

# Ottoman Taxation on Vineyards and Wine in Cyprus (1570-1610): “From Whom Should We Buy the Wine? The Kadi or the Müfti”

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*Kıbrıs'ta Bağ ve Şarap ile İlgili Osmanlı Vergilendirmesi (1570-1610): “Şarabı Kimden Satın Alalım? Kadıdan mı Yoksa Müftüden mi?”*

Öz ■ Erken modern dönemde Kıbrıs'ta şarap hem önemli mali bir kaynak ve hem de gündelik hayatın ayrılmaz bir parçasıydı. Lefkoşa kadi mahkemesi kayıtları ile Osmanlı Arşivi'ndeki mali kayıtlara dayanan bu çalışma, Osmanlı idaresinin ilk kırk yılında Kıbrıs'ta şarap üretimi, vergilendirilmesi, şarap ile ilgili *yük* adı verilen ölçü birimini ve Osmanlı Kıbrıs'ında tarımsal yaşamın en önemli unsurlarından olan *şıra* ve *hamr* arasındaki bağlantıyı araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, bu şekilde Osmanlıların adada yürürlüğe koyduğu finansal rejimi idrak etmek ve bu sistemin Kıbrıs ekonomisi ve toplumu üzerindeki etkilerini araştırmak için Kıbrıs hazinesiyle ilgili mali belgelerin önemini vurgulamayı istemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Kıbrıs'ı, Kıbrıs Maliye Tarihi, Şarap Üretimi, Kıbrıs'taki Osmanlı Vergilendirme Sistemi.

## Introduction

One hundred and eighty-eight years ago, Austrian historian Joseph von Hammer argued in 1836 that “from that moment on, Joseph Nassy never ceased to flatter the prince’s inclinations and shower him with Venetian ducats and Cypriot wine, constantly reminding him how easily he could obtain an abundance of this gold and precious liquor by conquering the island that produced both. One day, after drinking a lot of Cypriot wine, Selim said to Joseph Nassy: “Truly, if my desires are fulfilled, you will become the king of Cyprus.”<sup>1</sup>

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1 Joseph von Hammer, *Historie de L'empire Ottoman*, trans. J.-J. Hellert, vol. 6 (1547-1574) (Paris: Bellizard, 1836), p. 384.

Although this argument, especially that of Cyprus wine, was repeated by E. S. Creasy in 1854,<sup>2</sup> it seems that present-day historians have abandoned it.<sup>3</sup> In essence, Hammer's consideration evidenced the importance of musk/grape juice for Cyprus. In fact, one of Braudel's "eternal trinity" was the vine (in this case, wine)<sup>4</sup> and he underlined that the main sources of Venetian Cypriot wealth were "vineyards, the cotton plantations and the fields of sugarcane". This wealth belonged to Venetian and Genoese aristocracy<sup>5</sup> and the trade of cotton and wine contributed to their richness.<sup>6</sup> Braudel also stressed that the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus brought about "a marked deterioration of the vineyards" because, unlike the Venetians, there was no state intervention during the Ottoman period.<sup>7</sup> Thus, it is an interesting issue for researchers to explore what Ottoman Muslims, for whom the consumption of wine was prohibited, did about this lucrative source of income for the island after the conquest. In general, the present research aims to reveal the Ottoman's first practices regarding vineyard and wine in Cyprus during the early years of their rule and reevaluate Braudel's considerations.

In addition, viticulture was one of the main elements of the history of the Mediterranean, and wine, like wheat and olives, is "our strongest and most intimate

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2 E. S. Creasy, *The Ottoman Turks*, vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1854), p. 347.

3 Gordon Home, *Cyprus, Then and Now* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited, 1960), p. 73; Feridun M. Emecen, "Doğu Akdeniz'de Osmanlı Stratejisi: Sokullu Mehmet Paşa ve Kıbrıs", *Islamic Civilisation in the Mediterranean* (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2013), pp. 179-180; Marco F. Morin, "Lepanto: Fearlessness Was Not Enough", *Uluslararası Piri Reis ve Türk Denizcilik Tarihi Sempozyumu, Bildiriler*, vol. 3 (Ankara: TTK, 2014), pp. 253-255. In addition, Safvet in 1912 and Hill evaluated the wine issue as a "fable". See Safvet, "Yosef Nasi", *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası*, cüz 16 (1 Kasım-i evvel 1328 [1912]), p. 982; Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne etc: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 880.

4 Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1, trans. Siân Reynolds (London: Collins, 1974), p. 236.

5 Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, p. 156.

6 Orhan Burian, "Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin İlk Yılları", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafyası Fakültesi Dergisi*, 9/1-2 (1951), p. 38. "The wine trade is the most celebrated of Mediterranean commercial activities." Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 214.

7 Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, p. 156.

link to the deep past of the Mediterranean".<sup>8</sup> As for Cyprus, it is the third largest of the Mediterranean islands and is located in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>9</sup> The Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1570-71 was one of the most political changes in the eastern Mediterranean in the second half of the sixteenth century, and Venice left the island to the Ottomans. The political situation at that time in Cyprus led to a new administrative system with a novel understanding of taxation which imposed certain taxes on wine and vineyards. Thus, to examine taxes regarding vines and wine during the early years of the Ottoman rule is to contribute to both Cypriot and Mediterranean history since it is an approach which has been neglected so far. It should be noted, however, that the case of wheat, which was one of Braudel's "eternal trinity" during the Ottoman period, was studied by Antonis Hadjikyriacou who provided some information about Cyprus wine in his research.<sup>10</sup>

However, challenges exists when dealing with archival sources which contain complicated, incomplete and unexplained raw data in the original documents. For example, according to the records of the Nicosia court during the period under review, Ahmet, son of Abdullah, filed a lawsuit against Badista, son of Yerolmo, in the autumn of 1580. He claimed that Badista took a *twelve load* (*yük*) of his wine which Ahmet had bought it before from Badista, by paying its price.<sup>11</sup> On 10 January 1610, some Cypriots went to the Nicosia court. One of them was Luka, son of Aristokli from Nicosia, who was the complainant. According to him, a house was sold with its dependencies in exchange for twenty gold coins and *five loads* of wine.<sup>12</sup> About eight months later, in the early days of October 1610, another Cypriot, Hacı Abdi from Nicosia, was also in front of the judge and claimed that he had bought *three and a half loads* of wine from Sozomeno, son of Istorino and paid three and a half gold coin six months prior.<sup>13</sup> These italicized statement may seem complicated or of little significance but they are important.

8 James H. S. McGregor, *Back to Garden: Nature and the Mediterranean World from Prehistory to the Present* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 36.

9 "Cyprus", *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia* (Chicago, London, New Delhi etc.: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 2006), p. 500.

10 Antonis Hadjikyriacou, "Akdeniz Çerçeveşi İçinde Osmanlı Kıbrıs'ında Tahıl Üretimi", *Meltem: İzmir Akdeniz Akademisi Dergisi*, 6 (2019), pp. 6-30; Antonis Hadjikyriacou, "Kıbrıs'ın 1572 Mufassal Defterinin Analizi", *Toplumsal Tarih*, 312 (2019), pp. 44-49.

11 Kıbrıs Şer'iye Sicili (The Register of Nicosia Kadi's Court, hereafter KSS), No. 1-A, p. 20.

12 KSS, No. 3, p. 16.

13 KSS, No. 3, p. 67.

Some questions are inevitable. What did the records which were very important for Cyprus's social and economic history reveal? What was the relation between *şıra* and *hamr*? What did *yük* mean? Thus, this is also a terminology and unit of measurement study relating to the social and economic history of Cyprus in the early years of Ottoman rule, and this present study aims to offer a reasonable answer to these questions.

Weights and measures are very important for social and economic research. To analyze the archival documents or historical records and comprehend their meaning, the researcher needs a standard measurement used in everyday life or the taxation system mentioned in the documents or records. However, it is not always easy to find the meaning of the old weights and measurements in the documents because some of the earlier ones may have been forgotten or are no longer in use.

The late Professor Halil İnalcık said, "It is evident in order to get reliable conclusions in the studies on Ottoman social and economic history, our primary task is to begin a comprehensive and systematic study of Ottoman metrology".<sup>14</sup> So, this study seeks to contribute to this field by finding acceptable answers to the questions above. Consequently, it will contribute to both the history of Cyprus and the social and economic history of the Ottoman Empire.

When it comes to the former, more research is needed about the historical metrology of Cyprus during the Ottoman period. One can find some studies related to Ottoman metrology, such as those of İnalcık,<sup>15</sup> Hinz<sup>16</sup> and Ünal.<sup>17</sup> But these publications have said nothing about "load" a unit of measurement for wine. Therefore, one of the main aims of this study is to explore the weight named "load" in Cyprus, where it was used for wine during the period in question. İnalcık and Hinz explained the term of load, but not as a weight used for wine in Cyprus; thus, this study seeks to contribute to this field.

