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**THE ABOLITION OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF PEĆ IN THE
CONTEXT OF THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN
INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS**

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JULY 2019

BİLDİRİM

Hazırladığım tezin tamamen kendi çalışmam olduğunu, akademik ve etik kuralları gözeterek çalıştığımı ve her alıntıya kaynak gösterdiğimi taahhüt ederim.

İmza

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Danışmanlığını yaptığım işbu tezin tamamen öğrencinin çalışması olduğunu, akademik ve etik kuralları gözeterek çalıştığımı taahhüt ederim.

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İMZA SAYFASI

Camilla Pletuhina-Tonev tarafından hazırlanan 'The abolition of the Patriarchate of Pec in the context of the eighteenth-century Ottoman institutional developments' başlıklı bu yüksek lisans tezi, Uluslararası Osmanlı Çalışmaları Anabilim Dalında hazırlanmış ve jürimiz tarafından kabul edilmiştir.

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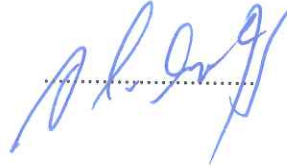
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Tez Savunma Tarihi: 19 / 07 / 2019

ABSTRACT

The eighteenth century was a time of institutionalization for the Orthodox Patriarchates of Istanbul, Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria in parallel to the Ottoman social, economic, and administrative developments. In this context, the Patriarchate of Peć was incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul in 1766. Although the regions under the jurisdiction of the church of Peć were important for the Ottoman administration especially in terms of population, the situation on the eve of abolition still remains unexplored. Moreover, the abolition of Peć has so far been evaluated as part of ecclesiastical history, mostly limited to the question of who the initiating actors of abolition were. As recent studies have started to locate the history of the Orthodox Patriarchates in the larger context of Ottoman social, economic and administrative developments, it became clear that the approach towards the abolition of Peć requires revision. This study aims to investigate the interplay between the Ottoman administration, the Patriarchate of Istanbul and the local actors in the context of the eighteenth century economic and administrative developments based on Ottoman archival documents as well as communal sources.

Keywords: Patriarchate of Peć, Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul, abolition, eighteenth century, institutionalization.

ÖZET

On sekizinci yüzyıl, İstanbul, Kudüs, Antakya ve İskenderiye Ortodoks Patrikhaneleri için bir kurumsallaşma dönemi idi. Bu çerçevede, 1766 yılında İpek Patrikhanesi, İstanbul Rum Ortodoks Patrikhanesi'ne ilhak olunmuştur. İpek kilisesinin yetkisi altındaki bölgeler, özellikle nüfus açısından Osmanlı yönetimi için önemli olmasına rağmen, kilisenin, ilhak olmadan önce bulunduğu durum incelenmemiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, İpek Patrikhanesi'nin, İstanbul Rum Ortodoks Patrikhanesi'ne ilhakı günümüze kadar kilise tarihi çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir ve çoğunlukla ilhak inisiyatifinde bulunan aktörlerin kim olduğu sorusuyla sınırlı kalmıştır. Yakın zamanda yapılan çalışmaların, Ortodoks Patrikhaneleri'nin tarihini daha geniş Osmanlı sosyal, ekonomik ve idari gelişmeleri çerçevesinde değerlendirmeye başlaması ile İpek'in ilhakına yönelik mevcut yaklaşımın gözden geçirilmesi gerektiği ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çalışma, Osmanlı arşiv belgelerine ve yerel kaynaklara dayanarak on sekizinci yüzyıl ekonomik ve idari gelişmeler bağlamında Osmanlı yönetimi, İstanbul Rum Ortodoks Patrikhanesi ve yerel aktörler arasındaki etkileşimi araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: İpek Patrikhanesi, İstanbul Rum Ortodoks Patrikhanesi, ilhak, on sekizinci yüzyıl, kurumsallaşma.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank Turkish Scholarships for financing my studies for the past seven years. Without any doubt, the opportunity to live and study in Turkey has changed my life in the ways I could never imagine.

I owe my deepest gratitude to Prof. Muzaffer Doğan of Anadolu University for spending many hours supervising my attempts of transcribing and comprehending Ottoman primary sources. Without his patience and guidance, the execution of my current study would not be possible. I would also like to thank Erkan İznik of Anadolu University, for guiding me through the first year of my studies, when I could barely understand Turkish, and felt completely lost and helpless.

I am very grateful to the faculty members of the International Ottoman Studies Program of Istanbul Medeniyet University. Bilgin Aydın, Güneş Işıksel, and İsmail Hakkı Kadı, whose lessons I was lucky to attend contributed greatly to my growth as a student of history. Their dedication to their jobs and involvement with the students made me feel embraced and cared for from the first day I entered the University.

I would like to express my gratitude to my thesis committee members and professors. Zahit Atçıl, who happened to be teaching the classes I initially had almost no interest in, managed to organize the classes in a way that I was always looking forward to them. His professionalism, critical approach to history, treatment of each student with the utmost respect and care, never ending eagerness to support his students, his open-mindedness, and, of course, coffee made every single class of his like a little party for my mind and soul. Hasan Çolak's contribution to the field of study of the Orthodox Patriarchates in the Ottoman Empire became a major point of reference for me in my current research. I am eternally grateful for and humbled by the fact that he took the time and effort to come from another city to be a member in my thesis committee. Finally, my thesis supervisor

Elif Bayraktar-Tellan has guided me through the two years of my master's studies with the love, care, attention and support, which I will be eternally grateful for. Every minor and major achievement of mine during these two years as well as all the academic achievements I will hopefully attain in the future are and will always be equally the result of my dedication and labor as they are of hers. I owe my deepest gratitude to the members of my thesis committee for the time and effort they put into the evaluation of my work and for their valuable comments and suggestions.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family: my mother Larisa, my friend Daria and my husband Dmitri have always been there for me. I aspire to become at least the tenth part of that amazing person they lovingly and naïvely believe I already am. I extend my special thanks to my husband, who courageously embraced the ungrateful role of my much neglected consciousness, and never failed to remind me on a daily basis that I should study. With my deepest love and gratitude, I dedicate this thesis to him.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In this study, I intend to analyze the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć in the context of the eighteenth-century Ottoman institutional developments. The Patriarchate of Peć was abolished in 1766 and incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul during the period of Sultan Mustafa III after having functioned as an autocephalous ecclesiastical institution for almost four centuries. The abolition of Peć happened at a time of institutionalization for the Orthodox Patriarchates of Istanbul, Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria in parallel to the Ottoman social and economic developments. At the same time, many Ottoman institutions were going through a process of transformation. So far, the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć has been mostly evaluated out of the context of these developments, which resulted in the erroneous treatment of this topic merely as an ecclesiastical issue. Hence, I intend to revise the paradigms, which have evolved around the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć by placing the issue of the abolition in the context of the eighteenth century Ottoman institutional developments. To do so, I will mostly address the sources written in Serbian, Russian, English and Ottoman Turkish languages.

1.1 Problems in Historiographical Approaches and the Goals of the Study

In the Serbian sources, the Patriarchate of Peć is often viewed as a means to an end, the end being the preservation of the Serbian nationality, Serbian state and Christian faith of the Serbs. Such an approach not only projects the contemporary views and values on the past but also creates a one-sided vision of the Serbian high-clergy, where the Patriarchs of Peć are presented as figures always acting upon the goal of “liberation from the Turks”, or, when the circumstances do not allow action, dreaming of it. Such an approach emphasizes the distinction of the Patriarch of Peć from the Ottoman administration as well as the Patriarchate of Istanbul. Both are often represented as enemies, the first being the enemy to Christian faith, and the second – to Serbian nationality and independence of the Serbian Church. Moreover, the Patriarchs of Peć are often presented in the best tradition of the *millet* theory with the Patriarch being portrayed as not merely the head of

the Serbian church, but rather the head of the Serbian nation and an entity separate from the Ottoman administration. While the in-depth evaluation of the Patriarchate of Peć as an Ottoman institution would require incorporation of a larger number of Ottoman archival sources which would transcend the scope of this study, I do intend to demonstrate that in the last years of the Patriarchate of Peć's autocephaly the high clergy and the *re'âyâ* relied heavily on the problem solving mechanisms and patterns used by the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates, the Patriarchate of Istanbul and the Ottoman central administration. This allows us to revise the position of the Patriarchate of Peć in the context of the religious institutions of the Ottoman Empire.

The primary issue that I aim to address is the question of the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć and its incorporation into the Patriarchate of Istanbul. So far, the abolition of Peć has been evaluated as an ecclesiastical issue, major questions being who is to "blame" for the abolition, whether the Patriarchate was abolished canonically or not, who wrote the petition for its abolition, and whether or not the church was drowning in debt and corruption. While these questions are worthy of evaluation and attention, the sole focus on the answers to these questions have prevented historians from recognizing the larger picture of the eighteenth century Ottoman developments. By using a number of unpublished Ottoman primary documents and incorporating into my work the study of the Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Istanbul, I aim to locate the issue of the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć in the context of the eighteenth century Ottoman developments.

Along with this, I would like to address several other issues that would contribute to a better understanding of the place the Patriarchate of Peć occupied in the Ottoman Empire shortly before the abolition of the former. The first of these questions is the position of *re'âyâ* inhabiting the territories of the Patriarchate of Peć vis-à-vis the Ottoman administration, and the Patriarchate of Istanbul, and finally, the various actors active in their Patriarchate, including Catholics and the patriarchal candidates of the see of Peć. In other words, I would like to revisit the paradigm assuming the passivity of the local Orthodox *re'âyâ*, according to which major decisions and events revolved around the high clergy of Peć, the Patriarchate of Istanbul, and the Phanariots, while the *re'âyâ* are neglected. Such a neglect of the role of *re'âyâ* either assumes their indifference in the matters of their church or their inability to affect the matters related to the latter. I aim to

highlight that the *re'âyâ* of the Patriarchate of Peć was taking an active part in the decision-making processes regarding the fate of their Patriarchate. Similar to the approach as regards to the passivity of the *re'âyâ* is the neglect of the will of the Ottoman administration and the interest of the Ottoman Empire as a possible factor behind the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć. The tendency in historiography to put an emphasis on the role of the “Greeks” in the abolition of Peć, assuming that the Patriarch of Istanbul Samouil guided by his own interests convinced the Sultan to abolish the Patriarchate of Peć serves well the paradigm that the various Greek actors of the Ottoman Empire acted in accordance with the principles of Hellenization, and used their proximity to the Ottoman administration to attain their goals. Such an approach not only overlooks the Ottoman will as a possible factor in the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć, but also neglects the primary expectations and responsibilities the Porte put on the Patriarchs, not only as the head of their respective communities or tax-collectors, but also as part of the Ottoman administrative institutions.

Finally, an issue that needs specification is the frequent mention of Ohrid and Peć as twin siblings, disregarding the unique conditions of each case. It is noteworthy that as far as I have observed, English historiography and Ottoman sources tend to refer to the Patriarchate of Peć and Archbishopric of Ohrid together, while the Serbian sources rarely do so. The frequent mention of Ohrid and Peć concomitantly results in disregarding the unique conditions of each of their abolitions. While in the current historiography the abolition of Ohrid is viewed in a similar context, relying on national ideas, Hellenization, and financial issues, in the Ottoman documents, Ohrid and Peć are mentioned together only in the context of abolition. Namely, the metropolitan of Ohrid seeing that Peć found peace and order after being incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul, sought incorporation too. What the document rather suggest is that Ohrid and Peć were church institutions separate from each other. Apart from the documents regarding the abolition of Peć and Ohrid, the Ottoman records I have encountered dealt with the issues of Ohrid and Peć separately. Thus, the inclusion of the abolition of Peć into this study would require not only the study of the related Ottoman documentation and the relations of the Archbishopric of Ohrid with external actors like the Russian Empire and the Catholics, but also the complicated centuries-old relations between the Patriarchate of Peć and the

Archbishopric of Ohrid. Such an endeavor was beyond the scope of this study.¹ This being said, I hope that the re-evaluation of the paradigms surrounding the abolition of Peć and location of this issue in the context of a larger picture of the Ottoman developments, will highlight the necessity to adopt new approaches to the analysis of the history of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.

1.2 Structure of the Study and Historical Background

In the second chapter of this study following the introduction, I intend to trace the extensive structural transformations happening in the eighteenth century which, involving a variety of actors and factors, contributed to the institutionalization and centralization of the Orthodox Church within the Ottoman administrative system. To do so, I focus on major developments such as the changes in fiscal policies of the Ottoman Empire, the transition of the Empire from a majorly military to bureaucratic one both in terms of internal issues and in the matters involving relations with foreign states. These developments contributed to the emergence of new social and financial webs, and led to the increase of the responsibilities of the Orthodox Patriarchs in matters of preserving order in their respective communities and ensuring the proper collection of taxes. I will also touch upon the roles of various actors of change such as the clergymen, guildsmen, the Phanariots and others who occupied a significant place in the financial and administrative network of the Orthodox Patriarchs. Catholic activities, which from the seventeenth century on increased as a challenge to the established order obvious to both the Orthodox Patriarchs and the Porte, became a major catalyst in institutionalization of the Orthodox Patriarchates. I will also touch upon the establishment of the system of elders (*gerontismos*) as a result of which the Patriarchate of Istanbul, represented by the prominent metropolitans and the Patriarch, not only emerged as a more stabilized institution but also was recognized as a more reliable institution by the Ottoman administration. I will also demonstrate how the patriarchal *berâts* changed in the

¹ For more on Ohrid see Jovan Belchovski, *Ohriskata Arhiepiskopija od Osnovanjeto do Zabranata na Nejzinata Deinost 1767 g. [The Ohrid Archbishopric from the establishment until the Prohibition of its Activity in 1767]*, (Skopje, 2006); Ivan Snêgarov, *Istoriia na Ochridskata arkhiepiskopiia patriarshiia ot padaneto i pod turtsitê do neinoto unishtozhenie (1394-1787g) [History of the Ohrid Archdiocese Patriarchate from Its Fall to the Turks to Its Abolition (1394-1767)]*, (Sofia, 1995).

eighteenth century reflecting the cooperative response of the Porte and the Patriarchate to the challenges of the eighteenth century. Finally, I will mention briefly the developments taking place in the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates in the eighteenth century. By doing so, I intend to demonstrate that the challenges encountered by the Orthodox Patriarchates in the provinces and in the capital of the Empire, and the way they dealt with their respective issues were common by the eighteenth century. Thus, both in the provinces and in Istanbul the Orthodox institutions on the highest level stood against challenges by creating and strengthening the webs of cooperation between the Patriarchates, the Porte, as well as lay elites represented by Phanariots.

The third chapter provides a brief outline of the history of the Patriarchate of Peć from its establishment in the thirteenth century to its abolition in the eighteenth. My aim here is not only to narrate the developments the Patriarchate of Peć has gone through during the centuries of its existence, but also to trace how, in terms of historiography, the Serbian Church has been strongly linked with Serbian nation-building and statehood. I believe that this fact found strong reflection in the Serbian ecclesiastical historiography of the twentieth century, although at times the relatively modern notions were projected on history, associating the Serbian church with Serbian nationality. In my opinion, such an approach might be one of the factors behind the emphasis made in the Serbian historiography on the “Greeks” behind the eventual abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, the Patriarchate of Istanbul was at odds with the Serbian Church from the very inception of the latter. The alleged hostility of the Ecumenical Patriarchate towards the Serbian Church was projected on the history of relations between the two ecclesiastical institutions. Another conception that affected the actions of the Serbian high clergy and the way these actions would be later portrayed in historiography is the assumption that after the “fall of the Serbian Despotate and Church under the Ottoman rule”, the omnipresent ultimate aspiration of the Serbian Patriarchs was the liberation and independence of the Serbian Church. These concepts have been reflected on the relations between the Patriarchate of Peć with the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg and Russian Empires and the Papacy. Throughout the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, the Serbian high clergy would seek support from foreign states, often undermining the interests of the Ottoman Empire. This, according to the prevalent historiography, ultimately resulted in the loss of trust of the Ottoman Porte in the Serbian

Church and its representatives – a development which emerged in historiography as one of the major factors affecting the eventual abolition of the Church.

The mistrust of the Ottoman administration in the Serbian high clergy and relations of the latter with foreign states as a factor in its abolition will be discussed in the fourth chapter, which is dedicated to an overview of a number of factors most commonly presented in historiography as reasons for the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć and its incorporation into the Patriarchate of Istanbul. Among other catalysts of Peć's abolition, I will discuss the financial position of the Patriarchate of Peć as well as the role of the Patriarch of Istanbul Samouil Hantcherli, the Phanariots and the Patriarchate. Finally, I will reconsider the question which has so far dominated much of what has been written on the abolition of Peć – i.e. who initiated the abolition; the Greeks or the Serbs.

Finally, in the fifth chapter I will look at the final years of the Patriarchate of Peć through unpublished primary documents from the Ottoman archives. In this part, I will analyze how the abolition of Peć was represented in the Ottoman sources, and I will examine the actors initiating the abolition as reflected in the documents, and the terminology they used to achieve their goal. I will compare the *berâts* of the Patriarchs Samouil and Meletios II of Istanbul to see how the abolition of Peć affected their responsibilities towards the Ottoman Porte and the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate. Using petitions from the Ottoman archive I will draw attention to the problems which arose in places under the jurisdiction of Patriarchate of Peć on the eve of its abolition, the way these problems were communicated to the Porte, and the solutions proposed for these issues. Finally, I will address the Catholic discourse which affected the fate of the last Serbian Patriarch of Peć – Vasilije Brkić. It is important to note that I intend to use the information presented in the Ottoman records not to preclude the questions and assumptions already present in the historiography on the abolition of Peć, but rather to put the abolition in a different context, namely, in the context of the eighteenth century Ottoman developments and their reflection in the functioning of the Ottoman church institutions.

1.3 Sources

In order to organize the so far published material on the history of the Patriarchate of Peć, the range of secondary literature used in this study has been basically limited to those works penned in English, Serbian and Turkish languages. Despite the fact that they were

produced in the mid-twentieth century, the well-known twentieth century accounts of Steven Runciman and Theodore Papadopoulos are still among the most influential ones in the historiography on the Orthodox Patriarchates in the Ottoman Empire available in English. For this reason, I frequently had to refer to these studies as part of my attempt to reconsider their most prevalent and uncritically accepted assumptions throughout the study. For an overview of the history of the Patriarchate of Peć, secondary sources written in Serbian language composed in the twentieth century by historians such as Radoslav Grujić, Djoko Slijepčević, and Jovan Radonić are crucial. A common feature of these accounts is that they adopt a rather sentimental position towards the topic, which has affected the tone of the accounts. Fortunately, more objective recent studies by Fotić, Bataković, Katić and other Serbian scholars were also of help to define the reasons for the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć as reflected in Serbian historiography, complemented by monographs composed by Runciman, Papadopoulos and Jelavich. It is noteworthy, that while the tendency in the non-Serbian accounts is to underline the financial situation of the Patriarchate of Peć among the factors of its abolition, the Serbian accounts, while accepting to some degree the complexity of the financial position of the Serbian Church, emphasize the role of various “Greek” actors. In this part of the study, some Greek and Russian accounts were also used as supplementary sources. Both Greek and Russian sources present an account of the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć similar to the ones narrated in the English and Serbian sources. In my study, I have also appealed to articles published in periodicals like *Glasnik*, *Srpski Sion*, *Spomenik*, *Glas Istine*, and *Bogoslovski Glasnik*. Although these accounts provide invaluable details on the history of the Patriarchate of Peć, they need to be approached critically, as many of them were composed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and are heavily influenced by their authors’ national and religious views.

In the Presidential Ottoman Archives located in Istanbul, I used documents from the *piskopos mukâta‘ası registers*. The folders no. 24 and 25 in the D.PSK classification serve as the primary archival resource for this study. Among the documents in these folders, I mostly focused on petitions, which concern the developments in the Patriarchate of Peć and, occasionally, the Archbishopric of Ohrid, as the two ecclesiastical institutions were at times mentioned together in the context of their incorporation to the Patriarchate of Istanbul. Along with this, *ahkâm* and *berevât* registers from the *Kamil Kepeci* collection

were also used as supplementary sources. The Ottoman primary materials used in this study are mostly the ones recorded in the years 1763 to 1768, i.e. the period closely before and immediately after the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć. The use of the unpublished Ottoman sources recorded in proximity to the date the Patriarchate of Peć was incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul, will unveil the unknown details regarding the major developments peculiar to the period and thus contribute to the revision of the paradigms regarding the abolition of Patriarchate of Peć present in the existing historiography.

1.4 Notes on Terminology

Finally, a note on terminology is needed to highlight the wording employed in various historiographical sources to denote the transformation in the position of the Patriarchate of Peć that came about in 1766. The term used in the Ottoman sources with regard to the fates of the Patriarchate of Peć and the Archbishopric of Ohrid in the years 1766 and 1767 respectively is *ilhâk*² - which can be translated in English as a joining, an adding, a taking of one thing into another, or as a verb to join upon.³ In the sources penned in English by the authors of various origins, the fact of the entrance of the Patriarchate of Peć under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul is mostly referred to with the term “abolition”.⁴ In a manner different from other authors, Pappas specifies that it was Patriarchate of Pec’s “autonomy” that was abolished while its domains were “absorbed” by the Patriarchate of Istanbul.⁵ Fotić in his encyclopedia entry on the history of the Patriarchate of Peć

² D.PSK 25/150, 8 Receb 1182 / 18 November 1768 [(...)Patrik-i sâbık zamânında İpek ve Ohri patriki bulunanların iltizâmlarında olan metropolid ve sâ'ir re'âyâ fukarâsının istirhâmlarıyla Zıkr olunan Ipek ve Ohri patriklerinin kaydı ref' ve terkîn ve ..ü'r- re'âyâ İstanbul Rum patrikliğine ilhâk (...)].

³ James W. Redhouse, Sir, *A Turkish and English Lexicon: Shewing in English the Significations of the Turkish Terms*, Constantinople: Printed for the American mission by A.H. Boyajian, 1890, 185.

⁴ Green, Molly, *The Edinburgh History of Greeks, 1453 to 1768 the Ottoman Empire*, Edinburgh University Press, 2015, 182-183; Katić, Tatjana, “Serbia under the Ottoman Rule”, *Österreichische Osthefte*, Vienna, 2005, 154; Jelavich, Charles, “Some Aspects of Serbian Religious Development in the Eighteenth Century”, *Church History*, 23(02), 1954, 148; Jelavich, Barbara, *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 1983, 94; Stavrianos, Leften Stavros, *The Balkans since 1453*, Hamden, 1964, 105, 223.

⁵ Nicholas C. J. Pappas, “Between Two Empires: Serbian Survival in the Years After Kosovo”, in A. Dragnich (ed.) *Serbia's Historical Heritage*, (Boulder, 1994), 27.

maintains that the latter was “brought under” the Patriarchate of Istanbul in 1766.⁶ Papadopoulos uses similar terminology, stating that the Peć was brought under the jurisdiction of the “Oecumenical Patriarchate”. He further refers to this development using such terms as “annexation” and “abolition”.⁷ Runciman, in his turn, maintains that the autonomous Patriarchate of Peć was suppressed.⁸

The sources written in Serbian mostly refer to the incorporation of the Patriarchate of Peć into the Patriarchate of Istanbul with the term “ukidanje”, meaning “abolition”.⁹ Corović, along with the use of term “ukidanje”,¹⁰ states that the Serbian Church was liquidated [*likvidira*], which can also be translated as “abolished”, “destroyed” or “terminated”.¹¹ Bataković, maintains that the last blow to the Serbian Church was made on 1766 when it was incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul through the Sultan’s decree [*ferman o pripajanju Pečke Patrijarshije Tsarigradskoj*].¹² The term “pripajanje” can be also translated as “merge with” or “incorporate into.” Finally, several nineteenth century sources penned in Russian appear to be using a stronger wording. Thus, Dobronravin states that the Patriarchate of Peć was closed [*zakritije*] and subjugated or subordinated [*podchinenije*] to the Patriarch of Istanbul.¹³ In two other sources penned by Golubinsky

⁶ Aleksandar Fotić, “Serbian Orthodox Church” in Agoston, G., Masters, B. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York, 2009), 520.

⁷ Theodore H. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination*, (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), 89.

⁸ 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, 1968), 380.

