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DOI:10.2298/BALCO940057F

*Original scholarly work*

## **Kassandra in the Ottoman documents from Chilandar (Hilandar) Monastery (Mount Athos) in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries**

**Abstract:** The rich archive of the Athonite Monastery of Hilandar contains a group of Ottoman documents relating to the promontory of Kassandra. Hilandar did not begin to acquire land in Kassandra until the very end of the sixteenth century. No link has been found between the newly-acquired landed property and the metochia Hilandar had held under Byzantine rule. Bits of information gleaned from the documentary material on Hilandar's metochia within the village boundaries of Kalandra and Mavrokol, of the now non-existent village of Plastara, and of Valta, modern Kassandra, have been used to look at the ways of land acquisition, the composition of estates, forms of tenure, relations with the "master of the land", taxes, and disputes in the course of the two centuries.

**Key words:** Ottoman Empire, Chilandar (Hilandar) Monastery, Kassandra, metochion, topography, economy, sixteenth–seventeenth centuries

A portion of the large collection of Ottoman documents in the archive of the Athonite Monastery of Hilandar relates to the promontory of Kassandra or, more precisely, to the properties the monastery acquired and enjoyed in some of the villages on the promontory.<sup>1</sup> Although most documents are *tapunāmes* and *hüccets* relating to transfer of immovable property, it is nonetheless possible to glean information that can be useful in completing the picture of the topography, the economy and everyday life in Kassandra in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> Some other Athonite monasteries are also known to have had property in Kassandra. So far the

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<sup>1</sup> A. Fotić, "The Collection of Ottoman Documents in the Monastery of Hilandar (Mount Athos)", in *Balkanlar ve İtalya'da şehir ve manastır arşivlerindeki Türkçe belgeler semineri (16–17 Kasım 2000)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), 31–37.

<sup>2</sup> A. Fotić, *Sveta Gora i Hilandar u Osmanskom carstvu (XV–XVII vek)* [Mount Athos and Hilandar in the Ottoman Empire (15th–17th Centuries)] (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies SASA, Manastir Hilandar and Sveti arhijerejski sinod Srpske pravoslavne crkve, 2000) (English summary), 354–363; Ph. Kotzageorgis, *He atthonike mone Agiou Paulou kata ten othomanike periodo* [The Athonite Monastery of St Paul during the Ottoman Period] (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2002), 114–121 ff; E. Kolovos, "Chorikoi kai monachoi sten othomanike Chalkidike kata tous 150 kai 160 ai" [Villages and Monks in the Ottoman Chalkidike during the 15th–16th C.] (PhD thesis, Thessaloniki, Aristotle University, 2000), vol. I, 89–94.

Ottoman documents of Hilandar, St Paul's and Xiropotamou have been processed.

Hilandar acquired an estate in Kassandra as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, in 1318 or 1319. The *metochion* known as Ag. Trias (Holy Trinity) and many other estates were donated to it by the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II in compliance with his agreement with Stefan Uroš II Milutin, king of Serbia (1282–1321). The *metochion* was reconfirmed several times: in 1319 (twice), in 1321 and in 1351, the confirmation by the emperor John V being the last known reference to it. A list of the *metochion*'s associated property, drawn up about 1333, includes seven *modioi* in Kalandra. The fact that the Trinity *metochion* was near Aphetos opens the question as to whether this toponym referred to the quite distant village of Kalandra, the existence of which is not attested by other documents.<sup>3</sup>

The medieval Trinity *metochion* cannot be linked to any of the later *metochia* known in the period of Ottoman rule. These do not begin to feature in documents until the very end of the sixteenth century. Neither the imperial survey register nor the *vakıfnâme* created at the time of the confiscation and redemption of monastic land in 1569 contain any reference to an estate in Kassandra.<sup>4</sup> (Hilandar's winter pasture in Kassandra recorded in the published survey of 1568/69 does not match the detailed survey excerpts extracted from other survey registers at the time!)<sup>5</sup> Had Hilandar held any significant estate there at the time, it would not have failed to lay claim on it. Dr. Phokion Kotzageorgis believes that most *metochia* of the Athonite monasteries were of an earlier date, but the land was left idle, probably for decades, until Kassandra was granted to Gazanfer Ağa (see below) for his *vakıf*, which initiated economic activity on the promontory.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Actes de Chilandar I: Dès origines à 1319*, diplomatic ed. by M. Živojinović et al. (Paris 1998), 61, nos. 42–44; *Actes de Chilandar*, published by L. Petit and B. Korablev, *Vizantijskij Vremennik* XVII (1911), Priloženie 1, nos. 40, 58, 138; M. Živojinović, *Istorija Hilandara I: Od osnivanja manastira 1198. do 1335. godine* [The History of Hilandar I: From the Founding of the Monastery in 1198 until 1335] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1998), 188–190, 214.

<sup>4</sup> Hilandar Monastery Archive, Turcica (hereafter HMAT), 6/8, 12/37/57, 6/10, 6/11, 6/12, 11/5; Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, TT 723, 1053.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod. Opsiren popisen defter za Solunski ot sandzak od 1568/69 godina* [Turkish documents for the history of the Macedonian people. Detailed imperial taxation register of 1568/69 for Thessaloniki Sanjak], ed. A. Stojanovski, tome IX, vol. 1 (Skopje: Drzaven arhiv na Republika Makedonija, 2002), 312.

