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## When a Catholic is invested as the Orthodox patriarch of Antioch: Serafeim/Kyrillos Tanas and the Ottoman central administration in 1745\*\*

Following the death of patriarch Athanasios al-Dabbâs in 1724, the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch became a focal point of competition between two rival parties led by Serafeim/Kyrillos Tânas and Silvestros. Among the many layers of difference between the two contenders and their supporters, the fact that the former was a Catholic functioned as the core reason for Silvestros's supporters. The earlier part of the conflict resulted in Silvestros's appointment as the "lawful" patriarch by a synod convened under the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and in Silvestros's appointment with a diploma, *berat*, issued by the Ottoman central chancery. Until he challenged Silvestros in the 1740s again, Serafeim retained his ecclesiastical name Kyrillos and found shelter among the local emirs in the Mount Lebanon who had also offered protection to his Catholic uncle Euthymios, the bishop of Sayda. While a lot has been written on this earlier part of the rivalry between the two which culminated in the Antiochian Schism of 1724,<sup>1</sup> the later

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<sup>1</sup> Cyril Charon (Korolevsky), *History of the Melkite Patriarchates*, vol. 1, *Pre-Modern Period (869-1833)*, trans. John Collorafi (Fairfax, VA: Eastern Christian Publications, 1998), pp. 55-65; Hasan Çolak, *The Orthodox Church in the Early Modern Middle East: Relations between the Ottoman Central Administration and the Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2015), pp. 170-209; Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 199-204; Robert M. Haddad, *The Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and the Origins of the Melkite Schism*, (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1965); Bernard Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: École française de Rome, 2014), pp. 398-403; Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 88-97; Joseph Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle* (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1979); Vasileios Nassour, *Silvestros*

part of their rivalry in the 1740s is mostly, if at all, noted in passing.<sup>2</sup> That Kyrillos officiated for a brief period before he was deposed by Silvestros, and that he used a procurator to control the patriarchal church in Damascus are among the reasons that attached considerably little significance to this episode. This article incorporates into the discussion the unpublished and often-ignored Ottoman documents relating to Kyrillos' brief tenure, most notably his *berat* of investiture, preserved in the *Piskopos Mukâta'ası* registers in the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives.<sup>3</sup> The article has a three-fold purpose and structure. First, on the basis of a combined use of the information contained in this *berat* and the other references in the primary and secondary sources, it establishes a more solid chronological context. The new chronology adds a more global nature to the local character of the episode connecting the Ottoman context to the French and Papal contexts. Second, by contextualizing the episode with special focus on the Ottoman dynamics, it searches for the major reasons for Kyrillos' appointment by the Ottoman administration. The way Kyrillos presented his case provides us with a new glance to see his interaction with the Ottoman court, one characterized not only with his financial offers as often noted in the secondary sources, but also by his discourse as a reliable partner with the central administration. Thirdly, the article presents a detailed analysis of Kyrillos' unpublished *berat* in comparison with earlier and later *berats* in search of the continuities and ruptures that his *berat* exhibits and a contemporary French translation preserved in the *Archives nationales* in Paris. The essay is also appended by the facsimile, transliteration, and English translation of the *berat* issued for Kyrillos, and a copy of the Greek-Arabic imprint of Kyrillos' seal as preserved in the original copy of his petition. An overall aim of the article is to complement local Syrian and European contexts with the introduction of the Ottoman sources and dynamics of the Ottoman state and society of which the Orthodox and Catholic parties competing for the control of the Patriarchate of Antioch constituted and/or claimed to be a part.

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*Patriarchis Antiocheias 1724-1766: kata tis Ellinikes kai Aravikes Piges*, (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1992); John Mason NEALE, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church: Patriarchate of Antioch* (London: Rivingtons, 1873), pp. 185-187; Constantin Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians Under the Ottomans 1516-1831*, trans. Brittany Pheiffer Noble and Samuel Noble (Jordanville, NY: Holy Trinity Seminary Press, 2016), pp. 382-408; Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, *Istoria tis Ekklesias Antiocheias* (Alexandria, 1951); Asad Rustom, *Kenîsetu Medîneti'l-labi Antâkiyye el-'Uzma* (Beirut, 1928), pp. 147-48.

<sup>2</sup> For two cases in which Kyrillos' brief tenure did not merit the attention of the authors of two significant monographs, see Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 234, 382, and Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 201-204, 218.

<sup>3</sup> For an introduction to these registers, see Halil İnalçık, "Ottoman Archival Materials on Millets", in Benjamin Braude & Bernard Lewis (eds), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, vol. I, London & New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982, p. 437-449, esp. pp. 440-447.

*Temporal and Spatial Context*

The unexplored documents preserved in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul about the conflict between Silvestros and Kyrillos are helpful, first and foremost, for a better understanding of the temporal and, in a connected way, spatial context in which Kyrillos managed to ascend the patriarchal throne of Antioch. While one of the most reliable sources from the Phanariot circles in Istanbul noted that Kyrillos deposed Silvestros in the year 1749,<sup>4</sup> a more common chronology offered by the primary and secondary sources are 1743 and 1745. Even if the years 1743 and 1745 are quite close to each other, ascertaining the exact date when the *berat* was issued allows us to offer a more solid and spatial context.

Relying on later French diplomatic records, at the turn of the twentieth century, d'Avril,<sup>5</sup> Charon<sup>6</sup> and Vailhé<sup>7</sup> dated Kyrillos' brief patriarchate to the year 1743 and maintained that the latter received a *berat* from the Ottoman court without mentioning a specific date. Such a chronological context, appear to have placed the Ottoman dynamics outside the picture.

Later scholarship drew heavily on local sources such as the account of Mikhâ'il Burayk, an Orthodox priest who worked for Silvestros and wrote a history of the Patriarchate of Antioch.<sup>8</sup> Possibly the most important narrative source for the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch for the eighteenth century, Burayk clearly mentions that in the year 1745 Kyrillos made several offers to the state which were duly accepted, and he was presented with an imperial order [*fermân*]. Overall, Burayk maintained, the duration of the Catholics in the city of Damascus was thirty-two days after which Silvestros restored his control.<sup>9</sup> The year 1745 suggested by Burayk as Kyrillos' receipt of a *berat* is also supported by the Ottoman documentation, a point which will be further detailed below.

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<sup>4</sup> Athanasios Komnenos Hypsilantis, *Ta meta tin Alosin (1453-1789) ek cheirografou anekdotou tis Ieras Monis tou Sina*, (Constantinople: s.n., 1870), p. 364.

<sup>5</sup> A. D'avril, "Les Grecs Melkites: étude historique", *Revue de l'Orient* 3 (1898), pp. 1-30, espec. 11-12.

<sup>6</sup> Cyril Charon (Korolevsky), *History of the Melkite Patriarchates*, trans. J. Collorafi, vol. I, Fairfax, 1998, pp. 7-38.

<sup>7</sup> Siméon Vailhé, "Antioche, patriarcat grec-melkite", Eugène Mangenot (ed), *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. I. Fasc. IX, (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903), pp. 1416-1420, esp. p. 1417.

<sup>8</sup> For information on Burayk, see Hayat El-Eid Bualuan, "Mikha'il Breik, A Chronicler and a Historian in 18th Century Bilâd al-Şâm," *Parole de l'Orient* 21, (1996), pp. 257-270; Bruce Masters, "The View from the Province: Syrian Chronicles of the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, no. 3 (1994), pp. 353-362; Joseph Nasrallah, "Historiens et chroniqueurs melchites du XVIIIe siècle," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 13, (1949-1951), pp. 145-160; Steve Tamari, "Mikha'il Burayk." *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, <https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu> (3 November 2022); Dana Sajdi, *Peripheral Visions: The Worlds and Worldviews of Commoner Chroniclers in the 18th Century Ottoman Levant*, (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2002), pp. 141-45, 180-190, 240-254, 312-315.

<sup>9</sup> Mihâ'il Burayk, *Târibü'ş-Şâm*, (Damascus: s.n., 1982), pp. 26-28.

Despite using certain parts of Burayk's account directly or indirectly, some other scholars interpreted this episode within the narrow confines of Ottoman Syria. Philipp, for instance, gave the year 1745 as the date but noted that it was "an order from the local authorities" rather than the sultan's order that made it possible for Kyrillos to depose Silvestros. In Philipp's account, the portrayal of the Orthodox stands in stark contrast to that of the Catholics who are "fairly free to run their own affairs unless the protests of the Greek Orthodox clergy reached Istanbul and the central government lent them an ear".<sup>10</sup> Heyberger also presented the conflict between the Catholic and Orthodox parties primarily in the context of Damascus, where each party sought "l'appui des forces locales".<sup>11</sup> Following Burayk, he also noted that the Catholic clergy retained the control of churches in Damascus for thirty-two days. In the hands of scholars who used the Islamic sharia court records in Syria, the role of the Ottoman central administration in issuing a *berat* for Kyrillos is missing. For instance, without mentioning the fact that Kyrillos was able to obtain a *berat* of investiture from the Ottoman central administration, Masters associated the success of the Catholics in evicting the Orthodox clergymen in Damascus with Catholic ones in 1745 with their achievement "in convincing the local authorities".<sup>12</sup> Likewise, he repeated Burayk in noting that the Catholic control of the city continued for thirty-two days "until the Orthodox faction obtained an imperial order".<sup>13</sup>

Several modern scholars such as Rustom, Haddad, Nassour and Panchenko repeated the same interpretation using the same components of Burayk's account. They paid due attention to minute detail in the local context and to the fact that the main reason for the Catholics' gaining of the upper hand in Damascus was the *berat* issued by the Ottoman central administration for Kyrillos in 1745. The official historian of the Patriarchate of Antioch, Rustom, for instance, provided a sequence of events following Burayk's account, and even supporting this source with later accounts by Burayk's progeny in narrating the atmosphere during and after Kyrillos' short tenure. However, he did not offer a detailed chronology.<sup>14</sup> Haddad's work is important in terms of providing the dates when Kyrillos' orders for enthronement and deposition were registered in the court records of Damascus, namely 1 July 1745 and 22 August 1745.<sup>15</sup> Nassour, on the other hand, referred to the congruity in Kyrillos' policies in receiving a papal *pallium* and seeking his recognition by the Sublime Porte.<sup>16</sup> He also associated his ability to dethrone Silvestros in 1745 to the *firman*

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Philipp, *The Syrians in Egypt: 1725-1975* (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag, 1985), p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Bernard Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 401.

