
Nationalist Historical Approaches on Ottoman Crete

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The purpose of this study is to explain the biased perspectives from nationalist historical approaches on the historical narrative of Crete under the Ottoman rule. These viewpoints are illustrated with selected quotations from both of the Turkish and the Greek nationalist historiographies. The comparatively objective scientific studies which were published both in Turkey and Greece recently, are excluded from this article.¹

Crete's falling under the rule of the Ottomans, institution of the Ottoman administration on the island, shaping of the demographic structure and the island's independence from the Ottoman rule gave rise to different perceptions and interpretations with nationalist influences both in Turkish and Greek historiography. These nationalist approaches created their own myths during the above processes.

Our study classifies these different approaches led by different perceptions under three titles: the myths about the warfare during the process of domination of the Island by the Ottomans, the myths about the different and distinguished nature of the Island during the rule of the Ottomans, and the myths about the shaping of the social life in the island under the Ottoman authority. We limited the discussion to giving only a few titles and examples for the first two, and based our study principally on the myths that contributed to the shaping of the social life. On the other hand, the identity conflicts on the island in an age of nationalism during the nineteenth century, and the process of loss of Ottoman control led to the creation of yet other myths. However, they are not covered in this discussion, as they could be the subjects of a completely different study.

1. MYTHS ABOUT THE CRETAN WARS

The warfare putting the Crete Island under Ottoman rule started during mid seventeenth century, a long siege of twenty-five years which cost the lives of many people. This has led to the creation of tens of legends about the conquest both on the Ottoman side and among the Greek inhabitants of the Island.

The primary reason why the Ottoman literature widely covers the myths about the process of conquest is that the Crete Island is one of the last incorporated lands into the Ottoman rule. The second reason is the fact that fighting continued for about twenty-five years on a small area. Therefore, the victory after twenty-five years of struggle has been psychologically more impressive. Besides, an unprecedented number of people have died during the warfare.² Randolph keeps making reference to human bones on the ground while walking around in Candia even after a few years after the siege.³ Therefore, the death of so many people for an island in a period of many terrible incidents within the Ottoman Empire has been a factor in the formation of the said legends.

The literature reveals conflicting numbers about the death toll in the Cretan wars. A death toll figure of 478.982 Muslim soldiers cited by Evliya Çelebi⁴ is a gross exaggeration and is unacceptable. The death toll figure of 244.647 cited in the Izmir copy of *Hikâyet-i Azimet-i Sefer-i Kandiye*⁵ is a number derived from incorrect quotations. The death toll figure of 100.185 cited in the Ankara copy of the same manuscript⁶ or the death toll figure of 139.437 in its copy in the British Museum in London⁷ are acceptable. Similarly, the number cited by Ahmet Refik is 108.000⁸. The death toll of 78.586 suggested in *Feth-i Kandiye*⁹, in our opinion, is the number of Ottoman soldiers who died in the Candia War. Western authors also report a similar number of Turkish soldiers who died in this war. While Fosses reports a Turkish death toll figure of 100.000¹⁰, some authors report 110.000 deaths on the Turkish side¹¹. Mourellos reports that 137.116 Turkish soldiers died during this war¹².

As you can see, although the literature gives differing numbers, about 110.000-140.000 Muslims and 40.000-50.000 Christians died during this war.¹³ Greek historiography also emphasizes primarily that the death toll was exceptionally high during this war.