<sup>6</sup> Kotzageorgis, *He athonike mone*, 115–116.

*Kalandra and Mavrokol*

The earliest known reference to an agricultural estate (*çiftlik*) held by Hilandar in Kassandra was made in September 1597, but without specifying its exact location. The official inventory of Hilandar's property, made probably in May 1598, situates its Kassandran *metochion* in the proximity of the village of Kalandra. There is no doubt that this *metochion* and the one referred to a year before are one and the same, because there was no other at the time.<sup>7</sup> The description of the *metochion* as being in the "proximity" of the village of Kalandra suggests that it might have been outside the village boundaries. There was near Kalandra another village, Mavrokol, where Hilandar also held considerable possessions in the seventeenth century. Although it cannot be seen from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents, the possessions in Kalandra and Mavrokol in all likelihood constituted a single *metochion*.

The settlement named Kalandra (Καλάνδρα), variously recorded in Ottoman documents as *Kalāndra*, *Kālander*, *Kılāndere*, is still in existence and bears the same name. Mavrokol, unknown in Byzantine times, had village status in the seventeenth century (1611–34), and is recorded in Hilandar's Ottoman documents as *Māvarkōl*, *Māvrekōl*, *Maverkālō*, *Mavrekōle*, even *Mavrōpōle*.<sup>8</sup> At some point it lost its village status and in the nineteenth century is only mentioned as the place (*yer*) where Hilandar's *metochion* is located. In the eighteenth century, or perhaps even earlier, the still existing village of Phourka (Φούρκα) grew in its immediate vicinity. Hilandar's *metochion* was often named after it, as evidenced by the notes on the backsides of the surviving documents. In the official documents, however, it was variously described: "Hilandar's *metochion* near the village of Phour[ka]" (*Für karyesi kurbinde Hilāndār Metōhi*); or later in the same document: "the said *metochion* near Mavrokol" (*zıkr olan metōh Mavrōkōlō kurbinde*) (1752); or: "situated in the place Ma[v]r[o]kol within the village boundaries of Kalandra" (*Kalāndra hududunda Mārköle yerinde kâ'in*); or: "on the site of the Mavrokol-*metochion* ... within the village boundaries of Phourka" (*Māvrokōl metōhi yerinde ... Fürha karyesi hududunda*) (nineteenth century). In the eighteenth century the *metochion* was also known as *Bugarški metoh/Bulgarian metochion* (*Fürka karyesi hududunda Būlgār Metōhi*). In the 1920s it was renamed *Srpski metoh/Serbian metochion*, as was the Kalamarian one.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> HMAT, 12/12/6, 12/12/15.

<sup>8</sup> *Topographic map of Greece* 1:50,000 (Army Geographic Service: 1949–55); P. Bellier et al., *Paysages de Macédoine, leurs caractères, leur évolution à travers les documents et les récits des voyageurs*, introd. J. Lefort (Paris 1986), 163; HMAT, 1/103, 1/109a, 2/153a, 12/4/15, 12/4/14, 12/4/17 (Kalandra), 12/4/7, 2/201–4, 12/4/2, 12/4/6, 12/4/8, 2/166 (Mavrokol).

<sup>9</sup> *Topographic map of Greece*, Bellier et al., *Paysages*, 193, 228; HMAT, 12/4/21, 12/4/18, 12/4/22, 12/4/27; V. Demetriades, "Phorologikes kategories ton chorion tes Thessalonikis

Under Ottoman rule Kassandra was a separate administrative unit. In the late sixteenth century it formed part of the *Nāhiye* of Kalamaria (1594, 1597). Sometime in the early seventeenth century but before 1608 the promontory became a *nāhiye* itself. During the fifteenth century and until the establishment of the Sanjak of Thessaloniki in the early sixteenth century it had belonged to the Pasha (Edirne) Sanjak. It was under the judicial and administrative jurisdiction of the *mōnla* of Thessaloniki and his subordinate, the *nā'ib* of Kassandra.<sup>10</sup>

For the most part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Kassandra seems to have been an imperial *hās*s, or formed part of the *hās*s of the governor of Thessaloniki, until sometime before 1591, the *Bāb üs-sa'adet ağası* Gazanfer *Ağa* was given permission to donate it in order to provide an income for his endowments in Istanbul and in an Anatolian *kasaba* called Gedüs, as evidenced by a document of Hilandar of 1597 (*Vilāyet-i Anātōli'da kasaba-i Gedüs'de rizāullah binā ve inşā eylediğimiz cāmi'-i şerifiñ evkāfindan*). Part of the income was to be set aside for the poor of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. Gazanfer *Ağa* had received generous grants in return for his loyal service to three successive sultans, Selim II, Murad III and Mehmed III. He held various offices on the court from 1566 until 1603, when he fell into disgrace and was executed.<sup>11</sup>

Gazanfer *Ağa's vakıf* was “master of the land” (*sāhib-i arz*) over Hilandar's *metochion* and seems to have remained so until the end of Ottoman rule. Collection of revenues, issuance of *tapunāmes* and other land-related duties were managed by the *zābits* residing in Kassandra rather than by the *mütevellis* of the *vakıf*. Of the *mütevellis* are known Şaban *Çavuş* (1594–98), probably also Yusuf *Çavuş* (1599), and Mehmed, son of Arslan (1690). The

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kata ten tourkokratia” [Tax categories in the villages in the Thessaloniki region during Ottoman rule], *Makedonika* 20 (1980), 430–431, 452. Hilandar's *metochia* Phourka and Papastathi are merely mentioned by J. Koder, “Die Metochia der Athos-Klöster auf Sithonia und Kassandra”, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* XVI (1967), 222–223; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 354.