<sup>12</sup> Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*, p. 101.

<sup>13</sup> Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*, p. 101.

<sup>14</sup> Asad Rustom, *Kenîsetu Medîneti'l-labi Antâkiyye el-'Uzma*, (Beirut: s.n., 1928), pp. 147-148.

<sup>15</sup> Robert M. Haddad, *The Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and the Origins of the Melkite Schism*, (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1965), p. 203.

<sup>16</sup> Vasileios Nassour, *Silvestros Patriarchis Antiocheias 1724-1766. kata tis Ellinikes kai Aravikes Piges*, (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1992), pp. 96 and p. 104.

issued by the Ottoman sultan.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, he avoided referring to the recognition of the patriarchal elections and appointments by the Ottoman authorities because it meant intervention of worldly authority in the internal affairs of the Church.<sup>18</sup> Alongside the other significant pieces of information about the agents who helped Kyrillos in receiving a *berat*, Panchenko offered the date 21 July 1745 as the day in which Kyrillos' "representative arrived in Damascus and occupied the patriarchal residence".<sup>19</sup>

Having evaluated the secondary literature, one may observe that the scholars' interest and ability to incorporate the role of the Ottoman central administration into the picture appear to have been absent at worst and limited at best. Kyrillos' *berat* carries the following date: 22 Muharrem 1158 A.H. (*bin yüz elli sekiz senesi Mubarreminin yigirmi ikinci günü*),<sup>20</sup> i.e. 24 February 1745 A.D. Another Ottoman *berat* issued to reinstall Silvestros in lieu of Kyrillos carries the following date: 7 Receb 1158 A.H.,<sup>21</sup> i.e. 5 August 1745. By bringing the exact date of Kyrillos' *berat* into the picture, the following chronological steps emerge: on 24 February 1745 Kyrillos' *berat* is issued,<sup>22</sup> on 1 July 1745 his *berat* is registered in the sharia court of Damascus (as per Haddad),<sup>23</sup> on 21 July 1745 his representative arrives in Damascus (as per Panchenko),<sup>24</sup> on 5 August 1745 Kyrillos is deposed and Silvestros receives his *berat*,<sup>25</sup> and on 22 August Kyrillos' deposition is recorded in the sharia court of Damascus (as per Haddad).<sup>26</sup>

The long span of time between Kyrillos' *berat* and the day in which it was recorded in the sharia court of Damascus (127 days, i.e. 4 months and 7 days) and the short span of time when between Silvestros' *berat* and the day in which it was recorded in Damascus (17 days) are points that deserve more research in the future. For the time being, it may possibly indicate the relative difficulty that Kyrillos faced in the local context, especially if we also take into account the fact that he preferred to dispatch his representative to Damascus in the first place. If the two chronologies offered by Haddad and Panchenko are correct, it may also be assumed that the *berat* might not have been registered by Kyrillos' representative. Instead, it might have been registered as a result of the Ottoman bureaucratic procedure in which copies of *berats* are also dispatched into the relevant administrative and legal bodies. Burayk's oft-quoted thirty-two days also requires at least some revision in the light of this chronology. If we take the days in which the *berats* were issued in Istanbul as criterion, Kyrillos was recognized as the patriarch of Antioch by the

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<sup>17</sup> Nassour, *Silvestros Patriarchis Antiocheias 1724-1766*, p. 162.

<sup>18</sup> Nassour, *Silvestros Patriarchis Antiocheias 1724-1766*, p. 119n.

<sup>19</sup> Constantin Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians Under the Ottomans*, p. 390.

<sup>20</sup> BOA.KK.d.2542/09, fol 51.

<sup>21</sup> BOA.KK.d.2542/09, fols 68-70.

<sup>22</sup> BOA.KK.d.2542/09, fol. 51.

<sup>23</sup> Haddad, *The Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and the Origins of the Melkite Schism*, p. 203.

<sup>24</sup> Constantin Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians Under the Ottomans*, p. 390.

<sup>25</sup> BOA.KK.d.2542/09, fols 68-70.

<sup>26</sup> Haddad, *The Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and the Origins of the Melkite Schism*, p. 203.

Ottoman central administration between 24 February and 5 August, i.e. 162 days (5 months and 12 days). If we take the days in which these *berats* were registered in the sharia court of Damascus as criterion, Kyrillos' right to officiate as the patriarch of Antioch was recognized by the kadi of Damascus between 1 July and 22 August, i.e. 52 days (1 month and 21 days).

The fact that Kyrillos received the recognition of the Ottoman imperial administration in 1745 and not in 1743 is an extremely important piece of information not only in terms of supporting Burayk's account but also connecting the Ottoman central administration into the European and local Syrian contexts. We know that on 24 December 1743, the pope Benedict XIV had issued his *demandatam*. Following Kyrillos' oath to abide by the connotations of the *demandatam* on 7 October 1744, the same pope issued a *pallium*<sup>27</sup> recognizing Kyrillos as the legitimate patriarch on 29 February 1744.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, the fact that there was approximately a year between Kyrillos' receipt of the *pallium* and *berat* indicate that his interest in gaining recognition of the Ottoman central administration was not bereft of his recognition by the pope. Therefore, Kyrillos' patriarchate cannot be understood solely with reference to European and Syrian contexts. The context of the Ottoman central administration appears to be relevant for the spatial context of Kyrillos' brief tenure.

#### *Kyrillos as a partner of the Ottoman central administration*

Even if Kyrillos' *berat* does not allow us to trace the name of the agent(s) who assisted with the process of receiving this document,<sup>29</sup> the contents of the *berat* shows, at least, that this agency was quite successful in translating Kyrillos' case into a discourse that would convince the Ottoman central administration on many grounds. When it comes to encounters between the Ottoman administration and clergymen, a still prevalent conviction

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<sup>27</sup> Joseph Nasrallah, *Église Melchite et Union des Églises*, (Paris: s.n., 1976), p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> For the English translation of this document, see Charon (Korolevsky), *History of the Melkite Patriarchates*, vol. I. p. 40n.

<sup>29</sup> So far, the names of several individuals have been mentioned as agents who enabled Kyrillos to receive a *berat* and the ambassadorial reports by Michel-Ange de Castellane (1741-1747) preserved in the *Archives nationales de France* (hereinafter AN) confirms the role of these individuals in obtaining Kyrillos' *berat*. AN.AE/B/I/422, 164-167, AN.AE/B/I/423, 9-13, AN.AE/B/I/423, 82-92, AN.AE/B/I/423, 152-159, AN.AE/B/I/423, 164-165, AN.AE/B/I/424, 84-87, AN.AE/B/I/424, 146-153, AN.AE/B/I/424, 154-157, AN.AE/B/I/425, 28-31, AN.AE/B/I/426, 151-152, AN.AE/B/I/426, 153, AN.AE/B/I/426, 372-375, AN.AE/B/I/428, 73-74, AN.AE/B/I/428, 150-153, AN.AE/B/I/428, 324-329, AN.AE/B/I/430, 328-335, AN.AE/B/I/430, 336-339, AN.AE/B/I/431, 27-32. Although the British ambassador Aspinwall made several references to "the influence of the French" in the Ottoman court, at a time when the Ottoman wars with Nadir Shah and the intra-European conflicts in the Ottoman seas dominated the British agenda, he did not mention the conflict between Silvestros and Kyrillos. See, most notably, two letters dated 11 July 1745, NA.97/32, fols. 240-243 and 244-248.

maintains that the former was rarely interested in the intra-Christian matters and could be easily manipulated through financial offers. Obviously, the interests of the imperial treasury were among the top priorities in the Ottoman Empire, just as it was the case elsewhere. However, just as was the case with other pre-modern states, the Ottoman state based its *raison d'être* on certain principles. If the sultan does not observe these principles, he would cease to be just (*âdil*) and become tyrant (*zâlim*). The petition submitted by Kyrillos, which is quoted in the *narratio* (*iblâğ*) section of the *berat*, appears to have taken care to observe a certain balance between the financial offers of Kyrillos' prospective patriarchate, his reliability as a decent follower of his duties both to the state and the Church, and a reliable partner.

Kyrillos' petition follows the typical standard of petitions to the Ottoman imperial chancery and so starts with an introduction of the petitioner. Kyrillos put a particular accent on his credibility as a clergyman and his popularity among the laymen. Thus, he introduced himself as a member of "the community of clergymen for fifty years who had been residing in *Rûm* monasteries in Saida and the patriarchal representative for twenty-one years by demand of the poor subjects without a *berat*". The French translation of this *berat* rendered the said expression as 'les fonctions de Patriarche sans barat'.<sup>30</sup> On another occasion, he emphasized his popularity by claiming that all the subjects of the sultan are "happy and content with [him]" a typical expression in patriarchal *berats*. Drawing on another much-cited expression in patriarchal *berats*, he presented himself "worthy for the patriarchate of the *Rûm* community in Antioch and its dependencies in accordance with the requirements of their rite." Prudently abstaining from implying any intra-Christian conflicts and clinging to the term *Rûm*—to which term both the Orthodox and Catholics laid claim—Kyrillos, appears to have presented himself as a legitimate contestant to Silvestros. The French translation of Kyrillos' *berat* simply renders the term *Rûm* as "Grec/Greque," hence "*Rûm manastırı*" is "un couvent Grec" "*Antakya ve tevâbi'inde sâkin Rûm tâ'ifesinin patriklikî*" is "la charge de Patriarche de la nation Greque à Antioche et Dépendances".<sup>31</sup>

Continuing with the financial offers of his patriarchate, Kyrillos appears to have made several appealing offers. First of all, he promised to double the amount of the *pîşkeş*, the lump-sum tax that the patriarchal candidates pay in order to obtain their *berat* when there is a change on the patriarchal or sultanic throne. While we know that this practice was much more common in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the case of Antioch seems to have a shorter and less consistent tradition of paying a *pîşkeş*. The extant *berats* issued for the patriarchs of Antioch show that Makarios paid a *pîşkeş* of 5,120 *akçes* in 1649.<sup>32</sup> While

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<sup>30</sup> AN.AE/B/I/422 fol. 171-174v, esp. 171.

<sup>31</sup> AN.AE/B/I/422 fol. 171-174v, esp. 171.

