

GREEK CITIZENS IN THE OTTOMAN LANDS AS ARTISANS AND
SHOPKEEPERS, AND THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITY
1830 - 1860

by
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Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Sabancı University

August 2015

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DATE OF APPROVAL: 04.08.2015

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ABSTACT

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Keywords: Ottoman Greeks, Greeks of Greece, Artisans, Diplomacy, Nationality

Until the emergence of an independent Greek state during the first decades of the nineteenth century Ottomans knew only one “Greek nation” (*Rum milleti*). Nevertheless changing realities confused the mindset of the Ottoman administration, and bureaucrats had to reinterpret the notions of nation, nationality, and governance. Ottomans’ way of thinking invented, during 1830s, various categories of Greeks: Ottoman Greeks (*Rum*), Greeks of Greece (*Yunan Rum’u*), Greek (*Yunani*), and finally “Suspicious Populace” (*nüfus-u müştebihe*), and Ottoman administration endeavoured to differentiate these groups of Greeks. This differentiation process also attracted the attention of great powers and the issue became a long process which the intrigues of diplomacy had its share. In addition to this process numerous groups of Ottoman Greeks, who possessed properties and some of whom were artisans and shopkeepers, started to claim that they were subjects of the Kingdom of Greece, but they remained in the Ottoman lands and continued their business there. This study is about the differentiation process of the Ottoman administration, and how the Ottoman Porte dealt with the Greek shopkeepers and artisans in the Ottoman lands who placed their political allegiance to the Greek State. This thesis argues that the formation of the concepts of nation, nationality, citizenship, and the emergence of modern governance in the Ottoman Empire, during the nineteenth century, did not exclusively take place thanks to the efforts of a few “enlightened” Ottoman bureaucrats or due to the foreign influence and pressure, but unexpected popular movements had a fair share in the creation of new perceptions and ideologies, and of the novel ways of government by the administrators of the empire.

ÖZET

OSMANLI TOPRAKLARINDA ESNAFLIK YAPAN VE DÜKKAN İŞLETEN YUNANLILAR, VE MİLLİYET MESELESİ 1830 – 1860

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Master Tezi, Ağustos 2015

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Rumları, Yunan Rumları, Esnafılık, Diplomasi, Milliyet

Ondokuzuncu asrın ilk yarısında bağımsız bir Yunan devletinin teşekkülüne kadar Osmanlılar yalnızca bir tane “Rum Milleti” tanıyordu. Değişen gerçeklik ise Bab-ı Ali’nin kafasını karıştırdı ve idareciler millet, milliyet ve devlet idaresi kavramlarını yeniden yorumlamak zorunda kaldılar. Bunun bir sonucu olarak da 1830’lu yıllarda Osmanlılar muhtelif Rum kategorileri icat ettiler; *Rum reayası*, *Yunan Rum’u*, *Yunanî*, ve *nüfus-u müştebihe*, ve bu grupları birbirinden tefrik etmeye karar verdiler. Bu tefrik süreci kısa sürede büyük devletlerin (İngiltere, Fransa, Rusya ve Avusturya) işin içine girmesiyle diplomatik ilişkilerin de büyük rol oynadığı uluslararası bir mesele haline dönüştü. Bu meseleyle ilave olarak Osmanlı topraklarında mülk tasarruf eden, gemi kaptanlığı ve ziraatle iştiğal eden, esnafılık yapıp dükkan işleten, ve gezici satıcılık yapan (*hurdafuruşluk*) pek çok Osmanlı Rum’u Yunan Krallığı tebası olduklarını iddia etmeye başladılar (*Yunanîlik iddiası*). Bu çalışma 1830 ila 1860 yılları arasında Bab-ı Ali’nin tefrik sürecini nasıl anladığı, ne şekilde yürüttüğü, ve büyük devletler nezdinde kendi menfaatlerini nasıl müdafaa ettiği, ve siyasî bağlılıklarını Yunan Krallığı lehine değiştirmekle beraber Osmanlı topraklarında mülk tasarruf edip esnaflıkla iştiğal etmeye devam eden Rumlar hakkında ne şekil muamelede bulunduğu hakkındadır. Bu çalışmada öne sürülen ve Osmanlı arşiv evrakı ile desteklenmeye çalışılan hipotez Ondokuzuncu asırda millet, milliyet, vatandaşlık ve modern devlet idaresi gibi kavramların ve bunlara müteallik uygulamaların münhasıran Batı tesiri ile “aydınlanmış” Osmanlı devlet adamlarının çalışmaları veya büyük devletlerin baskı ve nüfuzu neticesi meydana gelmediği, ancak beklenmedik halk hareketlerinin de idarecilerin kararlarına ve zihnî tahavvülüne tesir etmesinin mümkün olduğudur.

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INTRODUCTION

Relations of the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Greece presented a multi-faceted pattern in which armed conflicts, be they regular and irregular, had a share along with political tensions and diplomatic manoeuvres. A number of concrete facts could illustrate the more intricate nature of these relations. When an independent Greek state was founded in 1830 overall population of this state was around 800.000, while 2.500.000 Greeks were living as Ottoman subjects.¹ In addition to that Ottoman lands were a natural socio-economic hinterland of the newly established Hellenic nation-state² whose maritime trade and economic prosperity depended, to a great extent, on the fact that it had to be on good terms with the Ottoman administration. Thirdly Greco-Ottoman relations were constantly subject to a significant international attention and, therefore, it could not have been left to these two states only. A sharp observation of an Englishman, who represented the British mercantile policy and whose book was published in London in 1833, illustrates the international and interconnected nature of these relations:

The political independence of the Greeks will elevate the raya [sic.] of Turkey, and force the reorganization of that country. The light craft of Greece will frequent every creek of the Levant and the Euxine; her merchants, combining local experience and information with European connexion and knowledge, and endowed now with political

¹Harlaftis Gelina, *A History of Greek-owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day*, London, 1996, p. 27

² For a very brief but informative account of the state formation process in Greece see Kostas P. Kostis, "The Formation of the State in Greece, 1830 – 1914" in *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, eds. Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas, London and New York, 2005: pp. 18 – 36. Kostis argues that "the haste with which everyone rushes to characterize the Greek state as national creates some questions and contradictions" and adds that "at least until late in the nineteenth century it would be incorrect to speak of a nation-state", pp. 20-21

independence, will spread themselves over the whole surface of Turkey [...] Greece will become one great mart, where the manufacturers of England will be distributed to the surrounding district of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and to which returns from these countries will be directed; she will be one free port, to ling together the commerce of the East and of the West.³

After Greece gained its independence several interesting occurrences took place in Istanbul and in other Ottoman provinces. There appeared many “Greek citizens” who remained in, or returned to the Ottoman lands. Some of them were artisans of various kinds (*esnâf*) and some held shops, and this instantly caught the attention of the Ottoman government. They ruled that only Ottoman subjects could become *esnâf*, therefore Greek citizens should either accept, again, being Ottoman subjects or should sell out everything they had and leave. This was, certainly, not an easy process because there were three other states, Britain, French and Russia, as protecting powers of Greece. As a result they interfered with the process on behalf of Greece, and a number of letters of protests, and of memoranda were exchanged, secret negotiations were held and the issue became a matter of international affair as well.

There were apparently two major reasons that some of the Greeks who were living in the Ottoman lands claimed that they were citizens of the kingdom of Greece. First they might have thought that they could evade paying taxes that every artisan and shopkeeper in the Ottoman lands was expected to pay, and second by claiming that they were not Ottoman subjects they could also avoid paying the necessary poll tax of *cizye*, which was one of the chief sources of income of the Ottoman empire.

³ Urquhart, David, *Turkey and Its Resources: Its Municipal Organization and Free Trade; The State and Prospects of English Commerce in the East; the New Administration of Greece, Its Revenue and National Possessions*, London, 1833, p. 258

It was an accepted custom that the Ottoman centre always tried to control the social order by applying different methods. One of them was the age old institution of *ih̄tisâb*, whose duty was to maintain good order in marketplaces, to organize the number and distribution of workshops of artisans and their production and services so as to meet the demands of the public and of the state, and at the same time to collect taxes and dues.⁴

The period of sultan Mahmud II was a period of change and transformation in many fields. “The Ottoman central elites embarked on a wholesale restructuring of the governmental apparatus; the project involved centralization, taxation and the draft, all of them highly unpopular innovations”.⁵ One of the changes concerned the institution of *ih̄tisâb* in that an office of *ih̄tisâb* was established in 1242 (1826) in order to supervise “all the men of craft and of industry” (*mecmû-ı erbâb-ı hıref ve sanâyi*) and to make sure that “hereafter idles and vagabonds should not come to Istanbul and pile up there” (*fîmâ ba’d Dersââdet’te başıboş ve serseri makûleleri gelüb tahaşşüd idememesi*). This reformed institution was answerable to the Ottoman Porte (*sadâret*). This establishment coincided with the abolition of the Janissaries and renovation of whole the Ottoman administrative structure.⁶

Artisans were organized in city and town centres. These organizations were independent from town to town, and their domestic relations were not as strict and hierarchical as were the case in European towns in the Middle Ages. Especially in Istanbul various organizations of artisans such as rowers, porters, tanners, *fez* makers, dyers, and weavers were divided separately in different parts of the city. Since neither the concept

⁴ Kazıcı, Z., *Osmanlılarda İhtisâb Müessesesi*, Istanbul, 1987, pp. 29-34

⁵ Faroqhi, S., *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans*, New York, 2009, p. 188

⁶ Kazıcı, *İhtisâb*, p. 34-35

nor the reality of annual positive economic development, a modern principle, existed in the Ottomans, the state's chief concern was to maintain the existing balance in the society, which was known as *adâlet*, and *nizâm*. This system started to change after 1838 Ottoman-British trade Agreement which allowed the foreigners could also engage in retail sales in the empire. This practice started to endanger the age old privileges of the Ottoman artisans, and the existing social order as well.⁷

Strict bureaucratic control mechanism was guaranteed by registers. Similar censuses were also applicable to artisans who opened a shop or atelier in Istanbul and in the provinces. Because the income from the dues levied on the artisans were a good financial source. Sultan Mahmud order a comprehensive census was carried out throughout the empire and all the shops belonging to the diverse fields of artisans were registered.⁸ Apart from the fiscal gain censuses were carried out “to police the capital and limit its population” because the period was one of trouble. Officials inspected every house and every shop in Istanbul and in various provinces and registered them. They also tried to find out whether coffee houses were also used as secret gathering places, or whether the recent immigrants were in possession of valid guarantees, *kefil*.⁹ If they did not have reliable guarantors then they would be expelled from the capital.

Faroqhi argues that:

Apparently the administration de facto tolerated the immigration of organized groups in well-defined lines of work, whose headmen and guarantors were known to the authorities; to stabilize their position immigrants might form a separate guild. On the other hand, provincials ‘on their own’ who might end up joining the

⁷ Genç, M., *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul, 2000, pp.294-304

⁸ Kütükoğlu, M. S., “Osmanlı Esnaf Sayımları” in *Osmanlı Öncesi ile Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemlerinde Esnaf ve Ekonomi Semineri 9-10 Mayıs 2002*, İstanbul, 2003; pp. 409-410

⁹ Faroqhi, *Artisans*, p. 114

capital's marginal men were to be kept away as far as the practical means of the time permitted.¹⁰

Change did not only originate from the bureaucratic reorganization of the empire but also the economic circumstances forced the Ottoman to take measures to protect their supposed social and political order. One of the new economic system that would challenge the pre-existing order was “social differentiation based on economic activity” that revealed itself during the eighteenth century as having a couple facets. One of these was the expansion of so-called Greek diaspora into the central Balkans, to Western Anatolia, and to Istanbul. “Demand for Ottoman goods in the economically expanding empire of the Hapsburgs encouraged production. Orthodox subjects of the sultan started to supply what the Hapsburgs needed and they gradually started to settle in Vienna Trieste and Budapest. During the eighteenth century there emerged in the Greek speaking provinces “a mercantile elite [who had] sometimes with ties to manufacturing”, which also included the operators of the Greek merchant marine in Aegean islands.¹¹

Those merchants who settled in the cities of central Europe gradually “started to penetrate the domestic economy, offering credit to the locals and dominating the commercial exploitation of rural production”.¹² This practice caused a reaction and forced the Habsburg bureaucracy to formulate certain precautions. Greeks who were Ottoman subjects and who had settled in Hungary engaged in grocery business and

¹⁰ Faroqhi, *Artisans*, p. 115

¹¹ Faroqhi, *Artisans*, p. 161

¹² Seirinidou, V., “The Greek Trade Diasporas in central Europe”, in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* edited by S. Faroqhi and G. Veinstein, Leuven, 2008, p. 87

became shop-keepers in the towns. In the eighteenth century Habsburg authorities “attempted to limit the participation of Ottoman subjects in their empire’s domestic trade, wholesale or retail”. They demanded after 1774 that Ottoman subjects who wanted to settle and engage in trade should accept being Habsburg subjects.¹³ Ottomans also decided to apply this practice once Greece became independent and there remained a great many Greek citizens, an unexpected novelty, in Istanbul and in the provinces who engaged in several kinds of trade and artisanship.

Ottoman bureaucracy was well aware of the benefit it could obtain from the Greek tradesmen who settled in Habsburg lands and “the sultan’s administration was interested in its subjects’ participation in” the trade in central Balkans. Phanariote diplomats also intervened in the affairs in favour of the Ottoman subjects, and defended them before the Habsburg authorities.¹⁴ This illustrates, therefore, that Ottomans knew very well what it meant that subjects of a foreign country settle in another country in order to do business. This previous experience of the Ottoman bureaucracy, thus, might have helped them contrive a political counterattack when Greek citizens remained in Istanbul and wished to continue their business.

That an independent Greek state was formed caused a couple of concrete and ideological problems to the Ottomans. First of all they were concerned with how to differentiate the subjects of Greece and of the Ottomans. This was of crucial importance vis-à-vis the application of domestic and international laws. Ottomans still applied their traditional differentiation of Muslim subjects and *zimmî* (Christian and Jews who

¹³ Seirinidou, “The Greek Trade Diasporas”, p. 88

¹⁴ Seirinidou, “The Greek Trade Diasporas”, p. 90

accepted the overlordship of a Muslim state and acquiesced to pay the special tax, *cizye*) subjects. There was, in addition, a third category; subjects of third countries who were called *müste'men* (an alien, who obtained a special permission, in the Ottoman lands) and who were granted individual amnesty for their business in and safe conduct of the Ottoman lands.¹⁵ This amnesty was bestowed by local judges (*kadis*) for a specific period of time. Then the question arose what law might be applicable to those who, citizens of Greece, remained in or returned to the Ottoman lands after a long period of conflict and of carnage. They were formerly Ottoman subjects, but following the war of independence they moved from one place to another and their citizenship became somewhat debated (Ottomans named them in official documents “suspicious populace – *nüfus-u müştebihe*”), some of them might have acquired officially the Greek citizenship as well, or because they stayed for a long time in the areas which were allocated to Greece in 1830, Ottoman authorities thought that they switched their political allegiance and decided to regard the newly independent Greece as their home country.

A number of caveats are necessary before starting to sift through Ottoman archival evidence related to the issues of subjecthood (nationality?), and the situation of foreign (especially Greek) subjects who established businesses and ran shops in the Ottoman Empire. Late Professor Donald Quataert has a warning related to the historical methodology in his short note on the subaltern studies.¹⁶

¹⁵ For a discussion of these categories (the legal status of the non-Muslims) as well as other issues pertaining to Islamic law and its application in the Ottoman period see Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Gayrimüslimler: Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Kadar Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Hukuki Durumları*, Ankara, 2001: esp. pp. 173-274

¹⁶ Donald Quataert, “Pensée 2: Doing Subaltern Studies in Ottoman History”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40/3 (Aug. 2008), p. 379

Historians of the Anatolian portions of the Ottoman Empire, unlike many studying the Arab provinces, are nearly silent on the issue of subalterns and their place in the making of history. The vast gap between the relative enthusiasm for subaltern studies among Ottoman scholars of the Arab provinces and those of the Anatolian regions is truly striking. A partial explanation for this state of affairs rests with the centrality of the Turkish state in the minds of many scholars writing in the United States and Turkey. In addition, there is a rich tradition of state-centred historical writing during the reign of the Ottoman Empire, when imperial chronicles detail the lives of sultans and other state elites while ignoring the rest of society. **The depth and richness of the Ottoman archives in Istanbul also attracted students who too often replicated the official orientation of these state-centered documents.** [The emphasis on the last sentence is mine]

As the author of this short study is aware, the reader should also be aware of the fact that all the archival documents that this present study contain were written, mostly, by an Ottoman official for the specific use of another Ottoman official, and their chief concern was to govern the country without a further ado. In short they were neither historians nor sociologists (a discipline that started in 1820s to emerge as a separate area of academic inquiry); and therefore their lack of interest in why people suddenly shifted their political allegiance is understandable; it is because they were not much concerned with the reasons of social unrest but their principal aim, can be argued, was to eradicate any hindrance to their administration.

As for the subalterns who might influence the policy making process of the elites, Prof. Quotient merits another long quote here for this present study might echo a part of his ideas:¹⁷

When using sources that give us access to subalterns, we need to be sensitive to the impact of popular pressures on state decision making- that is, let us be less willing and eager to give exclusive credit to state agents for the legal, political, or social changes occurring. [...] [Ottoman] Government

¹⁷ Donald Quataert, "Pensée 2: Doing Subaltern Studies in Ottoman History", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40/3 (Aug. 2008), p. 380

commissions that formulated the Land Law of 1858, for example, should not be understood only as agents of change from above, but also as bodies responding to pressures from below that gave shape and direction to laws reflecting popular needs. To consider another example, **why did administrative councils come into existence during the early 19th century? Were these only the results of policymakers' actions or the products of activism among local elites driven to action by local peasants or workers?** These causal interactions are commonplace assumptions in subaltern studies. Although we can agree that the state held the monopoly on the means of violence, let us not grant it omnipotence. [The emphasis is mine]

The archival evidence in this study concerns mainly local Ottoman Greeks, who can be described as subalterns. They were shopkeepers, boat captains, villagers, artisans, and peddlers. Nevertheless they formed a vivid and mobile society that forged connections with the Greeks of Greece, and that started to demand more and different things. As Prof. Quotient suggested the impact from below could influence the policymakers' decisions, and one conspicuous example can be found in the Ottoman Nationality Law that was promulgated in 1869. The preamble of the law stresses the disturbance created by certain Ottoman subjects who, having acquired foreign passports, claimed foreign citizenship, and yet they remained in the Ottoman Empire and continued their business.¹⁸ This situation, in effect, constitutes the main subject of this present study.