<sup>10</sup> HMAT, 1/103, 12/12/6, 1/109a, 1/110a, 1/110b, 2/118, 12/4/2, 12/4/14, 8/98 and others.

<sup>11</sup> Demetriades, “Phorologikes kategories”, 430–431; idem, “Ottoman Chalkidiki: an Area in Transition”, in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society. Papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982, Birmingham (UK) – Washington (USA)*, eds. A. Bryer and H. Lowry (Univ. of Birmingham–Dumbarton Oaks: 1986), 39–50; Kolovos, “Chorikoi kai monachoi”, 90–91; HMAT, 12/12/6. In June 1593 Murad III gave permission to Gazanfer *Ağa* to have a *medrese* and his *türbe* built on the foundations of a ruined church in Istanbul, cf. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Osmanlı Saray Arşivi Kataloğu, Fermānlar, I. Fasikül, No E. I-12476*, eds. Ord. Prof. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı et al. (Ankara: TTK, 1985), no. 181. For Gazanfer *Ağa's* origin and family, see M. P. Pedani, “Safiye's Household and Venetian Diplomacy”, *Turcica* 32 (2000), 9–32.

office of the *zābit* is known to have been held by Mehmed *Ağa* (1611–28) and *Hacci Ali Ağa* (1670–72).<sup>12</sup>

The Ottoman documents term Hilandar's estate a *çiftlik* (1598, 1607), as was common, but also a *metōh* (1632, 1671). Neither a *hududnāme* nor any other document providing information about its boundaries and composition at any point during the two centuries have survived. It should be noted that there is a document of 1634 relating to the hire of labour which records that the area of the *metochion* measured in terms of the seed to be sown is 70 *muzurs* (only in Mavrokol?).<sup>13</sup> That, however, is even less than the area of arable land that is known to have been freshly acquired (see Table below). The information that can be extracted shows what the monastery's new acquisitions (gifts/bequests?) were. They mostly comprised crop fields in the immediate vicinity of the *metochion*, as obvious from the description of field boundaries. Two periods at which Hilandar considerably enlarged the *metochion* are clearly distinguishable: one in the 1620s and early 1630s, the other in the early 1670s. The newly-purchased fields alone equalled at least 90 *muzurs* and may have cost as much as 123,000 *akçes* (if the contract of sale is trustworthy for 44-*muzur* fields bought for 100,000 *akçes*, which was about ten times the average price (!?); the Greek-written version of the contract seems to suggest the price of 50,000 *akçes*, complete with the house, barns and other elements of the *çiftlik*). It cannot be known with certainty whether the field in Kalandra known as Papa Dimitri's belonged to Hilandar during Dimitri's lifetime (1594). Much later, in 1835, the fields of the *çiftlik* were 300-*dönüm* in area, which is about 28 hectares. In the early twentieth century, Sava Hilandarac (monk Sava/Sabas of Hilandar) records that the tenants of both *metochia* in Kassandra (Papastathi and Phourka) paid the annual rent of 70 *merica* of wheat (4,487kg), which seems an unbelievably low rent, especially if compared with the contemporaneous data supplied by Metodije (Methodius), hegoumen of Hilandar: about 400–500 hectares.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> HMAT, 1/103, 1/109a, 12/4/1, 12/4/7, 2/153a, 12/4/8, 12/4/9, 12/4/15; *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Osmanlı Saray Arşivi Kataloğu, Hükümler – Beratlar, II. Fasikül, No E. I-12476*, eds. Ord. Prof. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı et al. (Ankara: TTK, 1988), no. 1332. For Gazanfer *Ağa*'s endowments, see S. Eyice, "Gazanfer *Ağa* Külliyesi", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 13 (Istanbul: İSAM, 1996), 432–433, according to whom, Gazanfer *Ağa* built a mosque and a *sibyan* at Gediz.

<sup>13</sup> The standard *μουζούριον* (*μόδιος*) of grain equalled 12.8 kg, but it varied from 12.5 to 17 kg in the Byzantine Empire and the surrounding regions, cf. E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich 1970), 96, 188. According to some non-official data, in Ottoman times before the 19th century the *Thessaloniki muzur* of grain may have been about 19.242 kg, see A. Fotić, "Xenophontos in the Ottoman Documents of Hilandar (16th–17th C.)", *Hilandarski zbornik* 12 (2008), 203.