<sup>32</sup> BOA.KK.d.2539, fol. 4. The document was transliterated in Yavuz Ercan, *Kudüs Ermeni Patrikhanesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), p. 37-38, and Hasan Çolak & Elif Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution. A Study of Early Modern Patriarchal Berats*, (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2019), p. 74.

Athanasios' *berat* of 1720 had no reference to the payment of a *pîşkeş*,<sup>33</sup> Silvestros paid a *pîşkeş* of 10,000 *akçes* in 1724,<sup>34</sup> hence almost doubling the amount that Makarios had paid. This can be explained partly by the eventful context caused by the first election of Kyrillos in the same year. This amount appears to have remained the same when he renewed his *berat* as a result of the accession of a new sultan to the throne in 1730.<sup>35</sup> Possibly aware of the difficulty of his task, Kyrillos promised to pay a *pîşkeş* of 15,000 *akçes* and eventually, an amount of 20,000 *akçes* was fixed. What is more, he offered to pay a yearly fixed amount, which was eventually raised to 30,000 *akçes* which he referred to as the *mâl-i maktû'*. In the context of non-Muslims, this term is used in cases of cumulative collection of the jizya in a given land and was often the result of "an agreement" between the state and its non-Muslim subjects.<sup>36</sup> Those who had contacted the central administration for the payment of the jizya on a community, rather than individual basis were often prominent lay members of the community, known as the *kocabaşs*. As far as the patriarchal *berats* are concerned, the term *mâl-i maktû'* features frequently in the *berats* of patriarchs of Constantinople.<sup>37</sup> The financial aspects of Kyrillos' tenure also take place in Burayk's account. He referred to this 'state tax' (*mâl mîrî*) as something that Kyrillos and his supporters 'invented' in the Patriarchate of Antioch.<sup>38</sup> The fact that the amounts proposed by Kyrillos as *pîşkeş* and *mâl-i maktû'* were raised by the Ottoman central administration appear to be a rare case in which the process of negotiation was noted down in a published *berat*. This aspect of Kyrillos' *berat* may also suggest his difficult position in the eyes of the Ottoman central administration.

The prospect of a total of 50,000 *akçes* for the patriarchal throne of Antioch must be an attractive one for the imperial treasury given that the Ottomans were in war with Nadir Shah of Iran who had laid siege to such strategic Ottoman castles as Mosul and Kars since 1743, and had just won a victory against the Ottomans in the battle of Muradtepe in August 1745.<sup>39</sup> Presented as one of the three key terms in the Ottoman economic mind by

<sup>33</sup> BOA.D.PSK.7/6. The document was transliterated in Çolak & Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution*, p. 91.

<sup>34</sup> BOA.KK.d.2542/08, fol. 3. The document was transliterated in Çolak & Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>35</sup> BOA.KK.d.2542/01, fols 170-171. The document was transliterated in Çolak & Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution*, pp. 99-101.

<sup>36</sup> Halil İncelik, "Osmanlılar'da Cizye", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 8 (1993), pp. 45-48, esp. 46.

<sup>37</sup> Elif Bayraktar Tellan, *The patriarch and the sultan: the struggle for authority and the quest for order in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire*, (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2011), pp. 40n, 164, 167 and 176.

<sup>38</sup> Burayk, *Târihü'ş-Şâm*, p. 27.

<sup>39</sup> Halil İncelik, "Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi (1230-1924)", in Halil İncelik (ed), *Devlet-i 'Alîyye. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar*, vol. IV. *Âyanlar, Tanzimat, Meşrutiyet*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2016), pp. 379-411, esp. 399. İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzablı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. IV, M. 1703-1924 H. 1115-1342 (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1961), Muhammet Habib Saçmal, *Sunni-Shiite Political Relations in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century and Early Modern Ottoman Universal Caliphate*, (PhD diss., University of California, Davis, 2021), pp. 29-32, pp. 405-407 and pp. 502-503.



the pioneering historian of Ottoman economy, fiscalism was resorted to in times of crises, sometimes with such tendencies to see many areas primarily as a source of income for the state.<sup>40</sup> The fate of the conflict with Nadir Shah during the 1740s was dependent not only on the military might of the two sides but also on their financial resilience.<sup>41</sup> If we are to believe Hammer, one of the ways in which the then grand vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha tried to increase the financial capabilities of the Ottoman state on the verge of a new war with Nadir Shah was to seek execution of Kabakulak İbrahim Pasha and the confiscation of his possessions.<sup>42</sup> This former grand vizier had barely escaped having his possessions confiscated upon his dismissal in 1732.<sup>43</sup> He had already attracted the animosity of not only Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha but also one of the strongest figures in the Ottoman court, the chief eunuch Hacı Beşir Ağa,<sup>44</sup> whose central role in Ottoman power mechanisms was noted in 1746 by British ambassador Stanhope Aspinwall as follows: “This person had for near three Reigns had the controlling sway in the management of affairs, even over the Vizirs”.<sup>45</sup> The same ambassador noted after the death of the said chief eunuch that “The Vizir is certainly more truly Vizir than fifty or sixty of his Predecessors have been; ... He could not help expressing it himself with great satisfaction, soon after his controller’s death, saying three days afterwards, It is now three days that I am Vizir”.<sup>46</sup> Another foreign observer, Russian diplomatic resident in Istanbul, Alexei Veshniakov noted that the French ambassador managed to convince the Sublime Porte for 50,000 piasters to depose Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch Silvestros and replace him by his Catholic competitor.<sup>47</sup>

Kyrillos’ financial offers to the imperial treasury might also be perceived in a similar fisco-centric context. Even in this case, however, Kyrillos did not present his offer in purely financial terms, and as his further correspondence with the Ottoman central administration shows, his discourse comprised several other motives for cooperation. In an

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<sup>40</sup> Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2012), pp. 52, 54, 68, 228-229. See also Halil İncelik, “The Ottoman Economic Mind and Aspects of the Ottoman Economy” in Michael A. Cook (ed), *Economic History of the Middle East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 207-218, esp. 217-218, and Fatih Ermiş, *A History of Ottoman Economic Thought. Developments before the nineteenth century*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 165-167.

<sup>41</sup> İlker Külbilge, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1703-1747)*, (PhD Diss., Ege University, 2010), pp. 276, 318 and 347.

<sup>42</sup> Baron Joseph von Hammer Purgstall, *Histoire de l’Empire Ottoman*, trans. J.-J. Hellert, vol. 15. (Paris: Bellizard, 1839), p. 75.

<sup>43</sup> Abdülkadir Özcan, “İbrahim Paşa, Kabakulak”, *Diyaret İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 21 (2000), pp. 328-329, esp. 328.

<sup>44</sup> Jane Hathaway, *The Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Harem: From African Slave to Power-Broker*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

<sup>45</sup> The National Archives, Kew, State Papers (hereinafter NA) NA.97/32, fol. 324.

<sup>46</sup> NA.97/32, fol. 327.

<sup>47</sup> Constantin A. Panchenko, “İyerusalimskiy patriarkh Parfeniy (1737–1766 g.) i Rossiya. Neponyatyy soyuznik”, in Constantin A. Panchenko, *Pravoslavnyye araby: put' cherez veka*, (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo PSTGU, 2013), p. 422. I am thankful to one of my reviewers for bringing this piece of information to my attention.

attempt to claim that there are no other powers on the Patriarchate of Antioch than the Ottoman state, he noted that neither the Patriarchate of Constantinople nor any other patriarchate had authority on this patriarchate. This was a clear reference to the Ottoman administration's prudent policy to demarcate the authority of different Orthodox patriarchates even in cases when it supported one of them in intra-patriarchal conflicts.<sup>48</sup> In a potential attempt to emphasize the religious nature of his role other than being a tax-farmer, he requested that he be given the Patriarchate of Antioch "in a manner similar to Ohrid and Peć" (*Ohri ve İpek patrikliği misillü*). In the French translation of this *berat*, this expression appears as "en forme de termes comme les Patriarcats d'Ypek et d'Oukhry".<sup>49</sup> Kyrillos' offer to make a yearly payment to the Ottoman state must not be seen solely as a financial offer but also as a sign of his confidence to collaborate with the Ottoman central administration on a long-term basis.

The connotations of this collaboration feature in the conditions of the *berat* issued for Kyrillos and the correspondence between him and the Ottoman central administration.

*Continuity and change: Correspondence between Kyrillos and the Ottoman central administration*

As the most binding documents between the holder of an office and the Ottoman imperial chancery, *berats* lay out the terms of the rights and responsibilities of the *berat*-holders on which their correspondence with the Ottoman central administration is based. My study of the *Piskopos Mukâta'ası* registers shows that Kyrillos received not only his *berat* but also two imperial orders issued in response to and quote from his petitions. I have also come across the original copy of a petition by Kyrillos, which contains Kyrillos' seal (see Appendix IV).

Let us start with the content of the rights and responsibilities in Kyrillos' *berat* which may be found in facsimile, transliteration and English translation in the Appendix. As was the case with the *berats* of Silvestros in 1724 and 1730, the *berat* in question gave Kyrillos several advantages, at least in theory, over several groups of people who were connected to the lay and ecclesiastical spheres of the Orthodox Church and community and the administrative and financial affairs of the Empire. The term *Rûm* was used by both the Orthodox and Catholic parties and as such, it does not seem to have created a paradox in the Ottoman parlance because the *berat* simply retained this term. In practice, the Ottoman administration appears, at least on paper, to have seen this episode in the context of a patriarchal struggle, and not necessarily accession of a Catholic on the throne of an Orthodox patriarchate. Therefore, in the discursive sphere, the *berat* represents similarities with the earlier *berats* issued for Silvestros.

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<sup>48</sup> For a comparative case involving the patriarchates of Constantinople and Alexandria, see BOA.D.PSK.12/6 quoted in Çolak, *The Orthodox Church in the Early Modern Middle East*, p. 97.

<sup>49</sup> AN.AE/B/I/422 fol. 171-174v, esp. 171.

