

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SHARECROPPING SYSTEM
THROUGHOUT THE AGES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

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

**DİLKENT UNIVERSITY
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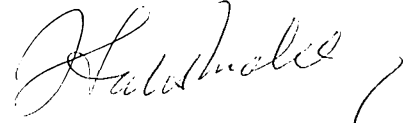
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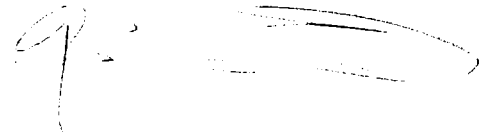
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ABSTRACT

In the Ottoman Empire, the status of sharecroppers has changed throughout the ages. In the classical age, the war captives acquired in the conquered lands were settled as sharecropper slaves on the lands belonged directly to the Sultan or the higher members of military class. Both the status of sharecropper slaves and the lands they were settled had a specific character. Moreover, this practice of settlement of slaves as sharecroppers was confined to imperial estates which were unpopulated and empty lands to feed the Palace. Since labor was scarce, these unused lands were cultivated by sharecropper slaves who provided a continuous revenue.

Sharecropping was also used on the *hassa ciftliks* or prebendal farms assigned to the *timar*-holder for the direct use in the classical age. The sharecroppers on these lands were either registered or unregistered peasants.

The use of sharecropping was closely related with the extension of unused lands into cultivation in the Ottoman Empire in the classical age as well as in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. In other words, most of the big estates came into being with the opening of marginal lands and they were cultivated by the sharecropping system, because there was a strict control over the state lands and the cultivators. The main sources used for the analysis of sharecropper slaves and sharecropping in the classical age are the *tahrir defterleri* (revenue and population registers in Ottoman agriculture) and the *kanunnames* or laws.

The use of sharecropping in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Ottoman Empire was related with several factors: commercialization of agriculture or production for the market as in the western Anatolian and Balkan parts of the Empire, the extension of cultivated areas, the settlement of tribes and migrants on the marginal lands, the 1858 Land Code, the historical patterns of landholding patterns, and the land-labor ratio. Sharecropping was used in large landholdings as well as in the small landholding pattern. Therefore, sharecropping can not be attributed to semi-feudal agrarian relations because it existed under simple commodity production. The reports written by the British Consulars published in Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers are an important sources for the study of sharecroppers in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.

ÖZET

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ortakçıların statüsü tarih boyunca değişmiştir. İmparatorluğun klasik döneminde fethedilen yerlerde ele geçirilen nüfus, padişaha veya yüksek rütbeli askeri sınıfa ait olan topraklarda ortakçı-kul olarak yerleştirilmiş olup hem ortakçı-kullar, hem de onların iskan edildiği toprakların statüsü özel bir karaktere sahipti. Ayrıca esirlerin ortakçı olarak yerleştirilmesi yalnızca saraya ait boş ve iskan edilmemiş topraklarda sarayı beslemek için kullanılan bir yöntemdi. Emek kıt olduğu için kullanılmayan bu araziler ortakçı-kullar tarafından işlenmekteydi ve bu topraklardan saray hazinesine sürekli bir gelir sağlanıyordu.

Ortakçılık, klasik dönemde timar sahiplerinin kullanımı için verilen hassa çiftliklerde de kullanılmıştır. Hassa çiftliklerdeki ortakçılar kayıtlı veya kayıtsız köylülerden oluşmaktaydı.

Hem klasik dönemde hem de onsekizinci ve ondokuzuncu yüzyıllarda, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ortakçılık daha ziyade kullanılmayan toprakların tarıma açılmasıyla ilişkili olmuştur. Büyük çiftlikler, marjinal toprakların tarıma açılmasıyla oluştu ve bu topraklar çoğunlukla ortakçılıkla işlendi. Klasik dönemdeki ortakçı-kullar ve ortakçılığın analizi için ele alınan ana kaynaklar tahrir defterleri ve kanunnamelerdir.

Onsekiz ve ondokuzuncu yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ortakçılığın kullanımı bir çok faktörle ilgiliydi: Batı Anadolu ve Balkanlarda olduğu gibi tarımın ticarileşmesi veya pazar için üretim, işlenebilir toprakların genişlemesi,

aşiretlerin ve göçmenlerin marjinal topraklara yerleştirilmesi, 1858 Arazi Kanunnamesi, toprak sahipliği şekilleri, ve toprak-emek oranı. Hem büyük toprak sahipleri hem de küçük toprak sahipleri arazilerini ortaklık yoluyla işlemişlerdir. Dolayısıyla ortaklığın sadece yarı-feodal tarımsal ilişkilere indirgenmesi zordur, çünkü ortaklık basit meta üretimiyle de varolmaktaydı. İngiliz elçileri tarafından yazılan raporlar, ondokuzuncu yüzyılda ortaklık çalışması için önemli kaynaklardandır.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to explore the place of sharecropping and sharecroppers in the Ottoman Empire. The status and identification of sharecropper has changed throughout the Ottoman history. Moreover, the application of sharecropping in agriculture was depended on the existing conditions of the exploitation and organization of land which differed according to the relative availability of land and labor. This thesis will analyse the conditions under which the sharecropper emerged as slave and as produce-partner in the Ottoman agricultural relations. This two type of sharecroppers will be evaluated as different forms of the application of sharecropping practice. Since they came into being under different circumstances, they had a different status. In this thesis, sharecropper slaves in the sixteenth and pre-sixteenth century and sharecroppers in the nineteenth century will be described in their own features. And the specific conditions which led to the emergence of sharecropper status and its relation to the landholding patterns will be emphasized. In the conclusion part, these two types of sharecroppers will be compared.

This thesis is consisted of two parts: In the first part, the sharecropping slaves (*ortakçı-kullar*) and other forms of servile labor in the Ottoman agriculture will be analysed. It will be useful to give the general characteristics of sharecropper slaves and the lands they were settled which had an exceptional and special status. The term *ortakçı-kullar* was used to denote a sharecropping relationship between the state and the sharecropper slave in which the former

provided the land, seed, oxen and other elements and the latter gave his labor. The end product was shared on an equal basis. That's why they were called as such. As being sharecroppers, the status of them were more determined by their attachment to the land as territorial serfs than by giving their end product on an equal basis. The sign of their servile status was that their personal property and the rights attached to it came under the authority of state or representative of state. They were part of the imperial estate or *has*. In addition, their status was hereditary and manumission was the only devise for becoming free. They were under the specific administrative and judicial division which were controlled by the centrally appointed officers called *emin* or *amil*. Their marriages, inheritance rights, internal organization of the land cultivated and the crops grown were strictly determined by the law which will be analysed in the second part of the first chapter.

The status of the lands where the sharecropper slaves were settled will be the subject of third part in the first chapter. In here, it should be said that these lands directly belonged to central treasury. In other words, there was not sharecropper slaves on the timar-holders land which were assigned to the members of military class as a revenue in return for military service. They were settled on lands belonged to imperial demesne or Sultanic *hass* whose revenues were collected by the centrally appointed officers. One of the reasons for this specific management of these lands is that these lands were unpopulated and empty lands. Since there was not local population to cultivate, the enslaved people which were plentiful during the conquests were settled on these lands as

sharecropper slaves. It must be said that this practice was mainly used in Istanbul, Marmara, and Edirne regions.

To ensure the continuity in production and revenue, there was a need for such a specific management of empty lands exploited by sharecropper slaves whose status was created by the Ottoman state and continued three or four generations among them. Towards the end of sixteenth century the status of sharecropper slaves was gradually transformed into that of “free” peasant or *reaya*. However, the modification of the status from slavery to *reaya* was a more difficult process in the *mülk* or freehold lands and *vakf* or pious foundations than on the *miri* or state lands. The different forms of slave labor in agriculture will be analysed in the fourth part of this chapter. Then the use of sharecropping on the *hassa çiftlik*s or prebendal farms assigned to timar-holder for the direct use in the classical age of the Ottoman Empire will be reviewed. Since it was prohibited to force peasants to till the *hassa çiftlik*s, either the registered *reaya* within the boundaries of the timar or unregistered *reaya* was employed for cultivation whose status was not slave.

In the last part of the first chapter, the relationship between the sharecropping and the Ottoman policy of encouragement of extension of unused lands in to cultivation will be explored. While in the classical age mostly the reclaimed and abandoned lands were cultivated by the sharecropper slaves, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were cultivated by sharecroppers whose status was not slave. Most of the big estates owned by the members of

military class and local notables came into being with the opening of marginal lands and the mode of labor was organized on a sharecropping basis.

The second chapter will deal with the sharecropping as a produce-partnership in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. It must be stated that sharecroppers as produce-partners were different from the sharecropper slaves in the sense that they were free and independent agricultural laborers who entered into contractual relationship with the landowners. In this chapter, the relationship between the landholding and sharecropping will be analysed. It will be emphasized that most of the big estates emerged on the unused lands and they were tilled by sharecroppers.

In the first part, the formation of big estates in the eighteenth century will be discussed. The general characteristics of the nineteenth century will be provided in the second part. It will be emphasized that the production for the market or commercialization of agriculture did not usually cause the consolidation and concentration of land and did not transform the agrarian structure based on small peasant ownership. Big landownership existed side by side with the small ones but the former never became widespread. Because the Ottoman state did not loose its control over the land and peasant labor. Land Code of 1858, on the one hand, confirmed the existing land patterns in different parts of the Empire and on the other hand, it opened the way for big landowners to register their estates acquired through the opening of marginal lands. This will be analysed in the third part and in the fourth part, the relationship between the tribal settlement and emergence of large estates will be discussed. It will be

stated that tribal leaders and rich townsmen purchased the unused lands and cultivated these lands with sharecroppers or wage laborers.

In the fifth part, the reasons for the continuation of small proprietorship will be provided. The production for the export market, usually, did not result in dispossession of peasants but extension of cultivation through sharecropping. In the sixth part, the landownership and tenancy patterns in the Asiatic part of the empire will be analysed. This part is based on the Reports prepared by British Consulars in 1870. The dominance of sharecropping tenancy in the small landholding pattern will be emphasized. In the seventh part, the debtor-producer relationship will be shown as the critical factor in the control of sharecropper tenants by the landlords. In the last part, the description of the contractual relationship between the landowner and sharecropper will be given by the help of Reports. In the conclusion, the sharecropper slaves and sharecropper tenants will be compared and the reasons for the dominance of sharecropping instead of fixed-money tenancy will given.

CHAPTER 2. SHARECROPPER SLAVES AND SHARECROPPING IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In the first part of this chapter, the major characteristics of sharecropper slaves in the *Istanbul Haslar Kazası* will be described. In the second part, the law of the sharecropper slaves will be evaluated. Then the status of the lands where the sharecropper slaves were settled will be emphasized. The different forms of slave labor in agriculture in different parts of the Empire will be the subject of the fourth part in this chapter. In the fifth part, the use of sharecropping in the *hassa çiftlik*s will be analysed. Lastly, sharecroppers on the reclaimed lands will be given.

2.1. THE SHARECROPPER SLAVES (ORTAKCI-KULLAR) IN THE ISTANBUL HASLAR PROVINCE

Before beginning with this part, it should be stated that the sharecropper slaves had a special status in the Ottoman Empire. The use of the term *ortakçı-kul* (sharecropper-slave) in the registers meant a serf status and a sharecropping relationship between the owner of a serf and a serf in which the former provided the land, seed, oxen and other implements and the latter gave his labor. The end product was divided between them on an equal basis. That's why they were called sharecropper. This point will be clarified in the second part. The second thing that must be emphasized is that the settlement of slaves as sharecroppers was limited and mostly seen on the imperial demesne (*hassa* or *hassa*) lands as in the case of *Istanbul Haslar Kazası* or lands belonged to the members of ruling elite in

the form of *mülk* or *vakf* as in the case of Bursa and around it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thirdly, towards the end of sixteenth century, the sharecropping slaves were started to be registered as *reaya* or "free" peasant.

