

THE AGRICULTURAL STRUCTURE OF THE FOÇA REGION IN THE MID-
NINETEENTH CENTURY: AN EXAMINATION OF THE ÇİFT-HANE SYSTEM
AND THE BIG FARMS IN THE LIGHT OF THE TEMETTÜ DEFTERS, 1844-45
(H. 1260-61)

A THESIS PRESENTED BY BİRSEN BULMUŞ
TO
THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF HISTORY

BILKENT UNIVERSITY
SEPTEMBER 1997

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ABSTRACT

This thesis hopes to examine the agricultural structure of the Foça region (near İzmir) in the mid nineteenth century in the light of the temettü defters, until now a largely unexploited source. The aim of this thesis in general is, first, to concentrate on the çift-hane, which Professor Halil Inalcik has emphasized as the basic unit of the Ottoman rural economy. Second, this thesis will concentrate on the big farms, which have been argued by some historians as also dominating the rural economy, acting as a vehicle for commercialization and integration into the world economy.

This thesis, in order to better achieve this aim has been divided into three chapters. The first chapter discusses the definition of the temettü defters, or “income registers” as a primary source and its historical and statistical value as a registration of land and income during the Tanzimat period (specifically 1844-45). The second chapter discusses the classical Ottoman land regime and focuses both on Inalcik’s explanations of the çift-hane unit as well as describing and analyzing Inalcik’s ideas about the big farms. In the final chapter, I have tried to use the data in the temettü defters for the Foça region to investigate the possible remains of the çift-hane units at the time as well as to examine the character of the big farms; in other words were the big farms western oriented or not? We have found in our study that there were possible traces of the çift-hane units, especially as a measurement of land and oxen. In addition, we also confirm Inalcik’s idea that the big farms appear to have a conservative character, that is, they did not act as agents of liberal economic change.

ÖZET

Bu tez, şimdiye kadar genellikle yararlanılmamış bir kaynak olan temettü defterlerinin ışığı altında 19. yüzyılın ortasında İzmir yakınında bulunan Foça bölgesinin tarımsal yapısını incelemeyi ümit etmektedir. Tezin genel olarak amacı birincisi, Profesör İnalçık tarafından vurgulanan ve Osmanlı kırsal ekonomisinin temel bir ünitesi olarak çiftthane üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktır. İkincisi de dünya ekonomisine katılım ve ticarileşme için bir araç olarak hareket eden ve hem de kırsal ekonomide egemen olduğu bazı tarihçiler tarafından tartışılan büyük çiftlikler üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktır.

Bu amacı iyi bir şekilde gerçekleştirmek için tez üç bölüme ayrıldı. İlk bölümde birinci elden kaynak olarak temettü defterlerinin ya da "gelir kayıtları"nın tanımlanması ve Tanzimat dönemi boyunca (spesifik olarak 1844-45) toprak ve gelirin bir kaydı olarak bu kaynakların tarihsel ve istatistiksel değerini tartışmaktır. İkinci bölüm klasik Osmanlı toprak rejimini tartışmaktadır. Ve İnalçık'ın büyük çiftlikleri tanımlayan ve inceleyen fikirleri yanısıra çiftthane ünitesi üzerindeki fikirleri üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır. Son bölüm de Foça bölgesi için temettü defterlerindeki bilgileri kullanarak o dönemde çiftthane ünitesinden olası kalıntıları ve bunun yanı sıra büyük çiftliklerin niteliğini diğer bir deyişle büyük çiftliklerin Batı pazarlarına yönlendirilmiş olup olmadığını incelemeyi denemektedir. Çalışmamızda çiftthane ünitesinin olası kalıntıları olarak özellikle toprak ve öküz birimlerini bulduk. Buna ilave olarak İnalçık'ın onayladığı üzere büyük çiftliklerin muhafazakar bir karaktere sahip olduklarını ve liberal ekonomik değişimin temsilcileri olarak hareket etmediklerini onaylamaktayız.

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1. The Temettü Defters: Historical Context, Historiography and Statistical Value

1.1. Introduction

When historians have examined Ottoman social and economic history they have used certain key primary sources. These sources have had a wide variety. They have included, for example, the tahrir defters (tax registers) of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the avariz defters (registers for extraordinary taxes) of the seventeenth century, the şeriyeye sicils (court registers of the local kadi courts), the tereke defters, etc. One of the most recently discovered and until now unexploited of these sources, however, are the temettü defters of the nineteenth century.

When searching for a basic definition of the temettü defters one first sees the meaning of the word "temettü" as "profit" and "temettuat" is the plural form of "temettü". But beyond the literal meaning of "temettü" the aim of these defters, like the earlier tahrir and avariz defters was as an instrument of state control to determine the existing incomes of all productive forces within the Ottoman empire in order to fulfill the state's needs and make a fair distribution of the taxes among its subjects. As for its basic historical context the temettü defters were made in two main series (1840 and 1844-45) during the early time of the Tanzimat shortly after the Gülhane Hatt-i Hümayun of 1839. As a part of the Tanzimat reforms the temettü defters reflected an effort by the state under its centralistic understanding to directly control the financial sources in order to survive. As seen in Prof. Halil İnalcık's works, these financial reforms were at the root of the Tanzimat as the other administrative and legal reforms played a secondary role. This emphasis of financial reform is seen in the temettü tahrir defters of which 18.000 defters

still survive in the Ottoman archives. The defters include both Anatolia and the Balkans as far as Niş to Erzurum. As for their registration they were performed (at least in the main 1844-45 series) not just from the center but in coordination with local notables.

Despite the obvious importance of the temettü tahrir defters as a source for Ottoman social and economic history, they have not been adequately used for the Tanzimat period. Except for Tevfik Güran's pioneering work Structure Economique et Sociale d'une Region de Campagne dans l'empire Ottoman vers le Milieu du XIXe Siecle¹ and the conference "Temettü Tahrir Defterlerinin Istatistik Tablolarini Hazirlama Sempozyumu"² directed by Halil Inalcik, and Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu's article "Osmanli Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri"³ no publication or conference to date has described or used this source in great detail.

The goal of this thesis is to utilize this source for its statistical and demographic value. Specifically tied to the Foça region, a former kaza, or district, in the province of Aydin, this thesis will try to examine the agricultural relations there, focusing especially on the "çift-hane" or single family peasant farm units as established by Inalcik as well as the big farms or çiftlik which were developed there. This thesis, after looking at the continuity of the Ottoman miri or state controlled land regime of which the çift-hane was the basic agricultural unit, will try to show the extent to which the çift-hane grain

¹ Tevfik Güran, Structure Economique et Sociale d'une Region de Campagne dans l' Empire Ottoman vers le Milieu du XIXe Siecle, Centre International D' Information sur les Sources de l' Histoire Balkanique et Mediterraneenne, Sofia: 1980. I am grateful to Güran for letting me use his personal Turkish translation of this work. The page numbers were made according to the Turkish translation.

² Halil Inalcik, Temettü Tahrir Defterlerinin Istatistik Tablolarini Hazirlama Sempozyumu, (unpublished report), 23 December, 1995.

³ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Osmanli Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri", Bellekten, vol.LIX, no.225, August 1995, pp.395-412.

producing units continued. Additionally it will also try to see, first, if the big çiftliks were market oriented and, second, if they worked to disrupt the miri regime. In order to show this, this thesis will , as a first chapter describe in detail the historical background for the temettu defters, its peculiar characteristics and development, its use in earlier historiography (especially Tevfik Güran's work on the Filibe sancağı), and finally the role of the temettü defters in the development of Ottoman registration. In the second chapter this thesis will attempt to define the basic principles of the Ottoman land regime, with a special emphasis on Inalcik's works on both the çift-hane system and the emergence of big farms. In the final chapter the thesis will then try to examine a particular sample of the temettü defters, those of Foça, in the light of this background. A particular emphasis will be put on statistical tables.

1.2. The Tanzimat Reforms and Centralization

Before analyzing the temettu defters it is necessary to briefly examine the financial and socio-political mentality as well as the general conditions of the period in order to understand the aim of these defters.

That the Tanzimat marks a new period in Ottoman history one can see from the Gülhane Hatt-i Hümayun of 1839, where the main principles for financial and administrative reform were outlined. The mentality behind these reforms was a centralistic one in which the ultimate aim was financial, that is increasing the state income, but the administrative reforms were also vital: They were the vehicle for

applying the reforms.⁴ More specifically, one can see two resolutions from the Gülhane Hatt-i Hümayun where these reforms were stated. The first of these two resolutions was administrative: the abolition of the iltizam system of tax farming, that is the state's indirect distribution of its incomes to the mültezim(s), or tax farmers, who after submitting a lump sum payment to the state, gained the right to collect the income concerned. For it was well known to the Tanzimat reformers that the mültezim(s) played a key role in the decentralization process from the seventeenth century onwards, taking over, subverting or coopting the old classical provincial administrative and judicial systems and replacing it with de facto unofficial cliques of financial control. One year after the Gülhane Hatt-i Hümayun resolution the abolition of the tax farms was formally carried out and in the mültezim's place the muhassil, a wage earning government official, was appointed directly by the state, and was personally responsible for transporting the state incomes he collected, namely the bulk of the province's taxes, back to the central treasury. Another important centralizing aspect of this administrative reform was the restriction of the Vali, or provincial governors to matters of public security. To consolidate this restriction on the provincial level, that is the sancaks or kazas, muhassillik assemblies were also formed.⁵

The second resolution which can be seen in the Hatt-i Hümayun is the financial principle of single tax which was to be determined according to everyone's individual income. In terms of this principle of forming one combined tax all types of resims (örfi, or state taxes) and aidat (customs) were abolished. In particular rüsum and aidat included

⁴ Halil İnalcık, "Tanzimat'ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkileri", Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Toplum ve Ekonomi, İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1993, p. 365.

such taxes as the tayyarat and ceraim (the unexpected taxes and the monetary penalties which are known in the old kanunnames as badihava or resm-i niyabet), hazeriyye, seferiyye, kudumiyye, teşrifiyye, mefruşat-baha, zahire-baha, ayaniyye, and the kapi harci (which were taken by the governors), as well as the mübaşiriyye, kaftan-baha, menzil beygiri, and the kolcu (which was paid to the center).⁶

One of the reasons why these rusum and aidat, as well as other taxes like the avariz, were abolished, was the irresponsibility of the state officials. Generally these local officials had abused the situation during the collection of these taxes from the population. Another typical abuse came when the official, along with his retainers came to a city, town or village and imposed their food expenses on the population. Actions were taken to prevent such abuses, as seen explicitly in both Sultan Abdülmecid's accession edict and the Hatt-i Hümayun itself.⁷

Yet another important tax subject to abuse was the cizye, the poll tax, traditionally levied since the seventeenth century on all non-Muslim males. Before the Hatt-i Hümayun this tax was usually collected by the multezims or others under the tax-farming system, and like the other taxes and customs was subject to much abuse. With the Tanzimat, however, the collection of the cizye was to be transferred to the muhassils. They, with the help of the kocabasis were to collect the cizye in the traditional manner (according to the reaya's economic situation- ala (rich), evsat (middle), and edna (poor)).⁸

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 366-367.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

The final particular type of tax which the Tanzimat abolished and which earlier tended to be abused was the *angaria* or *corvee*, taxes or customs taken as a labor service. By means of this tax the majority of the notables in Rumeli were able to treat the *reaya* in their region as slaves, using their services in a limitless way. In some cases the notables were, under the name of these customs even able to interfere in the marriage of a *reaya*, etc.⁹

As Inalcik has illustrated, both of these aspects of reform, the abolition of the *iltizam* system and the principle of unified taxes, continued to be discussed after the *Gülhane Hatt-i Hümayun* in the *Meclis-i Vala*, or the recently-established Ottoman parliament. "At the end of these discussions, in order to determine the taxes and the method of their collection it was first necessary to make a registration of property and population, and also to investigate the situation by calling the provincial nobility to the center".¹⁰ From this discussion one may begin to see the *temettu defters* place within these reforms.

One may also view the immediate context of the *temettu defters* from the subsequent application of the tax reforms by the *muhassils*. In the first year the newly fixed tax incomes were to be determined by the finance ministry (*Maliye Nezareti*) on the *liva* (*sancak*) or province level, and later on the *kaza*, or district, *mahalle*, or town quarter, and even the *karye*, or village level. For the long term however, the center wished to have the new taxes be determined by a series of local registrations by the *muhassils* of everyone's estates and income (or *temettü* in Ottoman Turkish). As a direct result of this

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.367.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

new order the first temettü census, that of 1840, took place. These registrations were carried out on a very limited scale for a few test districts, which indicate the relative weakness of the muhassils who were in the meanwhile unable to collect the state-determined tax incomes.¹¹

In 1845 the Ottomans made a more serious attempt at registering the properties and incomes. This time the census was to be performed on the local level and not just center-appointed officials. Thus, the notables of each respective mahalle or karye, namely the muhtar and imam in Muslim areas and kocabaşı and papaz (priest) in non-Muslim areas were to work under the coordination of the districts center appointed ziraat müdürlüğü (agricultural director) and his representatives. In addition, the provincial notables of whole regions (i.e. imams, muhtars, vücuhs, kocabaşıs) were called to Istanbul to submit reports about the problems and demands of their respective regions. As Güran has pointed out although these reports cannot be found today within the archives one can tell what general character these reports were from documents from the Meclis-i Vala. The common demand of these reports was for a more fair distribution of the tax burden. The center, now more aware of the need for a more just distribution, launched this second, much more wide-scale attempt with this goal more firmly in mind.¹²

¹¹ Inalcik, "Temettü Sempozyumu", p.8.

¹² Ibid., p.9.

1.3. The Temettü Defters: Development, Structure and Content

Now, that we have given a brief account of the temettü defters historical background, it is necessary to give a detailed introduction to the general makeup of the defters as well as to the specific types of data that is encountered in them. But before giving information about the types of data and the order of them it is necessary to point out again, as mentioned above in the historical background section, that there are two different types of defters: those of 1840 and those of 1844-45. According to Güran, the first series of defters appear to be a kind of preparatory form for the second series, which is evident from their low number (about fifty such first series defters exist in the archive). In terms of the structure and data found in these 1840 defters, Güran makes the following conclusions:¹³

- a) The 1840 defters were carried out on the kaza, or district level by muhassils.
- b) In general it is a type of property registration.
- c) More can be seen about the [registered] individual's personal features [than in the 1844-45 series].
- d) The taxes which were shown were to be paid in two installments.
- e) The fields were registered in terms of its place, name, worth, and measurement. Also if there was a store to be rented out, the store was registered along with its worth and the amount taken for rent.

¹³ Ibid., p.9

- f) The number [and type] of animals can be seen.
- g) At the end of each hane [or “household’s] registrations a triangle [shape] which includes the worth of the property (kiymet-i emlak), the value of the animals (kiymet-i hayvanat), as well as incomes (temettuat)”.

Now let us look at the above mentioned data in concrete terms, examining examples from the documents. The first document is selected from the 1840 defter (no.2096) for the Tuscan (foreign) community within the Kaza, or township of Izmir and is entitled: “Kasab-i Hizir Mahallesine tabi Ermeni İspitalyasi Sokağında beşinci mahalle itibar olunan mahallede bulunan Ermeni Toskana tebalari emlaki”(The property of the Armenians subject to Tuscan who are found in the fifth district on “Ermeni İspitalyasi” Street in the neighborhood of Kasab-i Hizir). Here is a transcription of a typical example of registration from the same defter:¹⁴

- I. Orta boylu yarım sakalli vapur hizmetkari Ancelo (otuz-beş yaşında) veled-i Andreya'nin emlaki (The property of Angelo the son of Andreya (thirty-five years old), half-bearded, of medium height and is a serviceman of a steamship).
- II. -Oglu Marko (sekiz yaşında) (His son Marko, eight years old).
 - Digeri Andreya (beş yaşında) (His other son Andreya, five years old).
 - Digeri Mikel (bir yaşında) (His other son Mikel, one year old).
 - Hanesi odalarından aldığı icar-i senevi: 120 kuruş, kiymet: 840 kuruş (The annual rent from the rooms of his house: 120 kuruş, its worth: 840 kuruş).

¹⁴ Izmir Kazasi Toskana Tebasi Temettü Defterleri(no: 2096), p. 5.

-Temettuat: 800 kuruş (Profits: 800 kuruş)

III. Yekun: 840 kuruş (Total: 840 kuruş)

-Kiyemet-i Emlak: 840 kuruş (The value of the property: 840 kuruş)

-Kiyemet-hayvan: 00 kuruş (The value of the animals: 00 kuruş)

-Temettuat (Profits)

A second documentary example from the 1840 defters is taken from the defter of the Kaza of Bergama in the province of Aydin (no: 1583) which begins with the inscription: “Nefs-i Bergama’da Hoca Sinan Mahallesinde sakin bil-cümle ehl-i Islamin emlaklari kiymetleri” (The value of the properties for the Muslim People as a whole who reside in the Hoca Sinan neighborhood in the center of Bergama). The transcription of the document is as follows:¹⁵

I. Uzun Boylu kara biyikli Hacı İsmail’in oğlu terzi Mehmed’in (The tailor Mehmed son of Hacı İsmail who is of tall height and has a black moustache).

II. Menzili bab (Number of houses):1, kiymet: 500 kuruş (its value: 500 kuruş).

-Tarlasi dönüm (Amount of dönüms of field): 1, Kiymet: 200 kuruş (its value: 200 kuruş).

-Bag dönüm (amount of dönüms of vineyard): 1, Kiymet: 100 kuruş (its value 100 kuruş).

-Camus koşum çift (?) (Number of carriage water buffalo): 1, kiymet: 250 kuruş (its value: 250 kuruş).

-(...) kara siğir çift (?) (Number of black oxen): 1

¹⁵ Bergama Kazası Temettü Defterleri (no: 1583), p. 2.

-Merkeb (dişi) (Female asses): 1, kıymet: 50 kuruş (its worth: 50 kuruş).

III. Teklif (Tax): 300 kuruş.

IV. Temettuatı (His profits): 400 kuruş.

When comparing the two document examples, the first obvious difference is seen with the standard triangle, including the value of the property, value of the animals, and the profits (which Güran has mentioned in comment g), which we encounter in the first but not the second document. Other major structural differences between the two examples are apparent. For example in the first document, the first part of the pattern is the line registering the head of the household, his age and appearance. Directly under this in the second part the sons of the household, along with their ages and the properties of the household are listed. Under this in the final segment, the “triangle” of property worth, the value of the animals and the profits are given.

In the second document however, the structure takes on a much different form. Although in the first part of the Bergama example the head of the household is again registered along with a personal description, in the second part, the properties of the head of the household are registered in the shape of small boxes next to each other. The third part of the document, which is in fact written above the first part of the example lists the taxes taken from the registered head of the household in a unified one tax form. In the final part, which listed below the second section, the figure for profits (temettuat) is given.

Beyond these basic structural differences between these two examples, there are also substantive differences. This can be seen for example in the second part of the

Bergama example where we do not see a registration of other household members besides the head of the “hane”, whereas such a registration can be seen in the first example. Likewise, the Bergama defter in a later section lists “dullar” or “widows” as separately, which is reminiscent of similar subsections in the classical tahrir defters.¹⁶ Likewise, the Bergama example has a much more standard rural character, giving a detailed description of the field, farm animals, etc. while the Toscan example has an urban setting. Still it must be stressed that these are only variations of the general pattern which Gūrān has listed above. For instance, it is true that only in the second document do we find a tax figure, which is given under the heading of “teklif” or “levied tax”. This cash tax figure not only shows the possible attempts of the Tanzimat reformers to introduce a unified tax system, but also can be explained in part by Gūrān’s comment about taxes, although the two installment division was not recorded in the Bergama example. Yet, the first Toscan example still fits within the general pattern which Gūrān describes. Outside of the fact that the first registration was of “foreign subjects” not obliged to pay the full range of taxes that normal Ottoman subjects were subject to, the first example, like the second, fit Gūrān’s basic characterization that “b) In general it is a type of property registration”, for the most detailed parts of both examples are concerned with this.