14 Halil İnalcık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology", *Turcica*, XV (1983), p. 311.

15 İnalcık, "Introduction", pp. 311-334.

16 Walther Hinz, *İslam'da Ölçü Sistemleri*, trans. Acar Sevim (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1990).

17 Mehmet Ali Ünal, "Rumeli Sancaklarında Ölçüler ve Tartılar", *Osmanlı Dönemi Balkan Ekonomisi*, eds. Zafer Gölen, Birol Çetin, Abidin Temizer (Ankara: Gece Kitaplığı, 2018), pp. 1-73; Mehmet Ali Ünal, "Osmanlı Kanunnamelerine Göre Anadolu Sancaklarında Ölçüler ve Tartılar", 2. Uluslararası Osmanlı Coğrafyası Arşiv Kongresi, Bildiriler, vol. 2 (Ankara: Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Arşiv Dairesi Başkanlığı 2019), pp. 701-735.

One of the primary sources of this study is the Ottoman population and tax survey of 1572. Professor Jennings emphasized in 1986 that “the detailed tax survey of November 1572, consequently, is even more important for what it reveals about the economy, particularly agriculture, under Venetian rule than about the Ottoman period”.<sup>18</sup> A part of this research depends on this source, even though this detailed population and tax survey of 1572 had some inaccuracies, which can be made more understandable depending on other records. These records partly reflected the Venetian inheritance and, in part, post-war conditions of the island. It also marked the social and economic condition of Cyprus in the beginning of Ottoman rule. As Jennings said, “no later records are known which describe changed conditions or reveal the actual impact of Ottoman rule.”<sup>19</sup>

Even though one can find some important research and information on the financial history of Cyprus,<sup>20</sup> its terminology and metrology have been one of the ignored fields related to Cyprus history under Ottoman rule. The neglect is perhaps understandable. One of the most important reasons for this remissness is the lack and scarcity of resources. In some measure, most of the existing documents in the Ottoman archives were written with a special Ottoman writing system called *siyakat* which was used in almost all financial records. Yet, there is a chance of finding some conclusions by making use of archival documents. There is only one extant Ottoman tax-register (*Tapu Tahrir Defteri*) pertaining to the province of Cyprus, which was produced in 1572 and has been used by a variety of studies until now. Apart from this financial

18 Ronald C. Jennings, *The Population, Taxation, and Wealth in the Cities and Villages of Cyprus*, eds. M. Akif Erdoğru, Ali Efdal Özkul (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2009), p. 175.

19 Jennings, *The Population*, p. 189.

20 For instance Mehmet Demiryürek, “The Tax Farm for the Salt-Works and Port Customs of Ottoman Cyprus (1570-95)”, *Turkish Historical Review*, 10 (2019), pp. 25-49; Halil İnalçık, “Ottoman Policy and Administration in Cyprus after the Conquest”, *Milletlerarası Birinci Kıbrıs Tetkikleri Kongresi* (14-19 Nisan 1969), *Türk Heyeti Tebliğleri* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırmacı Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1971), pp. 59-77; Halil Sahillioğlu, “Osmanlı İdaresi’nde Kıbrıs’ın İlk Yılı Bütçesi”, *Belgeler*, 7/8 (1967), pp. 1-33. Kadir Arslanboğa and Ahmet Arslantürk, “Osmanlı Yönetiminde Kıbrıs Adası’nın Ağustos 1598 ile Nisan 1599 Tarihleri Arasındaki Gelir ve Giderlerinin Tahlili”, *History Studies*, 5 (2014), pp. 13-30; Recep Dündar, “18 Mart-14 Haziran 1608 Yılı Kıbrıs Bütçesi”, *Turkish Studies*, V/4 (2010), pp. 1032-1048; Mehmet Demiryürek, Halil İbrahim Cellatoğulları, and Deniz Arıcı, “H.994 (M.1586) Yılı Kıbrıs Ruznâmçesi (Bütçesi) Üzerine Bir İnceleme”, *History Studies*, IX/2 (2017), pp. 85-107.

source, the registers (*ahkam defterleri*) in which summaries of the imperial orders by the central government were recorded, the registers of the summaries of the decisions by the Sublime Porte (*mühimme defterleri*), the records of the Nicosia Kadi's court (*Kıbrıs Şer'iye Sicilleri*, although there are only two registers in the period in question) and are also important archival sources for this kind of research.

To the best of the author's knowledge, only five studies have been published during the last two decades about wine production in the Ottoman provinces. The first one was Evgenia Balta's research which focused on the viticulture in Greece under the Ottoman rule from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>21</sup> Halenko's research treated wine production in Ottoman Crimea from 1520 to 1542. Its contribution to the field is significant, especially in terms of the conceptual meaning of *şıra*, wine production, its marketing and commercial assessment.<sup>22</sup> The third one is an environmental history study which depends on wine production in early modern Ottoman Bosnia between 1550 and 1650 during the "Little Ace Age".<sup>23</sup> The forth study was made by Fikret Yılmaz, whose study was about the wine consumption in Edremit in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>24</sup> The last research published by Sadık Müfit Bilge in 2017, covered a very long historical period from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. It focused on viticulture, grape production, by-products of grape and their taxations.<sup>25</sup> Halenko's study resembles the author's research; it covered the first two decades of the reign of Süleyman I (1520-1566), and the scope is wine production, its taxation, marketing and commerce. As for wine production and its taxation in Cyprus during the early Ottoman period, Dündar's Doctoral Research in 1998,<sup>26</sup>

21 Evangelia Balta, "Evidence for Viniculture from the Ottoman Tax Registers: 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Century", *Türk Kültürünu İnceleme Dergisi*, 5 (2001), pp. 1-12.

22 Oleksander Halenko, "Wine Production Marketing and Consumption in the Ottoman Crimea, 1520-1542", *Journal of the Economical Social History of the Orient*, 4 (2004), pp. 507-547.

23 Jelena Mrgic, "Wine and 'Raki'-The Interplay of Climate and Society in Early Modern Ottoman Bosnia", *Environment and History*, 4 (2011), pp. 613-636.

24 Fikret Yılmaz, "Boş Vaktiniz Var mı? veya 16. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Şarap", *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, 1 (2005), pp. 11-49.

25 Sadık Müfit Bige, "15.-18. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bağcılık, Üzüm Üretimi, Üzümden Yapılan Ürünler ve Vergilendirilmesi", *Halil İnalçık Armağanı*, vol. 3, ed. Ahmet Özcan (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2017), pp. 181-215.

26 Recep Dündar, "Kıbrıs Eyaleti (1570-1670)" (doctoral dissertation), Malatya: İnönü University, 1998.

Jenning's studies<sup>27</sup> and Costantini's book<sup>28</sup> considerably contributed to this question. Yet, their conclusions are supposed to be discussed again in the light of the archival sources. Sophocles Hadjisavvas and Angelos Chaniotis' joint research in 2012 contained nothing about wine production in Cyprus during the period in question and focused on the ancient era.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, this research aims mainly at contributing to the field by re-examining the given sources and re-analysing them.

### **Cyprus' Viticultural Legacy to Ottomans and First Ottoman Practices**

After the conquest of Nicosia on 9 September 1570, a governor, a judge and a treasurer were appointed, and the first steps of the executive structure were taken. It, however, was not easy to establish a new order. So, by the summer of 1571, the issue of the residences of the governor, treasurer and judge of Nicosia had not yet been fully resolved. On 12 June 1571, the central government referred the matter to the trustee of the Hagia Sophia Foundation. The trustee was to allocate the "best" of the houses in Nicosia to the governor, "lower than that" to the Nicosia judge and "lower than that" to the treasurer, record the financial value of the houses in the book and the foundation, the necessary repairs would be carried out by the foundation, and the rents of the houses in question would be collected from the residents on behalf of the foundation every month.

Approximately two months after the conquest of Famagusta on 1 August 1751, the Mufti of Cyprus was appointed, necessitating a residence for him. According to the Ottoman historian Mustafa Âlî's *Künhü'l Ahbâr*

27 Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World 1571-1640* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1992); Ronald C. Jennings, *Village Life in Cyprus at the Time of the Ottoman Conquest*, eds. M. Akif Erdoğru, Ali Efdal Özkul (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2010), pp. 106-107; Ronald C. Jennings, "The Population, Taxation, and Wealth in the Cities and Villages of Cyprus, According to the Detailed Population Survey (*Defter-i Mufassal*) of 1572", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10 (1986), pp. 175-189.