For the purpose of reclamation and reconstruction of unused and waste lands, Ottomans used the policy of settlement of slaves acquired in the expansion and conquest years as well as the policy of deportation. In the first centuries of Ottoman Empire, the expansion of territories required an active state policy and Ottoman state continuously involved the settlement of newly conquered and depopulated regions. Resettlement, colonization and deportation were the basic tools in the hand of Ottomans to consolidate their interests,¹ mainly, to control land and labor and to ensure the flow of taxes.

Ottoman history is full of examples of deportation of the subject populations, i.e. transformation of the Ottoman population from their home regions to a new place. This policy was applied in order to reclaim the conquered regions, to increase revenues, to provide political and military security in certain regions, to make the military campaigns easy throughout empty lands, especially in the first centuries of the Empire.²

In fact, *sürgün* or deportation can be seen as one of the extraordinary levies or taxes (*avarız*) imposed by the Ottoman state.³ As will be shown in this chapter, Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror forced the migration of peoples from many parts

¹ Nicoara Beldiceanu, *Recherches sur la ville ottomane au XVe siècle: Etude et actes*. Paris, 1973, pp.36-39

² Ömer L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 11: 1-4 (1949-50), 524-69 ; 13: 1-4 (1951-52), 56-78 ; 15: 1-4 (1953-54) 209-237

³ *Ibid*, p. 546-47

of the empire for repopulating Istanbul. Let's look at the settlement of *sürgüns* (deportees) and sharecropper-slaves in the *Haslar Kazası* after the conquest of Istanbul.

Barkan published articles about sharecropping slaves and their place within the Ottoman agricultural relations, and the law of sharecropper slaves. This part is based both on these articles published by Barkan which are indispensable sources for the study of *ortakçı-kullar* or sharecropper slaves⁴ and the original copy of the *İstanbul Hasları Mufassal Tahrir Defteri*⁵ (The Register of Istanbul Haslar Province)

According to this register of 1498, there were three distinct types of classes in the Istanbul Haslar Province; *reaya*, deportee (*sürgün*) and sharecropper-slave. In the Haslar Province, 110 villages out of 163 were settled by the prisoners of war from the newly conquered Bosnia, Serbia and Morea as well as from the enslaved Greek population.⁶ These villages contained about 2013 adult male sharecropper-slaves, the rest of the inhabitants being ordinary *reaya* or deportee. They covered the area from the two Cekmeces and Bakırköy to the Black Sea Coast and to Bosphorus and Beşiktaş.⁷ The deportees were more

⁴ Ö. L. Barkan, "XV ve XVI ıncı asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Toprak İşçiliğinin Organizasyonu Şekilleri I, Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, (1939, I, 1, pp. 29-74), (1940,2, pp.198-245) (1941, 4, pp. 397-406) p. 72 (Afterwards this source will be used as "Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar"

⁵ *İstanbul Hasları Mufassal Tahrir Defteri* can be found in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi: TT 1086. This is the copy of original register which exists in İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi among Muallim Cevdet Yazmaları numbered 0/77.

⁶ Halil İnalçık, "Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire", in *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, Ed. by A. Asher, T. Halasi-Kum & B. K. Kiraly, Studies on Society in Change 3, Brooklyn, New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1979, p. 33

⁷ H. İnalçık, "İstanbul" in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second Edition, p. 238

similar to *reaya* than to sharecropper-slaves and had a special status. They were exempt from extra-ordinary government taxes (*avarız*) for a certain period but could not leave the city without the permission of the *subaşı*.⁸ On the other hand, enslaved peasants were settled as the Sultan's serfs in the Haslar Province on the land belong to the Imperial treasury. They were registered as separate and different from the ordinary *reaya*. While only the adult males of both Christian and Muslim *reaya* were recorded, the children and wives of the sharecropper-slaves were registered with the amount of seed and the number of oxen in their hands.⁹ They were tied both legally and economically to their owners, settled on small *çiftlik*s on a household basis and registered like any one of the inventory or stock in the *çiftlik*s. In other words, the sharecropper-slaves were like the commodity of their owners. Unless they were emancipated their status continued as slaves and this status was inherited by the children.¹⁰ Moreover, their inheritance was subject to rules different from free *reaya*. They could not work as they wished and did not have a right to marry outside their own group. Extraordinary impositions or corvee could be imposed upon them by the state. And lastly when they were subject to punishment, they could only be transferred to *kadı* with the permission of their owners. With these characteristics sharecropper-slaves were similar to the status of serfs of Western Europe in

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 239

⁹ Ö. L. Barkan, "Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar", 1940, Vol.I, p. 34

¹⁰ According to Barkan, In Islamic law the child status is determined by the mother status. (see *ibid*, p. 48)

Middle Ages.¹¹ With the analysis of the law, the nature of this class will be better understood.

2.2. THE ANALYSIS OF THE LAW ABOUT SHARECROPPER SLAVES

The law about sharecropper slaves was written at the beginning of the *Istanbul Hasları Mufassal Tahrir Defteri* dated 1498. This law was called *Kanunname-i Havas-ı Kostantiniyye*. The translation of this law was published by Barkan.¹²

Overall, the relationship between sharecropper slaves and state was like a serf-landlord relationship. The means of production, land, seed, oxen and other agricultural implements were provided by the central treasury. After the extraction of seed and tithe, the harvest was divided equally between the state and sharecroppers. To understand them, there is a need to analyse the articles in the law.

First of all, sharecropper slaves had to produce certain amount of wheat (1 müd), oats (0.5 müd) and barley (0.5 müd). They could not change this amount.¹³ Only after completing the cultivation of these products, they could cultivate whatever they wanted as long as their tithe was paid.¹⁴ If sharecroppers cultivate

¹¹ Ö.L.Barkan, "Türkiye'de Servaj Var mı idi?", *Bellekten*, XX-78, 1956,p.242.

¹² Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI ıncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları, Birinci Cilt, Kanunlar*, İstanbul:Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1943, İstanbul Hasları Kanunu (1498) pp. 86-103. Afterwards this source will be used as Barkan, Kanunlar.

¹³ Ibid,Article 1, p.90

¹⁴ Ibid, Article 2, p. 90

more than the given seed, this amount of seed must be given by the state so that one half of the harvest can be appropriated by the central treasury.¹⁵ However, seeds given by the state should not be used for the production of the crops other than the specified wheat, barley and oat. Only after completing their sharecropping service, they could produce whatever they wish if it is provided that this do not cause a harm to the çiftlik.

These articles show that the concern of the state was to obtain as more surplus as possible. Moreover, there was strict control over the means of production; land, seed, oxen and slave labor. For example, it was prohibited for slaves to work for other third person and to ignore their services such as preparing the ground for the cultivation of wheat¹⁶, winnowing grain¹⁷, cutting grass¹⁸, caring the well-being of animals.¹⁹

There was a strict control over the slave labor which was subject to compensation. It was prohibited to engage in other works. Those purchased by slaves had to be resold which in turn used for the compensation for the deficiency in service of a sharecropping.²⁰ So, sharecropping, in this case, was a compulsory service measured and coded in a certain amount. This was more clearly stated in the articles 14, 15 and 19. According to article 14, those who are not capable of cultivation could not give their sharecropping lands to outside persons in return for paying the tithe to the central treasury. These places should

¹⁵ Ibid, Article 4, p. 90

¹⁶ Ibid, Article 7, p.91

¹⁷ Ibid, Article 8, p. 91

¹⁸ Ibid, Article 12, p. 93

¹⁹ Ibid, Article 9, p.92

²⁰ Ibid,

be given to those who do not have enough land for sharecropping so that ensuring a more surplus than the tithe equal to one-eighth of the product. The physically incapable persons were bound to pay a certain amount of money according to their revenue and power, called *maktu'lu*. Those who do not have any physical deficiency but do not have enough land and seed also paid a compensation called *ortakçılık bedeli*.²¹ Article 19 shows the slave character of the sharecroppers. According to this article, free person who married with a slave-girl (*cariye*) had to pay a compensation called *bedel-i hizmet-i cariyeye*, a certain amount of money annually until her death and had to accept the service of a sharecropping. This compensation was taken due to the use of slave-girl who belong to the state.

Other limitations on the sharecropper-slaves can be summarised as follows: They could not work as tenants on private lands.²² It was prohibited to leave the sharecropper land or to turn this land to tithe land or to pay compensation to become free.²³ Those sharecropper lands which were left to outside people must be retaken and given to those sharecroppers who did not have enough land.

As stated above, there was a strict control over the means of production. If they were harmed, it must be compensated by the slaves. Centrally appointed officers (*emin* or *amil*) were responsible for the security of the means of production.²⁴ They were given full authority over the punishment of crimes

²¹ Ibid, Article 15, p. 94 and also Barkan, "Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar", p.72

²² Ö.L.Barkan, Kanunlar, Article 10, p.92.

²³ Ibid, Article 13, p.93

²⁴ Ibid, Article 17, p.94

committed by the slaves. Only, through the confirmation of Sultan, their penalty could be applied.

After death of a sharecropper-slave, if he had a mature son his inheritance could pass to his son. In order to prevent the division of a sharecropping land, the law prohibited other relatives, even the wife if she had no small children to mature, to benefit from the inheritance.²⁵

All of these characteristics show that the legal and economic status of sharecropper-slaves was different from that of free reaya. The free reaya was the perennial and hereditary tenant over the state land with a title deed in return for paying tithe and *çift resmi*. Moreover, reaya, after sowing certain amount of seed equal to four mūd, could engage in handicrafts. They could cultivate more lands than the amount of land registered on them as long as they paid their taxes.²⁶ They could inherit their vineyards, gardens and house to their son which were accepted as their property.²⁷ There was no limitations over their marriages and the internal organization of production in their lands.

What were the reasons for using slave labor in the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire? First of all, the scarcity of labor must be taken into account. Secondly, it was not possible to deport the already settled population in Anatolia due to the economic and security concerns. The sharecropping slaves in the Haslar province were settled by the state to feed the Palace and to provide a

²⁵ Ö.L.Barkan, "Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar I", p.49

²⁶ H.İnalçık, "Adaletnameler", *Belgeler*, Vol.2, No:3-4, 1965, p.57

²⁷ H.İnalçık, "Islamization of Ottoman Laws on Land and Land Taxation", *Festgabe an Josef Matuz: Osmanistik- Turkologie-Diplomatie* eds. Christa Fragner and Klaus Schwarz, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1992, pp.100-116

security zone in the area. The settlement of prisoners of war as slaves on state lands provided a more revenue and also secured the continuation of production. It was a part of a general plan of reconstruction of the city under Mehmed II after the conquest.

2.3. THE STATUS OF THE SHARECROPPER-SLAVES LAND

It must be emphasized that the lands on which sharecropper-slaves were settled had a unique status in Ottoman land system and "whoever came to work on these lands, regardless of his former status, took on the working conditions and obligations pertaining to sharecropper-slaves."²⁸ In other words, sharecropper slaves were found mostly on the lands called *hassa*²⁹ i.e. "on the imperial demesne or on estates of the *grandees* of the empire that were in the form of *mülk* or *vakf*."³⁰ According to İnalcık, most important characteristics of these *hassa* lands were that they were vacant lands "restored to cultivation by settling a population of different status, slaves, war captives, nomads, etc. and these *hassa* lands can be classified together with the lands reclaimed by individuals from the *mavat* or waste lands. Such lands, usually settled with

²⁸ H. İnalcık, "Rice Cultivation and the Çeltükci-Reaya System in the Ottoman Empire", *Turcica, Revue d'études turques*, XIV, Louvain-Paris-Strasbourg, 1982, p. 89

²⁹ *Hass* or *hassa* meant; 1. Belonging to the Sultan or to a member of the military class 2. Those prebends pertaining to the elite or to the Sultan 3. A farm or vineyard assigned to the direct control of a *timar*-holder. For the definition of *hassa*, see glossary in H. İnalcık and Donald Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, New York: Cambridge University, 1994. In the above text, *hassa* refers to the first meaning of it.

³⁰ H. İnalcık, "Rice Cultivation and the Çeltükci-Reaya System" in the Ottoman Empire, p. 89

slaves, assumed a definite status called *hassa kulluk* in which sharecropping became a primary feature."³¹

The settlement of sharecropping slaves was not only confined to the Istanbul region. There were different forms of agricultural slaves found in different parts of the empire on the freehold (*mülk*) lands and pious foundations(*vakf*) belong to the members of the military class.