On the other hand, the attitude of the local people of the island throughout the course of the war led to various interpretations. The relationship of the local people with the Venetians, then rulers of the island, had not been a smooth one prior to the siege. Both the economic exploitation of the island and the attitude of the Catholic rulers towards the Orthodox community had always been a source of tension and even of conflict on the island.¹⁴ Therefore, the local people already had negative impressions about the Venetian rulers. However, both communities were Christian. The other force struggling to occupy the land, the Ottomans, had a different religion. Legends and frightening myths became notorious. For example, rumors were circulating that all temples were turned into ruins after the Turkish conquest of Rethymnon, that the city was looted, and the people were killed.¹⁵ One other war poet, Marinos Tzane Bounialis, remarked that Cretans "*Their clouded souls did fall from bad to worse and little knew they who to fear the most, the Franks or Turks!*"¹⁶ All these opinions created a negative atmosphere among the local people. However, the situation was just the opposite in reality. During the Ottoman siege of Chania, especially the Greek population in the rural parts supported the Ottomans against the Venetians, and they joined the Ottoman forces.¹⁷

This war, too, created its legends very similar to those seen in other wars. For example, many ships have sunk during the war but the sinking of the Venetian ship "La Theresa" full of ammunitions has become a legend both in the Ottoman and the Western sources.¹⁸

Another one of the myths about the conquest of Crete has been created about the duration of the war. While the Greek sources say that the Turks started to think that the castle was haunted¹⁹, the Turkish myth says that the Sultan prohibited the word "Crete" in the Palace to such an extent that even the news of the conquest of the island was not told to him directly. Instead, says the legend, a special dish called "tirit" was served to the Sultan because the word rhymes with the Turkish word for Crete (Girit). However, there is a known truth that a declaration of conquest was written after Crete was conquered by the Ottomans and sent to the sultan in Edirne by Kapıcılar Kethüdası Abaza Siyavuş Ağa, and this person received grants and gifts from the Sultan.²⁰

2. MYTHS ABOUT THE OTTOMAN RULE

Myths about the Ottoman rule on the Island can be studied under several titles. The first one of these myths is that the conquest caused the migration of Muslim population from Anatolia to Crete after the Ottomans conquered the Island. As has have been restated by Ersin Gülsoy and Molly Greene, neither the government applied any deportation, immigration, forced migration policies for the Island of Crete²¹, "*nor there were anyone from the Ottoman subjects going to the island to settle there of their own free will.*"²² However, even today, the myth of forced migration of people from Anatolia to the Island among the Cretans is adopted to such an extent that the main discussion is locked around whether these people were from Konya or Karaman.²³ However, that one third of the populations of the Island after its conquest in the seventeenth century were Muslims during the mid eighteenth century could only be explained by mass conversion. Myths about this will be covered below in detail.

On the other hand, while in the Greek historiography, the Ottoman rule on the Island is mentioned as "the Turkish threat", the previous Venetian rule was not subject to such a description.²⁴ From the perspective of Ottoman rule, the conquest of Crete was in the post-classical era. As a result, it has not been possible to implement classical institutions on the Island, which resulted in differences from the common Ottoman system.

As almost one of the last participations to the Ottoman land, Crete showed clear differences from the rest of the Ottoman lands. Tukin puts it, "it has been given special attention... and become one of the autonomous states."²⁵ This knowledge has always been a part of the discourse. However, the following distinction needs particular emphasis. Crete has in fact "been the subject of special attention" but it has become a "autonomous state" as a legal and political procedure only as late as the nineteenth century.²⁶

In the Ottoman rule, it was announced as of 1647 that anyone could stay on the island, that their former properties could remain with them, that they could go on their productions, and, most importantly, that the safety of souls and property were secured. Private ownership was recognized for local people who adopted the zimmi status, and the property records prior to the Ottoman rule were legally accepted, a condition not very common within the Ottoman system. The local people started getting back to their daily lives everywhere, other than Candia where the war

continued. A general census was held on the island in 1650.²⁷ Orthodox people in Rethymnon started resolving all of their legal problems before Muslim judges.²⁸ In addition, many people on the island converted to Islam without any external force²⁹ and the island was experiencing an important transformation. As a component of this, marriages started between Muslims and Christians on the island. Particularly after the 1650s, an increase in such mixed marriages can be traced from the sources.³⁰