Regarding the content of the rights and responsibilities, a comparison of Kyrillos' *berat* with the two *berats* that had been issued for Silvestros in 1724 and 1730 and the later patriarchal *berats* is a task worth pursuing. A cursory glance at the *berats* issued for Silvestros in 1730 and for Kyrillos in 1745, in particular, shows that Kyrillos' *berat* follows the contents of Silvestros' *berat* of 1730 almost to the letter. The *berats* of 1730 and 1745 both have seventeen conditions (*şûrûl*) all of which follow the same order with more or less the same wording. To enable the comparison, the relevant sections in Silvestros' *berat* of 1730 were rendered in the notes after the reciprocal conditions in the transliteration and English translation of Kyrillos' *berat* in the Appendix. Collectively, these conditions supported the office of the patriarch over the ecclesiastical and lay members of the community in disciplinary matters, and centrifugal and centripetal actors in the provinces. Inevitably, these conditions placed the patriarch in direct connection with the central administration in administrative, legal and economic domains.<sup>50</sup>

However, there were also minor, but, in my opinion, significant details that refer to the potential difficulties that Kyrillos would encounter in controlling the Patriarchate.<sup>51</sup> These details that were added to the relevant conditions as separate phrases were probably a result of the negotiations between the Ottoman central administration and Kyrillos' agents. These differences feature in conditions number 6 and 15. To showcase the significance of these differences, it would be pertinent to copy these conditions below.

The condition number 6 in Silvestros' *berat* of 1730 reads as follows:

[6] patrikliğine müte'allik piskoposların ve gumenosların / ve papasların ve keşişlerin âyînleri üzere kabâhatleri zuhûr eyledikde âyînleri üzere patrik-i mesfûr te'dib ve saçların traş ve / yerlerin âhere virdükde kimesne müdâhale eylemeyüb ve âyînleri üzere 'azl ve nasba müstehakk olan papasları ve gumenosları / ve keşişleri ve mitropolitleri patrik-i mesfûr âyînleri üzere 'azl ve yerlerin gayri râhiblere virdükde âherden ferd / muhâlefet eylemeyüb ve

English translation:

[6] When, in accordance with their rite, the said patriarch disciplines and shaves the hair of those bishops, priors, priests and monks under his jurisdiction who commit offence against their rite and dismisses them and gives their posts to others he shall not be interfered with. When the aforementioned patriarch appoints and dismisses the priests, priors, monks and metropolitans in accordance with their rite and gives their posts to other priests, no one from outside shall prevent them.

Here is the reciprocal condition in Kyrillos' *berat* of 1745:

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<sup>50</sup> Çolak & Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution*, pp. 49-56.

<sup>51</sup> The first historian who studied the changes and continuities in *berats* issued for patriarchs and bishops in the long run is Konortas. See Paraskevas Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis gia to Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio, 17os-arches 20ou aiona* (Athens: Alexandria, 1998).

[6] patrikliğine tâbi‘ / yerlerde olan piskoposların ve gumenosların ve papasların âyînleri üzere kabâhatleri zuhûr itdikle / patrik-i mesfûr te‘dîb ve saçların traş ve yerlerin âhere virdikle kimesne müdâhale eylemeyüb ve âyînleri üzere / ‘azl ve nasba müstahakk olan râhibleri ve mitropolid ve papas ve keşîş ve gumenosları patrik-i mesfûr ‘azl ve yerlerin / âyînleri üzere mitropolid ve piskopos ta‘yîn olunmak üzere ‘arz ve i‘lâm eyledikle *mu‘tâd-ı kadîm üzere / lâzım gelen pîşkeşlerin dâbil-i Hazîne-i ‘Âmirem olındukdan sonra zâbtları için yedlerine şûrâtıyla berevât-ı / şerîfe ve evâmir-i ‘alîyyem virilüb ve patrik olanların membûr ‘arzı olmadıkça bir ferde mitropolidlik ve piskoposluk / zâbt ve tasarruf itdürilmeyüb ve patrik-i mesfûrın ‘arzı ma‘mûlün-bih olub ve âyînlerine müte‘allik ‘arz ve i‘lâm / olur ise müsâ‘ade olma ve.*

English translation:

[6] When, in accordance with their rite, the said patriarch disciplines and shaves the hair of those bishops, priors, and priests in places dependent on his patriarchate who commit offence against their rite and dismisses them and gives their posts to others he shall not be interfered with. When the aforementioned patriarch appoints and dismisses the priests, metropolitans, priests, monks and priors who deserve to be dismissed or appointed in accordance with their rite and sends petitions to appoint metropolitans and bishops, *they shall be given my imperial berats and orders with their conditions to obtain [these posts] after the required customary pîşkeş is paid to my Imperial Treasury. Without the sealed petition of the patriarchs no one shall be allowed to have a metropolitanate and bishopric. The said patriarch’s petition shall be observed and if there is a petition regarding their rite it shall be allowed.*

Here, the part in italics appear to be an addition. Therefore, even if Silvestros’ *berat* of 1730 was probably used as a model in preparing Kyrillos’ *berat*, the latter differed from the former at least in part. A comparison of Kyrillos’ *berat* with the most recent *berat* issued for an Orthodox patriarch, namely Neofytos of Constantinople’s *berat* of 1743 shows that some parts of the above-quoted section in italics are scattered across different sections of this *berat*. So, one may assume that the condition number 6 was partly a result of copying from other *berats* and partly a result of negotiation between Kyrillos’ agents and the Ottoman central administration. The fact that the process of the appointment of metropolitans and bishops was associated with their recognition by the Ottoman central administration through the *berats* may also refer to the concerns for the cooperation between Kyrillos and the Ottoman central administration. While the contents of the *berats* do not allow us to go beyond informed guesses, the condition number 15 can be easily interpreted in the context of security concerns that Kyrillos probably felt.

Silvestros’ *berat* of 1730 makes only the following remark:

[15] patrik-i mesfûrın kendü rızâsı yoğiken biz sana cebren yasakçı / olırız deyu kapum kulları taraflarından rencide ve ta‘addî itdürilmeyüb ve

English translation:

[15] The aforementioned patriarch shall not be harassed by my *kapıkulları* with the pretext of urging their service as *yasakçıs* against his consent.

Kyrillos' *berat* of 1745 renders the same condition as follows:

[15] *patrik-i mesfûrın sâkin oldığı manastırlarına 'askerîden ve gayriden kimesne gönderilmeyüb ve patrik-i mesfûrın / kendü rızâsı yoğiken biz sana cebren yasakçı olrız deyu kapı kulları tarafından rencide ve ta'addı itdürilmeyüb ve.*

English translation:

[15] *The monasteries where the aforementioned patriarch resides shall not be sent anyone from the 'askerî and others.* The aforementioned patriarch shall not be harassed by my *kapıkulları* with the pretext of urging their service as *yasakçıs* against his consent.

Therefore, Kyrillos' *berat* also contains the additional section in italics. A comparison with other *berats* shows that this is the earliest case in which the *berat* in question offers protection to the patriarch from the members of the '*askerî*', a term that refers to military and administrative officials of the Ottoman administration. This phrase was included in Kyrillos' *berat* most probably at the request of Kyrillos' agents. Later on, in the *berat* issued for Matthaïos of Alexandria in 1758, we see reference to a similar expression<sup>52</sup> which might suggest that Kyrillos' *berat* might have been used in drafting this *berat*. However, here we see a major difference in that Kyrillos' *berat* offers protection from the members of the '*askerî*' to the monasteries where Kyrillos resided while Matthaïos' *berat* does the same for the mansion where Matthaïos resided. If we remember the fact that Kyrillos presented himself as living in the monasteries in Sayda, and that he was hesitant to leave Sayda for Damascus even after receiving this *berat*, one may assume that this phrase was most probably reflecting Kyrillos' security concerns. Similar concerns also feature in the *berat* as we see in the way the first condition was phrased. In this case, the patriarch's authority was presented not only with regard to the lay members of the Orthodox community as in Silvestros' *berat* of 1730, but also with regard to the bishops in the Patriarchate of Antioch. Likewise, in the seventeenth condition, the name of Silvestros was also noted among the people who should be prevented from interfering in Kyrillos' patriarchate.

These security concerns proved to be well-founded even in the short run. On 19 May 1745 Kyrillos wrote a petition to the Ottoman imperial chancery and complained about Silvestros' supporters who tried to prevent him from conducting the affairs of his community.<sup>53</sup> In this well-argued petition Kyrillos made several temporary and historic references to Silvestros whom he depicted as a weak actor who tormented "all the poor subjects" of the sultan and as a result the members of the *Rûm* community asked for

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<sup>52</sup> Çolak & Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution*, p. 168.

<sup>53</sup> *BO.A.D.PSK.14/135*.

Kyrillos' assistance to protect them against Silvestros. One of Kyrillos' arguments was that Silvestros had left his patriarchate for Moldavia, Wallachia and hinted that he might even be in 'the lands of hostile infidels' (*barbî kefere vilâyetleri*). Despite the tone of his argumentation, the fact that Kyrillos asked for an inspection on the spot to prove the people's contentment with him refers to his somewhat weak position as the patriarch of Antioch. The petition is also important in terms of containing an imprint of Kyrillos' seal which was forged in the year he became patriarch, i.e. 1158 A.H. In opposition to Silvestros' seal in Greek and Turkish, Kyrillos' is in Greek and Arabic (note the way the word patriarch is spelled).<sup>54</sup> While two imperial orders were issued in response to this petition and one dispatched to "the *mollas* and kadis of the places where the Orthodox subjects under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Antioch are".<sup>55</sup> and the other to the kadi of Antioch,<sup>56</sup> the Orthodox party was quick to retaliate and reinstall Silvestros with a *berat* on 5 August 1745.<sup>57</sup>

As noted above, Kyrillos' *berat* had a series of similarities with the contemporary *berats*. The *berat* issued for Matthaïos of Alexandria's *berat* of investiture in 1746 and that of renewal in 1758 included the same points following a similar wording. Likewise, Parthenios of Jerusalem's *berat* of renewal issued in 1755 closely followed the same pattern with some additional terms relating to the control of Holy Sites.

### Conclusion

Recent years have witnessed the flourishing of publications that have introduced the riches of Ottoman studies and archives into the history of Catholicism in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>58</sup> Incorporating the sources and dynamics of the Ottoman central administration also has the potential to revisit the history of Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire. However limited they might be in number, the Ottoman documents about the brief tenure of Serafeim/Kyrillos Tanas as the patriarch of Antioch offer a more nuanced view of the Antiochian Schism of 1724. First of all, they allow us to discuss this problem on a more solid chronological context, which consequently brings in the Ottoman central administration as a significant actor in the spatial context of the Antiochian Schism. While

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<sup>54</sup> For a recent analysis of the Orthodox metropolitan of Brăila's seal, see Yevhen Buket, Maryna Kravets, Vera Tchentsova, and Roman Zakharchenko, "A Bilingual Greek-Ottoman Turkish Seal of Daniel II, Orthodox Metropolitan of Brăila (1751)" *International Journal of Turkology* 14 (2021), pp. 4-21.