Bülent Özdemir argues, quite convincingly, that “major changes in local administration brought about by the promulgation of the Tanzimat decree should be seen as the Ottoman government's own response to the changing social, economic, and cultural

¹⁸ İbrahim Serbestoğlu, “Zorunlu Bir Modernleşme Örneği Olarak Osmanlı Tabiiyet Kanunu”, *OTAM* 29 (Bahar, 2011), p. 205

urban realities of the time”.¹⁹ This present short study is in parallel to the conclusion of Özdemir in that the so-called “Ottoman modernization” and changing ideologies during the nineteenth century Ottoman life can directly be attributed to the ever changing realities created by the common people.

The method employed in this study is descriptive which depends on the archival documents preserved in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (BOA). It is not analytical in that comparing and contrasting material is not used; such as archives of the other countries (Greece, England France, Russia, Austria etc.), local newspapers are not consulted, official Ottoman newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekai*, is not consulted either. Personal writings, if ever existed, also are not included in this study. The reason of this is that the chief aim of this thesis is, first and foremost, to pinpoint the question at hand, and second to reflect on how Ottoman authorities perceived the question, how they reacted to change the situation towards their advantage. Further studies might fill in the gaps by analyzing more daring aspects of the question as the issue of nationality and the role of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and how the question evolved through the periods up to and including the republican era.

Lastly a couple of remarks about the Turkish usage of the word “Greek” and “*Yunan maddesi* (Greek question)” which are to be found many times in the Ottoman documents: English language easily recognizes the word “Greek” but the Turkish language, maybe even today, employed a couple of words to denote different categories of “Greeks”, especially in this period of uncertainties:

¹⁹ Bülent Özdemir, *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life: Reflections from Salonika, 1830-1850*, İstanbul, 2003: p. 231

Until the emergence of an independent Greek state during the first decades of the nineteenth century Ottomans knew only one “nation” of Greek (*Rum milleti*):²⁰ Whoever adheres to the religious authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, regardless of the languages they spoke (such as Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, Albanian, Rumanian, Turkish, Arabic) and regardless of where they lived. The term “nation” was employed to indicate a religious differentiation. Nevertheless recent developments confused the mindset of the Ottoman administration, and bureaucrats had to come up with the notion of the existence of different nations and nationhood, especially regarding to the “Greeks”, which has nothing to do with religion anymore.

Ottomans’ way of thinking invented, during 1830s, various categories of Greeks:²¹

1. *Rum, Rum milleti* (Greek, Greek nation; i.e. Ottoman Greek): A Greek who is currently an Ottoman subject, and; a) lives in the Ottoman lands, or; b) lives in a foreign country (e.g. Austria and Russia).
2. *Yunani* (Greek, a subject of Greece): a) A Greek, formerly an Ottoman subject (*Rum*), who is currently under the administration of the Hellenic Kingdom that was established in the first half of the nineteenth century; b) or, alternatively, an Ottoman Greek who is currently living in the Ottoman lands but renounced his

²⁰ Christine Philliou discusses the term “Greek” and how it was understood by different people and how it evolved through the time. Christine Philliou, “Breaking the *Tetrarchia* and Saving the *Kaymakam*” in *Ottoman Rule and the Balkans, 1760 – 1850: Conflict, Transformation, Adaptation; Proceedings of an international conference held in Rethymno, Greece, 13-14 December 2003*, eds. Antonis Anastasopoulos and Alias Kolovos, Rethymno, 2007: pp. 183-186

²¹ Hakan Erdem points out how the Greek war of independence had an influence on the Ottomans to formulate their “political language”, see Hakan Erdem, “Do not Think of the Greeks as Agricultural Labourers’: Ottoman Responses to the Greek War of Independence” in *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, eds. Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas, London and New York, 2005, pp. 78-83

political ties with the Ottoman Empire and placed his political allegiance to the Hellenic Kingdom as his sovereign state.

3. *Yunan Rum'u* (Greek of Greece): Same as number two, part a. A Greek, formerly an Ottoman subject, who recognizes as his sovereign state the Hellenic Kingdom and lives in that separate country. This usage was probably a transitional one between *Rum* (Ottoman Greek) and *Yunani* (Greek of Greece).
4. *Yunanilik iddiasında bulunmak* (To claim Greekness; to claim the subjecthood of Greece): (For an Ottoman Greek) to claim the subjecthood of the Hellenic Kingdom while still living in the Ottoman Empire, and doing business and having acquired property there.
5. *Nüfus-u müştebihe* (Suspicious populace): Greeks in the Ottoman lands whose “nationality” was uncertain, according to the Ottoman authorities.

This fifth point is significant and merits to be analysed in detail. Ottoman authorities accepted the reality that Ottoman Greeks (*Rum milleti*) and Greeks of the Kingdom of Greece (*Yunan Rumları*) were in effect one and the same (*filvaki Yunan Rumları mukaddema Devlet-i Aliyye'nin ecza-i reayasından olmaları hasebiyle*) in 1835; they were both Greeks.²² This is a shift from the previous religious identification in that Greeks, this time, are consisted of, possibly, Greek speaking Christian people only. Furthermore some of the Greeks living in the Ottoman lands were called, in again 1835, by the Porte as “whose nationality was uncertain (*milliyetleri meşukuk ve müştebih*)

²² BOA. HAT. 1221/47759 E, dated 30 Ra 1251 (26 July 1835)

olub)”.²³ This understanding of “nationality” clearly indicates another shift in the mind of the Ottoman bureaucracy in that by writing “nationality” Ottoman administration evidently meant “citizenship”. Therefore the “Greek nation” now has to be divided into two separate “nations” with respect to the citizenships they have; Ottoman or Kingdom of Greece.

As for *Yunan maddesi* (Greek question) in the Ottoman documents it may mean:

1. Those Ottoman Greeks who claim to be subjecthood of the separate kingdom of Greece (the Hellenic Kingdom)
2. The question of the Muslim properties in the places which were ceded, according to the international agreements, to the separate kingdom of Greece
3. A trade agreement with Greece; or
4. Maybe the insurgents from Greece who from time to time attack the Ottoman provinces and cause disturbance there.

Again the word *Yunan maddesi* should be understood according to the context.

Furthermore some of the archival documents included in this short study are diplomatic memoranda. These are different from the other documents in that diplomatic jargon are always laden with the notion and course of action of “what you do not actually mean”; therefore when reading these diplomatic phrases one should, again, be cautious of the fact that the true meaning might be otherwise.

²³ BOA. HAT. 1220/47767A, dated 1250 (17 May 1835)

And one word for the dating of the Ottoman documentation: Some documents in this present study bear an exact date but some of them do not. Those undated documents have been dated by the efforts of the archival officials who have been working in the Ottoman archives for a long time (be they Ottomans or modern Turkish officials). Consequently some documents are given the date of “29 Z (*Zilhicce*)”. This indicates the last possible day of the last month according to the classical Muslim lunar calendar (the *Hicri takvim*). In this case this dating is, therefore, nothing more than to indicate the *terminus ante quem* and it should be understood that the document in question was actually written before that specific date, although still in the same year (unless the document in question was actually written on that exact date, which is impossible, at least in this short essay, to ascertain).

Chapter one of this present study discusses the emergence of the Greek question (*Yunan maddesi*) between the years 1835 and 1840. In this period Ottoman authorities perceived the issue as an urgent matter which was closely connected to the sovereignty of the empire. Ottomans decided to differentiate the Ottoman Greeks from the Greeks of Greece, and to expel Greek shopkeepers and artisans who persisted on not to accept Ottoman subjecthood. Nevertheless it was an intricate matter which attracted the attention of the great powers; England, France, Russia and Austria.

Chapter two describes the situation between 1840 and 1860. In this period struggles continued but in the end Ottoman Empire and Greece agreed on signing a treaty of trade whereby a peaceful solution on several issues, especially the issue of Greek artisans and shopkeepers, seems to have achieved as the Ottomans had desired.

CHAPTER 1

“And were not the embassies saying, before, that there was not a solution other than cutting off the gangrenous limb? Here we have cut off and thrown away these from the body of the state as they had suggested. It is against the wisdom and practice to unite the cut-off limb with the other limbs”²⁴

Ottoman delegation to the representatives of three countries, maybe in London or in Istanbul, 1835

“Now *Reis* should commence and endeavour to get in the way of this disorder by using his authority; there is no greater mischief to the religion and to the state than this (i.e. Greek question)”²⁵

Sultan Mahmud II, his own handwriting, Istanbul, 1835

²⁴ BOA. HAT. 932/40370, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): “ve mukaddema sefaretler tarafından gangrana olan uzvun kat‘ından gayri care yokdur denilmez miydi? İşte teklifleri vechile biz bunları cism-i devletden kesip atdık. Uzv-u maktu‘un aza-i saireye ittisali hikmet ve adete muhalif olmağla”

²⁵ BOA. HAT. 1217/47663, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): “Bu hususda Reis artık makdurunu sarf ederek şu fesadın önünü kesdirmeye ikdam ve gayret eylesin; dinen ve mülken bundan büyük muzır şey olmaz”

Ottoman authorities acknowledged an apparent dilemma regarding the Greek populace right after the Ottoman Porte acceded to the formation of an independent Greek state in 1830. According to an Ottoman document Greek representatives claimed in 1835 that Greeks who had, during the Greek independence war, fled Anatolian and Rumelian coastline and returned to their homes once the hostilities between the Ottoman Empire and Greece were ceased should be regarded as citizens of the kingdom of Greece. This idea was rejected by the Ottoman representatives who claimed that although, during the negotiations in London, the issue of nationality of all of the Greeks who had deserted the Ottoman lands (*memalik-i mahrusa*) during the disturbances was discussed, Ottoman representatives did not accept the above reasoning and approved that only those Greeks who had been living in the provinces which joined the insurrection (*ihtilal zuhur eden mahall-i malume*) should be regarded as citizens of Greece; the remaining Greeks, even if they claimed citizenship of Greece, should be regarded as Ottoman subjects.²⁶

Ottoman authorities were worried that if Greek citizens and Ottoman Greeks happen to live side by side, then the Greek consulates in İzmir and other places could try to infiltrate into the Ottoman Greek communities and try to convince them, by distributing *patente* (a document of naturalization), to urge them to become Greek citizens (*tavr-i raiyyetden çıkarmak*). This process was regarded by the Ottomans as very unsuitable and detrimental to the Ottoman state: “In terms of state administration it seems very mischievous and inconvenient that Greeks, i.e. Greeks of Greece, mingle and get mixed,

²⁶ BOA. HAT. 932/40370, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835)

as before, with the Ottoman non-Muslim subjects, and that they gradually increase in number and becoming established in the Ottoman dominions”²⁷

The dilemma was that Ottoman authorities could not have accepted that a portion of former Ottoman Greeks now become Greek citizens, by their free will, and still continue living in the Ottoman lands. Therefore all the Greeks who returned to their previous homes should, again, accept Ottoman subjecthood (*raiyyet*). But what if those Greeks claim that they are now Greek citizens and no more Ottoman *reaya*, but they wish to live on in the Ottoman Empire and engage in shopkeeping and artisanal activity. This is what actually happened after 1830 and Ottomans tried to use several diplomatic manoeuvres to further their cause among the international community. As for what is to be done regarding this “suspicious populace” (*nüfus-u müştebihe*) Ottomans’ behaviours can be divided into four phases:

First phase continued until 1835 during which Ottomans did not take any serious action regarding Greeks who claimed citizenship of Greece not least negotiations between the Ottoman Empire and Greece were going on to determine the question of properties of Muslims which had been left to Greece: “although they, i.e. Greeks of Greece, were allowed temporarily to remain in their business for the opinion that [this attitude] might expedite to solve the problem of Muslim properties to which your servant Şekib Efendi was assigned in the Greek side”.²⁸ Nevertheless Ottomans were determined to differentiate those “Greeks, Christian men of craft, who are in İzmir and other Ottoman

²⁷ BOA. HAT. 932/40370, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): “Yunanilerin Dersaadet ve gerek taşralarda kemakan reaya-i Devlet-i Aliyye ile amiziş ve ihtilatları ve refte refte Memalik-i Mahrusa’da teksir ve tekarrürleri mülkce pek muzır ve gayet ungunsuz görünmek[tedir]”

²⁸ BOA. HAT. 932/40370, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): “Yunan tarafında olan Şekib Efendi kullarının memur olduğu emlak-ı ehl-i İslam maddesinin teshiline medar olmak mülahazasıyla bunların buldukları kesb-ü karlarına muvakkaten ruhsat gösterilmiş ise de”

provinces, and who were named suspicious populace” from the subjects of the Ottoman Empire if a proper solution to the question of properties has not been reached.²⁹

It is apparent from the Ottoman documents that Ottomans decided to use this group of people as a potential threat and as a means of political manoeuvre against Greece. So long as Greece behaves well and presents no problem to the Ottomans then Ottoman authorities seem to condone the activities of Greek citizens in their country. Otherwise strict measures can be taken against those people.

Second phase seems to be between 1835 and 1840. During these years Ottoman authorities started to differentiate the two nationalities and attempting to force those who claimed Greek citizenship to either accept *raiyyet* or to leave for Greece permanently: “Greeks who were settled and have been living in the Ottoman lands should either accept Ottoman subjecthood or else leave for their country. This is the right thing”.³⁰

Third phase lasted about less than one year. During the negotiations and after the signing of the trade agreement in 1840, between Greece and the Ottoman Empire, the Porte decided not to push the matter further and ruled that former Ottoman subjects who now claim Greek citizenship may stay in the Ottoman lands and continue their business as artisans and shopkeepers so long as they pay their taxes and agree to be judged by the Ottoman authorities should they breach a law.³¹

²⁹ BOA. HAT. 932/40370, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): “*nüfus-u müştebihe addiyle esnaflık etmekte olan Hristiyanlar misillü İzmir ve sair memalik-i mahrusada olan Yunaniler*”

³⁰ BOA. HAT. 932/40370, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): “*Memalik-i mahrusa’da temekkün ve ikamet üzere olan Yunaniler ya kabul-ü raiyyet etsinler veyahud vilayetlerine gitsinler. İşte sözün sağı budur*”

³¹ BOA. C.HR. 146/7287, dated 29 Z 1255 (4 March 1840)

Fourth phase came very quickly when Greece did not approve the already signed trade agreement. The tide was once more turned against the “suspicious populace”. An Ottoman document dated December 5, 1840 voices the anger of the Sublime Porte. Ottomans were, once again, persistent in expelling those who claim Greek citizenship unless they accept *raiyyet*, and the Porte decided to promulgate harsh measures against Greece in order to make Greece accept the previous terms: “Expelling subjects of Greece who had been artisans here as a compelling expedient in order to bring the Greeks to the centre of acceptance due to the fact that the Greek state did not ratify the already signed agreement”³²

Fourth phase probably continued until 1855, when two parties signed, in the end, a long lasting trade agreement. Article seventeen of the trade agreement affirms the Ottomans’ claim and states that Greek citizens may remain in the Ottoman lands and do business so long as they pay their taxes and agree to being judged by the Ottoman authorities.³³ Ottoman Porte further confirmed this mutual understanding in 1857 by issuing an order to Istanbul Municipality (*Şehremaneti*), stating that all of the severe punishments (*mücazat-ı şedide*) to the artisans and shopkeepers of the Greek citizens were waived.³⁴ This system seems to have continued because two years later, in 1859, a new document was issued in order to monitor the current situation and it reads that those who claim

³² BOA. İ.MSM. 30/855, dated 10 L 1256 (5 December 1840): “*Yunan devletinin muahede-i mün‘akideyi adem-i tasdikine binaen Yunanileri merkez-i kabule getirmekliğe bir nev‘i tedbir-i icbari olmak üzere burada esnaflıkda bulunan Yunan teb‘asının çıkarılması*”

³³ Akyay, Bülent, *Başlangıçtan Girit İsyanına Kadar Osmanlı-Yunan İlişkileri*, PhD Thesis, Ege Üniversitesi, 2010

³⁴ BOA. HR.MKT. 176/9, dated 07 C 1273 (2 February 1857)

Greek citizenship were allowed to go about their business so long as they continue paying their taxes and dues regarding artisanship.³⁵

Second Phase: Chastisement, 1835 – 1840

Although it has been, now, five years since the foundation of the Hellenic state, wounds of the Ottomans were still bleeding. Their feelings towards the newly establish state were hardly friendly and probably their pride did not permit the Ottoman Porte to bestow more concessions to the citizens of the breakaway kingdom. During these years Ottomans' attitude towards their former subjects, who now claim Greek citizenship, is very dramatically summarized in one of the Ottoman document as below:³⁶

While there had taken place this much disagreeable events, which are indecent to mention, with the Greeks, the ministers of the state never approve granting permission of the business of artisanship to them, which has not been granted to any subject of a foreign state, and allowing them, as before, to live together with the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire as if previous events did never take place; especially after [the Ottoman administration] accepted their embassies and [established] official relationship [with Greece] because, now, they became an independent government

Ottomans' grave concerns of political, legal, and economic nature, and their way of legitimating eloquently of their opinion before the international community can be discerned in one of their official memorandum to be given to the representatives of the

³⁵ BOA. HR. MKT. 298/99, dated 03 M 1276 (2 August 1859)

³⁶ BOA. HAT. 932/40370, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): “Yunanilerle meyanede zikri müstehcen bu kadar macera vuku bulmuş iken şimdi bunlar hükümet oldu deyu adeta sefaretleri kabulünden ve sair muamelat-ı resmîyeden sonra bir de hiç bir devletin tebasına ruhsat verilmeyen esnaflık ticaretini dahi bunlara bahş edip de vukuat-ı sabıka hiç olmamış gibi kemakan reaya-i devlet-i aliyye ile karma karışık ikametlerini doğrusu vükela-i devlet-i aliyye bir vechile tecviz edemiyorlar.”

three countries (*düvel-i selâse*); England, France and Russia. Because of its importance a very long passage is worth to be quoted here in full³⁷:

Copy of the Official Memorandum to be Dispatched
to the Embassies of the Three Countries

Content of the official note that had been presented on May 17 [1835] by our friend the honourable ambassador of Russia about the Greek subjects who are currently in the Ottoman dominions was known [by the Sultan]. Since the subject of this case is one of the delicate matters which pertains to the [Ottoman] imperial rights and fundamental affairs of the [Ottoman] Empire [...] As the Ottoman Empire, having demonstrated [its] consent to the independence of the Greek country, does not have an intention other than peaceful relations with the aforesaid country; the Greek government, as is required, [should understand the fact that]:

The opinion that Greek subjects (*Yunan tebası*) may be included in and get mixed with the Greek nation (*Rum milleti*) which is from the subjects of the Ottoman Empire is against the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire [...] in effect since the Greeks of Greece (*Yunan Rumları*) were once a part of the subjects of the Ottoman Empire it is evident that from place to place there have been connections of blood kinship and marriage relations, and commercial contacts and affairs between them [Greeks of Greece and the Ottoman Greeks]

In terms of cooperation in the crafts [...], business and trade between the Ottoman Greeks and the Greeks of Greece who are not under the administration of the Ottoman Empire and [its] legislative policy, disorder will be created, day after day, by the mixing and getting together of the separate two classes of subjects [because of these two reasons]:

On the one hand there are mixture and commonality in terms of ancestral lineage, income and trade; on the other hand they are subjects of two different and independent governments.