<sup>14</sup> HMAT, 1/103, 12/12/15, 6/13, 1/109a, 12/4/7, 12/4/2, 2/153a, 12/4/6, 2/201-4, 12/4/8, 2/166, 12/4/15, 12/4/14, 12/4/17; I. K. Vasdravelles, "Anekdotia phirmania aforonta eis ta en

Property acquired within the village boundaries of Kalandra and Mavrokol in  
1611–1687/88

Date	Type	No of items	Previous owner	Boundaries	Size	Price (in <i>akçes</i> )
1594	Field	1	<i>Ištašine (?) Buyer: Paša Dimitri</i>	<i>Kalandra</i>		
1598	Vineyard	1/2	Kiryako	Kalandra		
1611	Field	1	Apostol Mihal	Mavrokol: vineyard and on three sides public lane		4,200
1624	Fields	6	Dimo Gramatiko	Mavrokol	44 <i>muzurs</i>	100,000? (portion of 50,000?)
1624	Vineyard	3	Dimo Gramatiko	Mavrokol		
1627	Vineyard	1	Prokop	Mavrokol: field of Ašiko Belot (?), vineyard of Yorgo Zerve (?) and on two sides Hilandar's vineyards	1 <i>dönüm</i>	350
1628	Field	1	Kirko Maliyari	Kalandra: lane and fields of Mihal Gušeta (?) and Hilandar	7 <i>muzurs</i>	5,000 (paid 2,500)

te Chersoneso Kassandras kai allachou tes Chalkidikies euriskomena metochia” [Unknown Fermans for the Peninsula of Kassandra and other *metochia* in Chalkidiki], *Makedonika* 13 (1973), 296; Sava Hilandarac, *Istorija manastira Hilandara* [History of the Monastery of Hilandar], ed. T. Jovanović (Belgrade 1997) [manuscript from the 1890s], 81; M. S. Milovanović, *Život u srpskoj carskoj lavri Hilendaru na Svetoj Gori* [The life in the Serbian imperial lavra of Hilandar on the Holy Mountain] (Belgrade 1908), vol. II, 40–41; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 355–358. Apart from HMAT 2/201–4 and 12/4/8, there is a Greek document dated 19 March 1624 on the sale of Dimo Gramatiko’s land to Hilandar, according to which the house and other *mülk* possessions, as well as fields, were sold for 50,000 *akçes*, see V. I. Anastasiades, *Arheio tes I. M. Chilandariou. Epitomes metavyzantinon eggraphon* [Archives of the Monastery of Hilandar. Summaries of Post-Byzantine Documents] (Athens 2002), 32. The earlier editors of this document mistakenly interpreted the name Mavropulos as the name of the seller, and *δήμος γραμματικός* as his occupation. The expression από τοῦ Μαυροπούλου at the end of the document, however, should be interpreted as the name of a village (Mavrokol, Mavropol), rather than a man. See V. Mošin in A. Sovre, *Dodatki na grškim listinam Hilandarja. Supplementa ad acta Graeca Chilandarii* (Ljubljana 1948), 48–49.

1632	Fields	6	Dimogen Satiko (deceased)	Mavrokol: known as fields of Konstantin Şkopolit (?) 1. (Field?) Yorgi Çıçan, lane, Hilandar's vineyard, (field? of) Yani Kazander (?) 2. Vineyard (of?) Saro, mountain, village and brook 3-4. Lane, brook and field of Kosta Mavrait 5. Fields of Kosta, Kondopulo, Dimogen Satiko and Beglık's field 6. (Omitted)	18 dönüms	7,000
1671/ 1672	Fields  Vineyard  Garden	4  1  1	Monk Grigorije (Lōgōriyō)	Kalandra: 1. Fields of Iveron, Dimitri Maldar and Hilandar on two sides 2. By the brook Phourka: fields of Niko Stamo and Foto Dumo 3. By old flour mills: (fields of) Yani Marine and Yani Zagorone (?) 4. Near Kalandra: (fields of) Papa Kostiyani, Dimitri Filip and Papa Yani Maldar  Vineyards of Aleksandar Mavrayit, Yani Marine, Eflamura (?) and Yani Zagorina (?)  Near the village: Hilandar's metochion, (fields of) Yani Gorne (?), Yorgo (?), Papa Andon and public lane	17 muzurs  2 muzurs  1.5 muzur  0.5 muzur  2 muzurs	7,200 (?)
1687/ 1688	Vineyard	1	Dimitri Çameko	Kalandra: (vineyards of) Stafol (?) Stefani, Dimitri Stefani and Stati Marijan	2 dönüms	

[HMAT, 1/103, 1/109a, 12/4/7, 12/4/2, 2/153a, 12/4/6, 2/201-4, 12/4/8, 12/4/15, 12/4/14, 12/4/17; Mošin in Sovre, 48-49]

Wheat was the staple crop grown on the *metochion*. Apart from monks, the land was worked by the inhabitants of the nearby villages. In 1634, the *ikonomos*, Averki, concluded an arrangement with Papa Yani, Yure (?) Franko, Yani and Ragari (?) of Mavrokol: they were to take care of the entire *metochion*, including the buildings, vineyards and 70-*muzur* fields, for 5 *muzurs* of wheat a year.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> HMAT, 12/12/15. The locality of Levki (Λεύκη) was in the vicinity of Kalandra. In Byzantine times, a *metochion* of the Lavra Monastery had also been there, and today the

The administration of the *metochion* was also in charge of some other fields the monks of Hilandar held in various places in Kassandra. Some of these are known to have been in the environs of Plastara (see below), some were near Levki and some other place.<sup>16</sup>

The *çiftlik* included vineyards and gardens (*bahçes*). In May 1598 and in March 1607, a single two-*dönüm* vineyard is registered. In the course of the eighteenth century the monks of Hilandar purchased a few more vineyards, the total area of which probably did not exceed some ten *dönüms*. It is not known whether there had been any gardens/orchards before the purchase in 1671/2 of the large property of the monk Grigorije (*Lögöriyö*) which included a *bahçe* with fourteen (fruit-bearing?) trees.<sup>17</sup>

The monks of Chilandar also held a winter pasture in Kassandra. It apparently was not in the vicinity of the *metochion* but it certainly was dependent on it, because in 1598 Hilandar owned no other *çiftlik* on the promontory.<sup>18</sup> The presence of a winter pasture suggests a well-developed practice of husbandry, an activity of which no direct information can be found.