28 Vera Costantini, *Il Sultano e L'isola Contesa: Cipro tra Eredità Veneziana e Potere Ottomano* (Milano: UTET, 2009).

29 Sophocles Hadjisavvas and Angelos Chaniotis, "Wine and Oil in Crete and Cyprus: Socio-Economic Aspects", *Parallel Lives: Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus*, eds. Gerald Cadogan, Maria Iacovou, Katerina Kopaka and James Whitley (Athens: British School at Athens, 2012), pp. 157-173.

“It was given to high-ranking officials from houses obtained as booty. The wine and *raki* in these mansions, which their first floor was tavern during the Venetian period, became the property of those who were allocated houses. They sold them by saying “loot is property”. The judge of Nicosia, Mevlana Kami, and the Mufti of Nicosia, Mevlana Ekmel Efendi, were among those who were allocated mansions. There were 70-80 barrels of wine and *raki* in each house and they were an endless treasure. Some of the people, who like drinking wine, preferred the mufti tavern and some preferred the judge tavern. In the meantime, since those who came to buy wine and knew the situation, they would ask ‘whether we should buy the wine from the mufti or from the judge’. Those who did not know the merits of the matter would be amazed to see this situation.”<sup>30</sup>

This record is particularly important, since it shows one of the first Ottoman practises regarding wine in Cyprus. It clearly had an economic worth for everyone after the conquest.

During the early years of the Ottoman conquest, the Sublime Porte was aware of the commercial activities of some Cyprus products, like salt, carob, wine, and olive, and it waited for them to be purchased by the foreign merchants. But the selling of wheat, barley and cotton to foreigners was prohibited on 19 October 1572.<sup>31</sup> About five months later, on 22 February 1573, the customs tax of the abovementioned products was abated from %9 to %5.<sup>32</sup> The demand of the merchants and the expectations of the central government about revenue sources of the newly conquered island were the main reason. The merchants who complained about the customs tax were not foreign merchants trading in Cyprus, but Ottoman subjects. In other words, there is no doubt that these customs taxes did not cover the taxes paid by European nations (*musta'mins*) who had commercial privileges known as capitulations that were granted by the Ottoman Sultans, in that their amounts fixed in the commercial treaties (*ahd-names*). The general rate of the customs tax paid by Europeans in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was 5%,<sup>33</sup> except that the British's rate was 3% from 1583 onwards.<sup>34</sup>

30 Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Künhü'l Abbâr*, 4. Rükün, vol. 5, ed. by Suat Donuk (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2024), p. 711.

31 BOA, KK.d. 67, p. 591.

32 BOA, Mühimme Defteri, No. 21, p. 123, hüküm No. 300.

33 Halil İnalçık, “*İmtiyâzât*”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam (EI<sup>2</sup>)*, 1986, III, pp. 1178-1189.

34 “2 per cent less than the 5 per cent paid by other foreigners.” Susan Skilliter, “William Harborne, the First English Ammabassador 1583-1588”, *Four Centuries of Turco-British*

As far as Cyprus wine is concerned, when the English traveller Richard Wrag visited Cyprus' in 1595, he recounted that "while it was under the Venetians, there were many barons and noble men of the Cypriots, who partly by usurping more superiority over the common people then they ought, and partly through their great revenues which yearly came in by their cotton wool and wines."<sup>35</sup> In essence, besides mainly sugar, cotton and salt, the industrialized productions like wine also brought to the travellers' notice in the last decades of the Venetian rule and the early decades of the Ottoman administration.<sup>36</sup> However, in contrast to salt, neither the contribution of the cotton cloth to the Cyprus treasury nor the amount of the customs tax gained from wine export was mentioned. Although many traveller accounts related to sugar, cotton, salt, wine and other productions in Cyprus during the period in question were summarized by Jennings,<sup>37</sup> one can find nothing about the financial contribution of wine (*hamr*) to the Cyprus treasury, especially under the Ottoman rule.

According to Jenness, although the predecessors of the Ottomans, the Lusignan Monarchs and Venice administration, had promoted the cultivation of grapes and exportation of Cyprus wine, they were not fostered by the Ottomans, since they were Muslim. As a result, "for perhaps a hundred years after Turkey sized

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*Relations: Studies in Diplomatic, Economic and Cultural Affairs*, eds. William Hale and Ali İhsan Bağış (Great Britain: The Eothen Press, 1984), p. 23.

35 Richard Hakluyt, *The Principle Navigations: Voyages, Trafiqques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. 10, Asia, Part 2 (Edinburg: E.&G. Goldsmid, 1889), p. 334.

36 For instance, N. Le Huen (1487) stated that "the wines of Cyprus are good and strong, but they have a savour of pitch. Without this, they would not keep, for the heat is so fierce." Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria* (New York: Kraus Reprint Co, 1969), p. 52. In 1508 Baumgarten recorded that Cyprus "is very fruitful of corn, abounding with silkworms, silks, oil, sugar and wine." Historian Thomas Porcacchi reported in 1576 that "its wines are very luscious and wholesome; as they grow old they turn black to white, they are fragrant and of pleasant taste." Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 166. Traveller Villamount (1589) wrote "but first we had each a drought of good Cyprian wine, which in body, strength and goodness surpasses malvoisie and other wines of the East, but it is so burning and corrosive that it should be drunk only in the morning.", Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 172. In his travel accounts Dandini was also said that "The sun and soil help to produce very strong and pleasant wine, but as it is kept in pitched vessels it acquires a taste which does not please those who are not accustomed to it.", Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 183.

37 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, pp. 297-310.

control of Cyprus, the island exported comparatively little wine.”<sup>38</sup> In 1572, “grape cultivation was concentrated overwhelmingly in the southern Troodos”, especially in Limassol, Evidimou and Pendaya.<sup>39</sup> But the consumption was widespread. Apart from those of Nicosia and Famagusta towns, there were 278 villages where they had taverns and all taverns had to pay an annual tax called the tax of tavern. Although there was no cultivation of grapes, most taverns were in the Mesaoria district. The annual income of taverns in Cyprus was nearly 90.000 *akçes*. In addition, the income of the taverns in Famagusta first belonged to the Sultan and the governor of Famagusta afterwards. Those of Nicosia organized the tax farm of tavern and left it to the control of tax farmers.<sup>40</sup> Consequently, the Ottomans were Muslim but they were aware of the wine production and exportation as a financial source, and if the production of wine decreased under the Ottoman rule, it would be more reasonable to look for the reasons of this decline in another way. Furthermore, according to *The Merchant Map*, published in 1672, after even one hundred years of the conquest, wine and cotton were some of the chief commodities of Cyprus.<sup>41</sup>

Cyprus Law dated 9-19 October 1572 by the Ottomans recorded that the wine contribution to Cyprus treasury was three ways before the Ottoman capture. Firstly, the producers who had vineyards in Limassol and Evidimou, or 36 villages in those districts, had to give one-third of their products to the state. Secondly, those who had vineyards had to pay a certain tax called *resm-i dönüm* (tax of land, or rather the acreage tax of the vineyard), 1 ½ *akçe*, per *dönüm* (a measure of land, 33.444 m<sup>2</sup>).<sup>42</sup> Thirdly, when a merchant or producer brought their wine to the castles to sell the buyers, they would pay 16 *akçes*, per *load* (a

38 Diamond Jenness, *The Economics of Cyprus: A Survey to 1914* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1962), p. 71.

39 Jennings, *Village Life*, p. 61.

40 Dündar, “Kıbrıs Eyaleti (1570-1670)”, pp. 275-76.

41 Lewes Robert, *The Merchants Map of Commerce* (London: Printed for R. Horn [...], 1677), p. 155. Braudel also stated that both vineyards and wine production survived in the lands conquered and administrated by the Muslim states in the south and south-west of Europe, although religious prohibitions and obstacles stemmed from Islamic culture. Fernand Braudel, *Maddi Uygarlık*, trans. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2017), p. 210.

42 “*Dönüm* (land measure = 40 yards square”, J.H. Hutchinson, *A Handbook of Cyprus* (London: Edward Stanford, 1907), p. 109. Halil İnalçık explained this obligation as follows: “the peasant of the region of Limason (Limasol) and Avdim had to surrender one-third of

kind of liquid measurement). The law did not clearly explain whether the tax of one-third on production and tax of land related to vineyards would also be paid under Ottoman rule or not.<sup>43</sup> But it underlined that the tax of selling wine in the castles was abolished.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, the peasants would have nothing to pay for wine which they had or produced the wine for their need.<sup>45</sup> Even though the law expressed the tax of selling wine in the castles, it did not make clear other; two matters which were dealt with in this research, that is, tax of land of vineyard and tax of tithe of grape harvest.