Furthermore, that a group of people who broke away from the Ottoman Empire and chose to be aliens should remain in their previous positions and get mixed with the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and continue their business and crafts is contrary to the imperial laws, and method and wisdom of governance.

[There have been] delay and slowness in the differentiation of subjecthood and identification of those who were named suspicious populace

³⁷ BOA. HAT. 1221/47759 E, dated 30 Ra 1251 (26 July 1835)

[... nevertheless] The Ottoman Empire, in order to protect its right of sublime independence and its domestic regime, cannot postpone the announcement of its decision and of the will of its government, [and rules that]:

Greeks who are proved to be subjects of Greece, and who are currently in the business of artisanship and in retail sale in İstanbul, İzmir and other Ottoman lands should either accept by their free will Ottoman subjecthood and remain in their places and in their craft and business, or, the remaining [Greeks] should leave for their separate country after liquidating all of their assets and properties within three months, since they broke away from the government of the Ottoman Empire. These people could only visit [the Ottoman lands] as temporary businessmen as per the articles of the future trade agreement.

This memorandum contains the rationale of the Ottoman government. First of all they did not want foreign subjects settle and do business in their country unchecked. This was, and still is, contrary to domestic laws. They accept the reality that Ottoman Greeks and Greeks of the Kingdom of Greece (who were once a part of the subjects of the Ottoman Empire – *mukaddema Devlet-i Aliyye'nin ecza-i reayasından*) were in effect one and the same. This might have been additional concern in that, as was seen in the history of modern Turkey during 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, Ottoman authorities might have been afraid of the possibility that they could have formed a fifth column within the Ottoman state. Moreover the other Greeks, former Ottoman subjects, chose to relinquish their loyalty to the Ottomans (*Devlet-i Aliyye'den mufarakatle ecnebiliği ihtiyar etmiş*), therefore they had to be punished and they could not have been allowed to remain in the country that they had betrayed. This was contrary to the imperial rules (*kavaid-i mülkdari*), and to the notion and system of imperial governance (*usul-ü hikmet-i*

hükümetşari). This was about the sovereignty of the Ottoman government (*hakk-ı istiklal-i âli*) which on no account wishes to compromise.

This passage also reveals that the Ottomans regarded the Greek population in Istanbul, whose identity was uncertain, as suspicious populace (*nüfus-u müştebihe*). Therefore a process of differentiation and identification of citizenships (*temyiz-i raiyyet ve teşhis*) was necessary. Therefore Ottomans were determined to identify the citizens of Greece and of Turkey, and to forbid the foreign people in engaging shop keeping and in retail business, unless they, with their free will, accept being Ottoman subjects.

Interestingly enough Ottoman administration also expressed very clearly that they observed “human rights” (*hukuk-u insaniyet*) so much so that those who do not accept being Ottoman subjects were allowed to sell out their properties and leave for Greece in peace. The use of “human rights” in the official Ottoman correspondence merits a more in depth research. One cannot help thinking that Ottomans, who were believed by the European public opinion to be a savage and cruel administration especially pursuing the Greek war of independence, might have endeavoured to reverse that opinion and tried to convince the European powers that Ottomans would respect “human rights” in their dealings with the Greek population of suspicious nationality, therefore the European public opinion need not support the Greeks of Greece blindly. Ottoman administration had already made it very clear that those Greeks, who did not accept the Ottoman subjecthood, were to be given a period of time enough to liquidate their properties, and they would never be forced to leave the Ottoman lands. Bearing in mind these two the Ottoman administration might have understood the term “human rights” as lawful respect to the private property (i.e. properties would not be confiscated) and to the

security of the life of the person (i.e. Greeks of Greece would not be forced to leave). Merchants, however, could enter the Ottoman lands for business, following the ratification of trade agreement.

The question of how to differentiate the nationalities was agreed upon following a series of negotiations with foreign embassies and it was decided in 1836 that³⁸:

1. Those who had been living in the areas that were left to Greece came to the Ottoman lands, on the condition that they renounced every ties (*kat-ı alaka*) and sold their properties there, within the period that was agreed on [until the June 1837] would be regarded as Ottoman subject, and if they chose to remain in the places that were given to Greece (*mahall-i metruke*), on condition that they renounced their ties with the Ottomans, within the designated time, would be regarded as subjects of Greece.
2. Since the designated period ended on the beginning of July, 1837 those who stayed on within the Ottoman lands, on condition they continued their business and possessed properties (*kat-ı alaka etmemiş*) would be regarded as Ottoman subjects. This article would prove difficult to be implemented since the problem arose because of these groups. They stayed on, or immigrated to the Ottoman lands and engaged in some type of business, but at the same time still had connections to Greece.
3. Those who immigrated to Greece in order to live permanently (*li ecli't-temekkün Yunan memleketine azimet etmiş ol tarafda tavattun eylemiş*) from the beginning of the Greek revolt (*esna-i fetret*) until June 1830, when an agreement was

³⁸ BOA. HAT. 1220/47749, dated 29 Z 1251 (16 April 1836)

signed, would be regarded as Greek subjects, while those who immigrated to the Ottoman lands within the stated period would be regarded as Ottoman subject.

As a general rule Greek families (*Rum familyalarından*) from the places that were left to Greece, or those who had been living in the Ottoman lands, in particular along the Anatolian coast, and those whose properties were confiscated or destroyed and those who were banished because of the disturbance (*Rum fesadı sebebiyle*), if they moved to Greece and remained there three years continually, for the seafaring men only one year, between June 1830 and July 1837, they would be regarded as Greek subjects. Nevertheless if they immigrated to Greece but did not stay three years there and came back, they would be regarded as Ottoman subject.

The abovementioned principles are important in that if a Greek did not fall into the designated categories, and if he lived on the Ottoman lands he would be regarded as an Ottoman subject, even if he possessed a Greek passport: “As for the Ottoman non-Muslim subjects who are not defined by the aforementioned features, and who had received passports and documents of naturalization, their documents of naturalization are to be taken away from them and they will be included into the Ottoman subjecthood”.³⁹

It was also evident that the Ottomans obtained a considerable support from the British, since in a report by the Ottoman ambassador in London, Beylikçi Efendi⁴⁰, wrote, in

³⁹ BOA. HAT. 1220/47749, dated 29 Z 1251 (16 April 1836): “*evsaf-ı mezkure ile muttasıf olmıyan Devlet-i Aliyye reayasından pasaport ve patente almış olanlarsa yedlerinde olan patenteleri ahz ile taht-ı raiyyete idhal kılınmaları*”

⁴⁰ This is not a name but an Ottoman official of importance. For the office of “*beylikçi*” see Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, s.v. “Beylikçi”

cipher, that Lord Palmerstone, British foreign secretary, told him a couple of times that “that Greeks engage in craftsmanship and in retail sale [is not appropriate]”.⁴¹

Ottomans conveyed their ideas strongly to Lord Palmerstone. Turkish translation of the official letter sent in 1838 to the British foreign secretary reads:⁴²

Those who had fled to the Greek country during the rebellion and after that returned to their autochthonous country (*kadimi vatanlarına*) and obtained possessions and engaged in business, cannot be allowed to claim citizenship of Greece (*Yunanilik davası*) [...] These people who settled in İstanbul and other places and acquired estate and property should either accept by their free will Ottoman subjecthood and continue to reside, or if they do not accept [Ottoman subjecthood] they have to sell everything they have and immigrate to the Greek side [...] and these people who do not accept being Ottoman subjects] cannot go about their business like craftsmanship and retail sale which are particularly reserved for the Ottoman subjects, but [could visit temporarily the Ottoman lands] for the purpose of trade

Then how the Ottoman decided to organize the process of differentiation of nationalities and of forbidding the Greeks engaging in retail sale and shop keeping? A couple of documents betray the peculiarities of the process.

In order to discuss to forbid the Greeks of Greece in engaging retail sale and to expel some of them Prime Minister (*Başvekil*) Rauf Paşa, General Chief of Staff (*Serasker*), Undersecretary of Interior (*Dahiliye Müsteşarı*) Sârim Efendi, and Chief Admiral (*Kapudan Paşa*) gathered together in the admiral’s house, following the order of sultan.⁴³ Prime Minister wrote that the Greeks would be punished because “they are endowed with treachery and crime (*mecbul oldukları hıyanet ve cinayetlerinden dolayı*)”. Execution of these orders was entrusted to Water Minister (*Su Nazırı*) Hüsam

⁴¹ BOA. HAT. 1220/47736, dated 29 Z 1251 (16 April 1835): “Yunanilerin Dersaadet’de ve memalik-i mahrusa-i sairede esnaflık ve hurdafuruşluk gibi şeylerde bulunmaları [is not appropriate] kendüsü dahi itiraf idüb bayağı bir kaç defa [told me so]”

⁴² BOA. HAT. 1220/47757, dated 29 Z 1253 (26 March 1838)

⁴³ BOA. HAT. 1220/47731C, dated 29 M 1255 (14 April 1839)

Efendi, whose job was to register the Ottoman subjects (*reaya-yı Devlet-i Aliyye'nin yazılması*). Greek Patriarchate would also help Hüsam Paşa in his office. Those who would accept being Ottoman subject would be recorded in a separate register, and names and jobs of the other Greeks would be investigated with the assistance of the Patriarchate. They had also contacted with the diplomatic representative of Greece and discussed the issue with him as well. Prime minister wrote that “this forbidding of retail sale question was addressed a few times before but for each time it was postponed by a consideration and so far it has left unsolved”. It is understood that the Ottomans had long been contemplating on the possibility of this problem, but could not come up with a resolution until that time. Now that they were determined to do away with the problem, Prime Minister offered to options, to sultan, regarding how to proceed: First option is, “after those who claim Greek subjecthood have been separated from the non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, and all of their names, surnames, shops and addresses have been written in a register, in the second place they can be prohibited and expelled”. Prime Minister seems to imply, in this passage, that first priority was not to expel all the Greek citizens but first to register them and by this way understand and control their scope of activity (*tefrik-i reaya*). However he offers a second option: “or both the separation of subjecthood and the prohibition of retail sale can be handled right away at all costs”. Sultan Mahmud II preferred the first course of action.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ BOA. HAT. 1220/47731C, dated 29 M 1255 (14 April 1839): “*ibtida şu reayanın Yunanî bulunanlardan tefriki hasıl olduktan ve bunun arasında o makule Yunanîlik davasında olanların isim ve şöretleri ve dükkân ve mahalleri sebt-i defter olunarak bilindikten sonra, derece-i saniyede bunların men' ve def'i çaresine bakılması; ve yahud şuna buna bakılmıyarak gerek tefrik-i reaya ve gerek hurdafuruşluk maddesinin şimdiden men'i*”

In parallel to the abovementioned correspondence a couple of more documents are about the same issue. First is about the process of Hüsam Efendi's appointment and his job proper.

Greek citizens who engaged in retail sale and shop keeping in the Ottoman lands were given a three-month period in which they either accept, by their will, being Ottoman subject or else they have to sell out their properties and leave for Greece.⁴⁵ Before this Ottomans had already exchanged opinions with the three states and with the Greek diplomatic representative. Firstly the ambassadors protested the decision and after a while they gave their consent. It is tempting to think that whether Lord Palmerstone, who sided with the Ottomans, had a role in persuading France, Russia and Greece.

Previously official memoranda had been given to the ambassadors of the three countries and the Greek ambassador separately, and thereupon official memoranda in the form of protest were dispatched from the aforementioned ambassadors; then once again official memoranda were sent in order to strengthen the previous ones [...] and the three ambassadors agreed to [the Ottomans' proposition]⁴⁶

It is apparent from this passage that in those hazardous times Ottomans could not make conclusive decisions even for their domestic affairs unless foreign powers gave their consent. The Ottoman administration had to use its diplomatic skills and try to find a suitable ally in order to achieve its goal.

⁴⁵ BOA. HAT. 1218/47701, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835). The date of this document does not conform to the date of the previous document (BOA. HAT. 1220/47731C, dated 29 M 1255 (14 April 1839)). Although it seems that these two are closely related to each other, and they should follow one another, I did not have enough time to make an in depth research to clarify the dates.

⁴⁶ BOA. HAT. 1218/47701, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): "*mukaddema düvel-i selase elçileriyle Yunan elçisine başka başka tekarir-i resmiye ita olunmuş ve anın üzerine elçi-i mumaileyhim taraflarından müştereken protesto şeklinde tekarir-i resmiye verilmiş ise de, berü taraftan mukaddemki takriri müeyyed tekrar resmî takrirler ile ... süfere-i selase tarafından suret-i muvafakat gösterilmiş olduğundan*"

Water minister Hüsam Efendi was appointed because he was regarded as “a man of intelligence and agile (*söz anlar ve çevik bir bendeleri*)”, and his job was explained in the document as “to find customers for the shops and work certificates (*gedik*) and have them sold, and if customers cannot be found quickly to sell them to the craftsmen in order to re-sell to the suitable customers later”.⁴⁷ First attention would be given to Istanbul, and then it was stated that the provinces would be taken into consideration at a later time (*badehu taşralarda dahi iktizasına bakılacağı*).

Another document reveals little more information about the issue.⁴⁸ Hüsam Efendi, according to the document, had previous experience about the matter, although it does not specify the details (*malumat-ı sabıkası cihetiyle su nazırı Hacı Hüsam Efendi bendeleri memur ve tayin kılınmak münasib ise de*). It was decided that Hüsam Efendi would supervise the issue only two days a week, for he had to take care in the other days of his own office proper. It was also acknowledged that “in effect the matter in question is not one which can be executed quickly (*vakia husus-u mezbur ta’cilen ve serian icra olunur mevaddan olmayub*)”, and the course of action would be “step by step (*bi’t-teenni*)”.⁴⁹

The document also reveals the process with which Greeks who were subjects of Greece were taken under the Ottoman *raiyyet*, and the difficulty of it. It reads “although about a thousand of those who are called Greeks were distributed *cizye* papers, they were not found guarantors by the Patriarchate and they were not registered in the population

⁴⁷ BOA. HAT. 1218/47701, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): “*satılacak dekâkin ve gediklere müşteri bulub satdırmak ve tez elden müşterisi bulunmadığı halde badehu münasibe satılmak üzere esnafca mübayaa etdirilmek gibi maslahatlar*”

⁴⁸ BOA. HAT. 1218/47723, dated 08 M 1255 (24 March 1839)

⁴⁹ BOA. HAT. 1218/47723, dated 08 M 1255 (24 March 1839)

register”.⁵⁰ So the Ottomans distributed *cizye* documents to non-Muslim subjects, equivalent to modern day national identification cards, who accepted *raiyyet*, but they were also required to obtain a guarantor and to be registered in census books as well. Therefore cooperation of Patriarchate was instrumental for they it would act as guarantor, or the Patriarchate would find a suitable (i.e. acceptable for the Ottoman authorities) one, for them. For this reason it was decided that Patriarchate should appoint a person who is quite acquainted with politics to work under the auspices of the chief Ottoman official of “differentiation of subjects”. Their job was to ascertain those, originally Ottoman subjects, who claimed being subjects of Greece, and to turn them to the Ottoman subjecthood again, as well as to “encourage” those subjects of Greece who ran shops and were craftsmen in the Ottoman lands to switch back to the Ottoman subjecthood.⁵¹ To this end Patriarchate would be “requested” to assume the responsibility, first, of a go-between, in order to convince them to accept *raiyyet*, and second of a means of guaranty. It is certain, from the document, that Ottomans’ intention was to include them into their system of *raiyyet*, rather than to expel them all. However in case they did not accept the offer they were given no chance to remain in their places.

Yet three countries did not refrain from protesting the implementation by the Ottoman authorities of the differentiation process. Ambassador of France in İstanbul composed

⁵⁰ BOA. HAT. 1218/47723, dated 08 M 1255 (24 March 1839): “*Yunanî denilenlerden bin kadar eşhasa cizye kağıdları verilmiş ise de kendüleri Patrikhane marifetiyle kefile ve nufus defterine kayıd ve sebt olunmamış olduğundan*”

⁵¹ BOA. HAT. 1218/47723, dated 08 M 1255 (24 March 1839): “*maiyyetine Patrikhane tarafından oldukça politikaya aşina der-ibtikâr bir kulları tayin kılınarak asl-ı teba-yı saltanat-ı seniyyeden olarak Yunanîlik raiyyetinde bulunanlar kimlerdir anın marifetiyle bi’t-tahkik cümlesi taht-ı raiyyete idhal kılınmak ve Yunanî takımından hurdafuruşluk ve esnaflık ile meşgul olanların içlerinde dahi mümkün olabilenleri bi’t-teşvik raiyyeti kabul ettirerek Rum Patriki marifetiyle kefalaya rabt ile taht-ı raiyyete idhal*”

an official statement in the form of a letter of protest on May 17, 1835 and strictly voiced that the differentiation process was to be postponed until a trade agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Greece has been signed.⁵² Until this day the people whose nationalities were regarded as “suspicious” should not be left to the mercy of local administrators.⁵³ Less than a month later the ambassadors of the three countries together wrote their grave concerns to the Porte. This time their voice of criticism turned to open threats. They notified the Porte that if The Ottoman authorities would insist on their policy this would postpone the trade agreement and the negotiations.⁵⁴ Moreover they firmly demanded (although the Turkish translation of their statement used the word *teşvik* (to encourage) it is apparent that what they meant was a strong demand) that Ottomans should not implement their decision about the Greek subjects and should send for the Greek ambassador and negotiate the matter with him.⁵⁵ Close to the end of their letter of protest they solemnly declared that if the Porte would be persistent in the implementation of its decision the embassies would have to inform their respective governments of the situation and the Porte would assume the responsibility of the all possible grave consequences.⁵⁶

⁵² BOA, HAT: 1220/47767A, dated 1250 (17 May 1835): “milliyetleri meşuk ve müştebih olub teşhis ve tayin halleri ticaret ahidnamesine kadar talik olunan kesana gelince bu kaziyye dahi kabule na şayandır”

⁵³ BOA, HAT: 1220/47767A, dated 1250 (17 May 1835)

⁵⁴ BOA, HAT: 1220/47752, dated 1251 (12 June 1835): “devlet-i aliyye işbu meseleyi kendü rey ve hükmüyle kat’ ve fasl buyurdukları suretde bir ticaret muahedesinin inikadını tehir ve mükalemeyi talik eder”.