Little is known of the composition of the *çiftlik*. In May 1598 a single church is registered. The same year, the monks bought two houses and a threshing barn from Kiryako, a villager of Kalandra. In 1624, Dimo Gramatik of Mavrokol sold a large plot of arable land, a threshing floor and water worth 100,000 *akçes* to the assignee of Hilandar, hieromonk Ilarion, plus three houses, a flour mill, two grain barns, a vine cellar (*şarâb-hâne*), a hay barn and two carts for 30,000 *akçes*. Three vineyards were included in the price. (According to the Greek contract of sale, all items were sold together for 50,000 *akçes*.) The three houses were between those of Yani Laskaris, Dimo Çatiş (?), Yorgi Verova (?) and the lane. Some ten years later, the monks moved some of their buildings. The 1634 document relating to hiring labour from Mavrokol records that the labourers, apart from working the land, are under obligation to “move” two houses to a different place (*iki ki'ta menzili âhar yere nakl ede*). In 1671/72, the *ikonomos*, elder (*Yerö*) Petron, was enlarging the *metochion* once again. He then bought a ground-floor house with two entrances and two porches (*hayât*) from monk Grigorije

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name is borne by the *metochion* of the Iveron Monastery whose origin may be traced back to 1671/72. See P. Theodorides, “Pinakas topographias tou Agioreitikonou paragogikonou chorou” [Topographic List of Athonite Monasteries’ Possessions], *Kleronomia* 13/2 (1981), 393; *Actes de Lavra* IV, by P. Lemerle et al. (Paris 1982), 108–110; HMAT, 12/4/15.

<sup>16</sup> HMAT, 2/166.

<sup>17</sup> HMAT, 12/12/15, 6/13, 1/109a, 12/4/2, 2/201-4, 2/166, 12/4/15, 12/4/17; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 358.

<sup>18</sup> HMAT, 12/12/15.



(*Lōgōriyō*) of Kalandra. The house lot was bounded by the lots of Papa Yani, Foti Dumo (?), Dimitri Maldar and Yakov Paskal. With the exception of the church, all listed immovables were acquired after 1598.<sup>19</sup>

Taxes were collected by the *zābit* of the *vakıf*, but it remains unknown whether the monks paid them in one lump sum, as most other *metochia* did. The surviving documents do not suggest any abuse by the “master of the land”, which does not mean there were none.

It appears that this *metochion* was not the object of any serious dispute. There is a single minor misunderstanding that can be associated with it. Upon the death of a certain *Adireno* (?) of Kalandra, the *mütevelli* of the *vakıf* took over his property on behalf of *Beyt ül-māl* without having made sure there was no next of kin, and resold it straight away to a monk of Hilandar. In May 1598, however, Adireno’s father, Kyriako, claimed his inheritance. Eventually, a settlement was reached: two houses, a threshing floor and one half of a vineyard remained in Hilandar’s possession, and the monastery paid 500 *akçes* in compensation.<sup>20</sup>

By the end of the seventeenth century, a good part of the *metochion* had been neglected, perhaps as a result of the war, perhaps for some other reason. As many as 30 *muzurs* of fields were left unworked for more than fifty years. The monks resumed cultivation only in 1751/52, having paid the *tapu* certificate tax (*resm-i tapu*).<sup>21</sup>

### *Plastara*

There was no independent *metochion* of Hilandar’s within the village boundaries of Plastara. The fields the monks purchased in 1597 remained dependent on the already existing *çiftlik* in Kalandra/Mavrokol.

The now non-existent village of Plastara (Πλαστάρια) obviously existed in Byzantine times because the Monastery of Lavra is known to have been granted a property there in 1259. That, however, remains the last reference to this place-name. The village seems to have been situated in the upper part of the promontory’s eastern coast, within Lavra’s *metochion* that extended between Nea Phokea and Aphetos. Hilandar’s documents dating from the late sixteenth century record it as *P(e)lāstara*, *P(e)lāstāra* and *P(e)lāstāriye*.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> HMAT, 12/12/15, 1/109a, 12/4/8, 2/201-4, 2/166, 12/4/15, 12/4/14; Mošin in Sovre, *Dodatki*, 48–49; Anastasiades, *Arheio tes I. M. Chilandariou*, 32.

<sup>20</sup> HMAT, 1/109a.

<sup>21</sup> HMAT, 12/4/21.

<sup>22</sup> *Actes de Lavra* II, by P. Lemerle et al., (Paris 1977), 71; *Actes de Lavra* IV, 108–110; Theodorides, “Pinakas topographies”, 411; HMAT, 12/12/6, 1/110a, 1/110b, 12/4/1; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 360.