2.4. THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF SLAVE LABOR IN AGRICULTURE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE UNTIL THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

There were different forms of agricultural slaves in the Hudavendigâr region registered as sharecropper slave, *kesimci*, *ellici*, *haracgüzar*, *bağbanan* who were probably deportees enslaved during the conquests and settled in this region.³² The type and amount of the crop as well as the services given to the landowner and the type of payment(cash or kind) was determined by the status of the land and slave³³,

Kesimcis, according to Barkan, were slaves who paid a fixed amount of product or its equivalent in cash. The examples are provided by the Barkan,³⁴ 31

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ö.L.Barkan and Enver Meriçli, *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri I*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988, p. 105. Afterwards this source will be used as *Hüdavendigâr Livası*.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 107

households of the village of Gilyos in the district Mihalic (Karacabey) belonged to the pious foundation of the Sultan Orhan were registered as *gebran-ı gulam-ı vakf* (non-muslim slaves of the pious foundation) in 1521. They paid a fixed amount of wheat and barley annually as *kesim* (fixed portion) to the vakf. Secondly, there was 81 Christian fisherman in the same village who had a slave status. Since they were not involved in agriculture, they paid their fixed portion amounted 100 to 406 akça as a compensation for the profit coming from their labor. Thirdly, there were emancipated slaves who were subject to pay Islamic poll-tax, i.e. cizye.

Kesimcis of the Filadar village, according to the registers of 1521 and 1573 of Hüdavendigâr, paid a fixed money ranging from 300 to 450 akça per head. A revenue register of *bedel-i hizmet-i cariye* shows their slave status.³⁵

According to İnalçık:

Kesimcis were actually freed slaves who became subject to the raiyyet rüsumu, but at the same time continued to surrender a certain fixed portion, kesim, of the crop yield. The heavy obligations imposed upon the ellicis apparently caused them abandon cultivation or flee from the land since many records in the registers show that they disappeared from the land; their çiftliks, or assigned lands were made mevkuf or suspended by the treasury. Rather than lose the revenues from these lands entirely, the treasury decided to assign them for cultivation to newcomers under more attractive terms. These settlers, called kesimcis, were required to surrender a kesim or a fixed amount of the production for each çiftlik to the treasury.³⁶

³⁵ Ibid, p. 108

³⁶ H. İnalçık, "Rice Cultivation and Çeltükci-Reaya System in the Ottoman Empire", p. 92

In the same way, Barkan argues that *kesimcis* were originally *kuls* or slaves. To prove this he shows the first sentence of the Law of Hüdavendigâr dated 1573. The law stated that:

Kesimcis of the said liva (sub-district) were the kuls of Sultan Orhan. In the old survey book, their tithe has been registered as timar to sipahi and their resm-i çift amounted 33 akça has been recorded as revenue to the state. Since they were kuls, according to their financial situation, three or four or more mūd of wheat and barley has been recorded as their kesim...By the survey (tahrir) of Müeyyedzade, their kesim was increased while the resm-i çift was decreased to 8 akça. Because farms were destructed by the field cricket for two years before the new register, it was prohibited by the state to take kesim, tithe, resm-i çift...It was recorded in the new survey that the fixed portion of the kesimcis of Yenişehir district were cancelled as in the case of Mihalic kesimcis in return for the payment of 140 akça as resm-i zemin. In addition, they had to pay the tithe of whatever they grow and other religious and customary taxes."³⁷

As seen from the above statement, the fixed rent in kind was transformed into the fixed rent in money. This law also shows that the change in the status of slaves was a complex process. Although the assignment of çift resmi can be interpreted as the sign of the modification of the status of slaves into reaya, the payment of 140 akça in addition to çift resmi could not be understood. Whether it was taken for the compensation of the use of land or for the deficiency in labor can not be understood.

Gebran-ı baġbanan were another group of slaves who were responsible for the caring of vineyards belonged to pious foundation belonged to Sultan Orhan in the Tepecik village and they paid a fixed amount of money changing from 250 to 500 akça per head according to the register of 1521.³⁸

³⁷ Ö. L. Barkan, "Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar", p.202-203 and Barkan, Kanunlar, p. 106-107

³⁸ Ö. L. Barkan, Hüdavendigâr Livasi, p.108

Ellicis were subject to slave status and had to pay a fixed sum in cash, called *harac*, annually amounted 50 akça to the state treasury.³⁹ The rate of *harac* was increased usually in increments of fifty depending on the slave's conditions and it was indicated as a personal tax next to his name in the registry.⁴⁰ *Ellicis* were found not only in Bursa, Biga, but also in Balıkesir (Karesi). The Law of Karesi dated 1576 stated that " In this liva, if those reaya, who cultivated the "ellici farm" and paid a fixed portion (*bedel-i kesim*) to the centrally appointed officers (*ümena*), was accidentally registered as reaya to the timar-holder (*sipahi*), from now on they must give their fixed portion to the state."⁴¹ In the same law, there was the mentioning of *harac*, *bedel-i hizmet-i cariyeye* demanded from the girl of ordinary reaya as from the *ellici* girls. The law stated that this practice was prohibited in the new register.⁴² These two articles were sign of *ellici* status as slaves.

However, there were another group of *ellicis* who were not slaves but can be considered within the status of *müsellem* (who were exempted from extraordinary government taxes in return for military or public service to the state) Those married *ellicis* found in Rumeli gave 50 akça to their campaigners (*eşküncü*) in return for the exemption from extraordinary government taxes but they were under the obligation of payment of *çift-resmi*.⁴³ Another group of *ellicis* existed in the Saruhan region in the sixteenth century. They were consisted of

³⁹ H. İnalçık, "Rice Cultivation and Çeltükci-Reaya System in the Ottoman Empire", p.91

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Article 6, p.22

⁴² Ibid, Article9, p. 23

⁴³ Ibid, Silistre Livasi Kanunu (1569), Article 9, p. 279

Turcoman nomads who were responsible for feeding and sending a soldier to military campaign on a 50 household basis.⁴⁴ They were considered as *müsellem* by the state in the middle of sixteenth century and were employed on public works such as mining, construction. At the end of sixteenth century, *ellicis* were transformed into *reaya* and extraordinary taxes started to be taken from them.

Barkan gives the other examples of sharecropper slaves existed in Edirne, Gelibolu, Bolayır, Malkara. It must be emphasized that the lands on which sharecropping slaves were settled were granted as freehold lands (*mülk*) to important pashas and beys who were successful in the conquests. These lands were later converted into pious foundations to prevent the intervention of state. On the *mülk* and *vakf* lands there was also purchased slaves as well as enslaved deportees employed in agriculture. These two kinds of slaves must be distinguished.⁴⁵

In Manisa, in the villages of Pazar-ı Yengi and Gökağaç that belonged to Sultanate hass or imperial demesne, the population had been registered as sharecroppers in the sixteenth century. These villages were specialized in mainly wheat, barley, cotton, sesame production. Although cultivators were registered as sharecroppers, they were not exempted from extraordinary government taxes. According to Emecen, this can be explained with their economic well-being coming from commercial activities.⁴⁶ In the village of Turgutlu and its dependent

⁴⁴ Feridun M. Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989, p.129-132

⁴⁵ Ö. L. Barkan, "Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar", 1941,4, p. 309-416

⁴⁶ F. Emecen, p. 211

nahiyes, there were sharecroppers who surrender one-third of the crop to the agents of imperial demesne. Since the seed was not provided by the state, one-third of the product was used as seed and the other part left for cultivators. They were exempted from both *çift resmi* and *avarız* but *bennak* and *mücerred* taxes were collected by the imperial agents.⁴⁷

In Manisa region, simple sharecropping tenancy relations was also seen between landowner who provided land, seed, oxen, and a peasant who undertook the responsibility of all production process. In this case, they shared the end product equally after the extraction of tithe and *çift resmi*.⁴⁸

Faroqhi finds out the register of sharecroppers (*ortakciyan*) in the tahrir (survey) book compiled in 1518 by Kemalpaşazade.⁴⁹ The reaya of the villages of Ladik and Mahmudlar-Müneccim were sharecroppers in the times of the Karamanid Ibrahim Beg. While three müdd of seed was provided from the beylik (ruler's treasury) other three müdd was supported by themselves and they shared the product as follows; after the deduction of tithe,

the remainder was divided first in half and later into three parts, one-third going to the beylik and two-thirds to the cultivators. During the reign of Beyazid II, the tithe was shared between the treasury of the Crown prince and the foundation of Sadreddin-i Konevi.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 237-238

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 239

⁴⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, " Vakıf Administration in Sixteenth Century Konya, the zaviye of Sadreddin-i Konevi", Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, 1974, 17, 2: 145-172

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 150

They were exempted from the *reaya* taxes which shows that they were slaves settled on state land as the sharecropper slaves of Istanbul, Biga, and Bursa regions.

In the sixteenth century, the sharecropping slaves started to be dissolved by the state. Their status was modified into simple *reaya*. This can be understood from the decrease in their numbers in the *tahrirs* or registers and laws compiled in different regions of the empire which codified their new status as *reaya*.

According to the register of 1498 which was confined to Istanbul Haslar Province, the population of sharecropper adult male slaves were 2013. If we multiply this with five, the overall slave population can be predicted as 10.000.⁵¹ According to the survey made under Süleyman I (1520-1566) for the central part of Rumeli, the slave agriculturalists numbered only 6021 men out of the overall male population of 285.185, i.e. slave population was equal to 2 percent of the whole population of the region.⁵² In the province of Anatolia, adult male sharecropper numbered 901 out of the overall male population of 550.139.⁵³ If we take into account the other forms of slavery, which were concentrated in the Hüdavendigâr region, the number of slaves in agriculture increased to 1981 in Anatolia.

As seen from the numbers, the employment of sharecropping slaves in the Ottoman Empire was very limited. It concentrated on the lands which had a special status within the Ottoman land regime. From the sixteenth century

⁵¹ Ö. L. Barkan, "Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar", 1941, 4, p.437

⁵² Ibid, p. 438-439

⁵³ Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri I. (937/ 1530) , T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Ankara: 1993, p. 2-3

onward slave agriculturalists started to be identified with a *reaya* status. In other words, ordinary peasant taxes, *çift resmi* and its dependents, were imposed upon them. These taxes were registered as a revenue for timar-holders. The identification of sharecropper slaves as *reaya* in the sixteenth century can be considered as the sign of a transformation from a particularity to the generality. It shows the change of conditions which led to the emergence of sharecropper slave-state relationship and consolidation of agricultural relations. "The change was due to the difficulty and great cost of supervising this group in the mids of the *reaya* masses as well as to the inefficiency in production."⁵⁴

2.5. SHARECROPPING ON THE *HASSA ÇİFTLİK*S

Sharecropping was also seen in the *hassa çiftlik*s. These *çiftlik*s were assigned to the timar-holders for the direct exploitation of them. Its size usually equalled to the size of one or two *reaya çiftlik* and it was registered alongside with the name of timar-holder.⁵⁵ Basic reason behind the assignment of *hassa çiftlik* was to provide the basic needs of the timariots family and horses.⁵⁶ Also vineyards, orchards, olive trees were given as *hassa* because they did not necessitate a regular work as *reaya çiftlik*s.⁵⁷ Fishing-stations(*dalyan*) and water-

⁵⁴ H. İncılık, "On the Social Structure of the Ottoman Empire, Paradigms and Research" in ed. by H. İncılık, *From Empire to Republic*. Istanbul: The ISIS, 1995, p. 57

⁵⁵ H. İncılık, "Rice-Cultivation", p.96 (See footnote 62)

⁵⁶ Ibid,

⁵⁷ H. İncılık, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2. baskı, 1987, p. xxx

mills(değirmen) were registered as *hassa* belonging to the prebends of the subaşı or sancakbeyi.⁵⁸

If sipahi and his family did not want to engage in the cultivation of these lands, he could lease *hassa çiftliks* to the peasants. The tenancy relationship usually took the form of sharecropping between the timariot and peasant.⁵⁹ The terms of the tenancy was determined by regional customs and traditions. If *hassa* owner provided seed and oxen to the reaya, the product was equally divided.⁶⁰ On vineyards or gardens, the share of a sipahi was one-fourth of the product and cultivators did not have to pay the tithe.⁶¹

Another feature of the *hassa çiftliks* is that the prebender could not transfer the usufructory rights of these lands to another person because these lands were given to timar-holder during his military service for his needs. Even if he sold these lands with a tapu, the timar-holder after him could annul it and give to villagers in return for one-fourth of product on vineyards and orchards.⁶²

Although *hassa çiftliks* were usually operated through sharecropping system, in some regions Ottoman laws maintained the reaya had to work three days in a year on the çiftliks of the timar-holder.⁶³

It should be emphasized that there was no relationship between the *hassa çiftliks* assigned to the timar-holder for direct use and those *hassa çiftliks* whose

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. xxxi. According to sixteenth century laws, one-fourth or one-half of the fish product was taken. See Barkan, Kanunlar, p.329, 287.