⁵⁵ BOA, HAT: 1220/47752, dated 1251 (12 June 1835): “Yunan hakkında teşebbüs etmek üzere beyan buyurdukları kararını icra etmeyip belki ... Yunan elçisinin Bab-ı Ali’ye takdim ettiği ... takririni bi’l-mütalaa elçi ile müzakereye ve şimdiye kadar cari olan suret üzere keyfiyetin iade ve ibkasına”.

⁵⁶ BOA, HAT: 1220/47752, dated 1251 (12 June 1835): “Bab-ı Ali kararında ısrarcı olursa süfere keyfiyeti devletlerine tahrir etmek ve bu kararın müstelzim olabileceği kaffe-i netayic-i vahimenin mesuliyetini Devlet-i Aliyye üzerine bugünden tahmil eylemeye muhtac olacaktır”.

Two more documents could shed more light on what happened right after the jointly signed letter of protest (*takrir-i resmiye*) reached the Porte and how further negotiations were organized between the owners of the letter of protest and the Porte. The age was, no doubt, one of diplomacy and the very existence of the Ottoman empire strictly depended on how well it played the game and whether or not the empire could find suitable partners who might support the Ottomans' claims. First document was addressed to the Sultan Mahmud II in order to let him know the recent significant traffic of diplomacy and to determine where the Ottomans should stand.⁵⁷ According to the document Ottoman authorities were visited by two missions, Russia and Austria, on five separate occasions, just within a few days.

The abovementioned letter of protest was handed over to the Ottoman authorities by the interpreter of the Russian embassy, Pizani (Etienne Pisani). He told the Ottoman officials of *hidmet-i riyaset* (the office of *Reisülküttab*) that he wished to present a statement, jointly written and signed by the ambassadors of the three countries, as a response to the Ottoman statement about the situation of the Greek nationals in the Ottoman Empire. Next day the undersecretary of the Russian embassy, Telemek, arrived at the Ottoman office and so started the game of diplomacy. He appeared, at first, to be shocked by what Pizani said to the Ottoman officials: Ottoman Porte will be held responsible (guilty) for this matter. Then Telemek explained that in reality the Russian ambassador, Pontef, was unable to challenge his partners, ambassadors of England and France, and he unwillingly accepted to sign the letter of protest. Furthermore he indicated that even if ambassadors of England and France could deliver

⁵⁷ BOA. HAT. 1217/47663, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835)

such a statement he was not authorized by his country, Russia, to present such a repressive statement. Ottomans, on the other hand, did not seem to be convinced by the “unwillingness” of the Russian ambassador⁵⁸ and preceded to an intelligence operation in order to clearly understand who actually wrote the letter of protest. Grand vizier was sure in his report to the Sultan Mahmud II that he found out the truth: In effect the Russian ambassador Pontef was responsible for the writing of the letter of protest. Then the other ambassadors signed the document as well.⁵⁹

Ottomans played their game well and did not reproach Telemak; Grand Vizier wrote that they secretly sent Bulak Bey⁶⁰ and a certain “English physician” (*İngilizli hekim*) to the ambassadors of England and France, who carried this message: Even if the Ottoman Porte will respond to the letter of protest, the ambassadors of England and France should never take offence in that the real target of the Ottomans’ response is the Russian ambassador.⁶¹

⁵⁸ BOA. HAT. 1217/47663, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): “ve bu maddede elçi bey refiklerine muhalefet edemediğinden bu vechile takrir takdimi ve onların reyine itbaen olmuşdur deyu güya bu takrir elçi-i mersumun marzisi olmadığını ifade etmiş ise de”

⁵⁹ BOA. HAT. 1217/47663, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): “Takrir-i mezkur [letter of protest by the three countries] bu maddenin netayic-i vahime ve mesuliyet vakiası taraf-ı Devlet-i Aliyye’ye raci olacağına dair ağır sözler ile, verilen takrir-i resmîyi [the abovementioned one that the Ottomans prepared and handed over to the three countries] sarahaten protesto demek olduğundan acaba sefaretlerin hangisi tarafından kaleme alındığı mahremane araştırıldıkda, Pontef [Russian ambassador] kendisi kaleme alıp İngiltere elçisine göndererek Fransa elçisiyle muhabereden sonra İngiltere sefarethanesinde yazılıp bade üçü dahi imza etmiş oldukları istihbar olunmuş”

⁶⁰ His name was Alexandre Blaque and he “was a French-Belgian Levantine who had been a lawyer in İzmir, had published the first newspaper in the Ottoman Empire (in French) in 1821, and subsequently, in the late 1820s, had moved to İstanbul [...] Blaque was quite involved in Ottoman foreign relations [...] Blaque was comparable to what Findley dubbed “marginal men” who stepped forward in the 1820s; without having been expressly trained in or for an Ottoman political career, Blaque happened to have had the desired skills and acquaintances to serve an important function in İstanbul politics”, see Christian Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*, University of California Press, 2011; p. 128

⁶¹ BOA. HAT. 1217/47663, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): “Mahsusca Bulak ve İngilizli hekim kendilerine irsal ile taraf-ı Devlet-i Aliyye’den ne bu takririn mealine ve ne maslahata göre sükut olunamayarak beherhal cevap ita olunacağından, zaruri biraz dokunaklıca olur ise de İngiltere ve

As for Telemak he was informed that the Ottoman Porte believes that English and French ambassadors are to blame and Russia should never take offence of the Ottomans' response.⁶²

Ottomans were seriously short of power in every respect; their military strength was severely ruined, they were short of bureaucratic personnel of quality, economy and finance served for the bare survival; in short they were afflicted by myriads of domestic and international crises that gnawed at the empire. Therefore diplomacy seemed to be the only option to buy some time for a trifle of respite; they simply could not afford to irritate the three countries by their harsh attitudes.

Official visits continued. After Telemak had left the Ottoman office ambassador of Austria, Fontre, visited Amedçi efendi⁶³ and from there he specifically stopped by Reisülküttap efendi in order to discuss the "Greek question (*Yunan maddesi*)". Ottomans were still adamant that Greek subjects would never be allowed to continue their business. Grand Vizier wrote, in his report to the Sultan about the conversation between the Austrian ambassador and Reisülküttap, that the Ottoman administration was well aware of the fact that the ambassador of Greece insisted on the postponement of the Ottomans' decision on the Greek question because he thinks that during the negotiations of the trade agreement between the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Greece, the Greek ambassador might seek help from the three countries and they could,

Fransa devletlerine ait olmayıp bu sözleri davet eden tarafa raci olmak iktiza edeceğinden kendilerinin gücenmemeleri rica olunur deyu haber gönderilip"

⁶² BOA. HAT. 1217/47663, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): "*Vakia elçi bey dostumuzun bu misullu takriri razı olmak ihtimali olmayub bu suret ya İngilizlinin ya Fransızlının işi olduğuna şüphe yoktur. Binaberin Devlet-i Aliyye cevabını vermeye mecbur olmakla verilecek cevap sureta sefaret-i selaseye ise de manen elçi bey dostumuz müstesna olduğunu kendiyeye söylenilip*"

⁶³ Again an office holder, not a proper name.

jointly, force the Ottomans accept the Greek citizens do business in the Ottoman lands.⁶⁴

The paragraph above could betray the Ottomans' grave concerns. They wish to "solve" the problem on their own and as soon as possible, without letting the major world powers mettle with the business by uniting against them; otherwise international community (England, France, and Russia, and in addition Austria) might have the upper hand and press hard the Ottomans, as they did before in Navarino in 1827, when and if they should all gather together to sign a treaty.

Fourth visit was by Telemak again. He was cornered by the Ottoman authorities this time who told him why the Russian ambassador who reportedly opposed the preparation of the letter of protest and who reportedly claimed that he was not authorized to harass and threaten the Ottoman empire (*Devlet-i Aliyye 'yi iz 'ac ve ihafe*) did not remove from the letter of protest expressions of "protest", "grave consequences" and "blame" (*şu protesto ve netayic-i vahime ve mesuliyet tabirlerini bari takrirden tay ettirmek iktiza ederdi*). Telemak repeated his previous words and replied that the three embassies have a common directive; therefore his ambassador could not have said such things and could not have parted with his colleagues on this matter (*mersum sefaret-i selasenin usul-ü talimatı birdir, elçi bey o sözü söyleyemez ve refiklerinden ayrılamaz, ne yapsın*). Reis

⁶⁴ BOA. HAT. 1217/47663, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): "Elçi-i mersum daima Pontef [Russian ambassador] ile düşüp kalktığından anın kulağına gitmek için [...] şimdi sadet bunların esnaflığı bahsinde olmağla Yunan elçisinin şimdiki halde bunlara bir şey denilmesin deyu çabalaması hin-i muahedede [A prospective Greco-Ottoman trade agreement that was expected to solve a great deal of problems] bunların esnaflığını teklif ve elçi beyleri şefaatchi ederim kuruntusuna mebni ise bunun hiç imkan ve ihtimali olmadığını yine tercümanına [interpreter of the Greek mission] söyledim, görüşdüğünüzde siz de söyleyin ki bunu aklından fikrinden çıkarsın ve nafîle yorulmasın"

efendi's answer might reflect hopelessness of the Ottomans: "I do not think it is fair, are they going to protect Greece until the doomsday?"

Following conversation yet again reflects the weakness of the Ottoman administration and its inability to manoeuvre when it could not find a partner to support its cause. Telemak changed the topic of the talk and urged the Ottomans to negotiate the matter with the Greek envoy, headed by Zografos, face to face (Ottomans had been unwilling so far to converse with Zografos directly), and stated that had the Ottoman authorities corrected the ill treatment of Greek nationals in Izmir, perpetrated by Chief Official of the artisans in Izmir (*İzmir esnaf nazırı*)⁶⁵ the ambassadors would have reproached Zografos and made him come round. From the answer by the Ottoman side one can discern how the Ottomans were already fed up with the concessions that they had made and that were totally gone unnoticed by the great powers who demanded more and more.⁶⁶

It appeared from this document that Ottomans used Telemak and the ambassador of Austria to convey their messages to the Greek representative Zografos with whom Ottomans would, very soon, agree to talk face to face. Before examining the other

⁶⁵ Zografos claimed and Telemak also stated that *İzmir esnaf nazırı* was illegally collecting *cizye* taxes from Greek nationals in Izmir. Although the Ottoman side did not accept directly the accusations of illegal tax collection their answer to Telemak could suggest that Zografos was right in his claim. Ottoman response to the accusation is: "Zoğrafo'nun iddiası gibi İzmir'de bazı Yunanilerden cizye ahzı bi'l-farz sahih olsa bile tulü üç beş bin guruşdan ibaret olub, Atina ve Eğriboz ve İstefe ve sair mahaller ehl-i İslamının kırk elli bin kese akçalık emlak ve arazileri hala yüzü üstüne durur [...] ve teba-i Devlet-i Aliyye'nin bu vechile hasaretleri iltizam olunurken Zoğrafo ne yüzle bir kaç bin guruşluk davayı lisana alabilir"; BOA. HAT. 1217/47663, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835)

⁶⁶ BOA. HAT. 1217/47663, dated 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835): "*Ve Yunan elçisinin Dersaadet'e kabulü ve Bab-ı Ali'ye celbi, ve takririyile izn-i sefine mektuplarının itası ve sair mesalih-i cariyelerinin tesviyesi, ve hususan hiçbir hükümet hakkında cari olmamışken hatırınız için kable'l-muahede bunların on, onbeş mahalde konsolosları ikametine ruhsat verilmesi hususları hüsn-ü muamele ad olunmadı ve anların kadri bilinmedi*"

document in order to hear the story from the other side a short remark on the merits of manipulation of newspapers is necessary. Austrian ambassador paid the last visit that formed the fifth and the last leg of the negotiations that the document contains. During the conversation he complained about a certain journalist of İzmir (*İzmir gazetecisi*) who wrote “sinister things” (*fena fena şeyler*) and requested that the Porte should prohibit such a thing. The answer, yet again, indicates that the Porte could have, in effect, encouraged the journalist to attack Greece as a part of the game of diplomacy: “We only care about *Takvim-i Vekayi* [Official gazette of the Ottoman Empire]. The journalist of İzmir writes on his own account, he is not our man so we cannot give orders to him. We do not look at the newspapers anyway”. (*Bizim bileceğimiz Takvim-i Vekayi'dir. İzmir gazetecisi bu tarafın emir ve nehyi tahtında olmayıp kendi başına istediğini yazıyor. Gazeteleri mütalaa bile ettiğimiz yokdur*). It is understood from the conversation that the journalist who wrote against Greece was a relative of Bulak bey, the very person who was sent to the embassies of England and France to convey a confidential message of the Porte.

Ottoman Porte finally decided to talk face to face with Zografos who, according to the document, had asked the mediation of Telemak.⁶⁷ This time Zografos kept a low profile and appeared to have agreed with the Ottoman administration, in principal, in terms of

⁶⁷ BOA. HAT. 1218/47681, dated 29 Z 1248 (19 May 1833). This document did not contain a date. The date has been assigned by the archival officials who classified it. Nevertheless it seems that there might have been a mistake because this conversation between the Reisülküttab and Zografos appeared to have taken place immediately after Reisülküttab was visited by Pizani, Telamak and Austrian ambassador, which took place, if the assigned date is correct, in 1835. It is because in the document BOA. HAT. 1217/47663 Austrian ambassador told Reisülküttab that “geçen gün söylediğiniz sözleri Zoğrafo'ya söyledim. Ben serbest devlet memuruyum, bana tenbih olmaz, benimle müzakere olunmalı diyor”, and according to the report of BOA. HAT. 1218/47681 Zografos denied to have uttered the words that the Austrian ambassador related to reisülküttab. Therefore the conversation between Zografos and reisülküttab must have taken place right after the visits of the embassies reported in BOA. HAT. 1217/47663 .

the question at hand. This might be yet again a diplomatic manoeuvre because Zografos was known to have been a stern and uncompromising character, and he, from time to time, quarrelled with the Porte. He was sent for to the private house of Reisülkütab, pursuing Zografos' request and the intercession by the Russian ambassador. Zografos, first, expressed his consent to the decision of the Ottoman administration (*Yunanilerden esnaflık edenler hakkında vuku bulan karar-ı aliye muvafakatım keyfiyeti Telemak'la vaki olan ifademden malum olmuştur*). He further reflected that he never wished something harmful to the interests of the Ottoman Empire, especially because of the sincere friendship (*musafat-ı kamile*) between the Hellenic kingdom and the empire, and because he assumed a character of honesty (*safvet*) and benevolence (*hayırhah*) towards the Ottoman Empire. The belittlement between the Port and himself took place just because of his ill fortune (*baht-ı siyahım iktizasından*) and because they could not meet in person and could not find opportunity to talk about the matters.

Having uttered the soothing words Zografos came to the main point and said that the Greek citizens who possessed properties and has been doing business can be found only in İstanbul and İzmir, and not all over the Ottoman Empire, and their number is about a hundred households, apart from those who had fled to Greece during the Greek revolt and then turned back.⁶⁸

He added that, in effect, Greek government does not wish such productive people should remain in the Ottoman lands, because if they should migrate to Greece they

⁶⁸ BOA. HAT. 1218/47681, dated 29 Z 1248 (19 May 1833): “*Asıl muradım çünkü esnaflık eden Yunaniler kaffe-i Memalik-i Mahrusa'da olmayıp Dersaadet ve İzmir'de bulunup bunların mikdarı ise esna-i fetretde memleketine gidip bade avdet edenlerden maada, ashab-ı arazi ve emlak olarak ol vakit kalmış olanların topu tahminen 100 haneden ibaret olduğuna*”

could contribute to the economic prosperity of the country. (*Yunan tarafına azimetleri oraların istihsal-i imarı hakkında olan politikamıza muvafık[tır]*). Zografos claimed that he even advised them to pay the necessary taxes and dues if they were to remain in the Ottoman Empire, and warned them not to engage in any harmful activity against the Ottoman interests. After his remarks Zografos requested that the three-month period should be extended for a three-year period to avoid any damage to their interests.⁶⁹

He received a curt response from Reisülküttab who told him that those people who renounced their former subjecthood and became subjects of another country should likewise relinquish their business which they had set up when they were Ottoman subjects. Moreover they would not be allowed to remain among the Ottoman subjects. Reisülküttab reiterated the firm decision of the Porte and stated that those people should either accept, again, Ottoman subjecthood by their will and go on their former business (*hüsnü rızalarıyla Kabul-ü raiyyet ederek kar ve sanatlarıyla meşgul olmak*), or else the Port will appoint a special official who will supervise the liquidation of their properties which has to be completed within three months.

Reisülküttab also remarked that the Porte observes human rights (*hukuk-u insaniyet*) by providing every convenience to those who will have to liquidate their properties. This expression of “*hukuk-u insaniyet*” had been used in the memorandum of the Ottoman Empire delivered to the three countries in the same year of 1835, as written previously.

⁶⁹ BOA. HAT. 1218/47681, dated 29 Z 1248 (19 May 1833): “*Şimdiye kadar ol veçhile buldukları kar ve sanatlarıyla meşgul olmuşlar ise de bu defa onların men ve def'i hususu irade buyurulmuş olup, vakia Devlet-i Aliyye'nin usul-ü mutlakasını kabul etmiş isem de, bunların tesviye-i maslahatlarına tahsis buyurulan 3 ay müddet pek az olduğundan [...] bunların alıp verecekleri layıkıyla tanzim olunmak ve bir güne gadr ve zarara duçar olmamak için şu müddetin 3 seneye temdidini istida ederim*”

Ottoman side asked a question to Zografos: “How many Muslim families live in today Greece?” (*Acaba İstefe ve Eğriboz ve Atina ve İzdin taraflarında olan ehl-i İslam hanesi ne kadardır?*). Zografos estimated the number as 15.000. Then Grand Vizier, in his report to the Sultan, made a calculation; previously the three countries decided that within 18 month Muslims should liquidate their properties that happened to be in the areas that were left to Greece. If the number of Greek subjects living in İstanbul and İzmir are estimated to be 5.000 (quite contrary to what Zografos told reisülkütab), and if their wives and children are added to this number, then the reasonable time span for the liquidation of properties for the Greek subjects should have been 6 months. Nevertheless this period was not bestowed, and since Zografos’ estimation was only 100 households then it might be possible, writes Grand Vizier to Sultan, to force the Greeks to leave without waiting for 3 months. He also remarked that the three month period has already ended.