⁹ Djoko Slijepčević, *Ukidanje Pečke Patrijarshije 1766. Godine [Abolition of The Patriarchate of Peć in 1766]*, (Bogoslovlje XIII, Belgrade, 1938); Djoko Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve Od Pokrshtavanja Srba do Kraja XVIII Veka [The History of the Serbian Orthodox Church from the Christianization of the Serbs till the End of XVIII Century]*, (Vol. I, BIGZ: Belgrade, 1991), 421; Dmitrije Ruvarac, “O Ukidanju Pechke Patrijarshije i njenom Nasledu [On the Abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć and its Heritage]”, *Srpski Sion*, 1904, 293-299; Radoslav Grujić, “Pećska patrijarška [the Patriarchate of Peć]”, in *Narodna enciklopedija Srpsko-Hrvatsko-Slovenačka*, Vol. III, (Zagreb, 1928), 389-399; Radoslav Grujić, *Pravoslavna Srpska Tsrkva [The Serbian Orthodox Church]*, (Kraguevats: Svetlost, 1989), 105-106; Stanoje Stanojević, *Istorija Srpskoga Naroda [History of the Serbian People]*, (Belgrade, 1908), 301; Nedel’ko Radosavljević, “Pećka Patrijarshija, od Obnove Autokefalnosti do Ukidanja [The Patriarchate of Peć from the Restoration of Autocephaly till Abolition]”, in *Bratstvo XI*, (Belgrade: Društvo “Sveti Sava”, 2007), 11-34.

¹⁰ Vladimir Corović, *Istorija Jugoslavije [History of Yugoslavia]*, (Belgrade, 1933), 429.

¹¹ Corović, *Istorija Jugoslavije*, 431.

¹² Dushan T. Bataković (ed.), *Nova Istorija Srpskog Naroda [The New History of the Serbian People]*, (Nash Dom, 2000), 113-114.

¹³ Konstantin Dobronravin, *Ocherk Istoriji Slaveanskih Tserkvej [An Outline of the History of the Slavic Churches]*, (Saint Petersburg, 1873), 34.

and Ivaschenko, the term “unichtojenje” is utilized, which can be translated as “abolition”, but bears also a more negative connotations such as “destruction” and “elimination”. In his account, Ivaschenko employs the word “unichtojenje” interchangeably with “nizlojenje”, which means “deposition”.¹⁴

In the present work, I employ the terms “abolition” and “incorporation”. Here, the term abolition is not aimed to denote that the Patriarchate of Peć ceased to exist, but rather that the form of its existence and functioning altered. Namely, the Patriarchate of Pec’s autonomy was abolished, bringing an end to its existence as an autocephalous ecclesiastical institution and transforming it into a part of the Patriarchate of Istanbul both *de jure* and *de facto*.

¹⁴ Evgeni Golubinsky, *Kratky Oчерk Istoriji Pravoslavnih Tserkvei: Bolgarskoi, Serbskoi I Ruminskoi ili Moldo-Vlaskoi* [A Brief Review of the History of the Orthodox Churches: Bulgarian, Serbian and Romanian or Moldo-Vlachian], (Moscow, 1871), 488; Arsenii Ivaschenko, “Arhiepiskopi i Patriarhi Serbskije s Nachala XVIII do Vtoroi Polovini XVIII Stoletija [Serbian Archbishops and Patriarchs from the Beginning till the Second Half of the XVIII Century]”, in *Pravoslavnoje Obozrenije*, (Moscow, 1868), 18-19.

CHAPTER II: THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD: DEVELOPMENTS AND MAJOR ACTORS OF CHANGE

Although the attempts to shed light on the role of the Ottoman administration in the organization of the Orthodox Church in the early seventeenth century are complicated by the limited number of Ottoman documents issued for the church in this period compared to the eighteenth century, it is still possible to make some remarks as regards the characteristics of interactions between the Church and the administration. First of all, the political implications of the relationships between the high clergymen of the Patriarchates with the representatives of foreign ecclesiastical organizations was not favored by the Ottoman administration. The situation was hardly any better in the “absence of a politically, and financially strong lay group also entrenched in the Ottoman system” who could have facilitated the difficult relationship between the Church and the administration especially in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁵ The fact that from the late sixteenth till the late seventeenth century thirty one patriarchs occupied the patriarchal throne with three of them being executed serves as an illustrative indication of the thorny relations between the Ottoman administration and the Orthodox Church in this period.¹⁶ As a result of large-scale structural transformations involving the Orthodox clergy and laity as well as the Ottoman administration, along with other economic and social factors, the eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of the interactions between Ottoman

¹⁵ Hasan Çolak and Elif Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution: A study of Early Modern Patriarchal Berats*, (Istanbul: ISIS, 2019), 41.

¹⁶ Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 201 and Bayraktar Tellan, Elif, “The Patriarch and the Sultan: The Struggle for Authority and the Quest for Order in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire”, (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Bilkent University, 2011), 68-79.

administration and the Orthodox Church characterized by institutionalization and centralization of the Orthodox Church.¹⁷

As part of the Ottoman system, the Patriarchate of Istanbul was significantly affected by the changes the Ottoman Empire underwent in the eighteenth century. As these changes were quite extensive and their affect reached fiscal and social conditions of Ottoman society as well as state policies, the transformation the Patriarchate of Istanbul withstood was of a quite significant nature and scope. Thus, to fully comprehend the internal and external dynamics of the Patriarchate of Istanbul in the eighteenth century it is necessary to put these dynamics in the context of the general developments, which took place in the Ottoman Empire at that time.

2.1 Fiscal Policies

Probably one thing that the Ottoman eighteenth century has so far been associated with most, is the increasing role of *a'yân* as community leaders as a result of military, administrative and financial conditions of the eighteenth century Ottoman empire.¹⁸ The financial pressure under which the Ottoman Empire found at the end of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century stemmed from a variety of factors among which was the inflation and devaluation of Ottoman currency, growing need for cash, as well as a decay in the efficiency of the *timar* system. These developments did not only prompt changes in fiscal policies, especially tax collection,¹⁹ but also opened the way of the emergence of new administrative actors in the provinces and cities as the newly imposed taxes, such as *imdâdiyye*²⁰, were collected by the notables and functionaries of the provinces. This fact, according to İnalcık played a crucial role in the emergence of *a'yân* as a dominating power in the Ottoman Empire's provinces. The administrative roles in

¹⁷ Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 41.

¹⁸ Halil İnalcık, "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration", in T. Naff and R. Owen (eds.), *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, (London, 1977), 46.

For more information on *a'yân*s see also Ali Yayıoğlu, "The Provincial Challenge: Regionalism, Crisis, and Integration in the Late Ottoman Empire (1792-1812)", (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2008).

¹⁹ For details on the new rules in taxation in the seventeenth century Ottoman Empire see Linda Darling, *Revenue-raising and Legitimacy: Tax collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*, (Brill, 1996), 81-93.

²⁰ For *imdâdiyye* see Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi: XVIII. yy'dan Tanzimata Mali Tarih*, (İstanbul, Alan Yayıncılık, 1986), 54-57.

the Ottoman society were further affected by the growing prevalence of the *maktû* ' system collected locally by *imâms* and the *kethüdâs*²¹, as well as the further growth of *iltizâm*²² and the introduction of the *mâlikâne* system in the eighteenth century.²³ In the *mâlikâne* system, where the tax-income of the *mukâta* 'a was sold by the state to the *mâlikâne* owner for a lifelong period, a part of administrative and security responsibilities were transferred to the *mâlikâne* owner.²⁴

Moreover, as the tax-farms in the *mâlikâne* system were mostly in the hands of the representatives of the *askerî* class residing in Istanbul, this brought about the practice of transferring part of tax-farms related responsibilities to the local "sub-*mültezims*"²⁵. Consequently, the institutionalization of the *mâlikâne* system has not only assured the dominance of central state elites over significant state resources, but, as Salzmann has emphasized, it has also opened select sectors of the state economy to the local elites.²⁶ The necessity to have at immediate disposal large amount of cash in order to be able to pay the total sum of the tax-farm to the state, created yet another social and financial web, this time between the *mâlikâne* owners in need of cash and the *sarrâfs* – private/individual bankers – who acquired the roles of cash providers and creditors for the *mâlikâne* owners and that of *kefîls* for the *iltizâm* holders.²⁷ Finally, the extension of the *maktû* ' system in the payment of *cizye* (poll-tax) as well as the introduction of the collection of *cizye* on an individual basis as opposed to the household, paralleled the increase in the eminence of the roles played by the local religious dignitaries as well as well-off notables, who disposed of the funds to pay the total sums of *cizye*.²⁸

²¹ Halil İnalçık, *Military and fiscal transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700*, (Peeters-Leuven, 1980), 325-334.

²² İnalçık, *Military and Fiscal*, 327-333.

²³ For the *mâlikâne* system, see Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde Mâlikâne Sistemi", in Osman Okyar (ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri, Metinler / Tartışmalar*, 8-10 June 1973, 231-296.

²⁴ Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2000), 105-107.

²⁵ Mehmet Genç, "İltizam", *DİA*, Vol. 22, (Ankara, 2000), 154-158.

²⁶ Ariel Salzmann, "Measures of Empire: Tax-Farmers and the Ottoman Ancien Regime, 1695-1807", (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1995), 148-149.

²⁷ For *sarrafs* and their role in the Ottoman developments of the eighteenth century, see Yavuz Cezar, "The Role of the Sarrafs in Ottoman Finance and Economy in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", in Colin Imber and Keiko Kiyotaki (eds.), *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, Vol. 1, (Tauris, 2005) 61-76.

²⁸ İnalçık, Halil, "Djizya" in *EI* 2, Vol. II, 562-566.

To conclude, major developments in fiscal policies of the eighteenth century, contributed to the strengthening of the social, economic and even political roles of the local notables and community leaders by placing a share of the state's responsibilities on the holders of the right to collect taxes as well as the ones capable of paying the taxes on behalf of their community. Moreover, the changes in the fiscal policies contributed to the emergence of new social webs between various agents of the Ottoman state and strengthening the existing ones.

2.2 From Military to Bureaucratic Empire

The eighteenth century came along with some major developments and shifts in the way the Ottoman Empire viewed itself vis-à-vis its European counterparts. As the seventeenth century reached its end with the Treaty of Karlowitz the Ottoman Empire's attitude towards Europe began to shift from the ideology of the "ever-victorious frontier" to that of *din-ü devlet*.²⁹ Along with this, two other significant developments occurred in Ottoman diplomacy at this time. These were the bureaucratization of foreign affairs in the scribal bureaucracy, and the increasing contacts with Europe.³⁰ Aksan views these developments as a shift from the old "*edeb*" tradition to a civil bureaucracy.³¹ One of the major indicators of this shift was the increasing importance of *re'îsü'l-küttâb*³² - a development which might be evaluated as the gradual shift of Ottoman state from a military to a bureaucratic empire.³³ Positions formerly preserved for the military people only were now occupied by the bureaucrats. They were the so called "*efendi* - turned *paşas*"³⁴ who were now seen signing the treaties with foreign administrations and representing the viziers upon necessity.³⁵

²⁹ Virginia Aksan, "Ottoman Political Writing, 1768-1808", in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 25/1, (1993), 63.

³⁰ Virginia Aksan, "War and Peace", in Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Later Ottoman Empire 1603-1938*, Vol. III, (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 108.

³¹ Virginia Aksan, *Savaşta ve Barışta bir Osmanlı Devlet Adamı: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783*, Özden Arıkan (trans.), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), 28.

³² İnalcık, Halil "Reisülküttâb", *IA* Vol. 9, 671-683.

³³ Aksan, *Savaşta ve Barışta*, 56.

³⁴ Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities", in *Studia Islamica* 16, (1962), 86-87.

³⁵ Aksan, *Savaşta ve Barışta*, 25-28.

The effects of the empire-wide increase in bureaucracy are also seen in the rise of documentation on the part of the Patriarchate in the *piskopos mukâta'ası* registers. As to the overall position of the Patriarchs and the Patriarchate of Istanbul, it is possible to trace positive developments indicating the increase in responsibility and significance of their post in the eighteenth century. Thus, while after the execution of Parthenios III in 1657 the patriarchs were not allowed to present themselves to the Sultan, in the eighteenth century we see them not only presenting themselves to the Porte but also standing for their goals and achieving them.³⁶

One of the factors contributing to the increasing role of the Patriarchate in the Ottoman administration was related to its position in the Orthodox community as part of Ottoman society. By the eighteenth century, the Ottoman society was characterized by mobility of populations and turmoil.³⁷ As the Ottoman sultans had to control the flock more efficiently in this period, so were the Patriarchs expected to be efficient in this capacity. An efficient Patriarch who could control the Orthodox subjects and thus preserve the order of society and fulfill his responsibilities would be favored by the Ottoman administration. The Ottoman expectation is evident in the stipulations of Patriarchal *berâts* where the ideal Patriarch is defined as one who is respected and obeyed by all members of the Orthodox subjects as follows: “[The Patriarch] shall be regarded as the patriarch by the priests, monks and the old and young of the other unbelievers of those places. They shall appeal to him in matters of his patriarchate, and they shall not go against his word which is legitimate according to sharia and law”.³⁸ In cases where the Patriarchs failed to fulfill this responsibility, they were dismissed by the Ottoman administration. Concerning the order of the Orthodox society and the role of the Patriarch in this context, a major issue as regards to societal control was the problem of Catholic influence, which will be further analyzed below.

³⁶ Athanasios Komnenos Hypsilantis, *Ta Meta tin Alosin (1453-1789)*, Archim. G. Afthonidos (ed.), 1870 (reprinted in Athens: 1972), 158. See also Bayraktar Tellan, “The Patriarch and the Sultan”, 123-162.

³⁷ For the instances of urban revolts and their consequences see Rifa’at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1984); Selim Karahasanoğlu, “Osmanlı Tarihyazımında ‘Lale devri’: Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme” in *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 7, (2008), 129-144.

³⁸ Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 201-202, 207.

2.3 Clergymen and Guildsmen as Actors of Change

At times of the financial difficulties like the middle of the eighteenth century, to fulfill its fiscal responsibilities to the Porte the Patriarchate of Istanbul relied on financial support of various Christian and non-Christian agents. The references to the agents constituting the network to which the Patriarchate often addressed for support can be traced in the petitions the Patriarchate presented to the Ottoman administration and Patriarchal registers. In these documents, not only Orthodox but also Muslims appear as agents in the credit networks of the Patriarchate including guildsmen, clergymen, members of Phanariot families and even Janissaries.³⁹

Ecclesiastical sources like Patriarchal codices shed light on the financial networks within the Orthodox community. According to the entries of these codices, it is clear that the financial interaction of the Orthodox community involved not only contributions made by pious Christians to the Orthodox Churches, but also a flow of cash from creditors to high clergy. The networks in their turn consisted of the Orthodox laity and clergy of Istanbul, along with the Patriarchs of Eastern Orthodox Churches, provincial high clergy, members of guilds, Muslims, and Jews.⁴⁰

Being not only economically powerful but also having significant social relations, the guildsmen of not only Istanbul but also the other major cities of the Empire emerged as major actors in the web of networks surrounding the Patriarchate in the eighteenth century. Apart from supporting the Orthodox Church financially and through their social networks, the guildsmen also embarked on philanthropic activities. Thus, we see that a significant part of the church icons and other liturgical objects in this period were the donations from members of guilds, among whom were the guilds of woodcutters, goldsmiths, gardeners, *mutafçıs*, and *sarrâfs*.⁴¹ The furriers also appear to be significant actors in the Church affairs. In a similar fashion with other guildsmen, we see the furriers

³⁹ Bayraktar Tellan, "The Patriarch and the Sultan", 100-110.

⁴⁰ Vaporiş, *Some Aspects of the History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22 of the Yale University Library*, (USA, 1969), 20-26.

⁴¹ Brigitte Pitarakis and Christos Merantzas, *Parıldayan hatıralar: Sevgi Gönül Koleksiyonlarından Son Dönem Osmanlı İstanbuluna ait Kilise Gümüşleri*, Serdar Alper (trans.), (İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2006), 88.

financially maintaining Churches, schools and hospitals.⁴² It is important to note that the relations between guildsmen and the Patriarchate involved mutual support, thus we see the members of the Patriarchate serving as arbitrators in financial disputes between guildsmen and their clients.⁴³

The economic wealth accumulated by guildsmen as well as their social connections, provided them with political power and ability to influence the Patriarchate from inside. Thus, the prominent guildsmen were found among the members of the administrative church councils. By the middle of the eighteenth century, guild members were in a position to occupy administrative roles in the Patriarchate, who had used their power to restore Kyrillos Karakallos at the patriarchal throne.⁴⁴

Overall, the evidence from various sources demonstrates that the Patriarchate was a part of a financial network comprised of a variety of Orthodox and non-Orthodox members, among whom were major financial actors who could provide for cash in times of need, such as the *archons*, craftsmen, traders, *sarrâfs*, and various guildsmen.

2.4 The Phanariots

The notable Orthodox families (*archons*) under Ottoman rule had been efficient actors not only in Patriarchal politics, but also in Ottoman administration especially with regard to the Orthodox populations of the Empire, and trade relationships in general.⁴⁵ In the historiography on the Patriarchate of Istanbul, the *archons* have been blamed for the introduction of the Patriarchal *pîşkeş* to the Ottoman Treasury, as a result of the rivalry between competing parties at the end of the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Patriarchal chronicles depict the *archons* as figures who were

⁴² For the furriers see Elif Bayraktar-Tellan, “Osmanlı Garyimüslim Çalışmaları Çerçevesinde İstanbul Kürkçüleri”, in *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 27, (2017), 115-137.

⁴³ See examples in Vaporis, *A Study of the Ziskind MS No.22*, 95-96.

⁴⁴ Bayraktar-Tellan, “The Patriarch and the Sultan”, 170-221.

⁴⁵ For the role of Phanariots in the Ottoman economy see Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Deka Tourkika Eggrafa gia tin Megali Ekklesia (1483- 1520)*, (Athens: Ethniko Idryma Erevnon, Institouto Byzantinon Erevnon, 1996); Halil İnalcık, “Greeks in Ottoman Economy and Finances: 1453-1500”, in İnalcık, Halil, *Essays in Ottoman History*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1998), 375-388; Tom Papademetriou, *Render Unto the Sultan: Power, Authority and Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries*, (Oxford University Press, 2015), 179-213.

⁴⁶ Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 34.

competent and creative in their capacity to ward off possible threats against the possessions of the Orthodox community. One famous instance is the efforts of Xenakes, who prevented the conversion of the churches of Istanbul into mosques thanks to his proximity to the Grand Vizier at the time.⁴⁷ In addition to the remnants of the Byzantine nobility who were incorporated into the Ottoman administration, other Orthodox families who arrived into Ottoman Istanbul from the Black Sea region, Anatolia, the Aegean shores of Anatolia, or the Balkans took part in the financial interactions of the Orthodox networks centered in the imperial city.⁴⁸

The Phanariots – the Orthodox notables situated in Istanbul, who assumed influential positions in the Ottoman central administration during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries⁴⁹, had acquired various positions in the Ottoman society.⁵⁰ Eventually, judging by the functions they have exercised as group in the state and society, they were addressed as “diplomats, reformers and educators”.⁵¹ In a general sense, the Phanariots were the representatives of the Ottoman Orthodox Christian elite, which due to certain external and internal factors managed to obtain important positions in Ottoman governance, and exercised power in a variety of political, economic and social areas in the period between the 1660s and 1821.⁵²

⁴⁷ Hasan Çolak, “Co-existence and Conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in 16th century Ottoman Istanbul” (Unpublished Master’s Thesis, Bilkent University, 2008); Runciman, *The Great Church*, 189-190.

⁴⁸ Runciman, *The Great Church*, 362; Christos Patrinelis, “Phanariots before 1821”, *Balkan Studies*, 42/2, (2001), 181.

⁴⁹ Selcuk Aksin Somel, “Phanariot Greeks”, in *Historical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire*, (Oxford: Scarcrow Press, 2003), 226-227.

⁵⁰ See “petit tyrans” in Panayotis Alexandrou Papachristou, *The Three Faces of the Phanariots: An Inquiry into the Role and Motivations of the Greek Nobility under Ottoman Rule, 1683 – 1821*, Simon Fraiser University, 1992, 19; refers to Marc-Philippe Zallony, *Essai sur les Phanariotes*, Marseille, 1824; see “enlightened despots” in Philliou, Christine “Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance” in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51/1, (2009), 152.

⁵¹ Papachristou, “The Three Faces of the Phanariots”, 149.

⁵² For a general definition and description of Phanariots see Philliou, “Communities on the Verge”, 151-161; Christine Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Practicing Ottoman Governance in the Age of Revolution*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 5-37; Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 362 – 368. For some of the internal and external factors of the rise of Phanariots see Damien Janos, “Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos: The Rise of The Phanariots and the Office of Grand Dragoman in the Ottoman Administration in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century”, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005/6), 178-196.

The term “Phanariot” in its turn refers to a quarter in Istanbul, where the Orthodox Patriarchate has been situated since the end of the sixteenth century.⁵³ The fact that the neighborhood where Phanariots originated was located in short distance to the places of vast importance for the imperial capital, such as the Golden Horn, the imperial Palace and Kasımpaşa, is one of the factors that lay behind the rise of the Phanariots.⁵⁴ However, there is a number of other factors that contributed to Phanariots’ emergence in the role of translators, purveyors, tax farmer-governors, and diplomats – who became for a certain period of time indispensable and irreplaceable part of Ottoman state bureaucracy and administration. By the turn of seventeenth century, some emerging Phanariot families managed to acquire vast capital by getting involved in the trade and accumulation of certain commodities of vital importance for Istanbul’s provision. The growth of Phanariots’ economic power facilitated the capability of the later to bargain in order to acquire desired political, financial and social advantages or positions.⁵⁵ One of the major consequences of accumulation of such a vast capital by Phanariots brought along was the fact that it allowed Phanariots to purchase various titles connected to the Patriarchal Church of Saint George. This practice eventually gave the Phanariots the power to exercise complete control of the Patriarchate and its functions.⁵⁶

As the Phanariot families managed to accumulate wealth and gain prominence within the empire, members of these families were sent abroad to study medicine. As unrelated as the study of medicine may seem to the spheres of diplomacy or state administration, it was precisely the education of the Phanariots that facilitated in many ways the emergence of the Phanariot community as elite distinct from the other non-Muslim communities of the empire. First of all, the knowledge of medicine was in a great demand among prominent Ottomans. Thus, those acquiring medical education of a high quality gained the opportunity to access to the Ottoman court.⁵⁷ Among the latter were the two

⁵³ Philliou, *Communities on the Verge*, 155.

⁵⁴ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 8.

⁵⁵ For the role of capital in Phanariots’ rise, see Traian Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant” in *The Journal of Economic History*, (Cambridge University Press, 1960), 234-313.

⁵⁶ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 8-9; Janos, “Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos”, 189-90; for a more detailed discussion on the interconnections between Phanariots and the Orthodox Patriarchate see Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 360-406.

⁵⁷ Janos, “Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos”, 194.

“Phanariot pioneers” Panagiotis Nikousios and Alexandros Mavrocordatos.⁵⁸ Upon their return to the Ottoman domains, they managed to acquire prominent positions as teachers in the Patriarchal Academy as well as physicians in the service of Ottoman grand vizier. Due to the proximity to the grand vizier, that the latter position was facilitating, the two Phanariot pioneers were noticed for the usefulness of their language skills and their insight into European politics and culture.⁵⁹ A result of their education the Phanariots acquired knowledge and skills that most of other Ottoman subjects lacked, but which were sought after by the high-ranking state officials and the sultan. Of particular importance were practical knowledge and experience of the West, familiarity with European customs and recent intellectual ideas as well as political and intellectual connections that was another gain of several years of studying abroad. Finally yet importantly, among the gains was the knowledge of European languages, that turned out to be of great use in the environment of intensified relations between Sublime Porte and Europe during the second half of the seventeenth century.⁶⁰

The role of Phanariots in Ottoman diplomacy and bureaucracy crystallized in their appointment as Grand Dragoman of the Porte, Dragoman of the Fleet, and hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia. These positions were exclusively filled by members of the Phanariot families by the seventeenth century. In 1669 Panagiotis Nikousios was appointed as the first Phanariot Dragoman of the Porte. He thus was assigned with interpreting for the vizier and gained the opportunity to play a decisive role in Ottoman chancery. It is important to note, that the responsibilities of the Grand Dragoman were not limited to the mere translation. The Grand Dragoman emerged as the principle diplomatic intermediary between the Grand Viziers of Ottoman Empire and foreign emissaries. Thus, the position of Grand Dragoman of the Porte was one of the most influential ranks a Christian could attain at the Ottoman court. From the appointment of

⁵⁸ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 10; for general overview see Janos, “Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos”, 178 – 196; Eugenia Kermeli-Ünal, “17. yy'da bir Kültürel Rastlaşma: Vani Efendi ile Panagiotakis Nikousios'un Söyleşişi”, Özer Ergenç Armağan, (Ankara, 2013); Green, *The Edinburgh History of Greeks*, 131-136.

⁵⁹ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 10-11.

⁶⁰ Janos, “Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos”, 194.