⁵⁹ Ö. L. Barkan, "Çiftlik" in İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 3, İstanbul: 1945, p. 392-397

⁶⁰ Ö. L. Barkan, Kanunlar, Kanunname-i Vilayet-i Mora, p.327

⁶¹ H. İncalcık, "Rice-Cultivation", p.96 (footnote 62)

⁶² Ö. L. Barkan, Kanunlar, Aydın Livası Kanunnamesi, Article 23, p. 9

⁶³ H. İncalcık, "Adaletnameler", p. 67-8 and Barkan, Kanunlar, Ohri Kanunu, p.295

revenues belonged either to the central treasury or high members of military class. Despite the fact that both of them were cultivated by sharecropping methods, in the former case sharecroppers were either registered reaya within the boundaries of timar or unregistered reaya. Whereas in the second case, sharecroppers had, usually, a slave status.

Lastly, from the sixteenth century onward, the *hassa çiftliks* disappeared. Because of population pressure and increasing military responsibility, these lands were either distributed as *çifts* to peasants or given to tax-farming.⁶⁴

2.6. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SHARECROPPING AND THE RECLAMATION OF LAND

The Ottoman state always supported the extension of cultivated lands since the extension of arable lands contributed to the rise in state revenues. Since the land was plentiful in the Ottoman Empire, the labor had a critical value in the extension and reclamation of marginal lands. The Ottoman state encouraged the opening of unused lands into cultivation as long as those who engaged in this activity did not use the registered, regular tax-paying peasants since this could cause a deficiency in both state revenues and the most important agricultural products needed in the empire.

During the 1593-1610 period of "Great Flight", peasants abandoned their lands because of overtaxation and attacks of bandits. These abandoned lands were appropriated by the members of military class and converted into big

⁶⁴ Ö. L. Barkan, "Çiftlik", p.393

estates which were cultivated by slaves or fugitive peasants on a sharecropping basis or converted into livestock raising because of the shortage of labor.⁶⁵

As said above, the Ottoman state encouraged the resettlement of these abandoned land by granting to the members of military class or sheikhs as freehold or timar. Inalcik gave an example of certain districts of Konya province where an extensive amount of uninhabited land was given as *hass* to the Ottoman crown prince who exploited them on a sharecropping basis by attracting peasants or nomads from the surrounding areas.⁶⁶

It was also a common practice for the timar-holders to open the waste lands into cultivation for the sake of increasing their revenues. It can be expected that these lands were cultivated by peasants and the sharecropping was the most usefull method for the both parties because they had a chance to earn more. In fact, most of the *mezraas* or uninhabited cultivated lands came into being in this way.⁶⁷ Usually, a population growth or a rise in the demand of agricultural products did not resulted in peasant dispossession of land but caused the extension of arable land.⁶⁸

In the Ottoman Empire, most of the big estates were emerged on the unused lands reclaimed by the members of military class who acquired the

⁶⁵ H. Inalcik, "The Ottoman Decline and Its Effects Upon the Reaya" Aspects of the Balkans, Continuity and Change. Contributions to the International Balkan Conference held at UCLA, October 23-28 1969, Ed. Henrik Birnbaum & Speros Vryonis Jr., Mouton, The Hague 1972.

⁶⁶ H. Inalcik, An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914, p.166

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.167

⁶⁸ Huri Islamoglu-Inan, "Peasants, Commercialization, and Legitimation of State Power in the Sixteenth-Century Anatolia" in Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East. ed Ç.Keyder and F.Tabak, New York: State University of New York Press, 1991, p.67

ownership of uncultivated lands through *temlik*⁶⁹ or freehold rights. The document of ownership (*temlikname*) was granted by the Sultan for the freehold rights on these lands. The labor on the reclaimed lands was in the form of sharecropper *reaya*.⁷⁰ Since the use of registered *reaya* was prohibited, most owners of reclaimed lands, especially in the first centuries of the empire settled slaves to cultivate the lands. After the change in the status of slaves, landowners had to find out unregistered *reaya* to employ them as sharecroppers.

The lands confined to rice cultivation was cultivated by sharecropping system. The status of the land in which rice cultivated by sharecroppers was *vakf*, *mülk* (owned by the ruling class through *temlik*) or *miri* (state-owned land).⁷¹ Since rice cultivation needed intensive cultivation, equipment, irrigation arrangements and a certain amount of capital, the cultivation was made not with ordinary peasants but with sharecroppers who were exempted from *çift- resmi* partially and from *avariz* totally. The sharecroppers who worked on the rice cultivated lands were called *çeltükci-reaya*. The origin of their status seemed to be a sharecropper slave but from the sixteenth century onward they were registered as *çeltükci-reaya* within the category of tax-exempted *reaya*.⁷² The owner of the land supplied the seed to the sharecroppers and made the other

⁶⁹ H. İnalçık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, *Çiftlik*s: State, Landlords and Tenants" in Contributions a l'histoire economique et sociale de l' Empire ottoman. Collection Turcica, III. Louvain: Peeters, 1984, 105-126

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.109

⁷¹ H. İnalçık, "Rice Cultivation", p.71-76 and for the transformation of rice-cultivated lands see Nicoara Beldiceanu and Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr, " Riziculture dans l' Empire Ottoman (XIVe-XVe siecles)" Turcica, 9/2, 10, (1978), 9-28

⁷² H. İnalçık, *ibid*, p.93

expenses and after the extraction of tithe, the harvest was shared equally between them.

CHAPTER 3. LANDHOLDING PATTERNS AND SHARECROPPING IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In this chapter, first of all, the formation of big estates in the eighteenth century in the Balkans and western Anatolia will be discussed. Secondly, general characteristics of the nineteenth century will be given. Thirdly, 1858 Land code and its effects on the landownership will be evaluated. Fourthly, the settlement of nomads in the nineteenth century and its relation to sharecropping will be explored. In the fifth part, general outline of landholding pattern in this century will be given. In the following part, landownership and sharecropping tenancy in Anatolia will be evaluated. The effects of debt mechanism on the spread of sharecropping will be the subject matter of the seventh part. In the eighth part, the conditions of sharecropping in different parts of the Empire will be described. In the last part, some concluding remarks will be given.

3.1. THE CASE OF ÇİFTLİK FORMATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

While there was a debate among historians about the origin of the big *çiftlik*s in the Ottoman empire,¹ most of historians agree that *ayans* or local notables gained power and wealth through their position as tax-farmers, merchants, usurers in the eighteenth century. It must be emphasized that the *timar* system was largely replaced by tax-farming as the dominant form of taxation in the seventeenth century and the extension of tax-farming brought about profound changes particularly in the land regime. The Ottoman state after the seventeenth

¹ For the summary of views about the formation of *çiftlik*s, see Gilles Veinstein, "On the *Çiftlik* debate" in eds. Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak, Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East, New York: State University of New York Press, 1991.

century became dependent on the local notables in matters such as the collection of taxes, recruitment of troops, collection of provisions, credit transactions.²

However, the most important activity that contributed the wealth of local notables was the right to collect state revenues as tax-farmers. After 1600, the leasing of state lands on a life-time and hereditary basis caused tax-farmers to become the de facto owners of *miri* lands. As it is known under the *timar* system, agricultural production was organized on the basis of peasant households each of which was given a plot of land sufficient to sustain one household and pay the tax to the state. This system based on *çift-hane* units, underlay the financial basis of the state and the state took every measure to protect these household units against third parties. As a result, when the taxes on these lands were farmed out by *iltizam* or tax-farming, the newcomers could not alter the organization of labor and production to a large extent. Thus, the consolidation of land was difficult to achieve and therefore agricultural production continued to be realized still on the basis of household units, by the peasants and not by the wage labor or the use of slaves. In other words, tax-farmers were never became independent from the state and never had the property rights over state lands and they could not change the internal organization of production and the status of the peasants. The confiscation was an important tool in the hand of the Ottoman state against

² For the strengthening of ayans and financial and administrative decentralization in the Ottoman Empire, see H. İnalcık, " Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, Archivum Ottomanicum, VI, (1980), 283-337 and H. İnalcık, 1600-1700" " Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration" in eds. T. Naff and R. Owen, Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History, 1977, 27-52

ayans.³ It prevented the conversion of miri lands into freehold property and concentration of lands in private hands.

H. İnalçık argues that the plantation-like farms, "that is, large agricultural lands organized as a production unit under a single ownership and management and usually producing for market came into being mostly on *mawat*, i.e., waste or abandoned lands outside the areas under the *çift-hane* system."⁴ And he gave the example of the estate of Kara Osman-zade Hüseyin Agha, the *mütesellim* of Saruhan, in the western Anatolia in the eighteenth century. The estates of Hüseyin agha was made up of 8 *çiftliks* whose size varied between 600 and 1700 *dönüm*. They constituted three type of *çiftliks*.⁵

The first type was characterized by the wage-laboring estate in which the whole product belonged to the landlord who supplied land, seeds, oxen and accomodations. As İnalçık mentions, "the first type of çiftlik comprised everything to make it a complete production unit: animal force for ploughing, threshing, and transport, ploughs, wagons, and other tools, stables, storehouse for crops, simple houses and shacks to accomodate agricultural workers (*çiftci odalari*) and even grocery shop."⁶ In those *çiftliks*, wheat, barley, cotton, and maize were cultivated and there was not a monoculture pattern.⁷

³ For an example of confiscation of the properties of a local notable, see, Yavuz Cezar, "Bir Ayanın Muhallefatı (Havza ve Köprü Kazaları Ayanı Kör İsmail-Oğlu Hüseyin, Müsadere Olayı ve Terekenin incelenmesi), *Belleter*, 41, 161, (1977), 41-75. In this article, there is the mentioning of sharecroppers employed in the çiftliks of the notable.

⁴ H. İnalçık, " The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords and Tenants", *Contributions a l'histoire economique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*, Louvain: Peeters, 1984, 105-126, see page 108.

⁵ Ibid, p.117 and see Yuzo Nagata, "Some Documents On the Big Farms (Çiftliks) of the Notables in Western Anatolia", *Studia Culturae Islamicae*, No:4, Institute for the Study of Language and Culture of Asia and Africa, 1976, pp.37-56

⁶ Ibid, p.118

⁷ Ibid, p.119

In the second type of *çiftliks*, one part of the land was cultivated by wage-laborers, and the other part was leased to the peasant who gave a certain amount of the produce to the landlord or paid a rent in cash. The third kind of *çiftlik* was rented by Hüseyin agha to the tenants who paid the rent as "*muaccele*, i.e. down-payment made at the moment of leasing and as *icar* or yearly rent."⁸

There were also big *çiftliks* which were specialized in cattle and sheep breeding as the *çiftliks* of Yeğen Mehmed Agha, voyvoda of Tire. The *çiftliks* of Hasan Agha in the central Anatolia were cultivated by sharecropping as mentioned in the lists published by Yuzo Nagata.⁹

In the eighteenth century, not only the western Anatolia but also Balkans were affected by the European trade due to the availability of water transportation. The growth in European demand for agricultural products, especially, after 1760 stimulated the investment in land made by high bureaucrats, usurers, merchants and local notables. They found new ways of expanding their power who were now in a position to alter the kind and volume of agricultural surplus. As central control over production and taxation became less effective in that period, they enhanced their power while cutting the revenues of the treasury.