İnalcık did not study the tax of selling wine in the castles, since he focused on the peasant's taxes. However, he accepted those of the vineyards that the “tithe and 1 ½ akcha for each *dönüm*” became “tithes or 2 akcha for each *dönüm*” after the conquest.<sup>46</sup> But, it must be underlined that the Cyprus Law did not contain a statement like that, on the contrary it stated *verbatim* as follows: “hamr bacın ref eyleyüb andan gayri zikr olunan kavânnî mukarrer dutub deftere kayd eylesiz.”<sup>47</sup> The sultan clarified that he had cancelled the tax on wine and other taxes, i.e tithe, tax of land and export, would be valid and his command would be recorded in the register. This statement can give the impression that the export tax of Cyprus wine was 5%, and “tithe, i.e. one third, and 1½ *akçe* for each *dönüm*” remained after the conquest. Even so, if it is considered that following the conquest the amount of the tithe was generally fixed as one-fifth, it can be supposed that the peasants living in Limassol and Evdimou who have vineyards had not been excluded from the general practice, like those who live in the other parts of the island. Furthermore, the detailed survey underlined on every record about the villages that the tithe was one fifth (*kîsm-ül hums*). The situation of the 1½ *akçe* of land tax is unclear; at least it has not been seen in any record yet. Consequently, it can be considered

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the produce of his vineyard and, pay for every *dönüm* (one *dönüm* is approximately 1000 sqm) of plat a due amounting to 1 ½ akcha.” İnalcık, “Ottoman Policy”, p. 66.

43 Arbel and Veinstein who studied the Cyprus law of 1572 (kanunname) did not discuss these three topics. See, Benjamin Arbel and Gilles Veinstein, “La fiscalité Vénéto-chypriote au miroir de la législation ottomane: le *qânûnnâme* de 1572”, *Turcica*, 18 (1986), pp. 7–51.

44 This practice was also mentioned by Hill. Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, New York, Melburne etc: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 28.

45 Defter-i Mufassal-ı Liva-ı Kıbrıs, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi (Kuyud-ı Kadime), TKGM.TADB.TT.d. 64, p. 487-88.

46 İnalcık, “Ottoman Policy”, p. 66.

47 This means that the tax of selling wine in the castles has been called off but other laws will be implemented and recorded in the registers.

that the islanders paid the tithe about wine and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *akçe* of land tax for their vineyards, in that the Law of 1572 did not abolish that land tax.

### **Wine Production and Its Taxation**

In the sixteenth century, the words in the Ottoman taxation system, like *hamr* or *şıra*, were used for wine<sup>48</sup> and they were important fiscal sources of the local or central treasury.<sup>49</sup> Cyprus under Ottoman rule did not have any exemption of this taxation system and the Ottomans imposed tithe on the production of wine. Nevertheless, it is necessary to make sense of *şıra-i hamr* statement in the survey of 1572 at the outset and discuss whether the term of *şıra* can be considered equivalent to wine or not. Although there are some research about the meaning of *şıra*, the researcher prefers Oleksander Halenko's conclusion that the meaning of the term of *şıra* in the *kanunnames* is equal to wine.<sup>50</sup> In addition to this, in the case of the Nicosia Kadı's court in October 1610 the word *şıra* was used as the equivalent of *şarap* (wine).<sup>51</sup> As far as *şıra-i hamr* statement in the tax-register of 1572 is concerned, both Halenko's explanations and the meaning of *hamr* word leave no doubt that the term *şıra-i hamr* denoted a certain tax imposed on the main product of the vineyards in Cyprus. Even though Islamic law prohibited Muslims from producing and using wine, as far as non-Muslims were concerned, the Ottoman's solution was simple. First, the producers of wine were non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and the production and consumption of wine were legal for them. Moreover, it was important to their daily diet and religious practices. On the other hand, in theory the state taxed the grape juice (*şıra*), not wine. Even so, the legal policy of the state concerning the production of grape

48 "Haricden fuçyla hamr gelse on beş akçe alınur. Yerlü içmek için fuçı ile hamr alursa nesne vermez. Eğer satarsa bir medre şire veya hukukî kıymeti alınur." Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, c. 7 (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), p. 759; "ve haricden şere fuçı ile şire gelüb satılsa sekizer akçe bâc alınur. Zîrî olan fuçı ile[gelen] hamr şehirde satılsa resm-i çenber deyû on beş akçe bâc alınur. Ve yerlü kâfir öşür verdiği kendü mülük bağından şehirde fuçı ile şire satsa bâc alınmaz." Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, c. 8 (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), p. 504.

49 "9. Ve hâliya kefere elinde olan bağdan şireden öşür alına." Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, c. 8, p. 285.

50 He discussed this issue in this comprehensive research relating in Ottoman Crimea during the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. See, Halenko, "Wine Production", pp. 515-520.

51 KSS, No. 3, pp. 67-68.

juice, in this case wine, must have been welcomed by its non-Muslim subjects.<sup>52</sup> As for its trade, it was also subject to taxation, and this was highly important revenue source for the treasury. Halenko's schema clearly shows this situation, in that the first step in the grape processing was to make grape juice which was not wine at that point.<sup>53</sup> The following example can make this process clearer. M. Tournefort recorded the production of wine in Milo Island in 1700 thus:

“Wine is one of the best commodities of this island; throughout the Archipelago they make it thus: Every private man has in his vineyard a short of cistern, of what dimensions the thinks fit; it is made square, well walled, and cemented with brick-mortar, open at top. In this they stamp the grapes, after letting them lie in it two or three days to dry: As fast as the must or liquor runs out at a certain hole communication into a bason placed below the cistern, they pour it into leather budgets, and away it to town where they empty them into casks of wood, or into large earthen jars, buried up to the neck, in the ground. In these vessels this new wine works as it lists; they throw into it three or four handfuls of white-lime plaster, with the addition now and then of a fourth part of fresh or salt water, according to the convenience of the place. After the wine has sufficiently worked, the stop up the vessels with plaster.”<sup>54</sup>

There is no reason to think that techniques of wine making in Tournefort's time were different from during the period under consideration. In other words, the Cypriots used the same methods of producing wine in the early years of the Ottoman rule and in essence, the point at which the state intervened in the processing of the grape was the time when “the must or liquor runs out at a certain hole of communication into a bason placed below the cistern”. At this point, it is possible that the state officials or tax collectors calculated the grape juice produced by the cultivators and took one-fifth of it for the state as tithe. Even though the grape juice had not been wine yet,<sup>55</sup> both authorities and producers knew that wine would be one of the main by-products of the grape juice. Probably other by-products like syrup (*bekmez*) and vinegar (*sirke*) either were produced more

52 According to Halenko it was regarded “as a good example of its *istimalet* (accommodation) policy towards its subjects.” Halenko, “Wine Production”, pp. 515-519.

53 Halenko, “Wine Production”, p. 516.

54 M. Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant*, vol. 1 (London: Printed for Printed for D. Browne, A. Bell, J. Darby [and 8 others], 1718), p. 125.

55 “Her sene tatlı şıra zamanında karye-i mesfureye varilub şaraphaneden şıra tatlı ilen aktığı yerden otuz yedi yük şırayı aynı ile alub ...”, KSS, No.1-A, p. 184.

or less than wine or were not produced. If they were made, they did not account for a significant portion of the grape juice recorded in the tax register. In addition, the survey of 1572 did not contain any tax on syrup or vinegar as tithe. Even the term of grape juice for wine (*sıra-i hamr*) is clear enough to clarify the substance of the production.

The islanders would enjoy tasting the new wine toward the last days of October. When traveller Reinhold Lubenau stayed in Cyprus from the last day of October to 8 November 1589, he tasted new wine.<sup>56</sup> Since in the early modern period, wine had been one of the integral parts of the daily diet among the Christian population, it must be underlined that the law code of Cyprus of 1572 stated clearly that personal consumption of wine in Ottoman Cyprus was exempted from taxation. According to it, the tax collectors could not demand the islanders to pay a certain tax for their food and wine if their proportion did not exceed their needs.<sup>57</sup> That is the amount which was charged for their consumptions in a year. Though it is very difficult to determine a certain quantity pertaining to "need", it can be guessed that this proportion was a good many in Cyprus, because it was a producer country. In the late Middle Ages, some persons living in Modena accepted to provide each year 305 litres of wine for their father.<sup>58</sup> In the seventeenth century, for example, an adult man in Bologna consumed "at least two litres of wine" each day,<sup>59</sup> 730 litres yearly. If it is added the proportion consumed by women and children to this quantity, probably on average one litre a day, it can be said that three litres of wine could be consumed by a family in the seventeenth century Bologna, 1095 litres per year. As for Cyprus, my oral and local source, Papa Leondios Petrou, a traditional wine producer in his village in Cyprus, has just informed me that a family consisting of 8-10 people could consume 3 litres per day, 1095 litres annually. Papa Leondios Petrou also states that his quantity could mount until one *gomari*, 128 *oqqa* (approximately 1.642

56 Reinhold Lubenau, *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi: Osmanlı Ülkesinde*, 1587-1589, vol. 2, trans. Türkis Noyan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), p. 662.