Nicousios in 1669 as the first Phanariot Grand Dragoman, this power filled position remained in the monopoly of the Phanariots until 1821-1822.⁶¹

By the second decade of the eighteenth century Alexandros Mavrocordatos' son Nicholas was appointed as the *voyvoda* of Moldavia and later Wallachia.⁶² In this strategic location, the *voyvoda* was assigned with managing tax collection of the Danubian Principalities, as well as dealing with provincial administration of the region, which included administration of church and various monasteries. Due to the geopolitical location of the Principalities, it was also a responsibility of the *voyvoda* to safeguard the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire with those of Russia and Austria, as well as to monitor the foreign relations conducted at the border.⁶³

The appointment of Phanariots as hospodars of the two Principalities seems to be the logical choice, given the fact that they were after all Ottoman subjects faithful to the Sultan, while at the same time being close to the Patriarch and having remarkable knowledge of European languages, customs and politics. Their status, in this respect, was unique and seemed to be "perfect compromise between fidelity to the Ottoman state and openness to Christendom".⁶⁴ Needless to mention, the main demand and condition that ensured the vitality of the arrangement between the Porte and the hospodar-to-be was the loyalty of the later to the Ottoman Empire of which he was the subject.⁶⁵

Thus, in the eighteenth century Phanariots became imperative for enforcing crucial operations of Ottoman governance, such as conducting foreign relations with the

⁶¹ Janos, "Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos", 177-183.

⁶² Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 11.

⁶³ Philliou, *Communities on the Verge*, 155.

⁶⁴ Janos, "Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos", 188.

⁶⁵ Christine Philliou, "Worlds, Old and New: Phanariot Networks and the Remaking of Ottoman Governance in the First Half on the Nineteenth Century", (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2004), 51-52; The paradigms surrounding the notion of the "loyalty" of the Phanariots has been reconsidered by Charalampos Minaoglou. By analyzing the cases of the eight Phanariots who occupied positions of varying importance at the Ottoman court, Minaoglou traces the instances of Phanariot "loyalty" not only to the Ottoman Empire, but also to the Habsburgs, the Romanovs and even French Revolutionaries. Acknowledging the existence of various tendencies in the Phanariot world, Minaoglou arrives to the conclusion that "the Phanariots were acting for themselves being loyal only to their personal interests." Charalampos Minaoglou, "Ottomans, Habsburgs, Romanovs, and French Revolutionaries: Whom were the Phanariots loyal to?" in Dimitris Stamatopoulos, (ed.), *Balkan Nationalism(s) and the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. 1, (Isis Press), 2015, 63-74.

European states, providing food for the Empire's capital city, as well as overseeing and administering the provincial strategic regions of the empire. Enabled by these economic and political means the Phanariots managed to exercise influence over the Patriarchate of Istanbul. The patriarchs who were unable to pay their dues to the Ottoman Treasury often turned to Phanariots as creditors. Soon members of Phanariot families began to fill the ranks of higher clergy, which allowed the Phanariots to gain further control over the administration of the Patriarchate. In the second half of the eighteenth century, members of Phanariot families including the Patriarchs Ioannikios and Samouil Hantcherli were sitting on the Patriarchal throne.⁶⁶

Despite the complexity of the Phanariots' agency in Ottoman social historiography, for a long time they were treated in the historiography in exclusively binary characterizations, i.e. either as simply useful agents for their coreligionists or as greedy rulers of the Danubian Principalities. Other than being widely associated with bankruptcy and corruption, the most widespread depiction of Phanariots is that of them being "enlightened oriental despots who operated an 'empire within an empire' and sponsored a Greek cultural revival that led to a 'national awakening.'"⁶⁷ Recent historiography has started to place them in a more balanced picture.⁶⁸ In the historiography on the Patriarchate, the agency of Phanariots is equally problematic. The Phanariots are presented as isolated actors and contributors to some significant events concerning the history of the Patriarchate, such as the transformation of the Synod⁶⁹ and the abolition of the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid.⁷⁰ However recent studies on the Ottoman period of the Patriarchate suggest that while the rise of the Phanariots to prominence in the eighteenth century certainly affected the Patriarchate of Istanbul, as well as the church institutions of Peć and Ohrid for that matter, "contextualizing the Patriarchate of Istanbul in the eighteenth-century Ottoman developments" is indicative of the fact that the Phanariot factor was a major but not the only one of a variety of factors and events which

⁶⁶ Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 42; Bayraktar-Tellan, "The Patriarch and the Sultan", 113.

⁶⁷ Philliou, *Communities on the Verge*, 152.

⁶⁸ For a brief overview of historiographical paradigms regarding the Phanariots see Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 8-10 and Philliou, *Communities on the Verge*, 151-160.

⁶⁹ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, 50-53.

⁷⁰ For the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć see chapter IV, for the Patriarchate of Ohrid see Snêgarov, *Istoriia na Ochridskata Arkhiepiskopiia*.

had a say on the fate of Orthodox Patriarchates in the eighteenth century.⁷¹ It is important to note that the Phanariots did not rise from a vacuum, but their rise to eminence and their efficiency in ecclesiastical matters was an inherent element of the Ottoman social and administrative history.

2.5 The Establishment of the System of Elders (*gerontismos*)

The establishment of the system of elders (*gerontismos*) was a change related to the functioning of the Synod of the Patriarchate of Istanbul, i.e. the community of metropolitans. It was a gradual process that was concluded in 1763, a major development of the eighteenth century which affected the position of the Orthodox Patriarchates in the Ottoman domain.⁷² This basically implied the transition from *synodos endimousa* to the *gerontismos*, according to which five prominent metropolitans would consist the Synod rather than the metropolitans present in the city. In this way, a more settled community of metropolitans gained importance in the administration of the Patriarchate of Istanbul which had wider responsibilities.⁷³

The major step towards the change was initiated in 1741 by twenty-three metropolitans through a collective petition [*mahzar*].⁷⁴ Ottoman documentation shows that as a result of the negotiations between the representatives of the Patriarchate and the Sublime Porte, it was decided that the five resident metropolitans in the City (those of Herakleia, Nikomedia, Nikea, Kyzikos and Chalkedon) would elect the new Patriarchs and act as guarantors [*kefil*] for their deeds. The *berât* of the current Patriarch Paisios⁷⁵ was renewed accordingly. Here it must be noted that through the high clergymen the Patriarchate initiated a process as a result of which the metropolitans of the traditionally important

⁷¹ Bayraktar-Tellan, "The Patriarch and the Sultan", 118, 240-250.

⁷² For details see Bayraktar-Tellan, Elif, "The Patriarchate of Constantinople and the 'Reform of the Synod' in the 18th century Ottoman context", *Chronos* 39, (2019), 7-22.

⁷³ Bayraktar-Tellan, "The Patriarch and the Sultan", 225. The etymological meaning of the term *synodos endimousa* is "members of the synod who happen to be [in Constantinople], and that of *gerontismos* is "the system of the elders (*gerontes*) of the Synod who reside in the city" Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, 48-51.

⁷⁴ Ecclesiastical historians date the beginning of the steps to *gerontismos* to the seventeenth century based on synodical decisions and letters, see Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, "I peri ton Patriarchin K/Poleos Synodos kai i Eklogiautou kata tous meta tin Alosin Chronous", *Nea Sion* 25, (1930), 726.

⁷⁵ In the Serbian Sources Pajsije.

dioceses gained power in the inner workings of the Patriarchate vis-à-vis the Patriarch. They would reside in the city and elect the patriarchs and administer the Patriarchate in collaboration with the Patriarch. On the other hand, they would be liable for the Patriarch's deeds, a liability imposed upon them by the Ottoman administration. Collective responsibility on the Patriarchate was one of the initial steps towards institutionalization. After a period of about twenty years of turbulence during which the Patriarchate had to struggle with many financial problems, finally in 1763 the resident metropolitans acquired final triumph, as evident in the division of the Patriarchal seal. This was the end of the process through which the Patriarchate would now be represented collectively by the Patriarch and the Synod consisting of the resident metropolitans [*âsitânede mukîm cemâ 'at-i mitropolidân*], rather than the Patriarch alone.⁷⁶ This form of organization of Patriarchate as an institution contributed to the stabilization of its position in the Ottoman administration. Thus, it is natural that the Ottoman administration supported and even facilitated this transformation, as a more stabilized Patriarchate would contribute to the maintenance of the order in society, ensure the proper collection of taxes and facilitate the decrease in the social impact, which the Catholic elements had on the Christians of the Ottoman Empire.

2.6 The Catholics

Among the internal and external dynamics that had an influence on the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman administrative apparatus it is necessary to distinguish the Catholic missionary activities, especially those performed by the Jesuit congregation. These activities had a major say in transforming the perceptions and, consequently, the actions of the Ottoman administration, the French diplomatic corps and the Orthodox Church itself.

This being said, it is important to acknowledge that the Catholic presence in the Ottoman domains stemmed from different sources and took different shapes. Thus, as it is well known, by the time the Ottomans expanded in the Balkan Peninsula from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, various Roman Catholics of western European background, had already been present in the peninsula, and particularly in the territories of what is

⁷⁶ Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 49.

today Greece.⁷⁷ Thus, the Catholic population inhabiting these areas was to acquire the status of *re'âyâ* upon the expansion of the Ottoman rule over the territory. Other than that, Catholic presence in the Empire was represented by diplomatic envoys, merchants, and, finally, missionaries.⁷⁸ Clearly, not all of the Catholics present in the Ottoman domains were perceived negatively either by the Orthodox Church or the Ottoman administration.⁷⁹ This being said, in the present chapter the focus is placed on foreign Catholics, especially missionaries, who were perceived as a threat to Orthodoxy in particular and order in the society [*nizâm*] in general.

In the middle of the 16th century a significant part of the agenda of the Roman Catholic Church was defined with the aim of to eradicating Protestantism, promoting the unity of the Christian church under the patronage of Rome, and ensuring the recognition of papal supremacy by the Orthodox in the context of Counter-Reformation. In accordance with these aims, the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church organized the Council of Trent (1545–63). As a result of the decisions made at the council, numerous missions usually consisting of Jesuits, Capuchins or Franciscans, were sent out giving a start to the structural Catholic missionary activities among Christians, including the non-Muslim populations of the Ottoman Empire. The ambition behind the missionary activities was to persuade the Empire's various and numerous non-Muslim subjects to convert to Catholicism, or at the least, recognize the Roman Pope as the head of the Christian churches.⁸⁰

Although in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Roman Catholics residing in the Ottoman domains were less in number than the Orthodox Christians, the position of the

⁷⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, (I.B. Tauris, 2004), 20.

⁷⁸ See for examples Elif Bayraktar Tellan, "The clash of 'Rum' and 'Frenk': Orthodox-Catholic Interactions on the Aegaen Islands in the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries and their Impact in the Ottoman Capital", in Özlem Çaykent and Luca Zavagno (eds.), *The Islands of the Eastern Mediterranean: A History of Cross-cultural Encounters*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 64-78, especially 66-67; 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 Yayınları, 2015), 112-137.

⁷⁹ See for instance Çolak, Hasan, "Catholic Infiltration in the Ottoman Levant and Responses of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates during the late 17th and Early 18th Centuries" in *ARAM* 25:1&2, (2013), 85-95 especially 87-89.

⁸⁰ Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*, 35; Çolak, *The Orthodox Church*, 112; Frazee, Charles A., *Catholics and the Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1953*, (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 88-92.

former was quite prominent and influential. According to Ware, one of the major reasons for the prominence possessed by the Catholics of Levant was the fact that they enjoyed powerful diplomatic patronage. Thus, the embassies of the Catholic states in Istanbul, particularly the French one, were open for the Latin inhabitants of the Levant in case of difficulties. Second source of support for the local Catholics was the presence of large numbers of well-educated Jesuit, Franciscan and other Catholic missionary priests, whose activities contributed to the strengthening of the local Roman Catholic congregations.⁸¹ In terms of practical relations between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics, despite the fact that underlying hostility towards Rome stemming from the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 as well as questionable success of the Council of Ferrara-Florence was still present, encounters between the members of the two Churches were mostly congenial. Thus, it was not rare to witness mixed marriages, western missionaries preaching in Orthodox churches, participating in Orthodox services, giving communion or appearing in role of godparent at an Orthodox baptism, and all this with full permission from the Orthodox authorities. The cordiality was mutual, so it was not unusual for the Latin missionaries to perform common worships or to turn to local Orthodox bishop in the absence of a bishop of their own.⁸² Thus, although higher authorities in Rome would adopt a more rigorous attitude against common worship with the Orthodox,⁸³ in practice both sides, at least on the local level, seem to have acted as if the schism between their churches did not exist and persisted in tolerant, if not cordial attitude especially in the Aegean islands.

The cordial attitude towards Catholics in the Ottoman Empire was not limited to the Christian *re'âyâ* only. From the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries the Roman Church won over the inclination of some Greek Orthodox metropolitans and even Patriarchs.⁸⁴ The proximity and congeniality between the

⁸¹ Timothy Ware, *Eustratios Argenti: a study of the Greek Church under Turkish rule*, (Oxford, 1964), 16-17.

⁸² Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, 17.

⁸³ Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, 21; For more details on this topic see Cesare Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie. Comunicatio in sacris, coesistenza e conflitti tra le comunità cristiane orientali: Levante e Impero ottomano, XVII-XVIII secolo*, (Rome: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2019).

⁸⁴ Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 230-237; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 28-39 and 70-72.

Patriarchs and the ambassadors of the Catholic (and Protestant) states reached the point where the latter could exert influence in change of thrones between rival patriarchs.⁸⁵ In the eighteenth century, the reaction of the Orthodox Patriarchs against Catholic influence over the Orthodox subjects converged with that of the Ottoman administrative policies. Thus, the conjunction of Patriarchal policies as regards the Catholics with Ottoman administrative policies was a major element in the steps of the Ottoman Orthodox Patriarchates towards institutionalization. From the end of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries the attitude of the Patriarchate towards the Western churches grew visibly negative. Thus, even before the Antiochian schism Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1669 to 1707 established a press in Jassy, Romania, in 1682. Dositheos used this press to publish in various languages series of anti-Catholic works, copies of which were often distributed in considerable numbers and free of charge.⁸⁶ Also in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Gabriel III⁸⁷ addressed a letter to inhabitants of Andros, who had converted to Catholicism. In this letter he refers to the converts as “ignorant”, “easily fooled”, by the “false teachers”, while the act of conversion is referred to as “the betrayal of [their] dogma” and enslavement “in the Latin-thinking religion”.⁸⁸ Similarly, according to Leal’s study, from 1710 to 1713, the patriarchs submitted petitions concerning the proselytizing of Catholics.⁸⁹ In the mid-eighteenth century the Patriarch of Istanbul Kyrillos petitioned for decrees against the Catholic activities on the Islands of Kos and Rhodes as these activities were “upsetting the Orthodox *re ‘âyâ*”.⁹⁰ A year later – in January 1756 – a similar request was submitted by the Patriarch this time with regard to the activities of the Catholics on the island of Rhodes.⁹¹ In fact, Kyrillos Karakallos was the Patriarch of Istanbul whose reaction against the Catholic influence was the most visible and radical in the mid-eighteenth century. His counter reaction towards Catholic

⁸⁵ Bayraktar Tellan, “The Patriarch and the Sultan”, 59-79.

⁸⁶ Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, 31; for the major factors behind the deterioration of the Orthodox-Catholic Relations in the Ottoman domains see Ware, *Eustratios Argenti*, 23-29.

⁸⁷ In the Serbian sources Gavriilo III

⁸⁸ Bayraktar-Tellan, “The Patriarch and the Sultan”, 119, referring to Dimitrios P. Paschalis “O ek tis Nisou Androu Auxentios Askitis”, *Theologia* 11, 1933, 303.

⁸⁹ Leal, Karen A., “The Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul: Sovereignty and Identity at the turn of the Eighteenth Century”, (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2003), 375-378.

⁹⁰ Bayraktar-Tellan, “The Clash of Rum and Frenk”, 69.

⁹¹ Bayraktar-Tellan, “The Patriarch and the Sultan”, 216 referring to KK.d. 2540,120, 12 *Rebî ‘ü’l-evvel* 1169 / 15 January 1756

influence is crystallized in his stance against Catholic-style baptism, which is referred to as the problem of *anabaptism*.⁹²

The Patriarchates dealt with the problem of Catholic influence through their negotiations with the Sublime Porte. The Catholic rite was often defined as *âyîn-i Frenk*, and it was considered to be a problem that caused disorder (*ihtilâl*) in the society.⁹³ Represented as such, these terms were used as part of the discourse in their petitions that were presented to find problems to solutions. Although it may be hard to discern whether the facts behind this discourse involving the *Frenks* pertained to reality or was just an accusation, it is certain that the parallel between the Church policies and that of the Ottoman administration gave fruitful results in the quest for justice. In the Ottoman documents about the churches of Peć and Ohrid, too, this discourse finds a place in the language of petitions, as will be mentioned in the following chapters.⁹⁴

As the policies of both parties converged at a point of conjunction, the Porte in its turn supported the Orthodox Patriarchs through decrees issued as replies to petitions, as well as the stipulations recorded in the *berâts*, which included articles allowing the Patriarchs to discipline and punish lay and ecclesiastical members of its flock who acted contrary to the Orthodox rite, which was inclination to Catholicism.⁹⁵ However, when the Patriarchs themselves favored Catholicism the Porte's reaction was severe. Thus, in one case, an Armenian Patriarch was put into prison for being tolerant to the practice of a different rite.⁹⁶ Similarly, as we will see later, the suspicion in adherence to Catholicism brought down the last Serbian Patriarch Vasilije Brkić. Finally, their relationships to foreign actors influenced the eventual fates of Patriarchs Kyrillos Loukaris, Parthenios II and Parthenios III, all of whom were executed.⁹⁷

Ultimately, the Ottoman administration perceived the problem of Catholic missionaries as a threat to the order [*nizâm*], and as a danger for the process of tax collection.⁹⁸ With the growth in the Catholic missionary activities, the severity of the response of the

⁹² Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 45-46.

⁹³ Leal, "The Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul", 357.

⁹⁴ See Chapter V.

⁹⁵ Çolak, Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 50

⁹⁶ Bayraktar-Tellan, "The Patriarch and the Sultan", 120-121; for more on the Ottoman reaction see Çolak, "Catholic Infiltration", 89-94; Bayraktar-Tellan, "The Clash of *Rum* and *Frenk*", 70-72.

⁹⁷ Bayraktar-Tellan, "The Patriarch and the Sultan", 59-79.

⁹⁸ Leal, "The Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul", 357.

Ottoman administration to the problems caused by the former increased as well.⁹⁹ In the eighteenth century, even the French ambassador Jean Luis d'Usson argued that the excessive number of Catholic missionaries as well as their behavior “made the Turks uneasy”.¹⁰⁰ Frazee cites an imperial decree obtained by the Patriarchate in 1722, which prohibited conversion to Catholicism and ordered the converts to return to their traditional faith. It also ordered the Catholic missionaries to limit their activities to the Orient.¹⁰¹ The orders of *ferman* were partially mirrored in a pastoral letter issued on 16 November 1722 by Bishop Raimondo Galani. In this letter, addressed to Catholic high-clergy in the Ottoman Empire he stated that any considerable alteration or expansion of missionary activity is prohibited without the approval of the French ambassador and the vicar's office.¹⁰² In July 1755 during the papacy of Benedict XIV the Latin missionaries were commanded to “avoid unenlightened zeal for the conversion of Orthodox or Eastern Christians”, the directives also forbade the missionaries to encourage the potential converts to live their original rite.¹⁰³ With the succession of Clement XIII after the death of Benedict XIV in 1758, the activities of Jesuit order occupied the Western European agenda. The outcome came along in 1768 when in France all religious orders entered under state supervision, which along with the legislation suppressing the Jesuits made it impossible to effectively continue the missionary activities in the Orient. Finally, in 1773 Clement XIV issued a decree suppressing the Jesuit order¹⁰⁴ with the aim of avoiding “the danger of schism and the establishment of national churches.”¹⁰⁵

On the path to *gerontismos*, while the metropolitans struggled with the debts of the Patriarchate and their rivals, they also presented the Catholics as a hazardous effect in the discourse of their petitions. While they described the financially broke situation of the Patriarchate of Istanbul, they held responsible people in relation with the Catholic [*Efrenc*] community. Accordingly, certain *Rums*, relying upon their relationship to the

⁹⁹ Goffman, Daniel, “Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century”, *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11, (1994), 154.

¹⁰⁰ Frazee, *Catholics and the Sultans*, 154-155.

¹⁰¹ Frazee, *Catholics and the Sultans*, 155.

¹⁰² Frazee, *Catholics and the Sultans*, 156 referring to Rey, Francis, *La protection diplomatique et consulaire dans les échelles du Levant et de Barbarie*, Paris, 1899, 338.

¹⁰³ Frazee, *Catholics and the Sultans*, 159.

¹⁰⁴ Frazee, *Catholics and the Sultans*, 162-163.

¹⁰⁵ Anne Fremantle (ed.), *The Papal Encyclicals in their Historical Context*, (USA: Mentor Books, 1956), 114-115.

Efrenc tâ'ifesi, interfered in the elections of the patriarchs, which resulted in election of seditious [*müfsid*] people as patriarchs who did not know how to perform their rites, and the financial burden of this laid on the shoulders of the *re'âyâ* as well as the Patriarchate.¹⁰⁶

2.7 The Catholic Discourse and the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates in the Eighteenth Century.

At the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the Eastern Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria, too were facing the challenges brought about by the Catholic activities. While the Patriarchate of Istanbul became a more stabilized institution in the eighteenth century, in the Middle East the Patriarchate of Antioch which had tight connections with the Catholic missionaries active in the Patriarchate's domains was going through events characterized by a schism. The schism stemmed from the fact that two Patriarchs claimed their right to the Patriarchal throne of Antioch around the same time. The situation was complicated by the fact that one of them – Serapheim Tanas – was a Catholic, while the other – Silvestros – was appointed as the Patriarch with the support of the grand dragoman and the Patriarchate of Istanbul in response to the former's election. After Silvestros (1724-1766) officiated as the Patriarch of Antioch, the Antiochian Patriarchs were chosen from the Greek-speaking clergymen for the coming two centuries.¹⁰⁷

The Patriarchate of Jerusalem was going through similar development of tightening its relations with the Patriarchate of Istanbul and the Porte in the eighteenth century. Although the relations between the two Patriarchates were close enough even before¹⁰⁸, in the eighteenth century the connection between the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Istanbul intensified in an unprecedented way. The great degree of centralization of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem reflecting the similar dynamics happening in Istanbul are

¹⁰⁶ Bayraktar - Tellan, "The Patriarch and the Sultan", 227-230.

¹⁰⁷ Çolak, "Catholic Infiltration", 91-92; For more details on the Catholic activities in the Eastern Patriarchates see Çolak, *The Orthodox Church*, 2015.

¹⁰⁸ Starting from the early seventeenth until the eighteenth century the Patriarchs of Jerusalem were residing in Istanbul. This being said, a considerable part of the affairs of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem which were resolved at the Porte were of a regional nature see Çolak, "Catholic Infiltration", 92 and Çolak, *The Orthodox Church*, 39-109.

reflected in the imperial *berâts* issued for the Patriarchs of Jerusalem in the eighteenth century. Thus, the *berâts* of the Jerusalemite Patriarchs of the eighteenth century included articles granting them considerable influence over the non-Orthodox Christian communities in the Holy Land reflected the economic and political centralization of the Patriarchate. Finally, the primary sources in the Ottoman Archives show that the Patriarch of Istanbul Neophytos was the figure behind the appointment of Parthenios as the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1737.¹⁰⁹ In a similar fashion, the Patriarchate of Istanbul installed its own candidate Kosmas III (1736-1746) in the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The patriarchs of Alexandria who came after Kosmas III shared similar backgrounds distinctive feature of which was relying on support of the Greek Orthodox lay and patriarchal elites in Istanbul. Moreover, the *berâts* of the Patriarchs of Alexandria changed in the eighteenth century, as was the case with the *berâts* of the Jerusalemite Patriarchs. Thus, for example, additional articles in the *berât* of the Patriarch of Alexandria Matthaïos (1746-1766) enabled him to resolve his legal disputes in the Porte.¹¹⁰ As Hasan Çolak has demonstrated in his monograph on the Eastern patriarchates, the Greek Orthodox clergy, who negatively perceived the infiltration of the Catholic missions among their clergy and flock, tended to resist the infiltration and conversion by seeking support of the Patriarchate of Istanbul, and the Ottoman central administration.¹¹¹

Çolak maintains that the fact that Silvestros was the first among three Patriarchs to get the *berât* demonstrates the role of Catholic missionary activities in enabling the lay and patriarchal elites in Istanbul to acquire the support of the Ottoman central administration in order to re-organize the Greek Orthodox Church.¹¹² It is clear that in the face of challenges, the Orthodox Church was aware of the importance of cooperation with the Ottoman administration. The confrontation between the Orthodox people of the Ottoman Empire emerged as yet another factor contributing to the centralization of the Orthodox Church, promoting cooperation and creating networks among various actors as the

¹⁰⁹ Çolak, “Catholic Infiltration”, 92-93; for *berâts* see Çolak, Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 77-78 (Chrysantos Notaras), 102-103 (Meletios), 108-110 (Parthenios); for the appointment of Neophytos see BOA.D.PSK.11/63 (1737-38).

¹¹⁰ Çolak, “Catholic Infiltration”, 93; for *berât* of Matthaïos see Çolak, Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 130-132.

¹¹¹ Çolak, “Catholic Infiltration”, 89.