<sup>55</sup> *BO.A.KK.d.2542/09*, fol. 55a.

<sup>56</sup> *BO.A.KK.d.2542/09*, fols 55b.

<sup>57</sup> *BO.A.KK.d.2542/09*, fols 68-70.

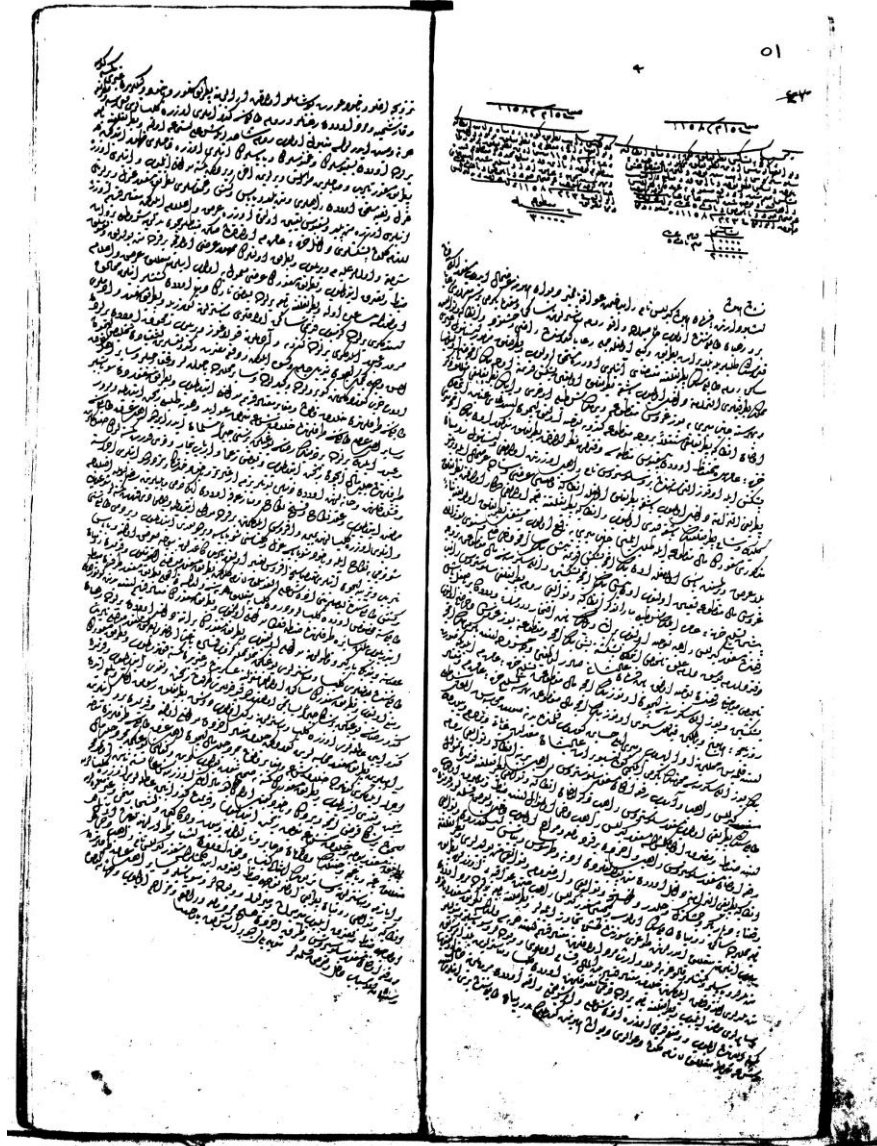
<sup>58</sup> For two recent examples, see Radu Dipratu, *Regulating Non-Muslim Communities in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire Catholics and Capitulations*, London: Routledge, 2021 and Vanessa R. de Obaldía and Claudia Monge (eds.), *Latin Catholicism in Ottoman Istanbul: Properties, People and Missions*, (Istanbul: the Isis Press, 2022).

the scholarship has tended to see this schism in the confines of Syria or in the axis of Syrian/European entanglements, Kyrillos' *berat* shows that alongside his ties with the European and local Syrian dynamics, Kyrillos took care to receive the support of the Ottoman central administration in ascending the patriarchal throne in 1745. The fact that he sought recognition by the Ottoman administration immediately after his recognition by the Pope is one of the key conclusions to be drawn from the study of the Ottoman documents. Kyrillos' ability to negotiate successfully with the Ottoman imperial chancery in an attempt to prove himself as a reliable partner also suggests that he had access to agents who were familiar with the requisite principles of the Ottoman state and the functioning of the Ottoman bureaucracy. When studied in the context of the other patriarchal *berats* at the time, Kyrillos' *berat* also offers important insights into the changes and continuities in the way the Ottoman central administration and Kyrillos perceived the Schism in question. The changes in Kyrillos' *berat* point to his rather weak stance in opposition to the influence of the Orthodox party, as can also be seen from the brevity of his tenure. How Kyrillos' *berat* of 1745 was written also appear to have influenced the way in which Silvestros' unpublished *berat* of 1745 was written only partially. Therefore, a comparative analysis of Kyrillos' *berat* with that of Silvestros in 1745 also has the potential to shed light on this aspect of the Catholic-Orthodox encounters in the Ottoman Empire, which is the topic of a prospective study. Finally, the fact that at the time when Kyrillos was seeking the support of the Ottoman central administration, Silvestros was also occupied with his printing activities in Arabic in Moldavia<sup>59</sup> also calls for the importance of the Ottoman context for a more complete history of Arab Christian printing in the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>59</sup> Ioana Feodorov, *Tipar pentru Creștinii arabi. Antim Ivireanul, Atanasie Dabbās și Silvestru al Antiochiei*, (Brăila: Istros, 2016), pp. 213-255.

Facsimile of the *berat* of Kyrillos Tanas of Antioch, 1745.<sup>60</sup>



<sup>60</sup> BOA.KK.d.2542/09, fol. 51.



Appendix II

Transliteration of the *berat* of Kyrillos Tanas of Antioch, 1745.

Nişân-ı hümayûn

İşbu dârende-i fermân-ı hümayûn Kirilos nâm râhib—hutimet ‘avâkıbuhu bi’l-hayr—Dîvân-ı Hümayûnıma ‘arzuhal idüb mesfûr elli seneden / berü ruhbân tâ’ifesinden olub hâlâ Sayda’da vâkı‘ Rûm manastırlarında sâkin ve mukaddemâ yigirmi bir sene mikdârı re‘âyâ / fukarâsının talebleriyle bilâ-berât patrik vekili olmağla cümle re‘âyâ kendüsinden râzî ve hoşnûd ve Antakya ve tevâbi’inde / sâkin Rûm tâ’ifesinin patrikliğine muktezây-i âyinleri üzere müstehakk olub ve patriklik-i mezbûr İstanbul ve gayri / memleket patrikleri iltizâmına dâhil olmayub başka patriklik olmağın pîşkeş-i kadîmine üç bin akçe zamm olunub / ve beher sene cânib-i mîriye yüz guruş maktû‘ virmek şartıyla Ohri ve İpek patrikliği misillü zıkr / olınan Antakya patrikliği müstakilen ber-vech-i maktû‘ kendüye tevcîh olunmak için istid‘ây-ı ‘inâyet itmekle / Hazîne-i ‘Âmirende mahfûz olan Piskopos Mukâta‘ası Defterlerine nazar olundıkda patriklik-i mezkûr on bin akçe mîri / pîşkeş ile otuz altı senesinden berü Silvestros nâm râhib üzerinde oldığı İstanbul Rûmiyân / patriği iltizâmına dâhil olmayub başka patriklik olmağla Antakya kâdîsi ‘arzı ve Şâm ‘arzuhal ile virilüb / Kilikya<sup>61</sup> ve Şâm patrikliğinin başka kaydı olmayub ve Antakya patrikliğine tâbi‘ oldığı derkenâr oldıkda patriklik-i / mezkûr mesfûrın mâl-i maktû‘ ile taleb eylemesi cânib-i mîriye tâbi‘ olub ve müstakil patriklik olduğına binâ’en / bilâ-‘arz virilmesinden bâ’is olmağla on bin akçe pîşkeş-i kadîme beş bin akçe dahî zamm ve senevî yüz elli / guruş mâl-i maktû‘ ta’yîn olunub on beş bin akçe pîşkeşin ve elli sekiz senesi mâl-i maktû‘ın ber-vech-i / peşîn teslim-i Hazîne-i ‘Âmire eylemek şartıyla mârû’z-zıkr Antakya ve tevâbi‘i Rûm patrikliği Silvestros râhib / ref’inden mesfûr Kirilos râhibe tevcîh olunub berât virilmek bâbında iftihârü’l-umerâ ve’l-ekâbir bi’l-fi’l baş / defterdârım Yusuf—dâme ‘uluvvuhu—telhîs itmeğle pîşkeşine beş bin akçe ve maktû‘ına yüz guruş dahî zamm olunub / telhîs mücebince ref’inden tevcîh olunmak bâbında fermân-ı ‘alışânım sâdır olmağın vech-i meşrûh üzere yigirmi bin akçe / pîşkeşin ve yüz elli sekiz senesi için otuz bin akçe mâl-i maktû‘ın teslim-i Hazîne-i ‘Âmire eylediğine sûret-i / rûznâmçe hüccetin virilmeğın fîmâ ba’d senevî otuz bin akçe mâl-i maktû‘ın beher sene teslim-i Hazîne-i ‘Âmire ve mu’tâd / üzere kalemiyyesin mahallerine edâ idüb ve mîri ile hesâbın görüb kaleminden yedine sûret-i muhâsebesin almak şartıyla / bin yüz elli sekiz senesi Muharreminin yigirmi ikinci günü işbu berât-ı ‘alışân-ı ma‘delet-gâyâti virdüm **ve buyurdım ki** /

