in tanning, dyeing, and pharmacology. Early in the nineteenth century, as the Ottoman leather industry began to fail in competition with European, South American, and Indian products, the production of the acorn essence (parumai ödzi), too, collapsed, and acorns began to be exported only as a raw material.

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

A State of General Poverty

In Ottoman times, Menteşe sheep husbandry was also largely located in the villages of the peninsula: Bedec, Dadya, Tarabya, Çatak, Krançatka and Bozburan. According to two early-sixteenth-century tahirs, the number of sheep in Dadya rose drastically from 400 in 1500 to 2,000 in 1517. Bedec and Dadya also ranked first and second in the number of beehives registered in Muğla in four different sixteenth-century tax registers.

At the end of the day, however, Datça was a backwater with sparse population and scattered settlements. Newton states that in the absence of the civilising effect of commerce and navigation, the locals were ignorant and shallow. He compares the peasants to those of Bodrum, whom he found to be (more) active and intelligent. Newton also notes the poverty in the peninsula. For those who were employed at the excavation at Cnidus, this was a lifetime’s only chance to make some money. Furthermore, Newton says that among those he took with him when he went to Branchidae (Didim, Didymaion), quite a few had never set foot outside the peninsula (which is not very surprising, for even in the 1950s, it took to use 20-24 hours to get from the base to the tip of the long and winding spit of land).

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

The Perils of Modern Piracy

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

Since I have been here, my friend Mehemet Ali [= Mehmed Halil], who collects the tribute of the peninsula over which he rules, proposed in like manner to be my banker, as, by cashing my bills, he would be enabled to remit the tribute to the Pasha at Muğla in paper instead of in specie. Accordingly, I applied to him for a remittance of £700, and, not thinking it desirable to have charge of so large a sum on shore, specially directed him not to send it before a certain day, when I knew that the Supplies would come in from Bodrum. Mehmet Ali [= Mehmed Halil] forthwith proceeded to call in the tribute from all the villages round him, which was duly paid up in copper piastres and half-piastres. Six miles having been laden with this treasure, were then despatched to Cnidus in charge of some cavasses, who were so proud of their mission that they proclaimed it at every village where they halted on their way, taking care to magnify the sum with that noble contempt for exactness in figures which distinguishes the Oriental mind.

229 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 267.
231 Tobacco production was introduced in 1687 by Süleyman İlişki in the Balkans. Tobacco was also produced illegally in Muğla and its environs until 1862; Türkç, Muğla İl Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları, 116-120.
234 Ibid., 273. Also see note 14 above.
235 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 262.
236 M Defter 154, 192/67-443.
237 Newton, Travels and Discoveries, 230.
Newton was lucky to be able to put his rows of grey camel’s hair sacks on board the Supply, which miraculously made an early departure, for the next day they were threatened by a crowded and strange-looking vessel hovering off the coast. Landing an armed party, the pirates carried off a bullock “before the very eyes of an old peasant who was too frightened to offer the slightest resistance”. Attracted probably by the cavaisses’ boastful garrulousness, the pirates were eventually repulsed, and the archaeologist concluded:

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

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

Mehmed Ali on the Threshold of the Twentieth Century

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

On 10 January 1885, Mehmed Halil’s son Mehmed Ali had bestowed upon him the honorary rank of istabl-i âmire, on which occasion he was cited as one of the mu’tebearani Dadiye, that is to say, the notables of the district (nahiye) of Dadya. Unlike his father, he was no longer a müdir. Moreover, on 22 July 1885, when he was accused of exploiting the peasants together with the then müdir Süleyman Sıtkı Efendi, he was simply referred to as one of the locals (ahaliden). Such blame did not hinder him from receiving, on 10 January 1889, the Niğan-i Osmani of the third grade (but tebdilên, suggesting some kind of change in his status). Around the same time or just slightly earlier, on the occasion of his receiving the Loyalty and Bravery Medal (in 1898), he was also mentioned as a former member of the Board of Directors (meclis-i idare) of the province of Cezar-i Bahr-i Sefid. He was then based in Rhodes. In some of the available secondary literature, it is argued that Mehmed Ali Ağa was appointed Mayor of Rhodes (gehir kethüdası, or belediye meclisi reisi) in the period 1882-1887 (or, rather more generically, in the 1890s). However, since his two sons were born there (Mehmed Halil Efendi in 1875 and Mehmed Fehmi Bey in 1877), an earlier presence in Rhodes prior to his municipal appointment is quite plausible. The family’s involvement in Rhodian affairs appears to have gone back quite a bit, for in January 1844, Mehmed Halil Ağa had been charged with collecting the tax arrears on behalf of the late Sükür Paşa, the former muhafic of Rhodes. But then and thereafter, Mehmed Halil must have been based at Dadya. The eyalet of Cezar-i Bahr-i Sefid was made a vilayet in 1867, and Rhodes became its centre in 1876. Mehmed Ali’s initial move beyond his home base must have been around this time.