Reisülkütab asked Zografos to give up his insistence on an extended period because first the Porte is acting wisely and with deliberation, second Ottoman Empire has shown sincerity to Greece, and third the Porte agreed to the intercession of some of its friends. Afterwards the Ottoman side presented its offer to Zografos: Some of the Greek citizens have properties, and some have shops and workshops, but some did not possess anything and they work as employees. Therefore those who do not have any property and estate could leave for Greece right now, and the remaining should liquidate their

property in a just manner, Ottoman officials would help them, and then migrate to Greece.⁷⁰

Zografos opposed this idea and said that at least six months are needed to understand who was subject of Greece and write their names on registers, but Reisülküttab insisted that within only one week they could easily prepare the registers. According to the Grand Vizier Zografos appeared to have been persuaded by this offer.⁷¹

Grand Vizier also seems to be baffled by the humility and the kind language of Zografos, and did not help commenting on his totally different behaviour and wrote that although the ambassador of Greece was a man of arrogance he appears to be humble probably because of the Ottomans' sharp-tongued letter sent to him by Telemak, and of the advice by Pontef.⁷²

Nevertheless after Zografos left Reisülküttab's house he sent his interpreter and asked again an enough time for the liquidation of the properties and Telemak also appeared at the office of Reisülküttab and requested for a period of one year.

Grand Vizier, in the final part of his report, offers to Sultan two options for this matter. First option is to divide the Greeks into two groups: those who have property and those who do not. And with the aid of Hacı Hüsam Efendi to let the Greeks who have

⁷⁰ BOA. HAT. 1218/47681, dated 29 Z 1248 (19 May 1833): “İşbu esnaflık eden Yunanilerden kimisi ev ve dükkan ve gedik sahibi, ve kimisi esnaf yanında yevmiyeli kalfa ve şakird makulesi olarak bu vechile cümlesi hükm-ü vahid tahtında olmayacağına mebni, bunlar sınıf sınıf ayrılıp, [...] satılacak malı ve ilişiği olmayanlar şimdiden gidip, ilişiği olanlar dahi memurlar marifetiyle işleri görülerek azimet etmek üzere yoluna konulsun”

⁷¹ BOA. HAT. 1218/47681, dated 29 Z 1248 (19 May 1833): “[Zografos] ızhar-ı muvafakat ile haklarında bir güne gadr ve zarar ve taaddi olmayacak surette tanzim ve tesviye-i maslahatlarını saltanat-ı seniyyenin madelet-i seniyye ve hakkaniyet-i aliyyesine tevfiiz eylediğini ifade etmiş”

⁷² BOA. HAT. 1218/47681, dated 29 Z 1248 (19 May 1833): “Elçi-i mersum biraz kibirli ise de geçende hizmet-i riyasetden Telemak vasıtasıyla kendisine gönderilen bazı dokunaklı haberlerden ve Rusya elçisi Pontef tarafından olunan tavsiye ve telkinatdan dolayı pek mütevazı görünmüş”

properties to liquidate their business within an appropriate period, although without designating officially a time schedule, so that they would have enough time and incur no damage.⁷³ This process is to be commenced first in İstanbul, and then instructions are to be sent to İzmir.

The second option is a trifle more pressing. To order the Greeks to liquidate their business in six months and whoever remains in the Ottoman lands after that period should be regarded as Ottoman subject and would be treated so.⁷⁴ Sultan Mahmud II preferred the second option.

Ottomans did actually carry out their decision of differentiation and expelling Greek subjects who engaged in crafts and ran shops in the Ottoman lands, despite the threats. Governor (*Mutasarrıf*) of Tırhala, Mehmed Emin Paşa, wrote in September 1835 to the Porte about the Greek citizens of Golos and Ergilaştı. Several *reaya* of the said territory had escaped during the Greek war of independence (*Rum fesadı hengamında*) to Greece and obtained citizenship of Greece and of other countries. Some of them returned to their region of origin with their wives and children. According to the orders that Paşa received, he discussed the issue with a certain Fehim Efendi who was the administrator (*voyvoda*) of the fiscal units (*mukataa*) of Golos and Ergilaştı. Fehim Efendi carried out a survey and found out that within villages that fell under his administration there were sixty two people, and there were twenty four more in the town of Yenişehir Fener and

⁷³ BOA. HAT. 1218/47681, dated 29 Z 1248 (19 May 1833): “*esnaf-ı mersumun evvel emirde defterleri terkim ve ilişkili olup olmayanlar bilmütalaa tefrik birle badema ana göre mehl-i mühlet sözü olmaksızın [...] memuru Hacı Hüsam kulları marifetiyle tesviye-i maslahatlarına mübaşeret*”

⁷⁴ BOA. HAT. 1218/47681, dated 29 Z 1248 (19 May 1833): “*Bunların külliyyen ilişkileri kesilerek ardi alınması nasıl olsa beş, altı aya kadar ancak olabileceğinden [...] yine memur mumaileyh kulları marifetiyle işlerine bakılıp kendi keyiflerine kalmamak, ve içlerinden ilişiksiz olanlar şimdiden gitmek üzere, emval ve emlak sahibi olanlara işbu hulül edecek ruz-u kasımdan gelecek mayısa kadar müddet tahsisine müsaade [...] buyurularak, al vakte kadar ilişğini kesmeyenler reaya bilineceği*”

adjacent villages; with a total amount of 86 men (households). Paşa informed the Porte that all those twenty four men renounced their passports and received their *cizye* papers, thus accepted *raiyyet*. Out of the sixty two only nineteen accepted being Ottoman subject. Nevertheless thirty six men declared that they preferred to go to Greece and they were given a term of one month and a half to sell their properties and leave the Ottoman lands for their home country, Greece.⁷⁵

Ottoman authorities and Patriarchate of Constantinople continued convincing certain people to renounce their citizenships and to accept being Ottoman *reaya* again. A document dated to March 1838 lists fifteen persons who decided to accept *cizye* documents and became Ottoman subjects. Their names were registered both in Patriarchate and in the office of the chief military commander (*bab-ı seraskeri*), and powerful guarantors from their districts affirmed that those persons would never deviate from *raiyyet* and they would remain loyal.⁷⁶ Of these people eight were from İstanbul, one from the island of Chios (Sakız), one from the town Ağrefe of Thessaly, two from the island of Naxos (Nakşa), and one from the island of Andros (Andire). Two of them were priests, three were shoemakers, three were tailors, one was furrier, and one owned a shop (*mağazacı*).⁷⁷

Ottoman authorities also closely monitored marriages between Ottoman subjects and foreign citizens and they strictly forbade such unions. Although marriages were traditionally a matter of religious jurisdiction, in these years Ottoman bureaucracy

⁷⁵ BOA, HAT: 778/36461; 26 CA 1251 (19 September 1835)

⁷⁶ BOA, HAT: 1221/47762Y; 29 Z 1253 (26 March 1838): “*fî ma bad usul-ü raiyyetden adem-i inhiraf ile raiyyet ve sadakatde sabit kadem olacaklarını mübayin mahalleleri tarafından ba sened kefalet-i kaviyyeye rabt olunmuş*”.

⁷⁷ BOA, HAT: 1221/47762Y; 29 Z 1253 (26 March 1838)

seems to have extended their authority to even more intimate and private spheres of the individuals. In April 1835 a Greek citizen by the name of Todori, whose father was an Ottoman subject, married an Ottoman Greek, Maryore in Beşiktaş district of İstanbul. Ottoman authorities having been informed of this act immediately cancelled the marriage and put the priest, who had performed the marriage ceremony even without letting the Patriarchate know, in jail and deprived him of his priesthood. Likewise another marriage between the daughter of the Ottoman subject Manolaki who was *avrupa tüccarı* and a former Ottoman subject from Thessaloniki, Yanoko, who accepted Russian citizenship five to six years before.⁷⁸

Marriage issue was probably connected to the differentiation of nationalities question in that during the reign of Mahmud II Ottoman bureaucracy assumed more duties and Ottomans tried to establish a governmental system with an aim to control the country more effectively. During these times Ottomans seem to have tried to prevent foreigners to get mixed with the Ottoman subjects.

Third Phase: Temporary Friendly Solution, 1840

For a brief period of time Ottomans' attitude was softened and they appear to have permitted Greek citizens to remain in the Ottoman lands. This was related to the renewed negotiations with Greece in 1840 and conclusion of the trade agreement on 3 March 1840. Ottoman authorities asserted that, in principle, artisanship was reserved for the Ottoman subjects, and foreigners as well as Greeks of Greece (*Yunânîler*) may not enter this form of business. Nevertheless some of the Greek citizens (*ba'zı teb'a-i*

⁷⁸ BOA HAT: 779/36501; 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835)

Yunânîye) had entered certain branches of artisanal business according to an old practice (*bir 'âdet-i kadîmeye mebnî*). This time Porte ruled that these people could retain their citizenships and live in the Ottoman lands on condition that they should accept to abide by every law and regulation of the Ottoman Empire, and pay their taxes and dues; and if they do not they should accept being judged by the Ottoman authorities without intercession of the foreign embassies.⁷⁹

Only for a very brief time the question seemed to have been solved for the benefit both of the Greek artisans and shopkeepers, and of the Ottoman state. With this resolution, thus, Ottomans' chief concerns would be settled in that foreign intervention would no more be the case and juridical right and monopoly of the Ottomans would not be violated, and Ottoman treasure would collect taxes and dues without further ado. Nevertheless Greece did not approve the trade agreement and Ottomans once again decided to implement harsh measures.

For this matter the reports of Ottoman secret officials published by Cengiz Kırılı might be useful. In August 1840 a secret agent eavesdropped a conversation in a coffee house in Küçük Pazar, in İstanbul, that a certain Ottoman subject Istrati was talking about the situation of the Greeks of Greece. He said that an imperial decision was made that the Greeks of Greece (*Yunani*) should leave for their own country, yet since they were prominent businessmen (*alışverişleri külliyeleşti olduğundan*) they could not go to Greece right away. Therefore they visited the Greek ambassador and told him that they

⁷⁹ BOA C.HR: 146/7287; 29 Z 1255 (04 March 1840): “*Tabiyet-i zatiyelerini hıfz ve ifa ile beraber saltanat-ı seniyyenin ifasına mecbur ve mahkum buldukları şerayiti icraya, yani esnaf-ı mezkureden istenilen rüsumatı tediye etmeye [...] ve mevzu bulunan mecburiyetleri ifa etmedikleri halde kendi devlet-i metbualarının sefir ve konsolosları tavassutu vuku bulmaksızın muhakeme ve tedip olunmaya mecbur olacaktırlar.*”

closed their shops and they do not know what to do about their debts and credits. The ambassador told the businessmen that they should wait for a day or two since the embassy was working on this situation.⁸⁰ From this single report it is understood the devastating effect of the Ottomans' decision on the Greeks who had established businesses and been gaining profit in İstanbul.

⁸⁰ Cengiz Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu, Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde "Havadis Jurnalleri" (1840-1844)*, İstanbul, 2009: p. 127 (report #108)

CHAPTER 2

Fourth Phase: Resumed Hostilities and Normalization, 1840 - 1861

It seems that not only Greek subjects engaged in shopkeeping but also subjects of other countries came to Istanbul and established illegal shops there. Ottoman authorities prepared a register in May 1844 about their activity which is illustrative of the difficulty to carry out the expelling process (given the fact that Ottomans did not wish to annoy great powers) that the Ottoman authorities had wished to on the one hand, and which points out that Istanbul was an attractive place after all for foreigners who were after profit on the other hand. Below is the translation of the register in which subjects of nearly every European state can be observed. Greeks, of course, were in the forefront of the business activity.⁸¹

⁸¹ BOA. İ. MSM. 3/37, dated 15 R 1260 (4 May 1844)

میلاد ۵۹

در سعادت و بلا و نکتة ده اصناف اوله و بلا کدک خورده فرقیله ایدنه بقه اجنبیه تک سعادتیه سینه فلاحه در

نقد دره حجب	نزدک	کفخی	بلا کدک خورده فرقیله ایدنه
انگشتره نو	انگشتره نو	انگشتره نو	انگشتره نو
۰۵۵	۱۶	۲	۰۸
دوسیم نو	زار نو	زار نو	زار نو
۰۰۱	۰۴	۲	۰۱
زار نو	ار شریانو	ار شریانو	رر سیم نو
۰۱۹	۰۱	۴	۰۴
ار شریانو	سوزانانو	سوزانانو	ار شریانو
۰۴۵	۴۰	۸	۰۴
سوزانانو	سار زینانو	اسنانانو	سوزانانو
۰۹۶	۰۱	۱	۷۸
قیمت کلاه	نابونینانو	طوبه خانه ها	قیمت کلاه
۰۰۸	۰۴	۲	۰۱
اسنانانو			۰۲
۰۱۷			۰۲
نابونینانو			۰۱
۰۱۹			۰۲
طوبه خانه ها			۰۲
۰۰۲			
<u>۷۶۴</u>	<u>۴۴</u>	<u>۱۹</u>	<u>۹۴</u>

سنا کوی
۲۶۷

نفسان برهان
۱۴

انگشتره نو	۰۸۱
زار نو	۰۴۵
رر سیم نو	۰۰۴
ار شریانو	۰۵۴
سوزانانو	۷۱۴
قیمت کلاه	۰۰۸
اسنانانو	۰۱۸
نابونینانو	۰۰۱
طوبه خانه ها	۰۰۲
طوبه خانه ها	۰۰۲
رر سیم نو	۰۰۲
سوزانانو	۰۰۱
اسنانانو	۰۰۲
	<u>۴۶۷</u>
	<u>۱۱۹۶</u>

**A summary showing the numbers of the foreign subjects who engage in
artisanship, and are peddlers without permission in İstanbul and in the three
districts [Üsküdar, Galata, Eyüp]**

Shoemaker		Tailor	
	Persons		Persons
English	55	English	16
Russian	1	French	3
French	19	Austrian	1
Austrian	45	Greek	20
Greek	596	Sardinian	1
Dutch	8	Neapolitan	2
Spanish	17	Total	43
Neapolitan	19		
From Trent(o)?	2		
Total	762		

Haberdasher		Peddler	
	Persons		Persons
English	2	English	8
French	2	French	1
Austria	4	Russian	2
Greek	8	Austrian	2
Spanish	1	Greek	78
Tuscan	2	Venetian	1
Total	19	From Cephalonia	2

Total 94

Candle maker

Persons

Greek 12

Tobacconist

Persons

Iranian 267

SUM TOTAL

Persons

English 81

Russian 3

Greek 714

Spanish 18

Trent(o)? 2

Venetian 1

Iranian 267

Sardinian [omitted in the document] 1

Persons

French 25

Austrian 52

Dutch 8

Neapolitan 21

Tuscan 2

From Cephalonia 2

SUM TOTAL 1197

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One note on the inflation of the Englishmen in the list: This was most probably due to the British dominion on The Seven Islands (Ionian Islands) in this time during which many local Greek islanders might have acquired English passports.⁸²

⁸² One of the reports of the Ottoman secret officials dated to September 1840 involves two Greeks from the island of Cephalonia, under the protection of England, talking about the situation of the islands, when they were in a coffehouse in Galata. See Cengiz Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu, Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde "Havadis Journalleri" (1840-1844)*, İstanbul, 2009: p. 135 (report #140)

The register above was carefully examined by the Ottoman authorities and they decided, again, to let the embassies know how serious the matter was. A memorandum⁸³ that contains the rationale of the Ottomans was prepared to be sent to the foreign missions in İstanbul. According to the Porte there are a number of problems that was created by the foreign subjects who, illegally, set up business in the city. First of all according to the laws and regulations artisanship (*esnaflık*) was a type of business that exclusively reserved for the Ottoman subjects. Second, the business of Ottoman craftsmen was diminished by this unfair competition so much so that since their exclusive privilege, which has also a price according to the demand, of opening a shop (*gedik*) recently started to plummet, Ottoman craftsmen were unable to pay even their dues and taxes. The Porte insisted that it will protect the interests of the Ottoman subjects, as well as its own source of income. The memorandum made it very clear that foreign subjects would be given a 61 day period to liquidate their business. Although Greeks were not the only target of the Port, Ottomans considered, as they have done many times before, to prohibit the Greeks first because they constituted the higher number. Then in turn other subjects would be expelled from their illegal business.

Ottoman Porte apparently sent orders to the various governors of the towns in the provinces to inquire about the situation of the local Greeks and how they were behaving. The governor of Erdek responded in February 1845 to the Porte that the local Greek population was living peacefully and they did not do any disturbing behaviours.

⁸³ BOA. İ. MSM. 3/37, dated 15 R 1260 (4 May 1844)

Local Greeks, wrote the governor, also told him that they would not be seduced by the scheme of Greece.⁸⁴

Ottoman government did not only let the foreign mission know of its intention, and sent orders to the local governors, but also actively continued registering foreign nationals, starting from the Greeks, as stated above. A document, sent to the Finance Ministry (*Maliye Nezareti*) and dated 29 August 1845,⁸⁵ clearly indicates that Ottomans started registering Greek subjects four months before, and the duty would be completed within ten months. Foreign Ministry was requested to allocate ten thousand piastres (*guruş*) which were to be given to a certain official Lazaraki, who was an Ottoman subject working under the chief official who was entrusted the duty of registering the Greek subjects. Since Lazaraki served well and displayed loyalty (*mersumun hüsnü hizmet ve ibraz-ı sadakat etmekte idüğü*) he would receive an imperial gift (*atiyye-i seniyye*) of ten thousand piastres. He would appear around İzmir during the process of expelling those who claimed being Greek subjects in Kuşadası as written below.⁸⁶

Attitude of the Ottoman authorities can sometimes be described as conciliatory in that they did not use force or any form of coercion, nor did they threaten with expelling, but tried to win over those who had escaped to Greece and became Greek subjects and who just returned to their place of origin. One example is from the island of Sakız (*Chios*). Having received instructions from the Porte the council of the island was convened in order to discuss what measures could be taken against those sea captains who tended to hoist Greek flag, and those, after living in Greece for a time, returned to the island with

⁸⁴ BOA. C. DH. 302/15090/1, dated 17 S 1261 (25 February 1845)

⁸⁵ BOA. C. DH. 112/5592/1, dated 25 B 1261 (29 August 1845)

⁸⁶ BOA. İ. HR. 37/1737/1, dated 18 ZA 1262 (7 November 1846)

their families.⁸⁷ By this year, 1846, Ottomans' efforts to establish a better organized provincial administration can be observed in this particular document: establishment of local councils. The island council in question consisted of eleven members four of which were Ottoman Greeks, three of whom bore the title of *Kocabası* (Chief of the elder?)

Before examining the decision taken by the local council a few words on the establishment and the significance of the local representation is necessary. Konstantina Andrianopoulou points out the establishment and importance of these local councils and she argues that:⁸⁸

A first concrete effort [after the Tanzimat edict] was undertaken with the ferman of 1840 which concerned the reorganization of the local administration and was calling for the creation of administrative councils in each major division and subdivision of the Empire. [...] there were also non Muslim members participating in these councils [...] the non Muslims' representation in these councils consisted mostly, if not exclusively, from the local notables, the *kocabasis*, [...] these councils were a progressive measure adopted by the government.