As we have mentioned above the second and main series of temettü defters were registered in 1844-45 by a combination of local notables, the state-appointed agricultural director and his representatives. The actual registration this time was also preceded by interaction between these local officials and the center, which was basically carried out in a question and answer form. Outside of reports between the officials and the center, this

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

interaction consisted of written examples of registration sent by local officials to the center, and later corrections of these examples which were sent back to the local officials. In addition the state sent standard examples of 10-15 household of varying economic status to all of the regional registering officials to help provide a standard structure. Unfortunately until now no one has published information on these reports and, except for the resolutions on the Meclis-i Vala, few of these documents are available at present in the archives.¹⁷

In regard to the basic structure of the basic units in the 1844-45 defters, the first thing recorded is the “hane” or household, and “numara”, written side-by-side with both headings having numbers written under each of them. In the first main section of the unit, immediately under these two headings the name of the household is written, and, in contrast to the 1840 series do not have any physical characteristics recorded. For example, “Ali son of Ahmet”. Other possible family titles may also be included here. The second major part is written above and at a right angle with the “hane” and “numara”, and mentions the profession of the “head of the household”, along with the taxes paid the previous year. In relation to this Guran defines the taxes which were to be paid to the state and are mentioned in this part of the registration in the following three categories:¹⁸

1) Virgü-y-i Mahsusa: Under Tanzimat all taxes which were collected under the name of "tekalif-i orfiyye" were unified under this new name. The taxation unit of this collective tax was to be the village. The total tax which was to be distributed by the state would be distributed among the villages of each township (kaza). Then each village

¹⁷ Inalcik, “Temettü Sempozyumu”, p.10.

¹⁸Guran, Structure Economique, pp. 27-28.

would distribute their burden of the tax among their households according to everyone's property.

2) Cizye: This is the head tax which was taken from the non-Muslim male population. The cizye was taken at three different scaled rates ala (high) of 60 kuruş, evsat (medium) of 30 kuruş, and edna (low) of 15 kuruş, according to the economic power of the individual mature non-Muslim male.

3) Aşar and Rüşumat: These taxes can be divided into two general categories. First there is the in-kind tax which is taken as an actual one-tenth proportion of the annual gross grain production. The second category contains a wide variety of in-cash taxes on various agricultural and horticultural products: For example, the bedel-i aşar-i kiraz, the bedel-i aşar-i bostan, the bedel-i mukataa-i bağçe, which are all taken from vineyard and garden products, the bedel-i aşar-i kiyah from the meadows, the bedel-i aşar-i kovan from the beehives and the bedel-i adet-i ağnam rüşumu from sheep.¹⁹

In the third part of the basic registered unit of the 1840 defters the properties of the owner of the household is recorded under the owner's name, for example arable fields, vineyards, orchards, animals, stores, etc. But in contrast to the 1844-45 defters only the measurement and annual income of these properties are recorded, no total worth

¹⁹Inalcik in his syposium has made a different categorization of the tax structure, emphasizing the classical taxes. Outside of the cizye, these include:

- 1) The aşar tax: These are in-kind taxes taken from every income from the land.
 - 2) The rüşum taxes: These taxes are different from the asar in that they are taken in cash. For example it is not easy to take the in-kind asar from beehives. Such taxes are orfi taxes and sometimes are called tekalif.
 - 3) The taxes which are connected to unexpected expenses: These include for example the gerdek resmi of the curm u cinayet. They are, as income taxes called tayyarat and badihava or in the defters as "unexpected expenses" (zuhurat). They are a type of tax which can not be estimated beforehand.
- After this classification Inalcik then makes the distinction that the new system (which the temettu defters were to help) was to bring about a combined fixed tax on the basis of all income sources. Inalcik states that this new concept of taxation shows the influence of the western mentality.

of the property being given. Under this the fourth and final part bears the phrase “mecmuundan bir senede tahminen temettuati” (the approximate total income for one year) along with an accompanying figure).

In order to further illustrate the essential characteristics of the 1844-45 defters, the following concrete example has been chosen from the Focas region (also within the province of Aydin), which is the region I will later look at as a case study:²⁰

I. Hane: 50, Numara: 99 (Household: 50, Number: 99).

Haci Osmanođlu Mehmed'in emlaki (The property of Mehmed son of Haci Osman).

II. Erbab-i ziraatden olduđu (Farmer).

Sene-i sabikada vimis olduđu virgüsü: 72 kuruş (The amount of tax given the previous year: 72 kuruş).

Asar-i rusumat sene-i sabikada virmis oldugu bir senede: (The tithes and customs which he gave the previous year).

Hinta : 32, Kuruş:144 (Wheat : 32, Kuruş: 144).

Sair..... : 3, Kuruş: 6 (Barley : 3, Kuruş: 6).

Burçak : 3, Kuruş: 15 (Vetch (a fodder grain) : 3, Kuruş: 15).

Koza kiyye: 5, Kuruş: 5 (kiyyes of cocoons: 5, Kuruş: 5).

Siyah üzüm kiyye: 42, Kuruş: 46.5 (Kiyyes of black grapes: 12, Kuruş: 46.5).

Yekun: 216.5 kuruş (Total: 216.5 Kuruş).

III. Tarla-i mezru dönüm: 55 (Cultivated land: 55 dönüms).

²⁰ Karye-i Kozbekli, Focateyn Kazasi Temettü Defterleri(No: 1941), p. 23.

Hasilat-i Seneviyesi: 1530 sene: 60 (Annual income: 1530 year: 1260

1200 sene: 61 1200 year: 1261

2730 kuruş 2730 kuruş).

Bağ dönüm: 40 Hasilat-i Seneviyesi: 418.5 Kuruş (Vineyard: 40 dönüms, annual income: 418.5 kuruş).

Kara siğir ineği: kisir(?) res: 1 (Head of black oxen: 1).

Öküz res: 2 (Head of oxen: 2).

Bargir res: 1 (head of asses: 1).

IV. Mecmuundan bir senede temettuati tahminen: 1574 kuruş, 10 para (Approximate annual profit: 1574 kuruş, 10 para).

As seen above, the data and the order of the data given conform fully to the above mentioned summary of the order. The first issue of immediate interest, however, comes in the second part of the document where the tax figures for the previous year are given. Here the taxes listed, the virgü-y-i mahsusa, and the asar and rusumat (here given in kind with a listed cash equivalent), reveal the application of the Tanzimat financial reforms. Here one can see that the pre-Tanzimat tax burdens are not recorded in detail, as is evident first in the virgü-y-i mahsusa figure, which may have totaled the amount of previous orfi, or state customary taxes, but is very limited in historical value since it does not define the various component taxes that this figure includes. In terms of the seri, or Islamic law based “aşar and rüsumat” there is in fact no information of what was collected in its name before the reforms. One can only see that a literal “tenth” of the agricultural produce was registered. This however has the advantage of providing the

historian an estimate of the total agricultural production both in kind and in cash. This can be calculated in the following manner: If one for example takes the cash value figures of the aşar and rusumat figures for the grain products and cocoons and multiplies it by ten the result will give us the hasilat-i seneviye (or annual income figure) for the mezru tarla, or cultivated lands for the year 1260, which is seen in the third part of this document. Moreover, one can obtain an in kind figure by multiplying the grain crops by the local measurement which is listed (which unfortunately, I have not been able to decipher). Likewise, similar calculations can be made for other non-grain products, for example, black grapes.

Finally an explanation needs to be given for the last “approximate annual profit figure”, for this explains the connection between the third and fourth part of the example. Given the more exact annual income estimates for the year 1260 and the more broad estimate for the following year 1261, if one adds the estimated annual incomes for the cultivated lands (both years) with the annual income of other products (here listed under garden or vineyard) and divide the figure by two (accounting for both years estimate), one can obtain the end figure. Thus the basic mathematical logic of the document is explained.

1.4. Tevfik Güran's work on the province of Filibe

For understanding Ottoman social and economic history, as stated earlier, the temettu defters are one of the basic sources. The first author to utilize this source was Tevfik Güran. In his pioneering work, he examined nine selected villages in the sancak

of Filibe (in modern Bulgaria). The aim of his work is to show the demographic, social and economic features of the region. In order to accomplish this the author has prepared a several series of statistical tables. Moreover, the statistical tables prepared by the author have been carefully classified into several categories; demographic structure, economic structure, agricultural structure, and social structure.²¹ The following survey will summarize the conclusions Güran has made in each of these respective categories.

The results of the statistical tables for demographic structure are that the geographic place, the sizes and ethnic composition of the villages selected are rather different from each other. Geographically, some villages were established in forested areas, some on the banks of the Maritza river, and some near the town of Filibe. This geographical variety is important given the fact that at that time human technological control of the environment was limited and thus the geographical factor was a main determinant in shaping the social and economic structure²². Ethnically the samples chosen are also mixed, encompassing significant amounts of both Muslim and non-Muslim populations.²³ In connection to this Güran notes that among the ethnic groups the active male population within the households are higher among non-Muslims than among Muslims. Güran further claims that if it is accepted that the numbers reflect a real difference, it is explained by the fact that the non-Muslim males did not have to perform military service, paying the cizye poll tax instead.²⁴

²¹ Güran, *Structure Economique*, p.1.

²² *Ibid.*, p.3.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.4.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

Also, one of the most important features of the demographic structure in a rural area is the structure of the hane (household).²⁵ For Güran, first, the age of the heads of the family and, second, the degree of the relationship between the family members are very important. Güran especially stresses the second variable, the relationship between the family members, as it indicates the family size.²⁶ While, according to Güran's findings, in the city the family or "hane" is most often the nuclear family with the mother, father and the children, in the rural areas the "hane" is much more the extended family, including brothers, sisters and grandchildren in addition to the "nucleus".²⁷ Güran also points out here that Muslim families in general were more the "nuclear" rather than the "extended" variety.²⁸

There is also a parallel between the population age structure and the development of the population. Güran emphasizes the ratio of the age group 0-14 as a factor. To him, according to demographic research, if the age group 0-14 is about 20 percent of the population, there is a decrease in the total population; if it is about 26.5 percent, the population will most likely remain stable; and if the ratio is higher the population will increase, a ratio of 40 percent would show, for example, a strong rate of increase. In the region which Güran examines, the ratio of the age group 0-14 is approximately 33 percent, which indicates gradual tendency of population increase.²⁹

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

In terms of the economic structure the income sources are very important. According to Gûran, there are five types of income sources in the region; farming (çiftçilik), industry and trade, wage payments, transportation, and forestry. Among these forestry is an additional income source the others being subsistence sources for family, or hane income.³⁰

In terms of farming there are three main subcategories; grain producing (agricultural), vineyards and other garden produce (horticultural), and animal breeding.³¹ In the villages where non-agricultural production is important, farming as an income source meant vineyards and horticulture.³² Here the peasant having too little land for standard grain production, as an alternative uses more intensive labor to gain additional income in horticulture.³³ Likewise, animal breeding was also seen as a way to support grain production.³⁴

As for industry and trade, typical examples include milling, the buying and selling of farm animals, and artisan activities such as the producing and selling of coarse woolen cloth and garments, the production of hair rope, tailoring and the manufacture of soap.³⁵ Also from among the other categories, wage payment is interpreted by Guran to mean income from agricultural work.³⁶

³⁰ Ibid., p. 9. See. Tables: 2.1 , 2.2.

³¹ Ibid., p.9. See. Table : 3.1.

³² Ibid., p. 16.

³³ Ibid., See. Tables: 3.1 , 3.3.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 16. See. Table: 3.1.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

According to Güran, if one looks at the income sources in general in the region there is a definite mixture of farming and non-farming activities, the conclusion being that there is no homogeneous structure for the income sources.³⁷ To Güran this is a typical feature of both village and city economies before industrialization. That means that in the villages there are handicrafts and merchant activities as well as just farming. Likewise, some of the city dwellers are engaged in farming activities. Thus this "mixed economy" is valid for both the Ottoman village and town.³⁸

On the other hand, when looking at the underlying reasons behind the dominance of farming activities in some cases and nonfarming activities in others Güran makes the following explanations:

1) The balance of population and land: If the fertility of the land is high, and the amount of land is large enough for the employment of the village population, non-farming activities will not be important. If the fertility of the land is lower and the population is more dense, non-farming activities will be important or, at least within the more crowded families one part of the family will be more interested in farming and the others will be more interested in non-farming activities. However Güran also states that the distribution of agricultural activity is not regular throughout the year, as it will be concentrated around the harvest time. Outside of the harvest season in villages where the agricultural income is below the subsistence level, the labor power will be directed also towards non-farming activity.³⁹

³⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 11-12.

2) A village is not a closed economy. When paying some parts of their taxes in cash, the villagers will also buy food and clothes which are not produced in the village. This situation is dependent on the village's surplus income. But when the land is not fertile enough for this, the peasant will be interested in non-farming activities.⁴⁰

3) The households which switch from farming to non-farming activities are related to the breakdown of agricultural enterprises by inheritance. In this case the family members will cultivate the small land parts which were broken down under the influence of economic, financial and legal conditions. They will in addition engage in non-farming activities. Also if the stock capital tied to the hereditary agricultural enterprise (i.e. oxen, horse) will not be sufficient or if the size of the land is not large enough to employ the entire family full-time, the owner of the agricultural enterprise may sell his land or rent it to someone and meet his subsistence largely by his own labor. Moreover in the case where economic, financial and legal conditions prevented the breakdown of the agricultural enterprise and the land as a whole unit passed on to later generations, if there are several sons in the household, those sons who want to establish new households will be oriented to non-farming activities.⁴¹

As for agricultural structure in the region there are two types of management.⁴² The first is the small producer peasant enterprise. Small producer peasant enterprises are family enterprises that cultivate the lands that they own with their own production equipment and labor power. However, in Guran's view, they are generally not able to

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.12.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 15.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 18-19. See. Table: 3.4.

reach the level of subsistence. These small producer peasant enterprises make up some 92 percent of all existing lands in Güran's sampled region. The big farm enterprises make up the other 8 percent. (The average amount of land for the small producer peasant enterprises is thirty-five donums. The average amount in the large farm units is 114 donums.) In terms of all cultivated lands, 81 percent are owned by the small producer peasant enterprises, and in 7.5 percent they are tenants.⁴³ The big farm units own 9 percent of all the cultivated land and rent 2.5 percent of it.⁴⁴

An interesting feature comes when looking at the ratio of grain production to overall agricultural and horticultural production. Here the grain products of the cultivated lands owned by the small producer peasant enterprises makes up 35.5 percent of all agricultural and horticultural product, that of the land rented by the small producer peasant makes up 6 percent, and that of the big farm units, both as owners and as tenants, only makes up 7 percent. Thus, in Güran's view, surprisingly the small producer peasant enterprises, at least in terms of grain production, are using the land in a more efficient way.⁴⁵

According to Güran there is a close relationship between the development of the social structure and that of an economic structure in a rural area. Social structure is about the welfare of the population. The features of the social structure in a rural area as defined by Güran are the distribution of land, labor and the numbers of carriage animals

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 21. See. Table: 3.5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21. See. Table: 3.5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21. See. Table: 3.6.

(as a capital factor).⁴⁶ The feature of land, above being just a factor of production that can be purchased or sold, is important in that it provides to the person the opportunity of having house ownership and being a member of village society. In the village it determines the person's social place. For rich people who live in towns and cities land is also important as a source of their fortune. The amount of income which the land provides is dependent on the amount of labor.

In connection with this Güran has prepared tables about the distribution of lands and some other types of wealth. According to these tables, if one first looks at the settlement of villagers who own village land in the sampled region⁴⁷, 83 percent of all the lands are enterprises that belong to the small producer who lives in the village and 17 percent of all the land belong to those who live outside of the village. Of this 17 percent 9 percent belong to the big farm enterprises and 8 percent are lands which are rented to the peasants and the big farms. But here Güran also notes that there are important differences in the land amount owned by each household. Despite the fact that the dominant type of enterprise in the region is still the small producer, there is an important degree of inequality in the distribution of land among the households.⁴⁸

In terms of criticizing Güran's work, one can say that he does not sufficiently account for the historical background of the Ottoman rural economy. Although Güran prepares in detail important tables on the main features of the rural community in the sancak of Filibe, for example detailing the amount of land, oxen and the labor force for

⁴⁶Beyond just land Güran also especially emphasizes the number of carriage animals and the stock of larger and smaller heads of cattle as predominant among the features which determine the distribution of income and social difference in the rural region.

⁴⁷Güran, *ibid*, p. 31. See. Table: 5.1.

both the small peasant unit and the larger big farms, very little theoretical background is given. This problem can be seen in the beginning pages of Güran's work, where he states that: "It is not easy to explain with some generalizations the rural economy of the Ottoman empire whose various regions' climates, land conditions , and processes of historical development are so different from each other. In a technological environment where humans do not have any possibility to control the natural environment, important structural differences can be seen not only regionally, but even on the village level. For this reason, it is necessary to carry out several micro-studies in order to determine the general features of the Ottoman agricultural structure."⁴⁹ More specifically this problem can be seen in Güran's use of legal terms such as "ownership", "inheritance", "tenancy", etc. Here again we see no real documentation of this evidence. He does not take into account either the classical Ottoman land system nor the profound changes that it went through in the following centuries. We will soon pass to a general evaluation of these changes in the second chapter. Before this, however, I think it would be useful to discuss perhaps the most basic flaw in Güran's work is the lack of an adequate definition of what exactly the "hane" meant in his study of the Filibe temettu defters. Moreover, to make such a criticism a more general comparison of earlier Ottoman registration materials is useful. For here we can see how the hane and its method of registration changed over time, taking into account other Ottoman historian's contributions to this question.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.34. See. Tables: 5.2A , 5.2B.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.1.

1.5. A Comparison with Earlier Tahrir Practices

To start with Güran, as seen in his own comparisons to earlier types of Ottoman registration, seems to overestimate the historical and statistical value of the temettü defters. According to Guran, the census works that have been performed before the temettü tahrirs are the tahrir defters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as some later censuses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In his comparison of these sources Guran points to the number of both the tahrir defters and the temettü defters respectively. For according to Güran while the total number of tahrir defters available in the Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri and the Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü is roughly 2.000, the total number of the temettü defters in the Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri is far greater, approximately 17.750.⁵⁰

Güran then makes further arguments in favor of the temettü defters as against the tahrir defters as a superior source for Ottoman social and economic history. Güran here first points to the different periodization and geographical expanse of the tahrir and temettü defters. Güran points out that the tahrir defters were in general made after the conquest of a particular region and then reregistered in fixed periods in that region after this date. Temettü defters on the other hand were all made in one year (1844-1845) and

⁵⁰Inalcik, Temettü Sempozyumu, p. 6.

geographically encompassed almost all of the Ottoman territories in the Balkans and in Anatolia.⁵¹

Güran then moves on to discuss the relative content of the differing types of defters, first considering the tahrir defters.⁵² Güran views the socio-economic features of the tahrir defters as rather limited, where only exceptionally such concepts like the cift, nim-cift, and bennak can be thought of as describing important socio-economic features. Outside of this Güran points to the tahrir defter's categorization of society into the non-productive military-administrative class (askeri) and the productive class (reaya) as well as their religious division into Muslims and non-Muslims. Within these categories we then see a long list of the names of the separate hane or "households". The tahrir defters later were summarized into approximately twenty-five or thirty page lists of figures. To Güran however, when one looks at the temettü defters, there is in general a much more rich description of the household units.⁵³

But before going into a debate over the reliability of the tahrir defters vis-a-vis the temettü defters it would be interesting to make a comparison of Güran's very optimistic views with Barkan's conclusion about the tahrir defters nearly over twenty-five years ago, then also a relatively untapped primary source for Ottoman social and economic history. "These registers are not simple enumerations of households or tax-payers. In the first place, they constitute a systematic census of the entire population of the empire (outside

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp.6-7. As for the other types of registrations in defter form made during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Güran concludes that these censuses do not have the richness of the tahrir defters. For according to Güran they were geographically limited as they were made only in a few regions.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

of Egypt, North Africa, and the Hicaz) executed in a statistical spirit with a wealth of details, and for this reason their value to historical demography is very great. Secondly, the registers contain the results of a detailed agricultural census covering arable land, fruit trees, vines, mills pasture land, beehives and all kinds of agricultural products with numerous data on the approximate volume of production and its yield in revenue."⁵⁴

The reasons of Barkan's optimism are similar to Güran's. The first is that the tahrir defters were also done on a broad scale and on a systematic basis. Although Güran's numbers are correct and the number of temettu defters still outnumber the total of tahrir defters preserved in the archives, the number of tahrir defters are still high (about 2000) covering most regions of the empire.⁵⁵ Moreover, the method of producing the tahrir defters was refined from the early days of the Ottoman empire, as seen in the Arvanid tahrir defter from 1831.⁵⁶ Obviously, it was a reliable tool for the Ottomans to control the land regime and income distribution in the Ottoman empire.⁵⁷

Yet, certainly there are problems for interpreting the tahrir defters. For example, a major problem in demographic studies, like Güran argues are limits in certain key terms. This is seen especially in Heath Lowry's study of the tahrir defters for Trabzon where he points out inconsistencies in the registrars use of terms like mucerred (the single tax-

⁵⁴Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys", Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East (ed. by Micheal Cook), p.166.