¹¹² Çolak, “Catholic Infiltration”, 94.

Eastern Churches, the Patriarchate of Istanbul, the lay elites represented by Phanariots and the Ottoman administration.

2.8 Changes in the Patriarchal Berâts in the Eighteenth Century

The process of transformation of the Orthodox Church in the eighteenth century and its emergence as an Ottoman institution has been traced by Bayraktar-Tellan and Çolak based on their study of patriarchal *berâts*.¹¹³ The *berât* issued in 1725 contains significant additions in terms of the number of stipulations included. Through these additions the *berât*-holders' various rights were expanded and expressed in more detailed ways like the rights over the appointment and dismissal of the local clergy,¹¹⁴ inheritance from the Christian *re'âyâ*,¹¹⁵ collection of ecclesiastical and state taxes in more efficient ways.¹¹⁶ These changes contributed to the expansion of the disciplinary powers of the patriarch over the Greek Orthodox hierarchy and flock. Through the application of some of these disciplinary powers the patriarchs acquired the rights to monopolize the religious practices of the Orthodox community in the Ottoman Empire as well as to discipline those who disregard the practices. Obviously, this kind of power was quite useful for the Patriarchs in their struggle with their adversaries.¹¹⁷ Local notables, often referred to in documentation as "some powerful people" (*ba'zı zî-kudret kimesneler*), also represented a group in dealing with which the Patriarch relied on the cooperation with the Ottoman central administration. In the Ottoman documentation, this group is also represented as assisting those who act against Orthodox practices in one way or another. Among such practices were the cases of solemnization of uncanonical marriages, dismissal of Orthodox clergymen, and other instances of disregard to canonical practices of Orthodox religion involving various stages of human life, including birth, marriage and death. In

¹¹³ For an analysis of the changes in the Patriarchal Berâts in the eighteenth century see Çolak, Hasan and Bayraktar-Tellan, Elif, *The Orthodox Church*, 2019.

¹¹⁴ See the stipulation no: 18 in the *berât* issued in 1725 in Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 96-97, 223-224

¹¹⁵ See the stipulation no: 19 in the *berât* issued in 1725 in Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 97, 224

¹¹⁶ See the stipulation no: 19 in the *berât* issued in 1725 in Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 97, 224

¹¹⁷ Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 50; also see the stipulation no: 20 and 23 in the *berât* issued in 1725

this case too, despite the lack of a direct reference to Catholics, the patriarchal correspondence makes it clear that these modifications to the patriarchal *berâts* were used to oppose the unwanted intermediary role of the local actors engaging in the interaction between the Ottoman administration and the Orthodox Church.¹¹⁸

Along with serving to “form and reinforce the legal basis of the patriarch’s authority vis-à-vis the local notables, administrators, officers and in some cases *re’âyâ*, in religious, financial and administrative matters”,¹¹⁹ some developments of the eighteenth century reflected in *berâts* were also related to the elections and dismissal of Patriarchs. Thus, one of the major developments evident in *berâts* was the introduction of the life-long patriarchate (*te’bîden*).¹²⁰ Previously, the Patriarchs were expected to renew their *berâts* every three years. After 1714 the practice changed as it was ruled that the patriarchs would stay on their throne for life and they could not be dismissed from their position without a valid reason.¹²¹ Despite the ongoing practice of the dismissal of Patriarchs always with a stated reason, the addition was meaningful. Moreover, from 1761 onwards, the reasons leading to dismissal of a patriarch, if such occurred, were elaborated upon in detailed and clearer form. Finally, with the establishment of the system of elders in 1763, in all the related articles the term ‘patriarch’ was changed into ‘the patriarch and the Community of Metropolitans’ (*patrik-i merkûm ile cemâ’at-i mitrepolidân*). The representation of the Patriarchate by the patriarch and a group of metropolitans as opposed to the patriarch alone contributed to the empowerment and stabilization of the office of the patriarch as an institution.¹²²

In their analysis of the linguistic style of the alterations made to *berâts* Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan claim that the alterations were *ad hoc* changes proposed in the negotiations between the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman central administration and serving as a legal basis and authority offered by the Ottoman administration to the Patriarchate to support the patriarchate in managing the difficulties of the new conditions and the strengthening of the patriarchal office vis-à-vis a number of

¹¹⁸ Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 51.

¹¹⁹ Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 48

¹²⁰ Bayraktar-Tellan, “The Patriarch and the Sultan”, 131-135.

¹²¹ Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 48.

¹²² Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 49.

groups. These changes enabled the Patriarchate to act as an efficient part of the Ottoman administration at the time when the latter was going through major changes in its relations with regional actors.¹²³

¹²³ Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 49.

CHAPTER III: A HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF PEĆ FROM 1346 TO 1766

3.1 The Patriarchate of Peć from Establishment to Restoration (1346 - 1557)

The Serbian Orthodox Church was established in 1219.¹²⁴ From its very inception it emerged as an autocephalous member of the Orthodox communion, which meant that while adhering to the norms and traditions of Orthodox Christianity, the Serbian Church was not subordinate to an external patriarch.¹²⁵ The transition of the Serbian autocephalous church into the Serbian Patriarchate with its seat in Peć is connected to the Serbian king Stefan Dushan's (1331-1355) policies and ideals. Enabled by the civil wars in Byzantine Empire, king Dushan pursued imperialistic policy spreading his domains towards the Byzantine territories.¹²⁶ In 1340s Dushan added to his kingdom Prilep, Ohrid, the Strymon region, Empiros, Albania, and Thessaly, extending the territories of the the Serbian Kingdom from the Danube to the Gulf of Corinth and from the Adriatic to the Aegean.¹²⁷ The incorporation of the former Byzantine territories into Serbian kingdom contributed to the penetration of the Byzantine influence into Serbia. One of the instances of the political and cultural influence of Byzantine Empire on the Serbian State was the adoption of the Byzantine ceremonial and titulature in the Serbian court. A noteworthy implication of these changes, was the replacement of the royal title of the Serbian kings

¹²⁴ For a detailed account of Serbian Church from its inception until the end of the eighteenth century, see Slijepčević, Djoko, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*.

¹²⁵ Fotić, "Serbian Orthodox Church", 519; For details and the role of St. Sava in emergence of the autocephalous Serbian Church see Stanojević, Stanoje, *Sveti Sava [Saint Sava]*, Belgrade, 1935.

¹²⁶ *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Serbia.", 3 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1991), 1872-73.

¹²⁷ *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Stefan Uros IV Dusan", 3 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1991), 1951.

with “*basileus* and *autocrator* of Serbian and Romania,” which in Slavic documents will be mentioned as “tsar of the Serbs and Greeks.”¹²⁸

When in 1345, the city of Serres fell to Dushan, the Serbian king sought to be proclaimed the *tsar* or the emperor of the Serbs and the Rhomaioi.¹²⁹ To do so, a State Assembly was organized in Skopje in April, 1346 when Joanikije II - former archbishop of Peć and former *logothet* of Dushan, was solemnly proclaimed the Patriarch of Peć and Dushan was crowned as *tsar* by the first Serbian Patriarch.¹³⁰ Following the coronation of Dushan and the proclamation of Joanikije II as the Patriarch of Peć, began the process of reorganization of the Serbian Church in the patriarchate. Thus, some prominent bishops in the old Serbian countries received the status of metropolitans. The Greek eparchies in the newly-acquired territories, which were previously under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul, were subjected to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Peć, as well as the Holy Mountain with its privileges and immunities. Along with this, the process of construction of the new monasteries and the renewal of the existent ones began, generously sponsored by the king, who provided monasteries with both financial support as well as lands in various parts of his domain. This was followed by the adoption of Dusan’s Code (*Zakonik*) at the meeting in Skopje 1349 and in Serra 1354. This Codex, along with other sources, was utilized by the patriarchs to address and solve various religious and civil matters and disputes until the abolition of the Patriarchate.¹³¹

According to the Serbian sources, king Dushan, who proclaimed himself the *tsar* of the Serbs and the Greeks, was motivated by various political reasons to refer to the head of the church of his widened domain as Patriarch. The main reason for this act lied in the usual connection, which existed in the Orthodox world between an Empire¹³² and a

¹²⁸ *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. “Serbia.”, 1872-73.

¹²⁹ *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. “Stefan Uros IV Dusan”, 1951.

¹³⁰ Bataković, *Nova Istorija Srpskog Naroda*, 42; Grujić, “Pećska patrijarška”, 389.

¹³¹ Grujić, “Pećska patrijarška,” 390; for details on Dushan’s Code see Aleksandar V. Solovjev, *Zakonodavstvo Stefana Dušana, cara Srba i Grka [The Legislation of Stefan Dushan, the tsar of Serbs and Greeks]*, (Belgrade, 1928); Dusan’s law code is yet another example of the Byzantine influence of the Serbian state, as *Zakonik* was based on Byzantine legal models see *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. “Serbia.”, 1873.

¹³² In Serbian sources the term used for “empire” is “*царство [tsarstvo]*”, which can be also translated as “kingdom”, however in this context there is a principal difference between “empire” and the “kingdom”. For example, Novaković states that Dushan said “И како по милости Божјој уздигох краљевство на царство и архиепископију на патријаршију и епископије на митрополије...”, which means “And by the grace of God I raised the *kingdom*(*краљевство*) to

Patriarchate.¹³³ Thus, according to Rajko Veselinović, as Dushan was willing to be crowned as *tsar* by the Serbian Patriarch, the Serbian archbishopric was supposed to be raised to patriarchate with a patriarch at its head. Another reason for the proclamation of patriarchate, according to Veselinović, was of a canonical nature. Namely, as the Serbs conquered the Greek provinces¹³⁴, which were previously under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the authorities of the Byzantine Emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople also ceased to exist in these lands. Thus, the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople over the Orthodox metropolitans in the conquered provinces had to be replaced by the jurisdiction of the Serbian patriarch.¹³⁵

The authority of the Serbian patriarch gained recognition from the patriarch of Constantinople only in 1375.¹³⁶ While it is unknown whether Dushan tried to regulate ecclesiastical relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople through an agreement, it is highly unlikely that the Patriarch of Constantinople under the influence of Dushan's political rivalry could give his consent to or participate in the incentive of raising the Serbian archbishopric to the patriarchy as it was obviously detrimental to the state and church interests of Byzantium.¹³⁷ In fact, as Grujić states, the proclamation of the Archbishopric of Peć as a Patriarchate triggered a protest in the Patriarchate of

the *empire* (*υαρχμβο*) and the *archbishopric* to the *patriarchate*, and *episcopacy* to the *metropolitanate*..." in Stojan Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenitsi Srpskih Drjva Srednjega Veka* [Legal Monuments of the Serbian States of the Middle Ages], (Belgrade, 1912), 677, the translation is mine; Sotirović in his article written in English also mentions that Dushan was crowned as the "emperor" of Serbs and Greeks", in Vladislav B Sotirović, "The Serbian Patriarchate of Peć in the Ottoman Empire: The First Phase (1557-94)", in *Serbian Studies* 25/2, (2011), 144.

¹³³ Here we refer to an idea that a tsar could not function without a patriarch – see Grujić, "Pećska patrijarška," 389–399; see also Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 161-162.

¹³⁴ According to Bataković at the moment the Serbian kingdom was spread over a part of today's Serbia (without Belgrade and the exit to the Danube), Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia without Thessaloniki, and part of Thrace. The south-eastern border of the future Dushan Empire stretched along the coast of the Aegean Sea, all the way to one hill near the city of Hrisopol (today Kavala), see the map and references in Bataković, "Nova Istorija", 39-42.

¹³⁵ Rajko Veselinović, "Patriarh Joanikije" in *Glasnik Srbske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, Br. 9, (1946), 132; Grujić also states that as for the canonical basis of the procedure, according to proven practice and canonical regulations, the ecclesiastical borders were usually shaped in accordance with the borders of the state. Thus, the patriarchate of Istanbul had to give up the jurisdiction of the dioceses that were torn from Byzantine Empire and became a part of the Serbian state, see Grujić, "Pećska patrijarška," 389.

¹³⁶ Fotić, "Serbian Orthodox Church", 519.

¹³⁷ Grujić, "Pećska patrijarška," 389.

Constantinople, which led to the issuing of an anathema against king Dushan, Patriarch Janicije II, and the Serbian people.¹³⁸ Slijepčević, however, argues that it was the act of removal of hostile Greek metropolitans in the areas under Dushan's control from their departments became a direct cause for issuing anathema to Patriarch Janjić and the Emperor Dushan, and through them both to the Serbian Church and to the entire Serbian people. Slijepčević supports his argument with a reference to a letter of Despot Uglesh (from 1368) to the Patriarch of Constantinople in which the latter states that Dushan has unlawfully created a self-proclaimed patriarch and foolishly tore off a lot of metropolitanates from the Church of Christ, and thus caused a schism in the Church.¹³⁹ It is noteworthy that despot Uglesh mentions both the creation of a patriarchate, which he considers unlawful, and the deposition of archdioceses in the same context. Thus, it is possible to claim that the anathema could have been a reaction to both developments. According to another view, the anathema by the Patriarch Kalist was issued only several years after the Assembly of Skopje, meaning that the Serbian ecclesiastical reform did not itself cause the schism, but rather, was taken into consideration by the Patriarchate of Constantinople only when respective political demands appeared in parallel with the changing political dynamics in the Balkans.¹⁴⁰

In 1375, after two unsuccessful attempts¹⁴¹, the Serbian and Greek churches reconciled through the Prizren act however it did not bring peace and order to the Patriarchate of Peć. In parallel to the decline in the state unity after the death of Emperor Uros in 1371, the Serbian Church weakened giving way to various forms of corruption within the institution and bringing political interests to the church.¹⁴² Following the Ottoman annexation of the Brancović lands in Kosovo (1455), the Serbian Orthodox Church changed its seat transferring it from Peć to Smederevo, which was the capital of the Ottoman vassal state Serbia. As the Serbian state came under direct rule of the Ottoman Empire in 1459, the Serbian Orthodox Church organization continued functioning,

¹³⁸ Grujić, "Pećska patrijarška," 391.

¹³⁹ Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 166-167.

¹⁴⁰ For this view see Vladimir Moshin, "Sv. Patrijarch Kalist i Srpska Tsirkva [Saint Patriarch Kalist and Serbian Church]", *Glasnik Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, Br. 9, (1946), 192-206, especially see pages 199-203.

¹⁴¹ For details and references see Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 170-175.

¹⁴² Grujić, "Pećska patrijarška," 392.

although little is known about its history until mid-sixteenth century.¹⁴³ The Serbian autocephalous church, encompassed such territories as northern Serbia, Srem, parts of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro. The fall of the Serbian state weakened the church, leading to the attempts of the neighboring autonomous archbishopric of Ohrid to take control of the Serbian dioceses.¹⁴⁴

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Serbian Church was subordinated to the Ohrid Archbishopric and stayed under its jurisdiction till 1557 when it was restored.¹⁴⁵ The subordination of the Patriarchate of Peć to the Archbishopric of Ohrid was followed by

¹⁴³ Fotić, “Serbian Orthodox Church”, 519; for more details on the fate of the Patriarchate of Peć under the Ottoman Empire see Sotirović, “The Serbian Patriarchate of Peć”, 143-167.

¹⁴⁴ Fotić, “Serbian Orthodox Church”, 519;

¹⁴⁵ The fate of Patriarchate of Peć in the sixteenth century is a matter of dispute in historiography. Jelavich states that the Patriarchate of Peć was abolished by the Ottoman government, in Jelavich, “Some Aspects”, 144; Grujić also maintained that the Patriarchate of Peć was abolished, and all of its metropolises and episcopos subjected by the Turks to the Ohrid Archbishopric in Radoslav Grujić, *Pravoslavna Srpska Tsrkva [The Orthodox Serbian Church]*, (Belgrade, 1921), 71-72; Stavrianos too maintains that the Patriarchate of Peć was extinct since 1459 as it was subsumed under that of Ohrid which had a certain degree of autonomy, Stavrianos, Leften Stavros, *The Balkans since 1453*, (Hamden, 1964), 104; Slijepčević in his turn maintains that the areas of the Patriarchate of Peć were gradually entering under the jurisdiction of the Ohrid Archbishopric, without their will and consent of the former. The process of coming under the rule of the Archbishopric of Ohrid was happening at the same pace as the Serbian lands were coming under the Turkish domination. Among the factors affecting these dynamics was the failure to choose a new patriarch after the death of Arsenije II, see Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 296-297; This being said, Slijepčević further maintains that although the Ohrid Archbishopric extended its power to a considerable part of the area of the Serbian Patriarchate, the hierarchical relations in the area remained vague, as there is evidence, indicating to a lot of independent work of individual Serbian bishops, who are mentioned without a sign that they were subordinate to the Ohrid Archbishopric, see Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 288-289; Fotić maintains that the archbishopric of Ohrid never managed to assume control of the territories formerly belonging to the jurisdiction of Peć, as most of the Serbian clergy, led by Pavle, the bishop of Smederevo, did not accept the jurisdiction of the former, see Fotić, “Serbian Orthodox Church”, 519; Dushan Bataković maintains that the period from the fall of Despotate until 1557, was the darkest period in the history of Serbian Church. He states that for a while, and not entirely, the Church was merged with the Ohrid Archbishopric. Moreover, this period was marked by the struggle of the Serbian clergy for the independence of the church, and against the dominance of the Greek church, see Bataković, *Nova Istorija*, 111; Tatjana Katić also maintains that the Patriarchate of Peć was not independent in the first half of the sixteenth century, and all of the Serbian eparchies were under jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Ohrid in Katić, “Serbia under the Ottoman Rule”, 153; Sotirović mentions that as the Ottoman Turks conquered Serbia in 1459 the patriarchate, “was soon abolished (most likely in 1463), and it did not exist for a century, until its revival in 1557” in Sotirović, “The Serbian Patriarchate of Peć”, 144.

an attempt to restore the Patriarchate of Peć.¹⁴⁶ At the head of this attempt was the Metropolitan of Smederevo Pavle, who rebelled in 1528 not willing to accept the jurisdiction of the Ohrid Archbishopric¹⁴⁷. Although partially successful, the rebellion resulted in the overthrow and exclusion of the bishop Pavle, who by that time managed to proclaim himself as the Patriarch of Peć, from the Orthodox spiritual community at the Council held in 1532.¹⁴⁸

In 1557 the Patriarchate of Peć was restored with the assistance of the Ottoman vizier–Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.¹⁴⁹ His relative, Makarije Sokolović, was appointed as the first patriarch of the renewed patriarchate.¹⁵⁰ Serbian historiography suggests various dynamics behind this development. Fotić claims that the main interest of the Ottoman Empire in this act was to resolve the problem of the lack of proper state control on those Balkan territories inhabited by the Serbs. The fact that the church hierarchy was ineffective in that area contradicted the Ottoman idea of controlling the non-Muslim communities of the empire through the hands of church organization, where leaders were appointed by the sultan's decree.¹⁵¹ Slijepčević suggests that the rebellion of the Metropolitan Pavle, although not successful, has contributed to the restoration of the Serbian Church as it demonstrated to the Ottomans that the Serbian clergy could no longer put up with the loss of ecclesiastical autonomy. As for the position of the Serbian people and authorities regarding this matter, after the battle of Mohacs it became clear to the Serbs that the prospect of complete liberation from the “Turkish rule”, which significantly strengthened its position in the Balkans, was distant, if not unthinkable. Therefore,

¹⁴⁶ László Hadrovics, *L'église serbe sous la Domination Turque*, (Paris, 1947), 42.

¹⁴⁷ For more on Paul's rebellion see Kostić, P, *O Buni Smederevskog Episkopa Pavla Protiv Potchinjavanja Pechke Patrijarshije Arhijepiskopiji Ohridskoj* [*On the Rebellion of the Bishop of Smederevo Pavel against the subjugation of the Patriarchate of Peć to the Archdiocese of Ohrid*], *Spomenik Srpske Kraljevske Akademije*, LVI, (Sremski Karlovci, 1922), 32-39; Radomir Milosević, *Pavle, Mitropolit Smederevski* [*Pavle, Pitropolit Smederevski*] [*Paul, the Metropolitan of Smederevo*], (Smederevo, 2006);

¹⁴⁸ Kostić, “O Buni Smederevskog Episkopa Pavla”, 33-39.

¹⁴⁹ For Sokollu Mehmed Pasa see Şefik Peksevgen, “Sokollu Family”, in Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York, 2009), 534-536; for the role of Sokollu Mehmed Pasa in the renewal of the Patriarchate of Peć in the sixteenth century see Constantin Jireček, “Der Grossvezir Mehmed Sokolović und die serbischen Patriarchen Makarije und Antonije”, in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* IX, (1886), 291-297.

¹⁵⁰ Grujić, “Pećska patrijarška,” 395; see also Jireček, “Der Grossvezir Mehmed Sokolović”, 291-297.

¹⁵¹ Fotić, “Serbian Orthodox Church”, 519.

reconciliation with the new power was considered as the only way to improve the position of the church and the people.¹⁵² Sotirović considers the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć as the sultan's "reward to the Serbs for their assistance in the Ottoman wars against the borderland Catholic countries in the southern part of Central Europe" as well as an "attempt to ensure future Serbian political loyalty and further Serb participation in the forthcoming decisive wars against the Austrian Empire".¹⁵³ Furthermore, Sotirović maintains that behind the decision of the Ottoman administration to restore the Patriarchate of Peć, was the expectation of the former that the restored Patriarchate would become an "instrument" for the implementation of Ottoman policies among the Serbs.¹⁵⁴

The restored patriarchate covered a territory larger than its original size stretching to the furthest Ottoman borders in Dalmatia, Croatia and Hungary, and included Sofia and territories south of Skopje. Moreover, the Patriarchate of Peć also took under its jurisdiction dioceses outside the Ottoman Empire, including Habsburg Croatia and along the Venetian Adriatic coast.¹⁵⁵ The title of the patriarch reflected the scope of the territories under his control, thus the Patriarch's full title was "patriarch of Serbians, Bulgarians, maritime and northern parts" [*patrijarh Srba, Bugara, pomorskih i severnih strana*]¹⁵⁶. Thus, the Patriarchate of Peć emerged as an organization, which incorporated all newly conquered Ottoman territories and their Christian but not exclusively Orthodox inhabitants. The patriarch of Peć was given the right to collect duties from the Catholic population as long as he did not interfere in the organization of the Catholic religious community. Overall, the restoration of the patriarchate brought progress to the area as new churches were built, new diocese networks were established while the existing ones were strengthened, religious art prospered, religious books were copied, and some printing shops in monasteries were functioning.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 301-302; This way the renewal of the Peć Patriarchate is presented as a consequence of a compromise between the Serbian Church and the Turkish authorities, see Stanojević, *Istorija Srpskoga Naroda*, 248.

¹⁵³ Sotirović, "The Serbian Patriarchate of Peć", 151.

¹⁵⁴ Sotirović, "The Serbian Patriarchate of Peć", 152-153.

¹⁵⁵ Fotić, "Serbian Orthodox Church", 520; For details on the territories under the jurisdiction of the restored Patriarchate of Peć see Sotirović, "The Serbian Patriarchate of Peć", 152-155.

¹⁵⁶ Bataković, *Nova Istorija Srpskog Naroda*, 112.

¹⁵⁷ Fotić, "Serbian Orthodox Church", 520.

Overall, during the course of Sokollu Mehmed Paša's vizirate, until the beginning of the Long War between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires (1593-1606), the spiritual and cultural life at the Patriarchate of Peć was going through a period of rise and development. The position of the Serbian Church started to transform when in the last decade of the sixteenth century, the confrontations emerged between the Ottoman authorities and some Serbian high clergy.¹⁵⁸ The decisive factor in the deterioration of the relations between the Ottoman Administration and the Serbian Church was the collaboration of the latter with the Habsburg powers. For the next two centuries, the Patriarchate of Peć will be involved in one way or another in the oppositions between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires.

3.2 The Patriarchate of Peć in the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Centuries: Between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires

Despite the high degree of control the Ottoman authorities exerted on the restored Patriarchate of Peć, at the end of the sixteenth century as the tensions between the Ottoman and the Habsburg empires culminated in wars, the Serbian higher clergy took an active position supporting the Christian side in various ways.¹⁵⁹ Thus, for instance, Patriarch Jovan got in contact with the Habsburg rulers. During his time, in the beginning of 1594, the Serbs of Banat rebelled against the Ottoman rule putting their trust in the Austrian "Savior of Europe"¹⁶⁰, but not getting help they had to capitulate and move to Erdel.¹⁶¹ The Serbian rebellion supported by the church dignitaries of the Patriarchate of Peć drew mistrust and retribution of the Ottoman authorities, who reacted with the

¹⁵⁸ Radosavljević, "Pećka Patrijarshija", 22; Among the reasons of the changes in the relations between the Ottoman Administration and the Serbian high clergy Radosavljević names the "religious fanaticism" prevailing in the Ottoman Empire which contributed to the deterioration of the position of the Patriarchate of Peć, the deformation of the state order established by Sultan Suleiman causing mistreatment of the non-Muslims, and the proximity of the territories under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Church to the Habsburg borders, where the Serbs were called for uprising, see Radosavljević, "Pećka Patrijarshija", 22.