57 TKGM.TADB.TT.d. 64, p. 487-88.

58 Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, p. 214.

59 Rod Philips, "Food and Drink", *Europe 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, vol. 2, ed. Jonathan Dewald (New York, Detroit, San Diego, London: Thomson Gale, 2004), p. 417. Braudel stated that in the midst of the sixteenth in Valladolid (Spain) century one person on average consumed about 100 liters per year. Braudel, *Maddi Uygarlık*, p. 214.

litres). There is no reason to say that these quantities, give or take, accounted for the amount of wine consumed by a Greek family in 1570s and exempted from taxation.

The population and taxation survey of 1572 contained figures for agricultural productions cultivated in Cyprus and reflected the average of the past three years. The figures also meant the tithes of the different crops were one-fifth.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, the records prepared by the Ottoman officials make it possible to calculate the yearly amount of the grape juice (in this case, *şıra-i hamr*) production and its annual tax in the last years of the Venetian rule and at the beginning of the Ottoman administration. Still, earlier, there are three important problems, which were not explained clearly in the survey, must be solved: the amount of the tax on grape juice (tithe), the measurement unit related to grape juice, the unit of price of excised grape juice, and Cyprus' annual grape juice production and its financial value from 1572 onwards.

The first question was solved as above, i.e one-fifth, as tithe (*öşür*). This tax was the same in Rhodes in 1530, one-fifth.<sup>61</sup> The most challenging problem is to discover the measurement unit of wine used by the Ottomans, since both the survey of 1572 and the Cyprus Law of 1572 did not contain any explanation or have a clue on this matter. Furthermore, until now, the previous researchers, Jennings and Dündar, mainly brought forward two different measurement units related to the excised wine in the survey. While Jennings' suggestion was *kile* or *keyl*,<sup>62</sup> Dündar argued that it was *yük* and *müd* in the only Kyrenia district.<sup>63</sup> Both researchers did not explain why they singled out that solution. Costantini also used *yük* word but she did not attempt to discuss or explain it.<sup>64</sup>

60 İnalcık, "Ottoman Policy", p. 63.

61 "They will pay the one-fifth, as tithe, for their vineyards." Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, c. 5 (İstanbul: Fey Vakfı Yayınları, 1992), p. 432.

62 Jennings, "The Population", p. 185; Jennings, *Village Life*, p. 62; Ronald C. Jennings, "The Population, Taxation and Wealth in the Cities and Villages of Cyprus, according to the Detailed Population Survey (*Defter-i Mufassal*) of 1572", *Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Women, Zimmis and Sharia Courts in Kayseri, Cyprus and Trabzon* (İstanbul and USA: The Isis Press and Gorgias Press, 2011), pp. 443, 455, 456, 458, 459.

63 Dündar, "Kıbrıs Eyaleti (1570-1670)", p. 238.

64 Costantini, *Il Sultano*, p. 125. She only wrote that "unità di massa. Ne esistevano diverse varianti locali" (It was a measure of mass. There were some local kinds), p. 232.

There is evidence that Ottomans used load during the period under review as the measurement unit of wine. At the bottom, this term was also mentioned notably twice in the Cyprus Law of 1572. The first is about the wine brought to the castles to be sold, 16 *akçes* per load, which was abolished by the Sultan in 1572. The second is related to the wine produced by the peasant and it was taxed by the state at 40 *akçes* per load.<sup>65</sup> Unlike the first one, the law did not contain any statement that the Sultan called the tax of 40 *akçes* for per load off. Furthermore, the sultan ordered the officials in Cyprus to register and put into effect the laws, except for those which were abolished clearly by him, as saying “andan gayri zikr olunan kavânini mukarrer dutub deftere kayd eylesiz.” This means that the Ottomans maintained the tax of 40 *akçes* per load. The population and taxation survey figures of 1572 also prove this conclusion. Apart from the statements in the tax-register of 1572, some other historical records in the registers of the Nicosia Kadi’s court attest that the Ottomans used the term of load for wine production. According to a record dated 2 November 1580 Ahmet, son of Abdullah claimed that his wine of 12 load which had been bought and put in the jars by him had been taken by Badista, son of Yerelmo, without his permission.<sup>66</sup> In 1610 when Luka, son of Françesko sold his house to Luizo veled-i Çankari, the buyer had given 5 load wines, as a part of his debt.<sup>67</sup> Lastly, Papa Leondios Petrou who is the priest of Farmakas village which is one of the oldest villages of Cyprus and is known that has existed since 1572, has recently informed me through his son Andreas Papaleontiou that a load is a unit of measurement which they call in Greek *gomari* (*γομάρι* in Greek).<sup>68</sup> *Gomari* means *eşek yükü* (donkey load). But in 1530, the measurement of wine was a horse load (*at yükü*) in Rhodes.<sup>69</sup>

This conclusion gives rise to a paramount question which has remained unsolved and neglected by researchers until today: the meaning of the term of load, or rather an approximate value of load by way of requital to the unit of

65 Defter-i Mufassal-ı Liva-ı Kıbrıs, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi (Kuyud-ı Kadime), TKGM.TADB.TT.d. 64, pp. 487-88.

66 Records of the Nicosia Kadi’s Court, (hereafter KSS), No. 1-A, p. 20.

67 KSS, No. 3, p. 16.

68 Andreas Papaleontiou’s email dated 14 January 2020. I would like to thank both for their assistances by which I could solve some problems pertaining to the topic.

69 “A man who brings wine (*şıra*) from out of the castle, as a horse load (*at yükü*), will pay 2 *akçes*”. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, c. 5, p. 432.

measurement used in modern times, such as oqqa, kilograms or liter. At this point, Papa Leondios Petrou made it possible for me to estimate the quantity of wine produced in Cyprus in 1570s and make sense of the figures in the tax-register of 1572. According to him,  $1 \text{ yük} = 1 \text{ gomari} = 128 \text{ oqqa}$  (meaning 16 jars (κούζες in Greek)= 1 jar= 8 oqqa). A contemporary record also evidences this consideration. A court record says that on 5 November 1610,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  load of wine meant 24 jars.<sup>70</sup> In other words, 1 load of wine equaled to 16 jars. Surprisingly, the  $1 \text{ jar} = 8 \text{ oqqa}$  of wine measurement is also supported by another historical record dated 27 July 1792.<sup>71</sup> Finally, a law prepared by the British in 1890 underlined that “ $1 \text{ kouza} (\text{testi}, \text{jar})$  was equal to 8 oqqa.<sup>72</sup> These findings show that this old Cyprus unit of measurement has maintained its existence so far.

İnalcık stated that one of the Ottoman polices about the newly conquered countries was “to keep the pre-conquest law and customs to which the indigenous population was long accustomed”.<sup>73</sup> Thus, I think the Ottomans implemented the same policy about wine in Cyprus and used the earlier unit of measurement. Both Papa Leondios’ statement and the archival records dated 1610 and 1792 support this thought.

Consequently, upon analyses of data in the tax-register of 1572 and other related sources, it can be referred that the amount of the *şıra-i hamr*, was collected from each taxable unit (town or village), recorded both in kind and its cash value (40 *akçes* per load).<sup>74</sup> In addition to this, the survey also showed clearly that the quantity of the taxed *şıra-i hamr* was only one-fifth of the total amount of it. So, it can be argued that the total amount of *şıra-i hamr* in Cyprus was more than in the register, at least five-fold. The census-takers in the Ottoman province of Cyprus in 1572 determined the amount of the tithe as 16.770,5 load of *şıra-i hamr*, which was assessed 670.820 *akçes*. As a result, by multiplying this amount 5, the

70 KSS, Defter No. 3, p. 9.

71 KSS, Defter No. 21, H.1200-1212, p. 228. See, Mehmet Demiryürek, “Kıbrıs Şer'iye Sıllerine Göre Nizam-ı Cedid Islahatı ve Kıbrıs”, *Kebikeç*, 29 (2010), pp. 73-117.

72 “The Weights and Measures Law, 1890”, *The Cyprus Gazette*, 13 June 1890, Supplement, pp. 1619-1625; J. T. Hutchinson, *A Handbook of Cyprus* (London: Edward Stanford, 1907), p. 109.

73 İnalcık, “Introduction”, p. 329.

74 One oqqa is equal to about 1.283gr and 128 oqqa is equal to 164.224 gr. It was accepted for this research that it was about 164 kg. One *yük* = a unit of liquid measurement equal to 128 oqqa=164.224 kg. It was accepted for this research that it was about 164 kg.

total production of *şıra-i hamr* from the vineyards in Cyprus and its financial value can be estimated as 83.825.5 load and 3.354.100 *akçes*, as seen in the table below.