[1] mesfûr Kirilos râhib varub ref’ olınan mesfûr Silvestros râhib yerine Antakya ve tevâbi‘i Rûm / tâ’ifesinin patriği olub mesfûr Silvestros râhib zıkr olınan Antakya ve tevâbi‘i

<sup>61</sup> This word was written probably by mistake on the part of the scribe. The contemporary French translation did not include this word and Silvestros’ *berat* of 1745 did not repeat this word in quoting from Kyrillos’ *berat*. See, respectively, *AN.AE/B/I/422* fols 171-174v, esp. 171 and *BO.A.KK.d.2542/09*, fols 68-70.

patrikliğine kadîmden ne minvâl / üzere zabt ve mutasarrıf olagelmiş ise mesfûr Kirilos râhib dahî ol minvâl üzere zabt ve mutasarrıf olub / ref<sup>62</sup> olınan mesfûr Silvestros râhib ve âherden bir ferd mâni<sup>63</sup> ve müzâhim olmayub dahl ve ta'arruz kılmayalar ve kadîmden / Antakya patriği iltizâmına dâhil olan mitrepolidliklerden Adana ve Tarsus ve Payas ve İskenderun ve tevâbi'i / ve kazâ-i Diyarbekir ve Çemişkezek ve Çıldır ve Ahışa ve tevâbi'i ve Erzurum ve tevâbi'i mitrepolidleri ve patrikliğine / tâbi<sup>64</sup> mahallerde sâkin Rûmiyân tâ'ifesinin ulusu ve kişisi mesfûr Kirilos râhibi hutimet 'avakibuhuyı üzerlerine patrik / bilüb âyînlerine müte'allik umûrlarında doğru sözinden taşra tecâvüz eylemeyeler ve<sup>62</sup>

[2] patrikliğine tâbi<sup>65</sup> yerlerde mürd olan / mitrepolid ve papaslar ve keşişler ve kalogriyalar bilâ-vâris mürd olduklarında mu'tâd-ı kadîm üzere her nesi var ise patrik-i mesfûr veyâhûd / mitrepolidleri ahz ve kabz eylediklerinde hilâf-ı mu'tâd-ı kadîm beytül-mâl ve kassâm âdemleri ve voyvodalar ve subaşılar ve mütevelliler / ve sâ'irleri muhâlefet eylemeyüb ve<sup>63</sup>

[3] patrikliğine tâbi<sup>64</sup> yerlerde kadîmî tasarruflarında olan kilisa ve manastırların bilâ-emr-i şerîf / kimesne yedlerinden almayub ve vaz'-ı kadîmî üzere izn-i şer' ile ve emr-i şerîfimle vâki<sup>65</sup> olan meremmâtlarına dahl olunmayub / ve<sup>64</sup>

[4] şer'-i şerîfe müte'allik lâzım gelen da'vâları Dîvân-ı Hümâyûnımda görilmek ve Rûmiyân tâ'ifesinden biri âyînleri üzere / tezvîc itmeli veyâhûd 'avrat boşamalı oldukda aralarına patrik-i mesfûr veyâhûd vekîllerinden gayri kimesne girmeye / ve karışmaya ve<sup>65</sup>

[5] mürd olan ruhbânlar ve Rûm tâ'ifesi kendü âyînleri üzere kilisaları fukarâsına ve patriğe / her ne vasiyyet iderler ise makbûl olunub Rûm şâhidler ile şer' ile istimâ<sup>66</sup> olına ve<sup>66</sup>

[6] patrikliğine tâbi<sup>66</sup> / yerlerde olan piskoposların ve gumenosların ve papasların âyînleri üzere kabâhatleri zuhûr itdikle / patrik-i mesfûr te'dîb ve saçların traş ve yerlerin âhere

<sup>62</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros' *berat* of 1730: mesfûr Silvestros nâm râhib varub gelüb sâbık üzere zikr olınan / Antakya ve Şâm ve Haleb ve Trablusşâm ve Saydâ ve Beyrût ve Ladikya ve Payâs ve Adana ve Hama ve Humus ve Ba'albek ve Diyarbekir ve Erzurum ve Ahışa / ve Çıldır ve tevâbi'i kazâlarında sâkin Rûmiyân tâ'ifesi üzerlerine kadîmden olgelen 'âdet ve kânûn ve âyîn-i 'âtulaları muktezâsınca / patrik olub patrikliğine tâbi<sup>63</sup> yerlerde Rûmiyân tâ'ifesinin ulusu ve kişisi râhib-i mesfûr üzerlerine patrik bilüb âyînlerine müte'allik / umûrlarında doğru sözinden tecâvüz eylemeyeler ve

<sup>63</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros' *berat* of 1730: patrikliğine tâbi<sup>64</sup> yerlerde mürd olan mitrepolidler ve papaslar ve keşişler ve kalogriyaların / mu'tâd-ı kadîm üzere her nesi var ise patrik-i mesfûr veyâhûd mitrepolidleri ahz ve kabz eyledikle hilâf-ı mu'tâd-ı kadîm beytül-mâl ve kassâm / âdemleri ve voyvodalar ve subaşılar ve mütevelliler ve sâ'irleri muhâlefet eylemeyüb ve

<sup>64</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros' *berat* of 1730: patrikliğine tâbi<sup>65</sup> yerlerde kadîmî tasarruflarında olan kilisa / ve manastırları bilâ-emr-i şerîf ellerinden alınmayub ve vaz'-ı kadîm üzere izn-i şer' ile ve emr-i şerîfimle vâki<sup>65</sup> olan / meremmâtlarına dahl olunmayub ve

<sup>65</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros' *berat* of 1730: şer'-i şerîfe müte'allik lâzım gelen da'vâları Dîvân-ı Hümâyûnımda görilüb ve Rûmiyân tâ'ifesinden / biri âyînleri üzere tezvîc itmeli olsa veyâhûd 'avrat boşamalı oldukda aralarına patrik-i mesfûr veyâhûd vekîllerinden / gayri kimesne girmeye ve karışmaya ve

<sup>66</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros' *berat* of 1730: mürd olan ruhbânlar ve Rûm tâ'ifesi kendü âyînleri üzere kilisalarının fukarâsına ve patrik-i / mesfûr[a] her ne vasiyyet iderler ise makbûl olub Rûm şâhidler ile şer' ile istimâ<sup>66</sup> olına ve

viridike kimesne müdâhale eylemeyüb ve âyînleri üzere / ‘azl ve nasba müstahakk olan râhibleri ve mitrepolid ve papas ve keşiş ve gumenosları patrik-i mesfûr ‘azl ve yerlerin / âyînleri üzere mitrepolid ve piskopos ta’yîn olunmak üzere ‘arz ve i’lâm eyledikte mu’tâd-ı kadîm üzere / lâzım gelen pîşkeşlerin dâhil-i Hazîne-i Âmirem olındıktan sonra zabtları için yedlerine şürûtiyla berevât-ı / şerîfe ve evâmir-i ‘aliyyem virilüb ve patrik olanların memhûr ‘arzı olmadıkça bir ferde mitrepolidlik ve piskoposluk / zabt ve tasarruf itdürilmeyüb ve patrik-i mesfûrın ‘arzı ma‘mûlün-bih olub ve âyînlerine müte‘allik ‘arz ve i’lâm / olur ise müsâ‘ade olına ve<sup>67</sup>

[7] patrikliğine tâbi‘ yerlerde ba‘zı târik-i dünyâ olan keşişler âyînlerine muhâlif / istedikleri yerlerde gezmeyüb kadîmî sâkin oldukları manastırlarına gönderile ve<sup>68</sup>

[8] patrik-i mesfûr ve âdemleri / mürûr ve ‘ubûr eyledikleri yerlerde kendüye ve âdemlerine kulağuz virilüb ve mahûf olan yerlerden / ahsen vechile geçmek için tebdîl-i câme ve kisve eyledikte ve def-i mazarrat ve kendü nefsin eşkiyâdan tahlîs için / âlât-ı harb götürdüklerinde köprülerde ve geçidlerde ve sâ’ir mahallerde bâcdârlar ve tamgacılar ve sâ’ir ehl-i ‘örf / tâ’ifesi taraflarından hilâf-ı kânûn ve mugâyir-i mu’tâd-ı kadîm müdâhale itdürilmeyüb ve patrik-i mesfûrdan subaşılar / ve sâ’ir ehl-i ‘örf tâ’ifesi taraflarından hilâf-ı şer‘-i şerîf ‘avâ’id ve hediye talebiyle rencide itdürilmeye ve<sup>69</sup>

[9] mürûr / ve ‘ubûr eylediği yerlerde bir zimmînin rızâsı yoğiken biz seni cebren Müslümân ideriz deyu ehl-i ‘örf tâ’ifesi / taraflarından celb-i mâl için rencide itdürilmeyüb ve<sup>70</sup>

[10] ba‘zı zu‘emâ ve erbâb-ı tımar ve zî-kudret kimesnelerin çiftliklerinde / ve kışlaklarında ve hânelerinde olan zimmilere bunlar bizim ırgâdımız veyâhûd hizmetkârımızdır deyu âyînleri icrâsına / muhâlefet itdürilmeyüb ve<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros’ berat of 1730: patrikliğine müte‘allik piskoposların ve gumenosların / ve papasların ve keşişlerin âyînleri üzere kabâhatleri zuhûr eyledikte âyînleri üzere patrik-i mesfûr te‘dîb ve saçların traş ve / yerlerin âhere viridükde kimesne müdâhale eylemeyüb ve âyînleri üzere ‘azl ve nasba müstahakk olan papasları ve gumenosları / ve keşişleri ve mitrepolidleri patrik-i mesfûr âyînleri üzere ‘azl ve yerlerin gayri râhiblere viridükde âherden ferd / muhâlefet eylemeyüb ve

<sup>68</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros’ berat of 1730: patrikliğine müte‘allik yerlerde ba‘zı târik-i dünyâ olan keşişler âyînlerine muhâlif istedikleri yerlerde gezmeyüb / kadîmî sâkin oldukları manastırlarına gönderile ve