¹⁵⁹ Katić, "Serbia under the Ottoman Rule", 153.

¹⁶⁰ The Austrian emperor of the time Rudolf II was considered as the potential liberator of all Christians of the Ottoman Empire, he also believed to be destined to become the "Savior of Europe" by breaking the Ottoman power in this region, see Jean Berenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1273-1700*, Vol. I, (Longman, 1994), 242-60.

¹⁶¹ Grujić, "Pećska patrijarška," 396.

burning of the relics of Saint Sava, the founder of the Serbian Church,¹⁶² and later executing the rebellious patriarch Jovan Kantul in Istanbul in 1614.¹⁶³

During the seventeenth century, the Serbian Church sought to restore its organization as well as material situation, which was damaged by increasing indebtedness. With the hope to realize these aspirations some representatives of the Serbian clergy turned to Rome wishing to realize church union, while others sought the support of Russia. Meanwhile, the opponents of the union with the Roman Catholic Church turned to the Ottoman authorities for help. The interference of the latter resulted in displacement of a number of Serbian bishops, and even hanging of the patriarch of Peć Gavriilo I Rajić in 1659.¹⁶⁴

Toward the end of the seventeenth century the position of the Patriarchate of Peć further weakened due to the Patriarch's open collaboration with Venice and then the Habsburgs during the Ottoman war against the Holy League (1683 – 99) and the subsequent Austrian Ottoman wars.¹⁶⁵ In 1683, the Austrian victory over the Ottoman armies encouraged the Serbian people, who joined the victorious western forces as they advanced into the Balkans. As the Ottomans gave in their positions in Macedonia, the Patriarch of Peć Arsenije III issued an official call encouraging the Serbs to rise against the Ottomans. However, the Austrian victories seized in 1689 followed by arching of the Austrian forces back to the Danube. Aware of the consequences of participation in the uprising, Arsenije, the members of the church hierarchy and some 30,000 of his supporters followed the retreating armies until finally settled in the Habsburg domains.¹⁶⁶ The migration led to the establishment of a second religious center of Serbian people: a metropolitanate with its seat first at Krušedol (1708-1713) and later in Karlovac on the Austrian lands. The change from Muslim Ottoman to Catholic Habsburg rule and the division of authority between Peć and Karlovac contributed little to strengthen the position of Serbian Church. Furthermore, the interests of the Serbian Church conflicted with those of the three

¹⁶² Katić, "Serbian Church under the Ottoman Rule", 153.

¹⁶³ Momir Jović and Kosta Radić, *Srpske Zemlje i Vladari*, (Kruševac, 1990), 129; Vladimir Corović mentions that Patriarch Jovan Kantul "died" in Istanbul in 1614 see Corović, *Istorija Srba*, 431; Slijepčević, referring to Dimitrijević mentions that "the death of a martyr was Patriarch Jovan's payment for his cooperation with the West and his work on liberating the people from the Turks" see Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 326.

¹⁶⁴ Katić, "Serbian Church under the Ottoman Rule", 153.

¹⁶⁵ Fotić, "Serbian Orthodox Church", 520.

¹⁶⁶ Rajko Veselinović, *Arsenij III Chirnojević u Istoriji i Knizhevnosti [Arsenij III Crnojević in History and Literature]*, (Belgrade, 1949), 5-43; Pappas, "Between Two Empires", 27.

powerful groups in Austria; the Magyars, the Croats and the Catholic Church due to economic reasons, the increasing competition for lands and work opportunities. Moreover, the settlement of large numbers of Serbs and, most importantly, the appearance of their highest ecclesiastical officials in the Habsburg lands complicated the campaign waged by the Catholic Church to convert the Orthodox inhabitants of Austrian domains to Catholicism. The Catholic Church was willing to recognize the Patriarch of Peć only as the spiritual leader of the Serbs settled in the south of Danube, leaving the Austrian Serbs under a separate authority.¹⁶⁷

The opposition of the Catholic Church as well as local population along with the instability in the attitudes of the Austrian government stripped the veil of optimism from the Serbs' eyes paving a way to the change of heart. Thus, some of the Serbs chose to return to the Ottoman territories while others turned their hopes to the greatest Orthodox power – Tsarist Russia contributing to the escalation of the religious influence of the Russians in the eighteenth century. As many Serbs headed to Russian ecclesiastical centers for their education, some of them even choosing to settle there, the Austrian government grew suspicious that Russo-Serbian ties might base not only in religious commonalities, but also on political interests of the two countries. The suspicion resulted in placement of further restrictions on the Serbs.¹⁶⁸

After the “Great Migration” of Serbs to the Habsburg domain,¹⁶⁹ Köprülü Mustafa Pasha – the Grand vizier of the Ottoman Empire – appointed a Serbian patriarch, Patriarch Kalinik, bringing to an end the preceding practice whereby the Ottoman authorities

¹⁶⁷ Jelavich, “Some Aspects”, 145-146; Corović, *Istorija Jugoslavije*, 374-375; Radoslav Grujić, “Karlovačka Mitropolija [Metropolitanate of Karlovci]”, *Narodna Enciklopedija SHS*, Vol. II, (Zagreb, 1927), 249-257, 250; It is important to note that at the time the 1782 Edict of Tolerance was not pronounced yet, for details on the Edict see Charles H. O'Brien, “Ideas of Religious Toleration at the Time of Joseph II. A Study of the Enlightenment among Catholics in Austria”, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 59/7, (1969), 1-80.

¹⁶⁸ Jelavich, “Some Aspects”, 147; Corović, *Istorija Jugoslavije*, 376-379, 393-398; Radoslav Grujić, “Prilozi za Istoriju Seobe Srba u Rusiji” in *Srpska Kraljevska Akademija: Spomenik* LI, (Belgrade, 1913), 70-79.

¹⁶⁹ The migration of Serbs headed by Arsenije III is known in Serbian historiography as “*velika seoba*” meaning “great migration”, for more see Vladan Gavrilović, “Primeri Migracija Srpskog Naroda u Ugarske Provincijalne Oblasti Examples of migration of the Serbian people into the Hungarian provincial areas 1699-1737”, *Istrajivanja* 25, (2014), 139-148; Aleksa Ivić, *Istorija Srba u Ugarskoj od Pada Smedereva do Seobe pod Čarnojevičem* [The History of the Serbs in Hungary since the fall of Smederevo to the Migration under Čarnojević (1459-1690)], (Zagreb, 1914), 266-282.

confirmed the candidacy of the future patriarch elected by the church synod.¹⁷⁰ The Ottoman-Austrian war of 1737 was accompanied by yet another Serbian uprising guided by his successor - Patriarch Arsenije IV. The defeat of Austrian armies brought about a precedent with Serbian people and clergy migrating from Peć to the Habsburg domains. The complete loss of trust of the Porte in the Serbian Church dignitaries resulted in an appointment of Joanikije III Karadža –“the Greek”- as the new patriarch in 1739. In the historiography, the eighteenth century of the Patriarchate of Peć is largely associated with a deep material crisis. Thus, according to the prevalent narrative, the need to pay large sums as *pîškeş* as well as “bribes” for election and appointment resulted in accumulation of debts of the patriarchs. The burden of payment of these debts was usually placed on the shoulders of the tax-paying Christian subjects in the jurisdiction of a given patriarch. Moreover, indebtedness of the patriarchs to the well-off Istanbul Greeks, mostly Phanariots, increased the degree of dependency of the Patriarchate of Peć upon the Patriarchate of Constantinople.¹⁷¹

According to Jelavich, in parallel to the developments in the relations of the Serbian Church with the Habsburg and the Russian Empires, the formerly cordial and friendly relations between the Patriarchates of Constantinople and Peć declined, which affected the position of the Serbian Church in the Ottoman Empire negatively. According to Jelavich, the initially friendly relations between the two patriarchates were supported by the fact that the Patriarchate of Constantinople contributed greatly to securing privileges and rights for the Balkan Christians and prevented the Islamization of the latter. However, this harmony between the two Orthodox patriarchates has suffered as a result of “corrupt practices of Ottoman government” which penetrated the administration of the Patriarchate of Istanbul. The traditional point of view concerning the financial burden on the Patriarchates under Ottoman rule due to corruption has also been prevalent in the historiography on the Patriarchate of Peć. From this point of view which completely

¹⁷⁰ Katić, “Serbia under the Ottoman Rule”, 154; Rajko Veselinović refers in his account to the Patriarch Kalinik (1691-1710) appointed by the Porte by saying that he was not elected as the Patriarch of Peć by the synod, but appointed by the Turks which led to the fact the many Serbian bishops refused to acknowledge him as the Patriarch, see Veselinović, *Arsenij III Chrnjević*, 57; in the account of Jovan Radonić, Kalinik I is referred to as “Greek” see Radonić, *Rimska Curija*, 442-457.

¹⁷¹ Katić, “Serbia under the Ottoman Rule”, 154.

disregards the financial situation of the Ottoman Empire and the changing roles of actors in this context, Jelavich claims that as the sum of the traditional monetary gift which the patriarch was expected to present to each sultan on his accession [*pîşkeş*] grew larger, the opportunity to compete for the position of the Orthodox patriarch became limited with only the wealthiest pretenders.¹⁷² Once in the office, the patriarch naturally looked for the opportunities to recover the investment made into acquiring the position. One of the ways to do so was to exploit the people under his jurisdiction, the other one was to profit by the sale of the church offices in his control. The natural consequence of such disintegration both in the Ottoman government and the Patriarchate of Istanbul was the corruption that affected the entire Orthodox church organization of the Ottoman Empire, including the Patriarchate of Peć.¹⁷³ Accordingly, the unrest and disloyalty of the Serbian Patriarchate and its people along with the grave financial circumstances of the Church created a strong case for the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć. The Greek ecclesiastical officials argued that it would be easier for Greeks to supervise the Serbs and halt the resistance of the latter to Ottoman authority. Moreover, the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć and its unification with the Patriarchate of Istanbul would guarantee that the tribute, which the Serbian Church had frequently evaded after 1737, would be delivered to the Porte. As a result of the aforementioned circumstances, the Patriarchate of Peć was abolished in 1766 with its former see entering under the authority of the Patriarch of Istanbul.¹⁷⁴

While the failures of the Ottoman army in the wars with the Habsburgs and later with the Russian Empire certainly affected the tendency of the Orthodox Serbs to seek support from the Habsburgs, Rome, and Russia, the motivations and dynamics behind the fluctuations of the Orthodox Serbs towards the foreign powers have often been a subject of sentiments in Serbian historiography. Thus, Grujić mentions that it was “in the great aspiration for the liberation of the people from the Turks” that the patriarchs of Peć and some of their bishops often entered in friendly relations with Roman popes as well as Western princes and rulers. Realizing the inability of Western parties to actions against the Ottomans due to unfavorable political circumstances, the patriarchs [here Pajsije

¹⁷² Jelavich, “Some Aspects”, 147-148. A typical example of this point of view for the Patriarchate of Constantinople is Georgiades G. Arnakis,, “The Greek church of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire,” *Journal of Modern History* 24/3, (1952), 235-250.

¹⁷³ Jelavich, “Some Aspects”, 148.

¹⁷⁴ Jelavich, “Some Aspects”, 148.

(1614-1647)] started to pay more attention to Orthodox Russia. Similarly, Grujić puts the uprising of Arsenije IV in the context of the pressure of difficult circumstances, in desire for liberation.¹⁷⁵ According to Bataković, the promise of “final liberation” was the currency often used by the third parties in attempts to secure the support of the Orthodox Serbs against the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, the idea of the revival of the old Serbian state, the preservation of the Nemanjić tradition, the state awareness and even the Serbian national consciousness are enclosed among the factors affecting the relations of the Orthodox dignitaries with the foreign states.¹⁷⁷ Along with these, the “privileges” awaiting the Orthodox Serbs and the Patriarchate of Peć in the Habsburg domains influenced the political decisions of the Serbian patriarchs and people.¹⁷⁸ Practical and material difficulties that the Patriarchate of Peć and its congregation claimed to have experienced are also among the dynamics affecting relations of the Patriarchate and the third parties. Thus, for example, in the late seventeenth century we see a Serbian metropolitan complaining in Russia on the “unbearable” taxes imposed by the Ottoman Empire, the constant “violations” of the Ottomans, the poor condition of the metropolitanate building, which the Ottomans do not allow to renew or fortify. The aggravated position of the monasteries and churches, the cases of unlawful appropriation of monastic property as well as demand for bribes practiced by the Ottoman dignitaries are also listed among the misfortunes shaping the political attitudes of the Serbian Patriarchate starting from the late sixteenth century.¹⁷⁹ Regardless of what rationales lied behind the Patriarchs of Peć’s participation in affairs with foreign powers, it was these affairs and the mistrust they allegedly brought into the relations between the Porte and the Serbian Church, that would be presented in the historiography among the primary factors of the eventual abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć.

¹⁷⁵ Grujić, “Pećska patrijarška,” 396.

¹⁷⁶ Bataković, *Nova Istorija Srpskog Naroda*, 115.

¹⁷⁷ Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 340-341.

¹⁷⁸ For the privileges mostly containing of different kinds of “freedoms” see Jovan Radonić and Mita Kostić, *Srpske Privilegije od 1690 do 1792 [Serbian Privileges from 1690 till 1792]*, (Belgrade, 1954).

¹⁷⁹ Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 340-342.

CHAPTER IV: THE ABOLITION OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF PEĆ IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

4.1 Abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć: “a matter of voluntary action”?¹⁸⁰

The Patriarchate of Peć came under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul on 11 September 1766. Before the abolition, it was clearly expressed in the Ottoman documentation that the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid were separate, and that they were outside the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul as follows: “*İstanbul ve Ohri ve İpek patriklikleri her biri başka başka patriklikler olub Ohri patrikliği İstanbul patriki iltizâmına dâhil olmamağla*”.¹⁸¹

According to an official document from the Ottoman archive dated 1 February 1767, the record of the Patriarchate of Peć was removed and it was incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul in compliance with an imperial decree issued on 11 September 1766.¹⁸² The incorporation of Patriarchate of the Peć into that of Istanbul has so far been evaluated as part of ecclesiastical history, mostly limited to the question of who the initiating actor of the abolition was and whether the Patriarchate was abolished canonically¹⁸³. This approach revolves around the idea that the authorities of the Patriarchate of Peć and later Archbishopric of Ohrid petitioned the Porte demanding, by “application and supplication the protection and association of the Ecumenical

¹⁸⁰ Papdopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, 90.

¹⁸¹ D.PSK 12/6, 8 Şevvâl 1153 / 27 December 1740.

¹⁸² D.PSK 25/73 the document is a draft copy [(...) *Zikr olunan İpek patrikliğinin kaydı ref' ve terkîn ve ..ü'l-re'âyâ İstanbul patrikliğine ilhâk ve mahalline kayd olmak bâbında 6 Rebî'ü'l-âhir 1180 tarihinde sâdır olan fermân-ı 'âlîşânım mûcibince patriklik-i mezbûrun kaydı ref' ve terkîn ve İstanbul rum patrikliğine ilhâk* (...)].

¹⁸³ For the discourse on the extent to which the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć was in accordance with canon law see Dmitrije Ruvarac, “O Ukidanju Pećke Patrijarshije i njenom Nasledu [On the Abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć and its Heritage]”, *Srpski Sion*, (1904), 293-299.

Patriarchate, acknowledging their subjection to it”.¹⁸⁴ Two major historiographical trends emerged from this approach.¹⁸⁵ The first trend supported by Papadopoulos¹⁸⁶ evaluates the abolition of Peć in consequence of the unanimous request that “the authorities” of Peć made to the Porte. According to this view, the authorities of the Patriarchate, aware of the financial difficulties of the Patriarchate, initiated the incorporation of Peć into the Patriarchate of Istanbul as the only solution to the material decay of their Church.¹⁸⁷ The relevance and, probably, sincerity of this request is questioned in a second approach to the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć, which dominated historiography at the beginning of the twentieth century, mostly supported by historians of Serbian origin such as Grujić, Slijepčević, Radonić and others.¹⁸⁸ This approach underlines the “Greek” rather than the Serbian initiatives, and emphasizes that “the authorities” were Kalinik II, the Greek patriarch of Peć and his Greek hierarchy, and not the Serbians. Thus, in his account on the abolition of the Serbian Patriarchate, Grujić mentions that the last Serbian Patriarch of Peć was Vasilije Brkić (1763-1765), whom “the Greeks” accused in the face of Ottoman authorities as a spy and a traitor, which resulted in his exile to Cyprus in April

¹⁸⁴ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, 89; While I did not manage to find the actual petitions, according to a document of 1 February 1767, having heard that Peć had been incorporated into Istanbul and that order had been established there, six metropolitans from the Patriarchate of Ohrid – Efthimios of Kastoria, Germanos of Vodina [Edessa], Gregory of Grebena, Nikiforos of Sisania, Ananias of Ustrumca [Strumica], and Gennadios of Görice [Gorice] – requested Ohrid’s incorporation into the Patriarchate of Istanbul [(...) *İpek metropolidlerinin bu vech üzere giriftâr oldukları zulm ve ta’addîye sıyâneten bu def’a İstanbul Patrikliğine ilhâk ile nizâm-ı müstahseneye ifrağ ve ihyâ olunduğu mesmû’ları olub anlar dahî İstanbul patrikliğine ilhâk olunmak ricâsı husûsu için metropolidân ‘ale’l-ittifâk mahsûsen âsitâne-i ‘aliyyeye geldiklerinde (...)] see D.PSK 25/74, 2 Ramazân 1180 / 1 February 1767; a petition by the patriarch and the metropolitans of Istanbul issued 10 days after the above mention document states that , the abolition of Ohrid was executed on the request of the *re’âyâ* of Ohrid, Patriarch Arsenios, and the petitions of six metropolitans [(...) *Ohri havâlisinden bi’l-cümle mevsûkü’l-kelîm olan re’âyâsının re’y ve ittifâk ve patrikleri bulunan Arsenios nam râhibin istirhâmı ve metropolidlerinin dahî memhûr mahzarları üzere sâdır olan / fermân-ı ‘âlîşânım mûcibince patriklik-i mezbûrun kaydı ref’ ve terkin ve İstanbul Rum patrikliğine ilhâk (...)] see D.PSK 25/75, 12 Ramazân 1180 / 11 February 1767.**

¹⁸⁵ For a summary of the two historiographical approaches see Jelavich, “Some Aspects”, 151-152.

¹⁸⁶ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, 1952.

¹⁸⁷ Makarios, in Sathas, *Mesaionike bibliotheke epistasia*, Typois tou Chronou, Vol III, (1872), 250-252.

¹⁸⁸ For this point of view and references to other Serbian historians of similar views see Grujić, “Pećka Patrijarsija”, 396-397; Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 421-450; Jovan Radonić, *Rimska kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje od XVI do XIX veka [Roman Curia and South Slavic lands from the 16th to the 19th centuries]*, (Belgrade, 1950), 664-668; Corović, *Istorija Jugoslavije*, 395; Ruvarac, “O Ukidanju Pećke Patrijarshije”, 293-299.

1765. The place of the exiled Serbian Patriarch was taken by the Greek Kalinik II Ovaj, who was sent from Istanbul. The new Patriarch of Peć along with the other Greek bishops, acting in agreement with the Patriarch of Istanbul resigned and describing the difficult financial situation of the Patriarchate of Peć suggested to abolish the latter and take it under the jurisdiction of Istanbul. Slijepčević also emphasizes the fact that the authorities of the Patriarchate of Peć at the time of its abolition were Greek, by “authorities” he refers not only to the Patriarch Kalinik II but also to the bishops who presumably participated in the writing of the petition asking for the abolition of their Patriarchate. He further emphasizes that after the migration of Patriarch Arsenije III to the Habsburg domains the gradual replacement of Serbians with the Greeks took place in Serbian dioceses.¹⁸⁹ Finally, Ruvarać maintains that at the time of the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć, almost all the Serbian bishops were expelled from their dioceses.¹⁹⁰ In a similar vein, Slijepčević in his account on the history of the Serbian Church states that the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć in 1766 was preceded by cultural attempts of “Hellenization” and that “the Greeks” were preparing the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć.¹⁹¹

The emphasis that the Serbian historiography puts on the agency of the Patriarch of Peć and metropolitans demanding its abolition is related to the tendency to connect the Greek origins of the Peć authorities to their ties with Patriarchate of Istanbul in general and Patriarch Samouil in particular, as well as with the Phanariots, and even Hellenization. When put in such a context, the petition written by the authorities of the Patriarchate of Peć, the financial situation of the Patriarchate at the eve of its abolition, as well as numerous other factors at the core of the complex dynamics behind the abolition of the Serbian Patriarchate appear as a mere excuse for the abolition, while the real factor behind it was always “the great Greek idea” in different forms. Below I will discuss the major factors and actors, which are considered in historiography to have played the primary role in the eventual abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć.

¹⁸⁹ Grujić, “Pećka partijarska”, 397; Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 421-434.

¹⁹⁰ Ruvarać, “O Ukidanju Pećke Patrijarshije”, 296.

¹⁹¹ Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 421-426; A seventeenth century theologian and a historian Juraj Križanić for instance already in the seventeenth century elaborated on the Greeks’ “hatred” towards the Serbian Church and the fact that the Greeks envious of the fact that the Serbs had a Patriarch, paid large sums to the Porte hoping to place the Greek metropolitans in Serbia, see Juraj Križanić, *Russkoe Gosudarstro v Polovine XVII veka [The Russian State in the middle of the Seventeenth Century]*, part II, Moscow, 1860, 212-220.

4.2 Patriarch Samouil of Istanbul

Directly related to the question of “authority” is the role of the Patriarch of Istanbul, Samouil (1763-1765) who was on throne at the time of abolition of Peć. The significance of the agency of ‘the authorities’ of the Patriarchate of Peć in the unfolding events leading to abolition is presented as questionable in Serbian historiography. Thus, a number of Serbian sources not only underline the fact that the authorities were Greek, which leads to conclusion that Greeks and not the Serbs requested the abolition of the Serbian Patriarchate, but also form the narration in a way, which stresses the agency of the Patriarchate of Samouil in the eventual abolition of Peć. Hence, Patriarch Samouil is presented in historiography as the initiator and the main executor of his plan, while the authorities of Peć merely acted in accordance with the “agreement” they made with the Patriarch. Furthermore, it is maintained that the Patriarch of Istanbul took advantage of the difficult situation of the Patriarchate of Peć in accordance with his own purposes. Moreover, the new Patriarch of Peć along with the other Greek bishops is portrayed as acting in agreement with the Patriarch of Istanbul when resigning and suggesting the abolition. Similarly, Patriarch Samouil emerges as the one who convinced the Sultan that the abolishment of the Serbian Patriarchate and its unification with the Patriarchate of Istanbul was serving the interest of the state, as it would ensure the proper reception by the State Treasury of the tax prescribed for the Patriarchate of Peć and to facilitate the payment of the debt to the State Treasury the Serbian Church has already accumulated.¹⁹² In contrast to this point of view, Papadopoulos exonerates Patriarch Samouil of any desire to abolish the see, stating that the Patriarch Samouil had no desire to abolish the autocephalous Patriarchate of Peć, and it was only at the instance of the authorities of the Serbian Church that he conformed with their demands in this matter.¹⁹³

¹⁹² Grujić, “Pećska partijarska”, 397; Runciman also maintains that Patriarch Samouil had a direct impact on the eventual fate of Peć and Ohrid, see Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 379-380; A Bulgarian historian Marin Drinov also emphasizes the role Patriarch Samouil in the fate of the Patriarchate of Peć as he states that Patriarch Samouil first tried to expel the Serbian bishops from the Serbian Church and replace them with Greeks, and then stroke the last blow, see Marin Drinov, “Bolgare i Konstantinopol’skaja Patrijarhija [The Bulgarians and the Patriarchate of Constantinople]”, *Sochinenija na M. S. Drinova*, Vol. II, (Sofia, 1911), 185.

¹⁹³ Papadopoulos, *Studies and documents*, 89-90.