3. MYTHS ABOUT THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL LIFE

There was an important religious transformation in the island of Crete, which has entered the rule of the Ottomans during mid seventeenth century. An unknown number of Muslim soldiers, administrators and the Bektashis who have settled on the Island³¹ had an important role in this religious transformation. However, these cannot fully explain the religious transformation in the island. The most important factor in the formation of an important Muslim population Crete is the conversions on the island up until the nineteenth century.³²

On the contrary after the conquest of the Balkans, there has been no Muslim immigration to the island from Anatolia. In these periods, there were neither any Turkmen potential arriving from the east and backing up the Anatolian land nor the biological evolution argued by Braudel for the sixteenth century. On the contrary, there was a serious shrinkage, and even a crisis, in the Anatolian population during this era.³³ Naturally, under such circumstances, enforced migration to Crete from Anatolia does not make sense. As a result, Crete's population balance was realized by the conversion process rather than the traditional method of deportation from the mainland.

One of the first examples of the Turkish academic historiography on Crete, Cemal Tukin's work makes no mention of any deportation and forced migration to the Island; on the contrary, he points out the "children born from Greek women who married the first conquerors of the Island by way of conversion.." and states that the conquerors formed the Muslim population of the Island through marriage with local Greek women.³⁴ However, most of those who married the Greek women mentioned by Tukin were converted Greeks, that is, the local janissaries of Greek origin.

In this regard, the local janissary institution is also an important issue with regard to the religious conversion on the island.³⁵ It is seen that some of the janissaries on the Island were the standing kapıkulu who came from Istanbul and some were from the "indigenous subjects" of the Island. Theocharis Detorakis, a Greek historian, expresses that these converted local janissaries were named as "The Terrible Turco-Cretans" (Foveros *Turkokrites Φοβερούς Τουρκοκρητες*).³⁶

It is understood that Ersin Gülsoy also focuses on the institution of an Ottoman rule on the Island and on the roots of the Muslim population. However, Gülsoy insistently argues that this population consisted of Ottoman officers, soldiers and civil servants.³⁷ We know that the Island had a serious Muslim population one century after the conquest. It is not very reasonable to think that the Muslim population of approximately 100.000 people could be made up of a small number of Ottoman civil servants and soldiers. It is highly probable that the Ottoman soldiers mentioned by Gülsoy are again converted local janissaries. Therefore, this conversion movement mostly underlies the formation of a Muslim population. The reason we call it a mass conversion movement is that the records mention mass conversions of villages from time to time as well as many individual records of conversion in the registers of the seventeenth century.

Conversions in Crete are mass conversions that have started in 1645 when the Island was initially sieged and Chania and Rethymnon were conquered and such conversions continued up until the 1720s. After 1720, conversions continued until the nineteenth century in gradually decreasing numbers. This mass conversion became finally proven in our studies on the Kadi court records of Crete. Ersin Gülsoy already states that there was no information on Muslim population in the data he based on deed records, only giving information about the Christian population in the period from 1650 to 1670³⁸. However, Greene argues that the central part of Candia had a great Muslim majority after a short time from the conquest and that they were local people who converted to Islam³⁹. Shedding the light on the process of conversion, Lord Kinross states that, the Greeks in Crete saw the Turks as their

saviors against the oppressive rule of the Latin Catholics and that a majority of them converted to Islam by as time passed on.⁴⁰

Another institution for conversion on the Island is the mixed marriages. Islamification was realized either by direct conversion, by the marriage of converted men with Christian women in their former communities and by recognition of their children as Muslims. On the other hand, both according to the Islamic law and in records in the registers, it is understood that conversion was not compulsory for local Greek women who married converted local Greek men. That is, a great majority of local Greek women could marry Muslim men without conversion. However, again according to the Islamic law, children born out of such marriages were definitely considered Muslims.

Here the problem is not the Greek women who married but the Muslim men they married to, and a great majority of these men are converted local Greeks. Then again these men obtain janissary positions through conversion.

While the mass Islamification of local Greeks during the institution of Ottoman rule on the Island has no mention in the Turkish historiography, it has caused an interesting reaction in the Greek historiography. As the Turkish historians ignore the conversion process, there were no debates as to the identity of converters. Mostly the Western and Greek historians discuss this subject.