The *çiftlik* village, according to Stoianovich, spread by the end of eighteenth century through "much of Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, the Maritsa valley, pockets of Danubian Bulgaria, the Kossova-Metohija basin, the coastal plains of Albania and parts of Bosnia."¹⁰ By the 1720s, cotton was

⁸ Ibid,

⁹ Y. Nagata, "Some Documents..." For the list of Hasan Agha see pp.24-30

¹⁰ Traian Stoianovich, "Land Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800" in ed. T. Stoianovich, Between East and West, The Balkan and Mediterranean Worlds, Volume 1, New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1992, p.3

produced in the region of Seres in Macedonia, mainly supplied Austrian demand. In the second half of this century cotton cultivation extended westward to Salonica with the extension and improvement of new lands.¹¹ Another export product, maize, was introduced in the early seventeenth century in Croatia and then spread eastward and southward from there. Albania became during the eighteenth century an important center for maize cultivation and export. Finally, Morea became a third center for the diffusion of new crop in this century.¹²

The ciftlik agriculture was characterized by higher burdens over peasants. The growing control of labor by the landowners who squeezed peasants for more taxes was connected with the rise of new çiftlik system which was related with the expansion of land reclamation and improvement activity in the marginal lands.

The sharecropping and other forms of tenancy such as the fixed-money tenancy for one-year term as well as wage laborers, day or seasonal laborers were used as four different types of labor in the ciftliks in the Balkans.¹³ Sharecropping was introduced in Bosnia and Hercegovina between 1600-1800. Through time the share of landlord increased at the expense of sharecropper whose position was deteriorated especially after 1848. By 1750, sharecropping economy was in existence in north-western Bulgaria, especially around the towns of Vidin, Lom and Belgradcik. Between 1750 and 1800, it spread to Serbia in the form of labor services.¹⁴

¹¹ Ibid, p.4

¹² Ibid, p.5

¹³ T. Stoianovich, "Balkan Peasants and Landlords and the Ottoman State: Familial Economy, Market Economy, and Modernization" in Between East and West, The Balkan and Mediterranean Worlds, p.26

¹⁴ Ibid, pp.26-28

In the Vidin region¹⁵, the emergence of big *çiftlik*s was related with the old practice of leasing of uncultivated state lands to the private individuals by a *tapu* in return for the cash payment called *icare-i muaccele*. After 1760, with the increase of central European demand for agricultural products, the *çiftlik* villages belonged to Muslim aghas came into being. In fact, this was resulted from the old *tapu* documents which were given to the members of military class to show their possession rights over the state lands. Since this region was a frontier area, these state lands were only leased to Muslims. During the Tanzimat, these old title deeds of state lands started to be accepted as the basis for all kinds of rights on the land. On the estates of Muslim aghas, Christian peasants were reduced to rent-paying tenants. Moreover, the rent paid by tenants to the landlords included various payments and services that can be seen as the revival of old feudal customs.

To sum up this section, it can be said that those regions of the Ottoman empire, which were open to water transportation like above cited regions in the Balkans and western Anatolia were the most commercialized areas in the eighteenth century. The opening of uncultivated or waste lands and the employment of sharecroppers on the newly emerged *ciftlik*s were the main features. However, the emergence of *çiftlik*s was not an undifferentiated but rather a complex phenomena and therefore can not be reduced to be the result of a single historical force, market demand.¹⁶

¹⁵ For the developments in the Vidin region, see H.İnalçık, "Vidin Gosподарlık Regimi ve İlğası" pp.83-107, in *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*, İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1992.

¹⁶ Bruce McGowan argues that there was not a necessary correlation between market demand and consolidation of agriculture and most *ciftlik*s of south-eastern Europe in the eighteenth century were small scale and characterized by sharecropping(*metayage*). See his *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe, Taxation, Trade and Struggle for Land, 1600-1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

3.2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN AGRICULTURE

The general characteristics of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire are the commercialization of agriculture in the coastal areas, the extension of the cultivated lands through the settlement of both nomadic and migrant population of the empire on vacant lands. In that century Ottoman state continued to represent a central authority. In fact, the Tanzimat era was characterized by the regaining of control over the land and labor by the Ottoman state. Recentralization meant the elimination of local notables and their economic power derived from the control over the state taxes. There was a trend towards the individualization of taxes. The privileges of different groups was abolished.

First of all, the central state started to confiscate the landed property of the local notables and transferred the agricultural surplus to the state treasury. It is difficult to determine the success of these policies but government was very decisive. Even in the southeast and eastern Anatolia where the state power was limited historically, the lands of Kurdish tribal leaders were confiscated and distributed among peasants.

Second attempt was the annulment of tax-farming. The Ottoman state, in order to eliminate the economic basis of local notables, stopped the use of notables for tax-farming. For instance, in 1813, to collect taxes, Ottoman government appointed a person outside the family of Karaosmanođlu who had the monopoly of tax-collection.¹⁷ With the Gülhane Rescript, it was decided to

¹⁷ Şevket Pamuk, Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme (1820-1913), İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994, p. 99

abolish the tax-farming and to collect the taxes by the centrally appointed officers. However, the government returned to the practice of tax-farming since there was no sufficient officers. In fact, Ottoman state was very pragmatic in its policies against ayans. On the one hand, it attempted to eliminate the ayan's control over land and labour through confiscation of their wealth and taking the privileges of tax-farming back. On the other hand, it assigned some government offices to some tribal leaders and derebeys in return for the settlement and giving up banditry.

3.3. THE 1858 LAND CODE AND ITS EFFECTS ON LANDOWNERSHIP

Most important characteristic of the Land Law of 1858 was that it required from individuals having a title deed in order to use the state land legally.¹⁸ What the Land Code of 1858 brought is that government taxed every piece of land and established the title to it by registering its legal owner as a miri owner. In other words, "those who enjoyed hereditary possession and use of land was confirmed by a title deed, while the ownership continued to belong to the state."¹⁹

It should be stated that the title deeds did not mean irrevocable and absolute property rights, but mean usufructuary rights contingent upon continuous cultivation.²⁰ For instance, if a cultivator did not till the land consecutively for three years, the land can be transferable. In that sense, the aim of the Land

¹⁸ Donald Quataert, An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914, eds. H. İnalçık, D. Quataert, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p.856. Afterwards, this source will be used as An Economic and Social....

¹⁹ Charles Issawi, An Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980, p. 202

²⁰ Tosun Arıcanlı, "Property, Land, Labour in Nineteenth-Century Anatolia" in Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East, eds. Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak, New York: The State University of New York Press, 1991, p. 128

Code was to promote and maintain agricultural development. And with the record of tax-payers, Ottoman government ensured the flow of taxes into the central treasury. The registration of the actual cultivators and the record of land transfers were precautions aimed to prevent the power of local notables and to regain strict control over the peasants and their taxes.

Although generally the Land code protected the usufructory rights of small peasants few articles of it favored the large landholders. State issued title deeds for formerly unoccupied land.²¹ This provided a legal basis for urban notables, tribal leaders to have a legal title over the reclaimed, abandoned land. For example, in Iraq most of the land was owned by tribal leaders who bought title deeds of unused lands after 1858. Before the land law, land was communally owned by the tribe. Since most of the population was nomadic, they did not know the value of the land or had a fear from government taxation. And instead of them, tribal sheikhs personally registered land formerly held by the tribal community. For example, Sadun family of lower Iraq acquired title deeds to vast tracts of land in that area.²² Wealthy urbans and Sultan Abdülhamid II also became the owners of large proportion of lands at the expence of tribal lands. In Syria, there was a similar development of the formation of large estates after 1850 on the reclaimed lands.²³

In these reclaimed lands, the sharecropping was extensively used in greater part of Syria around 1890's. H. Gerber stated that:

²¹ Haim Gerber, The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East, Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 1987, p. 72

²² Albertine Jwaideh, "Aspects of Land Tenure and Social Change in Lower Iraq During Late Ottoman Times" in ed. by Tarif Khalidi, Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East, Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1984, p.333-356

²³ Peter Sluglett and Marion Farouk-Sluglett, " The Application of the 1858 Land Code in Greater Syria: Some Preliminary Observations" in *Ibid*, p. 409-421

In the Buqa and about Hems, Hama, Damascus, Hauran and the other great plains, the land was partly owned by the freeholders of the villagers, but more usually by large capitalists, who let the land to the cultivators of the villages on the metairial (sharecropping) basis.²⁴

In Aleppo in 1890, 10 and 15 percent of the population cultivated on their account, the remainder made a partnership with the city usurer or influential man of the nearest town. In the reports published by Issawi describes the conditions of this partnership as follows:²⁵

The city associate or partner advances money and seed to his peasant without interest for purchase of cattle labor at harvest, etc., the latter supplying labour and cultivation. the produce is divided nominally between the two after the government tithe has been taken, but practically the former to guarantee his debt, agricultural debts being practically not recoverable by the law, the ally takes all, first recouping himself for money advanced, seed at his own prices, and for his share, and then returning to the peasant what remains, if any. This system results in the peasant being almost always indebted to his city partner and being left with little more than sufficient for the bare support of himself and family.

It can be said that 1858 Land Code did not change the existing agrarian relations. Rather it confirmed and codified what has been in different parts of the Empire.²⁶ While the smallholding remained the characteristic of Ottoman Anatolia, the large holdings emerged in Arab regions, especially in Syria and Iraq, where the timar system had not deeply established. The large estates were mainly formed on unused lands. In most of them sharecropping was very common and most often was based on a 50-50 division, with the sharecropper usually paying the taxes before dividing the produce. Sharecroppers rather than wage labourers commonly exploited large estates whose owners usually granted less favorable terms than smallholders. There were important exceptions such as

²⁴ H. Gerber, p.83

²⁵ Charles Issawi, The Fertile Crescent 1800-1914: New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, p.76

²⁶ D. Quataert, "Rural Unrest in the Ottoman Empire 1830-1914 ",in ed. D. Quataert, Workers Peasants and Economic Change in the 1730-1914, Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1993, p.31-40, p.32

the large estates on the Cilician plain during the second part of the century that employed wage laborers for cotton cultivation.

In sum, the emergence of large holdings can not be attributed only to the Code itself. As said before this was restricted to unpopulated and uncultivated lands. The Ottoman State granted large expances of land to individuals with a title deed for the purpose of motivating settlement. It used tribal leadership as an intermediary. Let's look at this state policy.

3.4. THE SETTLEMENT OF NOMADS AND TRIBES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND ITS RELATION TO LABOUR SUPPLY AND SHARECROPPING

The Ottoman government after 1858 Land Law started to register taxes on an individual basis so that it began to eliminate tax-farmers, tribal lords and other middlemen who owned a larger part of the tax revenue. The identification of the taxpayer was an important development. In 1840, Sublime Porte decided to settle tribes for the registration and collection of taxes and until that date, tribes were seen as collectivities.²⁷ After 1865, especially in Southern Anatolia, a conscious policy of expedition called Reform Division (Fırka-i Islahiyye) started.²⁸ This policy aimed at pacification of rebellious tribes and derebeys of Southern Anatolia.

One of the reason for the settlement of nomads and tribes in the nineteenth century was the need for political control on the side of Ottoman state. For the elimination of derebeys, the ties between derebeys and tribes must have

²⁷ Andrew G. Gould, "The Burning of Tents: The Forcible Settlement of Nomads in Southern Anatolia" in eds Heath Lowry and D. Quataert, Essays in Honor of Andreas Tietze, Istanbul: The ISIS Press and The Institute of Turkish Studies, 1993 p.71-85

²⁸ Ibid, p.74

been broken.²⁹ Secondly, there was the settlement problem of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Crimea and Caucasus following Crimean War. These refugees settled on tribal pasture lands must have protected from the raiding and attack of the tribes. Thirdly, there was a fear from international intervention.