The surviving documents show that Hilandar made its first land purchase in late August 1597. Hegoumen Grigorije and hieromonk Sava bought land from Gazanfer *Ağa* himself, paying 10,000 *akçes* for the idle fields and *baltalıks* of the late Yorgi, a butcher from Plastara. The size of the fields is not specified, but the price paid suggests it was considerable. In a *defter* excerpt of May 1598, the fields are already described as an annex to the *çiftlik* in Kalandra. In the summer of 1599, hegoumen Joakim, hieromonk Averkije and monk Pahomije purchased six more fields and paid 700 *akçes* for the *resm-i tapu*. The opportunity popped up because a villager of Plastara, Dimo Lemozere (?), had fled, possibly because of the war, leaving his land idle. The price suggests that the fields were not large.<sup>23</sup>

Property acquired within the village boundaries of Plastara in 1597–99

Date	Type	No. of items	Previous owner	Boundaries	Size	Price (in <i>akçes</i> )	Tax
1597	Fields and <i>baltalıks</i>		Butcher Yorgi (deceased)				10,000
1599	Fields	6	Dimo Lemozere (?) (fled)	1. <i>Synora</i> of Niko Jemenaş (?), Niko Fenekos and Yani Sim(on) 2. <i>Synora</i> of Dimo Kostopulo, Dimo Loçon (?) and Niko Fenekos (?) 3. <i>Synora</i> of Yorgi Isara (?), Yorgi <i>müsellem</i> and elder ( <i>Yero</i> ) (D)imo 4. <i>Synora</i> of Trandafil 5. (Omitted) 6. (Omitted)			700

[HMAT, 12/12/6, 12/4/1]

In the summer of 1599 Hilandar's monks residing in Plastara were brought before the *nā'ib* of Kassandra twice. One of their neighbours, Yani, son of Sim(on), accused them of setting fire to his fields, which consumed the crops, the house, the barn and the hay barn. The monks swore they had

<sup>23</sup> HMAT, 12/12/6, 12/12/15, 12/4/1.

nothing to do with the arson and, as Yani was unable to submit any proof, they were acquitted. The other official investigation was launched as a result of the rumours about *levant* (pirate) ships loading grains in Kassandra and transporting it to the Christian side amidst a war. The monks denied any knowledge of the affair, but they were acquitted only after the *re'āyā* of Plastara testified that there were no outlaws or enemies among them.<sup>24</sup>

There is no other evidence for Hilandar's possessions in the village of Plastara.

### *Papastathi*

The monks of Hilandar came into possession of the *çiftlik* called Papastathi on 26 December 1669. There is no grounds for assuming its continuity with the medieval *metochion* of Ag. Trias, although undoubtedly both were in the same part of Kassandra.<sup>25</sup>

Papastathi (Παπαστάθη) *metochion*, in Ottoman documents recorded as *Pāpā İstāti*, *Pāpā İstāt*, was about six kilometres northwest of Kassandra (former Valta). Seventeenth-century documents situate it either “near the village of Vilare” (*Vilāre*) or within its boundaries. In the eighteenth century the name Vilare ceased to be associated with the village. It has survived as the name of a valley.<sup>26</sup>

Administratively and judicially, Papastathi *metochion* was in the same position as the *çiftlik* in Kalandra/Mavrokol. It also belonged to the *vakıf* of *Kapı Ağa Gazanfer Ağa*, which means that the *vakıf* administration was “master of the land” over Hilandar's land.

Had the documents revealing what really lay behind the transaction not survived, it would appear that monks of Hilandar *purchased* the *çiftlik* of Papastathi. Classical sales documents were drawn up: the *tapunāme* on the transfer of land and the *hüccet* on the sale of the entire estate. On 26 December 1669, the previous holder, monk Kalinik, son of Dimo, with permission of the *zābit* of the *vakıf*, sold (i.e. transferred the right of usufruct) the fields to the monks of Hilandar for 1(40) *guruşes*. The *tapu* tax of 1(4) *guruşes* was paid. (The figures in the brackets were added subsequently above the

<sup>24</sup> HMAT, 1/110b, 1/110a.