⁵⁵Inalcik, "Temettü Sempozyumu", p.6.

⁵⁶See Inalcik's Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid (second edition), TürkTarih Kurumu: Ankara, 1987.

⁵⁷It can be argued this continuity of registration methods may be more reliable than a series of defters made only in two years.

paying male), the bive (widow) or nefer (male in several contexts).⁵⁸ These inconsistencies make any population estimate approximate at best. Lowry also argues that the unmarked "clean copy" tahrir defters did not always mean accurate figures. On the contrary Lowry interprets this as a disadvantage saying that there might be many uncorrected mistakes left in these defters. Made during the prosperity of the Ottoman empire when the state had much extra income, these tahrir defters may have been only estimates. He argues that maybe later when the state had more financial needs the defters became more accurate.⁵⁹

Still, Güran has not made sufficient comparisons of the temettu defters with other important Ottoman registration materials. The first series of these after the tahrir defters being the avariz defters (especially the mufassal, or "detailed" defters) of the 1640s. These defters, especially from a demographic point of view have been used in important recent studies, For example Linda Darling⁶⁰ and Oktay Özel. For example Özel's case study of Amasya uses these documents in comparison with earlier tahrir defters to prove the severity of the demographic crisis in Anatolia in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.⁶¹

⁵⁸Heath Lowry, The Ottoman Tahrir Defters as a source for Urban Demographic History: The Case Study of Trabzon (doctoral dissertation), 1977, pp. 257-261. Mehmet Öz, in his recent article "Tahrir Defterlerin Osmanli Tarihi Arastirmalarinda Kullanilmasi Hakkinda Bazi Dusunceler" points out further problems with the tahrir defter's terms of cift, nim, caba, mucerred, stating, for example, in regard to the concept of "caba" that while in some regions it is defined as a married person without registered land, in others it defines a capable single male (kisb u kare muktedir). Öz, Mehmet, "Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanli Tarihi Arastirmalarinda Kullanilmasi Hakkinda Bazi Dusunceler, Vakiflar Dergisi, 1987, p.436.

⁵⁹Lowry, The Tahrir Defters, pp.278-279.

⁶⁰ Linda Darling, Revenue Raising and Legitimacy, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996.

⁶¹ Oktay Özel, Changes in Settlement Patterns, Population and Society in Rural Anatolia: A Case Study of Amasya (1576-1642), (Unpublished Ph.d dissertation, University of Manchester, Department of Middle Eastern Studies, UK:1993).

Turning to the nineteenth century the development of registration seems to have become more stimulated. When looking at the development during this time, however, one should not just look at the temettu defters. This can be seen in Kemal Karpat's work, Ottoman Population, 1830-1914. Karpat's work is important not only because of the many useful statistics on the Ottoman population, age and ethnicity during the early nineteenth and twentieth century but also because of his documentation of different censuses⁶² during the time. From these censuses, such as the salnames of the mid nineteenth century and the various population surveys that the temettu defter was not the only attempt to register the wealth and the population of the empire. Some of these, like the census of 1831 bring up some issues that any study of the temettu defters should also keep in mind. The 1831 census, like the temettu defters were attempted on a wide scale (Karpat claims that there were about 21.000 population registers), but were specifically interested in the registration of the cizye and male population (for the military service). The different methods of accounting for the population and the non uniformity of these registers should warn us however.⁶³ As we have seen above in the earlier section on the make-up of the registered units of the temettu defters, a similar problem is encountered.

The most central problem with the temettu defters, however, is the concept of the "hane" and its inconsistent use, a problem, as noted above, which Guran fails to discuss

⁶²Karpat qualifies his use of the word census. "The reader should keep firmly in mind throughout this discussion that in the Ottoman context the term "census", contrary to the modern usage, does not always imply an actual head count (although it was far from being just a rough estimate). It was, rather, the recording of the population in special registers (sicils) on the basis of the best information available. Only in the late nineteenth century did the Ottoman census seek to encompass an actual count of individual citizens." Karpat, Kemal, Ottoman Population 1830-1914, University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1984, p.18.

⁶³ Ibid., p.20.

in his work. The hane is relevant to any student of Ottoman registration materials because it represents the most basic unit of the Ottoman defters, especially the tahrir defters of the fifteenth and sixteenth century and the avariz defters of the seventeenth century. In terms of the hane in the tahrir defters one sees most often a registered "head of household". While most historians accept that this hane indicated a nuclear family (which we will subsequently explore in depth in Inalcik's 'description of the cift-hane), in reality the hane was a fiscal term denoting an economic unit, which shows the taxes connected to it. Thus, despite the fact that these units have a generally consistent pattern, there are problems in using these hanes as the basis for demographic research, which can be seen in the continuing controversy over Barkan's simple formula of multiplying every hane by five in order to come up with a rough estimate of the registered population.⁶⁴

As for the avariz defters similar problems are encountered. Although there are different ideas about the hane in the avariz defters, namely the tahrir-like hane unit that one finds in the mufassal, or "detailed" variety and the much more variable collective "hanes" (which often represents 3-15 mufassal hanes) of the icmal, or "summary" type, one can use the mufassal avariz defters to make demographic calculations similar to the tahrir defters.⁶⁵ Although in terms of the information about the hane which we can gain from these defters we learn only the number of adult capable males in the region and not the amount of land, oxen, and crops, etc. Which we see in the earlier tahrir defters.

⁶⁴ See Öz, "Tahrir Defterlerinin", p.437. For additional on this controversy one can refer also to Bruce McGowan, Life in Ottoman Europe, Taxation, Trade, and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p.90, J. Russel, "The Late Medieval Balkan and Asia Minor Population", JESHO, III (1960), as well as Maria Todorova, "Was There a Demographic Crisis in the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century?" Academia Bulgare Des Sciences, Etudes Balkaniques (no.2), 1988, pp. 55-63.

Yet the hane of the temettü defters breaks from this traditional pattern. From his study of the sancak of Filibe Güran has interpreted the manner in which the hane has been recorded, arguing that the hane is defined much more precisely, which means that one can see the exact number of people and distribution of family relations within the hane. This argument is clear from Güran's statistical charts (especially tables 1.1 "The Amount of Hanes and their Ethnic Composition, 1785 and 1844", 1,1B "The Ethnic Composition of the Hane, 1785 and 1844", 1.2 "The Number of Active People within the Hanes, 1844", 1,4 "The Distribution of the Male Population within the Muslim Hanes according to the Degree of Family Relation, 1844")⁶⁵. However from the temettü defters of the Foça region which I have examined, such information can not be established, as seen in the many inconsistencies in the registration of both the "hane" and "numara". Outside of simple clerical mistakes *such as registering "hane: 19" immediately after "hane: 17", skipping "hane: 18"), more fundamental problems can be seen with both concepts. For instance, in defter no.1941⁶⁷ during the registration of the village of Kozbekli we see that "Ahmed son of Hüseyin" is registered under "Hane: 3, Numara: 5", but his Muslim wife is registered under "Hane: 9, Numara: 11" along with a non-Muslim sharecropper with the explanation that she resides with her husband. Obviously here the hane number represents a purely economic relationship. Yet both the "hane" and "numara" designations are used inconsistently in the document. For example in the same registration of the village of Kozbekli we see that under "hane; 10, Numara: 12" "Mustafa

⁶⁵ Özel, "17. Yüzyil Osmanli demografî ve iskan tarihi için önemli bir kaynak: 'mufassal' avariz defterleri, XII. Turk Tarih Kongresi (Unpublished article).

⁶⁶ Güran, Structure Economique, Appendix.

⁶⁷ Karye-i Kozbekli, Focateyn Kazasi Temettü Defterleri (no. 1941), pp. 5-8.

son of Huseyin” is registered separately from his wife and mother who are both registered under “Hane:14”. Yet both the wife and the mother appear to be independent from each other since both give asar and rusumat taxes independently and both have separate sharecroppers registered to each of them who themselves pay completely different amounts to their respective “master”. So here in contrast to the first example perhaps family relations and not economic relations played a role in determining the hane number. Still if this is true then why is not the husband also registered under the same hane? Similar problems are encountered with the “numara” or number in this same example of “hane: 14”. For the sharecropper (non-Muslim) of Mustafa’s wife is registered under the same “numara” (Numara: 19), while the sharecroppers (both Muslim) of his mother (Numara: 20) are registered under separate numaras (Numara: 21, 22), since all of the sharecroppers are registered as living in separate districts for their master’s and ethnicity also seems to play no role in the designation of either the “hane” or the “numara”. There seems to be no firm rule to distinguish what these concepts really were. Thus, in approaching the “hanes” in the Foca temettu defters, we must be very cautious as the registrar’s own method of designation seems inconsistent. Of course, one can not claim that similar problems were encountered in Güran’s defters for the sancak of Filibe, but it is interesting that Güran never takes time to define what exactly the hane and the numara meant in his research. At least we must make the qualification that a consistent method of registration can not be taken for granted in every area where the temettu registration was carried out.

2.1. The Classical Ottoman Land Regime

The best description of the classical Ottoman land regime can be seen in Professor Halil Inalcik's works such as "Osmanlılar'da Raiyyet Rûsumu" (1959), "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftlik; State, Landlords and Tenants" (1984), "Köy, Köylü ve İmparatorluk" (1990), "Village, Peasant and Empire" (1993) and "The Çift-hane System and Peasant Taxation" (1995). Here the miri land regime and the çift-hane system are the key words which will help us to understand the system as a whole.

The legal validity for the miri land regime comes from the orfi laws which were an expression of the Sultan's right to make legislative decisions. Even though the Seriat had a tolerant attitude towards private ownership of the land, it gave way in the Ottoman case to the orfi or state customary law where the state had ultimate control of the land.⁶⁸ In order to understand why state ownership was needed we should look at what types of land the state controlled. In connection with this Inalcik states that "Except for the wakfs and the lands granted by the Emperor's special diplomas and put under the private ownership of the members of the ruling elite all the rest of the arable lands reserved for cultivation were considered as state-owned lands".⁶⁹ As the arable lands under the miri land regime were reserved for cereal grain production (for the subsistence of the army and the urban centers), it shows that state was dependent on the agricultural lands for its own

⁶⁸Inalcik, " The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftlik; State, Landlords and Tenants", Contributions a l'histoire economique et sociale de l'Empire Ottoman , Louvain: Peeters, 1984,p.105.

⁶⁹Inalcik, " The Çift-hane System and Peasant Taxation", From Empire to Republic, Istanbul: Eren Yayinlari, 1995, p.65.

survival. Thus, it needed to control these lands to ensure the empires prosperity. This phenomenon was not limited to the Ottomans alone. As Inalcik has emphasized in several of his works, the continuity of the cift-hane system, which was designed for these same grain producing lands, came as a result of the traditional near eastern state understanding.⁷⁰

Here one should keep in mind Inalcik's stress on continuity. Although the miri land regime and the cift-hane system which was based on it formed the classical regime which was later devastated during the decline period the cift-hane units as a type of small family farm management continued until the nineteenth century (Even though the 1858 Land Code expanded the rights of private ownership in the land, it protected the raiyyet çiftlikleri on the miri land). As Inalcik has pointed out, the cift-hane continued even until 1950, when finally the mechanization changed the structure dramatically.⁷¹

These grain producing lands fell under one of the two basic divisions of land in the Ottoman Empire, the miri tapulu land. Miri tapulu land was basically the leasing of cultable grain land by means of a tapu contract to the producer peasant who is controlled by the sipahi who is the representative of the state. It should also be noted that at the time of the contract the peasant makes an advance payment to the state (muacelle) to the state or to the sipahi. Moreover the peasant has to meet the necessary material requirements himself (oxen, plough, seed, etc.). From that time on the peasant has to produce on that

⁷⁰Inalcik, " Big Farms ", p.105.

⁷¹Inalcik, " Köy, Köylü ve İmparatorluk", Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Toplum ve Ekonomi, İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1993, p.1.

leased land and is responsible for paying the required taxes to the state or to the sipahi.⁷² In addition the peasant cannot rent the land to someone else or give it as a donation. The land may pass from the father to the son, and in need to brothers, but never in way that would prevent production on that land.⁷³

Finally, as Inalcik stresses, the owner of the land is not the peasant or the sipahi but the state.⁷⁴ The sipahi is the cavalryman and local representative of the state and was assigned much of the peasants taxes as a timar in return for his services. The sipahi was also required to join the imperial campaigns with his soldiers when needed.⁷⁵

The main point about the miri tapulu arazi is that the raiyyet çiftlik, of çift-hane units which were responsible for producing grain were its basis. Thus the state took some measures to prevent the destruction of these çiftlik and often these were aimed against the "ekabirs", or local notables, in particular. This principle is shown in the kanunnames when it is stated that "the raiyyet çiftlik can never be portioned out".⁷⁶ Also in order to prevent exploitation of the peasant labor by the sipahi, the state made additional measures as is shown in the adaletnames.⁷⁷

The second category of land is the miri mukataali arazi. Mukataa in general is the leasing or farming out of a state income to one individual or a group. The mukataa within the miri land works in the following way. The state leases out the lands which are not in the tapu regime and rents it to the leaser in return for a determined cash amount. This

⁷² *ibid.*, p.4.

⁷³ Inalcik, " The Çift-Hane System", p.65.

⁷⁴ Inalcik, " Köy, Köylü", p.3.

⁷⁵ Inalcik, " Big Farms", p.106.

⁷⁶ Inalcik, " The Çift-Hane System", p. 64.

"leaser" could be a even a peasant, an urban dweller or a village as a whole. The main point is that the state sought income from even the land that remained outside of the tapulu land as the most convenient way the state rented it by mukataa. These mukataa lands may be seen in the tahrir defters as "hali" or abandoned lands or lands where the sipahi could not find the labor to cultivate them. But one should not forget, as Inalcik stresses, the point that at the end the state always sought to transform these lands to the tapulu category.⁷⁸

Passing from these two land categories and their definitions we shall now elaborate on the importance of the village within this context. Although, as Halil Inalcik has pointed out that in general prototypes of villages cannot be made, in the core lands of the Ottoman Empire (in Anatolia and in the Balkans) which were under the çift-hane system, such a categorization is possible. Here the typical village had the following features. First, the peasant often left his land, although the state took legal measures to prevent this, such as the state's authorization to the sipahi to bring back fugitive peasants within ten or fifteen years after his escape. The peasant could have abandoned his land because of its unfruitfulness or because of a high tax burden and in general the abundance of hali lands in the villages shows that the village conditions worsened. Thus he could try, for example, to escape to wakf villages where the conditions may have been better. It should be noted that the peasant did not have that much to lose because the actual owner of the land was the state and so the peasant remained deprived of the right of inheritance from father to son.

⁷⁷Inalcik, " Köy, Köylü", p.10.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 5-6.

The second characteristic of the village is that the state controlled the labor as well as the miri land. This can be seen in special types of villages which had derbendcis, kurecis, and celtukcus, etc. Finally, Inalcik points out that the village land was not under the possession of the village society which meant that there was no communal management structure. There were features of a communal structure however for instance, a village may have a common harvest place, a common fountain or a common pasture. Moreover the collection of some taxes, such as the avariz or cizye, were also the common responsibility of the village. Also, the whole village may be seen as collectively responsible in Ottoman criminal law for such offenses as murder and burglary. However, "...the Ottoman village was a village community composed of independent çift-hanes each of which practised cultivation independently on independent raiyyet çiftlik. Within the community, the independence of çifts and families was the essential characteristic."⁷⁹

2.2. The Çift-hane and Taxation

In order to understand the Ottoman land regime the key concept one needs to understand is the çift-hane. It must be stressed that Professor Halil Inalcik was the first to point out the existence of the çift-hane in Ottoman rural life.

Historically, the system goes back to Late Rome and the old Persian Empire and was inherited by the Ottomans by way of the Byzantines and the Selcuks.⁸⁰ In the system there are three important components; one pair of oxen as an animal force, a plot of land

⁷⁹ Inalcik, " Village, Peasant and Empire", The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire:

whose size is suitable for a pair of oxen to cultivate, and the labor force, usually a family headed by a capable adult male. It should be noted that the word "cift" in the cift-hane means a pair of oxen and comes from the Persian word of "cuft". Its Byzantine equivalent was "zeugarion".⁸¹ "Çiftlik" in turn meant the plot of land where one pair of oxen could cultivate and "hane" refers to the family household which ran the farm, the married man and woman, their children and most of the time their married children and grandchildren. The "hane" was also both a patrilineal and patrimonial type of family.⁸²

Sush a system in many ways seems natural, since historically in the places where agriculture is not mechanized the main vehicle of agricultural production is the plow which is pulled by one pair of oxen. It should also be noted that in the early times of the Ottoman empire, taxation was made according to the number of oxen.⁸³ Moreover, during the Ottoman times the size of the land which one pair of oxen could cultivate ranged between 50-150 dönüms.⁸⁴

What is more the units as noted above were protected by the state. For instance, on these lands where the agricultural production was made their transformation into gardens or vineyards was forbidden. The unit was also protected raiyyet ciftliks were restored when earlier they were broken up in inheritance. Here inheritance from father to son was only legalized as a means to ensure continuity of production.⁸⁵ And if the reaya

Essays on Economy and Society, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993, p. 153.

⁸⁰Inalcik, " Köy, Köylü", p. 6.

⁸¹Inalcik, " The Çift-Hane System", p. 62.

⁸²Inalcik, " Köy, Köylü", pp. 2-3.

⁸³Ibid., p.6.

⁸⁴Inalcik, " The Çift-Hane System" p. 65.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 64.

who used the ciftlik died with male children, the widow, or bive, was allowed to rent the land to agricultural workers until her son reached maturity.⁸⁶

The cift hane system was the fundamental agricultural and financial unit in the Ottoman Empire (particularly in Anatolia and in the Balkans). Taxation was made on the basis of the cift-hane and after the conquest of the Balkans were registered in the tahrir defters. In these defters, which were the taxation and population registers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the grain cultivating peasant could be registered in several categories. The first of these was the possessor of a full ciftlik who was registered under a "c" for "çift". And if the reaya possessed land under a cift, he could be registered as owning a "nim-çift", or half cift, bennak (landless), mücerred (adult single male), bive (lands under the protection of a widow, etc. From such terms we are able to learn not just what taxes the reaya had to pay but also more information about social life as well as social stratification. On the other hand the descriptions of social stratification in the tahrir defters can be different than in practical rural social life. Still it should be remembered that the state was largely successful in adopting these categories to the society. For instance at the bottom of this society were the people who did not marry, and it was these people who did not get any land (caba, mücerred). In general, in the traditional cift-hane system only the married men with children were considered suitable.⁸⁷

The taxes which had to be paid according to every individual çift-hane in general were the following: 1. The çift resmi and other related taxes. 2. The aşar and the salarlık (or salariye) taxes on the grain and other farm products. 3. The resm-i ağnam and the ağil

⁸⁶Ibid., p.65.

resmi which deal with nomads. 4. The badihava and niyabet taxes such as the tapu resmi, the resm-i arusane, yava, kaçgun (which deals with male and female slaves) and the ceraim which are connected to grain.⁸⁸

In this study we will concentrate more on the taxes within the cift resmi system. According to the Fatih kanunname a person who had one cift of land was to pay twenty-two akcas, someone who had a nim-çift twelve akcas, a married male who does not have land (bennak) nine akças and an unmarried, landless peasant (caba, kara, or mücerred) six akças. Inalcik then elaborates on this categorization, explaining more details of its application. For example if a mucerred gets married he is then taxed at the bennak rate. Also if the peasant leaves his place and works on the land of another sipahi he is still responsible still for paying his old sipahi the cift resmi. The urban dweller if he gave up the çift was exempt from the cift resmi but the peasant reaya could not gain exemption.⁸⁹

Inalcik also points out that the cift resmi as an orfi tax transformed some of the old feudal services in the Balkans into cash and was done in accordance with the duodecimal system of weights and measurements as in the older medieval empires. When the Ottomans had conquered the Balkans, they abolished other types of feudal corvees, and besides the resmi çift which replaced these services only charged the avariz-i divaniye, an extraordinary orfi tax taken only at first only in times of need.⁹⁰ As for what the çift resmi represented in earlier feudal services Inalcik makes the following statement.