In Greek and Western historiography, those arguing that local Greeks of Crete were the first converters to Islam form the mainstream. However, some nationalistic authors tried to prove that these converts to Islam were of Venetian origin and that they were people settled on the island by Venice.

The most concrete example of those in the first group is Molly Green's formerly mentioned evaluation.⁴¹ In addition, Hasluck's evaluation "*it is hardly necessary to say that the Moslem Cretans are of Cretan blood and represent the indigenous element converted from Christianity since the Turkish conquest*"⁴² and Bridges' approach that "*these Mussulmans are not Ottoman immigrants; they are as truly Hellenic, probably, than the present inhabitants of Attica or Bæotia*"⁴³ are also in support of this opinion.

The second group is those who defend that the converters cannot be Greeks, and that they were the descendants of Venetians who were settled there during the Venetian era as a product of the idea "the non-Orthodox cannot be Greek" in the Greek nationalist discourse. This falls in line with the "communal nationalism" perception described by Kemal Karpat. Karpat, in his description, emphasizes that a communal nationalism "formed with a mixture of religious and ethnic qualities" influenced by communityism inherited from the Ottomans is dominant in Balkan societies, different from the West.⁴⁴ Communal nationalism is one where the national identity is defined together with the religion and where it cannot be thought separate from religion, and its most concrete influence can particularly be observed on the Turks and the Greeks.

The following examples can be given to those converting to Islam in parallel with this evaluation: Writing with the nickname Ipsilorititis, Genadiou expresses his views saying, "*it is a common error to suppose that these renegades had formed a part of Greek population. They were, no doubt, Graecized for the most part at the time of the Turkish conquest; but they were principally the descendants of the Venetian settlers in island, and they espoused Islam in order to retain the landed property which had almost entirely passed into their hands under the dominion of Venice...*"⁴⁵

One other source makes the analysis that "*the great landowners almost exclusively descendants of the Venetian settlers availed themselves of these privileges; and their apostasy may still be seen ...*"⁴⁶

Dawkins reveals this suspicion by telling "*when the Turks took Crete, which they finally did in 1669 after a siege of Candia which had lasted for twenty-five years, there were naturally many apostasies: the rich people especially went over in order to save their lands. Many of these land-owners were Venetians and it is said today that many of Cretan Muslims are of Venetian descent: how far this is true it is not easy to be sure.*"⁴⁷

The third group is those who describe these people as persons with loose *religious* and *nationalistic* ties, making no determinations as to their origins. The most concrete example to this is the approach of Detorakis: "*In the first place, isolated individuals with loose national and religious ties converted to Islam to protect their wealth and privileges.*"⁴⁸

Let's now discuss the second dimension of conversions, which is returns, that is *irtidats* (apostasies). Between 1821 and 1824, some Muslims as well as the Greeks have also supported this uprising in the Greek independence struggle

in Crete. Although some of them sufficed with collaboration, some of the Muslim population who supported this uprising converted and accepted Christianity. All these apostates escaped the Island for their safety.⁴⁹

We have no knowledge as to how common the apostasies were on the Island. The situations of the families of apostates are also unclear. The question is whether these persons have apostatized by themselves or converted to Christianity together with their families. Therefore, we defined conversion as a mass action whereas apostasy is defined as an individual action.

It is not possible to find any information in the Turkish historiography other than our study we have mentioned above about this process of apostasy interpreted in the Island as return to former religion. However, some Western writers associated these returns with the commonness of Bektashism in the Island. Pasley's observations that "*... in this island the credulity and superstitions of the Mohammedans should closely resemble those of the Christian population. Thus any supposed apparition of the Panaghia in a particular spot draws even Moslem devotees to implore her aid*"⁵⁰ show that the traditions and customs of these two communities having distinct beliefs were not so different from each other.