4.3 The Phanariots and the Patriarchate of Istanbul

In Serbian historiography the agency of Patriarch Samouil, of the Phanariot origins himself, in the abolition of Peć is often presented as directly related to the agencies of the Phanariots and Patriarchate of Istanbul as such, as well as a collective image of these actors often referred to as “the Greeks”. Thus, elaborating on the dynamics preceding the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć it is emphasized that the Greeks accused the last Serbian Patriarch of Peć Vasilije Brkić (1763-1765) in the face of Turkish authorities as a spy and a traitor. Following the accusation Vasilije was sent into exile and replaced on the Patriarchal throne of Peć by the Greek Kalinik II Ovaj, who was sent from Istanbul.¹⁹⁴ The agency of the Phanariots in the abolition of Peć has been addressed in non-Serbian historiography too. Thus, Runciman maintains that ecclesiastical institutions of Ohrid and Peć were incorporated into the Patriarchate Istanbul on the demand of the Phanariots for the purpose of “Hellenizing” the Patriarchate. He states that the Phanariots sought to tighten their control over Peć to the same extent as in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. According to this view, the Phanariots disapproved of the fact that the Bulgarian and Serbian Churches retained their Slavonic liturgy as well as their native clergy. He also maintains that the Patriarch Samouil Hantcherli – himself a member of a Phanariot family – had a direct impact on the eventual fate of Peć and Ohrid.¹⁹⁵ Similar emphasis on the agency of the Greeks in the fate of the Patriarchate of Peć is made by Golubinsky, who states that one of the reasons for the abolition of Peć was the idea of the active Hellenization of the Slavs of the Balkan peninsula arising among Greek national-political interests. He further adds that the patriarchs of Istanbul did not accept the legality of the existence of the Patriarchate of Peć and sought to abolish it for a long time.¹⁹⁶ Konortas mentions that, from the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards, the higher clergy at Peć was of Greek origin and proposes that the abolition of Ohrid and Peć were

¹⁹⁴ Grujić, “Pećska partijarska”, 396-397.

¹⁹⁵ Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 379-380.

¹⁹⁶ Golubinsky, *Kratky Ocherk Istoriji Pravoslavnih Tserkvei*, 487; Interestingly Marin Drinov states that in 1702 the Constantinople patriarch issued an encyclical letter (okrujnitsa) to all Orthodox Christians in which he proved that the Ohrid and the Peć Patriarchs are not true patriarchs and ordered that they should not be obeyed or referred to by the patriarchal title, see Drinov, “Bolgare i Konstantinopolskaja Patriarhija”, 184.

the result of the rise of the Phanariots, along with the economic benefits of the governors of the Patriarchate, and of Ottoman political will.¹⁹⁷

Among the Serbian historians, Slijepčević stressed the role of the Ottoman will along with the influence of the Phanariots on the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć. He states that during the eighteenth century, the interests of the Porte regarding the fate of Serbian people coincided with the interests of the Phanariots. Furthermore, he clearly emphasizes the role the Phanariots and the will of the Patriarchate of Istanbul in the abolition of Peć. In his narration the Phanariots and the Patriarchate of Istanbul seem to be interconnected physically – through the representatives of the Phanariot families at the head of the patriarchate, financially – through the financial services the Phanariots made both to the Porte and to the Patriarchate, and ideologically - as both were the bearer of the “great Greek idea”, in other words both parties sought to Hellenize whole non-Greek Orthodox population of the Balkan Peninsula. Slijepčević further maintains that it was the Phanariots, who advocated the abolition of the autocephality of the Patriarchate of Peć and the Archbishopric of Ohrid, which finally happened when, as it is mentioned above, in the eighteenth century the interests of the Porte coincided with the interests of the Phanariots, the interests being of “national and material” nature. Thus, according to Slijepčević, the Phanariot circles using great influence in the Porte, to which they often made big financial services, led by the Patriarchate of Istanbul, sought to Hellenize whole non-Greek Orthodox population of the Balkan Peninsula.¹⁹⁸ However, recent studies which question the uniformity of the Phanariot ideals and bring to light the variety of opinions among them, also shake the foundations of this narrative on the abolition of Peć holding tight on the Phanariot ideals of “Hellenization” and the “Great Idea”.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Paraskevas Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis gia to Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio: 17os-arches 20ou aiona*, (Athens, 1998), 218-219.

¹⁹⁸ Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 421-422; Nikanor Ruzicić maintains (referring to earlier sources) that the Synod of the Patriarchate of Istanbul continuously instigated the Porte to “deprive the Serbs of last defense of their nationality - the independence of the Serbian Church.” Moreover, as it has been mentioned above, the gradual replacement of the Serbian bishops with the Greek ones starting from the migration of Arsenije III on, is also considered in much of Serbian historiography to be initiated and executed by the Patriarchate of Istanbul under the influence of the Phanariots. Nikanor Ruzicić, *Kratki Istoriski Pregled Uzajamnih Odnoshaja Izmechu Srpske I Grchko-Tsarigradske Tsrkve i Njihovih Predstavitel'ja [Brief Historical Overview of the Mutual Relations between the Serbian and Greek-Constantinople Churches and their Representatives]*, (Belgrade, 1875), 95.

¹⁹⁹ See Chapter II, subchapter 2.4.

4.4 The Financial Situation of the Patriarchate of Peć

Another major factor behind the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć according to existing historiography is the financial situation of the Patriarchate of Peć. Thus, elaborating on the circumstances leading to the abolition of Peć (and Ohrid) Papadopoulos maintains that “the material decay in which they had sunk, and the financial difficulties in which they were involved, necessitated their subjection to Istanbul, as the only issue to their entangled position.”²⁰⁰ Noteworthy is the fact that while Papadopoulos emphasizes the financial bankruptcy of the Patriarchate of Peć,²⁰¹ representatives of Serbian historiography mostly abstain from rough definitions, referring to the financial situation of the Patriarchate as merely “difficult”²⁰² but never bankrupt. Finally, in Papadopoulos’ narration the processes culminating in the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć come in a rather simplistic form: the bankruptcy results in the request of the authorities of Peć to abolish the patriarchate, the natural consequence of which became abolishment and the transition of the patriarchate under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul. In contrast, the Serbian historiography engages a variety of factors in the explanation of the fate of the Serbian Patriarchate and while accepting the fact that the financial situation of the Patriarchate was difficult, they never place it at the top of the dynamics leading to the abolition of Peć.

Interestingly, in his account on the history of the Serbian church, Golubinsky mentions that one of the major rationales behind the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć was not only the financial problems of the former, but also the desire of the Patriarchate of Istanbul to alleviate the burden of its debts through an increase in the numbers of the payers.²⁰³ Among the specific financial circumstances leading to the abolition of Peć Golubinsky mentions a record of the Synod of the Patriarchate of Istanbul, which states that in 1765 the son of a doctor – Georgaki Stavradi was sentenced to death by the Porte and all his movable and immovable properties were confiscated.²⁰⁴ A year after the death of

²⁰⁰ Papadopoulos, *Studies and documents*, 89; see also Makarios, *Mesaionike bibliotheke epistasia*, 250-252.

²⁰¹ Papadopoulos, *Studies and documents*, 89.

²⁰² Grujić, “Pećska partijarska”, 397.

²⁰³ Golubinsky, *Kratky Oчерk Istoriji Pravoslavniх Tserkvei*, 487.

²⁰⁴ George Stavrakoglu was a son of a Phanariot surgeon. Throughout his life he changed many careers, from the tax collector to the *kapu-kahya* in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. His name is associated with a variety of financial and political intrigues including plotting against the Patriarch. After his main protector Grand Vizier Mustafa Paşa was executed, Stavrakoglu was

Georgaki it was claimed that the Archbishopric of Peć owed him a large sum of money in debt. Patriarch Samouil included this debt in the treasure of the Porte. As it was impossible for the Patriarchate of Peć to pay this debt, the patriarchate was tied to the Patriarchate of Istanbul.²⁰⁵

4.5 Interactions with “foreigners”

Another factor which is commonly regarded in historiography to be of primary importance in the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć was the question of the Serbian high clergy’s loyalty towards the Ottoman Empire. A number of Serbian historians as well as foreign ones maintain that the Porte lost trust in the representatives of Serbian high clergy as a result of their interactions with foreign states, among these were the Habsburg and Russian Empires, Venice and other Catholic actors.²⁰⁶ Noteworthy is the fact that certain

arrested and hanged. For more on Stavrakoğlu see Guy Evans, “George Stavrakoğlu and the Rule of Ruşvet”, in Kate Fleet (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century, Oriente Moderno* 18 (79), Nr. 1, (1999), 147-160.

²⁰⁵ Golubinsky, *Kratky Oчерk Istoriji Pravoslavniх Tserkvei*, 487-488.

²⁰⁶ Konortas refers to the migrations to the Habsburg territories of Patriarch Arsenios III and 90,000 Serbs in 1690 as well as Arsenios IV in 1736-1739 as determinant events in the fate of Peć. According to Konortas it was due to these events that , the sultan thought that the Serbian high clergy should be replaced with more reliable ones from the circles of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, see Konortas, *Othomanikes Theoriseis gia to Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio*, 218-219; Slijepčević mentions the Porte’s loss of confidence in the political loyalty of the representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church Among the major factors affecting the fate of the Serbian Patriarchate. He maintains that the distrust of the Porte towards the Patriarchate of Peć came as a result of a gradual process which started in the end of 16th century and culminated by the end of the eighteenth. He further maintains that the loss of confidence in the loyalty of the Serbian Orthodox of the church contributed to the enhancement of the Phanariot influence in the Patriarchate of Constantinople see Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 421-422; Grujić maintains that after the uprising and consequent migration of the Patriarch Arsenije IV the Porte lost trust in the Serbs, which resulted in replacing Serbian bishops and patriarchs by the Greek ones in agreement with the Patriarchs of Istanbul they started to place Greeks as the patriarchs of Peć. Grujić further maintains that with influence of the Greek Phanariots the patriarchs of Peć were changing quickly, which created bad reputation for the patriarchs of Peć in the second half of the eighteenth century, which eventually contributed to the *downfall* of the Patriarchate. Grujić maintains that the major argument that the Patriarch of Istanbul used against the Patriarchate of Peć, was the fact that the Greek bishops were better fit to ensure the loyalty of the Serbs to the Sultan, as the Serbian bishops had already shown their inclination to the Austrian Emperor and the Russian Tsar, see Grujić “Pećska patrijarška”, 396-397; Constantin Jireček states that in 1737 Jovan Ipsilanti proposed the Porte to abolish the Archbishopric of Peć and Ohrid and thus ensure the direct subordination of the Slavs under the spiritual authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, so that this way they could stop the intrigues of the Austrian government as well as to ease the Hellenization of Slavs, see Jireček, Constantin, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague, 1876, 470; this is also mentioned by in Golubinsky, *Kratky Oчерk Istoriji Pravoslavniх Tserkvei*, 293. Jovan Ipsilanti (Ioannis Hypsilantis) was a dragoman and a member of the Phanariot

historians emphasize the fact that the tendencies of the Serbian lay people and high clergy to interact with foreign states was used by the Phanariot circles to convince the Porte first to replace the Serbian clergymen with the Greek ones and later to incorporate the Patriarchate of Peć into the Patriarchate of Istanbul.

When placing the question of loyalty in the context of relations between the Porte and the Patriarchate of Peć and the eventual abolition of the latter, historiography tends to emphasize the interactions between the Serbian Church and the Habsburg Empire. It is understandable as these relations were of a noticeable character and far-reaching consequences as they implied not only collaboration of the Ottoman subjects with the opponents of the Porte but also, migration of the Serbian high clergy and, probably most importantly, Serbian *re'âyâ* to the Habsburg lands. Needless to say, such an action not only damaged the prestige of the Ottoman Empire, but also endangered the social and economic order - *nizâm* - including the tax collection processes.

4.6 The Patriarchate of Peć and Russia

According to the Serbian historiography, the relations between the representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church and Russia date back to the times of Saint Sava, who as a young monk was influenced by the Russian books and writing. The cultural, literary and religious exchange between Russia and Serbian state existing since the times of Saint Sava underwent a major shift in the fifteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire took over the domains of former Serbian state. From that time on Russia emerged in the eyes of Serbian Orthodox high clergy and monks as a potential savior, to whom they addressed with their lamentations and hopes for material and political support for centuries to come.²⁰⁷ Thus, throughout the seventeenth century the relations between the Serbian high clergy and the Russian empire were mostly characterized by the visits the clergymen made to Russia for charity and liturgical books.²⁰⁸ By the end of the seventeenth century, the

Hypsilantis family and he proposed the “unification of the Slavic churches”, but he was later executed by the Ottoman authorities see Bayraktar Tellan, “Bir Osmanlı Müverrihi” 178.

²⁰⁷ Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 373-374.

²⁰⁸ Jurij V., Kosteashov, *Serbi v Avstrijskoj Monarhiji v XVIII veke [The Serbs in the Austrian Monarchy in the XVIII Century]*, (Kaliningrad, 1997), 36; Slijepčević maintains that the growing interests of the Serbian Church in contacting Russian Empire in the beginning of the seventeenth century stemmed from the disillusionment of the Serbian clergy with regard to support of the West see, Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 374-377.

relations between Russia and the high clergy of Peć escalated to another, rather politicized, stage. In May 1688, the Patriarch of Peć Arsenije III (1674-1690) sent a diploma to Moscow, in which he called the Russian tsar to armed intervention against the Ottoman Empire and elaborated on a plan for the unification of the Orthodox Christians of the Balkan Peninsula under the scepter of the Russian tsar with the capital in Istanbul.²⁰⁹ However, having migrated to the Habsburg domains Patriarch Arsenije abandoned his plan, but continued to express his eagerness to migrate to the Russian Empire.²¹⁰ However, here he faced yet another issue in which he sought Russian support, it was the increase in the Catholic conversion activities and the fate of Orthodox creed in the Habsburg domains. He was suspecting that there was an intention to separate the Serbian people residing in the monarchy from their faith.²¹¹ Overall, the expansion of ties with Russia rose the hopes for intercession of the “Eastern King” on behalf of Serbian people, and promoted the cult of Peter I among the Austrian Serbs.²¹² In 1711-1712 Peter I appealed to the Patriarch of Peć Atanasije and the Serbs living in Austrian domains inviting them to a cooperation against the Ottoman Empire.²¹³ The relations between the Russian Empire and the Serbian high clergy and laity continued through the first half of the eighteenth century in a similar pattern characterized by occasional migration of Serbs to the domains of the Russian Empire.²¹⁴ Golubinsky maintains that after the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć the dismissed bishops turned to the Russian rulers seeking help against the violations of the Patriarchate of Istanbul. They also expressed their eagerness to maintain an Archbishopric dependent on the Russian Synod and that in case of need the Archbishop would be chosen from among Russians. At the same time in 1776 the archbishops sent a letter to the Metropolitan of Moscow Platon expressing similar requests.²¹⁵ While during the earlier phases of their relationship their interactions were

²⁰⁹ Stevan Dimitrijević, “Odnosaji patrijaraha pećskih s Rusijom u XVII Veku [The relations between the Patriarchs of Peć and Russia in the XVII Century]”, *Glas SKA*, Brochure 60, (1901), 160-166.

²¹⁰ Veselinović, *Arsenij III Chrnjevic*, 17.

²¹¹ Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 381-382.

²¹² Kostashov, *Serbi v Avstrijskoj Monarhiji*, 38.

²¹³ Kostashov, *Serbi v Avstrijskoj Monarhiji*, 38; here Kostashov refers to RGADA [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts], Fund 32, Register 1, Delo 4, 1712 (available online through a RGADA digital archive)

²¹⁴ Kostashov, *Serbi v Avstrijskoj Monarhiji*, 38-44;

²¹⁵ Golubinsky, *Kratky Ocherk Istoriji Pravoslavnih Tserkvei*, 488-489; Golubinsky states that the answer of the Metropolitan Platon to the letter of the Serbian Archbishops is unknown, while the

mostly characterized by cultural and literary exchange between coreligionists, the entrance of the Serbian Church and lands under the rule of the Ottoman Empire brought political and military agenda into the relations. As the Serbian monks and clergy continued to appeal to Russia for financial support, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the heads of the Serbian Church were addressing the Russian rulers with requests for political support against their opponents, be that Ottoman Empire, the Catholics in the Habsburg domains or political regime they found oppressive. Despite these occasional entanglements between the Russian Empire and its Serbian co-religionists, it was not until the nineteenth century that Russia took the Ottoman Christians in consideration regarding its international policies against the Ottoman Empire.²¹⁶

4.7 The Patriarchate of Peć and the Catholic Actors in Serbian Historiography

The relations between the Patriarchate of Peć and the Catholic actors such as Venice, the Papacy and to a lesser extent Habsburg Empire are presented in the Serbian historiography in the context of opposing politico-religious aspirations of the sides. While the interests of each of the three Catholic actors varied, the motivation of the Patriarchate of Peć in contacting or maintaining relations with the Catholics is usually presented as “the liberation of the [Serbian] people from Turkish slavery”. The aspiration for the liberation from the Ottoman rule brought “tragedy” to the Serbs. The tragedy stemmed from the fact that when addressing the representatives of the Roman Catholics for support in their struggle against the Ottomans, the Serbian Orthodox people were often treated poorly and forced to renounce their faith, which eventually resulted in the turning of the latter to Russia.²¹⁷ According to Radonić, when the Patriarch Jovan II (1592- 1614) first established ties with the Roman Pope Clement III and asked the Pope for financial help,

original of the letter is preserved in the library of Vifansky Theological Seminary in Russia and was also printed in Glasnik XXII, 357.

²¹⁶ For the different aspects of Russia’s encounters with the Ottoman Empire from early modern period to the Crimean War and for the place of the Ottoman Christians in these encounters see Taki, Victor, *Tsar and Sultan: Russian Encounters with the Ottoman Empire*, I. B. Tauris, 2016.

²¹⁷ Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 386. For more on the relations between the Patriarchate of Peć and Catholic actors see Nikodim Milash, *Pravoslavna Dalmacija [The Orthodox Dalmatia]*, (Novi Sad, 1901) and Radonić, *Rimska kurija*; The premise is that Venice and Habsburg Empire maintained relations with the Serbian people counting on their support in the campaigns against the Ottoman Empire, while the major aspiration of the Roman Popes in relations with the Patriarchate of Peć was the formation of the union between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches. Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 386-388;

the latter inferred that the major condition for help is the union of the two churches.²¹⁸ While Patriarch Jovan did not consider union between the two churches possible, the relations between the Patriarchs of Peć and the Roman Catholic Church continued with varying intensity for decades.

During the administration of Patriarch Pajsije (1614-1647) the Catholic missionary activities on the territories of the Peć Patriarchate escalated to the extent that the Catholic side was expecting Pajsije to sign the confession of faith, which would demonstrate the Patriarch's denial of the existence of difference between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches. Although the Patriarch did not comply with these expectations, he did not interrupt the relations with the Catholic Church.²¹⁹ The relations of the Patriarchate of Peć continued evenly although according to Slijepčević the immigrants, who settled in the Habsburg domains since the mid-sixteenth century, have been pushed either directly or indirectly to Catholicism or at least to accepting the Union with the participation of the Empire's authorities.

When at the end of the seventeenth century Patriarch Arsenije III and a part of his congregation migrated to the Serbian domains following the retreat of the Austrian armies, the Patriarch demanded from Emperor Leopold certain privileges, which would include the freedom of the Orthodox faith and freedom of choice of the patriarch, and will encompass the entire Orthodox living on both sides of the Danube and the Sava.²²⁰ Although the Serbian clergy and people were formally granted the privileges, upon migration to the Habsburg domains they had to deal with the opposing groups as well as the unionist pressure of the Catholic Church.²²¹ The pressure and restricted religious freedom of the Serbs in Habsburg domains resulted in considerable migration of Serbs to Russia: from 1751 to 1753, about 100,000 Serbs from the Monarchy emigrated.²²²

²¹⁸ Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, 10.

²¹⁹ Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, 171-175.

²²⁰ Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 395.

²²¹ For more on the privileges and the pressure of the Catholic Church see Ognjen Karanović, "Privilegijalna Politika Tsara Leopolda I: Pravni Fundament Opstanka Srpskog Etnosa u Habzburskoj Monarhiji [The Privilege Policy of Tsar Leopold I: The legal foundation of the survival of Serbian ethnicity in the Habsburg Monarchy]" in *LIK: Cheasopis za Literaturu i Kulturu* 4/5, (2018), 133-163 and Kostashov, *Serbi v Avstrijskoj Mosnarhiji*.

²²² Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tsrkve*, 395-398.

CHAPTER V: THE FINAL YEARS OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF PEĆ IN OTTOMAN RECORDS

The analysis of the Ottoman documents regarding the Patriarchate of Peć which were issued on the eve of the abolition of the patriarchate or soon after it, provides a tool for a more comprehensive explanation of the dynamics behind the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć. Unfortunately, as it has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, the Ottoman documents were mentioned in the historiography solely as a point of reference to the initiators of the abolition of Peć, i.e. who wrote the petition. In this chapter, I attempt to use a fraction of the records available in the Ottoman Archives to place the matter of the abolition of Peć in the larger context of the eighteenth-century developments. Through the analysis of the available sources, I aim to trace the developments, which took place in the last years before the Patriarchate of Peć was incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul.

5.1 The Abolition of Peć and Its Consequences as Recorded in the Ottoman Sources

According to the Ottoman documents, local metropolitans appear to have been the major actors instrumental in the change of the status of the two Patriarchates. According to a draft copy of a document dated November 1768, during the time of Patriarch Samouil of Istanbul the records of the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid had been deleted and the Patriarchates were incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul through the petition submitted by the metropolitans and *re'âyâ* residing in the jurisdiction of the above mentioned Patriarchates. The petition of the local metropolitans of Ohrid and Peć requesting to include these church organizations in the *berât* of the Patriarch of Istanbul clearly demonstrates the role that the local metropolitans played in the abolition of the two patriarchates. However, as we have seen in Serbian, Bulgarian and Russian historiographies the role of local authorities in the abolition of Peć and Ohrid is not denied. Rather, the extent to which the authorities were truly “local” is questioned. The fact that the *re'âyâ* residing in the territories of the two Patriarchates is also presented advocating for the abolition of Peć and Ohrid through a petition adds new dynamics to the argument persistent in Serbian and Bulgarian historiographies, where, as it was specified before, the will of the metropolitans are often disregarded or at best looked upon

with suspicion as the metropolitans are believed to be Greek and not Serbs. This being said, it is unclear who the representatives of the *re'âyâ* petitioning for the abolition of their Patriarchates were.²²³ This document also informs us on the fact that due to incorporation of these Patriarchates into the Patriarchate of Istanbul the above mentioned Patriarchates' customary yearly payments were to be paid by the Patriarch of Istanbul.²²⁴ Furthermore, the twenty three metropolitans, eight from Peć and fifteen from Ohrid, petitioning for the inclusion of the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid to the Patriarchate of Istanbul are to be exempt from various taxes including *cizye*, '*avâriz*, *tekâlîf-i 'örfiyye* and *şâkka*.²²⁵ Similar information was recorded in the *berât* of the Patriarch of Istanbul Meletios II. According to this document, Peć and Ohrid and the dependencies of the two church organizations were included in the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul according to the *berât* of Meletios II of Istanbul issued in 1768²²⁶ in addition to places already under the jurisdiction of Istanbul mentioned in the *berât* of Patriarch Samouil issued in 1763.²²⁷ A result of the incorporation of these places which were under the jurisdiction of Peć²²⁸ and Ohrid²²⁹ into the Patriarchate of Istanbul, was that the Orthodox

²²³ D.PSK 25/150, 8 Receb 1182 / 18 November 1768 [(...) *Patrik-i sâbık zamânında İpek ve Ohri patriki bulunanların iltizâmalarında olan metropolid ve sâ'ir re'âyâ fukarâsının istirhâmlarıyla Zikr olunan İpek ve Ohri patriklerinin kaydı ref' ve terkîn ve ..ü'r- re'âyâ İstanbul Rum patrikliğine ilhâk (...)*], in 1768 when the draft was composed Meletios II was the Patriarch of Istanbul, thus the *patrik-i sâbık* i.e. the previous patriarch in whose time the Patriarchate of Peć and Ohrid were abolished was Samouil.

²²⁴ D.PSK 25/150, 8 Receb 1182 / 18 November 1768 [(...) *patriklik-i mesfûrların senevî mu'tâd olan mâl-i maktû'ları sene-be-sene İstanbul patriği tarafından edâ olunmak üzere mahalline kayd ve tarafından edâ (...)*]

²²⁵ D.PSK 25/150, 8 Receb 1182 / 18 November 1768 [(...) *mukaddemâ İpek patriği olanların sekiz nefer ve Ohri patriği olanların onbeş nefer âdemleri cizye ve 'avâriz ve tekâlîf-i 'örfiyye ve şâkkadan mu'âf ve müsellemler için berâtları şûrûtında (...)*]

²²⁶ BOA.KK.d.2542/17, 138-140; p.184, Çolak, Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 184-192.

²²⁷ BOA.KK.d.2542/16, 43, 44.

²²⁸ Peć and its dependencies, Dubnice, Razlık, İhtiman, Samakov, Odorica, Hersek, Badye, Sangur, the village of Kurşunlu, Ürgüb, Üsküb, Ayo Rane?, Eğri Palanga, Kalkandelen, Niş, Alacahisar, Resova, Güğercinlik, Radomir, Köstendil, İştib, Kratova, Koçana, Burga, Rahta, Prakin, Rudnik, Yenipazar, Yenivaroş, Perguşta, Perdnik, Mitrofça, Plasnice, Vulçitrin, Semendre, Kacne?, Blanga, Hisarcık, Karatağ, Pirepol, Taşlıca, Meylan?, İrşova, Valiva?, the livâ of İzvornik, the *kazâ* of Sokol, Uziçe, the nevâhi of Ulakörte?, Maçova, the unbelievers of the church of the Latin clergymen in the *livâ* of Bosna, Kilis, Hersek, Belgrad, Sirem, Prizren, Novabrda, Priştine, Yakova.