The table also unearths that Limassol (%48) and Pendaya (%25) were the principal districts which had vineyards and produced wine during this period. About two hundred and twenty-two years later in 1795-96, Limassol and Gilan districts were the most important districts, having vineyards and paying the tax of alcoholic drinks, 8.681 *dönüm* (15.191 *kuruş*) and 9.460 *dönüm* (16.549 *kuruş*) respectively.<sup>75</sup>

**Table 1. Production and Taxation of *Şıra-i Hamr* (Wine) in Cyprus in 1572**

Districts	Production Amount ( <i>Yük</i> ) Value ( <i>Akçe</i> )	Production (Kg)	Production (%)	Taxation (one-fifth) Amount ( <i>Yük</i> ) Value ( <i>Akçe</i> )	
Limassol	40.215	1.608.600	6.595.260	48	8.043
Pendaya	20.872,5	834.900	3.423.090	25	4.175,5
Evdimou	7.485	299.400	1.227.540	9	1.497
Mazoto	6.165	246.600	1.011.060	7	1.233
Nicosia	5.115	204.600	833.860	6	1.023
Baphos	3.710	148.400	608.440	4,5	742
Khrysokhou	275	11.000	45.100	0,03	55
Kyrenia	15	600	2.460	0,01	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>83.825,5</b>	<b>3.354.100</b>	<b>13.746.810</b>		<b>16.770,5</b>
					<b>670.820</b>

When one researcher compares the Costantini's and my findings regarding wine tax, it will be seen some differences between them. For instance, according to Costantini the total yearly tax revenue of wine was about 509.194 *akçes*.<sup>76</sup> But my calculations shows that total wine tax revenue was 670.820 *akçes* yearly.

Since grain (especially wheat, barley and rye) had a significant place in the diet of the early modern Europeans and they were consumed as bread, gruel and

75 Mehmet Demiryürek, *Osmalı Reform Sürecinde Kıbrıs* (İstanbul: Akademik Kitaplar, 2010), pp. 52-53.

76 Costantini, *Il Sultano*, p. 186. Table 5. She wrote that the wine tax revenue was 227.020 *akçes* in Limassol, 127.480 *akçes* in Pendaya, 56.740 *akçes* in Evdim, 54.254 *akçes* in Mazoto, 37.280 *akçes* in Nicosia, 4.680 *akçes* in Baphos, 1.560 *akçes* in Crysohous and 0 *akçe* in Kyrenia. In addition, the numbers of villages where paid wine tax more than 12.000 *akçes* were not seven. See, p. 187. Ağru (16.400 *akçes*) and Limnaki Pano and Limnaki Kato (total 16.400 *akçes*), Both were Limassol villages, must be added to this list given the table 7.

pasta,<sup>77</sup> it can be said that this situation was valid for Cyprus, and comparing the financial value of wine with that of grain (wheat, barley and rye) can be useful as to determine the place of the wine production in Cyprus. According to Dündar's calculations<sup>78</sup> the financial value of the taxed grain (wheat, barley, and rye) production in Cyprus in 1572 reached about 2.725.218 *akçes*. Unlike the expectations, wine production was not the most valuable tax source in the agriculture of Cyprus, in that it provided the treasury with approximately ten per cent (10,72%) of the total taxes, except *cizye*, paid by the islanders (670.820 *akçes* out of approximately 6.255.072). Otherwise, the contribution of the grain (wheat, barley, and rye) production to the treasury was 2.725.218 *akçes* (approximately 43,56%). If the tithe on wheat is considered, the quantity of wheat under taxation was 142.779 *kile* yearly and its value in cash was 1.713.348, 12 *akçes* per *kile*. This amount accounted for 27,39% of the total revenues, that is 1.713.348 *akçes* out of 6.255.072 *akçes* in total taxes, except *cizye*. The quantity of taxed barley constituted 15.40% of total income, 160.616 *kile*, 963.690 *akçes*, 6 *akçes* per *kile*. Stated differently, wine production in Cyprus ranked number three after wheat and barley, respectively. As the budget of 1571-72 stated that there were 23.000 households (*hane*) who had paid poll tax,<sup>79</sup> it could be supposed that the quantity of wine production was 3,6 *yük* (424,8 *oqqa* and 545.015,4 kg) per household.

### Muslim Owners of Vineyards, By-Products of Grapes and Its Taxation

Focusing on the *şıra-i hamr* to assess taxes due from viticulture in Cyprus in 1570s does not mean that the islanders did not consume fresh or dry grapes. Furthermore, even probably the waste left after the extraction of juice was processed into a spirit called *zivaniya* (in Greek ζιβανία, a kind of *raki*). Besides fresh or dry

77 Phillips, "Food and Drink", pp. 412-13.

78 Dündar, "Kıbrıs Eyaleti (1570-1670)", pp. 228-29. Since there were some miscalculations related to wine in Dündar's findings, some minor discrepancies from those of mine, I preferred my findings but the figures about the grain have been taken from Dündar's research, although probably there were also some minor miscalculations. He, for example, said that the total annual quantity of wheat was 142.819 *akçes*. This is untrue. When the figures about the wheat in his research (p. 228) is considered, the result is 142.779 *akçes*. As for wine, according to Dündar the taxed wine production was as follows: 8.038 *yük* in Limassol, 4.236 *yük* in Pendaya, 1.497 *yük* in Evdimou, 1.365 *yük* in Mazoto, 1.023 *yük* in Nicosia, 744 *yük* in Baphos, 54 *yük* in Crysohous and 3 *müd* in Kyrenia. Dündar, "Kıbrıs Eyaleti (1570-1670)", p. 238.

79 Halil Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs'ın İlk Yılı Bütçesi", *Belgeler*, 7-8 (1967), p. 21.

consumption of grapes, by-products like vinegar and syrup could be produced, although the census-takers did not register in a survey of 1572. In effect, as far as vinegar and syrup are concerned and given that the grape juice was their main source and already taxed under *şıra-i hamr*, it was necessary to mention them separately. As for the taxation of the fresh or dry consumption of grapes, at the bottom, the tax on the fields of vineyards, acreage tax of vineyard) which was assessed on the size of vineyards, represented the fresh and dry consumption of grapes.<sup>80</sup> In other words, all productions of vineyards were assessed through the two registered levies, grape juice for wine (*şıra-i hamr*) and acreage tax of vineyard.

The first Cyprus budget covering the revenues and expenditures from 7 October 1571 to 7 October 1572 indicated that some vineyards had been sold and the Cyprus treasury gained some money.<sup>81</sup> Even though the identity of buyers was not recorded, there is a possibility that some of them were newcomers to the island. In addition to this, the Cyprus treasurer sent a formal petition to the Sultan and demanded an imperial order to Cyprus so that the officials in Cyprus could sell the fields, vineyards, gardens, mills, houses and trees with fruit which their infidel owners were captured or murdered (*esir ve hâlik olan harbî küffâr*) and had not been recorded in the new register (*defter-i cedid*) for the Sultan. His demand was accepted on 17 October 1572.<sup>82</sup> To be sure, the tax regulations of 1572 did not mention the Muslim cultivators in Cyprus, as the Muslim population had not settled there yet. From 1572 onwards, however, Cyprus began to have the Muslim population mainly migrated from Anatolia. It can be guessed that they owned vineyards by purchasing. There is evidence that after the conquest and Muslims settled in Cyprus, they became owner of vineyards and winehouses. Some Muslims bought vineyards. For example, in July 1594, Menayol, son of Corci sold his vineyard of 2 *dönüm* in Mariyi village (Kyrenia) to Ömer, son of Kasim.<sup>83</sup> On the same date Kiryako, son of Yorgi sold his winehouse in Ayos village (Nicosia) to Hüseyin b. Abdullah.<sup>84</sup> About three months later, in September 1594 İnorya, son of Hristofi sold some properties including a vineyard and his share of half of a winehouse in Aya Luka village (Limassol) to Musa, son of Hamza.<sup>85</sup> On August

80 For a similar suggestion, see Halenko, "Wine Production", p. 521.

81 Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı İdaresinde", pp. 1-33.