⁸⁷Inalcik, " Köy, Köylü", p.8.

⁸⁸Inalcik, " Osmanlılar'da Raiyyet Rûsumu" , *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Toplum ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1993, p. 49.

⁸⁹Inalcik, "The Çift-Hane System", p.67.

⁹⁰[*ibid.*], pp. 68-69.

"A twenty-two akça tax or its fractions for each particular status are shown as the tax equivalents of certain labor services or kulluks owed to the lord, namely three akça for three days of service, seven akça for a wagon of hay, seven akça for half a wagon of straw, and two akça for service with a wagon".⁹¹

If we look carefully at the taxes outside of the three akças for three days of personal service, all the other services were dependent on the land. Thus Inalcik shows that the cift and nim çift owners were taxed according to their lands. From the personal service however, Inalcik makes a connection to the other categories, the mucerred who, at the bottom of the scale, had to pay a tax of six akças, and the bennak who was married and had to pay nine akças.⁹²

However the çift resmi did not include only the cash form of transformed feudal services. For example one also has to take into account taxes like the dönüm resmi or tütün resmi and other small taxes which were also part of the system. In particular the donum resmi was a tax paid to the sipahi for permission to cultivate land under his protection but was not part of the çift structure.⁹³ The tütün resmi was a different tax which was not dependent on the land but on the individual. This tax, also called the duhan resmi, duhaniye, resm-i dud, or kislak resmi was paid by haric raiyyet, who came to a sipahis lad temporarily but did not cultivate there. But if the person responsible for

⁹¹Ibid., p.67.

⁹²Ibid., p.67.

⁹³Inalcik, " Raiyyet Rûsumu", p. 47.

the tutun resmi extended his stay for three years that person would then be subject to the bennak resmi.⁹⁴

In the Fatih kanunname it was also pointed out that non-Muslims were to pay the ispence instead of the cift resmi. This tax was set at twenty-five akças and every mature non Muslim male had to pay. Like the çift resmi this tax was assigned as timar income but was different from the çift resmi in that nomads and the urban dwellers had to pay this tax as well as just the peasants.⁹⁵

The military class was also exempt from the çift-resmi because the military was not a productive class. This exemption is an important point because it made a strong differentiation between the military and the reaya. Who were the askeri? "First, all the service owners who took ulufe and timar, the palace population, and the umeras and the ulema. The high officials of the state and the kapikulus, the timarli sipahis, the kadis, the muderrises, the students and the graduate students (danismend and mülazims) at the high medreses are likewise in the military. And the relatives of these mentioned people are also in the military".⁹⁶

Between the askeri who were exempt from the çift resmi and the reaya who were obliged to pay it there was a group who was partially exempt from the çift resmi. This group in the kanuns were called the muaf and musellem reaya. These included such groups as the celtukcis, tuzcus, kürecis, etc.⁹⁷ There was also a group from the reaya who was absolutely exempt from the çift resmi. "Those who did not have any independent

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p.48.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, pp.56-62.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p.50.

productive power, that is the very old people (pir-i fani), children, monks, and 'priests who only live on alms' were all exempt from this tax."⁹⁸

Going back to the centrality of the cift-hane system it is very important when Inalcik points out that the state could keep its control of the raiyyet çiftlik in the malikhane-mukataa system of the eighteenth century.⁹⁹ For in the raiyyet çiftlik the relations between the timarli sipahis and the peasants were determined within the framework of the laws. According to these laws the peasant could not be exploited by the sipahi for services outside those stated in the kanuns and the sipahi was bound to protect the peasant in order that he constantly produce. However the timarli sipahis could revive the old corvee in the name of a custom or they tended to take the tapulu lands from the peasant. So at the time of a new transference of the land a new amount was taken as a "tapu". We can see this problem and the relations between the timarli sipahi and the peasant in the village sicills.¹⁰⁰

In reflection both the çift-hane system in rural life and the esnaf (guild system) in urban life were the two important building stones of the Ottoman fiscal system were protected by the bureaucrats until the Tanzimat. Yet, as we mentioned above, the çift-hane as a type of small family management continued during the nineteenth century.¹⁰¹ Questions then came to mind how the çift-hane system could survive possible changes. These changes could be (especially in the tax structure).

⁹⁷Ibid., pp.52-53.

⁹⁸Inalcik, "The Çift-Hane System", p.70.

⁹⁹Inalcik, " Köy, Köylü", p.9.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., pp.13-14.

¹⁰¹Inalcik, " The Çift-Hane System", p.66.

2.3. Evolution in the Ottoman Tax Structure

For seeing the changes in the classical Ottoman tax structure during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one can, after Halil Inalcik's contributions, look at Bruce McGowan's work Economic Life in the Ottoman Europe.¹⁰² McGowan divides the classical Ottoman tax structure into two categories, which he follows as a framework when he traces the changes in the tax structure. First are the taxes which are dependent on the timar and second are the miri taxes. According to this, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the earlier increases in the miri taxes, and the collection of taxes on the provincial and local level outside of the center's control the timar-connected taxes decreased in proportion to the other taxes. Outside of these developments some changes in the prebendal system were seen. One major change came at the beginning of the seventeenth century when the standard income of the timarli sipahi froze. As a result during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the timarli sipahis who were appointed to the timars started to abuse their duties, and introduced some new taxes. Moreover in order to combat inflation they increased the customary in cash taxes (ispence) and also they started to take taxes like the asar in kind rather than in cash. The other important change

¹⁰²McGowan, Economic Life in Ottoman Europe, 1981.

dates from the end of the sixteenth century when the hass and zeamet assignments, which were larger prebends than the standard timars, were farmed out.¹⁰³

McGowan says that the changes in the miri tax structure generally kept its classical form in comparison to the prebendal system where tax farming was widely applied. For example, the hearth taxes like the cizye or the harac. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the amount of the cizye often was increased. On the other hand the sheep tax (resm-i aĝnam or adet-i aĝnam) which was also a miri tax was taken at one akca per sheep was reduced to insignificance during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Later we see the replacement of the resm-i agnam with a new sheep tax called the jelepkeshan. This tax starts first started to be applied at first on an irregular basis in Wallachia and the Bulgarian areas and later became regularized.¹⁰⁴

The other irregular miri taxes included the mekari and the other taxes which were related to the collection of grain. The mekari sometimes was taken at the time when an animal was purchased. The other taxes which were more directly related to the collection of grain were the ishtira, the mubayaa, and the sursat in the seventeenth century which took over the avariz and nuzul's place, which were the dominant state taxes in the late sixteenth century. In the collection of the grain the principle of bedel was important. According to this, if an area was far away from the place where the produce was needed then a cash equivalent was taken. In contrast, for those areas which were near the places where the grain was needed the in kind method was put into practice. Here the author wants us to pay attention to the difference between the sursat and the ishtira/mübayaa.

¹⁰³Ibid., pp. 152-153.

Accordingly the sursat meant that the grain collected was bought at confiscatory prices while ishtira/mubayaa the grain was purchased at the market price. Also these types of forced purchases of grain were made from big farm owners as well as from villages.¹⁰⁵

Now, as we mentioned above, let us look at the taxes collected for both provincial and local needs which helped to reduce the place of the earlier prebendal taxes. In the provinces in the seventeenth century the incomes of the governors and the high administrative officials were diminished in comparison to increases at the central treasury, and so the governors and high administrative officials were forced to apply new methods to increase their incomes. One of these methods was the tax *tekalif-i shakka* which appeared at first during the war with Crete (1645-1669). This tax was applied for meeting the expenses of the travels of high officials from an area at least once a year if not more frequently. The *tekalif-i shakka* was institutionalized in 1717 (or 1719). On the other hand, the state, instead of giving permission for various taxes on the provincial level, allowed a comprehensive annual provincial tax which was called *imdad-i hazeriye* in peace and the *imdad-i seferiye* during times of war. But this case could not prevent provincial taxes in various forms from being collected. This was shown in the 1780s when the other provincial taxes under various titles were unified and were to be collected semi annually or annually. Yet, even in the end when these taxes were in unified form the same amount was taken as before.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, p.154.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, pp.154-155.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, pp.155-156.

The taxes which were taken for local needs included, first, taxes for courier services. This tax was taken under the name of menzilhane. With this tax the upkeep of the stables and accommodations of the couriers were maintained. The courier's salary was also paid by means of additional menzilhane taxes. Second in the category of the local taxes were those taxes dedicated to the upkeep of the sekbans, who were recruits who formed the reserve garrisons.¹⁰⁷

2.4. Results of Previous Studies which may be used to confirm the Çift-hane

Before passing on to Inalcik's studies on the big farms I would like to mention what work has been done up until this point concerning possible confirmation of the çift-hane units in periods outside of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it is obvious that it existed. It is clear that there are only limited works on this subject.

The only work until this point that has concerned itself directly with this question is an unpublished master thesis by York Norman titled "Reflections of the Cift-hane in Medieval Serbia and Bosnia". Norman however is interested in examining possible çift-hane like units in Serbian and Bosnian lands before the Ottoman conquest. In order to prove the existence of a çift-hane like unit Norman has tried to point an earlier pre-Ottoman precedent to the Ottoman resm-i çift, which he understands as the tax which signifies the existence of the çift-hane unit. In addition to the fact that he only finds çift-hane like units in the Serbian, but not Bosnian lands, we must point out that his conclusions can not directly help us in later nineteenth century studies on the continuity

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p.157.

of the çift-hane. This is due to the fact that, as we have seen in the above section, after the seventeenth century there is no way to confirm the existence of the resm-i çift in the Ottoman records (land registers and surveys, kadi court records, muhimme defters, etc.). So we must look at different ways to prove the possible existence of such units.

For us much more relevant information has been given by Bruce McGowan, whose work Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade, and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800 deals with a case study of western Macedonia between 1620-1830.

We find it very interesting that McGowan says that in the district of Manastir in western Macedonia the tevzi system, or the local reapportionment of taxes, was disrupted under the strain of collecting continual taxes for the meeting the expenses of the army during the Greek war for independence. In 1823 when the tevzi hanes broke down the villages were registered on a çift basis. After that the author says that in the district of Manastir one could witness the emergence of two groups: " (1) Those belonging to the villagers- the so-called 'hane çifts' and (2) those belonging to Muslim third parties- the so-called 'kaza-çifts' ".¹⁰⁸ Without a doubt McGowan's statement does not mean that this was a confirmation of Inalcik's çift-hane, but it does raise some very interesting questions. If this registration was done for practical purposes, as McGowan asserts, could it mean that there was in reality a traditional one family farm unit that had survived. Unfortunately McGowan does not deal with this issue, as his book is published in 1981, that is, before Inalcik had first published his findings under the title of "çift-hane". Thus, without further study and consultation with McGowan and his findings, we can say that a

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p.168.

confirmation of the çift-hane in the districts of Manastir at this time are only a theoretical possibility.

2.5. The Development of the Big Farms

We saw that on the agricultural level the economic basis of the Ottoman empire was founded on the çift-hane units. However besides the çift-hane units there also was the development of big farms, which were large farms under one person's management that developed on devastated land outside the çift-hane lands whose production was geared entirely for the market and whose labor was usually provided by either servile labor or sharecropping.¹⁰⁹ In the following section about the development of big farms and their emergence within the Ottoman land regime, the most important work that needs to be considered is again by Professor Inalcik, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftlik: State , Landlords, and Tenants".¹¹⁰ The main view in the work is that the emergence of Big Farms occurred outside of the çift-hane lands when reclaiming devastated lands.¹¹¹ Using primary sources, Inalcik refutes the capitalistic argument that the big farms in the Ottoman empire developed in connection to European markets.¹¹² The following summary of Inalcik's article will focus on four main topics; first, the big farms within the

¹⁰⁹Inalcik, " Big Farms", p. 108.

¹¹⁰ It should be noted that there are other important works which have not been considered in the following section. These include: Yuzo Nagata, Studies on the Social and Economic History of the Ottoman Empire, Akademi Kitabevi: Izmir, 1995; Yuzo Nagata, "Some Documents on the Big Farms (çiftlik) of the Notables in Western Anatolia", Studia Culturae Islamicae, no.4, Tokyo, 1976, pp. 37-67; Veinstein, Gilles, "On the Çiftlik Debate", in Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East, State University of New York: New York, 1991, pp. 37-53.

¹¹¹Inalcik, " Big Farms" , pp. 108, 109,114.

reclamation process in light of the documents; second, the changes within the miri land regime; third, historiographical background; fourth, specific examples of big farms in Anatolia and in the Balkans according to the documents.

According to Inalcik the most important factor in the emergence of big farms is the reclamation of the devastated lands which originated with mawat lands, the aim in reclamation being to expand the arable lands.¹¹³ These reclaimed lands which had the characteristics of property were to be converted to vakifs or charitable institutions and with the confirmation of the seriat were also expanded to non-Muslims. The method of reclamation in the first stage was to build water channels and prepare the formerly devastated land for cultivation. In the second stage of reclamation one had to receive the confirmation of the Sultan (Imam) and to do this the interested person was to submit a project to the Bab-i Ali for the reclaimed land.¹¹⁴ If the project was accepted, a temlikname, which is a type of ownership document was to be published. Later the most recent situation of the land was to be registered in a mufassal, or detailed tahrir defter. The reclaimed land was to be cultivated when the laborers who were to work on it accepted wage pay. The distribution of the income after production was to be given to the reaya according to an amount determined beforehand.¹¹⁵

Because of the expensive investment required for reclamation the investors generally were high level bureaucrats of the askeri class. Even before the eighteenth century the number of guild masters were few. When the bureaucracy was strong in the

¹¹²*Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹¹³The reclamation method in the Ottoman Empire goes back to its first periods.

¹¹⁴Inalcik, " Big Farms" , p.108.

eighteenth and nineteenth century the formation of a class of investors developed in favor of the bureaucrats.¹¹⁶

Inalcik then shows the conversion of the mawat origin lands in the light of the documents. The document was about a rice cultivation project that was to be made around the village of Yenice in the mid-sixteenth century. The project owners were the Grand Vezir Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and Feridun Ahmed Bey. According to the project, Mehmed Paşa and Feridun Bey were to build a series of dams and channels in order take water from the Sakarya river. Later, the waste lands near the village of Çalti was to be opened to agriculture and by means of the water from the Sakarya river rice was to be grown. The production from the big çiftlik was to be distributed between Feridun Bey, Mehmed Paşa and the reaya. For rice cultivation the peasants were to use the water which was provided by Mehmet Paşa and Feridun Bey. The peasants were paid as wage laborers by the amount determined beforehand. In addition Mehmed Paşa and Ahmed Bey were to meet the necessary expenses for the burning of three candles at the Aksemseddin masoleum, one caravan saray and five fountains which were to be built in the town of Göynük. Mehmed Paşa was also to meet the expenses for the reconstruction of the main caravan road which was ruined by the overflow of the Sakarya river and of building a dam which was near to the village of Nerdivanlu. After the declaration and agreement of these conditions, the Sultan gave his decision about this project through the financial office.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

The other important factor in the development and expansion of the big farms is the changes in the miri land. These changes occurred during the celali disorders at the end of the sixteenth century when many peasants abandoned their farms. The members of the askeri class at that time became the de facto owner of the abandoned lands and consequently they put in place either new people to whom they rented the land, or slaves. Frequently many members of the new land holding class converted the lands to livestock ranches because of the lack of labor. Regardless of these varieties, much of the miri land during the decline of the empire became vakif or private ciftliks due to administrative inefficiency.¹¹⁸

Another change in the miri lands can be seen in the conversion of hali, or mezra type ciftliks into big farms. Hali, or mezra-type lands were actually arable but were not under the reaya's possession with the tapu deed. For this reason this type of land was rented to individuals. This was a custom ever since the early periods of the empire. But during the decline period these types of lands became private properties again because of administrative and registrative inefficiency.¹¹⁹

Still another important point in the emergence of the big farms deal with the changes in the mukataa system. In the seventeenth century at the end of the great fiscal crisis, the financial office rented the miri lands to individuals by lifelong lease. These leases, called malikane, became de facto property. The leasers of the land, called eshab-i mukataa, were in reality middlemen between the state and the reaya. These people

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 111.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p.112.

regions which were particularly exposed to external conditions in the Ottoman empire. The Ottoman land regime, despite the developments in certain areas remained unchanged in its basic çift-hane structure as revealed by current Ottoman documentary evidence."¹²³

One should also not forget the point that the land gifts to the military administrators by the sultan did not effect the emergence of the plantation type big farms. Since the hass timar owners were members of the askeri class they could not go to their hass timars. Instead they collected their incomes by means of a voyvoda or kethuda who were effective among the local people. Thus, the hass timars also did not make any change in the organization of production on the basis of the çift-hane.¹²⁴

In terms of earlier historiography, Inalcik points out that the first information on the development of the big farms come from authors such as Cjivic, Busch-Lanter, and Stoianovich. According to Stoianovich the çiftlik in brief shows the transition from a moderate socio-economic structure to an exaggerated. Here the big farm played an important role in internal colonization. Stoianovich also marks some geographical features for the development of big farms such as being on transportation routes and water ways. In addition Stoianovich says that the influence of the growing external western market was effective in the expansion of the big farms in the Ottoman empire. According to him the places where the big farms expanded in the Balkans at the end of the eighteenth century were "Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, the Maritza valley, Danubian Bulgaria, the Kossova-Metohija basin, the coastal plains of Albania and parts

¹²³Ibid. , p.113.

¹²⁴Ibid. , p. 114.

of Bosnia".¹²⁵ Inalcik says that this type of çiftliks expanded on reclaimed land and that there were similar developments in other parts of the empire such as Egypt, Syria, and the coastal plains of south and western Anatolia.¹²⁶

Inalcik in the last two parts of his work explains the emergence of big farms in two specific regions in the Empire, Western Anatolia and Vidin, in the light of the documents. The first set of documents deal with the big farms in Western Anatolia in the eighteenth century.

The first document from 1815 and 1816 contains lists of properties left after death. These property lists, deal specifically with Hacı Mehmed Ağa who was a tekke mütesellim in Southwestern Anatolia and Kara Osmanzade Hüseyin who was the mütesellim of Saruhan. These people, who were both mütesellims were responsible for collecting the taxes in their respective regions and performing some administrative and financial services for the government. Here Inalcik states "mütesellims were usually selected from among the local notables with influence and wealth, and they, in turn, used their connections with the government in increasing their local influence and wealth, especially in terms of land".¹²⁷

Both of the mütesellim's properties contained arable land, animals, buildings equipment and grain. The worth of the properties for Karaosmanzade was 253.000 kurus and 251.000 kurus. The annual income of Hüseyin's farm was more than in Hacı Mehmed Ağa's farms. The closeness of Hüseyin's çiftliks and the fertility of the land were the

¹²⁵Ibid., p.115.

¹²⁶Ibid., p.115.