<sup>69</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros’ berat of 1730: patrik-i mesfûr ve âdemleri mürûr ve ‘ubûr eyledikleri yerlerde kendüye ve âdemilerine / kulağuz virilüb ve mahûf olan yerlerden ahsen vechile geçmek için tebdîl-i câme ve kisve eylediklerinde ve def-i mazarrat / ve kendü nefsin eşkiyâdan tahlîs itmeğe âlât-ı harb götürdüklerinde köprülerde ve geçidlerde ve sâ’ir mahallerde / bâcdârlar ve tamgacılar ve sâ’ir ehl-i ‘örf tâ’ifesi taraflarından hilâf-ı kânûn ve mugâyir-i mu’tâd-ı kadîm müdâhale itdürilmeyüb / ve

<sup>70</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros’ berat of 1730: mürûr ve ‘ubûr eylediği yerlerde bir zimmînin kendü rızâsı yoğiken birisini cebren Müslümân ol deyu ehl-i ‘örf tâ’ifesi taraflarından / celb-i mâl için rencide itdürilmeyüb ve

<sup>71</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros’ berat of 1730: ba‘zı zu‘emâ ve erbâb-ı tımar ve zî-kudret kimesnelerin çiftliklerinde ve kışlaklarında ve hânelerinde / olan zimmilere bunlar bizim ırgâdlarımız veyâhûd hizmetkârlarımızdır deyu âyînleri icrâsına mûmâna‘at itdürilmeyüb ve

[11] ‘akd-i nikâh ve fesh-i nikâh ve münâza’un fihi olan iki zimmî mâbeyninde rızâlarıyla ıslâh / ve âyînleri üzere kilisalarında yemîn ve aforos eylediklerinde bir ferde müdâhale itdürilmeye ve ba’zı zî-kudret kimesneler şu ‘avratı / şu zimmîye nikâh eyle veyâhûd şu papası ‘azl ve kilisasın şu papasa vir deyu ta’addî itdürilmeyüb ve bir zimmî tâ’ifesini / te’dîb ve terbiyye için âyînleri muktezâsınca aforos ta’bîr olunır te’dîb kağıdlarına bî-vech ta’arruz olunmaya ve papas / ve keşîş tâ’ifesinden ba’zıları izn-i şer’ile alıkonılmak lâzım geldikde patrik-i mesfûr ma’rifetiyle alıkonulub ve<sup>72</sup>

[12] kadîmden Rûmiyân tâ’ifesine mahsûs olan kilisalar ve derûn-ı kilisaya müte’allik her nesi var ise fi’l-cümle patrik-i mesfûr tarafından zabt / itdürülüb millet-i sâ’ire taraflarından zabtına kat’â müdâhale olunmayub ve<sup>73</sup>

[13] patrik-i mesfûrın mu’tâd-ı kadîm üzere yedinde götürdüğü / ‘asâsına ve bindüğü bârgîr ve katırlarına müdâhale olunmayub ve<sup>74</sup>

[14] patrik-i mesfûrın berâtına dâhil olan yerlerde ruhbân / tâ’ifesinden ba’zıları kilisa ve manastırları yoğiken mahalle be-mahalle gezüb fesâda bâ’is olanları patrik-i mesfûr ma’rifetiyle te’dîb / ve men’ olunub ve<sup>75</sup>

[15] patrik-i mesfûrın sâkin oldığı manastırlarına ‘askerîden ve gayriden kimesne gönderilmeyüb ve patrik-i mesfûrın / kendü rızâsı yoğiken biz sana cebren yasakçı olırız deyu kapı kulları tarafından rencîde ve ta’addî itdürilmeyüb ve<sup>76</sup>

[16] kadîmden / kendü âyîn-i ‘âtılları üzere kilisa ve manastırlarına vekîl olub düşen patriklik rüsûmın ekl ve bel’ iden / râhiblerin patrik-i mesfûr muhâsebelerin gördükde hilâf-ı mu’tâd âherden müdâhale olunmaya ve kadîmden berü âyînlerin / icrâ eyledikleri günlerde hilâf-ı şer’ ve mugâyir-i kânûn mücerred celb-i mâl için ehl-i ‘örf tâ’ifesi taraflarından bî-vech rencîde ve ta’addî itdürilmeyüb ve patrik-i mesfûrın kimesneye sahîh sübût bulub deyn ve kefâleti yoğiken mücerred celb-i mâl / için biz sana kırk akçe virdük veyâhûd kefil oldın

<sup>72</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros’ berat of 1730: ‘akd-i nikâh ve fesh-i / nikâh ve münâza’un fihi olan iki zimmî mâbeynlerinde rızâlarıyla ıslâh ve âyînleri üzere kilisalarında yemîn ve aforos ta’bîr olunır / şu ‘avratı şu zimmîye nikâh eyle veyâhûd şu papası ‘azl ve kilisasın şu papasa vir deyu ta’addî itdürilmeyüb ve bir zimmî tâ’ifesini / te’dîb ve terbiyye için âyînleri muktezâsınca aforos ta’bîr olunır te’dîb kağıdlarına bî-vech müdâhale olunmayub ve papas ve keşîş tâ’ifesinden / izn-i şer’ ile alıkonılmak lâzım gelenleri patrik-i mesfûr ma’rifetiyle alıkonulub ve

<sup>73</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros’ berat of 1730: kadîmden Rûmiyân tâ’ifesine mahsûs olan kilisalar / ve derûn-ı kilisaya müte’allik her nesi var ise fi’l-cümle patrik-i mesfûr tarafından zabt itdürülüb millet-i sâ’ire taraflarından zabtına kat’â müdâhale / olunmayub ve

<sup>74</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros’ berat of 1730: patrik- i mesfûrın mu’tâd-ı kadîm üzere yedinde götürdüğü ‘asâsına ve bindüğü bârgîr ve katırlarına müdâhale olunmayub ve

<sup>75</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros’ berat of 1730: patrik / ve patrik-i mesfûrın berâtına dâhil olan yerlerde ruhbân tâ’ifesinden ba’zıları kilisa ve manastırları yoğiken mahalle be-mahalle gezüb fesâda / bâ’is olanları patrik-i mesfûr ma’rifetiyle te’dîb ve men’ olunub ve

<sup>76</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros’ berat of 1730: patrik-i mesfûrın kendü rızâsı yoğiken biz sana cebren yasakçı / olırız deyu kapum kulları taraflarından rencîde ve ta’addî itdürilmeyüb ve

deyu mâdâm ki üzerine şer' en nesne sâbit olmadıkça / patrik-i mesfûr bî-vech ve hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf rencide itdürilmeyüb ve<sup>77</sup>

[17] kadîmden kendü âyîn-i 'âtılları üzere kilisalarına / müte'allik bağ ve bağçe ve çiftlik ve değirmen ve çayır ve tarla ve buyût ve dekâkîn ve eşcâr-ı müsmire ve gayr-i müsmirelerine / ve ayazma ve manastırlarına ve sâ'ir bunun emsâli kilisaya vakf olan eşyâ ve davarlarına bundan evvel / Antakya ve tevâbî'i Rûmiyân patriği olanlar ne vechile zabt ve tasarruf idegelmişler ise mesfûr Kirilos nâm râhib dahî / ol vechile zabt ve tasarruf eyleyüb mîr-i mîrân ve mîrlivâ ve voyvodalar ve subaşılar ve sâ'ir ehl-i 'örf taraflarından / ve ref' olunan mesfûr Silvestros ve taraf-ı âherden hiç ferd mânî ve dâfi' ve müzâhim olmayub vechen mine'l-vücûh ve sebeben mine'l-esbâb dahl ve ta'aruz kılmayalar.<sup>78</sup>

Şöyle bileler deyu berât-ı şerîf yazılmışdır.

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<sup>77</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros' *berat* of 1730: kadîmden kendü âyîn-i 'âtılları üzere kilisa ve manastırlarına / vekîl olub düşen patriklik rüsûmın ekl ve bel' iden râhiblerin patrik-i mesfûr muhâsebelerin gördükde hilâf-ı mu'tâd-ı / kadîm âherden müdâhale olunmayub ve kadîmden berü âyînleri icrâ eyledikleri günlerde hilâf-ı şer' ve muğâyir-i kânûn / mücerred celb-i mâl için ehl-i 'örf tâ'ifesi taraflarından bî-vech rencide ve ta'addî itdürilmeyüb ve patrik-i mesfûrın kimesneye sahîh / sübût bulub deyni ve kefâleti yoğiken mücerred celb-i mâl için biz sana kırk akçe virdük veyâhûd kefil oldın deyu mâdâm ki / üzerine şer' en bir nesne sâbit olmadıkça patrik-i mesfûra bî-vech ve hilâf-ı şer' rencide itdürilmeyüb ve

<sup>78</sup> Compare with the following condition in Silvestros' *berat* of 1730: kadîmden kendü âyîn-i 'âtılları / üzere kilisalarına müte'allik bağ ve bağçe ve çiftlik ve değirmen ve çayır ve tarlalarına ve buyût ve dekâkîn ve eşcâr-ı müsmire ve gayr-i müsmirelerine / ve ayazma ve manastırlarına ve sâ'ir bunun emsâli kenîsaya vakf olan eşyâ ve davarlarına bundan evvel Antakya ve Şâm ve Haleb / ve tevâbî'i Rûmiyân patriği olanlar ne vechile zabt ve tasarruf idegelmişler ise mesfûr Silvestros nâm râhib dahî ol minvâl üzere / zabt ve tasarruf eyleyüb mîr-i mîrân ve mîrlivâ ve voyvodalar ve subaşılar ve sâ'ir ehl-i 'örf tâ'ifesi taraflarından mânî ve müzâhim olmayub / dahl ve ta'aruz kılmayalar.