82 BOA, KK.d. 67, p. 591.

83 KSS, 1-A, p. 245.

84 KSS, 1-A, p. 257.

85 KSS, 1-A, p. 295.

1610, Musa b. Abdullah bought a vineyard in Analyonda village (Nicosia) from Hristofi.<sup>86</sup> In October 1610, Nikola, son of Nalerko sold his vineyard of three units in Monagri (Nicosia) to Hızır Subaşı.<sup>87</sup> In January 1610, when Muhamrem Çavuş who had a vineyard in Prodromi village (Lefka) died, he left a vineyard which was grown by him,<sup>88</sup> to his heirs.<sup>89</sup>

Even though these documents point out the Muslim vineyard owners in Cyprus, unfortunately we have no data about the taxation related to the Muslim vineyard owners during the period under question. Yet, it can be supposed that they were also taxed, just like the Muslim cultivators living in some other Ottoman provinces where the vineyards were grown, and wine or other by-products of grape juice were produced. According to the law of Kopan and Şimontorna (Hungary) under Selim II (1566-1574), while the non-Muslim cultivators paid tithe of grape juice (*öşr-i şıra*) for their vineyards, the Muslims who had vineyards and produced vinegar and syrup (*turşı ve bekmez*), not wine (*hamr*), had to pay only the acreage tax of the vineyard for their vineyards. The same law also underlined that the Muslims who planted grape vine would pay the acreage tax of the vineyard, but if they bought their vineyard from a non-Muslim, they had to pay tithe (*öşr*).<sup>90</sup> In Rhodes, the non-Muslims paid the tithe for their vineyards (*bağ*), as one fifth. If one Muslim grew a vineyard himself, he would pay the acreage tax of the vineyard, as 4 *akçes* per *dönüm*. If the Muslim bought the vineyard from a Christian (*kafir*), his tax burden on his vineyard was 2/15 *akçes*, in 1530.<sup>91</sup>

There is evidence that the Muslims in Cyprus produced wine (*hamr*). On 2 November 1580 the Nicosia court heard Ahmet bin Abdullah's complaint in which he claimed that Badista veled-i Yertelmo, who was from Ayandrosi village in Evdimou district, had seized his wine (*hamr*) of 12 loads. He demanded the court to take the said wine and hand him over. The defendant rejected this assertion by saying that the above-mentioned wine was 7.5 loads and already belonged to

86 KSS, No. 3, p. 143.

87 KSS, No. 3, p. 88.

88 The court record mentioned this vineyard as "mülk". This meant that the aforesaid vineyard was grown himself. Neşet Çağatay, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Reayadan Alınan Vergi ve Resimler", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, V/5 (1947), p. 288.

89 KSS, No. 3, p. 9.

90 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, c. 7, p. 452.

91 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, c. 5, p. 432.

him, not Ahmet bin Abdullah. The day after, the court continued to hear the case. Now, the plaintiff had two witnesses and they supported his assertions. According to them, the point in question wine of 12 load had been produced by Ahmet bin Abdullah from his own vineyard.<sup>92</sup> This record proved inarguably that the Muslim Cypriots had vineyards and they manufactured wine by using its grapes. Furthermore, there is evidence that the Muslims in Cyprus consumed wine.<sup>93</sup>

In addition, there is no reason to say that the Muslim population in Cyprus increased the number of by-products of grapes, such as mainly vinegar and syrup. They must also have contributed to the quantity of fresh and dry grape consumption. There is evidence that fresh grape, syrup, and vinegar were sold in Nicosia markets during the last decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. To illustrate, in July-August 1594 the market price of one oqqa fresh grape was 10 *akçes* and about a month later, on 30 September 1594 it was sold from only one *akçe*.<sup>94</sup> The reason of the reduction of the price was probably that the first date was the beginning of the vintage, and the last one was the end of the vine-harvest. However, three months later, the price decreased, and customers had to pay 4 *akçes* for one oqqa of black grape (*kara üzüm*). One oqqa of the syrup was also sold from 4 *akçes*.<sup>95</sup> When Nebi b. İsa died in the last months of 1593, his inheritance, which contained one earthenware (*küp*) vinegar of 200 *akçes* and fifteenth oqqa syrup of 750 *akçes*, was recorded and sold by the court.<sup>96</sup> These lists also stated that customers could purchase the grape of Damascus (*şam üzümü*), 14 *akçes* per oqqa and grape of Baalbek (Lebanon), 10 *akçes* per oqqa. In addition to these grapes, black grape (*kara üzüm*), red grape (*kızıl üzüm*) and blackcurrant (*kişniş üzümü*) were also sold in the Nicosia markets in those days. One of the by-products of grapes sold in markets was *sucuk* made of grape juice and

92 KSS, Defter No. 1-A, p. 20.

93 In April 1594, the officer (*subaşı*) of Nicosia took Fethullah bin Mehmet to the court and claimed that he had drunk wine (*hamr*). Two witnesses supported him. KSS, Defter No. 1-A, p.225. Six months later, in 1594 a Muslim named Lüfû, who was manager (*mütevelli*) of a foundation (*vakf*) was dismissed by the Cyprus treasurer, Bali Efendi, since he drank wine (*mezemmet-i hamr*) continuously. KSS, Defter No. 1-A, p. 142. In August 1610 Nicosia officers (*subaşı Mustafa* and *asesbaşı Carullah*) took two Muslims to the court and claimed that they had drunk wine. The court accepted their accusations when two witnesses supported them. KSS, Defter No. 3, p. 57.

94 KSS, Defter No. 1-A, p. 206.

95 KSS, Defter No. 1-A, p. 208.

96 KSS, Defter No. 1-A, p. 229.

almond or walnut. It was recorded in the last months of 1594 as *bandırma sucuk* and its market price was 12 *akçes* per oqqa. Nebi bin Musa left 25 oqqa of *sucuk* and its value was 250 *akçes*.

Unfortunately, the market price lists during the period under consideration did not mention the wine sales and its taxation in the markets. So did the law code of 1572 and tax-register of 1572. But this uncertainty should not be referred that the wine was not sold in the markets in Ottoman Cyprus. Given the wine production and consumption on the island it must have been sold in the markets and taxed by the state, just as in the other Ottoman provinces. For example, the law code of Silistre (Bulgaria) under the Sultan Selim II (1566-1774) stated that when wine was sold by barrel in the market the tax collector would demand 15 *akçes* per barrel.<sup>97</sup> In the same years, the market price of one barrel of wine in Alexandria was also 15 *akçes*. But the value of one load of wine was 2 *akçes*.<sup>98</sup>

### Some Observations Viticulture in Ottoman Cyprus

Traveller Reinhold Lubenau who visited Cyprus from 31 October to 8 November 1589 stated that even as their ship was sailing from Cape Kiti to Limassol, he saw very good vineyards on the high mountains called *engaddi*. According to him, Cyprus had plenty of vineyards which made it possible to produce red wine.<sup>99</sup> In the same year, another traveller, Villamont saw that “along the mountain are many vineyards” in the same region.<sup>100</sup>

It is witnessed that the islanders, both Muslims and non-Muslims, had vineyards and winehouses during the period under question. They produced wine and paid their taxes. On 6 February 1595, villagers from Balihori village (Pendaya) accepted that they would pay 37,5 loads of wine per year to Kasım, son of Abdullah and Hızır, son of Ahmet who were timarholders.<sup>101</sup> The villagers of Agridye (Limassol) paid their taxes including tax of wine to Ahmet Ağa, who was one of the officers in Nicosia castle, in that all taxes of the village was allocated to him, as a timarholder.<sup>102</sup>

97 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, c. 7, p. 744.

98 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, c. 7, p. 685.

99 Lubenau, *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 2, pp. 666, 670.

100 Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 175.

101 KSS, 1-A, p. 184.

102 KSS, 1-A, p. 311.

The owners of vineyards paid the acreage tax of the vineyard. One can see the amount of that tax in the table below. If the peasants paid 1½ akçe per *dönüm*, it could be calculated the total *dönüm* of vineyards, as seen in the table below.

**Table. 2. The Acreage Tax of the Vineyard (1572-1577)<sup>103</sup>**

Years	Amount (Akçe)	Vineyard (Dönüm)
980 (May 1572-May 1573)	47.498	31.665
981 (May 1573-April 1574)	36.135	24.090
982 (April 1574-April 1575)	12.068	8.045
983 (April 1574-March 1576)	21.473	14.315
984 (March 1576-March 1577)	5.000	3.333
985 (March 1576-March 1577)	0	0
Total (six years)	122.174	

When the table is analyzed, it is seen that the amount of that tax decreased sharply during the early years of the Ottoman rule. The reason for this decline must have been the locust rather than mal administration.<sup>104</sup> According to the table above, this locust invasion was a disaster for Cyprus. This table does not show that there were no vineyards in Cyprus in 1577. But during these years the production of wine and the amount of wine tax must have been deducted, as Braudel stated.<sup>105</sup> Yet, in the following years, Cyprus had vineyards and maintained to produce wine, as seen in the table below.

103 KSS, 1 *Numarali Kıbrıs Mukataa Defteri*, p. 40. This record did not have any explanation that it was concerning vineyard. But if it is taken into consideration Çağatay's statements on *dönüm resmi*, it is understood that the records in the 1 *Numarali Kıbrıs Mukataa Defteri*, is regarding vineyards. Çağatay, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda", p. 504.