¹²⁷Ibid., p.116.

factors that explained the situation here. If we compare the size of the çiftliks, the size of Hüseyin's were between 600 and 1700 dönüms and the size of Mehmed Aga's were between 700 and 13000 dönüm. The worth of the land in Hüseyin's çiftliks was between 11 and 30 kuruş per donum and Mehmed's was between two and four kuruş. In terms of number Mehmed had twelve çiftliks and Huseyin had eight çiftliks of three various sizes, ranging from 150, 250 to 1200 dönüms.¹²⁸

Inalcik then defines the three different types of çiftlik found in Huseyin's properties. In the first type of çiftlik all production and land belonged to the land owner. This type had a standard structure. The çiftlik had everything needed for production, ploughs, wagons, storehouses, etc. The characteristic labor was wage labor and all production belonged to the land owner. Also horse breeding was important in Huseyin's çiftliks. The second type of çiftlik contained some lands which were rented to the reaya and some lands which belonged to the land owner. Of the land rent paid by the reaya sometimes it was taken in kind and sometimes in cash.¹²⁹ The third type of çiftliks included those lands which were rented only to the reaya. This type of farm had an income payment called a muaccele which was an immediate payment made at the time the lease was made.¹³⁰

Another important finding of Inalcik's in this specific case is that besides the land itself the most fundamental part of the (agricultural) çiftlik is the pair of oxen. Inalcik says that, for example on Hüseyin's property one pair of oxen was used for every 140-160

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 117-118.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 119.

donums. In Mehmed's property this averaged differed greatly from one çiftlik to another. In other types of çiftliks however, cattle breeding was the most important type of occupation, as was the case for the çiftliks in Hacilar and Çeltükçü. In explaining this situation Inalcik says that the expensiveness of maintaining agriculture caused the conversion of the farms into cattle or dairy farms. This type of problem was also valid as early as the sixteenth century.¹³¹

The other example that Inalcik gives for the emergence of big farms is in the Vidin area in the Balkans. It is an especially interesting example because the rebellion in this area in 1850 was a direct result of the socio-economic conflict between the big farm owners and the former reaya under the gospodarlik regime, which was a combination of the new çiftlik system with the old Ottoman feudal customs.¹³² Before looking at the taxes within the gospodarlik regime, let us briefly look at the process which allowed this regime to come into existence.

The process which allowed the gospodarlik regime in the area first started with the leasing out of the lands by mukataa. Within the body of miri land the leasing out of state income by mukataa to the individuals is a process which goes back to the early period of the Ottoman empire. In the period between 1760-1850, the European market's demands on the Tuna area and the good transportation in the area caused a new wave of expansion on the lands which earlier were not cultivated but were still fertile. These lands were about the size of a village and were like before rented by mukataa. These were

¹³¹Ibid., p.118. In addition it must be said that in the çiftliks many types of grain were grown the main types being wheat, barley, cotton, and com wheat. Also some part of the çiftliks contained vineyards and fruit gardens.

¹³²Ibid., p. 119-122.

developed into big farms. However since the area geographically was established on the frontier and after a time gained strategic importance, the leasing out of the lands to the non-Muslims, who were a majority in the district was prohibited. This caused the development of a class of Muslim big farm owners, called agas.¹³³

Yet one also has to consider here the old feudal dues, because of the role they also played in overburdening the peasantry. For when the peasants in the area in 1840 rebelled under the influence of the knezes (the name for the Christian notables in the area) who wanted to take over the agas ownership of the big farms, they wanted to eliminate the feudal or corvee services under the gospodarlik regime. As Inalcik states, these services included a combination tax called "ucret-i aradi". But one should also remember Inalcik's explanations about this tax and the other customs.

"The ucret-i aradi or rent on the aghas ciftlik lands was not a simple rent but involved various payments and services which actually were the combination of some old customs. The peasant had to perform for the agha corvee services for two months a year, and deliver a certain portion of his produce, namely 25 okka or 31 kg from each crop he grew, 30-40 okka of maize per cart, one okka cheese for every ten sheep in addition to one cartload of wood or 12 gurus instead, and 3/10 gurus per donum of vineyard.

There were additional dues paid to the aghas for beehives, pasture land, etc. The total sum of all the payments made by the peasant was estimated to be equal to or even

¹³³Ibid., p.120.

greater than the taxes paid to the state. The obligations established by custom for the stewards or agents of the aghas were to be added to all this."¹³⁴

It is at this point that Inalcik puts the role of the Tanzimat reformers into the discussion. First is the fact that the Tanzimat bureaucrats abolished these corvee services. Yet, despite this, after the agas protested against this the reformers then allowed the agas sort out these problems with the peasants without the state's interference. For the agas it was impossible for them to give up their labor units. Eventually as a solution the corvee services were abolished but the amount of the production which was to be given to the agas was to be increased. On the other hand the Tanzimat reformers also strengthening of the agas rights to the land and extended to them the right of inheritance on the land. Thus, the peasantry remained under pressure. A later government report from 1850 confirmed this was exactly the case.¹³⁵

At this time as a solution in the area the abolishment of the gospodarlik regime was suggested and the Tanzimat reformers seemed now to act more in favor of the reaya. The state decided to confiscate the land of the agas but on the other hand the reaya in the area who wanted to have land had to pay an advance payment (muaccele). This advance payment was to be a compensation to the agas whose lands were confiscated. Thus land was then to be given under tapu to the peasantry by the state. This meant turning back to the old cift-hane system. But the peasant wanted to have ownership of the land without paying anything.¹³⁶

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 121.

¹³⁵Ibid., p.122.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 122-123.

Finally at the end of this Vidin section, Inalcik points out that Christo Gandev also studied the rise of the big farms and the relations between the agas and the reaya by looking in detail at the local sources. According to Gandev, the emergence of the big farms occurred as a result of the economic developments in western Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. As a result of these developments the lands had been bought by urban investors in order produce for the Austrian market. Consequently the reaya had been removed from the land and were then employed as wage laborers. Thus the peasant now worked under inferior working conditions.¹³⁷ Inalcik does not confirm Gandev's theory that the big farms arose on the miri land, and instead maintains that, similar to the western Anatolian case, the big farms in Vidin arose on the reclaimed devastated land.¹³⁸

3. The Temettü Defters of the Foça Region: A Case Study of the Gift-Hane and the Big Farms in the mid Nineteenth Century

Now that we discussed the fundamental characteristics of the Temettü Defters and moreover have made a brief overview of both the Ottoman traditional agricultural structure and the development of big farms in its aftermath, it is now time to examine a specific region. The region which I have selected is the Foça Region on the Aegean Coast near İzmir. At the time of the temettü registration the Foça region was part of the eyalet or province of Aydin. The result of this registration are embodied in four defters. These

¹³⁷ibid., p.123.

defters which I now list as the following included not only the villages (karye), and big farms (çiftlik), which I will examine in detail, but also town districts (mahalles) and clannal associations (asirets).

1. Defter number: 1939

Foça-i Atik: -der mahalle-i Cami-i Kebir (pp. 2-44)

([Those living] within the town district of Cami-i Kebir (pp. 2-44))

-der mahalle-i Bad-i Asiyab (pp.46-124)

([Those living] within the town district of Bad-i Asiyab (pp. 46-124)

-der mahalle-i Cebhane (pp. 126-146)

([Those living] within the town district of Cebhane (pp.126-146)

2. Defter number: 1940

Focateyn : -Karye-i Boz (pp. 2-12)

(Village of Boz (pp.2-12))

-Çakmakli Çiftligi Reayalari (pp. 13-17)

(The Reaya of the Big Farm of Çakmakli (pp. 13-17)

-Baltaci Çiftligi (pp. 18-30)

(The Baltaci Big Farm (pp. 18-30))

-Tavsan Çayiri Çiftligi ve Ağillari (pp. 47-57)

(The Tavsan Çayiri Big Farm and its Stables (pp. 47-57))

¹³⁸ibid. , p.124.

-Kürtler Asireti (pp. 62-65)

(The Kürds Aşiret (pp. 62-65))

-Derici Aşireti (pp. 66-68)

(The Derici Asiret (pp. 66-68))

3. Defter number: 1941

Foçateyn: -Karye-i Kozbeyli (pp. 2-48)

(The Village of Kozbeyli (pp. 2-48))

-Karye-i Ilipinar (pp. 49-59)

(The Village of Ilipinar (pp. 49-59))

-Karye-i Şeyh Kebir (pp.61-67)

(The Village of Seyh Kebir (pp.61-67))

4. Defter number : 1942

Foça-i Cedid : -der mahalle-i Seyyid Ali (pp.2-15)

([Those living] within the town district of Seyyid Ali (pp. 2-15))

-der mahalle-i Cami-i Kebir (pp. 16-69)

([Those living] within the town district of Cami-i Kebir (pp.16-69))

-der mahalle-i Bad-i Asiyab (pp. 70-113)

([Those living] within the town district of Bad-i Asiyab (pp.70-113))

The overriding reason why I have selected these defters is the fact, as we have seen in earlier studies on the ciftlik question, such as Halil Inalcik and Yuizo Nagata, that it is precisely in this area that the commercialization of agriculture was alleged to have taken place during roughly this time period. Taking into consideration the arguments which revolve around this question, we hope through the use of statistical data taken from these defters to help resolve this issue.¹³⁹ More specifically I would like to examine two main issues. The first is to consider whether the cift-hane unit, which Inalcik has defined, has survived in the region and if so in what form did it survive. The second issue deals with the big farms in the district of Foca especially concerning its commercial or allegedly economic, liberal character. In another words were the big farms really a product of the Western oriented market and what were the socio-economic effects of such big farms.

3.1 Traces of theÇift-Hane and its Possible Partial Survival

In regards to the first subject, that of the possible survival of the cift-hane, one is first drawn to the question of what a cift-hane unit may have look like in these defters. I take the following as a possible example.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ I wish to acknowledge that I have taken Tevfik Güran as a model for my statistical tables. Again I would like to emphasize that I am grateful to him for all of the help that he has given to me during the course of my thesis.

¹⁴⁰ Focateyn Kazasi Temettü Defterleri (No. 1941), p.23.

I. Hane:51 Numara:100 (Household: 51 Number:100)

Mehmed ođlu Ali'nin olan emlaki (The property of Ali son of Mehmed)

II. Erbab-i ziraatden oldugu (farmer)

Sene- sabikada vermiş olduđu virgüsü: 148 kuruş (The amount of tax given the previous year:148 kuruş)

Asar ve rusumat sene-i sabikada vermiş olduđu bir senede (The tithes and customs which he gave the previous year):

Hinta.....:6, Kuruş:27 (Wheat.....:6, Kuruş:27)

Şa'ir.....:10, Kuruş:20 (Barley.....:10, Kuruş:20)

Burçak.....:3, Kuruş:15 (Vetch (a fodder grain).....:3, Kuruş:15)

Siyah Üzüm kantar:1.5, Kuruş:93 (Kantars of black grapes:1.5, Kuruş:93)

Revgan-i Zeyt kiyye:3, Kuruş:12 (Kiyyes of olive oil:3, Kuruş:12)

Yekun:167 kuruş (Total:167 kuruş)

III. Tarla-i mezru dönüm:93 (Cultivated land:93 dönüms)

Hasilat-i Seneviyesi:558 sene:60 (Annual income:558 year:60

322 sene:61 322 year:61

980 kuruş 980 kuruş)

Bag donum:5 (Vineyard:5 dönüms)

Hasilat-i Seneviyesi:837 sene:60 (Annual income:837 year:60

793 sene:61 793 year:61

1630 kuruş 1630 kuruş)

Zeytun eşcari:15 (olive trees:15)

Hasilat-i Seneviyesi:108 sene:60 (Annual income:108 year:60

12 sene:61

12 year:61

120 kuruş

120 kuruş

Öküz (re's):2 (head of oxen:2)

Bargir(re's):1 (head of asses:1)

IV. Mecmuundan bir senede tahminen temettuati:1365 kurus

(Approximate annual profit:1365 kurus)

Remembering that as we concluded in the first chapter the hane as a demographic unit is very limited, and therefore can not be readily applied to the example. The main features we can see deal with the amount of land, the number of oxen, the type of agricultural production and the taxes which the subject example paid. Here we see that the amount of land used for grain production was 93 dönüms, which largely fits the definition of dönüms which Inalcik has given for the size of the classical "reaya çiftlik". Likewise, we find that this Ali son of Mehmed had exactly two oxen, yet considering the in kind asar taxes which he paid, one sees that only a portion of his asar and rusumat taxes (in kind) he paid the previous year, fifty of his production of 167 kuruş, accounted for grain production. In addition, the taxes which were given, especially the virgü-y-i mahsusa, can not of course be interpreted in any way as reflecting the resm-i çift, which signifies the classical çift-hane. Certainly such an example does not "prove" the existence of the çift-hane but it does raise some very interesting questions. For instance, it is true that only a part of this example's production was dedicated to grain products. One still

wonders what became of the two oxen which he owned and it is interesting that the amount of cultivated land fell into the same pattern. Could it possible be that these oxen were used for grain production outside of this farmer units and also could it be that the amount of cultivated land corresponded to the average land of the agricultural producer at the time? To answer these questions we must, of course, look at the population of the district as a whole, consulting the statistical data which we have found.

The first thing that I would like to point out is the fact that, contrary to the example I have given, the Foça region was largely oriented to grain produce. Although I want to qualify the absolute accuracy of “Table no.1: The Main Occupations of the Heads of the Hanes on the Village Level” and “Table no.2: The Composition of Agricultural Production according to the Occupation of the Heads of the Hanes on the Village Level” because of their reliance on the inconsistent hane, I believe that we still learn that, as table no.1 shows, the vast majority of those recorded within the villages were farmers and that, according to table no.2, the a relative majority of the agricultural production was grain production.

After seeing that the Foça region represents a suitable type of agricultural production in order to examine cift-hane unit we may pass to more reliable statistics. The first and perhaps the most provocative chart is “Table no.3: The Distribution of Different Sizes of Agricultural Producers: The Çift-hane Units”.

For here we are able to analyze the average amount of land and average amount of oxen per farming unit on the village level in the Foça region. To be sure the average amount of land and average amount of oxen do not fully fit the classical model of two

oxen and 50-150 dönüms. For instance we find that of the 66 farming units in Kozbeyli the average amount of land was 73.2 dönüms and the average amount of oxen was 1.3 per unit. Likewise the average amount for the 14 farm units in the village of Giran was 43.1 donums and had an average of 2.5 oxen and the average amount of land for village of Şeyh Kebir was 33.8 dönüms and had an average of 1.6 oxen (the village of Boz having nearly identical averages with the village of Seyh Kebir).

Yet, the example of Ilipinar had much more suitable average, having 76.5 dönüms as an average amount of land and the average amount of oxen being exactly 2. Since we understand that according to table no.2 grain production was well over 60 percent of the total agricultural production of village of Ilipinar, one may possibly see here the kind of rough correspondence to the “çift” and “çiftlik” as a measurement which McGowan as we noted above, found in the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkans. Moreover the fact that the other villages did not correspond fully to the classical measurements of çifts and çiftlik, it does not mean that there was no çift-hane for as we noted in chapter two, while there were also full çift-hane units, there were also nim çifts and other smaller proportions. Additionally one also may argue that there may have been a partial deterioration of the agricultural structure in the area and that further statistical evidence is needed.

Regarding “Table no.4: The Distribution of the Amount of Land for the Agricultural Producers on the Village Level, 1844-45” we may start to understand whether the proportion of cultivated land corresponded to the classical amount (albeit varying) for the çift-hane units, namely between 60-120 dönüms. We admit that the

temettu defters (1844-45) for Foca do not register the quality of the land except for the designation of cultivated land (mezru tarla) and uncultivated land (gayri mezru tarla), and therefore we can not full accuracy determine whether the proportions were suitable. Still some rough estimates I believe can be made. The most important proportion we are looking for therefore is the amount of land from 61 to 120 donums which would by and large correspond with the full reaya ciftlik measurement. Of course, in some of the villages in our sample the proportion of such measurement is fairly low. For instance, while the village of Kozbeyli has a proportion only of 12% (61-80, 4% ; 81-100, 8%), that of Giran 14% (61-80, 14%) and that of Ilipinar 14.5 (61-80, 6.5% ; 81-100, 3% ; 101-120, 5%), two of our villages have significant proportion which falls into our category. This can be seen for example in the village of Boz where the proportion is 25% (61-80, 16.5% ; 81-100, 9%) but especially in the village of Seyh Kebir where the proportion is at an extremely high 66% (61-80, 46% ; 81-100, 20%) (again it should be noted that the grain production in the village of Seyh Kebir is majority of the agricultural production, amounting to 60% of the total agricultural production according to table no.2). This may again signify that the ciftlik as a unit may have been used as a measurement of land capable for one grain producing farm unit to use. Still it is obvious that the results are very mixed and require further examination of a possible deterioration. This can be found in "Table no.5: The Distribution of the Amount of Land for the Agricultural Producers According to the Number of Producers on the Village Level, 1844-45". Here we are interested in two main categories. First, of course, is the number of producers between 61-120 donums, which would correspond with the ciftlik category. And second we are

interested in the proportion of the landless peasant as well as those number of producers with 121+ donums, which may indicate a deterioration of the standard family farm units. First, in regards to the possible çiftlik-holders an average proportion is represented by Boz 12.5%, Kozbeyli 13.5% and Ilipinar 12%, while Giran has a tiny proportion of 2.5%. Not surprisingly, the village of Şeyh Kebir again stands out at a proportion of 24%, indicating again that the proportion of grain producing landholders of the theoretical çiftliks was dominant here. As a general rule however we must conclude that the overall proportion of “reaya çiftlik holders” was relatively small, although definitely not insignificant.

As for the second category, that of the landless peasant and the large land owners, the results are perhaps more clear, with the exception of Kozbeyli where the percent of landless was only 1% and Ilipinar small proportion of 12.5%. The other villages have high percentages, Giran (66%), Seyh Kebir (24%), and Boz (30%). Likewise the large landowners are generally existent, although often having a quite small proportion, which indicates again a polarization of land holdings into large landholders and those of negligible amounts. Typical examples of this can be seen in village of Giran which in contrast to its huge proportion of landless peasants had only 2% of the amount of agricultural producers owning 121+ dönüms, as well as Boz 2%. Other villages do not have give the same impression since their proportion of large landholders is much higher, dwarfing their own number of landless this can be seen in the village of Ilipinar where the category of owners of 121+ dönüms was 27% (in contrast to 12.5% landless) as well as Kozbeyli where 19% of the number of agricultural producers owned 121+ dönüms (in

contrast to 1% landless). The one anomalous example is the village of Seyh Kebir where there was no owners of land above 121+dönüms (In contrast to 22.5% landless). In reflection, we must again admit that no great proof of the cift-hane can be made regarding the statistical evidence we have gathered. Rather the results are mixed, for we find only traces; namely the possible existence of the reaya ciftlik as a unit of measurement for grain producing areas and the rough correspondence of the average of number of oxen on the village level. But to better understand these mixed results and to possibly explain the factors behind them we now wish to pass to the examination of the big farms in the Foca region.

3.2 A Study of the Big Farms in Foça

Before we start to make a statistical analysis similar to what we have done in order to examine the cift-hane in the Foça region, it is necessary to look at a concrete example of a ciftlik registered in this region. I have chosen the big farm of Baltici as an example. The following is an transcription of the registration:

I. Hane:1 Numara:1 (Household:1 Number:1)

Tüccar-i muteberandan Baltaci Manulaki Çiftligi (The big farm of the merchant notable Baltaci Manulaki)

II. Ashab-i Çiftlikattan olduđu (Possesor of a big farm)

Ashab-i çiftlikatin çiftliğinde mütemekkin reayanın mecmuunun maktuan bir senede virgüsü:1400 kuruş (The total one year fixed tax of the reaya who are residing on this farm of the big farm owner: 1400 kuruş)

Mersum Sifle Sancagında medine-i İzmir'de Frenk mahallesi sakinlerinden Baltacı Manulaki dimekle meşhur olup yalnız Foçateyn Kazasında olan emlaki yazılmış olduğu (The above mentioned non muslim Baltacı Manulaki who is one of residents of the Frenk district in the city of İzmir in the province of Sifle has only been registered property in the Foça district.)