Would apostasy lead to the assumption that a secret Christianity/crypto Christianity was maintained on the island? Up until 1856, conversion and particularly from Islam to Christianity was not an acceptable thing among the Ottomans. However, there is some information about apostasies after this date.⁵¹ The documents cited by İlber Ortaylı saying "*His Excellency, in Skopje and Prizren as well as in Crete and Trabzon, it is understood that some people are Muslims in appearance and Christians in secret, and they openly announced their original religions in some cases...*"⁵² is an example to this. The thing that should be pointed out in this document is that such conversions were considered returns or in a way the displays of secret beliefs, that is "Crypto Christianity". On the other hand, this document referred to by Ortaylı reports that these examples were in Trabzon, Crete, Skopje, and Prizren.

The approach that the apostasies in Crete were indicators of crypto Christianity can be seen in many studies. Dawkins points that the example in Crete was a very well known type of crypto Christianity.⁵³

Those making mention of crypto Christianity in Crete closely associate this phenomenon with Trabzon. According to Bryer's study about crypto Christianity in Trabzon, Crypto-Christians in Trabzon are known as Kurumlis (Kouroumlides). The same study reports that the crypto-Christians in Crete are named as Kurmulides (Kourmoulides).⁵⁴ A Kurmulides or a Kurmulis family in Crete and the youngsters of this family has become a myth. Commonly used among the people, this myth was first told by Pashley who first traveled to Crete.⁵⁵

Although Kurmulides is a mere myth, there has been a common belief that they were heroes who died for Greek independence. "*This remarkable success was due in no small measure to the fact that the Kourmoulis, one of the noblest families of Cretan Mussulmans, placed themselves at the head of the movement at Rethymnon. The brothers Kourmoulis "resumed at the outbreak of the revolution," Gordon says, "an undisguised profession of Christianity, and after spending an ample fortune in its defence, died before Athens in the cause of Grecian liberty in the campaign of 1827."*"⁵⁶

*"Certainly, most of the coerced converts changed their religion only in appearance, while they secretly practiced their Christian faith. For this reason, the phenomenon of the cryto-Christians was intensely present in Crete. Some of them played an active role in the uprisings against the Turkish hegemony, such as the Kourmoulides, and some were even martyred for the cause (such as the Four Martyrs of Rethymno, who came from the village of Melampes of Agios Vasileios)."*⁵⁷

As can also be understood from here, in the Kurmulides myth, three seemingly Muslim Greek youngsters in the Melambes village of Agios Vasileios revealed their real identities during the Greek revolution and become martyrs while fighting for the Greek nationalism. They even sacrificed themselves before the nationalists in Athens. Here, an interesting point should be underlined. While the historiographers do not regard the locals converting to Islam as Greeks, those who apostatize during this process are announced as national heroes.

As a result, Crete's falling under the rule of the Ottomans and the authentic structure created on the Island under the Ottoman rule have caused the emergence of intermingled myths both in the Greek historiography and the

Turkish historiography. Some of these myths have been and continue to be in use as historical data in the academic studies in Turkey. This continuance has two primary grounds. The first and most important one is the identification of being Muslim with being Turkish from the perspective of Kemal Karpat's "communal nationalism" definition. The other is a lack of or insufficient sources. Until we discover the Cretan court records and introduce them to the world of science, this lack of sources may be considered as a pretext for continuance. However, Zachariadou also clearly expresses that this pretext has greatly disappeared.⁵⁸