The town council deliberated the situation of the Greek sea captains and their families, from the island of Chios, who had fled to Greece and obtained Greek passports, and then returned to the island. The council decided that after that time every boat that was constructed in the island shall hoist the Ottoman flag and the sea captains in question and their families would be "encouraged" to leave their passports and accept

⁸⁷ BOA. C. DH. 268/13355/3, dated 17 L 1262 (8 October 1846)

⁸⁸ Konstantina Andrianopoulou, *Alexander Mavroyeni Bey: From the 19th Century Reform Era to the Young Turk Revolution Through the Life and Ideology of a Neophanariot Ottoman Bureaucrat*, Unpublished MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004, p. 32

the Ottoman subjecthood again. The members of the council were sure that they would achieve their goal albeit gradually.⁸⁹

It is highly interesting to note that the Porte did not give direct orders to the governor of the island about what to do, but requested that these matters should be deliberated in the council. And the council informs the Port that they have decided what to do. Moreover, unless it is a figure of speech, the council decided not to force the Greek subjects but to “encourage” them to accept being Ottoman subjects, and members of the council expect that in time they will be successful in their efforts.

Nevertheless Ottomans seems to have squeezed the Greeks, who claimed “Greekness” (*Yunanilik*), of Ayvalık, Kuşadası and Siroz from late 1846 to late 1847. During this period Ottoman authorities sent officials to those towns in order, first, to differentiate the subjects of Greece and of the Ottoman Empire, second, to convince Greek subjects to return to the Ottoman *raiyyet*, and third to expel those who insist on their loyalty to Greece.

Esseyid Mehmed Ali reported in 7 November 1846 to the Porte that acting consul of Greece at Kuşadası “seduced and deceived (*tahrik ve iğfal*)” some of the Ottoman

⁸⁹ BOA. C. DH. 268/13355/3, dated 17 L 1262 (8 October 1846): “*Fi'l-asl Sakız ceziresi reayasından olarak mukaddema Yunan canibinde bulunmuş birer takrib pasaport kağıdı olmuş olan sefain reislerinin taht-ı raiyyete ircalarıyla, bandıralarının terk ettirilmesi [...] cezire-i mezkure meclisinde lede't-tezekkür [these decisions were made]:*

Reaya-i Devlet-i Aliyye'den olarak bu tarafda bundan böyle sefine inşasına her kim talip olursa evvel emirde Devlet-i Aliyye bayrağı küşad etmek ve fimabad Yunan ve düvel-i saire himayesine temayül edip de silk-i raiyyetden bir vechile ayrılamamak, ve o misullu bu tarafda inşa olunacak sefine reside-i hitam olduğu halde [...] sefine-i mezkur canib-i tersane-i amireye gidip usul ve nizamı mucibince sancak-ı cedide ahz ve küşad etmek üzere kavi küfelaya rabt olunarak tesviyesi karar verilmiş, Ve fi'l-asl Sakız'lı olup mukaddemleri Yunan canibinde ve mahall-i sairede sefine inşa edip de Yunan bandırası küşad eyleyerek Sakız'a gelmiş ve familyaları bu tarafda bulunmuş olan Yunan tebaları hakkında dahi icabına gore tergibat ve teşvikatın ifasıyla bi't-tedric anların dahi [...] taht-ı raiyyete celbleriyle”

subjects in order to bring them under the protection of Greece. Nevertheless those people, fifteen in all, returned to the Ottoman *raiyyet* pursuing a “wise method”⁹⁰ (*vech-i hakimane*)” that the Ottoman authorities applied. While those fifteen people accepted Ottoman *raiyyet* and received *cizye* papers, wrote Mehmed Ali, were also present Greek consul and other consuls there. Ottoman authorities apparently did not wish to turn the international public opinion against them by rumours that they were using force on the Greek subjects. Nevertheless four or five “indecent (*edepsiz*)” Greek subjects, just because the populace did not want them in their town, were given a term of 20 – 25 days in order to settle their business in Kuşadası and liquidate their properties, and leave for Greece or any other place outside the Ottoman Empire. Should they be seen in the town after their term is completed then they were warned that they would be regarded as Ottoman *reaya* and they would received their *cizye* papers.⁹¹

Official of “differentiation of the subjects (*tefrik-i teba*)” at Ayvalık was Mehmed Selami Efendi in the summer of 1847. He sent a number of reports concerning his activities in Ayvalık and on the island of “*Yunda* (*Cunda* in modern Turkish)”. He first took up his residence in the town of Ayvalık and started his investigation. As a result he found out that there were 60 – 65 people who claimed that they were Greek subjects. 50 of them accepted Ottoman *raiyyet* the remaining 10 got on a boat to go to Greece. But three of them changed their minds and just did not wish to go to Greece; they turned back to Ayvalık accepted *raiyyet* as well. Selami Efendi wrote that even the captains of the boats who had previously hoisted Greek flag became Ottoman subjects and they put up Ottoman flag instead. According to the report there were 40 - 50 people more who

⁹⁰ Unfortunately there is no detail about this method

⁹¹ BOA. İ. HR. 37/1737/1, dated 18 ZA 1262 (7 November 1846)

were, at that time, being investigated. Like the affair in Kuşadası above, Greek consul of İzmir and consuls of other countries also came to Ayvalık and were present during the investigation process and when the Greeks who accepted Ottoman *raiyyet* received their *cizye* papers.⁹² Selami Efendi clearly wrote in his other report on the same day that violence would never be used against those who were obstinate to remain as Greek subjects. He further remarked that “Ayvalık would be a better place in a couple of days after cleaning the town of the filth of these people in question”.⁹³

A week after Selami Efendi composed his reports on the situation of Ayvalık he came to the island of Yunda and started his job there. He found that in that small island there were more than a hundred former Ottoman subjects who now claimed that they accepted being Greek subjects instead.⁹⁴

He remarked that with the wise method that they had used in Ayvalık (*Ayvalık'da icra kılınan usul-u hakimane üzre*) the great majority of those Greeks received *cizye* paper and became Ottoman *reaya* again. With the exception of a couple of trouble makers (*çapkın*) who were given itinerary documents to leave for Greece.⁹⁵

Same procedure also takes place in Siroz during August, September and November 1847 with more intrigue and a bit of espionage. Official of “differentiation of the subjects (*tefrik-i teba*)” at Siroz, Mustafa Sami Efendi, wrote that the inhabitants of

⁹² BOA. İ. MSM. 83/2363/15, dated 13 C 1263 (29 May 1847)

⁹³ BOA. İ. MSM. 83/2363/21, dated 13 C 1263 (29 May 1847): “*bir kaç gün zarfında Ayvalık levsi-eşhas-ı merkumeden tathiriyle*”

⁹⁴ BOA. İ. MSM. 83/2363/13, dated 19 C 1263 (4 June 1847): “*Beş gün mukaddem Yunda ceziresine azimetle orada dahi an asl yerli reayadan ve emlak ve arazi ahabından olub Yunanilik daiye-i fasidesinde bulunan yüzden mütecaviz eşhasdan*”

⁹⁵ BOA. İ. MSM. 83/2363/13, dated 19 C 1263 (4 June 1847): “*Cezire-i mezburda kalmaları ifsad-ı reaya ve mazarratdan gayri bir güne faideleri olmayan beş altı kadar çapkın makuleleri iddialarında ısrar eylediklerinden memleketden çıkıp gitmek üzere münasip mehil ile mürür tezkereleri yedlerine veril[di]*”

Siroz who claim Greek citizenship rose from 75 to more than 300 within just three months.⁹⁶

Sami Efendi appears to be very sure of the fact that a great majority of those claimants of protection from Greece will turn to the Ottoman side again.⁹⁷

The content of the report must have been astounding in that within a few months three hundred of the Ottoman subjects altogether renounced their loyalty and accepted being Greek subjects. However none of the reports ever explained why hundreds of Ottoman subjects accepted the protection and subjecthood of Greece. The only explanation was that some Greek officials “seduced and tricked” the Ottoman *reaya*; other than that there was silence. Therefore so far the true reason of why hundreds of Ottoman subjects decided to shift their political allegiance remains obscure.

Sami Efendi had an *ad hoc* local council established in Siroz in order to hear those who shifted their nationality and to investigate the documents that they possessed. He wrote that passports of 64 Siroz residents were with the Greek consul in Thessaloniki who later came to Siroz and distributed them. Sami Efendi gathered the local council and 64 Greeks were summoned one by one. After the investigation it turned out that many of the documents that locals had by the name of passport were not actually passports. The report reads that a great majority of those documents were like itinerary passes, which

⁹⁶ BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/17, dated 15 N 1263 (27 August 1847): “*Uhde-i abidaneme ihale buyurulmuş olan tefrik-i teba hudmet-i hayriyesinin merkezi bulunan şehir-i Siroz’a mah-ı sabıkın yirmi yedinci Pazartesi günü [10 August 1847] muvasalatla, ferdası günü ber-mantuk-u irade-i seniye ifa-i memuriyete mübaşeret olunmuştur. Ancak Siroz reayasından olup iddia-i himayet etmekte olan kesan bundan üç mah mukaddem yetmişbeş neferden ibaret iken üç mahdan beri üçyüz neferi tecevüz eylemiş deyu rivayet kılınmaktadır*”

⁹⁷ BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/17, dated 15 N 1263 (27 August 1847): “*iddia-i himayet etmekte kesanın ekserisi zir-i cenah-ı müstelzim-i felah saltanat-ı seniyyeye rücu edecekleri bedihi ve aşıkardır*”

did not contain information about where those people were living and what their nationality were.⁹⁸

His efforts seem to be successful in that 128 people accepted, again, Ottoman *raiyyet* and the remaining 37 people were also coming to Sami Efendi by groups and told him that they, too, would like to accept *raiyyet*. It appears that 15 people were in the vicinity by virtue of trade and they were summoned to the town as well. The matter seems to be very serious for Sami Efendi wrote to Istanbul that there was one local businessman who was currently in İzmir, and he requested that he has to be caught where he is in İzmir and put on a ship going to Çanakkale and then to Siroz. Moreover it was understood that seven local Greeks left for Greece illegally in order to obtain passports, and their relatives were let know that they had to come back to the town in 21 days.⁹⁹

Certain gossip and an investigation about a spy ring found room in the reports of Sami Efendi. These are two separate events which are possibly connected to each other. The gossip is that several businessmen of Siroz visited a village, very near to Thessaloniki, and they spent the night at a villager's house. The owner of the house told the businessmen that there was a certain person who had visited their village, going to every house, and offered the villagers to procure Greek passports in return for 500 piastres (*guruş*) each.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately there is not any other evidence, at least in this short essay, to verify this. 500 piastres seem quite a sum of money, roughly equivalent to five golden pieces, and it is difficult to think that simple villagers could have paid such a sum to a stranger. One cannot help but suspect that the story might have been a

⁹⁸ BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/3, dated 17 L 1263 (28 September 1847)

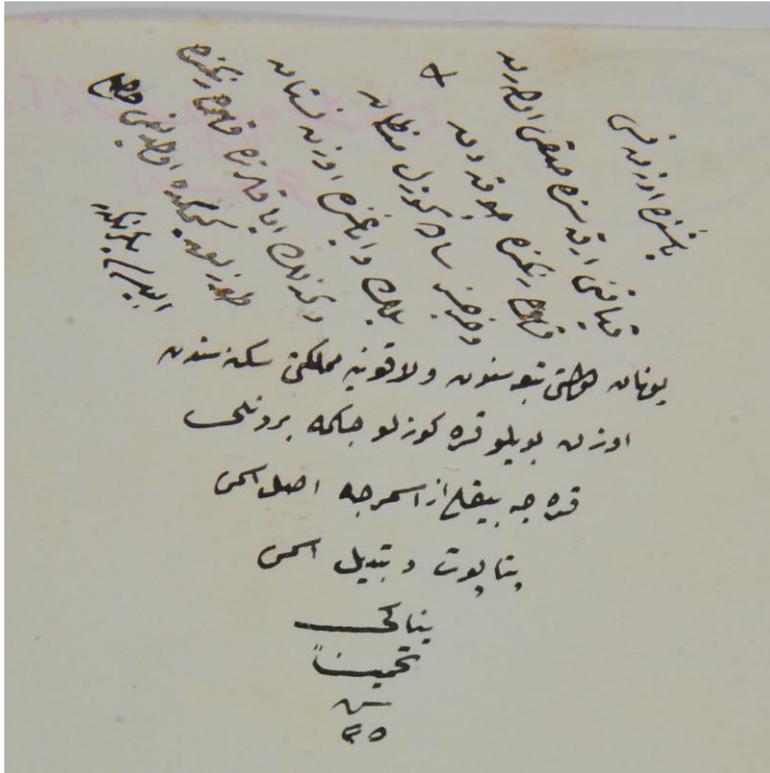
⁹⁹ BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/1, dated 18 L 1263 (29 September 1847)

¹⁰⁰ BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/17, dated 17 N 1263 (27 August 1847)

fabrication for some reason, or the Greek person in question could have been just a fraudulent person who wished to take advantage of the disturbance. However Sami Efendi had the matter investigated and traced the footsteps of the Greek gentleman, and found out that his name was Benaki and he travelled extensively; from Greece to Serez, and then to İzmir, and from there to Athens. He was, at that time of the investigation, around Thessaloniki and Serez. Even a letter, which he wrote from Athens to the family of Acilazoğulları? of Serez, who were Russian subjects, was intercepted. Sami Efendi warned the Porte that he was a dangerous person so much so that he distributed fifty-sixty Greek passports to the inhabitants of Serez when he was there.¹⁰¹

Within the same archival file that contains more than a dozen documents about the situation in Siroz, a particular document might betray the fact that Ottoman authorities took the “Benaki case” seriously and somehow obtained a description of his. Below is the original document about identification of Benaki and its translation. Ottoman officials must have prepared this identification in order to recognize him and take necessary precautions.

¹⁰¹ BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/1, dated 18 L 1263 (29 September 1847): “Yunanistan’dan firaren veyahud menfiyyen serseri olarak bir kaç ay Siroz’da ikametle reaya-i Devlet-i Aliyye’yi ihlal etmekte bulunmuş olan Benaki nam Yunanlı’nın Siroz’dan firar ile İzmir tarafına gittiği geçen ariza-i abidanemde ifade [...] tarih-i ariza-i mezkurdan üç gün mukaddem mersumun Atina’dan Siroz sekenesinden ve Rusya tebasından Acilazoğulları (?) nam kimesnelere göndermiş olduğu bir kıta mektubun mealine nazaran, mersum şehir-i Ağustosun yirmibeşinde İzmir’den hareketle Atina’ya gitmiş ve kendisi Siroz ile Selanik havalisinde bir müddet ikamet ederek buralarca kesb-ü malumat etmiş olduğundan kendisinin Selanik konsolosluğu veyahud Siroz konsolos vekilliği memuriyetiyle bu tarafa gönderileceği Yunan devleti tarafından vaad kılınmış deyu yazmakta olduğu bazı erbab-ı vukuftan hafiyen tahkik kılınmıştır. Halbuki mersum Benaki erbab-ı fesattan olup hususiyle Siroz’da ikameti esnasında elli altmış nefer reayanın Yunan pasaportası almalarına sebep olmuş olduğu”



BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/13, dated 02 ZA 1263 (12 October 1847)

“Subject of Greek State, inhabitant of the province of Laconia, tall, black eyed, proportioned nose, blackish moustache, slightly brunette, real name Panayot, alias Benaki, approximately 35 years old”. Even what he was wearing was described in detail; his fez, his brown waistcoat, and his brown leggings, and the other details.

That his real name was Panayot was known to Sami Efendi¹⁰²

Last, but not least, about what happened in Siroz, Sami Efendi also reported that British acting consul Panayotaki, French and Austrian acting consul İspandi, and Russian acting consul Dimitraki İspandoni, were all of them Ottoman subjects of Siroz, and they were trying, so wrote Sami Efendi, to save those who claimed being Greek subjects:

¹⁰² BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/17, dated 17 N 1263 (27 August 1847)

“iddia-i Yunanilik etmekte olan kesianın bir hüsnü suretle tahlis-i giriban eylemeleri esbabının istihsaline çalışmaktadırlar”.¹⁰³

In this phase of the struggle Ottoman authorities sometimes, applied violent methods, as opposed to the above mentioned incidents in Kuşadası and Ayvalık to those who claimed Greek citizenship. Marshal of the province of Hüdavendigâr (*müşir-i eyelet-i Hüdavendigâr*) received orders in April 1849 from the Porte concerning two individuals, Aslan and Epi (Elpi?), living in the town of Mihaliç, “who dared to do impertinence by claiming that they were Greek citizens” (*Yunanilik iddiasıyla edepsizliğe cüret etmiş*). Orders were that these individuals are to be brought to the provincial capital, Bursa, to be incarcerated for ten days, and then they are to be offered two options: either to abandon their Greek passports and accept *raiyyet*, or to sell their property and leave for Greece permanently. After serving ten days in prison Aslan and Epi told the Marshal that they would not abandon Greek citizenship, and they were given twenty one days to sell their properties and leave for Greece. Marshal wrote to the Porte that although these two individuals were sent to their home town with an escort of gendarmerie to sell their properties, rumour has it that their real intention was not to go to Greece directly but to escape to İzmir, Aydın or to another province “to do evil” (*icra-i habaset etmek için*). Therefore Marshal asked the Porte whether they are to be brought to İstanbul from where they would be sent directly to Greece.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/17, dated 17 N 1263 (27 August 1847)

¹⁰⁴ BOA. A. }MKT. 189/2, dated 14 CA 1265 (07 April 1849)

It is understood from a letter, dated 19 January 1850, of the embassy of Greece and instructions from the Porte¹⁰⁵ that Greek subjects, be they artisans or not, were allowed to live in İzmir, Urla and Seferihisar, and continue their business unmolested. Nevertheless Greek embassy complained about the tax abuse by the local authorities. Greek subjects were levied higher taxes, and some of them were reported to have been incarcerated because they refused paying certain taxes which were not specified in the document. Embassy apparently sent two letters; first to the Port and second to the ministry of foreign affairs, asking the Ottoman authorities to send necessary warnings and orders to the governor of İzmir and to other officials. Embassy reported to the Port that until the taxes and dues will be levied in an equal way (between the Greeks and subjects of other states) Greeks should not be pressed hard to pay their extra taxes and they should be protected from the misdeeds of the local authorities.¹⁰⁶

Ottoman authorities investigated the matter and found out that the taxes that were demanded from the Greeks were not related to property and estate but to the artisanship that every Ottoman craftsmen should pay.¹⁰⁷

Finally the Porte made its decision and ruled that a delay in collecting taxes will lead to the confusion in the bureaucratic recording and will create discontent among the

¹⁰⁵ BOA. A.}DVN.DVE. 21A/62, dated 5 RA 1266 (19 January 1850)

¹⁰⁶ BOA. A.}DVN.DVE. 21A/62, dated 5 RA 1266 (19 January 1850): “*Tevzi-i vergide herkesin iktidarına bakılmayıp hisselerine hadden aşırı taksim olunduğu beyanyıyla vergi-i mezkurun düvel-i müşarunileyhim [düvel-i müttehabe-i saire] tebasıyla müsavat üzre tahsili karar-pezir oluncaya değin teba-i merkumenin dahi işbu teklifat ile tazyik olunmaması ve bade'l-karar bunların ehl-i hırfet ve kalilü'l-bizaa olanların hakka makrun şikayetlerine ... bu makulelerin hisselerininin dahi ber vech-i hakkaniyet tesviyesiyle gadrden vikayeleri hususu inha ve iltimas olunmuş olup*”

¹⁰⁷ BOA. A.}DVN.DVE. 21A/62, dated 5 RA 1266 (19 January 1850): “*Yunan tebasından vergileri tahsil olunmakta olanlar sınıf-ı tüccar ve muteberandan, ve alınan vergi dahi öyle emlak ve arazi üzerine olmayıp yalnız esnaf takımına münhasır olduğu, ve bunların vergileri bidayet-i Tanzimat'dan beri teba-i Devlet-i Aliyye'den bulunan esnaf vergisi dahilinde olarak bila tehir beraberce istifa olunageldiği anlaşılmasıyla*”

Ottoman subjects who pay their taxes. Nevertheless justice should be observed in tax levy and everyone should pay according to his wealth.¹⁰⁸

With these letters it is evident that Ottoman authorities stopped their differentiation process and allowed Greek subjects to engage in artisanal activity so long as they continue paying their taxes. Nevertheless the situation was not the same in every Ottoman province and contrasting implementations can be observed.