Aşari rüsumattan olarak sene-i sabıkada ve bir senede vermiş (The tithes and customs which he gave the previous year):

Hinta.....: 1738, Kuruş: 7822, Kıymet: 4.5 kuruş (Wheat.....:1738, Kuruş:7822, Worth:4.5 kuruş

Şa'ir.....: 97.5, Kuruş:195, Kıymet:2 kuruş (Barley.....: 97.5, Kuruş: 195, Worth :2 kuruş

Nohud.....:35, Kuruş: 175, Kıymet: ,5 kuruş (Chickpea.....:35, Kuruş:175, Worth : 5 kuruş

Burçak.....:62.5, Kuruş:312.5, Kıymet:5 kuruş (Vetch (a fodder grain).....:62.5, Kuruş:312.5, Worth: 5 kuruş

Duhan kıyye:10, Kuruş:50, Kıymet:5 (Kıyyes of tobaccos: 10, Kuruş:50, Worth:5)

Hinta.....:240, Kuruş:1080 (Wheat.....:240, Kuruş:1080)

Sa ir.....:48, Kuruş:96 (Barley.....:48, Kuruş:96)

Burcak.....:16, Kuruş:80 (Vetch.....:16, Kuruş:80)

Yekun:9554.5 (Total: 9554.5

1256 1256

10810.5 kuruş 10810.5 kuruş)

III. Mezru Tarla dönüm:5000 (Cultivated land:5000 dönüms)

Hasilat-i Seneviyesi: 95545 sene:60 (Annual income:95545 year:60

80000 sene:61 80000 year:61

175545 175545

Öşrü tenzil :17554.5 reduction for the tithe:17554.5

157990 0.5 para 157990 0.5 para

Zikrat-i ma'lûmü'lesami (the reduction for the shares of the above

şüreka hisseleri tenzil : 78995 mentioned sharecroppers:78995 kuruş)

Vakf (Pious Endowment)

Müstecir olduğu Paşa Çiftliği (The Tenant of the Pasa big farm)

Mezru tarla dönüm:1500 (Cultivated land: 1500 dönüms)

Hasilat-i Seneviyesi: 12560 sene:60 (Annual income: 12560 year:60

10000 sene:61 10000 year:61)

22560 kuruş 22560 kuruş)

Öşrü tenzil : 2256 (reduction for the tithe: 2256)

20304 kuruş 20304kuruş

Zikrat-i ma'lûmu'lesami (the reduction for the shares of the

şüreka hissesi tenzil : 10152 above mentioned sharecroppers:10152)

İcara vermiş olduğu sağman ve boz koyun: 500 (Grey and milking sheep rented out
(by Manulaki):500

(Sirek köylü Ebostol Kahya timurbasi itibariyle 300 ağnam ve Menemenli
Tolakli.....Kahyada 200 ağnam timurbaş itibariyle icara vermiş)

(The number of 300 head of sheep were rented to Ebostol Kahya from the village of
Sirek and 200 head of sheep were rented toKahya from Menemen)

Bedel-i icar-i seneviyesi:2500 kuruş (The annual worth of the rent: 2500kuruş)

IV. Mecmuundan bir senede tahminen temettuati : 91647kuruş 10 para (Approximate
annual profit:91647 kuruş 10 para)

Bervech-i bala zikrati ma'lumu'l esami şureka hissesi tenzil: 44573kuruş 25 para

(The reduction for the shares of the above mentioned sharecroppers: 44573 kuruş 25
para)

47073 Kuruş 25 para

(47073Kurus 25 para)

When considering the information from this example, the first thing that we must discuss is some particular words which are used. The first of these is the title “ashab-i çiftlikat” (possessor of a big farm). Similar to the words “şeriki”, “şureka”, or “şirket”, which means “sharecropper”, the word “ashab-i çiftlikat” obviously has a special meaning in this defter, for every time ashab-i çiftlikat is mentioned in the defter there is a listing of various dependents, sharecroppers, dependents, sharecroppers and others who are connected to this “big farm owner”. For example, although we have not transcribed it,

there are 43 sharecroppers, 18 servants and 10 shepherds who were recorded in both the big farm which Baltici Manulaki owned as well as the Paşa big farm which he rented from the pious endowment (vakif). This registration continues for twelve pages and makes up a separate section of the registration.

The second word which we should note is “tüccar-i muteberandan” which means “merchant notable”. Although we can only understand what his activity was from the profits and incomes which were recorded here, the mere fact that he was also noted to be a resident of a European (Frenk) district (mahalle) in the city of İzmir is revealing. If we look at the register for the Frenk Mahalle in Izmir , we can estimate, as we have seen many times in the earlier 1840 temettu defters for the European districts for Izmir, many other non Muslim former Ottoman subjects were recorded as being under the protection of a European great power. And therefore they enjoyed that power’s patronage when carrying out their economic activities.

The final special terminology that I would like to discuss is the words “şerik”, “şüreka”, “şirket” which are mentioned in the above example. These words, as we noted above all meant “sharecropper” but their importance is clear when it is found out that a very large proportion of the peasants who are recorded in the big farms as well as some in the villages, for instance in the village of Giran. They, as the word sharecropper suggests paid a fixed proportion of their crop to the “master” they worked for . What is significant is the that a large proportion of the sharecroppers encountered in the registers for the Foca region was non-Muslim.

Turning to the specific information in the example, the most significant fact does not seem to lie in the vast extent of his holdings, namely his farms (both owned and

rented), herds and all the workers registered with them. But instead in the type of crops which were raised in these holdings. As we can see the most important type of agricultural production which was recorded for Baltici Manulaki was grain production. This can be seen when one totals the amount of grain which was recorded in “the tithes and customs which he gave the previous year” (section II). Here, in connection to the agricultural production on his own farm, the largest part by far is wheat, which comes to a total of 7822 kuruş, which, if we multiply by ten makes a total annual wheat production of 78,220 kuruş. Moreover, within the farm that Manulaki rented, the Pasa big farm, the worth of the wheat grown is also the largest single item. (1080 kuruş as the tithe and therefore 10,800 kuruş as annual production. Of course it should also be noted that other grain production, such as barley and vetch, are also listed in significant amounts. But the main point is to stress that wheat was especially important for the internal Ottoman market and does not seem to reveal a “western oriented trade”. The question is then, what were the characteristics of the other çiftlik in the region, namely did they have a similar social and economic structure and were they as a whole oriented to internal or international markets? It must be admitted that, like what we have found for the “çift-hane units”, the results we will show in the following pages are not fully conclusive. They provide no final answers but hopefully will help in later, more advanced studies.

The first charts we wish to look at are the tables relating to the main occupations of the heads of the hanes (table no. 6) as also Table no. 7, “the Composition of Agricultural Production according to the Occupation of the Heads of the Hanes on the Big Farm Level, 1844-45”. Briefly, the main point about the information contained in both of these charts is that obviously farming was the main occupation on the big farms

(as seen in table no. 6) and that except for Cakmakli Çiftliđi (where only 18% of the heads of the hanes main occupation within agricultural production was grain production, 82% being vineyards and gardens), all of the other registered big farms , namely Tavşan Çayiri Çiftligi, Menemenli Sokes Bezirgan Çiftligi and Baltaci Çiftliđi all are oriented towards grain production (Tavsan Çayiri Çiftliđi 80% grain production, Menemenli Sökes Bezirgan Çiftligi and Baltaci Çiftliđi being 100% grain production on the hane level). Of course this picture is not fullt accurate since it takes only “hane” designation into account, as we see in the 100% figure for grain production for the Baltaci Çiftliđi. As we witnessed in the above mentioned analysis of the Baltaci Çiftliđi we know that there were numerous shepherds (coban)who were also recorded. The point is however, that these shepherds were not recorded as separate “hanes” but under separate “numaras”. Thus the deficcieny is explained. Still, as we may confirm from our specific example, generally the information from this table is correct.

Now that we have established that the main agricultural rproduction on the big farm level was grain production, we may now point to “Table no. 8: The Distribution of Different Sizes of Agricultural Producers: The Big Farms”. This chart, when compared to the similar table for the village level (table no. 3), we discovered that the average measurement of land and oxen in no way corresponde to possible reaya ciftlik units. For instance, the average amount of land for the four grain-producing oriented big farms (Baltaci, Menemenli, Tavsan Çayiri, and one big farm in the village of Kozbeyli) are all far above the traditional donum amount (hundreds of dönüms apiece) and the average amount of oxen in no way corresponding to the two per household number that we would

expect to see. Thus we may conclude that there were no “hidden” çift-hane units under the big çiftlik name.

Moving on to “Table no. 9: The Distribution of the Amount of Land for the Agricultural Producers on the Big Farm Level, 1844-45”, we are able to obtain only the obvious fact that the amount of land as units on these big farms were above 121 donums, that is, the big farms again were not registered as collections of smaller plots of land. This serves only to confirm our earlier conclusion from table no. 8.

Much more revealing is “Table no. 10: The Distribution of the Amount of Land for the Agricultural Producers according to the number of Producers on the Big Farm Level, 1844-45’. This is because of the extremely high level of agricultural producers on the big farm level. This is seen especially in Çakmakli, Menemenli and Tavşan Çayiri, where the proportion of landless is 63%, 71.5%, and 89.5% respectively. When looking at the defters specifically, these statistics reveal a very high proportion of sharecroppers. That this phenomenon was not just tied to the big farms is seen when we compare the results of this table with those of table no. , especially for the village of Giran which also has an extremely high proportion of landless, and as the defters also show mainly were sharecroppers.

Before we conclude our study we would like to first examine the tables relating to the proportion of taxes taken on both the village and the big farm level in the region of Foca. We have not touched on this subject in the earlier çift-hane section because, as we have noted above, the taxes taken could not have corresponded to the pre-Tanzimat traditional taxes and thus could not prove the continuity of the çift-hane in this way. However, the proportion of these taxes even during this reform period reveal certain

socio-economic developments. For when we compare the results of “Table no. 11: The Distribution of the Proportion of Taxes on the Village Level (as a whole) in the Region of Foca, 1844-45” and Table no. 12: The Distribution of the Proportion of Taxes on the Village Level in the Region of Foca (by specific example) in the Region of Foca, 1844-45” with similar tables for the big farm level (tables no. 13 and 14), we see that the proportion of taxes differs both on the village and on the big farm level. For instance, on the village level one sees that the proportion of virguy-i mahsusa and in kind asar and rusumat represent very high proportions (virguy-i mahsusa 48% and asar and rusumat (in kind) 47%) as seen in table no. 11 and the amounts of asar and rusumat taken in cash is very low. While it is true that the proportion of cizye is also low on the village level, it should be remembered that all of the villages with the exception of Giran were almost entirely Muslim.

In contrast the distribution of taxes on the big farm level as a whole, as seen in table no. 13, reveals a different picture. While the asar and rusumat (in kind) remain as a high proportion (56%), the virguy-i mahsusa is much reduced (12%). At the same time the two other categories of taxes increased, the asar and rusumat (in cash) increasing to 17% and the cizye rising to fifteen percent. Trying to account for these differences is largely complicated by the fact that the proportion of taxes is much more mixed on the big farm level, the various big farms having different proportions from each other. Some of them, such as Tavsan Çayiri Çiftliği, have a high proportion of in cash asar and rusumat, while Menemenli, on the other hand, has no asar and rusumat (in cash) and a huge 88% proportion of in kind asar and rusumat. While both of these big farms have no amount of virguy-i mahsusa and yet contrast greatly with Çakmaklı Çiftliği whose proportion of

virguy-i mahsusa is 36%. Moreover, none of the big farms have proportions of all of the types of taxes on the big farm level except for Baltaci Ciftligi (10% virguy-i mahsusa, 12% cizye, 68% aşar and rüsumat (in kind), and 10% aşar and rüsumat (in cash)). About the only consistent proportion among the big farms is the cizye, which represented a significant, although smaller proportion, among all of the big farms (Tavşan Çayiri 20.7%, Menemenli 12%, Çakmakli 12%, Baltaci 12%) Beyond this, unfortunately, there is no general rule to draw about the proportions on the big farm level. One may also think that perhaps those samples at both the village and big farm level which had high proportions of landless (sharecroppers) might have had some common characteristics. If one looks at the village level, only in the village of Giran was there a high proportion of landless. There is no real similar case among the sharecropper dominated big farms except for Çakmakli Ciftliđi, which, in terms of proportions of taxes, seems roughly similar (Giran: virguy-i mahsusa 42%, cizye 12%, and aşar and rüsumat (in kind) 40%; Çakmakli: virguy-i mahsusa 36%, cizye 12%, aşar and rüsumat (in kind) 52%). Unfortunately, the type of agricultural production is not, since when we consult the tables dealing with the types of production (tables nos. 2 and 7), we see that Giran is almost entirely producing grain (88% of the agricultural production) and Çakmakli only produces 18% grain. Thus, even here, unfortunately, we cannot draw any firm result.

Similar to our conclusions about the possible continuity of the çift-hane, I have only been able to find traces, not proof of the features of the big farms in the Foça region. One can see that, since grain production is such a high production of the agricultural production and that grain production largely was for local markets and not for any emergent world economy, only limited evidence can be found for Inalcik's argument that

the big farms had an essentially conservative nature remaining even in the middle of the nineteenth century within the Ottoman land regime of state control. It also seems apparent that while there were important socio-economic developments in the rural economy after the classical period, as we can see with the large landless sharecropper class in Foca, there does not seem to be a full domination of the big farms vis-à-vis the small landholder. Therefore, it also seems likely that the remains of the “reaya çiftlikleri” and the more lively “big çiftlikleri” coexisted.

3.4. Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Studies

In light of Professor Halil İnalcık's studies about the çift-hane system and the big farms, this thesis, which was based on the temettu tahrir defterleri for the region of Foçateyn, has ended. I hope that I have made some contributions to understanding the rural social and economic structure of this region in the mid nineteenth century. Moreover, it is also hoped that this thesis can in some sense compliment the pioneering results which Professor Tevfik Güran has achieved from the temettu tahrir defterleri for the province of Filibe.

More specifically, this thesis has attempted to lay the foundations for further studies by emphasizing a single historical problem. Along these lines I have tried in the first two chapters to describe both the aspects of the temettu¹ defterleri as a whole and summarize İnalcık's ideas about the survival of the çift-hane and the effects of the development of big farms. It is hoped that with the new statistical information given in

the third chapter, this path of study can be expanded to other parts of the Ottoman empire where temettu defters exist.

There are many areas where this study can be expanded to provide useful comparisons. Geographically different regions could be examined, such as the inland regions of Anatolia, important river basins like the Danube region in the Balkans, or some of the more remote mountainous regions of the empire. Regions with a more mixed or larger Non-Muslim community could also be studied and compared with the Muslim dominated region of Foca. A region with a poorer level of prosperity may also be considered. However, I hope to make a broader study of the Aegean region by studying a larger more developed urban area, such as Bursa. The rich amount of temettü defters which are available for Bursa may be used for this purpose.

Table no. 1: The Main Occupations of the Heads of the Hanes on the Village Level, 1844-45

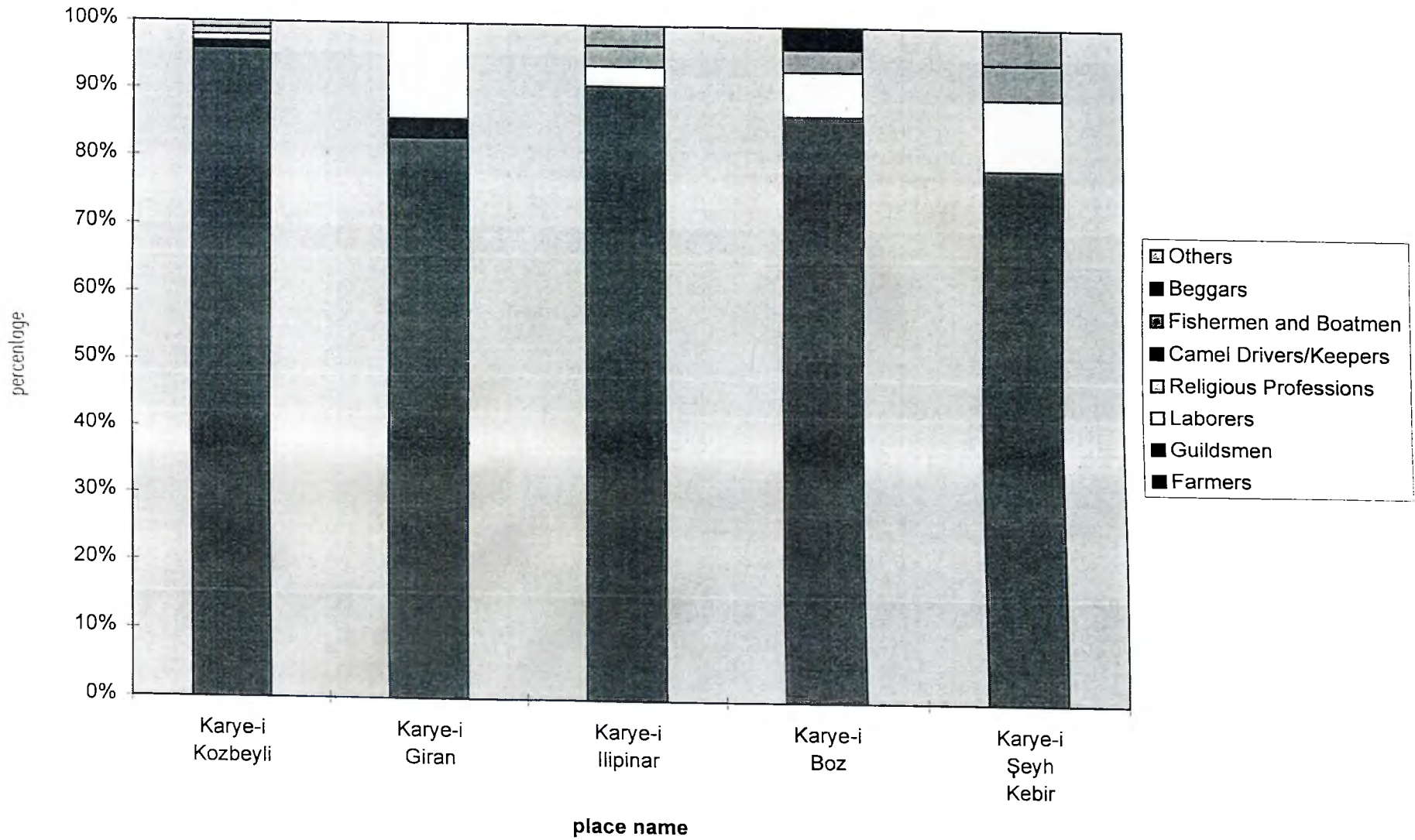


Table no. 2 : The Composition of Agricultural Production according to the Occupation of the Heads of the Hanes on the Village Level, 1844-45