Appendix III

English translation of the *berat* of Kyrillos Tanas of Antioch, 1745

Imperial sign

The holder of this imperial order the priest named Kyrillos—may his end be auspicious—has petitioned my Imperial Chancery and stated that he is from the community of clergymen for fifty years who had been residing in *Rûm* monasteries in Saida and the patriarchal representative for twenty-one years by demand of the poor subjects without a *berat*. [He also stated that] all the subjects are content and happy with him and that he is worthy for patriarchate of the *Rûm* community in Antioch and its dependencies in all regards. Because the aforementioned patriarchate is not under the jurisdiction of the patriarchs of Istanbul and other places and is a separate patriarchate, he requested my benevolence in giving the patriarchate of Antioch to him independently as *maktû'* in a manner similar to the patriarchate of Ohrid and Peć on the condition that his old *pîşkes* be increased for 3,000 *akçes* and that he give a yearly amount of 100 *guruş* to the side of the state as *maktû'* every year. When the *Piskopos Mukâta'ası Defterleri* preserved in my Imperial Treasury were consulted, it was written on the margin that the abovementioned patriarchate belonged to the priest named Silvestros with a state *pîşkes* of 10,000 *akçes* since the year [11]36. [It was also written that] it is not under the jurisdiction of the *Rûm* patriarchate of Istanbul, that it is invested with the petition of the kadis of Antioch and Damascus, that the patriarchate of Cilicia and Damascus do not have any other registers and that it belongs to the patriarchate of Antioch. Granting the patriarchate without a petition [by the kadi] has been caused by the fact that the said one's request to have the [throne] of the abovementioned patriarchate depends on the state as it is a separate patriarchate. Hence, the honour of the governors and the grandees, my *başdefterdâr* Yusuf—may his grandeur continue—has sent a petition and report personally that the abovementioned Orthodox patriarchate of Antioch and its dependencies be granted from the priest Silvestros to the said priest Kyrillos and he be given a *berat* on the conditions that the old *pîşkes* of 10,000 *akçes* be increased by 5,000 *akçes* and the yearly *mâl-i maktû'* of 150 *guruş* be assigned and that he present to my Imperial Treasury the *pîşkes* of 15,000 *akçes* and the said *mâl-i maktû'* for the year 1158 in cash. Hence, it has been my imperial order to grant him [Kyrillos] [the patriarchate] from him [Silvestros] in accordance with the report with another increase of 5,000 *akçes* on his *pîşkes* and 100 *guruş* on his *maktû'*. Because he has been given my imperial *rûznâmçe* paper after he presented the *pîşkes* of 20,000 *akçes* and the *mâl-i maktû'* of 30,000 *akçes* to my Imperial Treasury in the customary manner, I have given this bliss-inspiring imperial *berat* on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of *Mubarrem* in the year 1158 [24 February 1745] on the conditions that he present his yearly *mâl-i maktû'* of 30,000 *akçes* to my Imperial Treasury every year and settle the accounts with the state and take a copy of the accounts at the end of each year. **And I have ordered that**

[1] The said priest named Kyrillos shall go and become the patriarch over the Orthodox community in Antioch and its dependencies. The said priest called Kyrillos shall have the abovementioned patriarchate of Antioch and its dependencies in the way the aforementioned priest named Silvestros had done. The priest named Silvestros who has been dismissed and anyone from outside shall not prevent, trouble, interfere and attack him. The said priest Kyrillos—may his end be auspicious—shall be regarded as the patriarch by the bishops of Adana, Tarsus, Payas, Alexandretta, Diyarbekir, Çemişkezek, Çıldır, Ahışa, Erzurum and their dependencies which are under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch since olden times and by the old and young of the Orthodox community living in places dependent on his patriarchate. They shall not go against his legitimate word in matters related to their rite.

[2] The patriarch or his metropolitans shall hold whatever the dead priests, monks and nuns under his jurisdiction have in accordance with ancient customs. The *beytü'l-mâl* and *kassâm* officials, *voyvodas*, *subaşıs* and *mütevellîs* shall not oppose in contravention of ancient customs.

[3] Nobody shall take their olden churches and monasteries under his jurisdiction from their hands in contravention of the imperial order, and no one shall interfere when they repair them according to their ancient layout with the approval of sharia and my imperial order.

[4] Their legal disputes whose resolution require application of sharia rules shall be handled in my Imperial Chancery, and if someone from the Orthodox community wants to marry or divorce a woman according to their rite, no one apart from the patriarch or his deputies shall intervene.

[5] Everything the dead clergymen and the Orthodox community will for the poor of their churches and the said patriarch according to their rite shall be accepted and dealt with according to sharia rules through the testimony of Orthodox witnesses.

[6] When, in accordance with their rite, the said patriarch disciplines and shaves the hair of those bishops, priors, and priests in places dependent on his patriarchate who commit offence against their rite and dismisses them and gives their posts to others he shall not be interfered with. When the aforementioned patriarch appoints and dismisses the priests, metropolitans, priests, monks and priors who deserve to be dismissed or appointed in accordance with their rite and sends petitions to appoint metropolitans and bishops, they shall be given my imperial *berats* and orders with their conditions to obtain [these posts] after the required customary *pîşkeş* is paid to my Imperial Treasury. Without the sealed petition of the patriarchs no one shall be allowed to have a metropolitanate and bishopric. The said patriarch's petition shall be observed and if there is a petition regarding their rite it shall be allowed.

[7] The ascetic monks under his jurisdiction shall not wander wherever they like in contravention of their rite but shall be sent back to the monastery to which they customarily belong.

[8] The patriarch and his men shall be given guides in places where they journey. When they change clothes to pass safely from dangerous places, and carry weapons to avert danger and to protect their souls from bandits, they shall not be interfered with and harassed by the *bâcdars*, *tamgacı*s and the other [members of the] *ehl-i 'örf* on the bridges, passages and similar places in contravention of sharia and ancient customs. The said patriarch shall not be harassed by the *subaşı*s and the [members of the] *ehl-i 'örf* with the pretext of asking for favours and presents in contravention of sharia.

[9] In places where they journey, no *zımmi* shall be harassed to be converted into Islam by force against his/her consent by [the members of] the *ehl-i 'örf* and others.

[10] Some powerful people, *zâ'ims*, *tumar* holders, and others shall not object them from performing their ceremonies on the allegation that the *zımmis* living in their farms, winter quarters, and houses are their labourers and servants [and thus are exempt from taxation].

[11] In matters of solemnization or annulment of marriage, or a dispute [to be resolved] between two *zımmis* on their consent, when they take an oath in church and excommunication in accordance with their rite, no one shall interfere. Some powerful people shall not force them to marry a woman to a *zımmi* against their rite, or harass them to dismiss a priest and give his office to another one. Their disciplinary papers of excommunication which they dispatch in accordance with their rite to discipline *zımmis* shall not be intervened without any reason. When the priests and monks need to be detained with the permission of sharia, they shall be detained with the mediation of the said patriarch.

[12] The said patriarch shall hold the churches that customarily belong to the Orthodox community and whatever [property] they have inside [the churches], and the other communities shall in no way interfere with this.

[13] Nobody shall interfere with the sceptre that the said patriarch holds in his hand as of old, and with the packhorses and mules that he rides.

[14] If under the jurisdiction of the abovementioned patriarch, some clergymen who do not have a church or a monastery wander neighbourhood by neighbourhood, and foment mischief, they shall be disciplined and prevented through the patriarch.

[15] The monasteries where the aforementioned patriarch resides shall not be sent anyone from the *'askerî* and others. The aforementioned patriarch shall not be harassed by my *kapıkulları* with the pretext of urging their service as *yasaķçı*s against his consent.

[16] The patriarch shall not be harassed from outside when he customarily settles the accounts of those deputies of churches and monasteries who embezzle the related taxes according to their baseless rite. When they customarily perform their ceremonies on certain days, they shall not be harassed by [the members of] the *ehl-i 'örf* in contravention of sharia and law purely for their own interests without any reason. The patriarch shall not be harassed without the proof of his debt or guarantee, alleging [falsely] that 'we have given you forty *akçes*' or that 'you became a guarantor' purely for their own interest, without any reason and in contravention of sharia.



[17] The said priest named Kyrillos shall hold the vineyards, gardens, farms, mills, pastures, fields, houses, shops, trees with or without fruits, holy springs, monasteries, and any other items relating to their churches and their sheep as *vakf* in the way the preceding Orthodox patriarchs of Antioch and its dependencies have done customarily and according to their rite. In this regard, the *mîr-i mîrâns*, *mîrlivâs*, *voyvodas*, *subaşıs*, the other [members of the] *ehl-i örf* and the dismissed patriarch Silvestros and anyone from outside shall not interfere with, and trouble him in any way or for any reason.

An imperial *berat* has been written so that they know as such.

Appendix IV

The imprint of Kyrillos 'Tanas' bilingual seal<sup>79</sup>

Ο ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑΣ ΚΥΡΥΛΛΟΣ  
كولس بطريرك انطاكية ١١٥٨ سنة



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<sup>79</sup> BOA.D.PSK.14/135.

**Abstract:** While a lot has been written on the earlier phases of the Antiochian Schism of 1724, the rivalry between Serafeim/Kyrillos Tanas and Silvestros in the 1740s is mostly noted in passing. This article introduces the unpublished and often-ignored Ottoman documents relating to Kyrillos' brief tenure, most notably his *berat* of investiture preserved in the Ottoman Archives. The article has three major purposes: First, it establishes a solid chronological context, which adds a more global nature to this episode. Second, by contextualizing the episode with special focus on the Ottoman dynamics, it searches for the major reasons for Kyrillos' appointment by the Ottoman administration through a discussion of his discourse presenting himself as a reliable partner with the Porte. Third, it analyzes Kyrillos' unpublished *berat* in comparison with the earlier and later *berats* and a contemporary French translation preserved in the *Archives nationales* in Paris.

**Keywords:** Patriarchate of Antioch; Orthodox-Catholic interaction; *berat*; the Ottoman Empire.

**Resumen:** Si bien se ha escrito mucho sobre las primeras fases del Cisma de Antioquía de 1724, la rivalidad entre Serafeim/Kyrillos Tanas y Silvestros en la década de 1740 se menciona casi de pasada. Este artículo presenta los documentos otomanos inéditos, y a menudo ignorados, relacionados con el breve mandato de Kyrillos, sobre todo su *berat* de investidura conservado en los archivos otomanos. El artículo tiene tres propósitos principales: primero, establece un contexto cronológico sólido, que le da una naturaleza más global a este episodio. En segundo lugar, al contextualizar el episodio con un enfoque sobre la dinámica otomana, busca las principales razones del nombramiento de Kyrillos por parte de la administración otomana a través de una discusión de su discurso presentándose a sí mismo como un socio confiable con la Sublime Puerta. En tercer lugar, analiza la *berat* inédita de Kyrillos en comparación con las *berats* anteriores y posteriores y una traducción francesa contemporánea conservada en los Archivos nacionales de París.

**Palabras clave:** Patriarcado de Antioquía; Interrelaciones ortodoxas y católicas; *berat*; Imperio Otomano.