How was it possible to control and pacify the tribes? The Ottoman state was successful to use tribal leadership for motivating the settlement. It purchased their loyalty. Tribal leaders were assigned government offices and high salaries in return for giving up their communally used lands and their help for tribal settlement.³⁰ A. Gould argue that tribal chieftains were employed as directors of the settled districts, police officers of the established new garrisons and members of administrative councils.³¹

Ottoman state was successful in these policies. We see the beginning of agriculture in Ula after the eradication of malaria.³² Similarly Antalya plain was populated by the nomads after the Napoleonic Wars with the growing grain needs. In Cukurova, large estates came into being with the sedenterization of the tribes on waste lands. The registration of nomads as tax-payers meant the increase of government revenue. The emergence of large landholding was ignored by the government as long as the land cultivated continuously.

The settlement of both nomads and immigrants from Crimea and Balkans caused a sharp increase in labor supply in the Empire. Secondly, Ottoman state ignored large estates on the condition that large landlords initiated or maintained

²⁹ Ibid, p. 73

³⁰ A. G. Gould, "Lords or Bandits? The Derebeys of Cilicia", International Journal of Middle East Studies, 7, (1976), 485-506.

³¹ Ibid.

³² H. Gerber, p.86

continuous cultivation. Although the government preferred the registration of individuals on a small land basis, since some people were ignorant about the registration or had a fear from government taxation, they became sharecroppers and tenants on their old lands. And they could not have purchased land which became very expensive. Therefore, tribal sheikhs or rich townsmen who personally registered the land formerly held by the tribal community became the real owners. Those newly settled nomads became either sharecropping tenants on the big estates or seasonal wage laborer. This process also transformed those peasants who owned a small plots of land but did not have money, credit to improve the land and to make investment for commerce. This is described by A. G. Gould as follows:³³

...The introduction of more productive strains of cotton, the draining of swamps and the improvement of roads all worked together to make commercial Agriculture more attractive and the stringent enforcement of Forest Laws made migration more difficult. In the villages which have turned to commercial agriculture specialization in cotton and mechanization have led to a concentration of landholding: those who can afford to specialize and buy more land : those who can not are forced to sell their land and became sharecroppers or field hands."

The relation between tribal settlement and the creation of large estates was depended on the government political and economic concerns. For example, Adana region which was opened to cultivation only after the mid-nineteenth century was the major example of wage-laboring estates. Since there was no residence, there was not much resistance against big landowners.³⁴ So, state did not interfere because there was not any settled small peasants which were the fiscal and ideological basis of the state. The scarcity of labor was supplied with the employment of migrant workers from Mosul, Bitlis, Harput and elsewhere in

³³ A. G. Gould, *The Burning of Tents...*, p.82

³⁴ D. Quataert, "Agricultural Trends and Government Policy in Ottoman Anatolia (1800-1914)" in ed. D. Quataert, *Workers, Peasants and Economic Change In The Ottoman Empire 1730-1914*, Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 1993, 17-30, p. 23

harvest time.³⁵ While in the Adana region, government allowed the formation of big estates on these unused lands, on the other hand, the uncultivated lands along the Anatolian and Baghdad railway lines were settled by the refugees on a small and equal land basis. Because this was both politically and economically important.

3.5. GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE LANDHOLDING PATTERN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

It is not possible to reach valid generalizations about landholding patterns in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. The variables affecting the pattern of landholding were listed by D. Quataert as follows:

Soil and climate, previous patterns of landholding, the changing availability of land, labor and capital, the presence of sedentarized and nomadic tribes, transport systems, regional and international market opportunities for both agricultural and animal products, the coercive power of local notables, the degree of centralized political control and the land legislation itself.³⁶

Generally it can be said that small peasant holdings prevailed throughout the Ottoman lands in the nineteenth century. There were great estates everywhere but they were not common in any single region- the Balkans, Anatolia or the Arab lands.³⁷

In the Ottoman Empire small peasant landholding was dominant both before and after the commercialization of agriculture. In other words, the production for the market did not necessitate the formation of big estates in the Empire. Instead, the commercial production for the export market took place

³⁵ Ibid, p.24

³⁶ D. Quataert, *An Social and Economic History...*p. 860

³⁷ Ibid, p.861

within the context of small holdings.³⁸ O. Kurmuş shows that despite increased European demand for raw cotton, especially in the cotton famine during the American civil war, and the British attempts to increase cotton exports from western Anatolia, there was not a shift to mono-crop production nor any significant changes in the peasant organization of production.³⁹ He also points out that Ottoman government did not support British attempts to increase cotton growing and to transform the existing agrarian structures.

There is no necessary correlation between landholding size and the extent of market orientation.⁴⁰ As B.McGowan shows, the increase of market demand did not lead to enserfment of peasants in Ottoman Croatia and Slovenia during the eighteenth century and ciftliks did not transform into large estates but consisted of several holdings cultivated by peasant households.⁴¹

There were many reasons for the continuation of small proprietorship. First of all, Ottoman state always counteracted the dispossession of peasantry which was the ideological and fiscal basis of the State. It prevented the rise of a landed class with the tools of confiscation and elimination. Also peasants internalized their usufructory rights over their subsistence plots which in turn caused their resistance against appropriation of their lands by the third parties. Secondly, the relative scarcity of labor and the relative abundance of land, especially in Anatolia, was a major factor for preventing the formation of big estates. Since about half of the all land in Anatolia was vacant land, in case of

³⁸ Orhan Kurmuş, "The Cotton famine and its effects on the Ottoman Empire" in *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy* ed. Huri İslamoğlu-Inan, Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1987,pp.160-170

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ D. Quataert, "The Commercialization of Agriculture In Ottoman Turkey, 1800-1914," *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 1, 2, (1980), 38-55

⁴¹ Bruce McGowan, "The Middle Danube cul-de-sac" in *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-Inan, Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1987,pp-170-178

the rise in population, external demand, and transportation facilities, there was always a chance for peasants to extend the cultivated areas. Moreover, state did not oppose this process because these producers became regular cultivators paying taxes to the state. Therefore big capitalist estates were not widespread either because of the availability of land on the part of the producers or the scarcity of labor on the part of the landowners.

For example, after the Ottoman government extended the privilege of private property in land to foreigners under the pressure by the Great Powers in 1866, British entrepreneurs purchased lands around Izmir to produce export goods.⁴² In 1868, one-third of all cultivable land around Izmir became the property of British investors.⁴³ However, they could not establish plantation-like farms employing wage labor. Because of the scarcity of labor the wages were high as the British level. Most importantly, cultivators were resistant to outside penetration and proletarianization. They preferred their small subsistence farms. The British investors had to use sharecroppers as the other notables in that area.⁴⁴

While the State was reluctant about the reorganization of agricultural production for export in regions where the small peasant holdings predominated as in the Western Anatolia, it allowed it in uncultivated areas for the extension of arable land and for the rise in tax revenues. Therefore, the big estates were emerged on unused lands.

Let's look at the landownership and tenancy patterns in the Asiatic part of the Ottoman Empire. First of all, we will look at the landholding pattern in Asiatic

⁴² O. Kurmuş, Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi, İstanbul: Bilim Yayınları. See especially pp.76-120

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.101.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*,p.103-4

part of Empire. Then the conditions of sharecropping tenancy will be given. The different practices of sharecropping in different regions will be explored.

3.6. LANDOWNERSHIP AND TENANCY PATTERNS IN ANATOLIA

This part is based on the Report prepared by the British Consul in Trabzon in 1869.⁴⁵ This Report is about the landownership and tenancy patterns in the Asiatic part of the Ottoman Empire. The date of the study, 1869, is significant because "it came three decades after the confiscation of large landholdings, a decade after the Land Code of 1858, and towards the end of the first wave of rapid expansion of agricultural exports, which lasted until the early 1870s"⁴⁶

At the beginning of the Report, Consul Palgrave stated that at the end of eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the land tenure was in the form of big estates and peasants were in semi-feudal conditions because they gave their labor for maintenance and protection and there was no defined share of either the produce, services or dues given.⁴⁷ According to him, 1830-1870 period was characterized by depreciation⁴⁸ and subdivision of land.⁴⁹ Second feature of this period was the modifications in the

⁴⁵ Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers (1870) "Report on Land Tenure in Asiatic Provinces of Turkey", By Consul Palgrave, Vol.67 p.276-292. This source will be used as A&P (1870).

⁴⁶ Şevket Pamuk, The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism 1820-1913, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p.90

⁴⁷ A&P (1870) p.282-283

⁴⁸ The causes of depreciation of land were; condition of purchase, sale and transfer of land, overtaxation by the government, official appropriation of land for road construction, etc. without any compensation, 10 percent compensation for the uncultivated lands for three consecutive years, and lastly heavy government dues on every transaction of land. A&P(1870), p. 283

⁴⁹ Causes for the subdivision were: the confiscation of large estates by the state, Law of Land Inheritance which allowed the division of estates first among the direct line heirs, then collateral, then remote heirs. A&P(1870), p. 282

tenancy.⁵⁰ As the estates were divided the number of produce-partnerships (*murabalık*)⁵¹ increased at the expense of hired laborers. On the *vakf* lands also there was a gradual tendency towards sharecropping.

As stated by Palgrave,⁵² the geographical surface of the Asiatic Turkey was 1.219.000 square kilometers or 121.976.200 hectares. Half of this land was unsuitable for cultivation and two-thirds of the remainder was occupied by *metrukali* (forests and pastures) land. Total cultivated land was about 21.662.000 hectares. One-fourth of all cultivated land belonged to *vakfs* while the five percent of it was *miri* (state) lands. The rest, 70 percent of all cultivable land was *mülk* (private property) land.

Table I.1. Land Ownership, Land Distribution, Forms of Tenancy and Relations of Production in the Asiatic Provinces of the Ottoman Empire c. 1869

1	2	3			4	5
Size of holding	Form of operation	Forms of ownership				Form of surplus appropriation from the direct producer (in addition to state taxation, usury and merchant capital whenever applicable)
		Mülk Private property (0.70)	Vakif Endowment (0.25)	Miri State (0.05)		
Small: 2 to 20 ha. (0.75 to 0.825)	Small peasant ownership; owners as direct producers	A (0.20) Av. 6 ha. per holding Owner/ producers: 23.7 %	D (0.75) Av. 8 ha. per holding tenants for life, de facto small peasant ownership Direct producers: 7.1%		A. --	B. Rent payments to small owners
	Small owners to small tenants; mostly sharecropping, some fixed rent	B (0.40) Av. 8 ha. per tenant Direct producers: 37.9 %	E (0.075) Av. 8 ha. per tenant Direct producers: 7.1%		C. Rent payments to large owners, wage labor	D. --
Large: greater than 20 ha.; av. 120 ha. (0.175 to 0.25)	Large owners to small tenants; mostly sharecropping; some fixed rent, some year-round wage laborers; in addition 200,000 seasonal wage workers	C. (0.10) Av. 8 ha. per tenant Owners: 0.6 % Direct producers: 9.4%	F. (0.075) Av. 8 ha. per tenant Large holdings broken up due to restrictions by Evkaf İdaresi De facto small holdings Direct producers: 7.1%		E. F. G. Rent payments to vakif trustees or to state	
			G. (0.075) Av. 8 ha. per tenant Direct producers: 7.1%			

Note: Figures in parentheses represents shares in total cultivable land. Percentages represent shares in total number of households in agriculture.

Source: Şevket Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, (1820-1913)* p. 90

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 284

⁵¹ In the reports *murabalık* was used for produce partnership, but the term must be *murabahacılık*.

⁵² Ibid, p. 286

As table I.1. summarizes, 75 to 82.5 percent of cultivated land was in small holdings ranging from 2 to 20 hectares, with the average somewhere between 6 and 8 hectares. In the report, *acre* was used as calculation basis. According to it small estates were defined as those between 5 to 50 acres and those exceeding 50 acres (20 hectares or 200 dönüm) were defined as large estates. On the other hand, large holdings comprised 17.5 to 25 percent of all cultivated land with an average of 120 hectares.