REFERENCES

- [1] It is undeniable that there are very important scientific studies on this subject in Turkey and Greece. For example, *Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean 1645-1840, Halcyon Days in Crete VI*, Edited by Antonis Anastasopoulos, (Rethimno: Crete University Press, 2008). Apart from these scientific studies, the purpose of this study is to analyze some contradictory narrations of nationalist historiography.
- [2] "It was not the blood, but the souls of humans that flew like a river." Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, Volume. VIII, (Istanbul: 1928), 412.
- [3] Bernard Randolph, *Ege Takımadaları Arşipelago*, Translated by: Ümit Koçer, (Istanbul: 1998), 77.
- [4] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, volume.VIII, 483-484.
- [5] Nuri Adıyeke, *Hikâyet-i Azimet-i Sefer-i Kandiye*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, (İzmir: 1988), 75.
- [6] Library of the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography, Ankara University, Books donated by Muzaffer Ozak, list 1, no:406.
- [7] *Hikâyet-i Azimet-i Sefer-i Kandiye*, British Museum, OR: 11,154, leaf 50a.
- [8] Ahmed Refik, *Köprülüler*, Istanbul, 1331, p.66.
- [9] Ersin Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi ve Adada Osmanlı İdaresinin Tesisi 1645-1670*, (PhD diss., University of Marmara 1997), 166.
- [10] H. Castonnet des Fosses, *La Crete et L'Hellenisme*, (Paris: 1897), 40.
- [11] Jean Tulard, *Histoire de la Crete*, (Paris: 1962), 109; Yoanna Kondulaki, *Istoria Ton Epanastaseon Tis Kritis*, (Atina: 1901), 274.
- [12] J. D. Mourellos, *La Crete Traves les Sciecles*, (Candia: year not written), 67.
- [13] Reports of 250.000 deaths in the Cretan War are sometimes included in scientific literature as well.
- [14] For uprisings on the island during the Venetian era, please see: Cemal Tükin, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Girit İsyamları ve 1821 Yılına Kadar Girit", *Belleten*, 24, (1945), 163-206.
- [15] "After the entry of the Ottoman soldiers into the city, people in the city have escaped to the city acropolis (upper city). During the siege of the Rethymnon castle 'blood flew like river' and the Venetian commander Andreas Kornaros died during these fights." Yoanna Kondilaki, *Istoria Ke Geographia Tis Kritis*, (Athens: 1903), 74.
- [16] Teocharis Detorakis, *History of Crete*, (Iraklion: 1994), 229.
- [17] Charles A. Fraaze, *Catolics and Sultans*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 123.
- [18] When Evliya Çelebi mentions this incident, he narrates the story of Samudi Dede who was a saint-like person in Crete, telling that Ali Dede gave him a cannon ball, and he showed his miraculous power by sinking the vice admiral's ship. This ship was full of ammunitions and soldiers' wages. *Seyahatname*, v.VIII, p.446-449; For another story of La Theresa, *İ Katimerini Daily*, the "Kritikos Polemos (Cretan Wars) 1645-1699" file as newspaper supplement on 25 June 1998, To Navagi tu La Therese, 30.
- [19] "The fortress, however, which the Turks began to believe was haunted, remained impregnable", Detorakis, *History of Crete*, 238
- [20] Silahdar Mehmed Aga, *Silahdar Tarihi*, v.I, Prepared by. Ahmed Refik, (Istanbul: 1928), 523; Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, v.I. (Istanbul: 1282), 244. This declaration of conquest created a myth just to the opposite. In an era when the incidents increased in Crete, on the 10th of August 1910, Sırat-ı Müstakim Magazine published a full page of Arabic declaration of conquest of Crete under the title of "A copy of the Royal Declaration of Conquest of Crete whose conquest has been completed after the conquest of Candia issued by the his Excellency the Caliph to the honorable Sheriff of Mecca in 1080" with no comments and explanations. *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, August 1326, volume.4 issue 93, 265.
- [21] Molly Greene, *A Shared Word -Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean-*, (New Jersey: 2000), 88; Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 205 and 222.
- [22] Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 222.
- [23] Mustafa Erşanal, *XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Deniz Gücü ve Girit Harbi*, (MaD diss., University of Süleyman Demirel 1998), 76; F.D. Karakoç and F.D. Tunçdöken; *Mudanya'nın Akdenizli Konukları Giritliler*, (Bursa: 2008), 25.
- [24] *History of Heraklion*, (Dimos Iraklio: 2001).