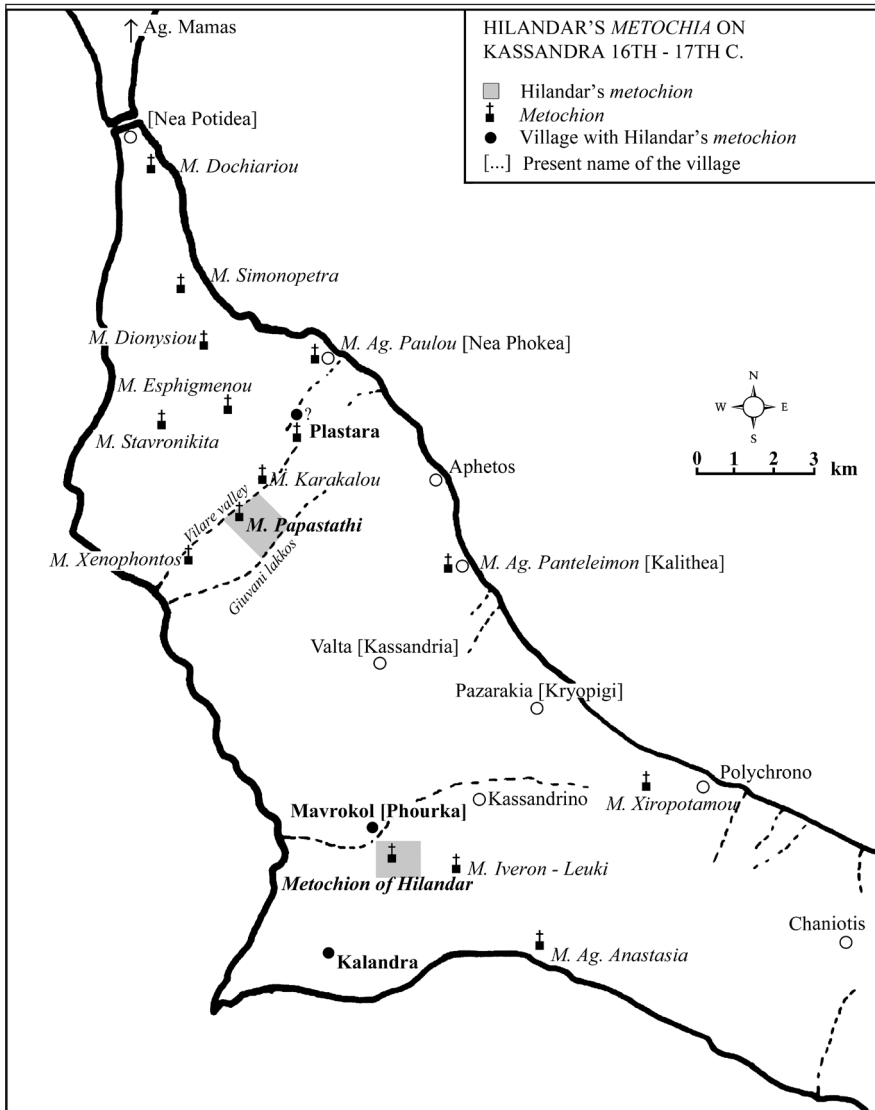
<sup>25</sup> The editors of the documents of the Monastery of Lavra have suggested that Papstathi *metochion* might have developed from the medieval Trinity *metochion* (*Actes de Lavra* IV, 110).

<sup>26</sup> HMAT, 12/4/16, 12/4/11, 12/3/1, 12/4/9, 12/4/10, 2/196a; Bellier et al., *Paysages*, 201; E. Krüger, *Die Siedlungsnamen Griechisch-Makedoniens nach amtlichen Verzeichnissen und Kartenwerken* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1984), 336, 609 (misread as *Papa Ustadi*); Koder, “Die Metochia”, 222; Vasdravelles, “Anekdotia phirmania”, 295; Demetriades, “Phorologikes kategories”, 430–431, 452; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 361–362.

original ones in the original document!) It was nearly a year later (!?), in November 1670, that the *hüccet* on the irrevocable sale of the entire *çiftlik* in *mülk* possession for 200 *esedî guruşes* was authenticated by the *nā'ib* of Kassandra. The “purchase” transaction was overseen by the monk Petron, son of Dimo, from the *Bulgarian metochion* in Kalamaria, who probably served as *ikonomos* at the time. That the purchase was fictitious may be seen from Kalinik's handwritten *omologia* of 21 November 1670 that has survived. This document of elder Kalinik, by then already a member of Hilandar's brotherhood, shows that he made a gift of his previously bought *metochion* and small *bahçe* to the monastery. It in fact was a lifetime care agreement, because Kalinik asked for a novice to attend to him at the monastery and at his cell at Karyes in return. That it was a gift and not a sale is confirmed by the *hüccet* of February 1674, issued in connection with the inheritance dispute with Kalinik's daughter. It accurately invokes the prescribed Shari'ah formula for gifts (bequests) made for God-pleasing purposes: the property is not donated to the monastery, but to the “monastery's poor”. As for arable land, it was state-owned and therefore could not be donated. It is therefore clear why a *tapunâme* had to be drawn up and the *tapu* tax paid. The question remains open, however, as to why the sale contract authenticated by the *kādî* court included Kalinik's privately owned property (*mülk*) which he was entitled to give away. The probable reason is that such a contract was safer, namely it was much more difficult to contest by potential claimants to the inheritance.<sup>27</sup>

Together with the *çiftlik* the monks obtained a number of related documents, which reveal some of its previous history and the origin of its name. Before July 1647, the *çiftlik* had been held by the inhabitants of Ag. Mamas *Papa İstati* and his sons *Timoti, Yani, Duka, İstati, Kosta* and *Hristodulo*. They had given it to *muhassıl* Ahmed *Ağa* of Thessaloniki as security for a loan of 50,000 “weak” (*zayıf*) *akçes*. As they, in July 1647, paid back the loan, converted to 420 *guruşes*, the *çiftlik* was returned to them. In late 1648, *Papa Stathi's* sons sold the *çiftlik* to *Yani*, son of *Katākale*, and *Sevāştıyānō*, son of *Angele*, for 100 *guruşes* (50 *guruşes* for the buildings, and 50 for the fields). The entire course of events is not fully clear, but in January 1650 *Yani* and *Sevāştıyānō* had to buy the *çiftlik* from the abovementioned *Ahmed Ağa*. Besides the money already paid, they gave 40,000 *akçes* more, 20,000 for the *mülk* property and 20,000 for the fields. It was then that the estate was first

<sup>27</sup> HMAT, 12/4/9, 12/4/10, 2/196a (in this document Kalinik is, probably by mistake, described as son of *Yani*, not of *Dimo*); Mošin in *Sovre, Dodatki*, 53. For the ways of donating property to monasteries, and for this particular case, see A. Fotić, “Concealed Donation or a Sale: The Acquisition of Monastic Property (15th–17th C.)”, *XIV. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 9–13 Eylül 2002). Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, II. Cilt – I. Kısım (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 2005), 721–728.