104 On 18 October 1576, the treasurer of Cyprus, Derviş Efendi, stated that there had been a locust attack on Cyprus for years. BOA, Muhimme Defteri, No. 28, huküm no. 104, p. 42. German traveler, Ulrich Krafft, wrote in 1577 that "before the Turks took the island, locusts had appeared often, but never in such great quantity and not with so much ensuing damage as in the past five of six years." Ronald C. Jennings, "The Locust Problem in Cyprus", *Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Women, Zimmis and Sharia Courts in Kayseri, Cyprus and Trabzon* (Istanbul and USA: The Isis Press and Gorgias Press, 2011), p. 484.

105 "It is true that the departure of the Venetians was followed by a drop in exports of cotton, raw and spun alike, and by such a marked deterioration of the vineyards that Venice was able to arrange to buy back the precious leather flasks used for the manufacture of wine, as they were no longer of any use on the island." Braudel, *Maddî Uygarlık*, p. 156.

**Table 3. Vineyards in the Ottoman Rule (1572-1594/1610)<sup>106</sup>**

1572 Ottoman Survey		1594-1595/1609-1610	
Village	Estimated Yearly Wine Production (Load)	Village	Vineyard/Winehouse
Agrisika (Pendaya)	100	Agrosika	3-unit vineyard, 1 winehouse
Kalamisane (Pendaya)	100	Kalamisane	Yako, son of Yano had vineyards
Balihoro (Pendaya)	350	Balihoro	1 winehouse, 3 villagers paid the tithe for wine, 37,5 load
Aya Luka (Limassol)	inhabitat	Aya Luka	Vineyard and Winehouse
Ayos (Nicosia)	35	Ayos	Winehouse was sold by Kiryako, son of Yorgi to Hüseyin, son of Abdullah
Agirdi (Limassol)	565	Agirdi	The tithe of wine and other taxes were allocated Ahmet Ağa, son of Hasan who was one of the officers of Nicosia castle
Aya Konstantin (Limassol)	925	Aya Konstantin	Wine production
Aya Androniko (Limassol)	210	Aya Androsi?	1 winehouse <sup>107</sup>
Monagri (Limasol)	1.750	Monagri	4 <i>dönüm</i> vineyard <sup>108</sup>
Ayo Nikola	50	Ayo Nikola	The taxes of this village including tax of wine were hired by Mustafa Efendi. <sup>109</sup>
Prodromi (Lefka)	350	Prodromi	Muharrem Çavuş had vineyards. After his death it was hired by Memi, son of Abdullah <sup>110</sup>
Analyonda (Nicosia)	-	Analyonda	A vineyard was sold by Hristof to Musa, son of Abdullah <sup>111</sup>
Fikardu (Nicosia)	-	Fikardu	6 <i>dönüm</i> vineyard <sup>112</sup>
Kambi (Nicosia)	250	Kambi	Villagers produced wine <sup>113</sup>

106 KSS, 1-A, p. 8; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 212<sup>a-b</sup>; KSS, 1-A, p. 73; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 218<sup>a-b</sup>; KSS, 1-A, p. 184; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 224<sup>a-b</sup>; KSS, 1-A, p. 295; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 411-b; KSS, 1-A, p. 257; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 47<sup>a-b</sup>; KSS, 1-A, p. 311; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 423<sup>a-b</sup>; KSS, 1-A, p. 20; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 392<sup>a-b</sup>; KSS, No.2, p. 117; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 382<sup>a-b</sup>; KSS, No. 2, p. 59; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 287<sup>a-b</sup>; KSS, No. 3, p. 9; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 212<sup>a-b</sup>; KSS, No. 3, p. 143; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 38<sup>a-b</sup>; KSS, No. 3, p. 168; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 45<sup>a-b</sup>.

107 October 1580.

108 April 1609.

109 April 1607.

110 January 1610.

111 August 1610. The survey of 1572 did not contain that this village produced wine.

112 KSS, No. 3, pp. 7, 71; 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri. This village was not mentioned in 1572.

113 October 1610.

Some monasteries and hamlets (*mezra'*) in Cyprus also had vineyards and could produce wine. Of the 60 monasteries recorded in the survey of 1572, only 4 had been recorded in their income. Two of these monasteries were in Khrysokhou and 2 in the district of Paphos. In this case, the proportion of monasteries with vineyards and producing wine was about 7%.

The number of hamlets recorded in the survey of 1572 was 94, but only 17 of them had wine production as their source of income. Of these hamlets, 9 were in Nicosia, 2 in Pendaya and 6 in the Limassol district. One of the remarkable points is that wine was produced in 6 of the 7 hamlets of Limassol. This is in line with the result of Limassol, which had the potential to produce the most wine in Cyprus. In 1572, Limassol was the district with the highest potential for wine production. The proportion of hamlets with vineyards and wine production was about 18%.<sup>114</sup> It seems that in 1610 the price of a load of wine changed. While in 1572 the value of a load of wine was 40 *akçes*, in 1610 it became a gold coin, 120 *akçes*.<sup>115</sup>

### Conclusion

In this present study, it has been attempted to answer a concrete question, namely how the Muslim Ottoman conquest of Cyprus affected the wine production and its taxation in Cyprus, or which economic practises regarding the viniculture in Cyprus were enforced by the Muslim Ottoman rulers in the first decades in the Ottoman rule. Examining this problem, one can make several observations concerning viniculture and its taxation. For this purpose of argument, it has been examined previous publications and compared the former findings with the comprehensive Ottoman archival sources.

It is inferred from the historical documents that the Muslim Ottoman conquest of Cyprus did not end the vineyard cultivation in Cyprus and the island kept producing grapes and wine under Ottoman rule. Certainly, the Ottomans had Christian subjects for a long time before capturing Cyprus and had created a formula for wine production, which allowed its Christian subjects to produce and drink wine and brought money into the state treasury through taxation according to Islamic rules. Apart from the fact that the customs tax on the wine trade or excise tax on the wine selling in the local markets, which were justifiable by Islamic tradition, at the bottom the Ottomans levied a tax for the grape juice

<sup>114</sup> 64 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tahrir Defteri, Varak 28<sup>a-b</sup>; 243<sup>a-b</sup>; 266<sup>a-b</sup>; 322<sup>b</sup>-323<sup>a</sup>; 410<sup>a-b</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> In 1610, the tax collector Abdullah paid three and a half coin for three and a half load of wine. KSS, No. 3, p. 67.

(*şıra*) which was not wine at that point, but a by-product of grape. This tax called the tithe of the grape juice (*ösür-i şıra*) or the grape juice for wine (*şıra-i hamr*) was a tithe at the rate of one-fifth of total production. For the non-Muslim islanders, personal consumption was left out of taxation. Freshly consumed grapes or raisins were also taxed on another tax called official acre in that period. There is no reason to assert that Muslim vineyard owners also paid these taxes and they also produced and consumed wine.

It has been noted that the Ottomans maintained to use the unit of measure concerning wine called *yük* (Greek *gomari*) by the islanders during the Venetian rule. This unit of measure has survived to the present day, and it has been one of the historical legacies of Cyprus. In addition, the islanders benefited from the positive attitude which the Ottoman administration generally took towards viniculture and wine production, in that they were one of the important revenue sources for the treasury of Cyprus and it was consumed largely by their non-Muslim subjects, despite their religious restrictions.

Analysing the figures concerning the financial value of the wine production and that of grain (wheat, barley and rye), this research reveals that they provided more than 50 per cent of the total annual revenue of the Cyprus treasury relevant to agrarian taxes in which wine production formed third rank in the wake of wheat and barley respectively. During the early modern period, Cyprus could produce itself the main elements of the daily diet of the islanders, depending on the seasonal considerations.

*Ottoman Taxation on Vineyards and Wine in Cyprus (1570-1610): “From Whom Should We Buy the Wine? The Kadı or the Müfti”*

**Abstract** ■ Wine was both a critical financial resource and one of the integral components of the daily diet in the early modern period. For this reason, by focusing on the financial records in the Ottoman archives and the records of the Nicosia kadi's court, this article seeks to explore the wine production in Cyprus, its taxation, the unit of measurement called the “load” (*yük*) used for wine and the link between *şıra* (grape juice) and *hamr* (wine). These were some of the most essential elements of agrarian life in Ottoman Cyprus during the first four decades of Ottoman rule. In doing so, the article seeks to emphasize the significance of the financial documents of the Cyprus treasury for understanding the financial regulations that the Ottomans introduced and to examine its effects on Cyprus's economy and society.

**Keywords:** Ottoman Cyprus, Financial History of Cyprus, Wine Production, Ottoman Taxation System in Cyprus.

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