Mülk land was equal to 35.518.058 acres. One-seventh of all *mülk* land, 5.074.008 acres, was under large holdings, being cultivated either by hired labor on an annual basis or, in most instances, by sharecroppers (*ortakçı* or *maraba*) whose tenancy contracts were subject to renewal by the landlord every year.⁵³ The remaining six-seventh of *mülk* lands, 30.444.050 acres, or 60 percent of all cultivable land, was under small holdings. Pamuk maintained that:

One-third of these small holdings were cultivated directly by small peasant owners with an average of 6 hectares per farm. The other two-thirds of the privately owned small holdings were cultivated by small tenants either under fixed rent or, more usually under sharecropping arrangements, at an average of 8 hectares per farm.⁵⁴

Vakf and *miri* lands constituted 30 percent of all cultivable land, 12.685.021 and 2.537.004 acres respectively. Half of this were under small holdings of less than 20 hectares. Half of these small holdings were being cultivated by lifetime tenants whose position was practically equivalent to ownership of land. The other half of small holdings were being cultivated by sharecropper tenants. "As for the large *vakf* and *miri* holdings, half of them were being cultivated by sharecropper tenants at an average of 8 hectares per

⁵³ A&P, p.286 and Şevket Pamuk, The Ottoman Empire and European capitalism, 1820-1913, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p.91

⁵⁴ Ş. Pamuk, p. 91

tenant.⁵⁵ And the remaining or one-fourth of all *vakf* and *miri* lands were in the form of big estates that were, because of the restrictions of Board of Endowments, distributed as small units to direct producer tenants.

It should be noted that about 40 percent of all cultivable land was being rented by small landowners to small tenants according to Consul Palgrave whose category of small was those lands fewer than 20 hectares. The reasons are suggested by Pamuk.⁵⁶ If we take into account the primitive nature of agricultural implements and techniques applied in Ottoman agriculture, an average household could cultivate relatively low amount of land with a team of oxen. So, most of them must be rented out to sharecropping tenants who leased these lands according to their implements without employing hired labor. In addition, life-cycle of a household may cause sometimes relative scarcity or surplus of labor. Because of the wars, high rate of death among the young males caused scarcity of labor in rural areas. Such kind of demographic factors may lead to widespread small-to-small tenancy arrangements.⁵⁷ Moreover, the absentee landowning by the urban people may have been a factor in this kind of tenancy.

Table I. 2. Summary distribution of land ownership and tenancy patterns Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire c. 1869

Type of direct producer	Reference to forms in table I.1.	Share in all direct producer household	Share of total cultivable land
Small peasant owner-producers	A, D	31.0%	27.5%
Sharecroppers, other tenants renting from small owners (small-small)	B, E, F	52.4%	55.0%
Sharecroppers, year-round wage laborers, other tenants in large holdings (small-large)	C, G	16.6%	17.5%

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 93

⁵⁷ Korkut Boratav, Tarımsal Yapılar ve Kapitalizm, Ankara: Birikim Yayınları, 1981, p.29

Source: See table I.1.

Table I. 2. summarizes the distribution of direct producers among different forms of landownership and tenancy without taking into account the distinction between *mülk*, *miri*, *vakf* land. It shows the dominance of the small holding and small producers. Moreover, it shows the dominance of sharecropping tenancy in the small landholding pattern. So it can be said that sharecropping was not equal to big landowner-tenant partnership and semi-feudal relationship in which the landowner was strong and the sharecropper tenant was weak and landless. Not only the landless peasants but also those who had less land to cultivate and to subsist their family rented lands from those producers who had more land than their cultivation capacity achieved. Moreover, there is another reason for the widespread practice of sharecropping in Anatolia as well as other parts of the Empire. This was the debt relations.

3.7. THE CYCLE OF DEBT AND SHARECROPPING

In most cases, those small producers who had a difficulty over the payment of government taxes because of high level of taxes or because of bad harvest or loose in the oxens had to borrow from merchants, usurious people. It should be remembered that producers should cultivate their land continuously because otherwise state could sell their small plots to another person. There was not any government credit institutions that cultivators could borrow. They were in the hands of these usurious people who took very high interest rates. In most of the cases, the borrowers could not pay their debt and forced to transfer their land

to borrowers and became sharecropper tenant in these lands. The pledging of lands held by *tapu* was prohibited by the Law. However, the proprietor who has borrowed money could have left or transferred his land during a definite or indefinite period, either to the creditor or to a third party who became a sort of trustee. This new proprietor must have made a new *tapu*. After the payment of a debt, the land must have returned to its former owner. If not paid, then the creditor could sold it.⁵⁸

Let's look at this debt-sharecropper relationship deeply because it will provide further light on why sharecropping was the dominant form of tenancy not only in Anatolia but also on the other parts of the Empire. And in the reports reviewed, there was often mentioning of this debt cycle. In 1870, Consul Palgrave referred to this case as follows:⁵⁹

Debt in Anatolia, where no banking or other respectable credit system exists, means the falling into the hands of an usurious money-lender, commonly an Armenian, whose most moderate rate of loan is 24 percent, more often 48 percent, sometimes 60 percent and all this at compound interest. It is true, however, that the peasant borrower has rarely to repay the capital, having been already sold out of stock, land, house to meet the interest.

Sharecropping was perpetuated through this mechanisms of usury. When a debtor-creditor relationship existed between the sharecropper and the landlord, the terms of interest did not allowed for the breaking of the tenancy contract and this provided the landlord with additional power to impose his terms. Thus sharecropping continued as long as there was indebtedness. Even it passed to the children of the debtor. The producer could not break the cycle of usury.

In different regions, the money-lending activities were dominated by different groups. On the one hand, in Central Anatolia which was characterized

⁵⁸ A&P, 'Monastir', p. 297

⁵⁹ "Report by Consul Palgrave on Matters connected with the position of the Artisan and Industrial Classes in the Northern and Central Provinces of Anatolia" in Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers, Vol. 66 (1870) p. 738

by small peasant ownership, merchants, tax collectors and other moneylenders living in urban centers dominated the usury activities as absentee landlords.⁶⁰ On the other hand, large landowners played an important role as usurers in regions where the lands were concentrated on the big landowners. In these regions, the landlords profited from both a transfer of a large surplus under the high interest rates and permanent tenancy. For example, in Monastir lending activities were in the hands of the large estate owners.⁶¹ When the tenant did not have the oxen and enough family labor, he borrowed capital for the purchase of oxen, instruments, etc. The indebted producers could not have paid their debts for years. This was one of the means of retaining the tenants on their estates by the large landowners. In 1869, in the Reports on Manastir, the bond between the landlord and peasants was described from a different angle:

In case the ortakdci (sharecropper) owes money to a landlord from whose farm he may desire to remove, it is a common practice for the new landlord to pay the ortakdjis debt to the former one, and thus bind the incoming ortakdji the more firmly to his own farm. There are instances, very numerous in some districts, where the ortakdjis, kesimcis, and the ter-oglans have, through the practice of making a debt hereditary and annual accumulation of interest, in the hands of unmerciful landlords, become so irrevocably involved as to have fallen into a state of quasi-serfdom.⁶²

Keyder explains the spread of sharecropping through a debt relation within a broader perspective. According to him, wage labor is not the only form of extending the scale of production and it is possible for large landlords to increase the scale of production without changing the labor process of the independent peasantry through sharecropping.⁶³ He tried to explain the cycle between small

⁶⁰ S. Pamuk, p.90

⁶¹ Monastir, A general report by Mr. Ricketts, British Acting Consul at Monastir, "On the Agriculture of that province and its Dependencies for the year 1859" Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers, Vol.? , p.185

⁶² A&P, 'Monastir', p.301

⁶³ Ç. Keyder, "The Cycle of Sharecropping and the Consolidation of Small Peasant ownership in Turkey", p.134

proprietorship and sharecropping tenancy according to the dynamics of the capitalist world economy. According to him, when the world economy expanded as in the 1850-73 and 1896-1926 periods the price rise in agricultural products caused the self-sufficient peasants to extend their holdings and reclaim the unused lands. For the cultivation of these lands, producers needed money and borrowed either from merchants, usurers or landowners. In these periods the independent peasantry consolidated. Those producers who borrowed much became sharecropper tenants in the downturn period as in the 1873-96 and 1926-46 periods.⁶⁴ Because of their debts, the producers were forced to sell their means of production. During this period of falling prices, the landlords expanded cultivation on marginal fields by employing sharecropping tenants.

3.8. SHARECROPPING AS THE DOMINANT FORM OF TENANCY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE CONDITIONS OF SHARECROPPING IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE EMPIRE

Sharecropping was the prevalent form of tenancy in different parts of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. It was mostly seen in big estates. Large landholdings, although confiscated by the state in 1830s, survived in the Salonica and Monastir provinces of Northern Greece throughout the nineteenth century. In Monastir in 1859 it was estimated that three-fourths of all land was in the hands of large landlords.⁶⁵ In Salonica 40 percent of all farms were larger than 200 hectares in 1863. In these provinces lord-peasant bonds were quite strong. In western Anatolia and Thrace, central state confiscated most of the large holdings that had accumulated in the era of decentralization. However,

⁶⁴ Ibid,

⁶⁵ Ş. Pamuk, p.100

some big estates existed side by side with the small ones. These regions were the most commercialized part of the Empire because of the proximity to major ports. If we take into account the scarcity of labor, limited capital accumulation, and the dominance of small peasant ownership, the production for the export market did not cause the transformation of big estates into capitalist farms employing wage labor on an annual basis. Instead, sharecropper tenants provided relatively inexpensive source of labor power. Those tenants who did not own the means to cultivate the land and those small holders who wanted to increase their commercial-oriented lands rented lands from large owners. It was preferable to fixed rent arrangements because it was difficult for tenants to sustain themselves during a bad harvest year. So, sharecropping was the most frequently adopted tenancy arrangement in Western Anatolia, Thrace and Northern Greece. In these regions, sharecropping represented a form of contract between the two parties. This is described for the İzmir region in 1890 as follows:

The mode of exploitation used by the agriculturists changes depending upon the size of the holding. In the chiftliks which range from 2000 to 18000 donums, that is from 200 to 8000 hectares, sharecropping is almost exclusively adopted except in the kaza of Scala-Nuova [Kusadası] where fixed rent principally used. The sharecropper and his family provide the labor and the owner furnishes the work animals and the seed. When the time comes, they share equally without taking into account the seeds. The chiftliks from 500 to 2000 donums, that is from 50 to 200 hectares, are cultivated directly by their owners with sharecropping in part. The holdings between 10 and 50 donums are worked directly by their owners with the help of day workers, if necessary, during the harvest time.⁶⁶

As opposed to these commercialized part of the Empire, sharecropping represented the semi-feudal relations of production in the large estates of the Southeastern Anatolia where the peasants were tied to landlords with more political reasons than economic ones. Historically Kurdish tribal lords were autonomous from the central government as long as they paid their tributes and

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 101

performed their military service. Although, in 1830s, most of the estates were appropriated by the state and distributed among peasants, tribal leaders acquired back their holdings. And 1858 Land Code confirmed their ownership. They binded producers through different means such as usury to themselves. Their position was similar to sharecroppers on the large estates formed on the reclaimed lands in Northern Arab provinces such as in Iraq, Syria at the end of nineteenth century.

After overview of general agricultural conditions in the nineteenth century related with sharecropping, let's look at contractual relation between landlord and tenant, the rent taken by the landlord.

In the Consular Reports, produce-partnership or *muraba'lik* was defined as a Asiatic substitute for tenancy, and the *muraba's* as tenants.⁶⁷ It was the most common type of tenancy in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. General conditions of sharecropping changed according to supply of labor, the crops grown, pattern of landholding, market conditions, customs and traditions, and the relative power of the landlord and tenant. *Muraba'lik* was a partnership between the landowner and tenant in a years produce of land upon equal terms, whether profit or loss. It was preferable to the fixed money-rents. If the landowner was unable or unwilling to cultivate the land by himself, he entered into a partnership with the tenants to do the work. The dominance of produce-partnership to fixed-money tenancy does not mean that agricultural relations represented a semi-feudal character.

In the simple version of the sharecropping, the landlord supplied the land, cottage, seed, beasts and other implements needed for cultivation and the tenant

⁶⁷ A&P, p. 279

provided the labor. The agreement was usually made verbally for a year. The end product after the deduction of the tithe and seed, was equally divided between the landowner and tenant cultivator. The buildings and improvements on land were made by the landlord. If one of the parties have contributed from his own over the agreement, the excess was compensated out of the produce-shares at the years end.⁶⁸

If the landlord was discontented with his tenant-partner during the year, he was free to evict him but he must reimburse the tenants labor according to an estimation made on the produce of the preceding year. Also he must compensate for the expenses made by the tenant. Under such conditions, evictions were rare because it was not advantageous to either party.