- [25] Tukin, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Girit İsyancıları", 194.
- [26] See, Adıyeke A. Nükhet - Adıyeke Nuri, "Osmanlı Sistemi İçinde Girit Adasının Genel Çerçeveden Farklılıkları, Bu Farklılıkların Gerekçeleri ve Algılanış Biçimleri", *Xth International Congress of Economic and Social History of Turkey*, 28 September - 1 October 2005, Venice. (Unpublished printed text)
- [27] For these census numbers; Ersin Gülsoy, "Osmanlı Tahrir Geleneğinde Bir Değişim Örneği: Girit Eyaleti'nin 1650 ve 1670 Tarihli Sayımları", *Pax Ottomana Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*, Edit: Kemal Çiçek, (Sota-Haarlem: Ankara, 2001), 184 etc.
- [28] Example cases of local Orthodox people for the period after 1652: A. Nükhet Adıyeke, "XVII. Yüzyıl Girit (Resmo) Kadı Sicillerinde Zımmi Davaları", *Pax Ottomana Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*, Edit: Kemal Çiçek, (Sota-Haarlem: Ankara, 2001), 86 etc.
- [29] A. Nükhet Adıyeke, "17. Yüzyıl Girit (Resmo) Şeriye Sicillerine Göre İhtida Hareketleri ve Girit'te Etnik Dönüşüm", *XIVth Turkish History Congress*, 9-13 September 2002 - *Papers*, (Ankara: TTK 2006), 59.
- [30] Nuri Adıyeke, "Girit'te Cemaatler Arası Evlilikler", *Kebikeç*, 16, (2003), 20; Likewise, Nikolaos Stavriniadis, *Metafrasis Turkikon İstoriakon Eggrafon*, Aforonton is tin İstoria tis Kritis, (1657-1672), v.I, (Heraklion-Crete: 1975), 24-26.
- [31] About the Bektashis arrivals and settlements in the island, see; Orhan Fuat Köprülü, "Usta-zade Yunus Bey'in Meçhul Kalmış Bir Makalesi: Bektaşiliğin Girit'de İntişarı", *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 8-9, (1980), 37-89.
- [32] About this subject, please see: Nükhet Adıyeke, "17. Yüzyıl Girit (Resmo) Şeriye Sicillerine Göre İhtida Hareketleri ...", 557-568; Nuri Adıyeke, "Multi-dimensional Complications of Conversion to Islam in Ottoman Crete", *Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean 1645-1840, Halcyon Days in Crete VI*, Edited by Antonis Anastasopoulos, (Rethimno: Crete University Press, 2008), 203-209.
- [33] Oktay Özel, "Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia During The 16th and 17th Centuries: The 'Demographic Crisis' Reconsidered", *IJMES*, 36, (2004), 189.
- [34] Tukin, "Girit İsyancıları", 196.
- [35] From court records, it is understood that local janissaries and local artillery corps were almost all converted Greeks. Nuri Adıyeke, "Girit'te Askeri ve Toplumsal Bir Kurum: Yerli Yeniçeriler - Gönüllüyan Zümresi", XV. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 11-15 Eylül 2006, *Bildiri Özetleri*, (Ankara: 2006), p.8. (Unpublished printed text)
- [36] Detorakis, *History of Crete*, 276.
- [37] Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 204-208.
- [38] Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi*, 192-195. Gülsoy reports the information about the Christian population from TD. 820 and 980.
- [39] "There is no doubt that Candia very quickly became a city with a large Muslim majority. As with the Muslim population in the countryside, the Muslims living in the capital city were not Turkish immigrants to the island but rather local converts to Islam." Greene, *Shared World*, 88. Greene bases his data mostly to the judge records in the Candia Turkish Archive and published by N. Stavriniadis after translation into Greek.
- [40] Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries*, (New York: 1977), 337.
- [41] Greene, *Shared World*, 88.
- [42] F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans*, volume. II, New York, 1973, p.535.
- [43] J.H. Bridges, "Crete", *The Positivist Review*, (May 1897), 94.
- [44] Kemal Karpat, *Balkanlarda Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusçuluk*, translated by Recep Boztemur, (Istanbul: İmge, 2004), 97.
- [45] Ipsiloritisi, "The Situation in Crete", *The Contemporary Review*, 369, (September 1896), 317.
- [46] Papers of the Greek Committee, New Series, 1897, no1, "Crete and Greece", 17-18.
- [47] R.M. Dawkins, "The Crypto-Christians of Turkey", *Byzantion*, VIII, (1933), 251-252.
- [48] Detorakis, *History of Crete*, 288.
- [49] Στην πρώτη περίπτωση μεμονωμένα άτομα με μειωμένη εθνική και θρησκευτική συνείδηση για να διατηρήσουν την περιουσία και τα προνόμια τους, προσερχόνταν με τη θέληση τους στον ισλαμισμό. Detorakis, *History of Crete*, p.288.
- [50] Nükhet Adıyeke - Nuri Adıyeke, "Yunan İsyanı Sırasında Girit'te İrtidad Olayları", *Kebikeç*, 10, (2000), 107-113. This article was translated into Greek by Dr. Elias Kolonos. «Οι αποστασίες από το ισλάμ στην Κρήτη στη διάρκεια της Ελληνικής Επανάστασης, μτφρ. Ηλ. Κολοβός. *ΚΡΗΤΟΛΟΓΙΚΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ*, 19, (2004), 33-41.
- [51] Robert Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, v. I, (London: 1837), 194.
- [52] İlber Ortaylı, "Tanzimat Döneminde Tanassur ve Din Değişirme Olayları", *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İktisadi ve Sosyal Değişim - Makaleler 1*, (Ankara: Turhan Kitapevi, 2000), 313-319.
- [53] "Atufetlü efendim hazretleri, Girit ve Trabzon taraflarında olduğu gibi Üsküp ve Prizren havalisinde dahi bazı kisan mine'l-kadim batinen din-i İseviyye'ye salık oldukları halde, zahiren zi İslam'da bulunup ara sıra