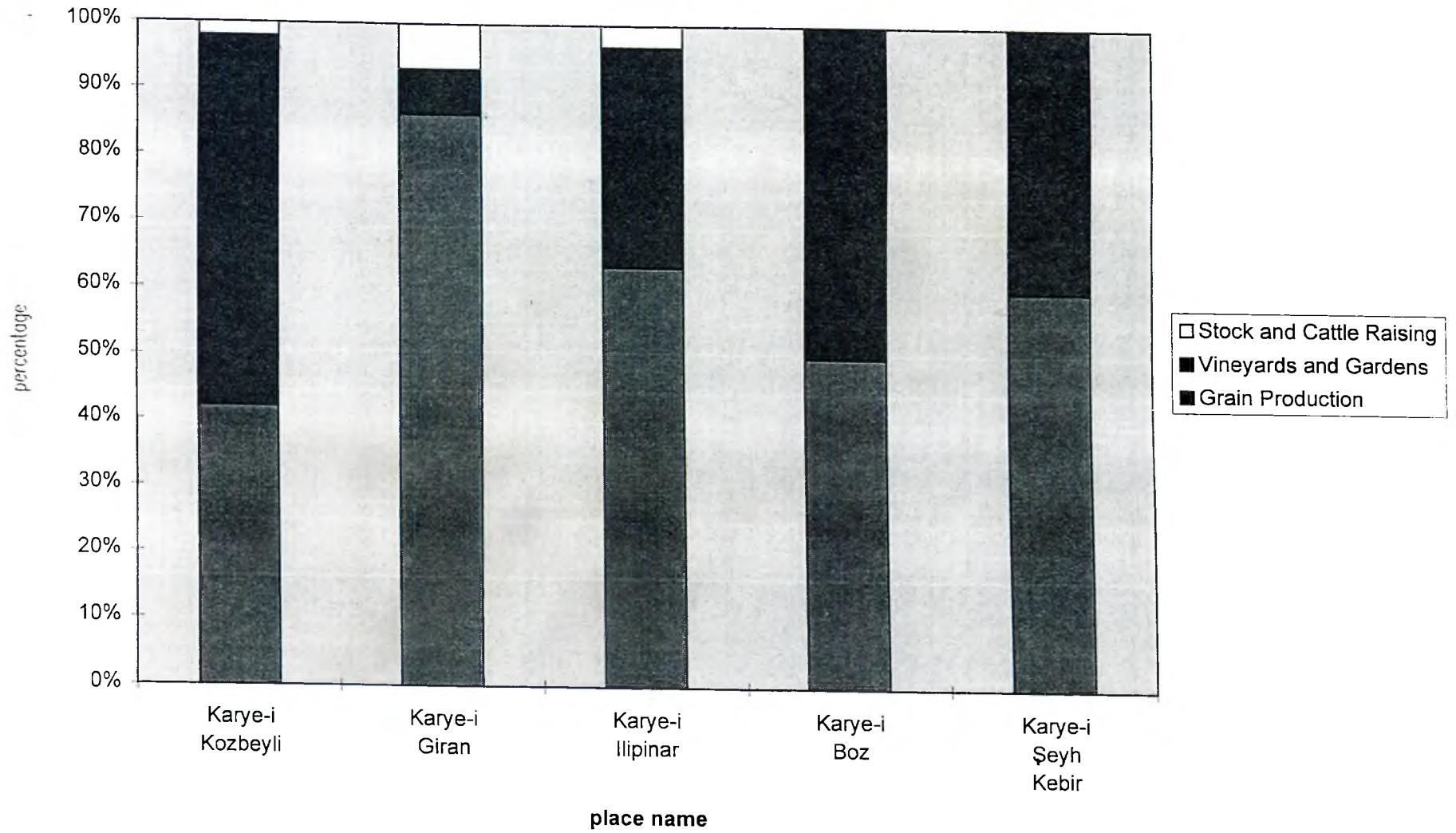


Table no. 3 : The Distribution of Different Sizes of Agricultural Producers: The Çift-Hane Units

	number of farming units	average amount of land (donums)	average amount of oxen (cift)
Karye-i Kozbeyli	66	73.2	1.3
Karye-i Giran	14	43.1	2.5
Karye-i Ilipinar	28	76.5	2
Karye-i Boz	22	39.3	1.6
Karye-i Şeyhi Kebir	13	36.8	1.6

Table no. 4 : The Distribution of the Amount of Land for the Agricultural Producers on the Village Level, 1844-45

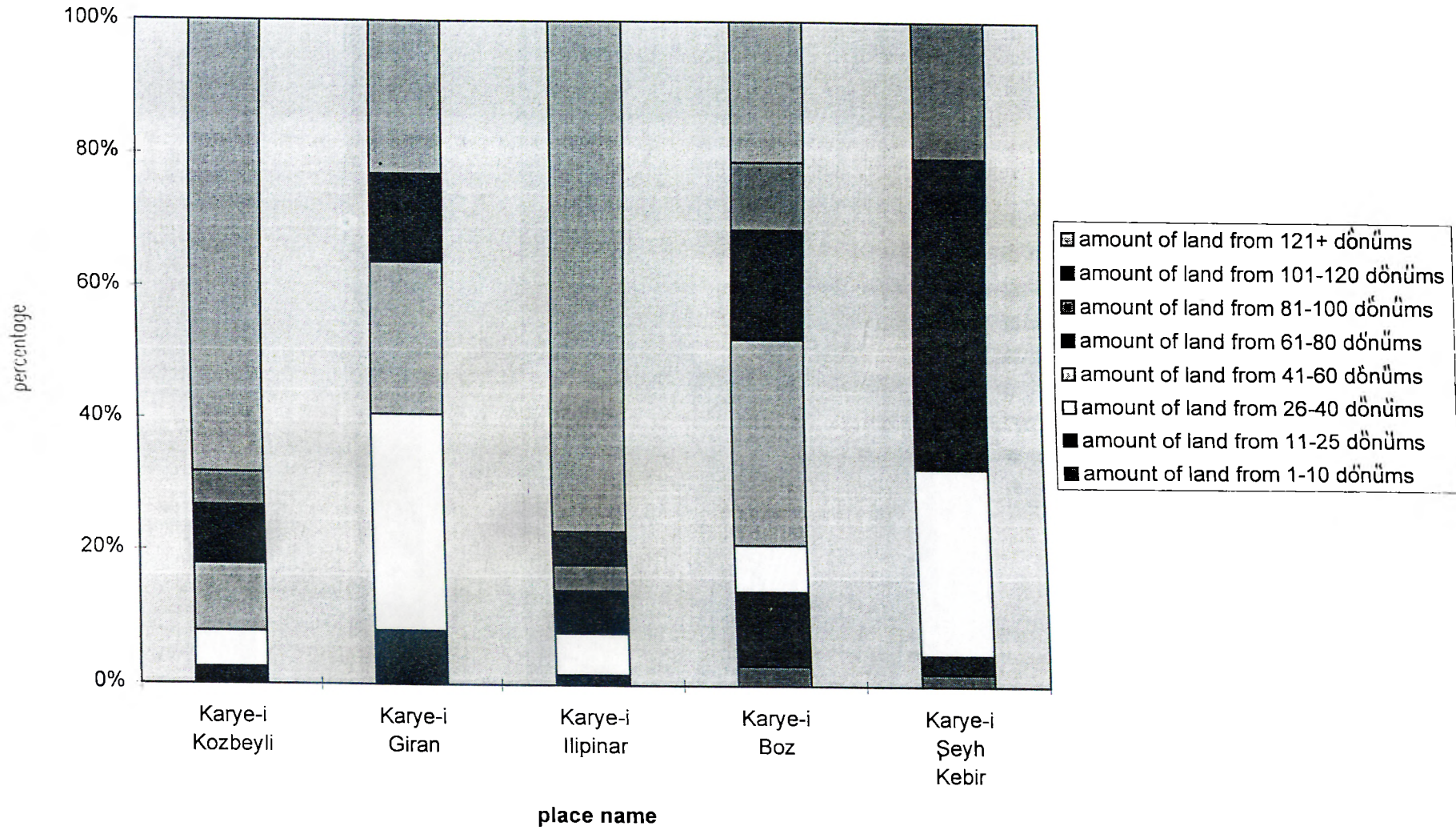


Table no. 5: The Distribution of the Amount of Land for the Agricultural Producers according to the Number of Producers on the Village Level, 1844-45

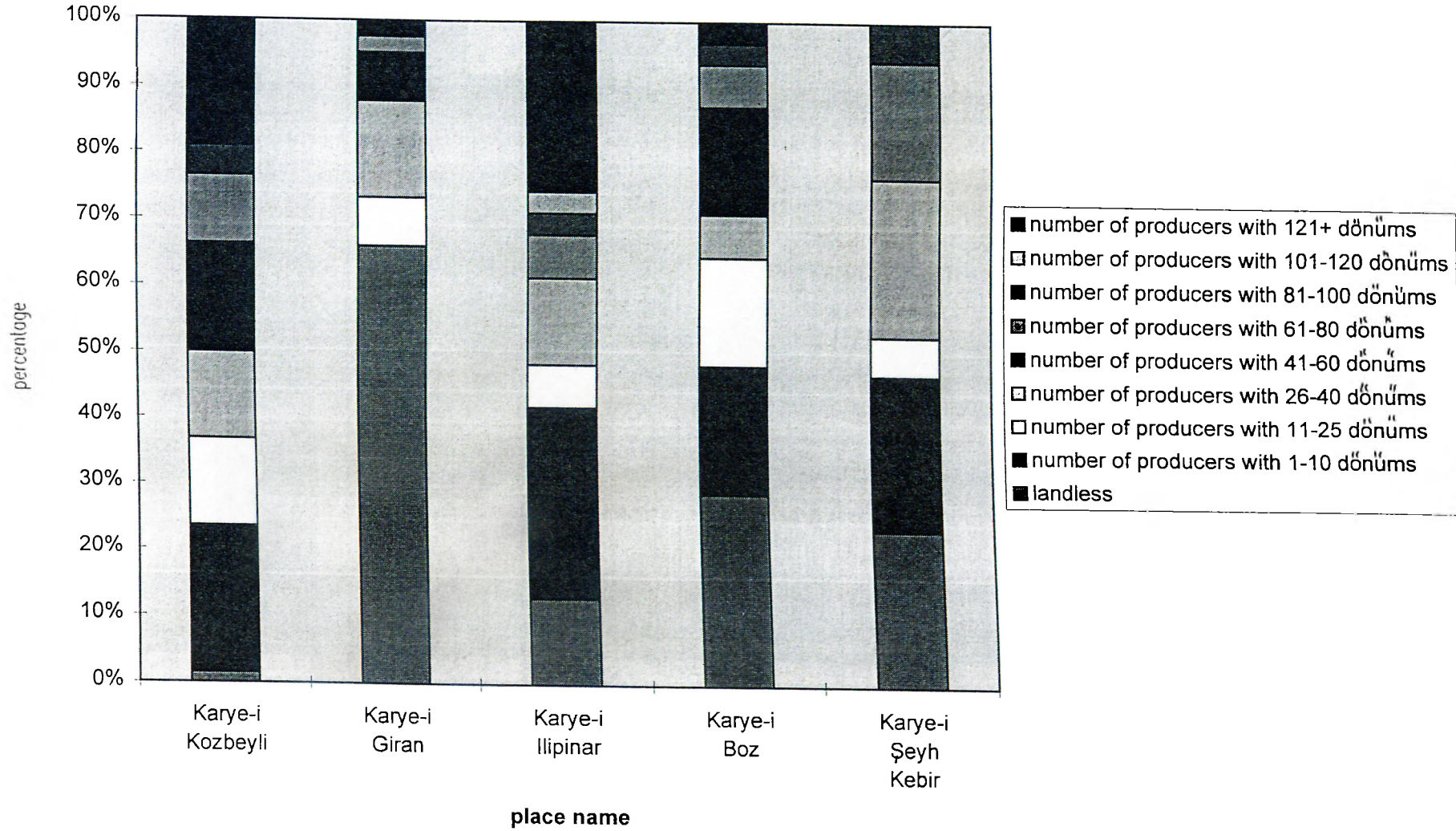


Table no. 6 : The Main Occupations of the Heads of the Hanes on the Big Farm Level, 1844-45

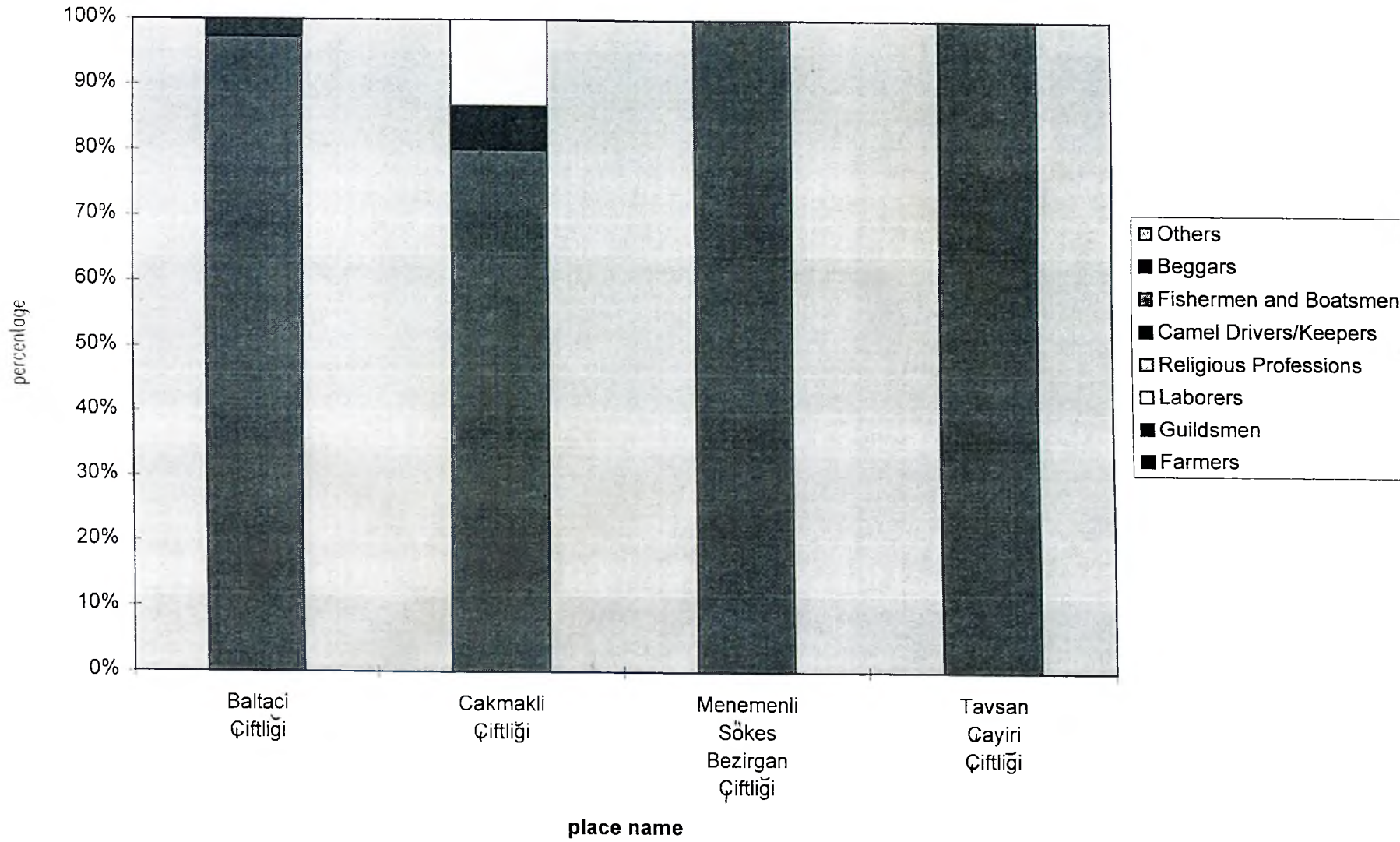


Table no. 7: The Composition of Agricultural Production according to the Occupation of the Heads of the Hanes on the Big Farm Level, 1844-45

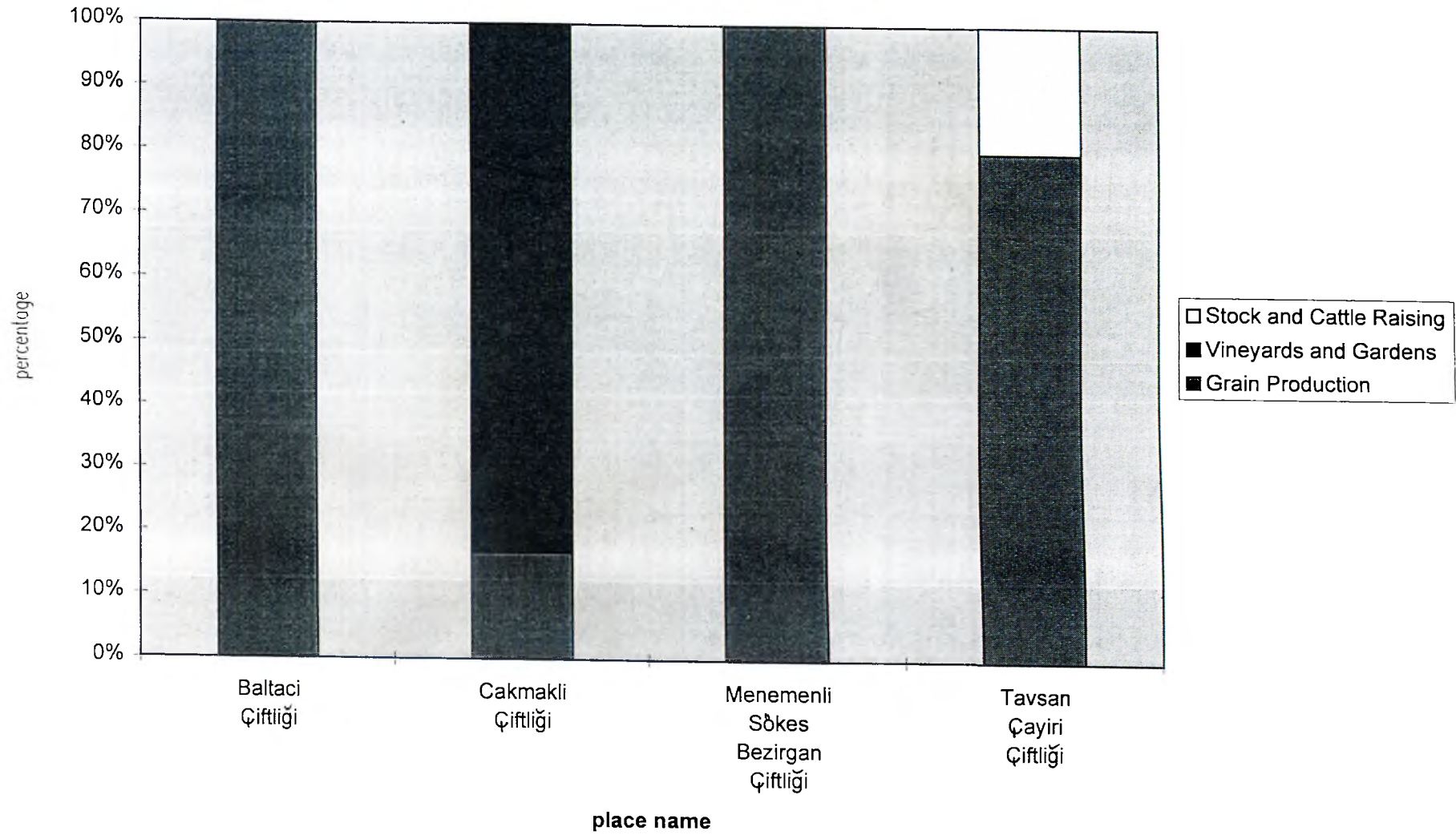


Table no. 8 : The Distribution of Different Sizes of Agricultural Producers: The Big Farms

	number of farming units	average amount of land (donums)	average amount of oxen (cift)
Karye-i Kozbekli	1	954	0
Baltaci Çiftliği	1	2500	1.5
Çakmaklı Çiftliği	0	0	0
Sökes Bezirgan Çiftliği	1	828	0
Tavsan Çayiri Çiftliği	2	1800	0

Table no.9 : The Distibution of the Amount of Land for the Agricultural Producers on the Big Farm Level, 1844-45