²²⁹ Ohrid and its dependencies, Manastır, Pirlpepe, Köprülû, Tikveş, Radovişte, Ustrumca, Betriç, Latro, Boyimye, Gevgeli, Yenice-i Vardar with the Church of Vlat, the nâhiye of Islanice, Karacaovası, Ostrova, Florina, Cuma, Eğribucak, Kastorya, Hurpişte, Naslic, Sisan, Grevene, [Do]jvnica, Bihlişte, Görice, Obar, Kolonya, Iskarpar, Premedi, Depedelen, Belgrad-ı Arnavud,

populations of these places would now be under the direct jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul, which is clearly stated in the formulaic language of *berâts*. Accordingly, the *berât* given to Meletios II states that the Patriarch would be regarded as the patriarch by the Christians of the incorporated *vilâyets* of Peć and its dependencies as well as Ohrid and its dependencies. The Christians of these territories in their turn shall appeal to Meletios regarding the matters of his patriarchate. They would obey and respect him in accordance with their rite, and they shall not go against his word.²³⁰ The *berât* of Meletios II also differs from that of his predecessor Patriarch Samouil in that Meletios was given additional financial duties as a consequence of the incorporation of the Patriarchate of Peć and the Archbishopric of Ohrid. While Patriarch Samouil was awarded the patriarchate on the condition that he would annually pay 20,000 *guruş* of *mâl-i maktû* ' to the Imperial Treasury and deliver the daily amount of the equivalent of 105 *vukıyyes* of sheep meat as *ocaklık*, Meletios II in addition to the same annual payments of *mâl-i maktû* ' and *ocaklık* was to pay annual 90,000 *akçes* of *mâl-i maktû* ' from the Patriarchate of Peć and its dependencies incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul. Similarly, 163,000 *akçes* of *mâl-i maktû* ' were to be paid by Patriarch Meletios for the incorporated patriarchate of Ohrid and its dependencies. Both payments were to be delivered to the Imperial Treasury annually in the month of *Muharrem*. The *berât* states that the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid were incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul by the imperial order of the Sultan on the condition of payment by the Patriarch Meletios II of the sums mentioned above. The *berât* also warns that any petition requesting the separation of the former Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid or their metropolitans from the Patriarchate of Istanbul would be disregarded. It is also mentioned that the Patriarchs of Peć and Ohrid were registered under the jurisdiction of the former patriarch Samouil. Furthermore, the Patriarch of Peć and his six men, as well as the fifteen men of the Patriarch of Ohrid would be exempt from paying *cizye*, ' *avâriz*, *tekâlîf-i* ' *örfiyye* and *şâkka*. Some parts of the *berât* are similar to the information recorded in the draft mentioned above which dates to 18

Malakasrı, Muzakya, Karapınar, Avlonya, İşbat, Elbasan, Kavaye, Draç, Tiran, Dibre, Kreçovo, Prespe and Timurhisarı.

²³⁰ [(...) *vilâyetlerinde vâki* ' *mitrepolidler ve arhipiskoposlar ve gumenoslar ve papaslar ve keşişler ve kalogriyalar ve sâ'ir bi'l-cümle Nasârâ tâ'ifesinin ulusu ve kişisi Meletios merkûmı üzerlerine patrik bilüb patrikliğine müte'allik düşen umûrlarında merkûma mürâca'at idüb ve yolında olan sözinden tecâvüz eylemeyüb kendü âyınleri üzere itâ'at ve inkıyâdlarında kusûr eylemeyeler*].

November 1768, i.e. four days before the *berât* was issued. It is noteworthy that while the *berât* mentions that Patriarch of Peć along with six of his men, and fifteen men of the Patriarch of Ohrid are exempt from taxes, the draft copy mentions twenty three metropolitans in total, eight from Peć and fifteen from Ohrid, and does not specify that the Patriarch of Peć, i.e. Kallinik II is among the eight metropolitans of Peć petitioning for the abolition of Ohrid.²³¹

Another document issued on 1 February 1767 and mostly concerned with the incorporation of the Archbishopric of Ohrid into the Patriarchate of Istanbul sheds light on the details of the situation that the Patriarchate of Peć presumably was in shortly before and after its abolition. Thus, we learn from this document that the metropolitans of Peć sought incorporation into the Patriarchate of Istanbul as a way to avoid the “cruelty and injustice” they have been drowning in. However, the incorporation of the Patriarchate of Peć into that of Istanbul changed this situation completely by bringing the former to order. Having heard of the establishment of the order in the Patriarchate of Peć, the six metropolitans from the Patriarchate of Ohrid²³² struggling with injustices came to Istanbul to request incorporation into the Patriarchate of Istanbul as well.²³³

²³¹ D.PSK 25/150, 8 Receb 1182 / 18 November 1768 [(...) *mukaddemâ İpek patriği olanların sekiz nefer ve Ohri patriği olanların onbeş nefer âdemleri cizye ve ‘avârız ve tekâlîf-i ‘örfiyye ve şâkkadan mu‘âf ve müsellemler olmaları için berâtları şûrûtında (...)*]; For *berâts* of the Patriarch Samouil and of Patriarch Meletios II see Çolak and Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church*, 176-183 and 184-192 respectively.

²³² D.PSK 25/74, 2 Ramazân 1180 / 1 February 1767 [(...) *Kesriye metropolidi Eftimios ve Dane [Vodina] metropolidi Yermano [Germanos] ve Kirenje metropolidi Grigola [Gregory] ve Sisane metropolidi Nikiforos ve Ustorumca metropolidi Ananiye ve Görüce metropolidi Nadinios [Gennadios] ... altı nefer metropolidler Âsitâneye gelüb (...)*].

²³³ D.PSK 25/74, 2 Ramazân 1180 / 1 February 1767 [(...) *İpek metropolidlerinin bu vech üzere giriftâr oldukları zulm ve ta‘addîye sıyâneten bu def‘a İstanbul patrikliğine ilhâk ile nizâm-ı müstahseneye ifrâğ ve ihyâ olunduğu mesmû‘ları olub anlar dahî İstanbul patrikliğine ilhâk olunmak ricâsı için metropolidân ‘ale’l-ittifâk mahsûsen Âsitâne-i ‘aliyyeye geldiklerinde (...)*] See the whole document D.PSK 25/74 for the details on the complaints of the metropolitans of Ohrid and their rationale behind the request for abolition. The situation in Ohrid prior to its abolition is also described in 25/75 D.PSK 25/75, 12 Ramazân 1180 / 11 February 1767 [(...) *İstanbul Rum patriği ve Âsitâne-i Sa‘âdetimde mukîm cemâ‘at-i metropolidân dîvân-ı hümayûnuma memhûr ‘arzuhal idüb birkaç zamândan berü Ohri patriklerini ba‘zı müfsidler ticâret addiyle sıkça sıkça azl ve yerlerine diledikleri ba‘zı nâ-ehl kimesneleri patrik nasb ve yedlerine temessük alarak patrikliğin müstağrık eyledikleri düyûn-ı kesîresinin idâre-i umûri ve nizâm-ı kadîmesinin istikrârı husûs-ı (rütbe)-i imtinâ‘ resîde olduğundan kat’-ı nazâr gerek metropolidlerinin ve gerek re‘âyâ fukarâsının giriftâr oldukları zulm ve ta‘addîyatın nihâyeti olmayub ahvâlleri diğer gün ve bi‘l-küllîyye perâkende ve perîşân olacakları zâhir olduğuna*

The new status of Peć and Ohrid was included in the 1768 *berât* of the next patriarch, Meletios II, upon the petition of the twenty-three metropolitans of the two regions. In this *berât*, the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul was expanded so as to include the jurisdictions of Ohrid and Peć. The document warns against attempts to take away from Istanbul any of the places previously in the jurisdiction of Ohrid or Peć. The phrasing also suggests that, after the incorporation, order was established [*nizâm bulmuş*].

As it was mentioned before, the establishment of the system of elders (*gerontismos*) by 1763 became one of the key developments of the eighteenth century, which affected the Patriarchate of Istanbul as well as other church organizations in Ottoman territories. The considerable power that the elders of the Synod obtained in the Patriarchate vis-a-vis the patriarchs contributed to the stabilization of the situation of the Patriarchate. Soon after the establishment of the system of elders the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid entered under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Soon after the Patriarchates Peć and Ohrid were incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul, the metropolitans of the former Patriarchates petitioned the Porte, informing the latter of the attempts of certain seditious elements to obtain *i'lâm* from the *kadıs* of the region through bribery. The Porte responded that no petition or *i'lâm* requesting separation [*ifrâz*] from the Patriarchate, which found order was to be taken into account and the established order is to be preserved.²³⁴ This response demonstrates that the Ottoman administration, along with the abolished Patriarchates, was aware of what was going on in the capital, characterized as the “stabilized situation” of the Patriarchate of Istanbul in the documents. It is noteworthy, that the very same wording underlying the fact that the Patriarchate of Istanbul has found order is also used in the *berât* of Meletios II.²³⁵

binâ'en Ohri havâlîsinden bi'l-cümle mevsûkû'l-kelîm olan re'âyâsının re'y ve ittîfâk ve patrikleri bulunan Arsenios nâm râhibin istirhâmı ve metropolidlerinin dahî memhûr mahzarları üzere sâdır olan fermân-ı âlişânım mûcibince patriklik-i mezbûrın kaydı ref' ve terkîn ve İstanbul rum patrikliğine ilhâk (...)]

²³⁴ D.PSK 25/93 12 Muharrem 1181 / 10 June 1767 [(...) *İpek ve Ohri patrikliklerinin kaydları ref' ve terkîn ve İstanbul Rum patrikliğine ilhâk ile nizâm-ı kaviyyeye rabt olunmuşiken patrik-i sâbıkların ma'îyyetlerinden ba'zı müfsidler bu esnâda İpek ve Ohri havâlîleri kadılarından kuvvet-i irtîşâ ile 'arz ve i'lâm tedârîki sevdâsında olub bundan böyle tahrikden hâlî olmayacakları bedîhî olmağla rahmetü'l-fukarâ ve def'-i mezâlim için fîmâ ba'd patriklik-i mezbûrları nizâm bulmuş keşişhânedan ifrâz ve bir kimesneye tevcîh için arz ve i'lâm zuhûr ider ise kat'a istimâ' ve i'tibâr olunmayub nizâm-ı mezkûr düstûrü'l-amel dutulmak üzere (...)]*

²³⁵ BOA.KK.d.2542/17, 138 [(...) *İpek ve Ohri patrikliklerini ve metropolidlerinden birini nizâm bulmuş keşişhânedan ifrâz (...)]*

The phrasing in this document as well as in several others suggests that order [*nizâm*] was established in the Patriarchate of Peć after its incorporation into the Patriarchate of Istanbul. The matter of *nizâm* is mentioned in a number of sources regarding the matters of abolition of Peć and Ohrid as well as other developments taking place shortly before and after the abolition. The pattern emerges where first there is the representation of the lack of order in the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid,²³⁶ this is followed by the awareness of the local metropolitans of the two patriarchates and the Ottoman administration that the Patriarchate of Istanbul has found order which culminated in the establishment of *gerontismos*.²³⁷ This awareness of the order prevailing in Constantinople, as well as awareness of the lack of it in their respective patriarchates spurs the metropolitans of Peć and Ohrid to request incorporation into the Patriarchate of Constantinople.²³⁸ Once the incorporation was finalized the order was established in the two former Patriarchates.²³⁹ Certainly, the emphasis on the “established order” in the Patriarchates as expressed in the discourse of the documents reflects the point of view of the Ottoman administration. In the absence of further documentation, it may be questioned to what extent the documents reflected the actual situation. What is important here is that the discourse which underlined the importance of order and efficient taxation reflects the expectations of the

²³⁶ For a number of complaints made by the metropolitans of Ohrid requesting incorporation into the Patriarchate of Istanbul which testify to the fact that there was no order at the moment the request was made and that the metropolitans were aware of this fact see D.PSK 25/74, 2 *Ramazân* 1180 / 1 February 1767 and 25/75 D.PSK 25/75, 12 *Ramazân* 1180 / 11 February 1767; from D.PSK 25/74, 2 *Ramazân* 1180 / 1 February 1767 we learn that the Patriarchate of Peć was in state of cruelty and disorder prior to its incorporation into the Patriarchate of Istanbul [(...) *şırâze-nizâmından münkatı’ ve kendüleri ve umûrları muzmahil olmağla misl-i mesbûkı olan İpek Metropolitdlerinin bu vech üzere giriftâr oldukları zulm ve ta’addîye sıyâneten bu def’a İstanbul Patrikliğine ilhâk (...)]*

²³⁷ See the documents mentioned above D.PSK 25/93 12 *Muharrem* 1181 / 10 June 1767; BOA.KK.d.2542/17, 138

²³⁸ Very representative of this pattern is the document on the request of incorporation into the Patriarchate of Istanbul made by the metropolitans of Ohrid D.PSK 25/74, 2 *Ramazân* 1180 / 1 February 1767 [(...) *İpek metropolitdlerinin bu vech üzere giriftâr oldukları zulm ve ta’addîye sıyâneten bu def’a İstanbul patrikliğine ilhâk ile nizâm-ı müstahseneye ifrâğ ve ihyâ olunduğu mesmû’ları olup anlar dahi İstanbul patrikliğine ilhâk olunmak ricâsı için metropolitân ‘ale’l-ittifâk mahsûsen Âsitâne-i ‘aliyyeye geldiklerinde (...)]* for Ohrid see D.PSK 25/74, 2 *Ramazân* 1180 / 1 February 1767 [(...) *yevmen-fe-yevmen umur-ı nizâmı ... ve fukarânın istirahatı münkatı’ olacağına patriklerin dahî derk ve iz’ânı lâhık olmağla istikrâr-ı nizâm ve ref’-i mazâlim-i ra’iyyet için patrikliğinin kaydı ref’ ve terkîn ve İstanbul Rum Patrikliğine ilhâk (...)]*

²³⁹ D.PSK 25/93 12 *Muharrem* 1181 / 10 June 1767 [(...) *İpek ve Ohri patrikliklerinin kaydları ref’ ve terkîn ve İstanbul rum patrikliğine ilhâk ile nizâm-ı kaviyyeye? rabt olunmuşiken (...)]*;

Ottoman administration from the Patriarchates, i.e. the Orthodox Ottoman institutions which were becoming part of Ottoman administration by the second half of the eighteenth century. The churches of Peć and Ohrid were not isolated from this institutionalization, but part of it, as the Ottoman documents suggest.

This being said, while a number of documents discussed above make an emphasis on the fact that order was established in the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid through their incorporation into the Patriarchate of Constantinople, we also see from the documents that the situation apparently was not accepted by all the parties. Thus as we have seen above, after the abolition of Peć and Ohrid on the territories of both former patriarchates, certain parties referred in the document as seditious [*müfsid*]. What is more, they sought separation [*ifrâz*] from the Patriarchate of Istanbul through the means of obtaining *i'lâm* from the *kadis* of the region. It is clear from the document that bribery was used in the attempts to achieve the goal, and the Porte had to interfere halting the attempts of separation.²⁴⁰ It is noteworthy that in the *berât* of Patriarch Meletios issued approximately six months after the abovementioned case it was recorded that if anyone petitions in order to separate the Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and to transfer them to any person, they should be disregarded.²⁴¹

The abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć brought an issue of financial duties which became yet another problem challenging the order in the territories of the former patriarchate. Thus, according to the petition of the patriarch and the metropolitans of Istanbul composed soon after the abolition of Peć, dated December 1766, the petitioners requested that the ten metropolitans newly appointed to the territories of the former Patriarchate of Peć despite not being indebted themselves, pay off the debts of former metropolitans. The argument of the requesting party was that having replaced the former metropolitans, current metropolitans became the guarantors [*kefîl*] for the payment of the debt or that they gave a debenture [*temessük*]. This situation not only put the current metropolitans in a difficult situation but also caused “cruelty and injustice” towards the *re'âyâ*. To put a halt to this unlawful practice and its consequences the petitioners, ten metropolitans and

²⁴⁰ See the document mentioned above D.PSK 25/93 12 Muharrem 1181 / 10 June 1767

²⁴¹ BOA.KK.d.2542/17, 138 [(...) *İpek ve Ohri patrikliklerini ve metropolidlerinden birini nizâm bulmuş keşişhânenen ifrâz ve bir kimesneye tevcih için 'arz ve i'lâm zuhûr ider ise kat'â istimâ' ve i'tibâr olunmayub nizâm-ı mezkûr düstûrü'l-'amel tutulmak üzere (...)]*

the Patriarch of Constantinople, requested that an order be sent to the *kadis* of the ten regions where the situation unfolded, to prohibit the practice of requesting that the old debts be paid off by the current metropolitans, who are not indebted themselves. It is noteworthy that in their argumentation against the abovementioned practice they refer to a *fetva* of the *şeyhülislam*, according to which the practice of requesting the payment of the debts of former, dismissed, or deceased metropolitans from the new metropolitans was against the Islamic Law.²⁴²

Another petition of the patriarch and the metropolitans of Istanbul, written on the same date, demonstrates that the Christian *re'âyâ* of the abolished Patriarchate also faced problems, as it harassed by the *a'yân* and the *ehl-i 'örf* of the area, who demanded the payment of the debts of the former patriarch of Peć. A representative of the Patriarchate was appointed in order to resolve this issue.²⁴³

5.2 Problems and Solutions on the Eve of Abolition

The discourse of the Ottoman administration as regards the expression of discontent and complaint, and the manner of problem-solving matters related to the Patriarchate of Peć in the eighteenth-century is traceable in a number of documents. As part of the larger Ottoman Orthodox institutions and populations, the people related to the Patriarchate of Peć tried to solve their local problems in the larger context of problem-solving in the eighteenth-century Ottoman society. On the eve of abolition, the metropolitan see of Yenipazar and its dependencies was changing hands between two candidates, Gabriel and Evstratios in the 1760s. In order to get the necessary *berâts* for the metropolitans who managed to get to the throne, the Patriarch of the time Vasilios²⁴⁴ and the subjects

²⁴² D.PSK 25/40, 7 Receb 1180 / 9 December 1766, (the date mentioned in the document is slightly different: 23 Cemâziye'l-âhir 1180 / 26 November 1766) [(...) *metrepolidlerin kimesneye sahîh sübût bulub deyni yoğ iken ba'zı kimesneler zuhûr ve selefî metropolid zımnında kendü temessûki mûcibi alacağımız var idi sen yerine metropolid oldun senden aluruz deyü rencîde ve gâh bu akçenin edâsına sen kefil olmuştun ve yahud virmişdin deyü hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf her birileri tazyîk ve bunların şerr'inden metropolidlikleri harâb ve bir vech ile tâkatleri kalmayub metropolidliklerinde bulunan re'âyâ fukârasına tahammül ve bi-nihâye zulm ve ta'addîye giriftâr ve ahvâlleri diğêr gâna olmağla bu makûle selefî metrepolidlerin 'azl ve fevt olanların düyûnı yerine olan metrepolidler va'd idüb temessûk virse dahî yine onları hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf olduğuna şeyhülislam...hazretlerinin fetvâ-i şerîfeleri olmağla [...]].*

²⁴³ D.PSK 25/41, 7 Receb 1180 / 9 December 1766, (date on the document: 23 Cemâziye'l-âhir 1180 / 26 November 1766).

²⁴⁴ In the Serbian sources Vasilije Brkić, see Appendix 1.

presented a number of petitions to the Ottoman Porte. In these documents, the dismissed metropolitans were described as deceitful [*hilekâr*] and disloyal [*sâhib-i hıyânet*] and overstepped their limits [*kendü hâlinde olmayub*]. The grave situation was also approved by the petition of Christian subjects [*re'âyâ*] who were discontent with their metropolitans. The Patriarch supported the choice of the subjects, in this case Evstratios, and he was the medium to present this to the central administration. The financial results for the state treasury caused by the incapable metropolitans were always underlined in the documents.²⁴⁵ Similar problems were presented by the Patriarch in a similar terminology according to which the metropolitans crossed their limits and caused disorder and damaged the state income.²⁴⁶

A similar procedure and discourse is evident, this time for the highest ecclesiastical figure of the area, the Patriarch Vasilios [1763-65]. The strife between Vasilios and the previous Patriarch Gabriel and the parties involved searched justice both in the presence of the *kadı* and through petitions to Istanbul. Soon after Vasilios submitted his complaints about the metropolitans who transgressed their limits, a petition was submitted in support of the Patriarch Vasilios. According to the document dated 3 March 1763, i.e. several weeks after Vasilios' complaints were submitted, the Christian subjects supported by the leading figures of the local society [*zimmî tâ'îfesi, re'âyâları, kocabaşları ve papasları*] residing in the *kazâ* of Peć appeared in front of the *kadı* (*meclis-i şer'*) and complained about the previous Patriarch of Peć Gabriel who caused all kinds cruelty and injustice, and three times put the patriarchate in complete poverty and misery [*sefâlet*]. After that, Vasilios became the Patriarch of Peć and everyone was pleased with him. However, having heard that Gabriel had acquired documents through bribery from some *mahalles* in order to attain the patriarchal see once again, the above mentioned residents of the Patriarchate of Peć appealed to the Porte requesting that the Patriarch Vasilios shall not be dismissed hereafter and the *re'âyâ* should be protected from the cruelty of Gabriel.²⁴⁷ The subsequent document dated 26 Mart 1763 is a petition written by Vasilios himself. It is

²⁴⁵ For the case of the dismissal of Gavril and appointment of Gabriel see D. PSK 24/38 3 *Şa'bân* 1176 / 17 Şubat 1763, and for the case of the metropolitan Theodosios see D. PSK 24/38 3 *Şa'bân* 1176 / 17 Şubat 1763.

²⁴⁶ One example is the case of metropolitan Theodosios. The disorder that the unjust actions of this metropolitan brought upon *re'âyâ* are mentioned in D.PSK 24/39 10 *Şa'bân* 1176 / 24 February 1763.

²⁴⁷ D.PSK 24/41 17 *Şa'bân* 1176 / 3 March 1763.

clear from the petition that Vasilios was aware of the attempts of the previous patriarch of Peć Gabriel to attain the patriarchal see again. Vasilios, in his turn, wanted to make sure that Gabriel will not be able to do so. Thus, Vasilios requested that hereafter any petition or request of Gabriel aimed at the restoration of the latter as the Patriarch of Peć should be disregarded. It is noteworthy that before formulating his request, Vasilios attempts to strengthen his argument maintaining that the previous Patriarch [Gabriel] was dismissed by the choice and will of *re'âyâ*. Furthermore, Vasilios contraposes the position of the Patriarchate of Peć prior to the dismissal of Gabriel with the situation of the patriarchate during Vasilios' time as the patriarch. According to the document, before Gabriel was taken down from his position the Patriarchate of Peć was immersed in debt [*müstağrak olduđu düyûn-ı kesîre*]. After Vasilios became the Patriarch [*patriklik-i mezbûr bu kulları üzerine tevcih olalıdan berü*], the patriarchate returned to its previous order and stability.²⁴⁸ The efficient use of discourse that reflects Ottoman administrative mentality attests to the fact that the people in the region of the Patriarchate of Peć know how to present their cases to the central administration, be them subjects, notables or clergymen on the eve of abolition.

5.3 The “Catholic” Patriarch

The life of the patriarch Vasilios took a radical turn in 1764. His opponents used the most efficient wording at the time to submit their requests to the Porte and to dismiss him from his throne for good. Approximately a year after the local actors of the Patriarchate of Peć submitted a petition to the Porte to support Vasilios on the patriarchal throne and expressed their satisfaction with him as a patriarch, the *re'âyâ* submitted another petition regarding Vasilios but this time the petition was of quite a different nature. According to a document dated 6 August 1764 the *re'âyâ* of Peć petitioned the Porte maintaining that the former patriarch of Peć Vasilios, to whom they referred as “Catholic Vasilios” [*Katolik Vasilios*] now, has abandoned their principal rite and in contradiction with it, was now following the Catholic rite. Moreover, along with the cruelty and injustice he imposed upon the *re'âyâ*, he misled the Orthodox community [*Rum tâ'ifesi*] into practicing the *Frenk* rite. All of the *re'âyâ* appeared in the *Der-I 'Aliyye* with their collective petition requesting salvation from his [Vasilios'] hatred, malice, and villainy

²⁴⁸ D.PSK 24/45 11 *Ramazân* 1176 / 26 March 1763.