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

241 DH.MKT 401 (29 Muhamrem 1313).
242 E. Eldem, Pride and Privilege: A History of the Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations (Istanbul 2004), 298. Eldem notes that the third and smaller version of the Loyalty and Bravery Medal was probably never issued. Obverse: Abdelhamid Han bin Abdülmecid el-Mu’azzaf Daima – El-Gazi in Şafar Abdülhamid with el-Gazi added; reverse: Devlet-i Osmanîye Uğurunda Fevkalade Sıddet ve Serayt Ibraz Edebilen Mahsus Madalyadır. 1302 (This medal is reserved for those who have shown extraordinary loyalty and bravery in serving the Ottoman State, 1885), with a cartouche left blank for the name of the recipient.
243 LTAL 163 (27 Şaban 1316).
244 This was when the poet and intellectual Namık Kemal was the sub-governor (mutasarrıf), and Galib Paşa was the governor (vali) of Rhodes. Anecdotes of their intimate friendship still circulate; O. Sönmez, Knidos. Mavine Uyuyan Güzell (Istanbul 2007), 59, after Z. Ölçalp, in Balıkgazan, a local newspaper.
245 For the records of their births, see respectively DH.SAID 112/393 (29 Zilhicce 1291), and DH.SAID 128/193 (29 Zilhicce 1293).
246 A.MKT 8 (29 Zilhicce 1259).
The Twilight of the Tuğçeze Fortunes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

250 M Defter 154, 90/154-492.

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

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

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

254 M Defter 154, 164/52-436.

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

256 M Defter 152, 145/64-235.

257 M Defter 153 (dated 1906-1908), 82/34-416; M Defter 153, 96/208-530; M Defter 154, 192/67-443; M Defter 154, 96/208-530; M Defter 155, 15/34-622.

258 M Defter 152, 148/64-237; M Defter 152, 263/13-306.

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


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

Epilogue for a Lost World

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

Hayatında ruız-ı şeyik ederdi âleme
Hanesinde nice kimse el sieredi ni’mete
El çekıp fani cihandan erdi kurb-i râhmete

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

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

It was also the death knell of a pre-national mosaic. In the surviving sicils of Marma-ris, all together 12 villages are listed for the peninsula over 1885-1911 (Cumalı, Emecik, Kara, Kızlan, Yaka, Avlana, Elaki, Dadoya, Çeşme, Batı, Aksel, and Ilya), as well as a few neighbourhoods (Zeytinlik, Yazı/Cumalı, Mezgit/Avlana, Sığırında/Yaka). They were dispersed, though mostly along the southern coast. Today, after the re-naming or complete disappearance of the Greek villages of Avlana, Elaki, Aksel and Ilya, and the development of a few recent settlements, the villages in the Dağç peninsula are: Cumalı, Emecik, Reşadiye, Sığırında, Hızzırah, Karaköy, Kızlan, Mesudiye, Yaka, and Yazı. As mentioned at the outset, following the 1909 enthronement of Mehmed (Reşad) V, Elaki became Reşadiye, while Ilya and Aksel, initially renamed Turgut and Osmanciye, vanished altogether (with the sole exception of the now ruined church at Ilya).

1911/1912 the peninsula was divided into two districts (nahiye): Suleymaniye (Beşte) and Reşadiye (Dadoya/Dağç). In the wake of the Balkan Wars, in 1914 Tâlât Paşa ordered a massive ethnic cleansing operation all along the Aegean coastline. Now regarded by the Unionist leadership as a suspect population, around 300,000 Greeks (Rumıtı) were intimidated into leaving. This was when the Dağç re-organisation was also finalised as most of the village names in the peninsula were Türkified, villagers were uprooted, and many native Greeks left for the islands of the Archipelago.

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

at Elaki. Some of the villagers were located over the hilly side, but most were settled in the Ort-dağça quarter. In my youth the settlement in the vicinity of the Hızzırah mosque was called Ağa Köy [the lower village] ; Meltem, Dağça’ya Ait Bildiklerim, 4. The Orta Dağça quarter (mahalle) and Ağa Köy were the villages of, respectively, Aksel and Ilya. Hızzırah, originally a non-Muslim village called Lıbi, was renamed on 13 April 1914; DHID 97-2 (17 Cemaziye 1332). This document goes against the common belief (which has also found its way into scholarly research) that Hızzırah was called after an Islamic scholar who was a student of Allâme-i Tusi (the exceedingly learned person from Tus), and who lived in the area in the 1400s; Bursa Mehmed Tahir Efendi, Osmanlı Müellifi, 1299-1915, Vol. 1 (Istanbul 1972), 336, as also quoted by M. Çanlı and U. Türkay, Dağça (Reşadiye) Kervan-i Milîyesi (Ankara 1999), 2 n. 11. The legend has it that he died in H. 853, and his supposed tomb in the village is still visited – hence the alternative name for the village, Yatırkoy. For a comprehensive list is still visited – hence the alternative name for the village, Yatırkoy. For a comprehensive list is still visited – hence the alternative name for the village, Yatırkoy. For a comprehensive list is still visited – hence the alternative name for the village, Yatırkoy. For a comprehensive list is still visited – hence the alternative name for the village, Yatırkoy. For a comprehensive list is still visited – hence the alternative name for the village, Yatırkoy. For a comprehensive list is still visited – hence the alternative name for the village, Yatırkoy.

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

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

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