referred to as *Papā İstātī çiftligi*. The only missing link is the one that would connect Yani and *Sevāštīyānō* with Kalinik, son of Dimo (Yani?).<sup>28</sup>

The “purchase” documents contain no information about the size of the arable land or its boundaries. An earlier document, the *hüccet* of 1648 that the brotherhood obtained together with the *çiftlik*, refers to some 300 *dönüms* (about 28 hectares) of “scattered and neglected” (*müteferrik ve perişān*) fields. The *çiftlik* had been bounded by the *mülk* property of the

<sup>28</sup> HMAT, 2/178b, 12/4/12, 12/4/16, 12/3/1, 12/4/11; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 362.

buyers — Yani, son of *Katākale*, and *Sevāštīyānō*, son of Angele — by the *mülk* property of the monastery of Ag. Anastasia (*Ay/a/naštāš rāhibleri*), a field of *Karamōyō* (?) and a field of *Karakār* (Karakalou Monastery?). It is an open question, of course, as to whether all those fields became the property of the *çiftlik* in 1670. The *metochion*'s boundaries in 1835 are known. It was bounded by the *metochion* of the Karakalou Monastery, the valley called Jovan, the *metochion* of the Monastery of Ag. Anastasia, and Vilare Valley. Hegoumen Methodije recorded in the early twentieth century that the *metochion* occupied about 500 hectares of fertile land and that the tenant paid an annual rent of 6,000 *okas* (7,692kg) of wheat. His contemporary, Sava Hilandarac, however, quotes a considerably lower rent of 70 *merica* (4,487kg) of wheat for both *metochia* (Papastathi and Phourka).<sup>29</sup>

In 1670, in addition to fields, Hilandar acquired two vegetable gardens (*bostan yeri*). Perhaps the term referred to 10 *dönüms* of vineyards and 5 *dönüms* of gardens (*bagçe*) stated in a settlement deed of 1674. Before the *çiftlik* came into Hilandar's possession, not only fields but also vegetable gardens had been registered, at first only a half of a single one (1648), and later as many as six (1650).<sup>30</sup>

In 1674 the core of the *metochion* consisted of buildings and a barn. In 1648, twenty years before it became Hilandar's, its core consisted of six ground-floor rooms/houses, a hay barn and a farmyard (*altı bāb tahtani odaları ve samanlığı ve havlyu müstemmel çiftlik*).<sup>31</sup>

The only dispute the monks of Hilandar residing on Papastathi *metochion* ever faced had to do with the very transaction of donation. It was launched by a relative of the donor's. Kalinik's sister Maruda confirmed to the court in 1674 that her brother had donated the *çiftlik* to Hilandar in his lifetime, but claimed 30 *muzurs* of wheat and 9,000 *akçes* which, according to her, had not been included in the gift. Petron, a monk of Hilandar, denied any knowledge about the wheat and money, but the protracted dispute eventually ended with a settlement calling for Petron to pay her 110 *esedi guruşes*.<sup>32</sup>

Papastathi *metochion* in Kassandra was one of the largest *metochia* Hilandar acquired in the late period of Ottoman rule, towards the end of

<sup>29</sup> HMAT, 12/4/16; Vasdravelles, "Anekdotična phirmania", 294; Milovanović, *Život u srpskoj carskoj lavri Hilendaru* II, 39–40; Sava Hilandarac, *Istoriya manastira Hilandara*, 81. On the Monastery of St Anastasia, see J. Lefort, *Villages de Macédoine. Notices historiques et topographiques sur la Macédoine orientale au Moyen Age. 1: La Chalcidique occidentale* (Paris 1982), 88, 152–153; for the *metochia* of the monasteries of St Anastasia and Karakalou in Kassandra, see Koder, "Die Metochia", 218, 223.

<sup>30</sup> HMAT, 12/4/10, 2/196a, 12/4/11, 12/4/6.

<sup>31</sup> HMAT, 2/196a, 12/4/16; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 362.

<sup>32</sup> HMAT, 2/196a.

1669. It remained in Hilandar's possession for two centuries. *Kassandra* and *Kalamaria* were known as breadbaskets of the Athonite monasteries and it is no wonder that Hilandar sought to enlarge its possessions there.

Hilandar did not begin to acquire possessions in *Kassandra* until the very end of the sixteenth century. No connection has been found between the newly-acquired *metochia* and those Hilandar had held under Byzantine rule. The examined documents relating to the *metochia* within the boundaries of the villages *Kalandra* and *Mavrokol*, the now non-existent village of *Plastara*, and that of *Kassandria*, which was called *Valta* then, have provided useful information about the ways of property acquisition, the composition of the monastic estates, forms of tenure, relations with "master of the land", taxes and legal disputes. The Ottoman documents relating to *Papstathi metochion* are particularly interesting because they can be compared with the documents simultaneously drawn up in Greek. The widespread practice of donating property to monasteries in exchange for lifetime care has also been dealt with. On the other hand, the same documents show that gifts or bequests were sometimes disguised as sales, which is a little studied practice. Although most documents are title deeds and *hüccets* relating to immovable property transactions, they do offer information that may be useful for furthering our knowledge of the topography, the economy and everyday life in *Kassandra* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

*UDC 94(495.631 Hilandar)(094=512.161)<sup>15/16</sup>*  
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