From the tenants point of view, he had a absolute right and responsibility in the cultivation of land as long as he paid the share of the produce. In this sense, the relationship between the landowner and sharecropper tenant was based on a free will of them and the tenant was an independent farmer. He could employ sub-tenants without the knowledge of landlord who did not interfere the tenants sub-arrangements.⁶⁹ At the end of the year, contract may be renewed. This was the general picture reached out of the Consular Reports. It should be emphasized that Reports used the term *muraba* for free produce-partners.

In Monastir, where the proportion of small proprietors to produce-partners was one to five, the simple sharecropping was the dominant form of tenancy.⁷⁰ 75 to 80 percent of the landowners were muslims and 15 to 17 percent were Christians. Landowners provided the Bulgarian tenants with a house, supplied

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.279

⁶⁹ *Ibid*,

⁷⁰ ' Monastir', p.295

them with seed, cattle and other implements. At the end of harvest and after 10 percent of the produce has been deducted for the government, the net produce was equally divided between landowner and metayer. Property tax on the sum realized was paid by them in equal shares.⁷¹ There is a good description about the works done by the sharecropper in Monastir:

The ortakdji undertakes all the labor and cost of cultivating the land apportioned to him; he also reaps, threshes and winnows the grain crops, and after the dime-tax (tithe) has been levied upon it, the whole remaining produce is divided into two equal shares, of which the landlord takes one, and the ortakdji the other.⁷²

Some landlords in Monastir required extra-labor from their ortakdjis such as bringing their crop to the market, carting firewood from the mountains to the landlords residence. In return for such services, landowner gave the sharecropper the free use of half-acre of land called "parashpour" which the sharecropper cultivated for his own benefit.⁷³ Also in cases where the landlord cultivated part of his estates on his own account, ortakdji and his family helped to reap in return for bread, but no wages.⁷⁴ There was also *kesimcis* who as tenants, instead of sharing the product equally, paid a certain fixed quantity of the crop irrespective of the yield to the landowner. However, sharecropping was always preferred to *kesimcilik*. The proportion of share-croppers to *kesimcis* was three to one.⁷⁵

⁷¹ "Report on the Condition of Industrial Classes in Turkey", Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers, Vol. 66,(1870), p. 825

⁷² A&P, p. 300

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ "Report on the Condition of Industrial Classes in Turkey", Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers, Vol.66, 1870, p. 242-243

⁷⁵ Ibid.

The share of the produce taken by each parties changed from region to region according to the relative strength of the landlord and tenant, the prevailed customs and traditions and the size of the land leased.

In Salonica, in 1869 where the landlord provided land, seed, and dwelling, the sharecropping tenant was bound to furnish the cattle and agricultural implements. The produce, after the deduction of the tithe of 10 percent and the seed necessary for the next sowing, was divided equally. In here there was big estates and the peasants were compelled to remain through debt connections.⁷⁶

In Epirus in 1870, on the big estates the peasants were allowed to settle in return for paying the customary rent called "imeron" which was equal to the one-third of the grain or one-fourth of the wine, after the deduction of the tithe. The tenants here were reduced to a serf binded by their debts to the landowners.⁷⁷

On the big estates in Danube, Biga, Istanbul, we see fixed-money rent tenancy. However, this kind of tenancy was confined to big size farms which were limited in number in each of these regions.⁷⁸ In this kind of tenancy the quantity of land held by tenant was depended on the circumstances and credit of the tenant and under-tenant. The rent was regulated by custom, valuation and competition; it varied according to the nature of the soil, the extent of the land, the quantity and quality of stock and the term of lease.⁷⁹ For instance, in Danube and Constantinople, there was a written agreement registered by local authorities and signed by both parties which settled the mode of payment and other matters agreed upon. The term of the lease changed from three to seven

⁷⁶ A&P, p.303

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 323

⁷⁸ See A & P, Vilayet of Danube (1870), Biga (1869), Constantinople(1870) and Asiatic Turkey (1870) in "Report on Land Tenure in Eastern (Asiatic) Turkey" , Vol. 67, 1870.

⁷⁹ Ibid, Constantinople (1870), p.275

years. The tenant usually employ sub-tenants to cultivate for him at money payment, fixed share in kind, or share of the produce in metayage.⁸⁰ In Biga, in 1869, there were three kinds of tenants; first of all, tenants of large farms for three to seven years paid their rent in money. Secondly, tenant partners were employed on a yearly basis and paid either one-half or two-third of the produce to the landlord after deducing the tithe and the seed. Thirdly, landless peasants and those who had less land than their oxen till made a partnership with the neighbors for two years. In return for using a small size of land, tenants paid a quantity of grain equal to the seed they used for sowing.⁸¹ This kind of small partnership in return for a seed was seen also in Danube(1870), in Izmit (1863).

Issawi gives the other examples of the sharecropping on the few large estates in other parts of the Ottoman Empire depended on the data from British Foreign Office Reports.⁸²

In Erzurum in 1846, landlords furnished seed and took half of the produce. In Kurdistan in 1858, the rent equaled 15 to 20 percent of the annual produce. In Rhodes in 1859, tenants paid a fixed yearly rent in kind. In Gelibolu in 1863 the tenant, who provided his labor and that of his family, received half of net returns (i.e., after deduction of seed and tithes and taxes) on poor land and one-third or less on good land. In Cavalla the tenant, who does all the labor required except ploughing received half the crop after the deduction of tithes....In the Dardanelles in 1870, cash rents were paid on large farms; in sharecropping, the net produce, after the deduction of seed and tithes (12.5 percent) was shared equally between landlord and tenant, but further south the landlord took two-thirds; on small tracts the amount paid for rent was equal to that used for seed. In the Mardin region, under the muraba a system, the landowner supplies everything, but neither feeds, clothes or pays the fellahs; but after deducing the seed and all expenses, the net produce is divided into thirds, of which the fellahs would get one third and the farmer or landlord two thirds after having deducted all expenses and tithe.....For cotton cultivation in the Diyarbekir area the owner of the land and water received 14 percent of the net produce, the rest- after deduction of all expenses- being shared equally by the capitalist who supplied the seed, the laborer who prepared the ground and the gardener who tended the plants. In Ankara, the outside partner who is Greek or Armenian of the nearest town, undertakes to furnish, that is to say, sell on credit, a pair of oxen and sometimes provisions for maintaining the peasant and his family till the harvest time. The peasant contributes land, labor and implements. In settling accounts at harvest time, the produce, after

⁸⁰ Ibid, Danube, p. 317

⁸¹ Ibid, Biga, p. 316

⁸² C. Issawi, The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914, p. 207-208

payment of tithes is equally divided. The value of other items except seed is deducted from the cultivators share.

CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSION

It is difficult to reach generalizations about the use of sharecropping in the Ottoman agriculture. This thesis can be considered as providing some introductory remarks for the study of sharecropping. One of the obstacles for the study of sharecropping and sharecroppers is of methodological nature resulted from the fact that the Ottoman bureaucracy did not register what was outside of the taxes and household units. Therefore, we have limited information about different forms of agricultural labor, internal organization of production processes, the life conditions of peasantry.

The sharecropping emerged under extra-ordinary conditions and it had a limited use in the agriculture. Because the Ottoman state always protected the peasants who had usufructory rights over the state lands. The administrative and judicial control mechanisms over the status of land and peasants prevented the emergence of big estates on state lands and the dispossession of peasantry.

For the conclusion of the first part of the thesis it should be emphasized that the use of sharecropper slaves in the pre-sixteenth and during the sixteenth century Ottoman agriculture was a specific type of development. It resulted from an urgent need of the resettlement and reclamation of ruined areas conquered by the Ottomans. Since the labor was scarce and the slaves were plentiful, the deportation and settlement of slaves in the conquered regions was the only way for the repopulation of these regions. Secondly, sharecropper slaves were settled on imperial estate lands as the Sultans' serfs as in the case of Istanbul Haslar region. The revenues coming from these lands went to the central treasury. In other words, the settlement of slaves as sharecroppers provided the Palace a

continuous flow of basic necessities. Thirdly, sharecropper slaves started to be disappeared towards the end of sixteenth century and started to be identified with the free peasant status because of the difficulties to sustain them under serf-like conditions.

It is useful to compare the sharecropper tenants with the sharecropper slaves who constitute different types of sharecroppers. First of all, sharecropper slaves had a servile status and as being sharecroppers, the status of them were more determined by their attachment to the land as imperial serfs than by the division of product on an equal basis. The relationship between the state and sharecropper slave was not a tenancy relationship. They were seen as belonging to the imperial estate. As opposed to this, the sharecropper tenants had a free status in the sense that the relationship between the tenant and the landowner was contractual. Here, sharecropping represents a produce-partnership based on the free will of the parties. Secondly, while the types and the amount of the products grown was determined by law and what ever he did, wherever he went, whatever land he cultivated was controlled by the state officials in case of sharecropper slaves, there was not such restrictions on sharecropper tenants. The latter had all rights on the land he rented during the lease-time as long as he paid the agreed percentage of the product to the landowner. He had an absolute right to organize the production process and to employ sub-tenants or agricultural laborers to cultivate the land. In contrast to this, the former had no right to determine the conditions under which they work. The sharecropper slave could not leave his land or could not give their land to the third person in return for the payment of tithe and he could not work as tenants on other lands even after the completion of their sharecropping service. Thirdly, the sharecropper slave had to

perform some forced services such as preparing the land for cultivation of wheat, winnowing grain, cutting grass, caring the well-being of animals. By contrast, the sharecropper tenant, in general, was not under the obligation to do extra-work other than the specified things in the contract without compensation. If either landlord or sharecropper contributed from his own over the agreement, the excess was compensated out of the produce-shares in the end of the year. Fourthly, the sharecropper slave was under the specific administrative and judicial division and state officials authorized by the Sultan engaged in districts where sharecropper slaves were settled. And a sharecropper slave had no personal property and inheritance rights. There were other legal limitations over him such as the prohibition of marriage with persons other than their own group, the punishment with the confirmation of Sultan. By contrast, the sharecropper tenant was not under such legal and economic restrictions, he was free to marry with anyone and had inheritance rights.

If asking the question why sharecropping was preferred to fixed-money tenancy and became dominant form of tenancy in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, it can be said that first of all, the primitive conditions in agriculture did not allow the use of tenancy relations. Peasants who did not have land or less land than to sustain themselves entered into a produce-partnership with the landowners and they did not have money to lease additional land before the harvest. Both sides, landowner and sharecropper felt more secure to divide the end product. They shared the risk of bad harvest. Also, when they agreed on the distribution of end product, sharecropper cultivated the land as his own farm because if he tills well, the end product will be more and he will earn more. For this reason, sharecropping was also preferred by the landowners. Instead of

giving the land on hire by taking cash money at the beginning of the year from the outside tenant, landlords preferred the cultivation of land on a sharecropping basis because in this way he had a more control over the production process.

Sharecropping method could change from region to region according to the customs and traditions, the degree of commercialization, the products grown, the relative power of landowners and peasants.

It can be said that most of the characteristics of sharecropping tenancy in the post-classical age indicated a semi-feudal features: For instance, the rent taken by the landowners was in kind. Moreover, the contract was made verbally for a year. However, it can be said that there was no exact correlation between the sharecropping and semi-feudal agrarian relations. It could exist under semi-feudal relations of production as in southeastern and eastern Anatolia where there was big landowners and landless, poor villagers. However, sharecropping in the Ottoman Empire can not be equated with big landowner/small peasant relationship. It existed under simple commodity production in which the small landowners produced for the market as well as for consumption. As in western Anatolia and Balkans where the production for the market started in the eighteenth century, big landowners organized the production on a sharecropping basis. Moreover, sharecropping was also used among the small landholders which was dominant form of tenancy in the Asiatic part of the empire as shown in the fifth part of the second chapter. In sum, not all instances of sharecropping can be regarded as indicative of semi-feudal relations.

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