Two years after the above mentioned incident Ottoman authorities seem to have officially stopped, albeit temporarily, their practice of expelling the Greek citizens. A document dated to February 1852 mentions that the issue of differentiation of Greek citizens is temporarily postponed. As it is understood from the document certain Ottoman subjects (probably Ottoman Greeks) living in Tekfurdağı claimed that they were Greek citizens in order to evade paying taxes and *cizye*. Governor (*kaimmakam*) of the town wrote to İstanbul asking instructions and he was replied that differentiation process (*temyiz maddesi*) was, for the time, put off. Yet the governor was not satisfied with the instructions he had received and wrote again to İstanbul insisting that even if the differentiation process was postponed these people did not belong to those whose nationalities are doubtful (*eşhas-ı merkume keyfiyet-i tabiyetleri meşkuk adamlar olmıyarak*), therefore they had no right in arguing for Greek citizenship. Moreover the temporary postponement, so wrote the governor, was being misused in the province by

¹⁰⁸ BOA. A.}DVN.DVE. 21A/62, dated 5 RA 1266 (19 January 1850): “[Verginin] tehiri teşevvüş-ü kuyudu ve teba-i Saltanat-ı Seniyye’den bulunan esnafın zuhur-u kıyl-ü kallerini mudi olacağına mebni caiz olmaz. Fakat vergi hususunda mizan-ı itidal ve hakkaniyetin gözetimesi ve herkesin hal ve tahammül aranılması memurine ehemmi maslahat olacağını dahi tarif iktiza etmez”

the officials of the kingdom of Greece, which would ultimately lead to the disturbance of the public order.¹⁰⁹

During the Crimean War and just one year before the Ottoman Empire and Greece concluded a trade agreement and stepped up normalization of relations, Ottoman Empire officially disconnected its political relations with Greece on the grounds that certain Greek insurgents, supported by the King of the Hellenes, Otho, infiltrated Ottoman provinces of Thessaly and Epirus.

The young state of Greece under King Otho was the most ready client for Nikolai's [Russian Czar] propaganda. At the beginning of the war [Crimean War], the Greek government secretly supported the Ottoman Greek insurgents in Thessaly and Epirus. Some Greek officers including Lieutenant-General Hatzi-Petros, an aide-de-camp of King Otho, crossed the border with some troops to join the insurgents. However, the Porte suppressed the revolt and the allies blockaded Greece from the sea in May 1854. Austria and Prussia also did not want the Greek revolt spread into the Balkans. Therefore soon Greece had to give up its policy of support for insurgence.¹¹⁰

Upon assaults of the Greek insurgents Ottoman Porte issued a memorandum on 7 May 1854 and declared that all the Greek subjects and merchants should leave the Ottoman Empire immediately since the Empire breaks off the political relations and its mercantile transactions with the Kingdom of Greece.¹¹¹

Nevertheless certain Greek subjects were bestowed special permissions with which they could remain in the Ottoman Empire. The conditions of these permissions included:

¹⁰⁹ BOA. HR.MKT. 43/50, dated 05 CA 1268 (26 February 1852)

¹¹⁰ Badem, Candan, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)*, Brill, 2012; p. 66

¹¹¹ HSD. AFT. 2/38/1, dated 9 S 1270 (7 May 1854): "*Saltanat-ı seniyye Yunan devletiyle münasebat-ı politikiyesini ve bununla beraber muamelat-ı ticareti dahi kat etmiş olduğundan Yunan tüccar ve tebasının memalik-i Devlet-i Aliyye'den gitmeleri lazım geldiği*"

1. Those Greeks who are known to be honest and could present guarantors “*ehl-i irz olup da hüsnü hareket edeceklerinden dolayı kefil iraesine muktedir*”
2. Certain Greek subjects who were employed by companies, or were under the service of foreign nationals

Allies of the Ottomans, especially the French, offered to the Porte that some of the Greeks who were Catholics should be exempted from deportation. Although Ottoman Porte did not accept exceptions concerning religious affiliations, ruled that embassies could recommend Greek subjects who were to remain in the Ottoman lands. Embassies were requested to prepare registers containing the names of “reliable Greeks” and send them to the Porte. The Porte also states that aside from Greeks who were Catholics the Orthodox Greeks could also remain in the Ottoman Empire should they fit the above mentioned exceptions (*mezheb maddesi bais-i istisna olamayacağından Rum mezhebinde [Orthodox Greeks] olanlarda dahi bu sıfatta adamlar bulunur ise anlar hakkında dahi müsaade gösterilmesi*).

Negotiations about the trade agreement, however, continued and a conclusive agreement was reached on 27 May 1855. It is very interesting to see that the article related to the foreign nationals who engage in trades in the Ottoman lands, article 17, was virtually the same as the article of the trade agreement that was not approved by Greece in 1840.

Article 17 of the new trade agreement of 1855 stipulates that Greeks of Greece are allowed to live in the Ottoman lands and to continue their business so long as they pay

their taxes and dues and accept being judged by the Ottoman courts, without the intervention of their embassies¹¹²

This very article 17 of the said treaty indicates that the perseverance of the Ottoman Porte finally pulled off. Ottoman authorities have been struggling to make the Greeks accept this practice, and it appears that the alliance between England, France and Turkey during the Crimean War might have contributed to the fact that Greek government could not benefit, this time, from the protection of a great power.

It is interesting to note in passing that in the abovementioned article the word “Turquie” was translated in Turkish as “memalik-i mahrusa”, basically to refer to a designated geographical area; in contrast the title of the French text refers to the Ottoman Empire, as a sovereign political entity as “Sublime Porte”, and not as “Turquie” or “L’empire Ottoman”. The title reads: “Extrait d’une traité de commerce fait entre la S. Porte et la Grèce en date du 27 Mai 1855”. Nevertheless the French word “les sujets de la Sublime Porte” was translated as “teba-i saltanat-ı seniyye”. One last observation is that the French word “nation” was understood by the Ottomans as “devlet-i metbua”, and likewise “nationalité” as “tabiyyet”, and the French text also refers to the “Greek subjects” as “le sujéts Hellénes”.

¹¹² Turkish text: BOA. A.} DVN 104/20/1; and French text: BOA. A.} 104/20/2, both are dated 10 N 1271 (27 May 1855): “Memalik-i Mahrusa’da kaide üzere mevzu olan esnafığa düvel-i müttehabe-i saire tebası dahil olmadığı misullu Yunaniler (*le sujéts Hellénes*) dahi giremeyip, ve esnaf-ı mezkureye mahsus sanayii icra edemeyip fakat bazı teba-i Yunaniye bir adet-i kadimeye mebni esnafıktan bazısına dahil bulunmuş oldukları halde, tabiyyet-i zatiyyelerini hıfz (*ils conserverant leur nationalité*) ve ifa ile beraber zikr olunan esnafa dahil olan teba-i saltanat-ı seniyyenin ifasına mecbur ve mahkum buldukları şeraiti icraya, yani esnaf-ı mezkurdan istenilen rüsumatı tediye etmeye ve bilhasa bunların mükellef oldukları tekalifin emr-i tesviyesinde hissemend olmaya, ve esnaf-ı merkumede icra-i sanat için bilhasa mevzu bulunan mecburiyetleri ifa etmedikleri halde kendi devlet-i metbualarının sefir ve konsolosları tavassutu vuku bulmaksızın muhakeme ve tedib olunmaya mecbur olacaklardır. Velhasıl bulunmuş oldukları esnafın kaffe-i nizam-ı mevzuasına ve memleketce usul-ü zabitasına tamamiyle mutabaat eyleyeceklerdir. Ve zikr olunan teba-i Yunaniye’den hiç birinin esnaf kethüdalığı icra edemeyeceği mukarrer bulunmuştur.”

Although Ottomans agreed to the foreign subjects, especially Greeks with whom a binding agreement had been signed, engage in artisanship and retail sale, old habits, it seems, die hard. One year after the ratification of the trade agreement Ottoman ministry of foreign affairs had to send a warning to the city council (*şehremaneti*) that some of the artisans of the Greek nationality, reportedly, were being punished; and ordered that justice should be observed in that without a real investigation no one is to be punished.¹¹³

It is also evident that some of the Greek *esnaf* did not wish to pay certain dues and Greek embassy was received a letter from the ministry of foreign affairs requesting that the embassy should find out why some of the Greek *esnaf* opposed paying the necessary dues, and should correct the situation.¹¹⁴

After the agreement Ottoman authorities started to distribute work permits (*esnaf tezkeresi*) to Greek subjects. A particular document dated 8 December 1857 betrays the fact that Ottomans were even in cooperation with the officials of the Greek embassy in İstanbul, in order to ease and expedite the distribution; the cooperation was in the informal way.¹¹⁵

Ottomans' concerns did not, however, end after the ratification of the trade agreement.

Although the Porte seems to have solved the question of foreign subjects entering

¹¹³ BOA. HR. MKT. 162/17, dated 05 S 1273 (5 October 1856): Yunan devleti tebasından esnaflık etmekte olan eşhasdan bazıları bila sebep Riştehaneye gönderilmekte olduğundan bunun meni [...] eşhasın bila tahkik oraya gönderilmesi madelet ve hakkaniyete muhalif olacağından ziyadesiyle riayet ve dikkat olunması

¹¹⁴ BOA. HR. MKT. 213/59/3, dated 5 RA 1274 (24 October 1857)

¹¹⁵ BOA. HR. MKT. 219/9, dated 20 R 1274 (8 December 1857): “Yunan devleti tebasından esnaflık edenlerin kaffe-i nizamat-ı belediyyeye etmeleri iktiza edeceği cihetle Yunanlı olan bakkal esnafına Şehremaneti tarafından verilecek esnaf tezkerelerinin itasında müşkilat ve tazyikat vukua gelmemesi için işbu esnaf tezkereleri sefaret tercümanı marifetiyle tadat ve ita olunması iltimas olunmağla, ve bu suret mücerret teshil-i maslahat için min gayr-i resm bir vesatet kabilinden bulunmağla”

business in the Ottoman lands with the said treaty, the questions of who the Greek subjects were, and how this “nationalité” may be assumed created ongoing disputes between the Porte and Greece.

One particular dispatch by the Porte to the consul of Greece at Yanya (Ioannina) on 14 March 1859 illustrates the question and how intricate it was.¹¹⁶ First of all the Porte differentiates two types of Greek subjects. First type includes: a) Originally Ottoman subjects who accepted Greek passports, distributed by the Greek officials, and thereby shifted their nationality; b) Originally Greek subjects who accepted by their free will being Ottoman subjects. By virtue of being Ottoman subjects these people were granted the right of acquiring and appropriating property in the Ottoman lands, and they in return gave their consent to fulfil the conditions of their subjecthood, e.g. pay their taxes. Nevertheless they shifted their nationality again, at a later time, on the grounds that they were originally Greek subjects. Ottoman Porte let the Greek consul know that these practices cannot be accepted, and the Greek subjects that belong to either of these categories are, in effect, not “real” Greeks.

The second type consists of: a) Greeks who were born in Greece; and b) Greeks who were born in the Ottoman lands but whose fathers and mothers were “original Greeks (*asil Yunanlı*)”, and who remained as Greeks for a designated period of time in the Ottoman Empire according to the agreed upon memoranda. The Porte indicates that the people who fall in this second group are considered as real Greek subjects.

¹¹⁶ BOA. A. } DVN. DVE. 24A/43/1, dated 9 S 1275 (14 March 1859)

Then how to differentiate these two types? Ottomans found a method of investigation and had requested if Greek government could prepare registers about its own subjects, belonging to the either types, and sent those registers to the Porte. These registers should, first of all, include the Ottoman towns of Yanya, Narda, Berat and Ergiri. But Ottomans insisted that the information about the Greek subjects who were living in those towns should include where they were born and how those people acquired the Greek nationality. With the aid of these registers the Porte would carry out its own investigation in order to decide who would be regarded as “real” Greek, and whose claims would be rejected.

Nevertheless Greek side proved uncooperative and sent only one register about the town Yanya which contained no useful information. The Porte, with this official letter, returned the register to the Greek consul of Yanya and reiterated its former request.

Why Ottomans desired to receive detailed registers of Greek subjects living in the Ottoman lands can be better understood with two concrete examples from Istanbul. A document was sent from the ministry of foreign affairs to the city council of Istanbul (*Şehremaneti*) on 19 April 1859, just one month after the Ottoman Porte’s request to the Greek consul of Yanya. Ministry indicated that it received a report from the undersecretary about the tobacconists who claimed Greek subjecthood, and remarked that the question of differentiation of nationalities is a matter which has to be solved between the Porte and Greek chancellery in Istanbul, and demanded from the city council that a register containing names of those people should be prepared and sent to

the ministry, and those people should be summoned and demanded guarantors to prove that they would continue paying their dues and taxes.¹¹⁷

Second example is a report by the chief of the tobacconists' corporation (guild?) (*tütüncüler esnafı kethüdası*) to the ministry of foreign affairs, dated 16 March 1859. He reported that a certain tobacconist by the name of Foti claimed Greekness although he was registered in the population logbooks of his church, his district and his corporation as being an Ottoman subject. And his ancestors were also subjects of the Ottoman Empire. He asked what is to be done to such people who went to the provinces and sought for the protection of the Greek state:¹¹⁸

Now that a binding agreement was signed and approved Ottoman authorities abandoned their threats of expelling Greek citizens, and permitted them, as per the article 17 of the said agreement, to enter the corporations (*esnaf*), but were still anxious about whether or not those foreign citizens would continue paying necessary taxes and dues. Therefore the Porte monitored the activity of foreign nationals, and that of its own subjects who claimed otherwise. In order to protect the Ottoman subjects and their rights, and of course for the sake of the continuation of the Ottoman sovereignty over her subjects the Porte attempted to differentiate between the “real” Greek subjects and those who

¹¹⁷ BOA. HR. MKT. 285/3/1, dated 16 N 1275 (19 April 1859): “*O makule ecnebi tabiiyeti iddiasında olan eşhasın esamisini mübeyyin bir kıta defter ettirilerek nezaret-i hariciyeye irsal buyurulması iktiza edeceği [...] böyle iddia-i tabiiyet-i ecnebiyede olanların emanet-i behiyyelerine celp ettirilerek esnaflığa ait kaffe-i rusumatı vakti ve zamanyla tediye eyleyeceklerine teba-i Devlet-i Aliyye'den kefiller alınıp, buna muvafakat etmedikleri halde keyfiyetin ayrıca Bab-ı Ali'ye bildirilmesi icap eder.*”

¹¹⁸ BOA. HR. MKT. 285/3/3, dated 11 S 1275 (16 March 1859): “*Esnaf-ı merkumeden Foti nam kimesne Yunanilik iddiasında olup halbuki merkum kilise ve mahallat ve esnaf nüfus defterlerinde eba an ced teba-i Devlet-i Alliyeye'den olarak mukayyed bulunduğu cihetle, merkum ve emsali haklarında ne vechile muamele olunması lazım geleceği [...], ve merkumlardan birazları dahi kilise ve mahallat ve esnaf kayıtlarını taşra azimet edecekleri beyanıyla terkin ettirip, bade Elinoz [i.e. Greece] devleti himayesine dehaleti usul ittihaz eylemiş oldukları*”

“faked” Greek subjecthood. By these measures the Porte might have also aimed at preventing its own subjects to claim, *en masse*, foreign citizenship.

Harassment of the Greek subjects who were allowed to go about their business by the Port seems to continue. Greek embassy complained in March 1860 that the governor of Tekfurdağı had been for some time collecting illegal taxes from the Greek shopkeepers. These taxes were *itibariye* and *iane-i askeriye*. Moreover the governor also demanded from the butchers who were Greek subjects additional five piastres on every animal they killed.¹¹⁹ Ministry of foreign affairs totally agreed to the complaints of the embassy and demanded that such unlawful tax collection should be ceased.¹²⁰

One year after the abovementioned incidents it seems that Greek missions in the Ottoman Empire were accustomed to asking for work permits, as a regular job and on a regular basis, on behalf of Greek subjects. Two documents, both dated 23 July 1860, indicate that the Greek embassy in Istanbul prepared petitions for Greek subjects who wish to work in the bazaars of Istanbul, or who has already been doing business:¹²¹

¹¹⁹ BOA. HR. MKT. 331/49/3, dated 6 N 1276 (28 March 1860)

¹²⁰ BOA. HR. MKT. 331/49/1, dated 19 N 1276 (10 April 1860)

¹²¹ BOA. MVL. 839/62/1 and 2, 23 July 1860: “*Yunan devleti tebasından Yorgi Patakaki veled-i Panayot pazarlarda kahve ve şeker ve buna mümasil emtia fûruht etmekte olduğundan yedine usulü vechile bir kıta esnaf tezkeresi itası mercu ve mültemisdir*”

CONCLUSION

Ottomans's attitude towards Greeks of Greece, and Ottoman Greeks changed a number of times depending on certain domestic and international situations. Within the Ottoman Empire the chief concern of the Porte seems that his own Greeks would be united with the Greeks of Greece. This prospect might have been regarded as clear and present danger that had to be dealt with. Therefore the Porte contrived a plan of differentiation of nationalities according to which whoever claimed being a Greek subject would never be allowed to remain in the Ottoman lands, especially amidst the Ottoman Greeks, lest they might be "seduced" and start to think of obtaining a Greek passport.