[*şekâvet*]. After the in-depth research performed by the Patriarch of Peć, the *re'âyâ*, the knowledgeable people [*ehl-i vukûf*] and impartial [*bî-garez*] folks from the surrounding areas, the news that Vasilios was a genuine Catholic [*sahîh Katolik*] has spread from mouth to mouth. By the choice and will of the *re'âyâ* of Peć Kalinikos became the patriarch of Peć and Vasilios was exiled to the castle [*kal'a-bend*] of Magosa through imperial order.²⁴⁹ Afterwards, several supporters of Vasilios gathered their financial power to release him from the castle which caused great misery and unrest among the *re'âyâ*. Because of this the *re'âyâ* requested that the accuracy and truthfulness of the fact that Vasilios was dismissed from the Patriarchal see and exiled should be asked by the Patriarch of Istanbul and Vasilios should stay in exile for the sake of the *re'âyâ*. From the same document we learn that on 4 January 1764 that the Patriarch of Istanbul and metropolitans resident in Istanbul, [the Synod] submitted a petition to the Porte requesting that the Patriarchate of Peć be conferred to Kallinikos, as the previous patriarch Vasilios was removed from this position. It is clear that in their petition, the Patriarch of Istanbul and the members of Synod supported their case using the same discourse mentioned in the above-mentioned petition written by the *re'âyâ* of Peć.²⁵⁰ The document states that the Patriarch of Istanbul and the Synod explained in their petition that the dismissal of Vasilios from his position was necessary due to the fact that he had committed an offence by following and performing the Catholic path [*Katolik mezheb*]. The metropolitan of Belgrade Kallinikos was elected in unanimity to replace Vasilios on the patriarchal throne of Peć.²⁵¹ The Porte's answer to the petition of the Patriarch of Istanbul and Synod was positive, and the position of the Patriarch of Peć was transferred to Kallinikos on the condition of delivering 100,000 *akçes* as *mîrî pîşkeş* as well as the annual 9,000 *akçes* as *maktû'* in cash to the Imperial Treasury.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ D.PSK 24/98 7 Safer 1178 / 6 August 1764.

²⁵⁰ D.PSK 24/98 7 Safer 1178 / 6 August 1764, the date mentioned in this part of the document is 4 January 1764 [(...) *İstanbul Rum patriği ve âsitânede mukîm cemâ'at-i metropolidân dîvân-ı hümayûnıma memhûr 'arzuhal idüb... İpek patrikliği mesfûr Vasilios râhibin ref'inden merkûm Kalinikos râhibe tevcih ve yedine berât-ı 'âlîşân virilmek bâbında istid'â itmeleriyle (...)]*

²⁵¹ [(...) *Rum patriki ile der-sa'âdetimde mukîm metropolidlerin memhûr 'arzuallerinde tafsîl ve beyân olunduğu üzere İpek patriki olan mesfûr Vasilios râhib Katolik mezhebine sülûk ve âyîn-i âheri icrâ ve irtikâb ile 'azli iktizâ eylemeğin cümle ittifâkıyla muhtârları olan Belgrad metropolidi mesfûr Kalinikos râhib intihâb (...)]*

²⁵² D.PSK 24/98 7 Safer 1178 / 6 August 1764, the date mentioned in this part of the document is 29 Cemâziye'l-âhîr 1177 / 4 Ocak 1764 [(...) *Belgrad metropolidi mesfûr Kalinikos râhib intihâb*

Finally, from the same document we learn that an imperial order was issued in January 1764 shedding light on the further fate of the dismissed Patriarch of Peć Vasilios. According to the document, Vasilios is described here as the Catholic Patriarch of Peć who promoted *frenk* rite among the *re'âyâ*, and by doing so caused unrest and revolts among the *cizye* paying people, was detained to be exiled to Magosa in the Mediterranean to be disciplined [*te'dîben*], as well as to warn others [*terhîben*]. However, it is known that Vasilios managed to escape. From the above petition written by the *re'âyâ*, we learn that Vasilios had several allies who facilitated his escape. Upon Vasilios' escape a *ferman* was issued ordering the *muhâfiz* of Belgrade, the regents and *kadıs* serving in the territories lying on the way from Belgrade to Istanbul as well as to the regent of Magosa, that wherever Vasilios is be found, he should be detained and sent to his place of exile.²⁵³

A final document written on 15 July 1766, i.e. several months before the Patriarchate of Peć was incorporated into the Patriarchate of Istanbul, provides some additional details on the activities of the last Serbian Patriarch of Peć. In the petition written by the metropolitans, priests, monks and other Orthodox Christian *zimmi*s residing within the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć, the petitioners stated that Vasilios was in fact Catholic and treated his *re'âyâ* with cruelty and injustice as it has been mentioned in a previous petition written by the Christians of the Patriarchate of Peć [*bî-nihâye zulm ve ta'addî eylediğinden ma'adâ kendüsi hadd-ı zâtında Katolik olduğundan*]. This time they add that he forced the *re'âyâ* to adhere to the Catholic rite. Many of those who refused to act against their rite faced dismissal and exile. After his mischief was known to all the metropolitans, bishops, and Christians of the Ottoman Empire, the Christians of the Patriarchate of Peć were “liberated” from the torment he brought in, as Vasilios was dismissed from his position and sent in exile to Cyprus. However, Vasilios managed to escape from the place of his exile, and from that moment on Vasilios has allied with an

ve zikr olunan İpek patrikliği yüz bin akçe mîrî pîşkeş ve senevî dokuz bin akçe maktû' ile mesfûr Vasilios râhibin üzerinde olucak hazîne-i âmiremde mahfâz olan piskopos kaleminde derkenâr olundukda (...) fermân-ı 'âlîşânım mûcibince mesfûr Vasilios ref'inden merkûm Kalinikos râhibe tevcîh (...)]

²⁵³ D.PSK 24/98 7 Safer 1178 / 6 August 1764, the date mentioned in this part of the document is evâil-i Receb 1177 / 5-14 January 1764 [(...) *Dukakın sancağında vâki' hâlâ İpek patriği olan Vasilios nâm râhib Katolik olub re'âyâyı frenk âyînine tergîb ve tehvîn? ile cizye-güzâr olan re'âyâyı ifsâd ve ihtilâl eylediği sahâhen haber virildiğine binâ'en te'dîben ve sâ'irlerini terhîben (...)]*

Armenian Catholic, Sahak who was a *kapu kethüdası*. Accordingly, they allied with three seditious people [*müfsid*] who wanted to see Vasilios as the Patriarch of Peć again. Led by this motive they have turned to rich Catholics in the community and used bribes. Vasilios and his allies forced *re'âyâ* to adhere to the Catholic rite against their will. The petitioners stated that it is obvious that as long as Vasilios is patriarch he will turn all the *re'âyâ* into Catholics [*patrik bulunduğ u sûrette bi'l-cümle re'âyây ı Frenk ideceğ i nümâyân olduğ undan*].²⁵⁴ It is not surprising that the discourse of these documents and the path followed in this quest for justice is similar to those followed by the higher echelons of the Ottoman Orthodox Churches in the eighteenth century.²⁵⁵

Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate any other documents yet which testify to the religious inclinations of Vasilios, whether he indeed implemented the Catholic rite, nor the local effects of Catholics over people under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć on the eve of the abolition. However, what is certain is that the local opponents of Vasilios were aware of the delicate policies of the Ottoman administration and that of the Patriarchs of Istanbul as well as the Eastern Patriarchates in the eighteenth century, and they used this efficiently in their petitions and documents to prove their case. It has been well-documented that the Catholic issue as a threat to the Christians of the Ottoman society was one of the most important factors that shaped the Ottoman administrative policies as regards the Ottoman Orthodox Churches, and in their institutionalization. In the case of the Patriarchate of Peć as well, the fact that the last Patriarch of Peć before its incorporation into Istanbul was dismissed efficiently, and the Catholic threat of the times was one of the most important factors that facilitated this development. His alleged relationship to an Armenian Catholic figure in Istanbul and his links with the wealthy members of this community were definitely serious accusations at a time when the Ottoman Christians were required to stay in the boundaries of their own rite strictly by the Ottoman administration.

The people in the networks of Patriarchs and their relationship to powerful figures or intermediaries in Istanbul was obviously crucial in handling their affairs. This is evident

²⁵⁴ D. PSK 25/11 7 *Safer* 1180 / 15 July 1766, the date of the petition is recorded as 5-14 January 1764 The document is significantly corrupt especially in the petition part.

²⁵⁵ See Bayraktar-Tellan, "The Patriarch and the Sultan", 119-159 and Çolak, *The Orthodox Church*, 109-137.

in a letter sent by the former Patriarch of Peć Gabriel to an official in Istanbul, *piskopos kîsedârı* Mustafa Efendi. In the letter, after a flattery introduction, Gabriel complained that he could not get any answers to the letters that he had sent, and he was disappointed that as he fell from office, he lost his prestige [*mansıbdan düştük, gözden düştük*]. The former Patriarch expressed his wishes to maintain the previous friendship and as in the past he wanted him to help him to handle his affairs.²⁵⁶ We do not have any further clue though as to whether Gabriel's demand was received positively or not.

After the abolition, it would take some time to settle down and find relative peace. Many of the issues that were reflected in the central administration were related to finances and as to who would pay for the previous debts. After the change of status, it became an issue whether the debts of the metropolitans under the jurisdiction of the previous Patriarchate would be paid individually, i.e. by the metropolitans or not. This was a period of change and transition for the Orthodox Ottoman institutions, and these were the local repercussions and juridical problems of the changes. The Patriarchate of Istanbul would be represented by the Patriarch as an individual, but in collaboration with the Holy Synod after 1763. After the incorporation into the Patriarchate of Istanbul, the Patriarchate of Peć was also under this institution, but the local issues would linger for some time more.

5.4 Patriarch Vasilios in the Serbian Historiography

As we have seen, the Ottoman archival documents draw a clear picture in which Vasilios is represented as a Catholic, who not only abandoned his initial rite, but went as far as forcing the clergymen and *re'âyâ* under his jurisdiction to abandon Orthodoxy and follow the Catholic rite. Moreover, it becomes clear from the document that Vasilios did not tolerate opposition and did not shy away from using bribery, threats, cruelty and support of rich Catholics to promote Catholicism as well as to avoid punishment for his actions. It is noteworthy that the Serbian sources do not mention any inclination on behalf of Vasilios towards Catholicism. In fact, in Serbian historiography Vasilios is presented as a victim of the Greek plan to abolish the Patriarchate of Peć. Thus, according to Grujić, Patriarch of Istanbul Samouil (1763 – 1768) took advantage of the difficult situation of the Patriarchate of Peć for his own purposes and he prepared the ground to abolish the

²⁵⁶ D.PSK 24/152 1179.Z.22 (1 June 1766)

autocephaly of the Serbian patriarchate and to subject its territory to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Istanbul. Thus, the last Serbian Patriarch of Peć Vasilije Brkić (1763 – 1765) was accused by the Greeks in the face of Ottoman authorities as a spy and traitor, thus in April of 1765 he was sent in an exile to Cyprus.²⁵⁷ While Grujić ascribes the principal role in the infamous fate of the last Serbian Patriarch to the Patriarch of Istanbul Samouil, Jovan Radonić maintains that the relatives of Kirill II (1758-1763) – former patriarch of Peć, often referred to in the Serbian historiography as “Greek” – accused the new patriarch of being a traitor in Istanbul, as a result of this the latter was overthrown and detained.²⁵⁸ Slijepčević, maintains that it was quite simple for the accusers to represent the Serbian Patriarch in a bad light, since the latter was a man of restless spirit and quite astute. Moreover, according to Slijepčević, it was these two personal traits that enabled Vasilios to escape from detention.²⁵⁹

A nineteenth century Russian source maintains that Vasilije Brkić who at some point served as the archdeacon in the court of Arsenios IV²⁶⁰ in Karlovac came to Belgrade in 1763 to visit his relatives from Karlovac. However, this visit caused suspicion of the “Turks” as treason, and as a result he was detained and exiled. It is noteworthy that immediately after the statement mentioned above the source adds that “the Greeks” drove Vasilios out of his Patriarchate.²⁶¹

The relations of Vasilios Brkić with the representatives of the Karlovac Metropolitanate continued after the escape of the former from the exile. Thus, according to Grujić sometime after his escape, Vasilios arrived in Vienna where he offered his services to the Imperial Court in the case of the Austrian war with the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, in Vienna Vasilios requested support from his acquaintances from the Karlovac court of Arsenios IV - Jovan Georgijević, then the Metropolitan and Mojsije Putnik, the Bishop of Vienna. Vasilios requested their support, a certain position in court that could bring him income. However, Vasilios was forced out of Vienna by the authorities, and not

²⁵⁷ Grujić, “Pećka Patriarsija”, 397.

²⁵⁸ Radonić, *Rimska Kuriya*, 367.

²⁵⁹ Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Tserkve*, 362-363.

²⁶⁰ In the Serbian sources Arsenije (Jovanović – Šakabenda).

²⁶¹ Ivaschenko, Arsenii, “Arhijepiskopi i Patriarhi Serbskije s Nachala XVIII do Vtoroi Polovini XVIII Stoletija [Serbian Archbishops and Patriarchs from the Beginning till the Second Half of the XVIII Century]”, *Pravoslavnoje Obozrenije*, Moscow, 1868, 18-19; also refers to *Glasnik*, 1854.

finding the expected support in the face of the Metropolitan of Karlovać, Vasilios left for the Russian Empire.²⁶²

It is important to note that while sources in Russian and Serbian historiography, do mention Vasilios' connections with the Austrian court, the devotion of the Serbian Patriarch to his rite i.e. Orthodox Christianity is never questioned. Moreover, it is clear that Vasilios was not welcomed in the Austrian court and, after spending some time in Montenegro, found shelter in the Russian Empire – an unlikely destination for a Catholic Patriarch.

²⁶² Radoslav Grujić, “Pečki Patrijarsi i Karlovachki Mitropoliti u XVIII Veku [The Patriarchs of Peć and the Metropolitans of Karlovac in the XVIII Century], *Glasnik Istoriskog Drushtva u Novom Sadu*, Vol. IV, (1931), 239-241.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this thesis aimed at readdressing the prevalent assumptions in current historiography regarding the abolition of Peć in the additional light of the information presented in the Ottoman sources and recent studies on the Orthodox Patriarchates of the Ottoman Empire. As I have tried to demonstrate in the preceding chapters, the will and interests of Ottoman administration an alternative dynamic in the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć is often neglected in the historiography due partly to nationalist sensitivities which gave rise to an extensive emphasis on the “Greeks” as a factor behind the abolition of Peć. When approached in this way, the Ottoman administration appears as devoid of a vision of the problem and thus easily affected by actors such as the Patriarchs of Istanbul and the Phanariots. In an alternative way, a consideration of these actors as parts of Ottoman the administration would provide a sounder picture.

It has been established in recent studies on the Ottoman Orthodox institutions that in the eighteenth century characterized by popular mobility and unrest, the Porte relied heavily on the Patriarchs for preserving the order in their communities. After all, the Ottoman administration had clear expectations from the Patriarchs of the Orthodox Church, the most significant among these expectations being the execution of effective tax-collection and the maintenance of the order in their respective communities. Moreover, the Ottoman administration was eager to give the Patriarchs all the tools necessary for meeting their responsibilities. This fact is reflected in the change of the contents of the *berâts* issued for Patriarchs in the eighteenth century. As we have seen the new stipulations added to the *berâts* were aimed at strengthening patriarchal authority vis-à-vis a number of groups, thus enabling the Patriarchate to act as an efficient part of the Ottoman administration. Fulfilling these expectations were the major responsibilities of the Patriarchates as Ottoman institutions. Failure to do so would result in major adjustments as well as dismissal and replacement of the Patriarchs. Along with the changes in the stipulations of *berâts* it is important to remember that in the same period the system of *gerontismos* was

established to ensure the stability of the patriarchate and the maintenance of order. These developments demonstrate that it would be misleading to assume that at a time when the major trend in the Ottoman Empire was centralization and stabilization, the Porte unaware of the developments in the Serbian Patriarchate and that they were merely influenced by the Greeks, who in their turn, were motivated by their omnipresent Hellenization agenda.

Moreover, it is clear that the importance of order and stability as principles of Ottoman administration should not be overlooked. As we have seen the lack of order in the Patriarchate of Peć before its abolition and the establishment of order after, was a matter excessively emphasized in the petitions regarding the abolition of Peć and Ohrid. Regardless of whether or not the order was truly established, it is presented as the main motivation, and to some extent, justification of the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć and the Archbishopric of Ohrid. Since the principles of preservation of order and the safety of an efficient tax-collection emerged as an important part of the discourse of negotiations between the Porte and the Patriarchate of Istanbul as well as the patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem, there is no reason to assume that the same principles would not affect the relations between the Porte and the Patriarchate of Peć. In the light of all this, it is obvious that the incorporation of the Patriarchate of Peć into that of Istanbul as well as the frequent change of Patriarchs and the appearance of Greek candidates on the patriarchal throne of Peć prior to its abolition needs to be evaluated in the context of increasing roles and responsibilities of the Orthodox Patriarchates and the growing importance of order and stability in connection with the eighteenth century developments.

Another matter mostly overlooked by the historiography portraying the Patriarchate of Peć as an entity of its own separate from the Ottoman developments, is the existence of a shared network and a similar pattern of communication by the people of the Patriarchate of Peć, Patriarchate of Istanbul, the Eastern Patriarchates, and the Ottoman administration. As the Ottoman sources attest, the Patriarchs and people of Peć participated in the common problem-solving mechanisms of the Ottoman bureaucracy emphasizing efficiently the Ottoman administrative principles. It is noteworthy that both by the clergymen of all ranks and the Christian subjects under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć, the problem-solving mechanism involved the appropriate language that emphasized principles like the content and choices of the Ottoman subjects, and financial situation of the Patriarchate, stability, and finally but most importantly, the rite

followed by the Patriarch. Thus, these local actors appear as figures actively participating in the fate of the Patriarchs of Peć. It is clear that the Patriarchate of Peć and its people were not distant entities from the Ottoman central administration as have been so far presented, but they were rather involved in a reciprocal relationship of interest and collaboration.

Another point in need of specification is related to the question of the actors that initiated the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć. As we have seen, the Ottoman documents as well as the current literature point out that the local actors petitioned the Porte requesting abolition of Peć. What is noteworthy is that the Ottoman sources add the *re'âyâ* of Peć into the picture as part of the list of petitioners, in addition to the metropolitans. This fact is important as the presence of local *re'âyâ* among petitioners significantly undermines the argument persistent in Serbian historiography that the metropolitans petitioning for the abolition and the Patriarch of Peć at the time were Greeks, which, in its turn, implies that the abolition of Peć, although executed upon the request of the authorities of Peć cannot be evaluated as a voluntary action. This being said, we do not know who exactly the petitioners referred to as the local *re'âyâ* of Peć were. Moreover, the frequent reference to the opinion of the *re'âyâ* in petitions as has been demonstrated above, left me wondering whether the *re'âyâ* of Peć was actually present while composing the petition, or their presence was mentioned solely as a strong argument capable of ensuring the outcome desirable by the petitioners. Although, I doubt we will ever be able to answer this question, what is clear is that neither the *re'âyâ* of Peć nor its high clergy including patriarchs can be evaluated as actors acting independently from the major communication and decision-making patterns present in the eighteenth century Ottoman Empire. Not only were they aware of the principles which lied at the core of decision-making processes in the Ottoman Empire, but when appealing to the Porte and supporting their case they actively used the argumentation and terminology reflecting the values and the principles on which the Porte relied in managing its institutions, of which the Orthodox Patriarchates were a part of.

The engagement of the Catholic discourse against Vasilios also reflects the awareness of the local opponents of Vasilios of the developments and policies of the Ottoman administration and that of the Patriarchate of Istanbul as well as the Eastern Patriarchates in the eighteenth century. Thus, it is clear that in the petitioning process the local actors

were well aware of the need to use the correct argumentation related to current policies, mentality and values of the Ottoman Empire and its administrative institutions. The Catholic issue in the eighteenth century was one of these matters where the policies of the Orthodox Patriarchates and the Ottoman administration converged.

The present research suggests that the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć was a part of the institutionalization processes that Ottoman Empire and its administrative and religious institutions underwent in the eighteenth century, and that the paradigm portraying the abolition of Peć as a matter power contest between the Phanariots and the local clergy of Peć needs to be revisited. Relying on the above-mentioned developments, I argue that the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć cannot be evaluated merely as an ecclesiastical issue, let alone solely an ideological issue. Rather, the abolition of Peć should be viewed in the context of the eighteenth century developments, major characteristics of which were institutionalization of the Orthodox Patriarchates of the Ottoman Empire. In this context the Phanariots and the Patriarchate of Istanbul do not appear as the major antagonists of the Serbian church and nation acting in accordance with their Hellenization agenda, but rather as the means for stabilization which the Ottoman administration approved and encouraged.

The prevalent approaches to the abolition of Peć often revolve around a negative terminology, putting an emphasize on the parties “guilty” for the abolition of Peć, focusing on the hopelessness of the financial situation of the latter, lack of order, corruption, and finally illegality of the act of abolition. While it is a futile endeavor to evaluate historical events based on strict binary oppositions, it is obvious that the dynamics behind the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć were multifaceted. To reconstruct a truly multi-dimensional picture of the abolition of the Serbian Church and thus avoid the overly simplistic approach to this development, which has so far dominated historiography it would be necessary to address the issues left untouched in this study. For instance, instead of positioning the abolition as merely “good” or “bad”, it would be beneficial to uncover what exactly the abolition represented for different parties involved, i.e. the local Christian subjects, the Ottoman administration, the Patriarchate of Istanbul, and the Serbian clergy. It is also important to trace the networks of the Patriarchs of Peć to see what role the Patriarchs played prior to the abolition of the Patriarchate in terms of non-ecclesiastical matters, for example, for the local Orthodox merchants, or as a medium

between the local actors and the Ottoman administration, and how did the abolition affect these networks. The allocation of the financial webs of the Serbian patriarchs would be also of a great contribution. For instance, a question worth asking is whether the Patriarchs of Peć developed a complex network consisting of guildsmen, merchants, and lay elites, as was the case for the Patriarchs of Istanbul. Moreover, when elaborating on the financial state of the Patriarch of Pec, and especially its role in the eventual abolition of the latter, it is important to question what lies behind the terms as “bankruptcy” and “difficult financial situation”, which are often employed in historiography. What serves as a measurement of “bankruptcy” of an ecclesiastical institution in the Ottoman Empire? In addition, a question of how such a measurement is defined emerges. Is it defined in relation to the previous financial state of the Patriarchate, in comparison with the other Patriarchates, or by a failure of the Patriarchate to meet the primary financial responsibilities the Ottoman Empire placed on its administrative institutions? Along with seeking answers for these questions this, further research is needed to trace the development of the Patriarchate of Peć as an Ottoman institution through centuries by conducting a study of petitions, the *berâts* of the Patriarchs of Peć, and the documents concerning the financial situation of the Patriarchate of Peć. Finally, a study is needed to revisit the paradigms around the abolition of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. Initially, the Patriarchate of Peć and the Archbishopric of Ohrid appear in the Ottoman records as two ecclesiastical institution functioning separately from each other. Despite this fact, in the matters of their abolition and incorporation into the Patriarchate of Istanbul the two Churches are mentioned together. Furthermore, there are clear similarities in the terminology employed in the Ottoman records with regard to the initiation of the abolition by the local actors, the position of the Ottoman administration on it, and the outcome of the incorporation of the churches into the Patriarchate of Istanbul. What such a treatment of the Patriarchate of Peć and the Archbishopric of Ohrid implies remains a question for the future research. Hopefully, the present work would be a contribution not only to the studies seeking answers to the mentioned inquiries, but also to those initiating new questions with the aim to revisit the complex dynamics behind the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć.

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APPENDIX 1: The Patriarchs of Peć from Restoration until Abolition (1557 –1766).²⁶³

Makarije (Sokolović)	1557-1571
Antonije (Sokolović)	1571-1575
Gerasim (Sokolović)	1575-1580
Savatije (Sokolović)	1580-1581
Gerasim (Sokolović)	1580/1581-1581/1582
Savatije (Sokolović)	1581/1582-1585/1586
Gerasim (Sokolović)	1585/1586-1587
Nikanor	?
Jerotej	1588/1589-1591
Filip	1591-1592
Jovan II (Kantul)	1592-1614
Pajsije (Janjevac)	1614-1647
Gavrilo I (Rajić)	1648-1655/1656
Maksim	1655/1656-1674
Arsenije III (Cronjević)	1674-1690
Kalinik	1691-1710
Atanasije	1711-1712
Mojsije (Rajović)	1712-1726
Arsenije IV (Jovanović – Šakabenda)	1726-1737
Joanikije III (Karadža – grec)	1739-1746

²⁶³ Fotić, Aleksandar, “Patriarcat Serbe Orthodoxe”, in Georgeon F., Vatin N., Veinstein G. (eds.) *Dictionnaire de l’Empire Ottoman XVe-XXe siècle*, Paris: Fayard, 2015, 920.

Atanasije II (Gavrilović)	1746-1752
Gavrilo II	1752
Gavrilo III	1752-1758
Kirilo II (grec)	1758-1765
Vasilije (Jovanović Brkić)	1763-1765
Kalinik II (grec)	1765-1766

APPENDIX 2: A document concerning "the Catholic Patriarch" Vasilios (D.PSK

24/98)



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