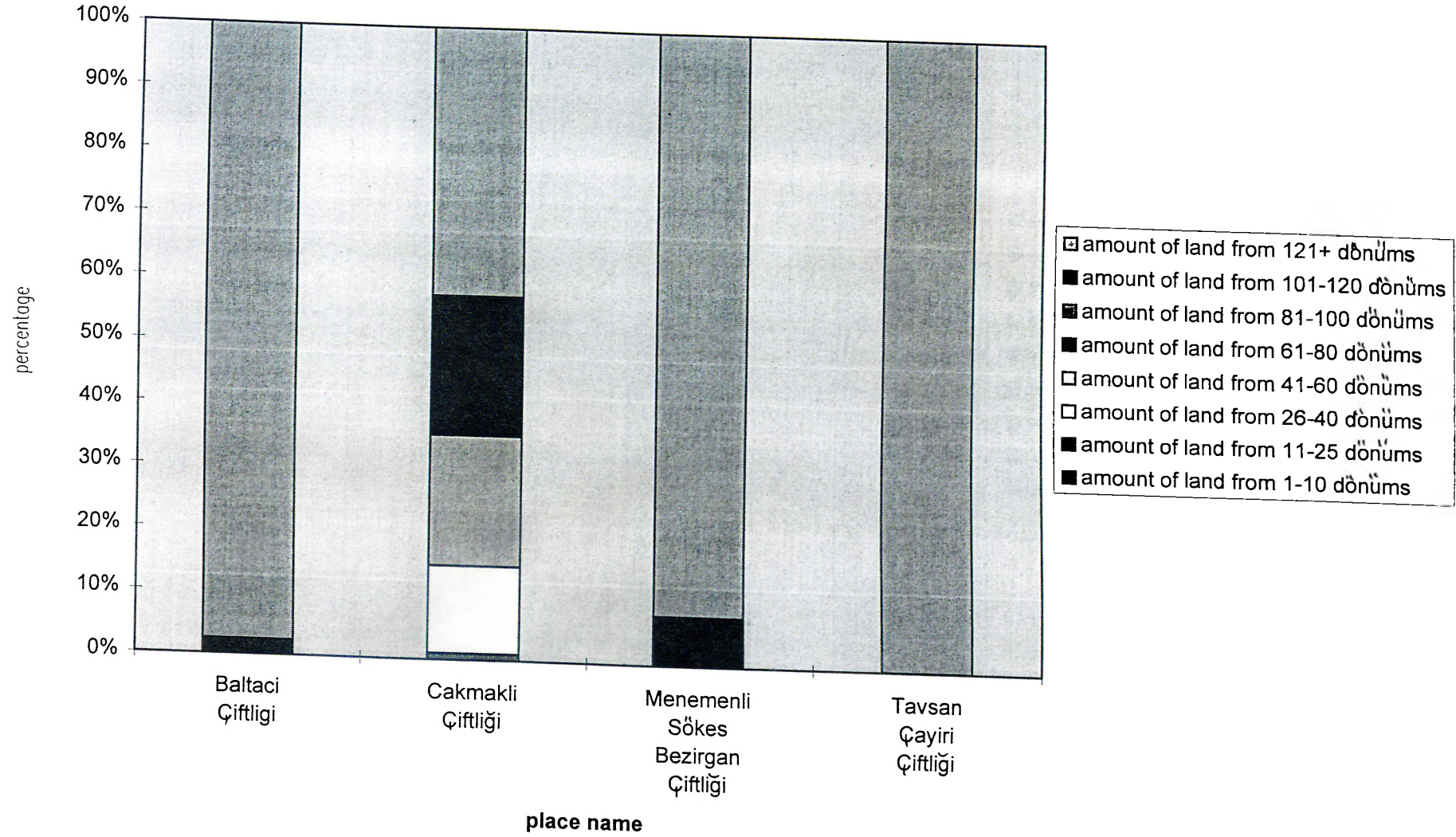


Table no. 10: The Distribution of the Amount of Land for the Agricultural Producers according to the Number of Producers on the Big Farm Level, 1844-45

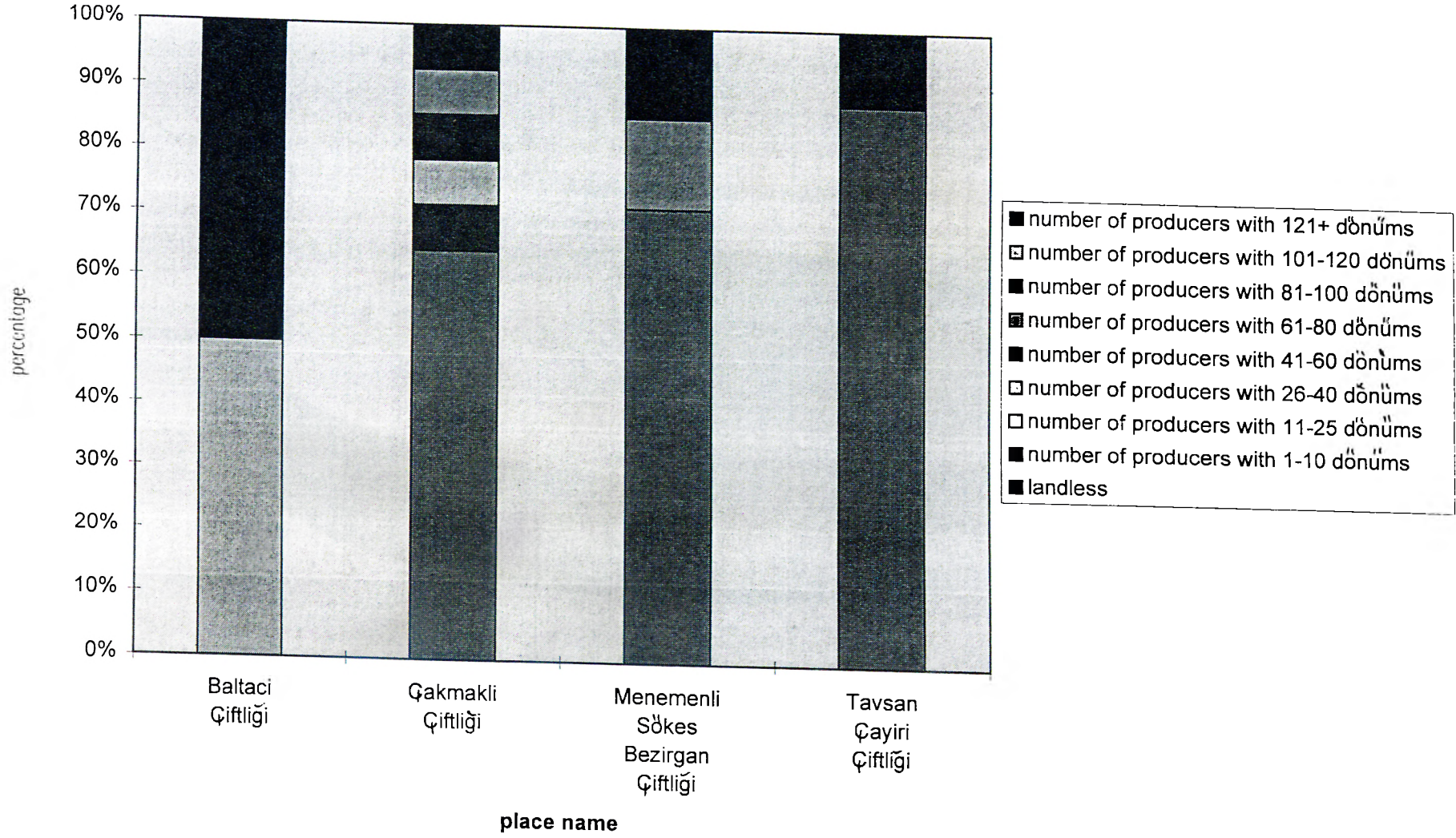


Table no. 11 : The Distribution of the Proportion of Taxes on the Village Level in the Region of Foca, 1844-45

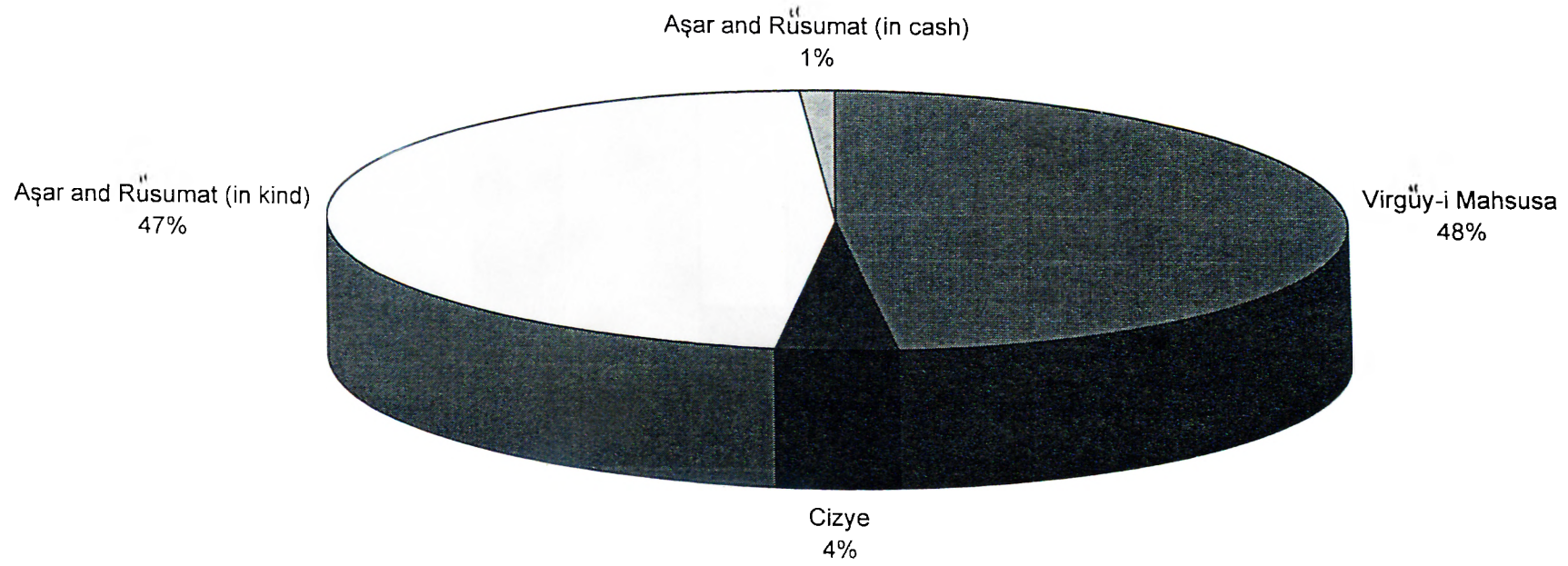


Table no. 12: The Distribution of the Proportion of Taxes on the Village Level in the Region of Foça, 1844-45

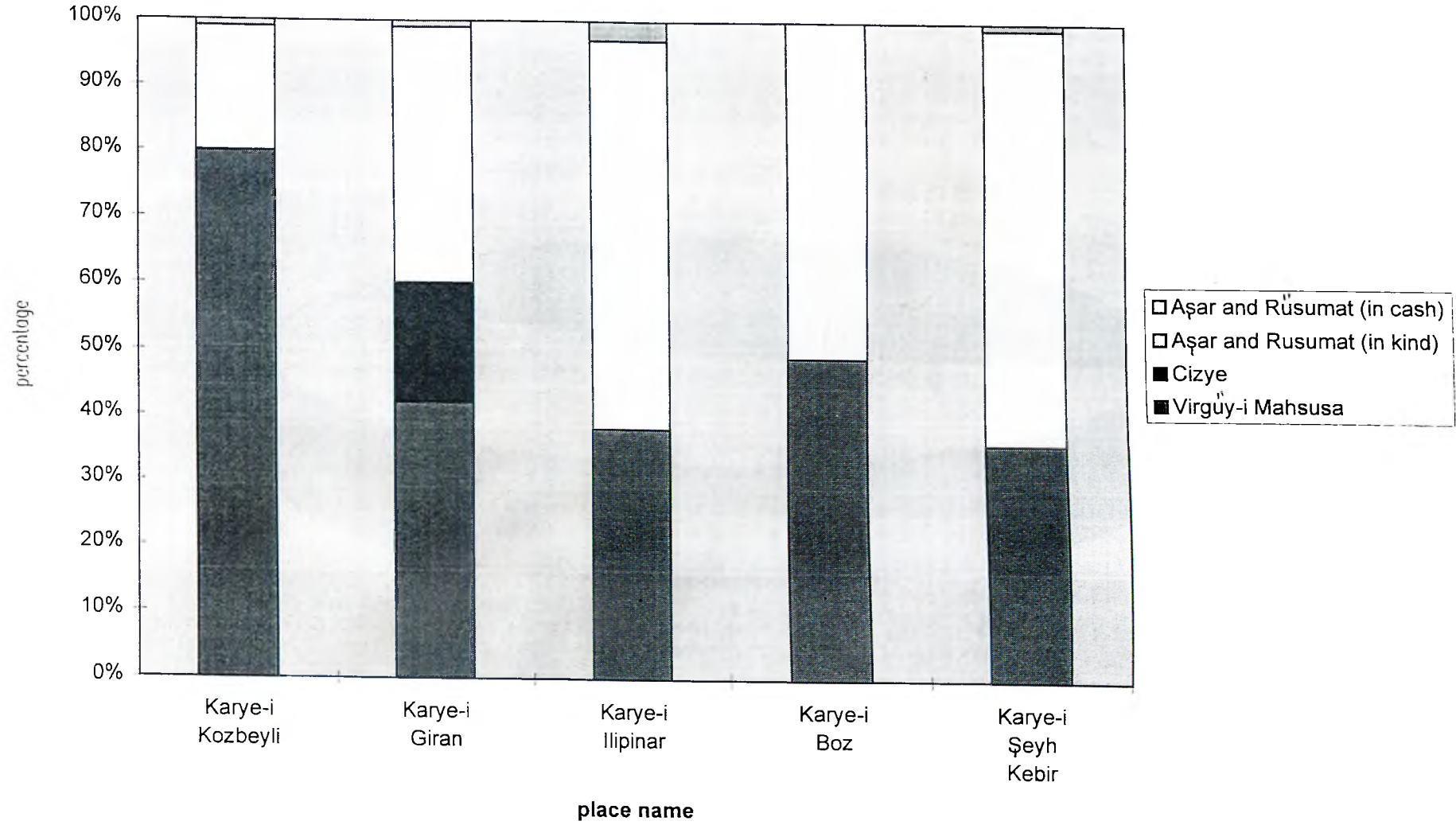


Table no. 13: The Distribution of the Proportion of Taxes on the Big Farm Level in the Région of Foça, 1844-45

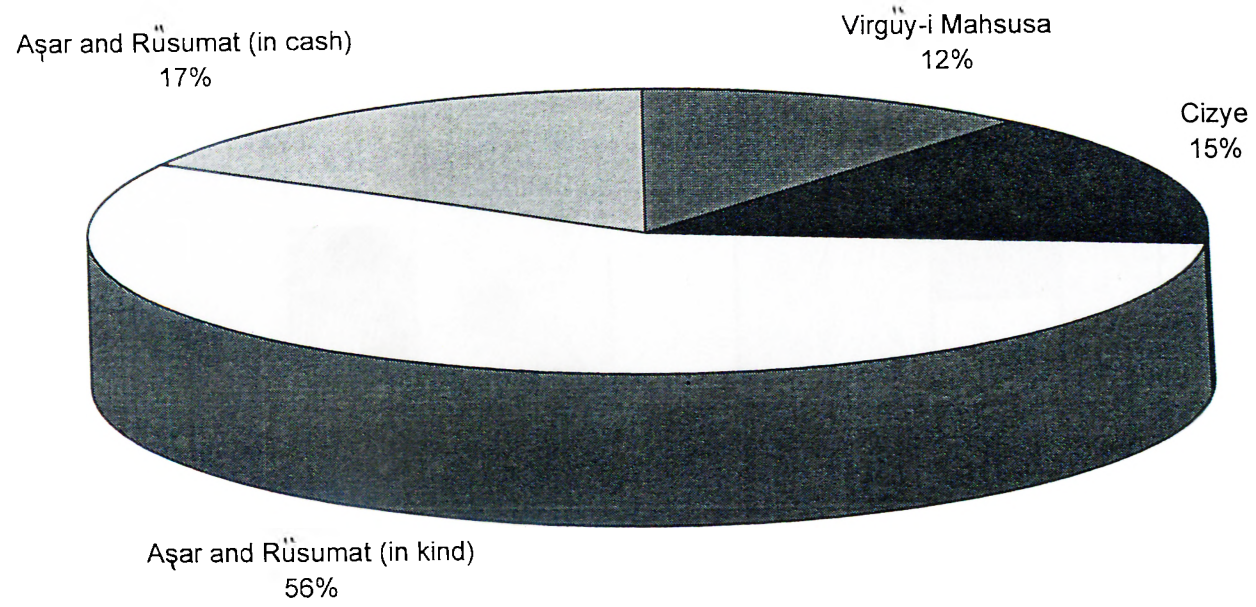
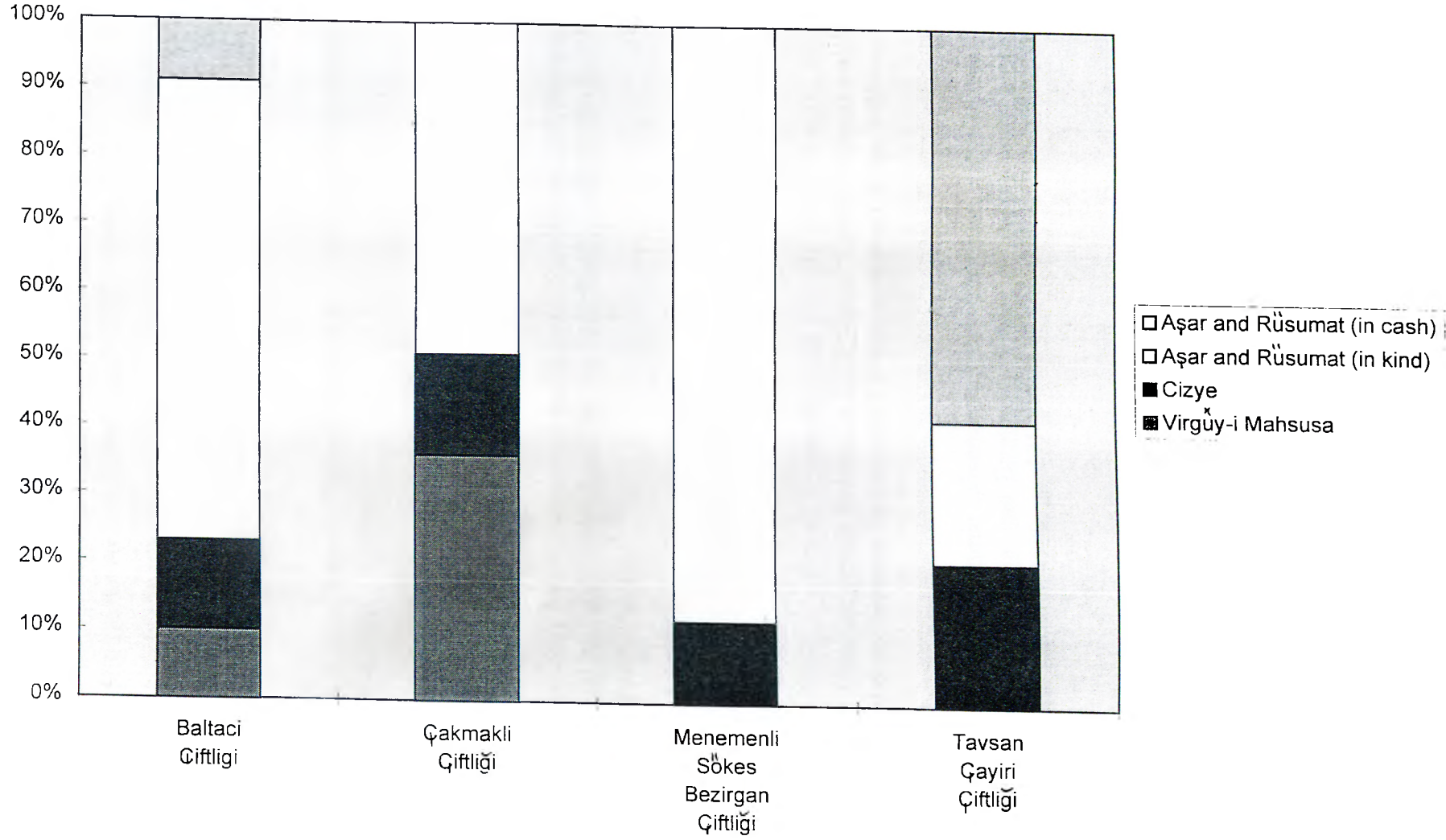


Table no. 14: The Distribution of the Proportion of Taxes on the Big Farm Level for the Foça Region, 1844-45



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I
 هوجنان ائق قوبه ارونه
 II
 سنا بولم بولم دولتي بولم
 III
 باغ دولتي
 IV
 بوجندن بونون قنقاف قنق
 به ١٥٧٤

بار بولم
 اولونون
 قنق صفا بولم
 باغ دولتي
 باغ دولتي
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Example, No:2.
 Karye-i Kozbekli, Foçateyn Kazası Temettü Defterleri (No: 1941), p. 23.

Handwritten Ottoman Turkish text, likely a record or ledger, divided into four sections labeled I, II, III, and IV. Section I contains a list of names and numbers. Section II contains a list of names and numbers. Section III contains a list of names and numbers. Section IV contains a list of names and numbers.

Example, No:1
Baltacı Çiftliği, Foçateyn Kazası Temettü Defterleri (No: 1940), p.18.