Second concern of the Ottomans was that his former subjects and recent subjects of the kingdom of Greece still continued doing business as they were doing years ago. Ottomans did not accept this and explained their view as such: those former Ottoman subjects renounced their political allegiance and chose being subjects of a foreign country. With this decision they also renounced their former business and they have to go to their "home country" or if they should wish to remain in the Ottoman lands, where they were gaining their profit, they had to accept Ottoman *raiyyet* again. This opinion seems to have continued well into the republican period in that when violence spread through Cyprus during 1960s, Turkish cabinet decided to expel Greek citizens who had been living and doing business in Turkey, in retaliation to the activities of the Cypriot and Greek governments. *Milliyet* newspaper reads on its 17 March 1964 issue, page 1

and continues on page 2, that: “The privilege that was bestowed on the Greeks was revoked. With the law that would be in effect on September 16 [1964] 9.586 Greek businessmen would lose their privileges [permission to live in Turkey and to do business]. Henceforth Greeks in our country cannot reside, acquire movable and immovable properties, and export their goods freely.” Shortly afterwards fifteen thousand Greeks had to leave for Greece permanently.¹²²

For the first concern Ottoman seems to have achieved a modicum of success, although not entirely. As for the second concern Ottomans successfully defended their position, and thanks to the Crimean War during which England and France were allied with the Ottomans, Ottoman Porte obtained what it had been looking for with the trade agreement signed in 1855.

Last but not least it can be argued that “Ottoman modernization” and even “Eastern Question” were related to a core issue of whether or not the existence of the Ottoman Empire was necessary. If every former subject of the Empire could establish their own “national” sovereign states, then the reason of existence of the Ottomans is rendered needless. Therefore Ottoman bureaucrats felt it necessary to reform their understandings concerning governance, nations, nationality and citizenship in the face of the present reality, and subsequently they started “to modernize” their ideology and way of conduct. The “Greek question” that this present study endeavours to demonstrate must have had a fair share in the creation of the process whereby the Ottoman administration struggled to hold on to their empire with reformed ideas and practices.

¹²² http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/GununYayinlari/YKqUm9aYc_x2B_bC7oJCCH7syA_x3D__x3D_

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BOA, HAT: 1220/47749, 29 Z 1251 (16 April 1836)

BOA, HAT: 1220/47736; 29 Z 1251 (16 April 1835)

BOA, HAT: 1220/47757; 29 Z 1253 (26 March 1838)

BOA, HAT: 1220/47731C; 29 M 1255 (14 April 1839)

BOA, HAT: 1218/47701

BOA. HAT. 1218/47723, dated 08 M 1255 (24 March 1839)

BOA, HAT: 1220/47767A, 1250 (17 May 1835)

BOA, HAT: 1220/47752, 1251 (12 June 1835)

BOA. HAT. 1217/47663, dated 29 Z 1250

BOA, HAT: 778/36461; 26 CA 1251 (19 September 1835)

BOA, HAT: 1221/47762Y; 29 Z 1253 (26 March 1838)

BOA HAT: 779/36501; 29 Z 1250 (28 April 1835)

BOA, HR.MKT: 176/9; 07 C 1273 (2 February 1857)

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BOA. HR. MKT. 285/3/3, dated 11 S 1275 (16 March 1859)

BOA. HR. MKT. 331/49/3, dated 6 N 1276 (28 March 1876)

BOA. HR. MKT. 331/49/1, dated 19 N 1276 (10 April 1876)

BOA. HSD. AFT. 2/38/1, dated 9 S 1270 (7 May 1854)

BOA. Í. HR. 37/1737/1, dated 18 ZA 1262 (7 November 1846)

BOA, Í.MSM: 30/855; 10 L 1256 (5 December 1840)

BOA. Í. MSM. 3/37, dated 15 R 1260 (4 May 1844)

BOA. Í. MSM. 83/2363/15, dated 13 C 1263 (29 May 1847)

BOA. Í. MSM. 83/2363/21, dated 13 C 1263 (29 May 1847)

BOA. İ. MSM. 83/2363/13, dated 19 C 1263 (4 June 1847)
BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/17, dated 15 N 1263 (27 August 1847)
BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/3, dated 17 L 1263 (28 September 1847)
BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/1, dated 18 L 1263 (29 September 1847)
BOA. İ. MSM. 78/2257/13, dated 02 ZA 1263 (12 October 1847)
BOA. MVL. 839/62/1 and 2, 23 July 1860

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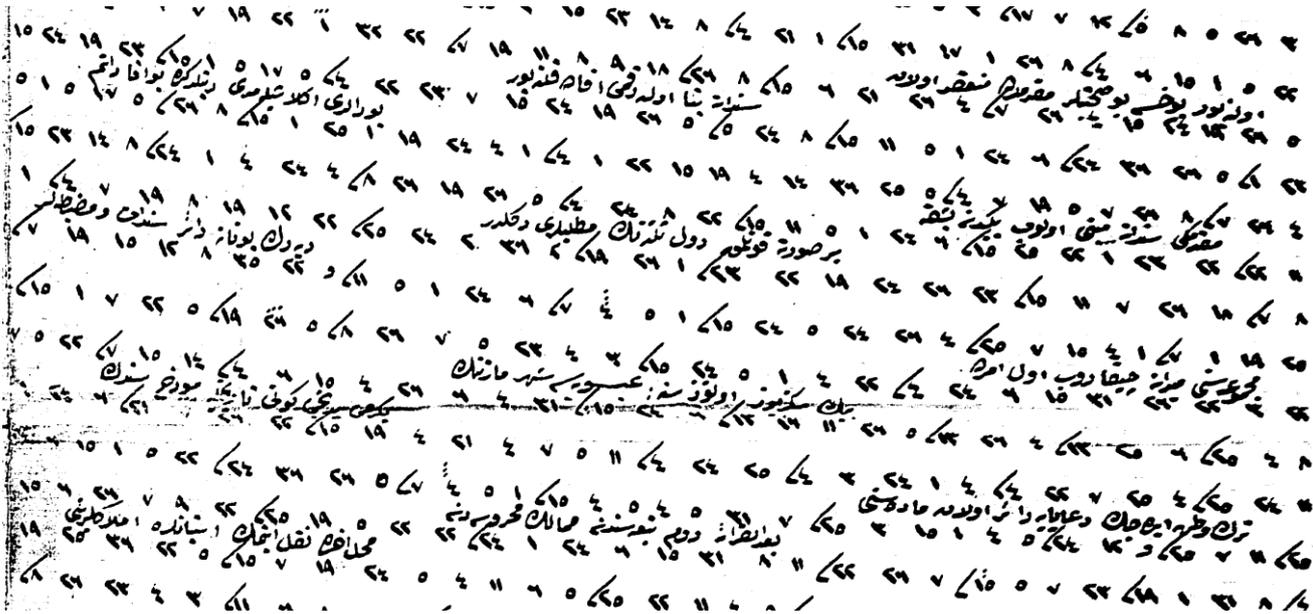
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APPENDICES



- 1) BOA. HAT. 1220/47731H/1, dated 29 C 1251 (22 October 1835)

Part of the ciphered correspondence, sent by the Ottoman ambassador Nuri Efendi from London about the negotiations with the British delegation on the "Greek question"

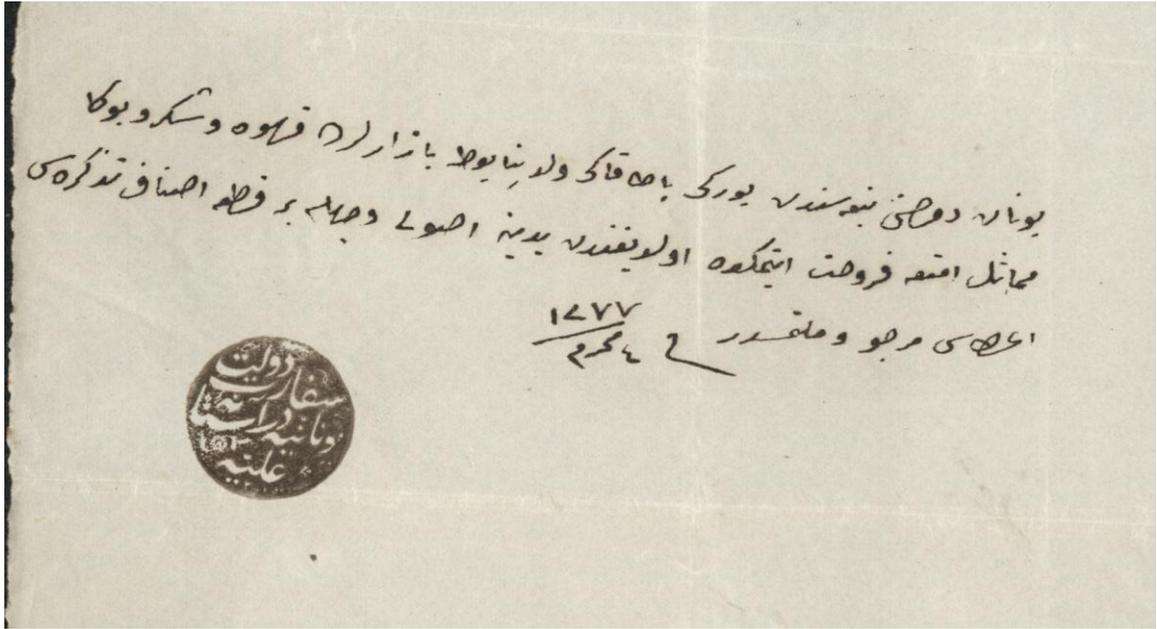
يونان عصيانده مرطلى اوطياره محمداها بسنده وقت اضلاله سمت يونان كدوب بعد يه فديهي وطنينه ورد ابله املاك
 وعلاوة نصف ابرله مضده يونانيلك دعوى تجوز النمان يونان نرك اولنان واضلال ظواهر ايدنه حال معلوم اها بسند
 الحاله ريعانده سائر محله املاك والاضى اوه ره نوطه ايندرا ستر ايسه قبول رعبت ابله اذات طلب انجرا لار بهر شديجى
 صانعه يونان طرقة رحلت انجلك يونان رعايسى دول سائر بعضى مملوك كرك ريعانده ورك سائر ممالك كدوه رعايسى
 سلطنت بهر محضوس اولدنه اضلالوه وفره فرطوه مملوكه فائسجه ره فقط لاجل التجارة مسافرت طرقيله ارسد
 انجلك

- 2) BOA. HAT. 1220/47749, dated 29 Z 1251 (16 April 1836)
 A letter dispatched to the secretary of state for foreign affairs of the United Kingdom, Lord Palmerston, who appeared to be inclined to the Ottoman cause



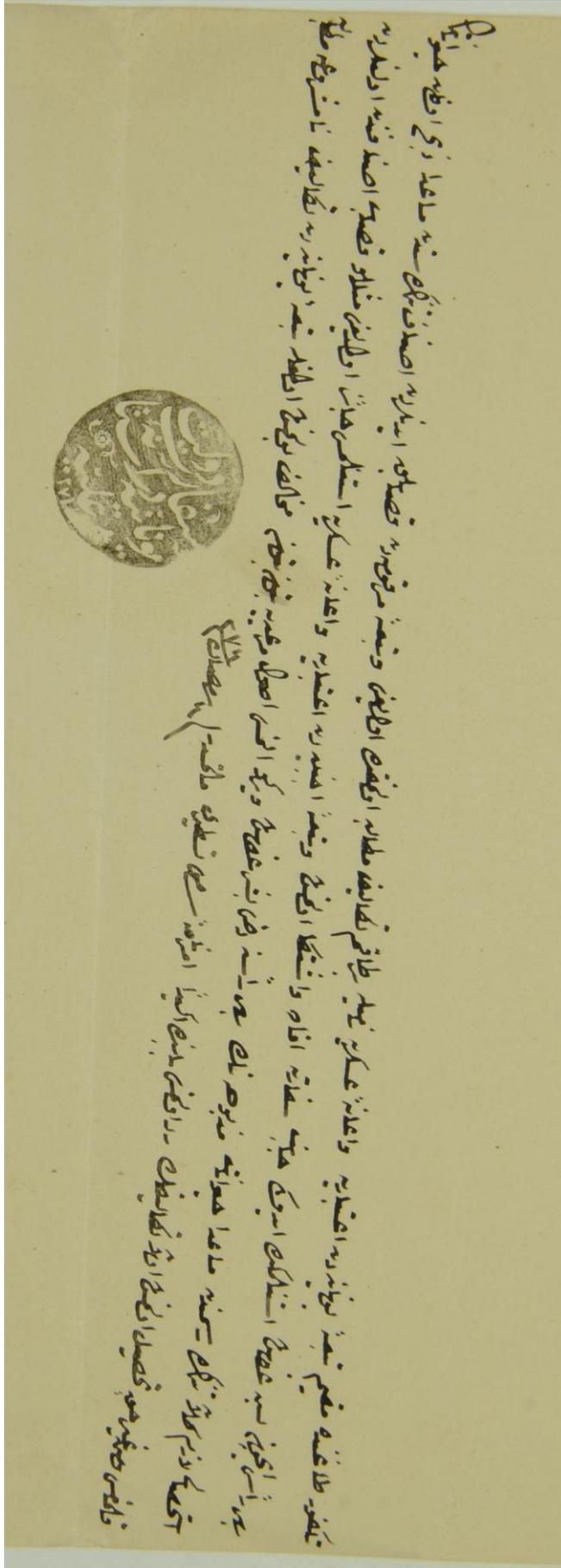
3. BOA. C. BLD. 35/1747, dated 21 B 1260 (6 August 1844)

A work permit (*esnaf tezkeresi*) given to a certain Panayot son of Kosti who was running a bar (*meyhane*) in Galata near the church of Aya Hristos. His guarantor (*kefil*) was his master chief (*ustabaşı*)



4. BOA. MVL. 839/62/1, dated 4 M 1277 (23 July 1860)

A petition of work permit by the Greek embassy in Istanbul for one of the Greek subjects named Yorgi Patakaki, son of Panayot, who was selling coffee, sugar and such things in the bazaars of Istanbul



LEFT

5. BOA.HR.MKT.331

/49/3, dated 6 N 1276

(28 March 1860)

A petition of the Greek embassy in İstanbul to the ministry of foreign affairs on the condition of the Greek subjects who were constantly harassed by the governor of Tekfurdağı. Greek subjects were demanded to pay *itibariye* and *iane-i askeriye* taxes, and butchers were forced to pay extra 5 piastres on every animal that they slaughtered.

BELOW

BOA. C. DH. 268/13355/3,

dated 17 L 1262 (8 October

1846)

Decision of the local council of the island of Chios (Sakız)

دولت عليه نيك تردد و علم موافق اجماعه ...
 مالای نیت خیریه نه مستدلوله حیلله یونانہ غیر نیک نکایات واقع و ضکوت ...
 ایروکی مستغنی خود قدر فی الواقع یونانہ دولتی بقا دولت عليه نیک اجزای رعایا نیکه اولای حیلله
 بر طرفه اولایه دوم رعایا حیلله بیننده جایجا رابطه قریب و صریح و مناسبات تجارت و کسری
 و کاریکه دولت عليه نیک تحت حکومت و سیاست شعیه نیکه خارج یونانہ یونانہ دولتی کنه رعایای
 اولایه روملاری اشتراک حقت و کجیته کار و وضعی تغییر نیکه بر طرفه حب و نسیانده و کب
 و حق نیکه مخاوطه و شترک و دیگر طرفه یکیکه نسبتله غیر معافه و مستغنی بر حکومت نیکه تبعیت
 یونانہ حیلله مفرد و متصل ایکی صنف نیکه اصطلاح و ضمایعده کونا کونه نظر منزه نوله
 ایوه یکننده غیر دولت عليه نیکه مفارقه ایضیکه اختیار نیکه اولایه بر طرفه نیکه قبل المفاخره
 یونانلی مال اوزده نیکه دولت عليه ایله اصطلاحی و کاکانه کب و کار و تجارتده اشتراکی
 قواعد ملکاری و اصول حکمت و حکومتی مباحیه و منافی اوله جفنده بوضوحده کار
 اخله نیکه صرف انظر دولت عليه نیکه کوره حکمه اوله میجی
 عادت نیکه انفسی

BOA. HAT. 1221/47759 E, dated 30 Ra 1251 (26 July 1835)

The term "Greeks of Greece" (*Yunan Rumları*) is used as opposed to "Greek subjects in here" (*berü tarafda olan Rum reayası*)

سما
تکلیفی مضری مله ناک خوانه توافقی بموجب زیرا یونانہ ایجنسک موجب تکای ارباب
و شہ قبول ایہ بنیاد یونانیانہ اوزرینہ ایضاً اولیئین و ازینہ منہی استحقاق ناک خلائی اولہ درہ رعایا مثلاً معاملہ اجناسکہ صورت
ملیئری متکون و شہ اولوب تشکیص و تمیہ لری تجارت عہدہ سندرہ تنظیم انمو اوزرہ تعلیم و اوندانہ کسانہ کچہ بوقضہ دخی قبولہ کتاب
زیرا اشوعی نامہ منعقد اونیہ رکنہ حکومت اولادہ کافی ایالات و قضایا ناک مدیریمہ و علیہ راک ایملک لادیم و کلدرہ بالعلسہ یونان
مضق بقاعدہ: شترکہ بالجلہ ممالک محمدیہ وضع و التزم انموہ ایجاب ایدر دارالسلطنتہ یونانہ یونانہ تبعیہ سیکورہ مسند یا سئلہ موسیو
فان اذ غندہ صورت بولس اولادہ نفا ماک ممالک محمدیہ ناک سائر طرفین مملکہ یونانہ تبعیہ مضدہ طبیعیہ و مصریہ فتنی التماس ایملک
... لہ ... ممالک محمدیہ ناک سائر طرفین مملکہ یونانہ تبعیہ مضدہ طبیعیہ و مصریہ فتنی التماس ایملک
... و لینی غندہ بحث

BOA. HAT. 1220/47767A, dated 1250 (17 May 1835)

“As for those people whose nationality is doubtful”

In this document a group of “Greeks” who are living in the Ottoman lands is portrayed as their “nationality” (*milliyet*) is unclear. In this sentence Ottoman bureaucrats seem to interpret the word “nationality” as “citizenship”; they were Greeks, but Greeks of which country?