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- mezheb-i aslilerini ilan eylemekte oldukları...”, transferred from BOA İrade Hariciye, no.8922 by Ortaylı, “Tanzimat Döneminde”, 315.
- [54] Dawkins, “The Crypto-Christians”, 252.
- [55] Antony Bryer, “The Crypto-Christians of the Pontos and Consul William Gifford Palgrave of Trebizond”, *Deltio* 4, (1983), 16.
- [56] “In the year 1824, three Kurmulidhes, two brothers, and one of their cousins, were executed, outside the walls of Rhithymnos, by Mustafa Bey, the Turkish general... When every thing was ready, the Bey again asked the eldest whether he could become a Mohammedan: No! his faith was firm: he replied ‘I was born a Christian, and a Christian I will die’ ... The Bishop of Rhithymnos went near the spot that night, and also the two next evenings. Each time he saw a light descend on the bodies of the two, who, with so holy and fervent a zeal, had earned the crown of martyrdom.” Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, v.I, 107
- [57] J. Gennadius, “Cretan Struggles for Liberty”, *The Contemporary Review*, (April 1897), 483.
- [58] http://www.cretan-music.gr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=251&Itemid=36
- [59] “In the recent volume of the periodical ‘Turcica’, ..., Ayşe Nühket Adıyeke and Nuri Adıyeke, both of the University of Mersin, published an article to announce the discover of 210 sicil defterleri and other documents mainly from the towns of Chania and Rethimno. It is obvious, therefore, that no scholar wishing to study the history of Crete will be allowed to complain of lack of material.” Elizabeth A. Zachariadou; “The Turkish Archive of the Vikelaia Municipality Library of Heraklion (Candia)”, in *Balkanlar ve İtalya’da Şehir ve Manastır Arşivlerindeki Türkçe Belgeler Semineri* 16-17 November 2000, (Ankara: TTK, 2003), 25.